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vol. 1

THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT

IN ENGLISH

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE SEVERAL BOOKS

EDITED IN CONJUNCTION WITH MANY SCHOLARS BY

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VOLUME I

APOCRYPHA

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PREFACE

For students both of the Old and New Testaments the value of the non-Canonical Jewish literature from 200 B.C. to A.D. 100 is practically recognized on every side alike by Jewish and Christian scholars. But hitherto no attempt has been made to issue an edition of this literature as a whole in English.[1] Indeed, such an undertaking would have been all but impossible at an earlier date, seeing that critical editions of some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have not been published till within the last few years.

The method observed in this work.

In all the contributions one and the same method has been observed. Each contribution consists of an introduction, an English translation from the best critical text—in a few cases the Revised Version has been adopted and emendations suggested in the notes—and of a critical and exegetical commentary.[2] As regards the introductions, the subjects dealt with in them have, so far as possible, been treated in the same order to facilitate the use of the work. Though a large discretion has naturally been given to the various editors, the following order has more or less been observed as a guide or been actually carried out.

§ 1. Short account of the book, embodying its leading features and the editor's chief conclusions.
§ 2. Title of the book.
§ 3. The MSS.
§ 4. The Ancient Versions.
§ 5. Date of (*a*) the original text, (*b*) of the Ancient Versions.
§ 6. Integrity or composite nature of the text.
§ 7. Authorship.
§ 8. Influence of the book on later literature—(*a*) Jewish; (*b*) Christian.
§ 9. Theology of the book.
§ 10. Bibliography—
  (*a*) Chief editions of the text (and of the Ancient Versions).
  (*b*) Chief critical inquiries.
  (*c*) Chief editions of the book.

[1] Kautzsch published an edition in German in 1900, but on a smaller scale than the present work and embracing fewer books of this literature (vol. i. 1–507; vol. ii. 1–540).

[2] In the case of Sirach and Tobit the editors have been allowed much beyond the normal number of pages for their critical apparatus, which they have used to good purpose.

The extent of the present work.

The first volume contains what is generally known as the Apocrypha Proper, which constitutes the excess of the Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, which excess was in turn borrowed from the LXX. But this volume differs from the Apocrypha Proper at once in the way of excess and in the way of defect. 3 Maccabees has been added after 2 Maccabees, since it is contained in many MSS. of the LXX, and 4 Ezra has been transferred to Volume ii since it is essentially a Pseudepigraph.

Volume ii contains all the remaining extant non-Canonical Jewish books written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 with possibly one or two exceptions. The greater part of these books have hitherto been accessible only in expensive editions—such as Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Psalms of Solomon, Pirkē Aboth, the Story of Aḥiḳar, &c. As regards the last two, it is not necessary to make any apology for their introduction into the present work, although they do not properly fall within the true limits above defined, but they were used, at all events partially, by Jewish readers within this period, nor can they be rightly designated Pseudepigraphs. The Fragments of a Zadokite Work are of an historical character, and are valuable in throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. They contain likewise apocalyptic material of an interesting nature.

The General Editor, in conclusion, wishes to express his thanks to the Delegates of the Press for undertaking this work, and to the Officers of the Press, whose help and counsel were always ready to meet each difficulty as it arose. The Editor is also under deep obligations to the many scholars who, notwithstanding the pressure of other duties, have yet given themselves so unsparingly to the tasks they had undertaken, that in every instance most valuable service has been rendered to the student and the scholar, while in not a few instances their contributions form actual monographs within the limits assigned. His thanks are due to Messrs. A. and C. Black, the publishers of his editions of Jubilees, Martyrdom of Isaiah, Testament of the XII Patriarchs, Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, for permission to reprint the translation and make use of the introduction and notes contained in those editions. Finally, he would acknowledge his indebtedness to the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, who has acted throughout as his secretary and also made the General Index.

R. H. CHARLES.

24 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
March, 1913.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME I

BALL, C. J., M.A., D.Litt., Queen's College, University Lecturer in Assyriology, Oxford: *The Epistle of Jeremy.*

BENNETT, W. H., Litt.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, Hackney College, London: *The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children.*

BOX, G. H., M.A., formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford; Lecturer in Rabbinical Hebrew, King's College, London; Rector of Sutton, Beds.: *Sirach* (along with Dr. Oesterley).

COOK, S. A., M.A., Ex-Fellow and Lecturer in the Comparative Study of Religions, and Lecturer in Hebrew and Aramaic, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge: 1 *Esdras.*

COWLEY, A. E., M.A., D.Litt., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford: *Judith.*

DAVIES, T. WITTON, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages, University College, Bangor: *Bel and the Dragon.*

EMMET, CYRIL W., M.A., formerly Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Rector of West Hendred: 3 *Maccabees.*

GREGG, J. A. F., D.D., Archbishop King's Professor in Divinity, Trinity College, Dublin: *The Additions to Esther.*

HOLMES, SAMUEL, M.A., Lecturer in Theology, Jesus College, Oxford: *The Wisdom of Solomon.*

KAY, D. M., B.D., Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrews: *Susanna.*

MOFFATT, JAMES, D.D., Yates Professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis, Mansfield College, Oxford: 2 *Maccabees.*

OESTERLEY, W. O. E., D.D. (Cambridge): 1 *Maccabees*, *Sirach* (jointly with G. H. Box).

RYLE, RIGHT REV. BISHOP HERBERT E., D.D., Dean of Westminster; formerly Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Bishop of Exeter and Winchester: *The Prayer of Manasses.*

SIMPSON, D. C., M.A., Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew, St. Edmund Hall, and Reader in Hebrew and Old Testament in Manchester College, Oxford: *Tobit.*

WHITEHOUSE, O. C., M.A., D.D., Theological Tutor, Cheshunt College, Cambridge: 1 *Baruch.*

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME I[1]

§ 1. *The origin of the term apocryphal.*

How the term 'Apocryphal Books' (ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία) arose has not yet been determined. It did not, as Zahn (*Gesch. des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* I. i. 123 sq.), Schurer, Porter, N. Schmidt, and others maintain, originate in the Late Hebrew phrase ספרים גנוזים, 'hidden books.'[2] But Talmudic literature knows nothing of such a class. The Hebrew word *ganaz* (גנז) does not mean 'to hide', but 'to store away' things in themselves precious. Indeed, so far is it from being a technical term in reference to non-Canonical writings, that it is most frequently used in reference to the Canonical Scriptures themselves. When writings were wholly without the pale of the Sacred books—such as those of the heretics or Samaritans—they were usually designated *ḥiṣonim*, i.e. 'outside' (Sanh. x. 1 ספרים חצונים and ספרי המינים). To this class the Apocrypha were never relegated, save Sirach, according to a statement found only in Sanh. x. 1 in the Palestinian Talmud, where it is stated that 'whoso reads the outside books would have no part in the life to come'. But it is clear that there is some error either in the text or the interpretation; for Sirach is very frequently cited by the Rabbis (see the *Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus*, Cowley and Neubauer, pp. xix–xxx), and two passages of it (Sir. vii. 10 in Erubin 65ᵃ and xiii. 16 in Baba Qama 92ᵇ) are cited as belonging to the Hagiographa. The facts show that Sirach was read—read at all events for private edification though not in the synagogues.

§ 2. *Extent of the Jewish apocryphal writings.*

We are not here of course concerned with all Jewish apocryphal writings, but with those which were written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 120. The most notable of these in the past centuries were those which we may define as the Apocrypha Proper, i.e.

1 Esdras	Epistle of Jeremy	
2 Esdras	Additions to Daniel	The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children
Tobit	" "	Susanna
Judith	" "	Bel and the Dragon
Additions to Esther	Prayer of Manasses	
Wisdom of Solomon	1 Maccabees	
Ecclesiasticus or Sirach	2 Maccabees	
1 Baruch		

If we compare the collection of the Sacred books as they are found in the Hebrew Old Testament, the LXX, and the Vulgate, we shall find that the Apocrypha Proper constitutes the excess of the Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, and that this excess is borrowed from the LXX. But the official Vulgate (1592) does not include 1 and 2 Esdras (i.e. 4 Ezra in this edition) and the Prayer of Manasses among the Canonical Scriptures, but prints them as an appendix after the New Testament. The Roman Church excludes them from the Canon.[3] Only 1 Esdras is

[1] This Introduction is not intended to be a General Introduction to the Apocrypha, but only to bring forward a few important points in connexion with the Apocrypha.

[2] This error appears to have arisen from Aboth R. N., I. i, where it is said, 'Formerly because Proverbs, the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes, contained only proverbs, and did not belong to the Hagiographa, they were stored away (גנוזים) until the men of the Great Synagogue explained them.' Here many scholars have rendered the Hebrew word wrongly as 'hidden'.

[3] The rest of the Apocrypha Proper was declared to be Canonical by the Council of Trent (1546), which pronounced an anathema on the man who did not accept *libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis.*

found in the LXX. That 2 Esdras (i.e. 4 Ezra) was not incorporated can only have been due to an accident. Further, it is to be observed that, whereas 3 and 4 Maccabees and Psalm 151 are found in most manuscripts of the LXX, they are absent from the Vulgate and the Apocrypha Proper.

Thus the difference between the Protestant Canon and that of Rome represents the difference between the Canon of the Palestinian and the Alexandrian Jews. This difference is not due, as it was thought at one time, to the difference in the language of the originals—a view which appears as early as the controversy of Africanus with Origen; for, as we are now aware, the bulk of the Apocrypha was originally written in Hebrew.

But besides the Apocrypha Proper there was a vast body of literature in circulation in Judaism to which is now generally attached the term 'Pseudepigrapha', i.e. books written between 300 B.C. and A.D. 120 under the names of ancient worthies in Israel. Since these will be briefly dealt with in the Introduction to vol. ii we shall not discuss them here.

To the Apocrypha Proper in this volume we have added 3 Maccabees—a quasi-historical work—which is found in very many manuscripts of the LXX. It might have been advisable to have included also Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, which was written originally in Hebrew and possibly soon after A.D. 70. But this work has not yet been critically edited. Of lost apocrypha we might mention the *History of Johannes Hyrcanus*, mentioned in 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24, *Jannes and Mambres* (i.e. Jambres), *Book of Joseph and Asenath*.

§ 3. *Various meanings of the term 'apocryphal'.*

(1) In its earliest use this term (ἀπόκρυφος) was applied in a laudatory signification to writings which were withheld from public knowledge because they were vehicles of mysterious or esoteric wisdom which was too sacred or profound to be disclosed to any save the initiated. In this sense it is found in a magical book of Moses, which has been edited by Dieterich (*Abraxas* 169) and may be as old as the first century A.D. This book is entitled 'A sacred secret Book of Moses' (Μωυσέως ἱερὰ βίβλος ἀπόκρυφος).

But we have still earlier indications of the existence and nature of the Apocrypha in this sense. The Book of Daniel is represented as withheld from public knowledge until the time came for its publication: xii. 4, 'But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book, even unto the time of the end.' The writer of 1 Enoch speaks of his revelations as designed not for his own, i. 2, cviii. 1, but for the elect of later generations: xciii. 10

> And at its close shall be elected
> The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness,
> To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

Similarly, the writer of the Assumption of Moses enjoins that his book is to be preserved for a later period, i. 16–17. That with large bodies of the Jews this esoteric literature was as highly or more highly treasured than the Canonical Scriptures is clear from the claims made by the Rabbis on behalf of their oral, which was originally in essence an esoteric, tradition, since it was not to be committed to writing. Though they insisted on the exclusive canonicity of the twenty-four books, they claimed to be the possessors of an oral tradition that not only overshadowed but frequently displaced the written Law. In 4 Ezra xiv. 44 sq. we have a categorical statement as to the superior worth of this esoteric literature: 'So in forty days were written ninety-four books. And it came to pass when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Most High spake unto me saying: The twenty-four books[1] that thou hast written publish, that *the worthy and the unworthy may read* (*them*): But the seventy last thou shalt keep to deliver to the wise among thy people.

[1] The twenty-four books are, of course, the Old Testament: the seventy are the apocryphal, but especially the apocalyptic books.

For in them is the spring of understanding,
The fountain of wisdom,
And the stream of knowledge.'

In a like laudatory sense Gregory of Nyssa reckons the New Testament Apocalypse as ἐν ἀποκρύφοις (*Oratio in suam ordinationem*, III. 549: Ed. Migne).

(2) But the word was applied to writings that were withheld from public circulation, not on the ground of their transcendent worth, but because their value was confessedly secondary or questionable. Thus Origen differentiates writings that were read in public worship from apocryphal works (*Comm. in Matt.* x. 18, xiii. 57). This use became current, and prepared the way for the third and unfavourable sense of the word.

(3) The word came to be applied to what was false, spurious, or heretical. This meaning appears also in Origen, *Prolog. in Cant. Cantic.*: Lommatzsch, xiv. 325).

§ 4. *The attitude of the Christian Church to the Apocrypha.*

The degree of estimation in which the apocryphal books have been held in the Church has varied with age and place.

(1) The Greek Fathers such as Origen and Clement, who used the Greek Bible, which included these books, frequently cite them as 'scripture', 'Divine scripture', 'inspired', or the like. Later Greek Fathers[1] rejected in various ways this conception of the Canon, but it was accepted and maintained in the West by St. Augustine. Where the Greek differed from the Hebrew Augustine held that the difference was due to Divine inspiration, and that this difference was to be regarded as a sign that in the passage in question an allegorical—not a literal—interpretation was to be looked for. Since he habitually used a Latin Bible, which embraced the Apocrypha, he appealed to the authority of these books as of the rest of the Scriptures. The Council of Hippo (A.D. 393)[2] and that of Carthage (A.D. 397), at both of which Augustine was present respectively as a presbyter and a bishop, drew up a list of Canonical writings, which, though formed by Latin-speaking bishops, was the chief authority on which the Council of Trent based its own decision. In fact the list authoritatively issued by the Council of Hippo and that of Trent agree in nearly every respect, save that the Tridentine divines appear to have misunderstood the meaning of 1 and 2 Esdras in the list of the African Council. That in this list 1 Esdras meant the apocryphal book which Augustine acknowledged as Scripture (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36) and 2 Esdras meant the Canonical Ezra and Nehemiah there is no reason for doubt; but the Tridentine divines, taking 1 Esdras as = the Canonical Ezra and 2 Esdras as = the Canonical Nehemiah,[3] through a misunderstanding declared 1 Esdras (i.e. the apocryphal Esdras) apocryphal.

(2) On the other hand, teachers connected with Palestine and familiar with the Hebrew Canon, like Africanus and Jerome, declared all books outside the Hebrew Canon as apocryphal.

(3) Alongside these two opposing views arose a third which held that, though these books were not to be put in the same rank as those in the Hebrew collection, they nevertheless had their value for moral uses, and should be read in the Church services. Hence they were called 'ecclesiastical'—a designation that is found first in Rufinus (ob. A.D. 410). Notwithstanding many variations in the attitude of different authorities and councils these three opinions maintained their ground down to the Reformation.

At the Reformation the above ecclesiastical usages were transformed into articles of belief, which may be regarded as characteristic of the Churches by which they were adopted. As we have already remarked, the Council of Trent adopted the Canon of the Council of Hippo and of Augustine, declaring: 'If any one receive not, as sacred and canonical, the said books entire with

[1] In the next century Athanasius, in an Easter letter (A.D. 365), states that the books of the Old Testament were twenty-two in number according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Other books not included in the Canon, such as Wisdom, Sirach, Esther, Tobit, Judith, might be used for the instruction of catechumens. It is noteworthy here that the Maccabees are omitted, and Esther is treated as an apocryph.

[2] Zahn, *Gesch. des N. T. lichen Kanons*, II. i. 246–253.

[3] Council of Trent, April 8, 1546. 'Testamenti veteris . . . Esdrae primus et secundus, qui dicitur Nehemias.'

all their parts, as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate . . . let him be anathema.'[1] All the Apocrypha except 1 Esdras, 4 Ezra, and the Prayer of Manasses belonging to the Apocrypha Proper were declared Canonical.

On the other hand, the Protestant Churches have universally declared their adhesion to the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament. Yet amongst these a milder and a severer view prevailed. While in some Confessions, i.e. the Westminster, it is decreed that they are not 'to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings', a more favourable view is expressed regarding them in many other quarters; e.g. in the preface prefixed to them in the Genevan Bible: 'As books proceeding from godly men (they) were received to be read for the advancement and furtherance of the knowledge of history and for the instruction of godly manners: which books declare that at all times God had an especial care of His Church, and left them not utterly destitute of teachers and means to confirm them in the hope of the promised Messiah'; and in the Sixth Article of the Church of England: 'the other books the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners.'

In addition to the spiritual and moral service rendered by these books, the modern student recognizes that without them it is absolutely impossible to explain the course of religious development between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100. In this respect the Apocrypha is to be regarded as embracing the Pseudepigrapha as well. If the Canonical and Apocryphal Books are compared in reference to the question of inspiration, no unbiased scholar could have any hesitation in declaring that the inspiration of such a book as Wisdom or the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs is incomparably higher than that of Esther.

§ 5. *Editions—partial or complete—of the Apocrypha.*

Fritzsche und Grimm, *Kurzgef. exeget. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des A. T.*, 1851–60. Fritzsche, Lief. I, 3 *Esra, Zusätze zu Esther und Daniel, Gebet Manasses, Baruch, Brief Jer.*; II. *Tobit und Judith*; V. *Sirach*. Grimm, Lief. III, 1 *Makk.*; IV. 2–4 *Makk.*; VI. *Wisdom*.

E. C. Bissell, *The Apocrypha of the Old Testament, with historical Introductions and Notes Critical and Explanatory*, New York, 1880. This work contains the Apocrypha Proper (though 2 Esdras (i. e. 4 Ezra) is added in an Appendix); also 3 Macc. and a summary of 4 Macc. In a second Appendix a short account is given of some of the Pseudepigrapha.

Wace, *Apocrypha* (in the 'Speaker's Commentary'), 2 vols., London, 1888. This edition is furnished with a good introduction by Salmon. The various books are edited by different English scholars.

O. Zöckler, *Die Apokr. des A. T. nebst einem Anhang über die Pseudepigraphenliteratur*, 1891.

Ball, *The Ecclesiastical or Deutero-Canonical Books of the Old Testament, commonly called the Apocrypha* (1892).

Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols., Tübingen, 1900. This is the best work that has hitherto appeared on this literature as a whole. But many parts of it are already antiquated.

§ 6. *General literature dealing directly or indirectly with the period of this literature.*[2]

Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie* (1880). The last edition of this work was published under the title *Lehre des Talmuds*, 1897.

Bacher, *Die Aggada der Tannaiten*, 2 vols., 1884–90.

Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii, Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens (by O. Holtzmann). 1888.

Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, 2 vols., 1888.

Bois, *Essai sur les origines de la philosophie judéo-Alexandrine*, 1890.

Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 1890.

[1] This decree of the Council of Trent was ratified by fifty-three prelates, 'among whom (Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, 257) there was not one German, not one scholar distinguished by historical learning, not one who was fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in which the truth could only be determined by the voice of antiquity.'

[2] This list includes only a few of the works interesting to the student of this literature.

Smith, G. A., *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1894, 1901[7].
Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895.
Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 1896.
Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1896.
Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898.
Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, 1898.
Kent, *A History of the Jewish People*, Part III, 1899.
Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*[5], 1901.
Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*[3], 1898–1901.
Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2 vols., 1902.
Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Aqiba*, 1903.
Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1903, 1906[2].
Baldensperger, *Die Messianisch-Apokalyptische Hoffnungen des Judenthums*, 1903.
Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers*, 1905.
Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judenthums im Zeitalter Jesu*, 1905.
Marti, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*[5], 1907. See Sections V and VI.
Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 1907.
Kent, *The Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets from the Beginning of the Assyrian Period to the End of the Maccabean Struggle*, 1910.
H. Pentin, *International Journal of Apocrypha*.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME I

P. 60 (1 Macc.), l. 28 from bottom, *delete comma after* 'although'

P. 99, l. 29 from bottom, *read* 'v. 25' *for* '*v.* 25'

P. 118, l. 20 from bottom, *read* 'Sion' *for* 'Zion'

P. 123, l. 3 from top, *read* 'enemies'' *for* 'enemies'

P. 174. The evidence referred to in § 3 will be published in the *J. T. S.*, July, 1913, under the title: 'Original Text of Tobit'.

P. 197 (Tobit), l. 26 from top, *read* 'eternal' *for* 'external'

P. 534. To the literature *add* 'Goodrick, *The Book of Wisdom*, 1913'—a very valuable commentary.

P. 559 (Wisdom). In xv. 5 *for* 'leadeth fools into lust' (*which gives the sense well*) *render more literally* 'for fools leadeth into lust'.

P. 579 (1 Baruch), l. 25 from bottom, *read* '130 A. D.' *for* '130 B. C.'

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN INTRODUCTIONS, TEXT AND NOTES

See special lists as under :—

1 Esdras	vol. I. 19, 20.
Tobit	,, I. 201.
Sirach	vol. I. 315.
Prayer of Manasses	,, I. 620.
1 Enoch	,, II. 187.
Test. XII Patr.	vol. II. 295.
2 Baruch	,, II. 475.
4 Ezra	,, II. 560.

See also under Versions and MSS. in the different books.

A[1] &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7
A.J.Th.	*American Journal of Theology*
Aboth	Pirkē Aboth
Ab. R. Nathan	= Aboth Rabbi Nathan
ἀπ. λεγ. or εἰρ. ἅπαξ λεγόμενον or εἰρημένον	
Apoc. Abrah.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc. of Baruch	= 2 Baruch
Apoc. Zeph.	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
Aq.	Aquila
Ar.	Arabic
Aram. Frag.	Aramaic Fragment. See Test. *App.* II
Arm.	Armenian
Asc. Is.	Ascension of Isaiah
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
Aug.	Augustine
B[1] &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7
B.D.	*Bible Dictionary*
B.S.	Deissmann, *Biblical Studies*
1 Bar.	Apocryphal Book of Baruch
2 Bar.	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3 Bar.	Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
Ber. Rabb.	Bereshith rabba
Berach. or Berakh.	= Berachoth
Beresh.	Bereshith
C.I.G.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
C.O.T.	*Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* See K.A.T.
Cat. Niceph.	Catalogue of Nicephorus
Chag.	Chagigah (Talmud)
Chron. Pasch.	= *Chronicon Paschale*
Clem. Alex.	Clement of Alexandria
Clem. Recog.	*Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions*
Cod.	Codex
D.B.	*Dictionary of the Bible*
Dan.	Daniel
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
E.A.	See 4 Ezra, § 7, and ii. 560
E.B. or Bi.	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*
Edd.	Editions
1 En.	1 Enoch or Ethiopian Enoch
2 En.	2 Enoch or Slavonic Enoch
Encyc. Brit.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica*
Ep. Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy
Epiph.	Epiphanius
Eth.	Ethiopic
Eus.	Eusebius
Ev. Nicod.	*Evangelium Nicodemi*
4 Ez.	Fourth Book of Ezra
Fayum P.	Fayum Papyri
Fr. or Frag.	Fragment
𝔊	Greek Version
G. d. Jud.	*Geschichte des Judenthums*
G.J.V.	Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*
G.V.I.	*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*
Gen. rabb.	Genesis rabba
Gk.	Greek
Gk. Frag.	Greek Fragment. See Test. *App.* II
Gr.	Grimm
Gr. of O.T.	*Greek Grammar of Old Testament Greek* (Thackeray)
H.D.B.	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*
H.J.P.	*History of the Jewish People*
Heb. Gr.	Hebrew Grammar
Herm.	Hermas, *Pastor*
Hes.	Hesiod
Hiph.	Hiphil
Hom.	Homer
Il.	Iliad
Int. Crit. Comm.	= *International Critical Commentary*
Intr.	Introduction
J.E.	*Jewish Encyclopaedia*
J.Q.R.	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
J.T.S.	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Jalkut Schim.	= Jalkut Shimeoni
Jashar	Book of Jashar
Jer. Joma &c.	= Joma in Jerusalem Talmud
Jerus. Targ.	Jerusalem Targum
Jos. *Ant.* &c.	Josephus, *Antiquities*, &c.
Jub.	Book of Jubilees
Jüd. Theol.[2]	*Jüdische Theologie*[2] (Weber)
K.	Kautzsch
K.A.T.	Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*
Kit.	Kittel
L.A.E.	Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*
L.d.T.	Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmuds*
L. & S.	Liddell and Scott
LXX.	Septuagint Version
Lact.	Lactantius
Lib. V.T.	*Libri Veteris Testamenti*
Luc.	Lucian
Lucr.	Lucretius
MS.	Manuscript
MT.	Massoretic Text
1 Macc. &c.	First, &c., Book of Maccabees
Macrob.	Macrobius
Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiah
Mass.	Massoretic
Megill.	Megilla
Menach.	Menachoth (Talmud)
Mg.	Margin
Midr.	Midrash
N.H.W.	*Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*
N.T.	New Testament
O.T.	Old Testament
Onk.	Onkelos, Targum of
Onom. Sacr.	*Onomasticon Sacrum*
Or. Sibyll.	Sibylline Oracles
Orph. Frag.	Orphic Fragment
P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund
P.P.	Petrie Papyri
P.R. Eliezer	Pirke Rabbi Eliezer
P.R.E.	*Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche*
P.S.B.A.	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
Pesikt.	Pesikta
Ps. Clem. Recog.	= Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions
Ps. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Ps. of Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
R.	Rabbi
R.E.	*Real-Encyklopädie*
R.E.J.	*Revue des Études juives*
Rel. des Jud.	*Religion des Judenthums*
Sam.	Samaritan
Sam. Chron.	Samaritan Chronology
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Schürer, E.T.	Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*, English Translation
Sept.	Septuagint
Shabb.	Shabbath
Sir.	Sirach
Slav. Bar.	See vol. ii. 131
Slav. Vit.	Slavonic *Vita Adae et Evae.* See Books of Adam and Eve
Soph.	Sophocles
Stob.	Stobaeus
Symm.	Symmachus
Syncell.	Syncellus
Syr.	Syriac
Syr. H.	Hexaplaric Syriac
Syr. W.	Syriac Version in Walton's Polyglot
Sok.	Sokolov's Text of 2 Enoch
T.A. &c.	See under 'Testaments' in list of symbols prefixed to Index.
T.b.	Babylonian Talmud
Targ. Jer.	Jerusalem Targum
Targ. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Th. *Gram.*	Thackeray, *Grammar of Old Testament Greek*
Theod.	Theodotion
Theoph.	Theophilus
Tebt. P.	Tebtuneh Papyrus
Tert.	Tertullian
Test.	Testament
Test. Sim.	See vol. ii. 153
Test. XII Patr.	= Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
Tisch.	Tischendorf
Tob.	Tobit
V.L. or Vet. Lat.	= Versio Vetus Latina, Old Latin Version
Vit. Ad.	Vita Adae
Vulg.	Vulgate
W.P.	Walton's Polyglot
Wellh.	Wellhausen
Wisd.	Book of Wisdom
Z.A.T.W.	*Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft*
Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
Z.N.T.W.	*Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft*
Z.W.T. or Z.f.W.T.	= *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*

[ ]	indicate an intrusion into the original text
† †	indicate that the word or passage so enclosed is corrupt
( )	or italics indicate that the word or words so enclosed or printed are supplied for the sake of clearness.
+	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted insert the word or words following this mark.
>	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted omit the word or words following this mark.
⟨ ⟩	indicate a restoration in the text.
Thick type	indicates an emendation in the text.

I ESDRAS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Preliminary Account of the Book.

The first book of the Apocrypha stands in a class by itself in that it is, with the exception of one portion, a somewhat free Greek version of the biblical history from Josiah's Passover (2 Chron. xxxv.) to the Reading of the Law by Ezra (Neh. viii.). It differs, however, in several important particulars both from the corresponding canonical passages and from the more literal Greek translation of them (also preserved in the Septuagint), and an adequate treatment of its text and contents belongs properly to the commentaries and handbooks on Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Consequently, in order to keep the Introduction and Notes within limits, it has seemed desirable to print the Revised Version of the 'apocryphal' and 'canonical' passages side by side, and to restrict all remarks to those points which appeared to be essential for the study of the relation between the texts and their significance for the period which they cover. Further reference to the commentaries and other works dealing with the period in question is therefore recommended.

The contents of 1 Esdras comprise :—

E i.[1] = 2 Chron. xxxv. 1–xxxvi. 21. Josiah's passover and death; the last kings of Judah to the fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C.

ii. 1–15. = E i. The decree of Cyrus permitting the rebuilding of the Temple and the return of Sheshbazzar with the temple-vessels and a band of exiles, 538–537.

ii. 16–30. = E iv. 7–24. The Samaritan opposition to the rebuilding in the reign of Artaxerxes, 465–425.

iii. 1–v. 6. wanting in E. The successful oration of Zerubbabel, one of the bodyguard of *Darius*, in the second year of his reign (D. I, Hystaspes, 521–486), and the king's decree permitting a return of exiles to rebuild the city and Temple; brief statement of the journey.

v. 7–73. = E ii. 1–iv. 5, 24 (*v.* 6 is wanting). List of Zerubbabel's band, the rebuilding of the Temple hindered by the Samaritans from the time of *Cyrus* to the second year of Darius (520).

vi.–vii. = E v.–vi. The successful rebuilding of the Temple through the intervention of Darius in 520, and its completion in 516.

viii. 1–ix. 36 = E vii.–x. The decree of Artaxerxes in his seventh year (458), the return of Ezra and a body of exiles, the separation of the people from the foreign wives.

ix. 37–55 = N vii. 73–viii. 13 *a*. The reading of the law by Ezra, placed in N *l. c.* after the return of Nehemiah in the king's twentieth year (444).

The outstanding features are :—

(1) The presence of the Artaxerxes record before the reign of Darius, whether after the return of Sheshbazzar (*E* ii. 16–30) or after the commencement of the rebuilding by Zerubbabel (E iv. 7–24), both of which are placed in the time of Cyrus.

(2) The inclusion of *E* iii. 1–v. 6, the story famous for the Praise of Truth and the well-known dictum 'magna est veritas et praevalet', and the decree of Darius (which excludes any prior return).

(3) The confusion caused by the presence of this section (*E* iii. 1–v. 6) in the history of the exiles who returned in the time of Cyrus (*E* ii. 1–15 = E 1) and at once commenced the work of rebuilding (*E* v. 7–73 = E ii.–iv.).

(4) The omission in *E* of N i.–vii. 72, with the result that the continuation of the story of Ezra (N viii.) is placed in immediate connexion with E vii.–x., whereas the canonical books leave a gap of twelve years between E vii.–x. and N i. seqq.

(5) Numerous readings in *E* of greater or less value, which are often important for the textual criticism of the MT, and sometimes affect the literary and historical problems of the sources.

E ceases abruptly; cf. the close of 2 Chron., 'and let him go up' (=E i. 3), also Mark xvi. 8. The R.V. rendering of ix. 55 implies that this is intentional (so Ewald, Bissell, Lupton, Bayer, and others). Hence it is often supposed that *E* is a self-contained work, written and compiled for some

[1] For the abbreviations *E*, E, N, &c., see below, p. 19 seq.

specific purpose, e.g. to influence Gentiles in favour of the Jews, or (Lupton) to prepare the way for the building of the temple of Onias at Alexandria, or simply, perhaps, to bring together narratives relating to the Temple ; cf. the conclusion of $\mathfrak{L}^{c}$ 'explicit Esdrae liber primus de templi restitutione'. But the feature may also be explained on the view that the book, which begins somewhat abruptly, is merely a fragment of a larger work (Michaelis, Eichhorn, Trendelenburg, Rödiger, Treuenfels, Howorth, Torrey, and others). This raises several interesting questions ; in particular, ix. 38–55 belong in N viii. to the concluding chapters of Ezra's history, and it is very noteworthy that Josephus finishes his account of Ezra before his introduction of Nehemiah—what was the original sequel of *E* ? Moreover, not only was *E* used by this orthodox Jewish historian, the book was important enough to find a place in the Greek Bible, it was known to early Christian writers, and is referred to in terms which indicate that its canonicity and value were not doubtful (see § 2).

Now, the criticism of the O.T. has advanced sufficiently to prove that the biblical records E–N bristle with the most intricate and serious difficulties, the extent of which is manifest in the widely-differing conclusions that prevail. As can be seen from other sources (see § 4, iv. *c*), the history of the Persian period is plunged in obscurity, upon which some light has only recently been shed by contemporary records (Babylonian inscriptions, Jewish-Aramaic papyri from Upper Egypt). It can no longer be assumed that the MT necessarily represents a more trustworthy record of the age, and that *E* is necessarily arbitrary and methodless. Both share fundamental imperfections. *E*, therefore, in any case deserves impartial consideration, and its problems involve those of E–N. These problems, owing to the absence of decisive and independent evidence, can be handled only provisionally ; but enough is clear to permit the conclusion that *E* represents a text in some respects older than the *present* MT, to which, however, some attempt seems to have been made to conform it (cf. Ewald, 138 n. 6 ; Howorth, *PSBA*, xxiii. 306 seq.). From a comparison of both with Jos. and other sources (notably Daniel) it would further appear that *E* represents one of the efforts to give an account of a period, the true course of which was confused and forgotten, if not intentionally obscured ; different attempts were made to remove difficulties and inconsistencies, and the desire to give greater prominence to the priestly Ezra than to the secular governor Nehemiah is probably responsible for the arrangement of the extant texts.

E–N and *E* (with Jos.) exhibit diverging views of the history. But *E*, even in its present incomplete form, overlaps with Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah, and since it provides a distinctly paraphrastic and free rendering of the MT, it seems probable that when it was superseded by the more literal Greek translation—of Theodotion (cf. the two Greek texts of Daniel)—this confused and self-contradictory book (or fragment) was preserved mainly on account of the excellent story of Zerubbabel (cf. Howorth, *PSBA*, xxiv. 167). To the Jews, both Zerubbabel and Nehemiah pale before the growing majesty of Ezra ; to the early Christians, the Praise of Truth was a familiar passage, and Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36) saw in it a prophecy of Christ.[1] Dating, apparently, about the first century B. C., *E*'s view of history was familiar to Josephus and his readers, to the Hellenist Jews, and to the Christians. The form in E–N, with the omission of the story of Zerubbabel (and the chronological confusions which attend it), represents that of the Rabbinical schools, and subsequently (through Jerome) of the Christian Church. Through these vicissitudes *E* fell into unmerited neglect, and by this omission (apparently intentional) there was removed a story which could not fail to interest the Christians—for it is surely significant that although the two genealogies of Jesus are hopelessly inconsistent, the two lines of ancestry of 'David's greater Son' converge in the person of Zerubbabel.

§ 2. Title and Standing.

The book is known as (1) Esdras A or 1 Esdras, so $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$, $\mathfrak{L}$, $\mathfrak{S}$, and English Bibles since the Geneva edition of 1560 (where the name 'Ezra' is reserved for the canonical book) ; or (2) as Esdras B or 2 Esdras, so $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ (where 1 Es. = Ezra and Nehemiah) ; or (3) as 3 Esdras, so Latin Bibles since Jerome, the 'Great Bible' of 1539, and also the Anglican Article VI in the Prayer-book. The name 3 *Paraleipomenōn* (i.e. Chronicles) is found in a Florentine Greek MS., cf. the title *Sermones Dierum* (the Heb. title of Chron.) *Esdrae* in Hilary's list (H. B. Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, 210). It is also styled *Tertius Neemiae* by Franciscus Robles, 1532 (Lupton, 4). A convenient name for the book is the 'Greek Ezra', to distinguish it from the other and literal translation of the canonical books.[2]

[1] A late Midrash (Jellinek, ii. 54–7) makes Zerubbabel the centre of 'a short apocalypse on the certainty of the ultimate appearance of the Messiah son of David, on his precursor the Messiah son of Joseph, and on their friends and foes' (Ew. 128).

[2] On the title ὁ ἱερεύς in $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ (to distinguish *E* from 2 or 4 Esdras of the Apocrypha?), see Nestle, 29.

It is a significant fact that, as emphasized by Whiston in 1722, the Jewish historian Josephus uses *E* for his account of King Josiah, follows its order of events, and is influenced by its language, although for the other books he employs the LXX. Equally significant is the appearance of *E* with the canonical E–N in the best Greek MSS., either before (𝔊^{BA}, and presumably ℵ) or after (𝔊^{L}) these. It is quoted by several early Greek and Latin Fathers,[1] and Augustine and Origen cite iv. 41 and 59 respectively from 'Esdras' without indicating that another than the canonical book is meant. Moreover, a Greek synopsis (Lag. 84) and a Syriac Catena (see on *E* ix. 55) treat *E* as 1 Esdras, and give the title 2 Esdras to N[2]. But Jerome meanwhile had condemned the two apocryphal books of Esdras with their 'dreams' (*Praef. Esd. et Neh.*), and his ruling was confirmed in due course by the Church. *E* is wanting in the early MSS. of the Vulgate, and it was rejected by the Council of Florence (1442). It is found in the Latin bibles of 1474, 1480, &c., but is regarded as apocryphal by De Lyra (1498), Karlstadt (1520), and Stephanus (1528). It is wanting in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17), and Luther ignored it—though not perhaps primarily (Bayer, 6 seq.) —for its triviality. There was even a belief that it did not exist in Greek (Torrey, 13 n. 1). The Council of Trent rejected it in 1546, but it is printed in an appendix in small type in the Tridentine edition of the Vulgate. Although it appears as 1 Esdras in the 1587 edition of the Septuagint (Rome), it was omitted three years later from the Sixtine Vulgate (Rome, 1590). In spite of the occasional attention paid to it by a few scholars, *E* has since too often been overlooked and neglected, and has only recently come into deserved prominence through the persistence of Sir Henry H. Howorth from 1893 onwards (see further Torrey, 13 seqq.).

E, on closer inspection, proves to be no free or less careful treatment of the Greek translation of the canonical books, as had been held by Keil, Zöckler, Bissell, König (*Einleitung*, § 97), and formerly Schürer (contrast his *Gesch. Volk. Isr.*, 3rd ed., iii. 328). There is an overwhelming body of opinion that it is translated from a Semitic (Hebrew and Aramaic) original. There are, it is true, various readings, identical or apparently connected with the literal Greek translation, but they do not outweigh the many considerable and characteristic differences of rendering, the variations in the transliteration or translation of proper names, and the numerous readings in *E* which can be explained only from the MT (see especially Bayer, 156 seqq.). That *E* is an independent version older than the 𝔊 of the canonical books was suggested by Grotius (1644, see *PSBA*, xxv. 139), Whiston (1722), Pohlmann (1859), Ewald (1864), Lagarde (1874), and others, and has since been more cogently shown by Howorth and Torrey. It is pointed out that the 𝔊 of E–N presents features characteristic of Theodotion's translation (viz. transliteration of gentilics, and of difficult or uncertain words) and parallel to his translation of Daniel. The 𝔊 of *E*, on the other hand, as Gwynn also noticed, finds parallels in the 'Septuagint' text of Daniel, especially the first six chapters. Moreover, the 𝔖 of *E* claims to be made from the Septuagint, and it is very probable that *E* took the place of the 𝔊 of E–N in Origen's Hexapla. Volz, however, has properly drawn attention to the varying quality of the different sections of *E*, a feature which 'excludes the supposition that the Greek version can have been produced *aus einem Guss*'. In general, all the evidence tends to show that *E* held a more authoritative position than has been usually conceded to it (in consequence of Jerome), but that its unevenness as a translation and the complexity of its contents make its true origin and structure a more intricate problem.[3]

§ 3. Text Versions, Date, etc.

(*a*) *Character of Translation.* *E*, on account of its peculiar relationship to the O.T., cannot be studied textually apart from the versions based directly upon the MT (see more fully, Torrey 62–114). While the 𝔊 of E–N is un-Greek, literal and mechanical, *E* is the very reverse of servile, and its language both elegant and idiomatic. The vocabulary is extensive, containing several words that occur nowhere else in 'Septuagint' Greek, or only in other books of the Apocrypha, notably 2 Macc. (see Moulton's list, *ZATW*, xix. 232 seqq.). Semitic idioms are usually happily replaced by natural Grecisms. There is often a free treatment of the article, pronouns, and conjunctions; hypotaxis for the parataxis of MT; active verbs for passive. Condensation, paraphrase, and re-arrangement are frequent, and the translator has generally made the best of the original text, gliding over or concealing the difficulties. Sometimes he has misunderstood the original; but the rendering is carefully worded and thus presents an apparently plausible result (see e.g. i. 10–12, 38, 51). He

[1] e.g. Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius; see Pohlmann, 263 seqq., and the tables in André, 22 seqq.

[2] Augustine, also, in a list of canonical books (*de doctr. Christ.* ii. 8) enumerates two books of Ezra 'of which our 1 Esd. was certainly one' (Volz). See, on the other hand, Bayer, 4.

[3] See Howorth, *PSBA*, xxiii. 156 seqq., xxiv. 164 seqq., xxix. 31 seqq., xxxiii. 26 seqq.; Torrey, ib. xxv. 139 seqq., and his *Ezra Studies*, Chap. I; J. Gwynn, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, 'Theodotion', and *Extracts from the Syro-Hex. Version of the LXX* (London, 1909), xx. seqq.

manifests his intelligence when the skilful paronomasia ἄνεσιν καὶ ἄφεσιν (iv. 62), suggestive of a Greek *composer*, goes back none the less to a Semitic original (cf. Susanna, 54 seqq.), and the use of the name Sisinnes (vi. 3) in place of the MT Tattenai is typical of his care. *E*, it is clear, was made to be read, it is a version rather than a translation, and its value for the criticism of the MT must not blind us to its imperfections (on which see Bayer, 11 seqq.). Consequently, a mean must be sought between a promiscuous and haphazard use of *E* and a whole-hearted though indiscriminate reliance upon its readings and paraphrases. The attempt must invariably be made to distinguish between the underlying text and the features which (as in the Septuagint elsewhere) are due to the translator alone, and the difficulty of this task in certain crucial cases is vital for the disentanglement of the problems of *E*.[1]

(*b*) *E and the MT.* It is abundantly plain that *E* is not derived from the 𝔊 (Theodotion) of the Canonical Books. Where there is agreement, the evidence points to accident or absence of intention, and is not strong enough to prove dependence (see the most recent study by Bayer, 156–61). In certain cases where they agree against the MT they sometimes are due to an easy misunderstanding, and sometimes point to a preferable reading; now and then the more literal version alone preserves an older text. It is highly significant that *E* is occasionally conflate, and presents simple doublets (e.g. ii. 25, vi. 29, ix. 8, 46), or more elaborate combinations made with some little care (e.g. v. 50, 58, 72 seq., vi. 5, 10, &c. [see Marq. 44–7]). This revision appears to have been made from the MT, and *E* vi. 25 actually presents the incorrect 'new' (חדת) of the MT by the side of the correct 'one' (חד). Revision has also been made for the purpose of removing difficulties (so, probably v. 73*b*, in view of the date in vi. 1), or of making identifications (Zerubbabel, vi. 18, 27, 29). These adjustments, which are not found in Theodotion, seem to have been made first in the Greek version, and thus might appear to confirm the view that *E* is based upon an earlier Greek version (Ewald). The question of the underlying original, however, would still remain, and it is very important to notice that not only does *E* often presuppose a better text than the MT, but that some of the readings raise questions of literary structure and historical criticism. Consequently, *E* is not directly based either upon Theodotion's literal translation or the extant MT; the marks of revision point rather to an attempt to adjust to the MT an earlier version which differed from it in some material respects, large (nos. 1, 2, 4, on p. 1 above) and small (e.g. v. 39 seq., 47, vi. 28, vii. 1, ix. 38, 49).[2]

(*c*) *MSS. and Versions.* The GREEK MSS. fall into two main classes, (1) Lucianic (MSS. 19, 108), and (2) B, A, &c. The former stand in a class by themselves, reveal many signs of correction and improvement in order to agree with the MT, and can be used only with great caution (see Torrey, 106 seqq.). The latter comprise two main subdivisions, B and A. B is distinctly the inferior, but shows fewer traces of correction. For a full grouping of all the MSS., see the elaborate discussion by Moulton, *ZATW*, xix. 211 seqq. ℵ, it may be added, lacks *E*, but its subscription Εσδρας β (N xiii. 31) presupposes an 'Esdras A.'

Two old LATIN translations were printed by Sabatier (*Bibl. Sacr. Lat.* iii. 1041 seqq.), with a collation of MS. Sangermanensis—𝔏ᶜ (Cod. Colbertinus; no. 3703), and a later which in a revised form was used as the Vulgate. A summary from a Lucca MS. was edited by Lagarde, *Sept. Stud.* ii. 16 seqq. (𝔏 Lag.). These differ from, and, on the whole, are purer than 𝔊ᴸ.

The SYRIAC Peshitta is without Chron., Ezra, and Neh. *E* 𝔖 is the Syro-Hexapla of Paul of Tella, printed in Walton's Polyglot and by Lagarde (*Lib. Vet. Test. Apocr. Syr.*, 1861). It is explicitly said to be from the Septuagint, and the same is stated at the head of a collection of excerpts in the old Syriac Catena, British Museum, Add. 12168 (see on ix. 55). The variants of the latter and its selections from N are printed by Torrey, 5 seqq., and these selections, with a retranslation into Greek, collation, and complete introductory discussion by Gwynn (see p. 3 n. 3). 𝔖 has many points of contact with 𝔊ᴸ, especially in i. 1–9, but on the whole a relationship with 𝔊ᴮ is more distinct.

The ETHIOPIC translation (ed. Dillmann, *Vet. Test. Aeth.*, Vol. V) represents the text of 𝔊ᴮ, 𝔖, &c., in contrast to 𝔊ᴬ, and, according to Torrey (101), 'is a valuable witness to the Hexaplar text. It must have been made with unusual care from a comparatively trustworthy codex.'

The Arabic translation awaits study (*PSBA*, xxiv. 169); the Armenian is valueless (Volz, § 2).

(*d*) *Josephus.* The Jewish historian (first cent. A.D.), with his continuous history of the monarchy and post-exilic age, stands nearest (of extant compilations) to the chronicler in point of antiquity. He is a valuable exponent of the attempt to weave heterogeneous material into a readable and more or less consistent whole, and his greatest claim to attention lies in the evidence he

[1] On the general features of *E's* version, see further Moulton, 226; Thackeray, 760*a*; Torrey, 83 seq.

[2] For the textual value of *E* see, in addition to the commentaries on E–N, the discussions by Riessler (*Biblische Zeitschrift*, v. 146 seqq.) and Bayer.

furnishes for a comparative study of the traditions encircling the names and events of the period from Josiah to the Samaritan schism. Jos. is the earliest witness to *E*; the relationship is unmistakable as regards material and even language (Eichhorn, *Einleit. Apokr.* [1795], 347 seqq.; Treuenfels, *Der Orient* [1850–1]; H. Bloch, *Quellen d. Fl. Jos.* [1879], 69 seqq.). There are several points of agreement with $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ as against $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ (Thackeray, 762 *b*), and also with $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$; Torrey (103) assigns the text an intermediate position. Unfortunately, Jos. is often extremely paraphrastic, and is therefore no safe guide for restoring the original of *E*. None the less, it is noteworthy that he is without the faults of *E* i. 29, 34 seq., he presupposes a text more complete and older than that in vi. 18, viii. 55, he uses a slightly different version of iii. (see Büchler, 64, 100), and, while obviously harmonizing in some places, elsewhere presents singular divergences or additions which do not appear to be arbitrary. In particular, his treatment of the stories of E and N is highly suggestive (see appendix to note on ix. 55). Besides utilizing the canonical sources (Jer., Dan., Est.), he has had access (as in Est.) to other Jewish traditions (see on vii. 15), and possessed some acquaintance with external history (see p. 11, and on i. 25). But although Jos. is not a direct witness to *E*'s text—and G. Hölscher has suggested that he made use of Alexander Polyhistor (*Quellen d. Jos.* [1904], 36, 43 seqq., 51)—he testifies to the authority of *E*'s history, and it is unnecessary to assume (Swete, Thackeray, Bayer, 140) that he used it simply because it was written in good Greek.

(*e*) *Date and place.* While Jos. is evidence for the earlier existence of *E*, it is not certain that it then had precisely its present form. As a translation the linguistic features suggest that it belongs to the time of the old Greek translation of Daniel, and was perhaps due to the same translator (Torrey, 84 seq.). The date of the original is bound up with that of Chron.-Ez.-Neh., and must be some time after 333 B.C. The Persian period was past, and its history had become obscure, the identity of Darius and Apame (iv. 29) was forgotten, and the points of contact with Dan. and Est. (not necessarily in their present form), would suggest the late Greek age. The problem also involves the question whether iii. 1–v. 6 is a secondary insertion or part of the original compilation, and this naturally affects the discussion of the home of the book (see pp. 29, 32). Although the section seems to some scholars to point to the influence of Alexandrian thought and philosophy (Lupton, André, Thackeray, Volz), to others it is Palestinian (Zunz), or not necessarily Alexandrian (Torrey). The identification of Apame speaks for Egypt or Antioch; the knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem (v. 47, ix. 38) is not that of the compiler or translator but of his source, and therefore cannot be claimed to support a Palestinian home. Egypt is suggested by the free irony in iii., iv., the unveiled women (iv. 18), the references to navigation (iv. 15, 23), and piracy (*v.* 27), and elsewhere by the use of Coelesyria (see ii. 17). Thackeray (762 *a*) compares the 'friends' of the king (viii. 26; E $\mathfrak{G}$ σύμβουλοι) with the 'first friends' who were third in scale of the courtiers at Alexandria, and with ἂν φαίνηται σοι (ii. 21, not in E) the phrase ἐὰν φαίνηται in Aristeas and frequently in Egyptian papyri. In so far as these data point to Egypt one may recall the interest in history-writing among the Hellenists Demetrios, Eupolemos, Artapanos, Alexander Polyhistor and others.

(*f*) *English versions.* It may be added that the old Geneva Bible, according to Lupton (6), is 'in some respects closer to the Greek than that of 1611'. Various improvements to the A.V. are suggested by Ball in the *Variorum Apocrypha*, and even the R.V. is not such an advance as might have been anticipated. Note, for example, the archaic 'Artaxerxes his letters' (ii. 30), 'cousin' (iii. 7), 'Jewry' (v. 7), and the gliding over of the obscurities of an imperfect $\mathfrak{G}$ in viii. 8, and especially in the concluding words, ix. 55.

§ 4. Problems of Literary and Historical Criticism.

I. *The Period.*

The problems of *E* and its relation to E–N involve that more complete and continuous series Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah which is united by sequence of contents and the recurrence throughout of similar features of language, interest, standpoint, and compilation. The 'chronicler's history'[1] of the post-exilic period deals with the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.), the return from exile under Zerubbabel and Jeshua, the reorganization of the Jewish people, the restoration of the Temple and

[1] By 'chronicler' is meant the hand which, by writing, compiling, or revising, brought the three consecutive books into practically their present form. Owing to the complexity of the compilation the term may not be an adequate one, but there seems no reason to doubt that there has been a single editorial process *at some stage in the literary growth* (the objections of Jampel, i. 108, 112, 115 seqq., and Davies, 16 are unnecessary). In any case, historical criticism cannot start from the untrustworthiness of Chronicles, and minimize the extent of the 'chronicler' in E–N (Davies, 16 seq.), or exaggerate it (Torrey, 145 seqq., on the E-story), or assume that all other records are necessarily relatively superior (so apparently Meyer, *Entstehung*). See below, pp. 17–19.

the furtherance of religious conditions, the separation from the Samaritans and other non-Israelite neighbours, and the inauguration of a church under the Mosaic Law. It is the period during which a considerable portion of the O.T., after passing through the hands of Judaean writers and editors, was reaching its present form, and the sole consecutive canonical source for this period, the chronicler's work, cannot be dated before the Greek age (333 B. C.). This source ignores all events between 586 and the decree of Cyrus, and omits other details which also refer to the period (see e. g. 2 Kings xxv. 22–30, Jer. xl.–xliv., lii. 28–34, Daniel, Esther). This feature, like the failure to record the history of (north) Israel after the fall of Samaria, cannot be wholly unintentional. Interest is concentrated upon exiles and reformers from Babylon, and upon their labours in rebuilding the Temple and in purifying religious and social conditions in the face of opposition within and without. A new and reformed Jewish community with its new Temple is linked historically with the old Judah of the Monarchy and the Temple of Solomon. The climax is reached partly in the great Covenant inaugurated by Ezra (N x.), after the Introduction of the Law (444 B. C.), and partly in the Samaritan schism initiated by Nehemiah (N xiii.). But such are the gaps and the one-sided standpoints that the records cannot be said to give us objective history. We have, rather, specific representations of certain events of vast importance for post-exilic Judaism, and, just as the account of the settlement of the old Israelite tribes in the land of their ancestors is found to contain conflicting traditions and the gravest difficulties, so also here, the compilation as a whole is dominated by certain larger views which tend to obscure the contradictions and intricacies that arise in any critical study of the data. In both cases the method of criticism is similar, and unfortunately the evidence is frequently insufficient for any confident recovery of the actual events during that period which is of such profound importance for the study of the O.T.[1]

II. *The Age of Cyrus and Darius.*

(*a*) *Paucity of trustworthy evidence.* It is evident that the fall of Jerusalem could not have had the catastrophic effects that the traditional view assumes. We cannot picture Judah between 586 and 537 as half-empty.[2] Neither the number of deported Judaeans nor that of those who returned points to any depopulation, and even the events under Gedaliah's governorship and the account of the flight of the survivors into Egypt indicate that the disasters ending in 586, when taken by themselves, had no ruinous consequences for the land. Subsequent history is ignored in Chron., but it is known that Jehoiachin in later years received some favour, and that Tyre had once more a king. The thread is resumed in E i.–vi. (*E* ii.–vii.), in the reigns of Cyrus and Darius, but the narratives contain serious difficulties and conflicting representations (§ 6, *a*) which are increased by the independent prophecies of Haggai and Zech. i.–viii. (see on *E* ii. 1 seqq.). Not until we reach the time of Artaxerxes are the sources more extensive, and the light they throw upon preceding years renders the value of E i.–vi. extremely doubtful. That is to say, between 586 and 458 (E's return), or rather 444 (N's first visit to Jerusalem), there is a lengthy period of the greatest significance for the internal history leading up to Judaism and Samaritanism, and the only continuous source is both scanty and untrustworthy (see Marq., 67, Torrey, 156, and, partly, Meyer, 74).

(*b*) *The evidence of the prophets.* The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, dated in the second year of Darius, 520, mention neither any previous important return nor any earlier attempt to rebuild the Temple. Zerubbabel now resumes dynastic history (Hag. ii. 23, contrast Jehoiachin, Jer. xxii. 24), and the high-priest Jeshua (grandson of Seraiah, 2 Kings xxv. 18–21), whose return in Dan. ix. 24–26 dates an epoch, is now officially installed. Yahweh had been angry seventy years (Zech. i. 12, cf. Jer. xxix. 10 seq., Dan. ix. 2); but is aroused and returns to Jerusalem (i. 16, ii. 10–13; contrast his departure in Ezek. x. 18 seq., xi. 23). He is jealous for Zion and full of wrath against her enemies; they shall be punished and his people shall enjoy increased happiness (i. 15, ii. 9). City and temple shall be rebuilt and the land re-inhabited (i. 16 seq., ii. 4, cf. vii. 7). The dispersed shall be rescued and again dwell in Jerusalem. The community in Babylon is bidden to escape to Zion (ii. 7, cf. Jer. li. 45). Babylon is threatened (vi. 1-8), and a passage which suggests that small bands of exiles might occasionally return heralds the forthcoming building of the temple (vi. 9–15). Haggai declares that the Temple is waste (i. 4, 9, *ḥārēb*, cf. the term in N ii. 3, 17) and he stirs the people to the work of rebuilding. The appeal is to the 'remnant' (i. 12, 14, ii. 2, cf. Zech. viii. 6), that is, not the

[1] Modern criticism is influenced by the radical conclusions of W. H. Kosters and the forcible defence by E. Meyer (*Entstehung*) whose own position, however, is in many respects opposed to the purely traditional; see S. R. Driver, *Lit.* 552 (and on the introductory literary questions, ib. 544 seqq.). A striking advance has recently been made by Torrey (*Ezra Studies*), to whose work the present writer gratefully records his indebtedness, and since reasons are given in these pages for adopting certain radical conclusions of Kosters, Torrey, and others, it may be well to refer readers to the writings (see § 8) of Davies, Driver, Holzhey, Jampel, Nikel, Ryle, and G. A. Smith, for the arguments adduced in support of a generally consistent traditional position.

[2] See Wellhausen, *GGN*, 1895, p. 185 seq.; Kosters, *Th. T.* xxix. 560; G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 268; Torrey, 290 seq., 297 seqq.; Kennett, *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, 1905, pp. 172 seqq.

40,000 of E ii., but those who had escaped deportation (cf. Zeph. ii. 7, 9, Jer. xlii. 2, 15, &c., see Jahn, p. xxxviii.). Zerubbabel is the one to rebuild and complete the undertaking (Zech. iv. 8–10, vi. 12 seqq.). The people fetch wood and the work is begun on the twenty-fourth of the sixth month (Hag. i. 14 seq.); as yet one stone had not been set upon another (ii. 15). The foundations are laid on the twenty-fourth of the ninth month (ii. 10–19), and two years later, in 518, Zech. viii. 9 seqq. look back upon the happier period which had thus been inaugurated. But the exilic fasts were still being celebrated (vii. 3–5), the return of the dispersed was still an event to be anticipated. From these data it is reasonable to infer—with an influential number of scholars—that 'no considerable band of exiles can have returned—none that was able materially to influence the Jewish community' (Cheyne, *Ency. Bib.*, 1481 n. 4).

(*c*) *Objections.* Various counter-arguments, influenced by the chronicler's history in E–N, have been brought forward (see p. 6 n. 1). Those based upon a representation of events which has perplexed a generation of scholars naturally tend to beg the question. For example, it is urged that the prophets address returned exiles and it was unnecessary to describe the people as such; that they do not say that the builders were not returned exiles; that only E i.–iii. explain the events of 520–516 and subsequent history; that the Temple could not have been built by the native 'heathen' Judaeans; that the main stream of Jewish life had been diverted to Babylon and only the presence of a Babylonian 'leaven' explains the prophecies of Hag. and Zech. While some scholars recognize and seek to explain the silence of the prophets touching a return and rebuilding before 520, others contend that there are indeed references to these events. Some, observing the profound difference between the promises of the 'Deutero-Isaiah' (xl.–lv.) and the history in E iii. seq., are of opinion that, since 'the reality was a bitter disenchantment,' the disillusionment so great, the prophets naturally do not refer to the events. But others argue that unless these promises had been essentially fulfilled there would have been so fatal a falsification of popular expectation that the oracles of Is. xl. seqq. would scarcely have survived. It is obvious that the preservation of prophecies is hardly conditioned by their fulfilment, however partial, and the difference between the anticipations and the reality was surely sufficient, on the most conservative view, to throw Is. xl. seqq. into oblivion. Haggai, it is objected, ignores a future return and may well have ignored previous events—but his contemporary Zech. excludes a previous return, testifies to the continuation of the exile, and looks forward to a return. The *argumentum e silentio* is undoubtedly valid. Zech. (i. 2–6), in appealing to the people to repent, alludes to past experience, but does not refer to the return —which would have been the most immediate proof of the might of Yahweh. Was there a wish to put courage into the poor hearts of the returned exiles? There was one practical illustration of divine grace, but there is no allusion to it. In fact, the urgent supplication to Yahweh (i. 12) is unintelligible had a new era dawned as in E i.–iii.; one may note Daniel's prayer for divine intervention (Dan. ix., cf. also N i.) and the prayers of E after his return (E ix. 8, N ix. 30 seq.). In point of fact, Zech. sees the punishment and misery of the past (vii.), and the 'decalogue of promises' belong to the future (viii.). Did the prophets intentionally refrain from mentioning the material help the exiles had received in the time of Cyrus, in order to emphasize the necessity of relying upon spiritual help? The very passage which has been quoted in support of this view refers to the small beginnings recently inaugurated by Zerubbabel (iv. 6, 9 seq.), and ignores E i.–iv.

There is no explanation of the gap between 537 and 520; there is no hint of any hindrance, cessation, or of any more or less continuous rebuilding (see § 6 *a*): the people are negligent and remiss, and according to Haggai the distress caused by the failure of the rains was a punishment for not rebuilding the Temple (i., cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 1–10, Zech. xiv. 17). It hardly required a Babylonian exile to teach this. Haggai certainly refers to an altar (ii. 14, 'there'), but this does not prove the accuracy of E iii. 3 or its context. A holy place is not necessarily deserted when the sanctuary is ruined, and Jer. xli. 5 already presupposes an altar; to contend that the existence of this altar throughout the exile ought to have been mentioned in the O.T. is unreasonable. Indeed, the references to priests and sacrifices (Hag. ii. 10–14, cf. Zech. vii. 3 seqq.) go further and suggest that the cult of Yahweh was independent even of the existence of a Temple (cf. Sellin, *Stud.* 53 seq.; Torrey, 305). There is, moreover, no good reason for believing that native Judaeans would be 'heathenish', and that if they had rebuilt the Temple they would have been treated otherwise by the reformers E and N. If Jer. and Ezek. bear witness to low religious conditions, Hag., Mal., and Is. lvi.–lxvi. indicate no great improvement after the return; and the degenerate community which all scholars recognize in the latter sources and which needed the reforms of E and N include—on the traditional view—the Babylonian 'leaven.' Yet the Judaeans and Samaritans felt themselves to be heirs of Israel and the latter could claim to worship Yahweh (2 Kings xvii. 32 seq., 41, Jer. xli. 5, Ezek. xxxiii. 24, E iv. 2). The fall of Jerusalem and the Exile do not exclude the presence—even among 'the poorest of the land'—of men who might follow in the footsteps of the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv.), or of such seers as Amos, Hosea, Micah or Jeremiah; and considering the piety of the Jews in distant Elephantine (Sachau-papyri), there is clearly no necessity to deny the possibility of the continuous worship of Yahweh during the exile, or to demand after 538 the presence of a 'leaven' which nevertheless did not preclude the abuses confronting E, N, Mal., and the writers in Is. lvi. seqq. It is obviously impossible to start with presuppositions of what was orthodox Yahwism and what was heathenism whether in Elephantine or in Palestine (before or after 536). If, too, Meyer's argument (177) is valid, that the Levitical family of Henadad (E iii. 9, wanting in E ii.) was indigenous, indigenous also was the family of Iddo to which Zech. belonged (see *E* vi. 1); and this scholar's recognition of the prominence in and around Jerusalem of Calebite and other families who had never tasted exile (see § 5 *c*) is extremely important for any estimate of the internal conditions. The evidence of Hag. and Zech. outweighs other evidence which might appear to

be contrary ; hence one can hardly assume that the deliverance of Jeshua (Zech. iii. 2) necessarily refers to his return seventeen years previously, or that the *name* Zerubbabel suggests that other Jews with him were necesssarily 'begotten in Babylon'. Nor can decisive objections be based upon references in E vii.–x., N i. seqq. to an earlier return. That men (? exiles) should come and assist in the rebuilding of the Temple is a promise for the future in Zech. vi. 15. The references in E ix. 4, x. 6 seq. present their own peculiar difficulties on any view, and in all probability the story of E should come after N i.–vi. (see III. *a*). N i. 2 seq. are inconclusive : they may be used to support a theory (Kosters, 45, Berth., 47, Torrey, 301 n. 27, Davies, 161), although Ryle (149), who maintains an independent, though strictly conservative position, refers the passage to the people who had escaped the exile—the passage, in any case, must be considered in the light of evidence for some disaster between the age of Zerubbabel and the return of N (see further, § 5 *f*). It is to be remembered, also, that the belief in a great return under Cyrus (or Darius) might influence the description of subsequent events even as the complete Mosaic legislation appears at first sight to be confirmed by the form which the revised and redacted history has taken in the books that follow the Pentateuch.

(*d*) *Summary*. The account of a large return to rebuild the Temple, whether in the time of Cyrus or Darius, must be tested by the independent Hag. and Zech. Great weight is often laid upon the circumstantial list in E ii., and its genuineness has been upheld, particularly by Meyer (73, 98 seqq., 191 seqq. ; note the criticisms of Kosters, *Th. T.* xxxi. 530–41) ; see below, p. 35. He, however, rejects in the main the rest of the Cyrus-history (49, 73, 99, 191, 193 ; Driver, *Lit.*, 552), although the decree of Cyrus is in itself entirely plausible (Nikel, 31–7 ; Torrey, 144 n. 12), and the list is closely bound up with the whole series E i.–vi. His position appears inconsistent from any traditional standpoint (see Nikel, 42 seq., Davies, 14, 80 seq.), as well as from one more consistently critical, although his recognition that the list (which contains names recurring throughout E–N) is fundamental for the criticism of the post-exilic history is thoroughly sound. But the list stands or falls with its context, and when it is admitted that the success of the opposition in E iv. proves that the return has been exaggerated (see Sellin, *Stud.* 1 ; O. C. Whitehouse, *Isaiah*, ii. 228 ; G. A. Smith, *Jerus.* ii. 298 seq.), or that the list has been re-edited (Holzhey, 15 ; Davies, 51), it is necessary to determine what details in E i.–vi. may be regarded as even essentially accurate. The tolerance and kindness of Amil-Marduk (to Jehoiachin), Nabunaid (who sent back Merbaal to be king of Tyre), Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius[1] certainly allow the probability of the return of bands of exiles, even as the Sachau-papyri show how Cambyses might favour *native* Jewish communities. But E i.–vi. are so closely interconnected as a piece of history that if we accept—as we must—the testimony of Hag. and Zech., it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct from E the course of events. On the one hand, we gain new presuppositions regarding the internal conditions of the age. On the other, there is remarkable confusion in the traditions of Cyrus and Darius in E and *E*, E ii. is repeated in the history of the time of Artaxerxes, and a narrative of this later period is actually inserted in E i.–vi. ; these combine with other features to extend the problems of E i.–vi. to those connected with the work of E and N.

III. *The Work of Ezra and Nehemiah.*

(*a*) *Ezra*. In the story of E there is considerable intricacy in the description of the separation from the heathen on the part of the 'children of the captivity' (i. e. E's small band of exiles, or the congregation presumably formed in 536–516), and the inauguration of the new community, consisting of these and the elect of the 'seed of Israel'. The whole story is closely interconnected, and much difficulty is caused by N i.–vii. which sever E vii.–x. from N viii. seqq. by twelve years. There is, moreover, a very strong presumption that the Reading of the Law was originally described shortly after E's arrival (cf. *E* ix.), and not (as in N viii.) after this lengthy interval, during which we hear nothing of him. Finally, on independent grounds there seems to be no place for E before the *first* visit, at all events, of N. It is indeed allowed that 'it is impossible to decide upon the evidence at our disposal' (G. A. Smith, *Expositor*, July, 1906, p. 16), or that this later position of E is only a possibility (Wellhausen) ; but it seems very doubtful whether the story is trustworthy (H. P. Smith, Torrey, Jahn), and, even if it be historical, many agree that it cannot be placed before N i.–vi. (Berth., Buhl, Cheyne, Guthe, Hoonacker [esp. *Rev. Bibl.*, x. 15 seqq.], Kennett, Kent, Kosters, Marq., Sellin, Wildeboer). See further the notes on *E* viii–x.

(*b*) *Nehemiah*. N was governor from the 20th year of Artaxerxes (Jos. xi. 5 7, 25th of Xerxes) to the 32nd (N v. 14), i. e. 444–432, and we hear of a return to the king and a second visit (xiii. 4–6). But N xiii. is joined to xii. so closely as to imply that only on the occasion of the *later* visit were the walls dedicated, although the ceremony is ostensibly the immediate sequel of their completion, two months after his *first* visit (vi.).[2] This must be due to defective compilation (cf. Nikel, 196 n. 1),

[1] For the external evidence see Berth., 26 seq. ; Jampel, i. 502 seqq., ii. 11 seqq.

[2] Rawlinson and Klostermann (so Davies, 267), Howorth (*PSBA*, xxv. 18 seq.), G. A. Smith (*op. cit.* 10–12), R. H. Kennett (*Camb. Bibl. Essays*, 120) ; the dates N vi. 15, vii. 73, ix. 1 were evidently meant—by the compiler—to be consecutive. That the walls were actually completed in 52 days may be 'hardly credible' (Ew. 157 n. 5) ; Jos. (§ 179) allows 2 years and 4 months (hardly an invention, Ew.), and dates the completion in the ninth month (cf. 2 Macc. i. 18) of the 28th year of *Xerxes*.

which will also explain the description of N's social reforms (v.) amid the intrigues during the hurried rebuilding of the walls, where N looks back upon the period of his governorship (v. 14). In fact, his strong position as reformer in v. seems more in harmony with that in xiii. than with the picture of suspicion and hostility represented in iv., vi., and this serious difficulty touching the course of N's work (vii. 2 may hint at his departure) hampers every attempt to trace the history of his period. Consequently N, even with the elimination of the E-story, cannot be in its original form, as is clear also from the literary features of xi. and xii. (see also Torrey, 225 seq., 248 seq.).

(*c*) *The List N vii.* N's proposal to summon the people in order to augment Jerusalem (vii. 4 seqq.) is severed by part of the E-story (N viii.–x.) from the list of inhabitants (xi.), other lists (xii. 1–26), the dedication of the walls and arrangements for the Temple officials (xii. 27–47), &c. His story is no longer autobiographical (contrast, however, xiii. 4–31) and fresh sources are to be recognized. Since the list found by him (vii. 5) is that of the return of Zerubbabel (E ii.), it is often assumed that the sequel in xi. must also refer to this earlier period (Ewald, Smend, Stade, Meyer, &c.). But xi. differs so widely from vii. 6 seqq. that both cannot be authentic (Meyer, 189). It is more probable, however, that xi. belongs to the story of N and follows upon vii. 4, 'though the narrative is hardly continued *uno tenore*' (Driver, 551). Yet, on any theory, the presence of N vii. 6–73 is inexplicable, since it is difficult to see why even a compiler should quote an *ancient* list which excluded the more recent return of E (E viii. 1–14; cf. Holzhey, 37). If 'a genealogical register was necessary' (Davies), this would have been out-of-date, and although lapse of time and later adjustment might explain—on this view—the various differences between E ii. and N vii., there are far more significant differences in N x. 1–27, a list which is referred to N's time. Now, its conclusion (N vii. 73 *b*) is the proper introduction to the Reading of the Law (viii.), which is in a more natural position between E viii. and ix., and Torrey (256 seqq., cf. Kent, 369) points out that N vii. 70–3 *a*, also, are more in harmony after the account of E's return. Indeed, vii. 66–9 (the enumeration) and 61–5 (the expulsion of the impure in Zerubbabel's time, see on *E* v. 38) would be useless for N's purpose, and in fact H. P. Smith would place the entire list (from vii. 5) after E viii. 36 (393 n. 1; see, however, Torrey 259 n. 9). Accordingly, through compilation and revision the account of N's work, with its own chronological embarrassments, has been broken by a portion of the story of E, the first part of which is now found before N i., while the list in vii. (*vv.* 5 *a*, 73 suggest a gathering of the people) records details which are not in keeping with the context, whereas in E ii. it is in a consistent context, albeit an unhistorical one. While the Reading of the Law (vii. 73 *b*–viii.) abruptly introduces E, the preceding material is partly (at least) connected with E's return in E vii. seq., and partly belongs to the (unhistorical) account of Zerubbabel's return. A considerable portion of the E-story is sundered from N viii. seqq., but the description of the separation from the heathen is confused and closely interrelated, and the list of those who had married strange women (see on *E* ix. 21–36) includes families who are not mentioned in E's band (E viii. 1–14), but appear in the list of E ii., which in || N vii. is connected with the return of E! Finally, this great list, though used for the time of Cyrus (or Darius, *E* v.) and treated in N vii. as a document of that period, reveals traces of the age of N himself, and of having been adjusted to the earlier context (see on *E* v. 24 seq., 40, 44 seq., 46 seq.). Hence it would seem that E ii. N vii. originally belonged to an account of a return in some record of the history of the times of N, E, and Artaxerxes. On its repetition, see p. 19 (§ 6).

(*d*) *The Ezra-story.* The well-supported view that E came to Jerusalem after N i.–vi. implies some rearrangement of the material; and the suitability of N vii. (some portion) and viii. between E vii. seq. and ix. suggests, not that the *latter* part of the E-story has been removed from E x. and placed after N vi., but that the whole once stood after that chapter. The complexity of the list vii. (which overlaps with E viii.) still remains, and it is at this point in the book that the critical problems become most intricate. But it must be noticed that the E-story is certainly composite and not in its original form, and some of the confusion may have arisen when it was divided and part of it placed before N i.[1] If, moreover, the E-story stood after N vi. it may be observed that there is a certain relationship between the stories of E and N: the reference to the son of Eliashib, E x. 6, cf. N xiii. 4, 28; the suitability of N xiii. 1–2, between E x. 9 and 10 (W. R. Smith; Berth., 89); the coincidence in the day of arrival of each (see *E* viii. 6); the twelve-years' gap in the history of each, and the parallel features in their measures on behalf of temple, priests and people. E, however, is mentioned only incidentally in the story of N (xii. 36, doubtful, see the comm.), and it is impossible that the two laboured together. On the other hand, the Tirshatha is prominent at the Reading of the Law (N viii. 9) and the signing of the Covenant (x. 1), and also in the list, vii. (*v.* 65, the degradation of the priests; *v.* 70, gifts to the treasury); he is identified with N (see on *E* ix. 49), and N is

[1] For the interrelation between the now sundered portions see p. 47, and cf. JE in Ex. xxxiii. seqq. and Num. x. 29–36, xi.; and also the contents of 2 Sam. v.–viii., xxi.–xxiv.

equally prominent in his own story (especially v., xiii.). N was not the only governor in post-exilic Jerusalem (N v. 15, Mal. i. 8), but it is noteworthy that the E-story, especially in the narrative-portions, shows no interest in either the governor or the high-priest; the story seems to be written from an independent standpoint, and is focussed upon the austere figure of E alone. The story represents a period of divine favour and royal clemency after the sufferings of Israel (Dan. ix., N i. presuppose an earlier situation); it obviously comes after the disappearance of Zerubbabel, but it cannot be placed before the introduction of N. There are independent arguments for the tradition of a return under N and religious reorganization (see § 5 *b*, *d*), and this appears to be supplemented by the account of E. The latter describes the return of E and a representative community to a temple, but one sorely in need of replenishing (E vii. 15–27, viii. 36); to an ecclesiastical body (note E viii. 17), but a negligent one (N x. 32 seqq.); to a community that worshipped Yahweh, but had fallen from the ideal. It can hardly be called an Autobiography (Meyer, 205) or a Memoir, and there is no evidence to prove it to be a mere invention or fiction. Rather is it based upon facts which link the energy of N with the subsequent appearance of an established orthodox Jewish Church. It may be regarded as an ideal description of the inauguration of Judaism, and the introduction of the 'Book of the Law of Moses' (the Pentateuch is probably meant) is a later parallel to the story of the (re-)discovery of the 'Book of the Law' (Deuteronomy) in the reign of Josiah; cf. also the chronicler's accounts of Asa, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah (2 Chron. xiv. 4, xv. 3, 10–13, xvii. 7, 9, xxix. 10). It does not seem to have been written by the *compiler* of the series Chron.-E–N; it appears rather as a tradition of independent origin, written around the age of N, combined with the story of N and ultimately with the great post-exilic history of Jerusalem and the Temple.

IV. *Interrelation of Data.*

(*a*) *Intricacy of parallels.* The intricacy of the list E ii. N vii. for the history of Cyrus, Darius (*E*) and Artaxerxes does not stand alone. The close connexion in the narratives relating to Cyrus and Darius appears in E iii. 7 compared with *E* iv. 48, in iii. 1 with *E* v. 6, and in E iii. 2 with *E* v. 4–6. The Temple, according to Hag. and Zech., was not commenced before the time of Darius, in contrast to E iii.; but the laments in E iii. 12 in the time of Cyrus curiously recall Hag. ii. 3 seqq. The social and religious reorganization implied in E ii. 59, 62, vi. 21 finds a parallel in the reforms of E, and while E ii. 70, iii. 1, introduce the erection of the altar, the text in *E* v. 46 seq. presupposes a later period, and in fact these verses in N vii. 73, viii. 1, form the prelude to the Reading of the Law. The latter event is the sequel to the record of a return (N vii.) which in *E* ix. is that of E himself. E iii. is unhistorical, and has probably been influenced by material relating to the time of N; thus Meyer (73, 99) points to N viii. 17 seq., and Jahn compares iii. 10–13 with N xii. 40–3. The account of the opposition in E iv. is untrustworthy, and there is a marked resemblance between the details and N iv., vi., enhanced by the insertion in E iv. 7–24 of a record of the time of Artaxerxes. This record attests a return of some importance, which, however, has yet to be identified, and while the decrees of Cyrus and Darius agree (cf. also Artaxerxes and E) in presenting several very similar features (Torrey, 125 seqq., 158; Bayer, 117 seqq.), the historical basis for any decree on the lines they take cannot be found in their reigns. For parallels in the stories of E and N see above, p. 9 (*d*). Such is the interrelation of the contents that it is hardly surprising that later sources should not infrequently combine Zerubbabel and Ezra (Lag. 18; Torrey, 49 n. 17) and that both should be united with Jeshua in a return in the time of Darius (Lag. 84). Even N xii. 47 looks back and mentions together Zerubbabel and N (see Berth.); and if Hashabiah and Sherebiah in N xii. 24 may be identified with the names in E viii. 18 seq., Joiakim (son of Jeshua) and E appear to be correlated much in the same way that N xii. 12–26 seem to confuse the times of Joiakim, N and E (see also the view of Kosters, 91 seq.).

(*b*) *Some modern views.* The endeavour to recover the historical facts has led to very divergent conclusions among modern scholars. One favourite view has retained Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes in E iv., between Cyrus and Darius, by the simple device of changing the names or of assuming an alternative nomenclature. Equally popular has been the theory that Artaxerxes and Darius are to be identified with the second bearer of each name, and, indeed, this may have been the view of the compiler or writer (see Torrey, 38 seq., 178 seq.). Although this leaves an astonishing gap between Cyrus and Darius II, the belief that the Artaxerxes of the stories of N and E was the later king (404–359 B.C.) has found very weighty support (de Saulcy, Maspero, Hoonacker, and Howorth [partly], Marq., H. P. Smith [382], &c., see further Berth., 30; and *PSBA*, xxiii. 319 seqq.). It has also been proposed to identify the Cyrus of the narratives with Darius and Darius with Art. I, and so close is the interconnexion of events that N viii.–x. has been placed in the time of Zerubbabel, and the whole of E–N (extending from 537 to 432) has been compressed within a few years (see H. Winckler, *Helmholt's World's Hist.* iii. 216 seq., and the summaries in Jampel, ii. 1 seq.). Others hold that Zer. first returned in the time of Darius, and that E iii. 8 seqq. properly belongs to that later period. Moreover, the historical and prophetical writings are necessarily co-ordinated, and thus Hag. and Zech. have appeared to some to be of or about the time of Cyrus, although if Darius be D. II they are brought down to (about) 423–404 (see Howorth, *PSBA*, xxiii. 324). So, also, the prophecies in Is. xl.–lxvi., are subdivided and connected with the history of the times of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, although, under the influence of

another theory of the history, the chapters are once more treated as virtually a whole, either relatively early (*c.* 537–520; Sellin, *Stud.* 160; Rothstein) or relatively late (H. P. Smith, 371 n. 1, 379 n. 3; Torrey, 288 n. 8, 314; Kennett). In contrast to these efforts to overcome the difficulties are the views of those scholars who do not admit the intricacies but continue to maintain the essential trustworthiness of E–N, the unhistorical character of Chron. itself being, nevertheless, almost unanimously realized. In so far as this is based upon the manner in which the narratives appear to be mutually confirmatory—cf. the conservative attitude to the criticism of the Pentateuch—and superficially, at least, consistent, it is necessary to observe that the chronicler's history is singularly simple compared with the forms taken in *E*, or in Jos., or in the traditions that prevailed elsewhere in ancient times.

(*c*) *Some ancient views.* Jos., who is well-informed on the last Babylonian kings, asserts that the kingdom fell to Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Mede; the two were kinsmen and the latter, whose father was Astyages, had another name among the Greeks (x. 11, 2, 4). Cyrus, son of Cambyses, was the father of the better-known Cambyses; his mother, according to tradition, was the sister of Cyaxares and daughter of Astyages. Astyages, the last Median king, was the son of Cyaxares and was defeated by Cyrus. But this name is also given by Alexander Polyhistor and others to Cyaxares (*c.* 624–584), the founder of the Median empire, who took part with Nabopolassar in the attack upon Assyria.[1] When the father of Darius is called Ahasuerus (Dan. ix. 1; cf. the synopsis, Lag. 15, where he is born of Vashti), and the latter and Nebuchadrezzar capture Nineveh (Tobit xiv. 15), the names Ahasuerus and Cyaxares have evidently been confused (Rawlinson). The Ahasuerus of Esther was certainly placed soon after the deportation of Jehoiachin by Nebuchadrezzar (so ii. 5 seq.), but in Judith iv. 1–6 the last-mentioned reigns over the Medes at a time when the Jews had recently returned from captivity and the high-priest was one Joiakim. The historical foundation for Esther's king can only be Xerxes, although Jos., LXX, and early writers identify him with Artaxerxes. Jos., moreover, states that he was also called Cyrus—in Dan. v. 31, vi. 28, Darius the Mede becomes king after the fall of Babylonia and is followed by Cyrus—and gives the name Xerxes to the Artaxerxes of the stories of E and N. The difficulty of distinguishing the names would obviously be increased by the fact that Darius I was actually followed by Xerxes (485–465), and D. II (423–404) by Art. II (404–359), and that D. II had a son Cyrus, famous for the unsuccessful expedition against his elder brother Art. II. Not to pursue the confusing details further, it is enough to notice that the later historians had behind them a series of events of vital importance. During a relatively brief period the power of Assyria was broken up, Scythians and Medes entered into W. Asiatic politics, a new Babylonian empire was restored only to fall before the Persian régime under Cyrus; a little more than a century later another Cyrus created a turmoil in W. Asia (400), and finally the Greeks, who had been gradually coming into closer touch with the Oriental world, established a new age under Alexander the Great. How soon history became enwrapped in legend is obvious from Herodotus and Xenophon (fifth century B.C.) and from Ctesias, who is even said to have drawn upon Persian records. Jos., for his part, endeavoured to reduce the confusion into some order; the Seder Olam (ch. xxx) ingeniously identifies all the Persian kings: Cyrus, Darius, Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes—Dan. xi. 2 knows only of four—and the whole of the Persian age from the restoration of the Temple to the time of Alexander the Greek was even compressed into a few decades. The appearance of simplicity in the chronicler's history of the period is misleading; see further § 6 *e*.

§ 5. Data for Reconstruction.

The foregoing survey of the intricacies of E–N, the prevailing confusion in regard to the period, and the efforts made by ancient and modern writers to present the historical facts, will perhaps be convincing proof that the difficulties in E–N are genuine. They concern both E–N and *E*, and any attempt to discuss the origin and structure of *E* must form some preliminary conception of the underlying history. For this the story of N seems most fruitful.

(*a*) *The Samaritans.* N's age was one of intermarriage and close intercourse between the Jews, Samaritans, and other neighbours (vi. 18, xiii. 3, 4, 23, 24, 28). The elliptical repulse of the Samaritans in N ii. 20 implies that they, as in E iv. 2 seq., had some claim 'to a share in the fortunes of Jerusalem' (Ryle, 171), and that they 'would have had no quarrel with the Jews if they had been permitted to unite with the latter in their undertakings and privileges' (Davies, 177). These details, the character of the intermarriages, the efforts to compromise with N (vi. 2–4), the close relationship presupposed by the subsequent bitterness after the schism, the fact that Samaritanism was virtually a sister-sect of Judaism—these preclude the present position of E's return and marriage-reforms and make it extremely doubtful whether there had as yet been any serious Samaritan hostility. They also suggest that the records of E–N have been written and revised under the influence of a bitter anti-Samaritan feeling, the date of which can hardly be placed before N xiii. Indeed, it is not improbable that the Samaritan schism should be placed (with Jos. xi. 7 seq.) at the close of the Persian period (see further Marq., 57 seq.; Jahn, 173 seqq.; Torrey, 321 seqq., 331 seq.).

(*b*) *Place of Ez. iv.* 7–23. This undated record of the reign of Artaxerxes, in spite of some

[1] See *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., on these names.

internal difficulties (see criticisms in Berth., 18 seq., Nikel, 182), probably illustrates the story of N when 'Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear' (vi. 19).[1] It points to some new reconstruction of the city by returned exiles—evidently after an earlier disaster—and requires the assumption that the story of N is focussed upon the governor alone and that N and his military escort (ii. 9, cf. *E* v. 2, contrast ib. viii. 51 seq.) brought back a band of exiles (so Jos.); see below (*d*). Against this the objection has been brought that N, in spite of the royal command (E iv. 21 seq.), continued to build and actually did complete the walls. On the other hand, the walls were already practically finished (vi. 1, vii. 1, see Ryle, 219), and some time would necessarily elapse before letters could reach Artaxerxes and his reply come to hand (cf. the situation in E v. 5). The king does not order the walls to be destroyed or weakened; N naturally had other building operations to attend to in addition to the walls, and these may well have been stopped 'by force and power' (E iv. 23). The letter to Artaxerxes urges that the rebuilding of Jerusalem would be detrimental to the security of the province (iv. 13, 19 seq.), and disloyalty was the strongest charge brought against the governor (N ii. 19, vi. 6–7). In fact, N vii. 2 seq. may suggest that the perturbed governor left his brother in charge of the city while he visited the king—his leave had been limited (ii. 6)—and although the sequence of events is admittedly obscure there is a distinct gap between his position in N i.–iv., vi. and that as represented in xiii. (cf. v.). The formal steps of the Samaritans in E iv. 7 seqq. (similarly the satrap in E v. seq.) stand in contrast to the confusing account of the hostility in N iv., vi. against one who had come armed with royal authority, and undue weight must not be laid upon the present form of the N-story (see above [*a*]). All in all, the evidence does not exclude the helpful conjecture that E iv. 7–23 illustrate the troubles of N at that stage where the continuation of the book (after vi. 19) is almost inextricably complex.

(*c*) *The semi-Edomite population.* In the list of those who helped to rebuild the wall (N iii.) it is noteworthy (1) that very few of the names can be at all plausibly identified with the families who apparently returned with either Zerubbabel or Ezra (Kosters, 47), and (2) that some of the names have Calebite affinities.[2] The list is evidence for the poverty of the Babylonian section of population and for the prominence of the Judaeans, who include both the natives and those Calebite and allied groups who moved up from the south of Judah some time after 586. The presence of the latter is only to be expected, and the fact, pointed out by Meyer himself in 1896, is obviously fundamental for the criticism of the book of Ezra (see Kosters, *Th. T.* xxxi. 536).[3] In this Calebite or semi-Edomite Judah—and to call these groups 'half heathen' (with Nikel, 56, 64) is to beg the question—we may find a starting-point for our conception of the district from the time of their immigration northwards to the date of the far-reaching reorganization associated with the names of N and E. Further, the list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in N xi. recurs, though with variations, in 1 Chron. ix., where it represents the compiler's conception of the post-exilic population after the captivity. According to his perspective of history, there was an old Israel which included a Judah of Calebite and Jerahmeelite origin (1 Chron. ii. and iv.) and some later stage which corresponds closely with N xi. N xi., however, differs widely from the lists in E ii. and viii. and ignores the return of Zerubbabel and Ezra. Its disagreement is hardly a proof that these lists are authentic; what is significant is the agreement between the Judaean clans Perez, Shelah and the semi-Edomite Zerah in N xi. and the mixed genealogies in 1 Chron. ii. and iv. The chronicler, it will be observed, knows of no earlier Judah; his evidence in ii., iv. is (in his view) pre-Davidic, and it agrees with this that his lists of the Levitical orders of David's time illustrate the close bond uniting these ecclesiastical bodies with people of south Palestinian and Edomite affinity.[4]

(*d*) *A decree and a return.* The introduction to the Jerusalem list reads like the sequel to the account of some return (N xi. 3, 1 Chron. ix. 2; cf. E ii. 70, N vii. 73, and see Ewald, 159 n. 2). The list itself, after dealing with priests, Levites, &c., proceeds to refer to those who dwelt in the country, and it is noteworthy that N xi. 23 seq. have in view the fulfilment of some royal decree touching the singers (cf. *E* iv. 54 seq., E vii. 24). The singers, also, are subsequently collected from the Netophathite and other villages which they had built at some unspecified period (xii. 28 seq.; cf. the Levites in 1 Chron. ix. 16), and the explicit references to the rest of Israel and their cities (xi. 20, 25), before the assembling at the dedication of the walls (xii. 27), recall the situation before

[1] H. P. Smith, 348; Kent, 358; see also the remarks of Sellin, *Ser.*, 53 seqq., *Stud.* 16–35. With Tobiah, cf. the Aram. form Tabeel, E iv. 7 (Hoonacker, *Rev. Bibl.* x. 183 n. 6; Sellin, *Stud.* 33).

[2] See for (2) Meyer, *Ent.*, 114–19, 147, 167, 177 seq., 181, 183, and his *Israeliten*, 352 n. 5, 399, 402, 409, 429 n. 5, 430. See also on *E* v. 26.

[3] Cf. also H. Guthe, *E. Bi.* 2249; T. K. Cheyne, ib. 3385; H. P. Smith, *Hist.* 354 n. 1; R. Kittel, *Chron.* 14, 16; Jahn, 99; Kennett, *Essays*, 117, 123; Torrey, 328, n. 53; E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *Chron.* 89, 98, 104.

[4] See also E. Meyer and B. Luther, *Israel.*, 442 seqq., for evidence connecting Judah and the Edomites; in their opinion, however, the data, found in literature relating to pre-monarchical times, refer to pre-Davidic conditions.

the exiles were assembled in Jerusalem after their return and settlement in the Zerubbabel-story (E ii. 70, iii. 1). Thus, the difficult and much revised narratives of N's work, between vi. and xiii., are connected with the list of the return in vii., with the return of E (see p. 9 *c*), and with some return associated with the figure of N himself. G. A. Smith observes that the reforms of N 'are best explained through his reinforcement by just so large a number of Babylonian Jews under just such a leader as E' (*Expos.*, July, 1906, p. 7 seq.). On the other hand, there is insufficient historical evidence for the presence of E and his band, and the above details strongly suggest that there was an account of some other return in connexion with the activity of N, although it is still impossible to reconstruct the course of N's work (see § 4, III. *b*).

(*e*) *The Temple.* The history after the rise of the Davidic Zerubbabel is a blank which can be filled only by conjecture (see e. g. Ewald; Sellin, *Ser.*; Nikel, 142–6, and others). The situation in Jerusalem at the return of N cannot be explained by the disasters at the fall of Jerusalem about 140 years previously. The city was in great affliction and reproach, and N's grief, confession, and prayer recall E's behaviour at the tidings of the heathen marriages. The ruins of Jerusalem were extensive (N i. 3, ii. 3, 8, 13, iii., cf. Ecclus. xlix. 13), and it is disputed whether the *bīrāh* (ii. 8) refers to the fortress on the north side of the Temple (G. A. Smith, *Jerus.*, ii. 347 seq., 461), or the Temple itself (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 1 and see Jahn, pp. iv, 93). According to 2 Macc. i. 18, N built both the Temple and the Altar, and Jos. (independently) asserts that he received permission to build the walls of the city and to finish the Temple. An old Latin synopsis (Lag. 18 seq.) states that E restored the foundations of Zerubbabel's temple, and an old Greek summary of 'Second Esdras' refers to N as a builder of the Temple (Lag. 84, l. 27: *αὐτὸς ἠξίωσε περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ*). These can scarcely all be based upon the references to the Temple in the Artaxerxes-record in *E* ii. 18, 20. It is at least noteworthy that, both in *E* and E, compilers have placed this episode in the history of the Temple, and the different readings in E iv. 12, 14, might be due to the alternative position of the story (see below, § 6 (*c*)) after the account of the opposition in the time of Cyrus.[1] Moreover, the mention of the '*decree of* Cyrus, and Darius, and *Artaxerxes king of Persia*' (E vi. 14, see *E* vii. 4) is unintelligible—for even a gloss or interpolation must express some plausible belief—unless there was a tradition associating Artaxerxes with the building of the Temple. Again, in view of the parallels between E iv. and N ii. iv., vi., in the account of the Samaritan opposition, it is surely significant that the abrupt allusion in N ii. 20 to the repudiation of the Samaritans can only be explained in the light of E iv. 3, where the building of the Temple is concerned.[2] Finally, the E-story represents a period of favour during which the Temple had been restored or repaired through God's mercy and the clemency of Persia (E ix. 8 seq.). This brief 'moment' (*v.* 8) cannot date back from the decree of Cyrus and the work of Zerubbabel, rather must one read the whole situation—the strengthening of a neglectful community, the furthering of a poor temple—as a supplement to the disorganization and confusion in the story of N's measures. Hence, it may be concluded that there is sufficient evidence for some tradition of a rebuilding of the Temple and of a return in the time of N.

(*f*) *The recent disaster.* The disaster which explains N's grief, anxiety, and energetic labours may probably be ascribed in part at least to Edom. Friendly or neutral relations between Judah (and its semi-Edomite population, see *c*) and the 'brother' Edom appear to have continued at a relatively late period, until for some reason Edom is denounced for its unbrotherly conduct.[3] The origin of the enmity is generally connected with the fall of Jerusalem in 586. But it cannot be found in the time of Jehoiakim (the conjecture 'Edom' for 'Aram' in 2 Kings xxiv. 2 is against Jer. xxxv. 11), or of Zedekiah (when Edom was among the allies of Judah; Jer. xxvii., Ezek. xvii. 11 seqq.); the Chaldeans alone destroyed the Temple, and Jews had even taken refuge in Edom and elsewhere (Jer. xl. 11). The very explicit statement that the Edomites burned the Temple 'when Judaea was made desolate by the Chaldeans', and occupied Judaean territory (*E* iv. 45, 50), points to the reality of a tradition which, however, has been connected with the events of 586. The various allusions to Edom (Obad., Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 10, 12, xxxvi. 5, Lam. iv., Ps. cxxxvii. 7), though possibly referring to different periods, cannot be based upon the history of the Chaldean invasion. The very circumstantial references to Edomite aggression (*E* iv. 50, Ezek. xxxv. 10, xxxvi. 3, 5) have led to the view that the Jewish exiles recovered their land through Persian aid.[4] This, however, finds no support in the history of either Cyrus or Darius. But may it not be later (Nikel, 57 n. 1), before

[1] See also Sellin, *Ser.* 56 n. 1, 58; *Stud.* 18 seq.; Grünhut, *Einleitung* (cited by Jampel, i. 105).

[2] Parallel traditions elsewhere explain each other, cf. Ex. xvii. 6 with Num. xx. 8; Ex. xvii. 10 with Num. xiv. 40, 44; Ex. xxxiii. with Num. xi.

[3] Mal. i. 2–5; see Kennett, *Essays*, 117.

[4] See the discussions of Ewald, 80 seqq., 88; Herzfeld, *Gesch.* (1847) i. 475 seq.; Smend, 22, 24; Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 112; F. Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edomiter* (1893), 77.

the prophecy of Mal. i. 2–5, and between the times of Zerubbabel and N?[1] If so, it is tempting to associate the relatively simple and unadorned decree attributed to Darius in *E* iv. 48–56 (which points to a return to rebuild the Temple after a period of Edomite hostility) with the situation that underlies the narratives of N, cf. *d* above.

(*g*) *Summary.* The internal difficulties of E–N are exceedingly complex owing to the numerous untrustworthy features, the remarkable and suspicious parallels, and the intricacies of rearrangement, adjustment, and revision. The sources throw little (if any) light on the period before the return of N, and traditions originally associated with him or his age appear to underlie the rest.[2] His story forms the starting-point for the problems of E–N, but it has too many serious difficulties for any confident theory of the order of events. Yet it seems clear that in N's time there had not as yet been any previous Samaritan hostility of any extent, any separation from the 'heathen', any important return of exiles. It is not improbable that in the time of Zerubbabel there was a monarchy of some size (cf. Sellin, *Ser.*, 89), and it is interesting to notice that the Samaritan opposition in the time of Artaxerxes is aimed especially at the apparent political pretensions of N (ii. 19, vi. 6–8, cf. E iv. 13). The population in and around Jerusalem consisted partly of the old indigenous stock and partly of the southern groups of Edomite affinity who moved northwards after 586. This semi-Edomite people had suffered from a disaster, due, in some measure, to the 'brother' Edomites who had burned the Temple and occupied Jewish territory, and to repair the lamentable conditions was the object of N's return. The southern groups in question are only to be expected after 1 Chron. ii. and iv., and the history in Chron. seems to reveal some traces of their perspective: their presence in the Levitical bodies, the stories of the reconstruction of Temple and cult, and the traditions of invasions of hostile southern peoples. On independent grounds it is probable that other traces of the presence and prominence of these groups may be observed elsewhere, and we may notice that the O. T. *preserves* the tradition of the high reputation of the eponymous Caleb, the 'servant of Yahweh', and that late traditions even ascribe a southern origin to some of the prophets.[3]

In the chronicler's compilation the rise of the new Jewish Church and the opposition of the Samaritans are dated at the commencement of the Persian age, and in the light of this the later history was meant to be read, even as other writers presuppose the patriarchal ancestors of pre-Mosaic days or the elaborate Levitical ritual associated with Moses and Aaron. Although this view shapes the compilation, the study of the age of Artaxerxes throws a different light upon its value. There are persistent and independent traditions of some return in his reign, and of some reconstruction of the people. Subsequent to the situation represented in N iii. (see *c* above) a new community was formed, and since it would be composed of elements of exilic (Babylonian) and non-exilic ancestry, some of the names of the latter class (found e. g. in N iii.) might naturally recur in (the later) lists referring to earlier periods (for such names, see Nikel, 154 seqq.). From 1 Chron. ii. and iv., and from the place of Caleb and Jerahmeel among the 'sons' of Perez—Gen. xxxviii seems to record his superiority over the rival and semi-Edomite Zerah—it is obvious that there has been a genealogical readjustment of the groups of southern origin. Moreover, elsewhere, the specific traditions of such groups as these have been revised or mutilated, and it is probable that all these features may be connected with the intricate development of the priestly and Levitical figures, suggestive of rival representations and compromise.[4]

E–N is written from the standpoint of a reorganized community which admitted no relationship with the semi-Edomite or native Judaean groups. The Babylonian exiles piqued themselves on their superiority to the Judaeans, who none the less could boast of their father Abraham—the hero of the Calebite city of Hebron (Ezek. xxxiii. 24). To the exiles from Babylon and thence (E ii.) to the old Judah which fell in 586, the community persistently attributed its origin. The Jews of the post-exilic theocracy laid most weight upon an ancestry from the deportation by Nebuchadrezzar, even as the old Israel ignored the large indigenous and mixed element in Palestine, and descent was claimed from the immigrant tribes from Egypt and thence from the pre-Mosaic sons of Israel. Different disasters were focussed upon 586, and traditions of return and rebuilding were concentrated upon the return of Zerubbabel. Consequently, by thus passing over the native groups, whether akin or not to the hated Edomites, the mixed origin of the Jews was rendered less conspicuous. The significance of this has been well pointed out by Torrey (155, 236 seq., 321 seqq., and,

[1] Some later Edomite invasion has been inferred by J. Ley, *II. Jesaia* (1893), 150; T. K. Cheyne, *Introd. Is.*, 210 seq.; *E Bi.* col. 2701; H. Winckler, *Keilinschr. u. d. A. T.* 295; R. H. Kennett, *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, 1906, p. 487. Note also the earlier views of Kuenen and Sellin (*Ser.*, 82) that Is. lxiii. 18, lxiv. 10 seq., point to another destruction of the Temple after 516.

[2] Note the tradition in 2 Macc. ii. 13 that N collected writings and 'letters of kings about sacred gifts'.

[3] Habakkuk and Zephaniah of Simeon, Obadiah an Edomite proselyte, Nahum of Elkosh.

[4] See further *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., artt. 'Genesis' (xi. 584 seq.); 'Jews' (xv. 387, 389–91); 'Levites' (xvi. 513 seq.); 'Palestine' (xx. 615 seq.), and art. 'Edomites' in Hastings' *Dict. of Rel. and Ethics.*

especially, 328 n. 53). Both Jews and Samaritans were of mingled ancestry, but the latter could at all events claim to have been associated with the land longer than the former. The question of kinship between the two divisions was, as we see from Jos. (ix. **14** 3, xi. **8** 6, xii. **5** 5), always a debatable one, and the knowledge of past history would only increase the bitter enmity at the rise of the rival cult on Mt. Gerizim. But the chronicler's compilation very carefully conceals the course of events and upholds for Judah alone the sole right to be the legitimate descendant of the ancient confederation of Israel.[1]

§ 6. Structure of the Sources.

It may often be possible to point out conflicting data, to indicate traditions which seem to be older or more original, and to arrive at positive or negative conclusions regarding the underlying facts; but the endeavour to trace the literary growth of complex sources which are certainly the result of intricate reshaping and revision is a delicate problem of literary criticism and distinct from the historical criticism of the period they describe.

(*a*) *The Sheshbazzar-Cyrus Tradition.* The story of Zerubbabel and the first return of the Jews in the time of Darius (*E* iii. 1–v. 6) is the pivot upon which the problems turn. Our starting-point is the Aramaic section E v. seq., where Darius confirms and extends a decree of Cyrus, who had ordered the rebuilding of the Temple and had sent back the vessels with Sheshbazzar (v. 13–15). This tradition is supported by E i., which refers also to Mithredath the treasurer who apparently was once mentioned in E v. (see on *E* vi. 18). But E i. is written in a different style and in Hebrew; it gives a highly-coloured form of the decree (note the parallels with the story of E, Marq. 56, Torrey, 157 seq.), and tends to minimize the importance of Cyrus by emphasizing the direct influence of Yahweh (contrast the initiative of Darius in *E* iv., E vi. 8–11; see also on *E* vii. 1). Consequently, E v. seq., which have various marks of incompleteness (see on *E* vi. 7 seq., 23), presuppose an account of Cyrus and the return of Sheshbazzar (probably also in Aramaic), some part of which at least has been replaced by E i. Further, Sheshbazzar returned to build the Temple, but instead of any account of his work, Jeshua and Zerubbabel are abruptly introduced in the great list, E ii. 2. These two erect the altar (iii. 2), and (mentioned in the inverse order) commence the rebuilding (iii. 8–10), repulse the 'adversaries' (iv. 2 seq.), and subsequently, in the time of Darius, are encouraged by the prophets to begin operations (v. 2, note the repetition of the ancestry). Zer., as in *E* iii. 1–v. 6, is the leading figure, whereas the Shesh. tradition in v. seq. refers to the 'elders' (E v. 5, 9, vi. 8, 14; in vi. 7 $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ omits the unnamed governor, see Berth., 19). From the point of view of historical criticism Shesh. and Zer. are two distinct individuals, but it seems obvious that the compiler of E i.–vi. regarded them as the same, although it was left for ancient and modern harmonists to make the identification. And in fact it is implied and made in *E* vi. 18, 27, 29, after the introduction of Zer. in iii. seq., but naturally not in *E* ii. 1–15 (=E i.); yet in E, strangely enough, it is nowhere made, although the return of Shesh. in E i. 11 evidently corresponds to the appearance of Zer. in ii. 2 (‖ *E* v. 8 immediately after the Zer. story). Hence Jos. is obliged to harmonize (xi. **1** § 14, **3** § 32). Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Aramaic sources (v. 3–vi. 12) do not clearly indicate that the Jewish builders were exiles (contrast E iv. 12), and that there is no explicit reference in E v. 15 to any return of exiles under Sheshbazzar; on the other hand, the conflate text of *E* vi. 5, 8 clearly alludes to the Jews as being of the Captivity (cf. vii. 6, 10), and *E* ii. 15 shows more distinctly than E i. 11 that exiles returned with Shesh. That there is a gap after this verse has often been suspected. Accordingly, there are two important features: (1) the Shesh. tradition has been mutilated and otherwise adjusted in order to give the greater prominence to Zer. and *his* return, and (2) while it is not certain that Shesh. was originally the leader of a band of exiles, the text in *E* partly identifies him with the more illustrious Zer., and partly seems to treat his return as that of the 'captivity' also. Finally, the Shesh. tradition is that of a continuous building of the Temple since the time of Cyrus (E v. 16). This may be supported by E iv. 4, 5, which refer to unceasing troubles and intrigues, and by *v.* 6, where the accusation in the reign of Ahasuerus means, in this context, that the Temple was still under construction. On the other hand, the presence of the Artaxerxes-episode would imply that the work was definitely brought to a stop (see iv. 21–24), and with this agrees the statement in v. 2 that Zer. and Jeshua, encouraged by the prophets, 'rose up . . . and *began* to build the house of God'. Since the presence of these conflicting views can hardly be original, the Artaxerxes-episode and the cessation of the building may probably be regarded as foreign to the Shesh. tradition. Hence, although E does not present *E*'s remarkable confusion of the sequence of events in the reigns of Cyrus and Darius—a confusion which Jos. has

[1] In so far as the foregoing paragraphs bear upon the prophetical writings, it must be remembered that the dates of the latter depend upon our knowledge of the historical conditions in the light of which they are to be explained.

done his best to remedy—it contains, on closer inspection, a very singular combination of conflicting traditions of the Temple, and of Shesh. and Zer.

(*b*) *The Zerubbabel-Darius tradition.* Since Jewish tradition has it that Darius was the son of Ahasuerus the Mede (Dan. ix. 1), and the Ahasuerus in Esth. was called Artaxerxes (although, historically, Xerxes must be meant), and since the sequence Art.-Darius is true of Art. I-Dar. II (or even of Art. III-Dar. III), compilers might be justified in placing the story of the opposition before a tradition of Darius, whether in *E* ii. 16 seqq., iii., or E iv. 7–24, v. But it is not easy to decide which of the two is the earlier position. The cessation of the building of the Temple would be intelligible before *E* iv., which really describes a new era in the history, and would equally agree with the commencement of work mentioned in E v. 2. In either case it leads up to Zerubbabel. But whereas in *E* it forms a necessary link between Cyrus and Darius, in E it breaks the connexion (iv. 5, v. 1) and conflicts with the Shesh. tradition. The assumption that *E* gives the older position of the episode may be suggested by the fact that its text presents some features distinctly sounder than that in E iv. (note, however, the textual relation of Chron. to Sam.-Kings). On the other hand, in *E* v. 66 seqq. (E iv. 1 seqq.) the compiler has made use of iv. 1–5, 24, and it is possible that he found iv. (6?) 7–24 before him, but naturally omitted the passage he had already used. In any case, iv. 1–5 is obviously most closely connected with the preceding chapters, and since these presuppose certain material found only in *E* iii. 1–v. 6, E's account of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel in the time of Cyrus thus presupposes data in *E* of the time of Darius! The simplest explanation of these intricacies is that the MT has suffered by excision (see Torrey, 27 seq.), and it remains to determine whether the material in question originally belonged to the Darius period (as in *E*) or to that of Cyrus (as in E). Torrey alone has discussed this problem, and he has presented a complete, clever, and attractive hypothesis. He treats the Darius-Zer. story in *E* iii. 1–iv. 42 as an interpolation in the history of *Cyrus*, rejects or emends all that is impossible in such a context, and regards *E* ii. 16 seqq. as a transposition from E iv. made by the interpolator (see p. 32). But this leaves the complexity of E i.–vi. untouched. It treats as redactional certain passages that have by no means that appearance (viz. *E* iv. 43–7*a*, 57–61), and if E iv. 7–24 was deliberately borrowed, it is strange that no effort was made to form a reasonable link between ii. 15 and 16, as Jos. has done. The compiler used *E* ii. 16 seqq. to link Cyrus and Darius, but this theory assumes that for no apparent reason whatsoever a story of Darius has been introduced into the Cyrus-history and combined with it by (redactional?) material, which is partly of considerable independent value, and partly introduces a *new* tradition of Cyrus (iv. 44, 57) in conflict with all other evidence. The story, moreover, would hardly have been used in Jewish history unless it was associated with Zerubbabel, Darius, and the return of the Jews; hence its presence, general character, independence, and the confusion arising from the attempt to unite it with *other* traditions plead for the view (also held by Howorth and Bayer) that it is original.

(*c*) *Result of combination.* On this alternative theory, then, *E* preserves a Zer.-Darius nucleus corresponding to a Shesh.-Cyrus nucleus in E, and it seems probable that the intricacies in *E* and E have arisen from the endeavour to combine and compromise. *E* iii. 1–v. 6 commence like an independent story, presupposes no prelude, and quite excludes any current story of Cyrus. iv. 44, 57, it is true, refer to his inability to fulfil a vow, but this has neither any foundation in history nor support in extant tradition, and appears to be an early effort to connect the section with Cyrus. Thenceforth we apparently have the building-up of narratives. The Artaxerxes episode was taken from a source relating to the time of N (§ 5*b*), and the sequel of the story, the list v. 7 seqq., also has a Nehemian background. The connexion between v. 1–6 and 7 seqq. is not close (note repetition 4, 7*a*, the preliminary *vv.* 5 and 7), and it is possible that iii. 1–v. 6 once had another sequel, or that there has been later adjustment. In any case, the references to Cyrus (iv. 44, 57), the treatment of the Shesh. tradition, and the fact that *E* ii. 1–15 are not in their original form, unite to show that there has been much revision, the stages in which cannot be traced. The list itself, partly connected with E's return in N vii., has been applied to the return of Zer., and then treated (in N) by the compiler of E–N as a quotation from the earlier period. It presents a materially older text, and its immediate continuation in *E* v. 47 seqq. (E iii.) is also based upon N viii. 1, and describes events in which one may recognize the influence of other passages in N (Meyer, 73, 99; Marq., 58 seq.; Volz, § 9). But the material is adjusted to Zerubbabel and Cyrus, with the result that while *E* v. 8 (the introduction of Zer.) is explained by the preceding story, and v. 47 (the date) by v. 6; v. 55 has in view iv. 48 (Darius), but its context is of the time of Cyrus (note the harmonizing efforts of Jos., xi. 4 1, 3 seq.).

Haggai and Zech., in the second year of Darius, know of no return or earlier rebuilding. So far this agrees with the Zer. story, which, however, while excluding any earlier rebuilding, describes the first return of the Jews. The Shesh. story throws back the commencement of the temple, but in E does not clearly point to

any return (contrast *E*). In so far as Darius is concerned, these stories are mutually contradictory, and neither is supported by the prophets, and in so far as the fortunes of the temple are concerned, it is possible that a compromise was found in the belief that the work was brought to a stop and that the building was *re*-commenced in the time of Darius. This explains the motive of the Artaxerxes episode, and if the references to the Temple in *E* ii. 18, 20 are reliable, their absence in E iv. 12, 14 may be due to its new position. Further, if E v. 1 once had (as in *E* vi. 1) the precise date, this would be in order after iv. 5 (see Berth., 19), but might naturally be omitted after the insertion of iv. (6) 7–24; and since also the retention of the date in *E* vi. 1 would be unnecessary after v. 73 (=E iv. 24), the present unintelligible wording of the latter verse may be due to intentional alteration and not to corruption of the text. Thus, *E* partly presents material in an older text and form than E, partly shows signs of revision (apparently in the Greek), either to harmonize details or to conform with the MT, and partly is influenced by the form of E, whose imperfections it shares. The root of the problem lies in the two nuclei: Zerubbabel-Darius, Sheshbazzar-Cyrus-Darius, and in the endeavour to co-ordinate them; but in addition to the complexity touching Cyrus and Darius, it is obvious that the present form of the narratives cannot be viewed apart from the literary treatment of the events of the time of Artaxerxes.

(*d*) *The Ezra-story.* The narratives involved are an account of N's work, partly autobiographical, but now in a much revised and intricate form, which is divided by the E-story, also not from one hand, and itself split into two. These have suffered various changes and adjustments in the course of being combined with each other and with the great history of the 'chronicler'. On both literary and historical grounds we may postulate a stage when the whole of the E-story was found after the first appearance of N (p. 9 *d*). To suppose that N viii.–x. also once stood before N i. (Torrey, 265 seq.) only increases the difficulties. E appears relatively late in tradition, but continues to grow in reputation. He is absent from both Ben Sira xlix. 12 seq. and 2 Macc. i. seq., and here N is particularly prominent; but N's prominence, though in agreement with all the evidence, has not been made so obvious in the E-story (see § 4. III. *d*). Moreover, the effort has apparently been made to give greater significance to E by placing the most important part of his mission—the Reading of the Law (and the sequel, the Covenant)—in the account of the completion of the walls of Jerusalem, and also by introducing the rest of the story before N's arrival. *E* has gone further, and in ix. 37 seqq. has read part of N viii. after E x. Now, although *E* presents in some cases a better text, it is noteworthy that in reproducing N viii. and the introductory vii. 73*b*, the compiler has also unnecessarily removed *v.* 73*a*, which can hardly stand after *E* ix. 36 = E x. 44 (cf. Volz, 1492). This deliberate transference perhaps explains the text in *vv.* 38, 49, and suggests that *E*'s recension is here based upon the MT, with the E-story divided as at present. Consequently, both *E* and E–N share that complicated treatment of the purification of Israel which seems to have arisen when the story of E was rearranged. It is uncertain how *E*, if more complete, would have continued. There is indeed some evidence, perhaps not of great value, for an account of E's passover, suggesting that some portion of the story has been lost (see on ix. 55). However, if the whole of the *present* story had been placed before N i., both N i.–vi., xi.–xiii. and E vii.–x., N viii.–x. (or in any rearranged form) would still be in a confused, and certainly not original shape. The one source which actually effects this transposition is Jos., who finishes the life of E before dealing with N. His treatment is brief and paraphrastic, but it seems to be extremely significant that he does not point to the existence of the story of N in either the form or the sequence which it now has. To reconstruct the continuation of *E* is to make the overlapping with N more conspicuous; this is clear from the synopses cited below on p. 58, and it is interesting to notice that an old Syriac catena, which follows *E*, endeavours to readjust to N—it passes from *E* ix. 1–10 to 46*b*–47 (= N viii. 6) and thence to N i. 1–4, and places the Reading of the Law (N viii.) in the context it now has in the MT. *E*, it is evident, does not enable us to go behind the MT, but, together with Jos., it tends to show that the MT is the late outcome of a very intricate literary development.

(*e*) *The Compilation.* At the stage when the stories of E and N were shaped in their present form, and when the traditions of the time of Artaxerxes had been used directly or indirectly for the age of Cyrus and Darius, we reach the complete historical work Chron.-E–N., and the structure of E–N really involves close attention to that of Chron. itself. Here it must suffice to observe that both Chron. and E–N furnish evidence representing different stages in the vicissitudes of the priests and Levites (see on *E* viii. 28), and it is noteworthy that there are several traces of textual variation and confusion where these are concerned (see, e.g., i. 5 seqq., 10, 15, v. 56, vii. 9, viii. 42, ix. 43 seqq.). It is also significant of the relative lateness of E–N that the age at which the Levites serve agrees with *secondary* passages in Chron. (see on v. 58), and that an apparent anti-Aaronite bias has found its way into both (see on vii. 10–12). Perhaps the most important feature in the compilation is the presence of gaps (e.g. before E v. 1, N i.), the more striking when we observe that the chronicler has ignored pertinent material in Kings, Jer., Daniel, and Esther. The book of Daniel was familiar in the Greek age and later (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 59 seq., and, for the Targums, *Prot. Realency.*, iii. 107 seq.),

and was used by Jos. The story in *E* iii. seq. has literary points of contact with both Dan. and Est. (Marq. 66, 68, 72; Torrey, 47 seq.; Bayer, 110 seqq.), and the former of these records traditions of the Temple-vessels (see on ii. 10).[1] The sacrilegious use of the holy objects by Belshazzar was followed by the fall of Babylon to the Medes and Persians, and forthwith *Darius the Mede*, son of Ahasuerus, became king (v. 31, ix. 1). He was led to proclaim the God of Daniel (vi. 25–7), and to the first year of his reign is ascribed the prayer of Daniel (ix.). Here, the seventy years of desolation foretold by Jeremiah are complete, and Daniel prays on behalf of the Jews in Jerusalem and afar off, and on behalf of the ruined sanctuary. The tradition—irrespective of its present setting—is so far in harmony with *E* iii. seq., the story of Zerubbabel in the second year of Darius (cf. Büchler, 7 seq.), where, as in Daniel's prayer, an earlier return is excluded. It is difficult not to believe that these traditions are related, and it is noteworthy that while the references to Cyrus in the story of Zerubbabel appear to be due to later revision, Cyrus, according to Dan. vi. 28, x. 1, reigned after Darius. Thus, not only is it more intelligible that the Cyrus tradition is relatively the later, and probably grew out of the Darius tradition, than the reverse, but a tradition evidently once prevailed which placed Darius before Cyrus.

But it was also known that Cyrus preceded Darius, and in Bel and the Dragon he follows after Astyages (see above, p. 11) and—like Darius in Dan. vi.—becomes convinced of Daniel's God. This correct sequence is that represented by Jos. and the 'chronicler', with one important difference, that while the former does his best to combine all the varying traditions of Cyrus and Darius, the *present* MT ignores Dan. and *E* iii. 1–v. 6 and the complications these would introduce into the history. Accuracy of sequence does not necessarily prove greater antiquity of source. It depends upon accuracy of information, and if Jos. (xi. 2) knows that Cambyses and not Artaxerxes (*E* ii. 16 seqq.) reigned before Darius, he is confused in his treatment of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, and while the chronicler wrongly retains these two between Cyrus and Darius, he has, however, avoided the incorrect sequence of the latter two in Daniel. The traditions of this period (§ 4 IV. *c*.) combine in an inextricable manner trustworthy and untrustworthy data with the result that mere mechanical rearrangement of material or correction of names is inadequate for the recovery of the historical facts. Whether or no there was a continuous chronicle of the Kings of Media and Persia (Est. x. 2), if a compiler of Jewish history followed the tradition which also appears in Dan., Darius the Mede reigned before Cyrus, and Darius, after *E* iii. seq., was the first to permit the Jews to return. On the other hand, Cyrus was really the first king, and it is easy to understand the endeavours to adjust the traditions. It may not be possible to trace all the steps in the process, nevertheless, *E*'s recension is a valuable witness to the efforts made to effect a compromise, and it is significant that while all the evidence points to the relative lateness of the Cyrus tradition in the form it now has in *E* ii. 1–15 or E i., the immediate prelude in *E* i. represents a text materially older in some respects (though more corrupt in others) than the corresponding 2 Chron. xxxv. seq.

(*f*) *Conclusion*. In the nature of the case, any explanation of the structure of *E* and E–N must be a provisional one. At all events, Bayer's view (93 seq., 102, 139), that *E* is a secondary and deliberate self-contained compilation dealing with the Temple, is inadequate, in that it accounts for only a small proportion of the textual features. Howorth, whose merit it has been to force the attention of biblical students to the importance of *E*, undoubtedly goes too far in championing the textual and historical value of *E*. As regards its text, used by Jahn with a certain lack of discrimination and by Bayer somewhat unduly underestimated, Torrey and Volz support an intermediate position, pointing out the general relative superiority of MT. Torrey justly observes, also, that as a history *E* is not in its original form, and he has proposed a hypothesis of its relationship with E–N which he works out with much skill and thoroughness (18 seqq., 30 seqq., 255 seqq.). He starts from the chronicler's history in almost its present form (dated *c*. third cent. B.C.), and assumes two important changes: (1) the transference of N vii. 70–x. 39 from their 'original' position between E viii. and ix. to the place where they now stand, and (2) the interpolation of the story *E* iii. 1–iv. 42, in the history of *Cyrus*, with redactional expansion, alteration, &c., and with the transposition of the Artaxerxes episode from E iv. 6–24 to *E* ii. 16–30. Subsequently, two rival forms arose: one (A) with the retransposition of N vii. 73–x. 40, this time between E x. and N i.; the other (B) with the excision of the Story of the Three Youths (*E* iii. seq.) together with a part of the 'original' history. The latter is represented by the MT; the former, after being translated into Greek, survives only in the fragmentary *E*, which is defined as 'simply a piece taken without change out of the middle of a faithful Greek translation of the chronicler's History of Israel in the form which was generally recognized as authentic in the last century B.C.' (18). This hypothesis is complicated (see Bayer's criticisms, 143 seq.), though not unduly so. On the other hand, there are objections to the view that

[1] It is disputed whether *E* iii. seq. is later than these (Bayer, 128 seq.), or earlier (Torrey); in any case the canonical books, whatever their date, may well incorporate or be based upon older traditions.

the Story of the Three Youths is an interpolation in the alleged original Cyrus-history, viz. in E i., *E* iv. 47–56, iv. 62–v. 6, E ii. seqq. (see p. 16), and to the assumption that the place of the E-story before N i. is the earlier (see p. 17). Further, although *E* is obviously imperfect, to restore a complete work in which it should correspond to E in the chronicler's series necessitates the belief that Jos., the only early source which places the E-story before N, is witness to the MT form of the stories of both E and N, and this cannot be said to be certain (see p. 57 seq.). The latter part of *E* presupposes the present structure of E vii.–x., N . . . vii. 73–viii. 13 . . ., whereas the first half presents older traits in i., ii. 16 seqq. (the position of the Artaxerxes episode), iii. 1–v. 6 (the Zerubbabel story), v. 7–70 (the background of the list, E ii.), and v. 71 (the immediate sequel, the prelude to the work of the returned exiles). Finally, the criticism of *E* inevitably raises the problem of the entire series Chron.-E–N, which at one stage was a literary whole, and consequently we cannot take the chronicler's history as a fixed starting-point. As a matter of fact, apart from the literary questions arising out of Chronicles alone, it seems that the books were regarded by the Rabbis with some suspicion (Curtis and Madsen, *Chron.* 2), and now stand after E–N 'as if it were an afterthought to admit them to equal authority' (W. R. Smith, *Old Test. Jew. Church*, 182). It is not improbable that this severance involved some subsequent alteration and revision (cf. Marq., 29). Moreover, the recurrence of 1 Chron. ix., N xi., in a single work hardly looks like an original feature; like the more remarkable repetition of the list E ii., N vii. (see Jampel, i. 306; Howorth, *PSBA*, xxvi. 26; Holzhey, 37 n. 2) the feature seems to point to the combination of sources which were primarily distinct.

All the data suggest that *E* and E–N represent concurrent forms which have influenced each other in the earlier stages of their growth. They are rivals, and neither can be said to be wholly older or more historical than the other. The endeavour was made to correct *E* to agree with the MT—and $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ is a conspicuous example of the extent to which the revisers could go—and the presence of such efforts and in particular the doublets (see § 3 *b*) are of essential importance in indicating that *E*'s text does not precisely represent a Heb.-Aram. work, and that when all allowance is made for correction and revision of the Greek, problems of the underlying original text still remain. But it was impossible to make any very satisfactory adjustment, *E* diverged too seriously from the MT, which had cut the chronological knot by the excision of the story of Zerubbabel, and we may suppose that this facilitated the desire for the more literal translation of Theodotion (p. 3 seq.).

§ 7. Value.

Although our O.T. has lost the story of Zerubbabel and the Praise of Truth, there is no doubt that there is something 'unbiblical' in the orations. In the course of the growth of the O.T., compilers and revisers have not unfrequently obscured or omitted that to which they took exception, and some light is thus often thrown upon other phases of contemporary Palestinian or Jewish thought. While the orations themselves remind us of the old 'Wisdom' literature (Proverbs, Ben Sira, Wisdom), their combination with narrative will recall the interesting story of Ahikar. *E* remains 'apocryphal' in so far as it was deliberately rejected by Jewish and Christian schools. It had indeed found a place in the Bible of the Greek-speaking Jews, and was familiar to Jews and Christians, either indirectly through Jos., or directly as a separate work. To the Christians the prominence of Zerubbabel must have been of no little interest (see § 1, end). But the value of *E* does not lie merely in this story. The book (or fragment) furnishes useful evidence for the criticism of the text and contents of the canonical passages, and illustrates methods of compilation and revision, swing of traditions, and play of motives. It clearly indicates the importance of the comparison of related traditions as apart from the ultimate question of the underlying facts, and shows, in conjunction with Jos., how a relatively straightforward account of history as in E–N may be the last stage in the effort to cut the knots formed by imperfect compilation. In its final form, the MT, the result of 'Rabbinical redaction' (Marq., 29), is ascribed by Howorth to the School of Jamnia in the time of Rabbi Akiba (*PSBA*, xxvi. 25), and although it is difficult to find decisive arguments in favour of this conjecture—or against it—it is not impossible that the chronicler's history, as it now reads, may be dated about the beginning of the Christian era. It is significant that it is wanting in the Syriac Peshitta. Such a view, it should be observed, no more expresses an opinion on the dates of the component sources or sections than it would were the work in question a composite and much edited portion of Mishnah or Midrash.

§ 8. Select Bibliography and Abbreviations.

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E = Ezra (the book or man).
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𝔊 = Greek version.
𝔊 Chron., 𝔊E, &c. (or Chron. 𝔊, E𝔊, &c.) = Greek version of Chronicles, Ezra, &c.
𝔊^{BANL} = Codices of the Greek.
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I ESDRAS.

Esdras 1

1 And Josias held the passover in Jerusalem
unto his Lord, and offered the passover the four-
2 teenth day of the first month; having set the
priests according to their daily courses, being
arrayed in their vestments, in the temple of the
3 Lord. And he spake unto the Levites, the
temple-servants of Israel, that they should hallow
themselves unto the Lord, to set the holy ark of
the Lord in the house that king Solomon the son
4 of David had built: *and said*, Ye shall no more
have need to bear it upon your shoulders: now
therefore serve the Lord your God, and minister
unto his people Israel, and prepare you after your
5 fathers' houses and kindreds, according to the
writing of David king of Israel, and according to
the magnificence of Solomon his son:
and stand-
ing in the holy place according to the several
divisions of the families of you the Levites, who
minister in the presence of your brethren the
6 children of Israel, offer the passover in order, and
make ready the sacrifices for your brethren, and
keep the passover according to the commandment
7 of the Lord, which was given unto Moses. And
unto the people which were present Josias gave
thirty thousand lambs and kids, *and* three thou-
sand calves: these things were given of the king's
substance,
according as he promised, to the peo-
8 ple, and to the priests and Levites. And Helkias,
and Zacharias, and Esyelus, the rulers of the
temple, gave to the priests for the passover two
thousand *and* six hundred sheep, *and* three hun-
dred calves.
9 And Jeconias, and Samaias, and
Nathanael his brother, and Sabias, and Ochielus,
and Joram, captains over thousands, gave to the
Levites for the passover five thousand sheep, *and*
seven hundred calves.
10 And when these things

2 Chron. 35

And Josiah kept a passover unto the Lord in 1
Jerusalem: and they killed the passover on the
fourteenth *day* of the first month. And he set 2
the priests in their charges, and encouraged them
to the service of the house of the Lord.
And 3
he said unto the Levites that taught all Israel,
which were holy unto the Lord, Put the holy ark
in the house which Solomon the son of David
king of Israel did build; there shall no more be
a burden upon your shoulders: now serve the
Lord your God, and his people Israel.
And 4
prepare yourselves after your fathers' houses by
your courses, according to the writing of David
king of Israel, and according to the writing of
Solomon his son. And stand in the holy place 5
according to the divisions of the fathers' houses
of your brethren the children of the people, and
let there be for each a portion of a fathers' house
of the Levites. And kill the passover, and sanc- 6
tify yourselves, and prepare for your brethren,
to do according to the word of the Lord by
the hand of Moses. And Josiah gave to the 7
children of the people, of the flock, lambs and
kids, all of them for the passover offerings, unto
all that were present, to the number of thirty
thousand, and three thousand bullocks: these
were of the king's substance. And his princes 8
gave for a freewill offering unto the people, to
the priests, and to the Levites. Hilkiah and
Zechariah and Jehiel, the rulers of the house of
God, gave unto the priests for the passover offer-
ings two thousand and six hundred *small cattle*,
and three hundred oxen. Conaniah also, and 9
Shemaiah and Nethanel, his brethren, and Hasha-
biah and Jeiel and Jozabad, the chiefs of the
Levites, gave unto the Levites for the passover
offerings five thousand *small cattle*, and five
hundred oxen. So the service was prepared, 10

Josiah's passover and death, the last kings of Judah, and the exile. Ch. i. = 2 Chron. xxxv. seq. (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 21–xxv. 30 and the relevant portions of Jeremiah), cf. Jos. *Ant.* x. 4 5–xi. 7 (who uses the canonical books, including Daniel, *E*, and unknown sources). On the text and contents, see the Comm. on Chronicles, also, for the versions, Moulton, *ZATW*, xix. 234 seqq. The whole chapter when compared with MT and 𝔊 of Chron. and Kings furnishes an instructive illustration of the methods and merits of the translator.

2. **arrayed** (ἐστολισμένους), cf. v. 59, vii. 9. Perhaps an Aramaizing mistranslation (Nestle, 24).
3. **temple-servants,** mg. *the Nethinim*, a misreading of MT הַמְּבִינִים. Note the indirect narration in *E* and Chron. 𝔊.
5. **magnificence** (μεγαλειότητα), 𝔊ᴸ (cf. 𝔖) and Chron. 𝔊ᴮᴬ διὰ χειρός, perhaps interpreted 'by the might'. Charles conj. עַל יְדֵי for MT במכתב (a repetition of כתב), misread in *E* as בגדל (private communication).

The paraphrastic 5–7 represent a rather different MT.

8. **Esyelus** (𝔊ᴸ 'Joel'), mg. *Jehiel* (after MT); perhaps Haziel is intended (Fr., Guthe; cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 9).

were done, the priests and Levites, having the unleavened bread, stood in comely order according to the kindreds,

11 and according to the several divisions by fathers' houses, before the people, to offer to the Lord, as it is written in the book of
12 Moses: and thus *did they* in the morning. And they roasted the passover with fire, as appertaineth: and the sacrifices they sod in the brasen
13 vessels and caldrons with a good savour, and set them before all the people: and afterward they prepared for themselves, and for the priests their
14 brethren, the sons of Aaron. For the priests offered the fat until night: and the Levites prepared for themselves, and for the priests their
15 brethren, the sons of Aaron. The holy singers also, the sons of Asaph, were in their order, according to the appointment of David, *to wit*, Asaph, Zacharias, and Eddinus, who was of the
16 king's retinue. Moreover the porters were at every gate; none had need to depart from his daily course: for their brethren the Levites pre-
17 pared for them. Thus were the things that belonged to the sacrifices of the Lord accomplished
18 in that day, in holding the passover, and offering sacrifices upon the altar of the Lord, according
19 to the commandment of king Josias. So the children of Israel which were present at that time held the passover, and the feast of unleavened
20 bread seven days. And such a passover was not held in Israel since the time of the prophet
21 Samuel. Yea, all the kings of Israel held not such a passover as Josias, and the priests, and the Levites, and the Jews, held with all Israel that were present in their dwelling place at Jerusalem.
22 In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josias was
23 this passover held. And the works of Josias were upright before his Lord with a heart full of godli-
24 ness. Moreover the things that came to pass in his days have been written in times past, concerning those that sinned, and did wickedly against the Lord above every people and kingdom, and how they grieved him exceedingly, so that the words of the Lord were confirmed against Israel.

and the priests stood in their place, and the Levites by their courses, according to the king's commandment. And they killed the passover, 11 and the priests sprinkled *the blood, which they received* of their hand, and the Levites flayed them. And they removed the burnt offerings, 12 that they might give them according to the divisions of the fathers' houses of the children of the people, to offer unto the Lord, as it is written in the book of Moses. And so did they with the oxen. And they roasted the passover with fire 13 according to the ordinance: and the holy offerings sod they in pots, and in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all the children of the people. And afterward they prepared for 14 themselves, and for the priests; because the priests the sons of Aaron *were busied* in offering the burnt offerings and the fat until night: therefore the Levites prepared for themselves, and for the priests the sons of Aaron. And the singers 15 the sons of Asaph were in their place, according to the commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters were at every gate: they needed not to depart from their service, for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.

So all the service 16 of the Lord was prepared the same day, to keep the passover, and to offer burnt offerings upon the altar of the Lord, according to the commandment of king Josiah. And the children of Israel 17 that were present kept the passover at that time, and the feast of unleavened bread seven days. And there was no passover like to that kept in 18 Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did any of the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites, and all Judah and Israel that were present, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In 19 the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah was this passover kept.

10–12. A good example of misunderstanding and adjustment. **Unleavened bread** = *commandment* (מַצּוֹת, for מִצְוֹת), **morning** (cf. v. 50) = *oxen* (בֹּקֶר, 𝔊 in *E* and Chron., for בָּקָר); **good savour** = *pans* (εὐωδίας for εὐοδίας [cf. A.V. mg.], 𝔊 in Chron. εὐωδώθη; a misunderstanding of the root צלח in וּבַצְּלָחוֹת; for parallels, see Ecclus. xliii. 26, *Ascens. Isaiah*, vi. 17, and *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1901, p. 169). For 𝔊ᴸ's text, see Torrey, 107.

15. 'To wit', implying that these choir-masters were at Josiah's passover (cf. Chron. 𝔊) is of course erroneous.

Zacharias, may be supported by 1 Chron. xv. 18, xvi. 5, where he ranks next to Asaph; see Benzinger, *Chron.* 74.

was, mg. *were* (𝔊ᴮ). 𝔊ᴸ 𝔏ᶜ + the prophets (so 𝔊 in Chron.); some MSS. of MT read 'seers', cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 1.

23 seq. An addition partly with reference to 1 Kings xiii. 2, 32, 2 Kings xxiii. 14 seqq. (see also 𝔊's addition in Chron.). See further Nestle, 27; Torrey, 88 seq.; Bayer, 95 seq.

24. Better: 'and the things pertaining to him had been written in times past, on account of those . . . and grieved him . . . and the words . . .' (after Ball).

exceedingly (𝔊ᴬ ἐν αἰσθήσει [cf. 𝔖], 𝔊ᴸ ἔτι), mg. *sensibly*; cf. Judith xvi. 17.

confirmed (ἀνέστησαν), a Hebraism, cf. Jer. xliv. 29.

25 Now after all these acts of Josias it came to
pass, that Pharaoh the king of Egypt came to
raise war at Carchemish upon Euphrates: and
26 Josias went out against him. But the king of
Egypt sent to him, saying, What have I to do
27 with thee, O king of Judæa? I am not sent
out from the Lord God against thee; for my
war is upon Euphrates: and now the Lord is
with me, yea, the Lord is with me hasting me
forward: depart from me, and be not against
28 the Lord. Howbeit Josias did not turn back
unto his chariot, but undertook to fight with
him, not regarding the words of the prophet
29 Jeremy *spoken* by the mouth of the Lord: but
joined battle with him in the plain of Megiddo,
and the princes came down against king Josias.
30 Then said the king unto his servants, Carry me
away out of the battle; for I am very weak. And
immediately his servants carried him away out
31 of the host. Then gat he up upon his second
chariot; and being brought back to Jerusalem
he died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his
32 fathers. And in all Jewry they mourned for
Josias; and Jeremy the prophet lamented for
Josias, and the chief men with the women made
lamentation for him, unto this day: and this was
given out for an ordinance to be done continually
33 in all the nation of Israel. These things are
written in the book of the histories of the kings
of Judæa, and every one of the acts that Josias
did, and his glory, and his understanding in the
law of the Lord, and the things that he had done
before, and the things now *recited*, are reported
in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.
34 And the people took Joachaz the son of
Josias, and made him king instead of Josias his
father, when he was twenty and three years old.
35 And he reigned in Judah and in Jerusalem three
months: and then the king of Egypt deposed
36 him from reigning in Jerusalem. And he set a
tax upon the people of a hundred talents of
37 silver and one talent of gold. The king of Egypt
also made king Joakim his brother king of Judæa
38 and Jerusalem. And Joakim bound the nobles:
but Zarakes his brother he apprehended, and
brought him up out of Egypt.

After all this, when Josiah had prepared the 20
temple, Neco king of Egypt went up to fight
against Carchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah
went out against him. But he sent ambassadors 21
to him, saying, What have I to do with thee,
thou king of Judah? *I come* not against thee
this day, but against the house wherewith I have
war; and God hath commanded me to make
haste: forbear thee from *meddling with* God,
who is with me, that he destroy thee not.
Never- 22
theless Josiah would not turn his face from him,
but disguised himself, that he might fight with
him, and hearkened not unto the words of Neco,
from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the
valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at 23
king Josiah; and the king said to his servants,
Have me away; for I am sore wounded. So 24
his servants took him out of the chariot, and put
him in the second chariot that he had, and brought
him to Jerusalem; and he died, and was buried
in the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah
and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jere- 25
miah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing
men and singing women spake of Josiah in their
lamentations, unto this day; and they made them
an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are
written in the lamentations.
Now the rest of the 26
acts of Josiah, and his good deeds, according to
that which is written in the law of the Lord, and 27
his acts, first and last, behold, they are written
in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.
Then the people of the land took Jehoahaz 2 CHRON.
the son of Josiah, and made him king in 36 1
his father's stead in Jerusalem. Joahaz was 2
twenty and three years old when he began to
reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem.
And the king of Egypt deposed him at Jeru- 3
salem, and amerced the land in an hundred talents
of silver and a talent of gold. And the king of 4
Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah
and Jerusalem, and changed his name to Jehoi-
akim. And Neco took Joahaz his brother, and
carried him to Egypt.

25. Jos. x. 5 1 explains the march of Neco as an attack upon the Medes and Babylonians who had overthrown Assyria. On the Median empire see *Introd.*, pp. 11 *c*, 17 *e*.
26. **king of Egypt,** based on a misunderstanding of 'messengers' (מלאכים).
27. **upon Euphrates,** similarly Jos.
28. **unto his chariot**, mg. *his chariot from him* (𝔊ᴸ).
undertook (so Jos., and 𝔊 in Chron.), see Torrey, 221; Charles conj. יִחַשֵּׁב (private communication).
prophet. Neco (so Jos.) misread (נביא for נכו) and plausibly expanded by the addition of the prophet's name.
29. **princes came down**; another misreading (וירדו השרים for וירו הירים with which 𝔊 Chron. and Jos. agree).
30. **host**, better 'line of battle'; apparently reading מערכה for מרכבה.
32. **chief men**; reading שָׂרִים for שָׁרִים.
The dirge, according to Jos., was still extant.
33. With the paraphrase cf. *v.* 42.
34. **Joachaz** (i.e. Jehoahaz), but mg. *Jeconias* (i.e. Jeconiah = Jehoiachin, *v.* 43), so 𝔊ᴮ 𝔏 and Matt. i. 11. Jos. x. 5 2 follows 𝔊 of Chron. with which cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 31–35. All the texts show some confusion here; see the comm.
35. **Judah**, mg. *Israel* (𝔊ᴮ 𝔏); 𝔊ᴸ, Jos. . . and MT (with 𝔊) omit.
38. Hopeless confusion arising from misreadings of the MT.

39 Five and twenty years old was Joakim when
he began to reign in Judæa and Jerusalem; and
he did that which was evil in the sight of the
40 Lord. And against him Nabuchodonosor the
king of Babylon came up, and bound him with
a chain of brass, and carried him unto Babylon.
41 Nabuchodonosor also took of the holy vessels of
the Lord, and carried them away, and set them
up in his own temple at Babylon.
42 But those
things that are reported of him, and of his
uncleanness and impiety, are written in the
chronicles of the kings.

43 And Joakim his son reigned in his stead: for
when he was made king he was eighteen years
44 old; and he reigned three months and ten days
in Jerusalem; and did that which was evil before
the Lord.
45 So after a year Nabuchodonosor sent and
caused him to be brought unto Babylon with
46 the holy vessels of the Lord; and made Sedekias
king of Judæa and Jerusalem,
when he was one
and twenty years old; and he reigned eleven
47 years: and he also did that which was evil in
the sight of the Lord, and cared not for the
words that were spoken by Jeremy the prophet
48 from the mouth of the Lord. And after that
king Nabuchodonosor had made him to swear
by the name of the Lord, he forswore himself,
and rebelled; and hardening his neck, and his
heart, he transgressed the laws of the Lord, the
49 God of Israel. Moreover the governors of the
people and of the priests did many things
wickedly, and passed all the pollutions of all
nations, and defiled the temple of the Lord,
50 which was sanctified in Jerusalem. And the
God of their fathers sent by his messenger to
call them back, because he had compassion on
them and on his dwelling place.
51 But they
mocked his messengers; and in the day when
the Lord spake *unto them*, they scoffed at his
prophets:
52 so far forth, that he, being wroth with
his people for their great ungodliness, com-
manded to bring up the kings of the Chaldeans
53 against them; who slew their young men with
the sword, round about their holy temple, and

Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when 5
he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years
in Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in
the sight of the Lord his God. Against him came 6
up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound
him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon.
Nebuchad- 7
nezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of
the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple
at Babylon. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoi- 8
akim, and his abominations which he did, and
that which was found in him, behold, they are
written in the book of the kings of Israel and
Judah: and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his
stead.
Jehoiachin was eight years old when he began 9
to reign; and he reigned three months and ten
days in Jerusalem: and he did that which was
evil in the sight of the Lord.
And at the return 10
of the year king Nebuchadnezzar sent, and brought
him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the
house of the Lord, and made Zedekiah his bro-
ther king over Judah and Jerusalem.
Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when 11
he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in
Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the 12
sight of the Lord his God; he humbled not him-
self before Jeremiah the prophet *speaking* from
the mouth of the Lord. And he also rebelled 13
against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made
him swear by God: but he stiffened his neck,
and hardened his heart from turning unto the
Lord, the Lord God of Israel.
Moreover all the 14
chiefs of the priests, and the people, trespassed
very greatly after all the abominations of the
heathen; and they polluted the house of the
Lord which he had hallowed in Jerusalem. And 15
the Lord, the God of their fathers, sent to them
by his messengers, rising up early and sending;
because he had compassion on his people, and on
his dwelling place: but they mocked the messen- 16
gers of God, and despised his words, and scoffed
at his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose
against his people, till there was no remedy.
Therefore he brought upon them the king of the 17
Chaldeans, who slew their young men with the
sword in the house of their sanctuary, and had
no compassion upon young man or maiden, old
man or ancient: he gave them all into his hand.

39 seqq. For Joakim's history *E* does not use the fuller 𝔊 of Chron. Jos. incorporates material from Jer. and elaborates the traditions; cf. Dan. i. 1 seq. On the text see further Torrey, 89.

43. **Joakim**, an error for Jehoiachin.

eighteen, mg. *eight* (𝔊ᴮ 𝔏ᶜ 𝔖).

49. **and passed all**, mg. *even above all* (𝔊ᴸ).

50. **messenger**; read the plural, as in *v.* 51. The Jeremian 'rising up early and sending' (השכם ושלוח, cf. Jer. xxix. 19, &c.) is wanting.

51. **in the day**, a misreading, בְּיוֹם for בּוּזִים ('despised').

spared neither young man nor maid, old man nor child; but he delivered all into their hands.
54 And they took all the holy vessels of the Lord, both great and small, with the vessels of the ark of the Lord, and the king's treasures, and
55 carried them away unto Babylon. And they burnt the house of the Lord, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem, and burnt the towers
56 thereof with fire: and as for her glorious things, they never ceased till they had brought them all to nought: and the people that were not slain
57 with the sword he carried unto Babylon: and they were servants unto him and to his children, till the Persians reigned, to fulfil the word of the
58 Lord by the mouth of Jeremy: Until the land hath enjoyed her sabbaths, the whole time of her desolation shall she keep sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.

2 1 In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of
2 Jeremy might be accomplished, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of the Persians, and he made proclamation through all his kingdom,
3 and also by writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of the Persians; The Lord of Israel, the Most High Lord, hath made me king of the

And all the vessels of the house of God, great 18
and small, and the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king, and of his princes; all these he brought to Babylon. And 19
they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof.

And them that had escaped from the 20
sword carried he away to Babylon; and they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia: to fulfil the word of 21
the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: *for* as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.

EZRA 1

Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, 1
that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and *put it* also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus 2
king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord, the God of heaven, given me;

53. **child**, MT יָשִׁישׁ (? 'aged', cf. Ar. *wathwāth*, 'weak, impotent').

54. **the vessels**, mg. *the arks of the Lord* (𝔊^{BL}, 𝔖); based upon a confusion of אוצר ('treasure') and ארון.

56. *Lit.* 'and they made an end of spoiling . . .' (συνετέλεσαν . . . ἀχρεῶσαι); MT כל כלי ('all the goodly . . .') treated as כל ('made an end of') כלו.

that were not slain: τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους ἀπήγαγεν μετὰ (𝔊^{A} ἀπὸ, cf. 𝔏^{c}) ῥομφαίας 'the people that were left he led away with the sword'.

58. The passage (see Jer. xxv. 12, xxix. 10; Lev. xxvi. 34 seq.) is treated as a quotation (cf. comm. on E ix. 11 seq.); on the statements, see Torrey, 286 n. 2.

The decree of Cyrus and the return under Sheshbazzar, ii. 1–15=2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 seq., E i.; cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 1. (*a*) The compiler passes over the years of exile, ignores the tradition of the Median empire represented in Daniel, and proceeds to the first year of Cyrus the Persian, the divinely-appointed agent inspired to fulfil the prophecy of Jeremiah (see Jer. xxiv. 6, xxv. 12 seq., xxix. 10–19, xxxiii. 10–13). His decree (to be contrasted with vi. 24 seqq.) has a marked Jewish tinge, as is recognized even by those who accept it as mainly genuine (Ewald, 49; Sellin, *Stud.* 154; Holzhey, 14), and should be compared with those of Darius (*E* iv.) and Artaxerxes (viii. 8 seqq.), and with the royal decrees in the 'canonical' and 'apocryphal' Esther; see Torrey, 144 n. 12, 158. The place of Cyrus in Jewish tradition (see Is. xli. 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1–13) has been idealized; the story of Bel and the Dragon reveals another view of his character. He was not a monotheist, nor did he fulfil all the expectations of the prophecies. On the other hand, the parallels between his 'cylinder Inscription' and Is. xliv. 28–xlv. 4 (see Kittel, *ZATW*, xviii. 149 seqq.) could suggest that the biblical writers had been directly influenced by the inscription of this patron of the Babylonian gods. Tradition is embellished further in Jos., who refers to a prophecy of Jeremiah heralding the rebuilding of the Temple (x. 7 3, xi. 1 1–2; cf. on v. 61), and attributes the enthusiasm of Cyrus to his perusal of the prophecies of Isaiah (cf. similarly Alexander the Great and Daniel, xi. 8, 5, § 337).

(*b*) The section E i.–vi. is mainly from the chronicler (Driver, *Lit.* 545 seq.), and while Chron. itself can be controlled by the parallel portions of Samuel and Kings, the criticism of this section rests upon internal data and the independent testimony of Haggai and Zech. i.–viii. From a study of these prophecies it is urged that the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem was first begun in the reign of Darius, and not Cyrus (as in E iii.), that the builders were the 'remnant' of Judah, no considerable body of exiles having as yet returned (as in E i. seq., *E* iv.–v. 6), that no serious Samaritan hostility had as yet arisen, and that no separation from the heathen of the land had as yet led to the inauguration of a Jewish 'congregation' or 'church'. See, in the first instance, Schrader, 460–504, and for fuller details *Introd.* § 4 (II).

On the text of ii. 1–15 see the comment., Moulton, *ZATW*, xix. 243 seqq., and Torrey, 120 seqq.

II. 3. **Most High**, MT 'God of Heaven', so also in vi. 31, viii. 19, 21. Definite conclusions can with difficulty be drawn from the numerous and often noteworthy variations in the form of the Divine name; for a summary of the data see Moulton, *ZATW*, xix. 226 seqq. The title 'Most High' (ὕψιστος = עֶלְיוֹן) recurs frequently in Daniel (14 times), Psalms (21), Ecclus. (48), and in Jubilees; more rarely in the Pentateuch (6); see the details in R. H. Charles, *Jubilees*, pp. lxvi, 213, who observes that it was most used in the second cent. B.C. On the Greek title see E. Schürer, *Theolog. Lit.-zeit.*, 1897, nos. 9 and (with a review of F. Cumont's *Hypsistos*) 19; J. Skinner, *Genesis*, 270 seq.

4 whole world, and commanded me to build him
5 a house at Jerusalem that is in Judæa. If there-
fore there be any of you that are of his people,
let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and
let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judæa, and
build the house of the Lord of Israel: he is the
6 Lord that dwelleth in Jerusalem. Of such there-
fore as dwell in divers places, let them that are
7 in his own place help each one with gold, and
with silver, with gifts, with horses also and cattle,
beside the other things which have been added
by vow for the temple of the Lord which is in
Jerusalem.
8 Then the chief of the families of Judah and of
the tribe of Benjamin stood up; the priests also,
and the Levites, and all they whose spirit the
Lord had stirred to go up, to build the house for
the Lord which is in Jerusalem.
9 And they that
dwelt round about them helped them in all things
with silver and gold, with horses and cattle, and
with very many gifts that were vowed of a great
number whose minds were stirred up *thereto.*
10 King Cyrus also brought forth the holy vessels
of the Lord, which Nabuchodonosor had carried
away from Jerusalem, and had set up in his temple
11 of idols. Now when Cyrus king of the Persians
had brought them forth, he delivered them to
12 Mithradates his treasurer, and by him they were
delivered to Sanabassar the governor of Judæa.
13 And this was the number of them: A thousand
golden cups, a thousand cups of silver, censers of
silver twenty nine, vials of gold thirty, and of
silver two thousand four hundred and ten, and
14 other vessels a thousand. So all the vessels of
gold and of silver were brought up, even five

and he hath charged me to build him an house
in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever 3
there is among you of all his people, his God
be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem,
which is in Judah, and build the house of the
Lord, the God of Israel, (he is God,) which is in
Jerusalem. And whosoever is left, in any place 4
where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help
him with silver, and with gold, and with goods,
and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for
the house of God which is in Jerusalem.

Then 5
rose up the heads of fathers' *houses* of Judah and
Benjamin, and the priests, and the Levites, even
all whose spirit God had stirred to go up to build
the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem.
And all they that were round about them 6
strengthened their hands with vessels of silver,
with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with
precious things, beside all that was willingly
offered.
Also Cyrus the king brought forth the 7
vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebu-
chadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem,
and had put them in the house of his gods; even 8
those did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the
hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered
them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah.
And this is the number of them: thirty chargers 9
of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, nine and
twenty knives; thirty bowls of gold, silver bowls 10
of a second sort four hundred and ten, and other
vessels a thousand. All the vessels of gold and 11
of silver were five thousand and four hundred.

5. **people.** $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ + 'who desireth to go up'; cf. *v.* 8, viii. 10 seq.
let the Lord, mg. *let his Lord be, &c.* ($\mathfrak{G}^{B}$), cf. Chron. *Yahweh his God.*
the Lord that dwelleth, cf. E R.V. mg.: *he is the God which* . . . (with omission of the brackets).
7. **horses,** reading רֶכֶשׁ for רְכוּשׁ (cf. *v.* 9); perhaps wrongly, see Torrey, 121.
added by vow (or 'in accordance with vow'), cf. *v.* 9, viii. 13, and see *ZATW*, xix. 231.
9. **in all things,** בכל, for MT בכלי.
of a great number, reading לָרֹב (i.e. 'with precious things *in abundance*') in place of the incorrect לְבַד ('beside').
10. **holy vessels.** For the rendering cf. i. 45, vi. 18, 26; Dan. i. 2 (MS. 87) and Moulton, *ZATW*, xix. 228 seq.
There is an obvious effort to link the new Temple with that of Solomon (cf. similarly the Register of the exiles in v. 1–46), but the details are intricate. *Some* of the Temple-vessels were removed in the reign of Jehoiakim (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7, Dan. i. 2; wanting in 2 Kings). Later, in the time of Jehoiachin *all* were cut up or carried away (2 Kings xxiv. 13 seq., a doubtful passage, see the comm.). In Zedekiah's time, nevertheless, many evidently were left (Jer. xxvii. 16 seqq., xxviii. 3), and a prophecy of their removal also promises their restoration, although this latter feature is absent from $\mathfrak{G}$'s text (xxvii. 16–22). Finally, at the fall of Jerusalem they were broken up and removed (2 Kings xxv. 13–17, Jer. lii. 17 seqq.). (The evidence in Judith iv. 1–3 for a return of exiles and vessels in the time of Nebuchadrezzar and the high-priest Joakim can hardly be discussed.) The sacrilegious use of the vessels by Belshazzar was avenged by the division of the Babylonian empire among the Medes and Persians, and Darius became king (Dan. v.). The tradition of their restoration in the reign of Cyrus clearly conflicts with *E* iv. 44, 57, where Darius effects what Cyrus had been unable to accomplish, and this belief can hardly have been current among those who knew of their return as described in E i. Moreover, the prophets Hag. and Zech. (time of Darius) do not imply that the vessels had been restored; E received rich supplies (*E* viii. 17), and returned with gifts something over £2,500,000 in value (Meyer, 69 seq.). But in the story of N the Temple appears to be neglected and poor, and Is. lx. 5–7 look forward to wealthy gifts. Another aspect is presented when it is supposed that the Temple-furniture had been concealed (see 2 Macc. ii. 4–8; *Apoc. Baruch*, ed. Charles, vi. 7 seqq., lxxx. 2, and p. 168).
12. **Sanabassar** ($\mathfrak{G}^{A}$), mg. *Samanassar* ($\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ in *v.* 14, but 'Sanamassar' here). On the numerous variant forms see Guthe (*SBOT*) and Torrey, 136 seq. See below, vi. 18.
13 seq. On the variations in this passage see Torrey, 123 seq., 138 seq.

15 thousand four hundred threescore and nine, and were carried back by Sanabassar, together with them of the captivity, from Babylon to Jerusalem.

16 But in the time of Artaxerxes king of the Persians Belemus, and Mithradates, and Tabellius, and Rathumus, and Beeltethmus, and Samellius the scribe, with the others that were in commission with them, dwelling in Samaria and other places, wrote unto him against them that dwelt in Judæa and Jerusalem the letter following: 17 To king Artaxerxes our Lord, Thy servants, Rathumus the storywriter, and Samellius the scribe, and the rest of their council, and the judges that are in Cœlesyria and Phœnicia.

18 Be it now known to our lord the king, that the Jews that are come up from you to us, being come unto

All these did Sheshbazzar bring up, when they of the captivity were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem.

EZRA 4

And in the reign of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they an accusation against 6 the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem.

And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, 7 Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of his companions, unto Artaxerxes king of Persia; and the writing of the letter was written in the Syrian *character*, and set forth in the Syrian *tongue*. Rehum the 8 chancellor and Shimshai the scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king in this sort: then *wrote* Rehum the chancellor, and Shim- 9 shai the scribe, and the rest of their companions; the Dinaites, and the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the 10 great and noble Osnappar brought over, and set in the city of Samaria, and in the rest *of the country* beyond the river, and so forth. This is 11 the copy of the letter that they sent unto Artaxerxes the king; Thy servants the men beyond the river, and so forth. Be it known unto the 12 king, that the Jews which came up from thee are come to us unto Jerusalem; they are building

15. Neither MT nor the explicit *E* supports the conjecture (Meyer, 193; cf. Holzhey, 15 seq., Davies, 47) that Sheshbazzar returned to prepare the way for Zerubbabel.

The opposition in the reign of Artaxerxes, ii. 16–30 = E iv. 7–24 (Aramaic), cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2 1–2.

(*a*) This passage cannot, in either E or *E*, come between the reigns of Cyrus and Darius. There is an obvious gap after *v.* 15, and Jos., who ingeniously changes Artaxerxes into Cambyses, avoids it by an introduction (§ 19 seq., to be compared with § 88 = *E* v. 72 seq.), and ends with the statement of a delay of nine years (including 6 of Cambyses, 2 of Darius). The passage has hardly 'strayed' to its place in E (Davies, 84); it is not indispensable in E, whereas in *E* it is a necessary link between the return of Sheshbazzar and the tradition in iii. seq. Various attempts have been made to show that it is in its true position before the accession of Darius, whether by identifying the latter with D. II, or, like Josephus, by treating Artaxerxes as a mistake for Cambyses (cf. Sellin, Winckler, Torrey, and see references by Howorth in *PSBA*, xxiii. 313, 319, and Jampel, i. 103 seqq., ii. 97 seq.). These only cut the knot. Allowance must be made for a compilation based on a particular though erroneous theory of the Median and Persian kings (see Torrey, 38, 286, 302), but the real difficulty is the occurrence of this document relating to the time of Artaxerxes immediately after the reign of Cyrus. On its place, see further below, p. 56, and *Introd.* § 5 (*b*).

(*b*) The text in *E* is certainly from an Aramaic original. Note the translation of בעל טעם 'story-writer' (mg. 'recorder') in 17, 25, but the transliteration in 16 and (with a doublet) 25; the different renderings in E𝔊 (e. g. ἐν εἰρήνῃ for MT Bishlam, *E* Belemus, *v.* 16); and such variant renderings as 'cities' (*v.* 22 for 'provinces'), 'passage' (*v.* 24 and Jos. § 25; הלך for MT חלק 'portion'). *E*, although free and paraphrastic, preserves (as noticed by Volz, 1490) some better readings: 'our lord, the king' (*vv.* 17 seq., 21, cf. vi. 8; in agreement with Aramaic diplomatic usage), 'be it now known' (*v.* 18, see Torrey, 146, 186; 𝔏ᶜ prefixes 'peace'); 'books' (*v.* 21), 'the Jews' (*v.* 23). Sometimes, however, decision is difficult; so in *vv.* 25 seq., 28, the references to the Temple in *vv.* 18, 20, and especially the introduction compared with E iv. 6–11. In the MT 7 and 8 imply *two* letters, but the relationship is not clear; both 8 *b* and 10 *b* (ending 'and now' as in *v.* 11) point to the immediate commencement of a letter. The (Hebrew) reference to Ahasuerus (Xerxes) in *v.* 6 (cf. the story of Esther) is wanting in *E*, although *v.* 16 (end) seems to represent MT 6 *b*, and *v.* 17 covers MT *vv.* 8 (end), 9 (omitting the names after 'Dinaites', *E* 'judges'), and 10 (the reference to 'beyond the river'). Thus *E v.* 18 begins the letter and corresponds to MT 12 (cf. 11 *b* with 10 *b*). The intricacies may be due partly to the compiler's effort to quote a source and also to use it in his narrative (cf. on *E* vi. below), partly also to the revision of *E* after E and the reverse. It is noteworthy that E (where i.–iv. 6 is in Hebrew) takes care to state that the document was in Aramaic and needed translating (*vv.* 7 and 18 R.V. mg.); this is ignored in *E*, as also is the debatable מְפַרְשׁ in *E* ix. 48. See further the comment. and Torrey, 172 seq., 178 seqq., Bayer, 33 seq.

17. **Cœlesyria and Phœnicia.** The geographical term in MT ('Transflumen', 'Transpotamia') represents the Persian province west of the Euphrates, and to this the earlier use of the term Coelesyria (before the first cent. B. C.) corresponds. *E*'s rendering (contrast E𝔊's literal πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ) may point to an Egyptian locale where the geography of Palestine and Syria was unfamiliar (Torrey, 83). Jos. names Syria and Phoenicia, and adds Ammon and Moab; cf. perhaps Tobiah the Ammonite and Sanballat (if a native of Horonaim).

Jerusalem, do build that rebellious and wicked city, and do repair the marketplaces and the walls of it, and do lay the foundation of a temple.
19 Now if this city be builded and the walls *thereof* be finished, they will not only refuse to give tribute, but will even stand up against kings.

20 And forasmuch as the things pertaining to the temple are now in hand, we think it meet not to
21 neglect such a matter, but to speak unto our lord the king, to the intent that, if it be thy pleasure, search may be made in the books of thy fathers:
22 and thou shalt find in the chronicles what is written concerning these things, and shalt understand that that city was rebellious, troubling both
23 kings and cities: and that the Jews were rebellious, and raised always wars therein of old time; for the which cause even this city was laid waste.
24 Wherefore now we do declare unto thee, O lord the king, that if this city be builded again, and the walls thereof set up anew, thou shalt from henceforth have no passage into Cœlesyria and
25 Phœnicia. Then the king wrote back again to Rathumus the storywriter, and Beeltethmus, and Samellius the scribe, and to the rest that were in commission, and dwelt in Samaria and Syria and
26 Phœnicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle which ye have sent unto me:

therefore I commanded to make search, and it hath been found that that city of old time hath made in-
27 surrection against kings; and the men were given to rebellion and war therein: and that mighty kings and fierce were in Jerusalem, who reigned and exacted tribute in Cœlesyria and Phœnicia.
28 Now therefore I have commanded to hinder those men from building the city,

and heed to be taken that there be nothing done contrary to
29 this *order*; and that those wicked doings pro-
30 ceed no further to the annoyance of kings. Then king Artaxerxes his letters being read, Rathumus, and Samellius the scribe, and the rest that were in commission with them, removing in haste unto Jerusalem with horsemen and a multitude of people in battle array, began to hinder the builders; and the building of the temple in Jeru-

the rebellious and the bad city, and have finished the walls, and repaired the foundations.

Be it 13
known now unto the king, that, if this city be builded, and the walls finished, they will not pay tribute, custom, or toll. and in the end it will endamage the kings. Now because we eat the 14
salt of the palace, and it is not meet for us to see the king's dishonour, therefore have we sent and certified the king; that search may be made in 15
the book of the records of thy fathers: so shalt thou find in the book of the records, and know that this city is a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces, and that they have moved sedition within the same of old time: for which cause was this city laid waste.

We certify the 16
king that, if this city be builded, and the walls finished, by this means thou shalt have no portion beyond the river.

Then sent the king an answer 17
unto Rehum the chancellor, and to Shimshai the scribe, and to the rest of their companions that dwell in Samaria, and in the rest *of the country* beyond the river, Peace, and so forth. The letter 18
which ye sent unto us hath been plainly read before me. And I decreed, and search hath been 19
made, and it is found that this city of old time hath made insurrection against kings, and that rebellion and sedition have been made therein. There have been mighty kings also over Jeru- 20
salem, which have ruled over all *the country* beyond the river; and tribute, custom, and toll, was paid unto them. Make ye now a decree to 21
cause these men to cease, and that this city be not builded, until a decree shall be made by me. And take heed that ye be not slack herein: why 22
should damage grow to the hurt of the kings?

Then when the copy of king Artaxerxes' letter 23
was read before Rehum, and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went in haste to Jerusalem unto the Jews, and made them to cease by force and power.

Then ceased the work of

18. **lay the foundation . . .**, καὶ ναὸν ὑποβάλλονται (BA; ὑπερβάλλοντα θεμελιοῦσιν, L).
20. **temple . . . in hand** (ἐνεργεῖται τὰ κατὰ τὸν ναόν), lit. 'are being urged on'. MT *Now because . . . palace* (G^BA om.) may mean that the writers are in the king's service, or have entered into a covenant with him, or (reading 'our salt is the . . .'; Nestle, Strack) receive the dues of the palace or temple (cf. E vii. 22, 1 Macc. x. 29, xi. 35). *E* apparently rests upon some confusion of מלח ('salt'), with מלאכת ('work of'), מלת ('the matter of'), or perhaps מלא ('be full, complete'). In any case the reference to the Temple here and in *v.* 18 is noteworthy; either it may be part of a deliberate aim to introduce allusions to the Temple (see Bayer, 87 seqq., 94 seq., 102), or there was a tradition of the building of the Temple in the time of Artaxerxes. The latter finds independent support (see *Introd.* § 5 *e*), and the text in MT may be explained by the fact that, while in *E* and E Sheshbazzar had returned to rebuild the Temple, in E only is there an account of the commencement of the work and the delay. See also *Introd.* 15 seq.
23. Rather 'rebellious and still continuing sieges therein from of old' (Ball).
30. **horsemen**, &c.; MT *force* (*lit.* 'arm') *and power* (lit. 'strength' or 'army'). Cf. the situation in N iv. 2, 8.

salem ceased until the second year of the reign of Darius king of the Persians.

the house of God which is at Jerusalem; and it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia.

3 1 Now king Darius made a great feast unto all his subjects, and unto all that were born in his house,
2 and unto all the princes of Media and of Persia, and to all the satraps and captains and governors
3 that were under him, from India unto Ethiopia, in the hundred twenty and seven provinces. And when they had eaten and drunken, and being satisfied were gone home, then Darius the king went into his bedchamber, and slept, and awaked out of his sleep.
4 Then the three young men of the body-guard, that kept the king's person, spake one to another:
5 Let every one of us say one thing which shall be strongest: and he whose sentence shall seem wiser than the others, unto him shall Darius the king give great gifts, and great honours in token of

The Story of the Three Pages and the Decree of Darius, iii. 1–v. 6, wanting in E; see Jos. xi. 3 2–6.

(*a*) This section, famous for the Praise of Truth and for the familiar though often misquoted saying in iv. 41, is the centre of the problems of *E*. The story, well-known to early Christian Fathers and Synoptists, appears to be a piece of popular literature (cf. Susanna, Bel and the Dragon), not originally connected with Zerubbabel (see iv. 13, v. 5). Although ascribed to the early part of the reign of Darius (iv. 43, v. 6), it was evidently not written for the present context, which, indeed, it throws into great chronological confusion (see iv. 44, 57; v. 2, 55, 71, 73). In fact, the name Apame (iv. 29) suggests the time of Darius III (Codomannus), and the original scene, not laid in Babylon (iv. 57, 61), though ostensibly in Susa, was probably Egypt (so most scholars) or Antioch in Syria (Marq. 66). The orations are not distinctively biblical. That on drink stands in contrast, e.g. to Prov. xxiii. 29–35, Ecclus. xxxi. 25–30; and iv. 20 and 39 do not necessarily indicate any acquaintance with Gen. ii. 24 and Deut. x. 17 respectively. Allusions to Samson (so Lupton) are not obvious in iv. 17, 24, 26. The religious colouring is weak, but has been deepened by translators (see iv. 35 seq., 41, 59). Even the fine Praise of Truth seems to be an early addition: it is loosely appended to the paean of women, which, again, is out of touch with O.T. thought. Yet, even though the story be somewhat removed from biblical ideas, it may still be Jewish. The Praise of Truth, for example, may be a specimen of Palestinian wisdom (Zunz), and although Volz (1493) thinks it shows contact with Alexandrian religious philosophy, Torrey (46 seq.) fails to find anything 'hellenistic' or suggestive of the influence of Greek literature or philosophy.

(*b*) Ewald has suggested a connexion with the Sibylline books (iii. 293 seq.), where allusion is made to Persian kings inspired by *dreams* to further the restoration of the Temple. This is as little convincing or helpful as the alleged parallel between the questions debated by the Three Pages and the propositions put to the Jewish elders in the Letter of Aristeas. On the other hand, the opening of the story is clearly reminiscent of Est. i. 1–3; iii. 9 seems to be connected with Dan. vi. 2 (Torrey, 48), and several other interesting points of contact with Esther and Daniel have been noticed by Bayer (110 seqq.). Lagarde (*Mittheil.* iv. 358) conjectured that the story once followed after Dan. vi. 1. It is not improbable that the compiler identified Darius with the Mede in Dan. v. 31 (Hitzig, Reuss), and Büchler (51) further points out that Daniel's prayer in the first year of Darius (ix.) knows of no earlier return of exiles and may be associated with *E*'s story of Zerubbabel, which is placed in the king's second year. The story contains data which ignore and exclude *E* ii. 1–15 (note that Cyrus follows Darius in the book of Daniel). The land is waste and is partly occupied by Edomites who had burned the Temple. Neither exiles nor Temple-vessels had as yet returned, and now for the first time the favour of Persia had been gained and permission was given to return. For some reason Cyrus had been unable to fulfil his vow, and that of Darius is virtually a duplicate. It is, as Ewald (129) trenchantly observes, 'as if these kings had been in the habit of thinking of the God of Israel and the fate of his people at every critical moment of their lives, and the history of the whole world had strictly hinged in consequence upon the changes of its lot'. Ewald, however, accepts the decree of Cyrus, and this leaves no room for that of Darius, which is as credible, in itself, as that of the other Persian kings. See below, p. 32.

(*c*) It is very generally agreed that, with the exception of v. 1–6, the section was probably or certainly composed in Greek. But signs of a Hebrew original have been noticed by Schrader, Renan, Ball, and especially Jahn, who offers a Hebrew retranslation (177–88). Torrey (20–25, 37–61) argues for a Hebrew or Aramaic original, on the grounds of internal linguistic features, antecedent probability (viz. the close connexion between v. 1–6 and the end of iv.), and the characteristic interest in the ecclesiastical bodies (iv. 51–56). He notices several 'Aramaisms' (e.g. use of τότε, Aram. אדין; ἤρξατο, שרי), and concludes that the Story of the Three Pages was in Aramaic, and metrical (p. 47); *vv.* 43–46 were also in Aramaic, but the sequel in Hebrew (pp. 29 seq., 58). Bayer (123 seqq.) agrees, but urges that the whole of iii. and iv. was in Aramaic. See further Torrey's retranslation and notes (50 seqq.), and below on iv. 42 seqq. Jos. reproduces the section, with a necessary introduction to account for the presence of Zerubbabel; he seems to have used a slightly different version (Büchler, 57 seqq., 100; see on iii. 3). An abbreviated version is given in the Latin summary published by Lagarde (*Sept. Stud.* ii. 16 seqq.; here cited as Lag.), and in Josippon (see Büchler, 59 seqq., 62 seq., 100 seq.). For other witnesses see on iv. 36, 41, 59.

III. 3. **slept, and awaked**: ἐκοιμήθη καὶ ἔξυπνος ἐγένετο, 'lay down and was sleepless', cf. ἔξυπνος in mod. Greek 'wide-awake' (J. C. Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore*, p. 31). According to Jos. § 35, cf. § 57, the king was restless (cf. Est. vi. 1), and was the first to suggest the orations and to promise and specify rewards. This conflicts with *v.* 8 seq., but seems to be hinted at in iv. 42 (πλείω τῶν γεγραμμένων). On the other hand, *E* does not allow that the suggestion came from the king, who is asleep (*vv.* 8 seq., 13). Jahn proposes to read ἔνυπνος (p. 177); Torrey (24, 50) conjectures that the original Aramaic text read: '(*v.* 3) . . . Darius . . . slept. (*v.* 4) Then stood on the watch (or "bestirred themselves" מתערין הוו) three young guardsmen (who protected the person of the king: a gloss), and they said . . .'

5. **thing** (λόγον), i.e. sentence, as in *v.* 16.
strongest (ὑπερισχύσει), i.e. shall prevail.
sentence (ῥῆμα), i.e. argument.
honours, &c., ἐπινίκια μεγάλα, (*v.* 6) καὶ πορφύραν περιβαλέσθαι; Jos. § 35 νικητήριον πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι. Cf. Dan. v. 7.

6 victory: as, to be clothed in purple, to drink in gold, and to sleep upon gold, and a chariot with
7 bridles of gold, and a headtire of fine linen, and a chain about his neck: and he shall sit next to
8 Darius because of his wisdom, and shall be called Darius his cousin. And then they wrote every
9 one his sentence, and set to their seals, and laid *the writing* under king Darius his pillow, and said,
When the king is risen, some shall give him the writing; and of whose side the king and the three
princes of Persia shall judge that his sentence is the wisest, to him shall the victory be given, as it is
10, 11, 12 written. The first wrote, Wine is the strongest. The second wrote, The king is strongest. The
third wrote, Women are strongest: but above all things Truth beareth away the victory.
13 Now when the king was risen up, they took the writing, and gave it unto him, and so he read it:
14 and sending forth he called all the princes of Persia and of Media, and the satraps, and the captains,
15 and the governors, and the chief officers; and sat him down in the royal seat of judgement; and the
16 writing was read before them. And he said, Call the young men, and they shall explain their own
17 sentences. So they were called, and came in. And they said unto them, Declare unto us your
mind concerning the things ye have written.
18 Then began the first, who had spoken of the strength of wine, and said thus, O sirs, how exceeding
19 strong is wine! it causeth all men to err that drink it: it maketh the mind of the king and of the
fatherless child to be all one; of the bondman and of the freeman, of the poor man and of the rich:
20 it turneth also every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor
21 debt: and it maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor satrap; and it
22 maketh to speak all things by talents: and when they are in their cups, they forget their love both
23 to friends and brethren, and a little after draw their swords: but when they awake from their wine,
24 they remember not what they have done. O sirs, is not wine the strongest, seeing that it enforceth
to do thus? And when he had so spoken, he held his peace.
4 1, 2 Then the second, that had spoken of the strength of the king, began to say, O sirs, do not men
3 excel in strength, that bear rule over the sea and land, and all things in them? But yet is the king
stronger: and he is their lord, and hath dominion over them; and in whatsoever he commandeth
4 them they obey him. If he bid them make war the one against the other, they do it: and if he
5 send them out against the enemies, they go, and overcome mountains, walls, and towers. They
slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandment: if they get the victory, they bring
6 all to the king, as well the spoil, as all things else. Likewise for those that are no soldiers, and
have not to do with wars, but use husbandry, when they have reaped again that which they had sown,
7 they bring it to the king, and compel one another to pay tribute unto the king. And he is but one
8 man: if he command to kill, they kill; if he command to spare, they spare; if he command to
smite, they smite; if he command to make desolate, they make desolate; if he command to build,
9, 10 they build; if he command to cut down, they cut down; if he command to plant, they plant. So
all his people and his armies obey him: furthermore he lieth down, he eateth and drinketh, and

9. **some** (i.e. they) **shall give**, δώσουσιν. 𝔏 *dabimus.*
three princes, cf. Est. i. 14 (𝔊, but MT 7, as in *E* viii. 11).
as it is written, Jahn restores *according to his writing.*
12. **above all things** . . . (ὑπὲρ δὲ πάντα . . .), i.e. 'Truth is victor over all' (Torrey, p. 24, cf. נצח על). 'The third appears to have a double thesis to maintain, thus interfering with the symmetry' (Lupton).
13. 𝔊ᴸ 'writings', and similarly in *v.* 15.
14. 𝔊ᴸ om. *satraps.* Cf. Dan. iii. 2 for this list.
15. **sat**; 𝔏 𝔖 *they sat.*
seat of judgement (χρηματιστηρίῳ), council-chamber (cf. A.V. mg.).
16. **he**, 𝔊ᴸ 𝔖 *they.*
17. **they said**, 𝔏 he said, 𝔊ᴸ 𝔏ᶜ and the king said.
18. 𝔏 *quam* (+facile 𝔏ᶜ; cito Lag.) *praevalet* (𝔏ᶜ vincit) *vinum omnibus hominibus* (𝔏ᶜ omnes homines) *qui bibunt illud.*
21. **speak . . . by talents**, 𝔊ᴸ+καὶ πάντα διὰ γραμμάτων ποιεῖ ὅταν δὲ πίνωσι.
23. **awake**, 𝔊ᴮ ἐγερθῶσιν, 𝔊ᴬ γενηθῶσιν, 𝔊ᴸ γένωνται, 𝔏ᶜ *et cum digesserit vinum et surrexerint* (Lag. cum a'vino fuerint . . .).
24. 𝔊ᴸ how is not wine . . ., cf. iv. 12, 32.
IV. 2. **that bear** . . ., rather 'in bearing rule . . .'
3. **their lord**, 𝔊ᴬ lord of all, cf. A.V.; 𝔏 rex autem super omnia praecellit, 𝔏ᶜ . . . super fortis est.
and hath . . . them, 𝔊ᴸ om.
obey, 𝔊ᴮ𝔖 ἐνακούουσιν, 𝔊ᴸ αὐτὸς, ἀκούουσι τοῦ ἑνός, 𝔊ᴬ ποιήσουσιν (cf. L Lag. faciunt); 𝔏ᶜ om. 'and in . . . him'.
5. **as well the spoil** . . . 𝔊 καὶ (A+ὅσα) ἐὰν προνομεύσωσιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα (i.e. 'and if they raid—and all else' [in like manner]), 𝔏 they bring to the king whatsoever they spoil. Torrey (52) conjectures a confusion of Aram. אחד 'take' and אחר 'other'.
7. **but one man**, mg. *one and alone*; 𝔊 καὶ αὐτὸς εἰ (𝔊ᴮᵃᵇᴬᴸ εἷς) μόνος ἐστίν, cf. Josh. xxii. 20, Judith i. 11 (so Torrey, 52. who would join the words to *v.* 6).
8. 𝔊 om. *if* in *v.* 8 seq. 𝔊ᴬ om. εἶπεν ἐρημῶσαι ἐρημοῦσιν. Cf. generally Dan. v. 19.

11 taketh his rest : and these keep watch round about him, neither may any one depart, and do his own
12 business, neither disobey they him *in anything*. O sirs, how should not the king be strongest, seeing that in such sort he is obeyed ? And he held his peace.
13 Then the third, who had spoken of women, and of truth, (this was Zorobabel) began to speak.
14 O sirs, is not the king great, and men are many, and wine is strong ? who is it then that ruleth them,
15 or hath the lordship over them ? are they not women ? Women have borne the king and all the
16 people that bear rule by sea and land. Even of them came they : and they nourished them up that
17 planted the vineyards, from whence the wine cometh. These also make garments for men ; these
18 bring glory unto men ; and without women cannot men be. Yea, and if men have gathered together gold and silver and every other goodly thing, and see a woman which is comely in favour and beauty,
19 they let all those things go, and gape after her, and even with open mouth fix their eyes fast on her ;
20 and have all more desire unto her than unto gold or silver, or any goodly thing whatsoever. A man
21 leaveth his own father that brought him up, and his own country, and cleaveth unto his wife. And
22 with his wife he endeth his days, and remembereth neither father, nor mother, nor country. By this also ye must know that women have dominion over you : do ye not labour and toil, and give and
23 bring all to women ? Yea, a man taketh his sword, and goeth forth to make outroads, and to rob
24 and to steal, and to sail upon the sea and upon rivers ; and looketh upon a lion, and walketh in the
25 darkness ; and when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his love. Wherefore a man
26 loveth his wife better than father or mother. Yea, many there be that have run out of their wits for
27 women, and become bondmen for their sakes. Many also have perished, have stumbled, and sinned,
28 for women. And now do ye not believe me ? is not the king great in his power ? do not all regions
29 fear to touch him ? Yet did I see him and Apame the king's concubine, the daughter of the illus-
30 trious Bartacus, sitting at the right hand of the king, and taking the crown from the king's head,
31 and setting it upon her own head ; yea, she struck the king with her left hand : and therewithal the king gaped and gazed upon her with open mouth : if she laughed upon him, he laughed also : but if she took any displeasure at him, he was fain to flatter, that she might be reconciled to him again.
32 O sirs, how can it be but women should be strong, seeing they do thus ?
33 Then the king and the nobles looked one upon another : so he began to speak concerning truth.
34 O sirs, are not women strong ? great is the earth, high is the heaven, swift is the sun in his course, for he compasseth the heavens round about, and fetcheth his course again to his own place in one
35 day. Is he not great that maketh these things ? therefore great is truth, and stronger than all

13. *οὗτός ἐστιν Zορ.*, 𝔊ᴸ 𝔏ᶜ 𝔖 +the son of Salathiel, Lag. +of the house of David, of the tribe of Judah, cf. v. 5. The identity of the unknown third youth (note *v.* 58), thus parenthetically introduced, is stated also by 𝔊ᴸ in *v.* 61, by 𝔏ᶜ in 33, 43, 58, and by Jos. regularly after iv. 40.

14. **is not . . .** 𝔊ᴸ by omitting the negative, makes the statement, and joining the verse on to *v.* 15, reads 'have not women borne the king ? and all the people . . . land were even of them '.

men are many, or are mighty, see Torrey, 24, 53.

From *v.* 14 seq. Büchler (61 seq.) conjectures that the first and second orations have been transposed ; cf. August. *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36 'quum reges unus dixisset, alter vinum, tertius mulieres,' &c.

17. **garments . . . glory**, probably a doublet (Torrey).

18. **and see . . .**, 𝔊ᴬ do they not love (cf. A.V.).

comely . . . beauty *καλὴν . . . τῷ κάλλει*, an evident sign of translation (Torrey, 53).

21. **endeth his days**, 𝔊 *ἀφίησι τὴν ψυχήν* ; or 'loseth his life' (Ball, who cfs. Gen. xxxv. 18 𝔊) ; otherwise '. . . for the sake of (ב misunderstood) his wife' (Jahn, 178), or 'abandoneth himself' (Torrey, 53, cf. 𝔖). Jos. § 52 *καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν* (*ἀξιοῦμεν καί*, see Niese) *καρτεροῦμεν*.

22. **ye must know . . . over you**, 𝔊ᴸ 'we . . . us '.

23. **make outroads**, 𝔊ᴮᴸ *ἐξοδεύειν* (cf. 1 Macc. xv. 41), 𝔊ᴬ *εἰς ἐξοδίαν*, 𝔏ᶜ 'to waylay', 𝔖 'to travel '.

and to steal, 𝔊ᴸ om.

24. **looketh upon** (i. e. faces or confronts), 𝔊 *θεωρεῖ*, 𝔏 *contemnit*, Lag. *vidit* ; Treuenfels conj. *θηρεύει*, 'hunts '.

25. **Wherefore**, *lit.* 'and ', similarly in *vv.* 35 ('therefore '), 49 ('moreover ').

27. **stumbled**, 𝔊ᴮᴬ *ἐσφάλησαν*, 𝔊ᴸ *ἐσφάγησαν* (cf. 𝔏), 𝔖 'erred '.

28. **do ye not**, 𝔊ᴸ 'if ye '.

29. **I see him and**, Torrey, 339 conj. *I myself* (*αὐτός*) *saw* . . .

the illustrious Bartacus. 𝔊 *Βαρτακου* (BA ; *Βαζακου*, L ; *ραβεζακου*, Jos. ; Bezacis, Bezzachi, Lat. ; r-b-'-'r-t-k 𝔖) *τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ* (*θεμασίου* Jos., ? a proper name, cf. *Θαμάσιος*, Herod. vii. 194). The reference may be to no historical person (Bayer, 116), or to Apame daughter of the satrap Artabazos III, or of the Bactrian satrap Spitamenes ; the former was given to Ptolemy Lagos, the latter to Seleucus Nicator. Thus the story may relate to Egypt or to Antioch, and date from the time of Darius III, Codomannus (*c.* 300 B.C.). See further, Marq. 65 seq. ; Torrey, 40 seqq., 54, 102 ; Josippon (Büchler, 66 n. 2) would make Apame the daughter of Axios (?) the Macedonian.

30. **struck**, 𝔊 *ἐράπιζεν*, 'was slapping '.

31. **therewithal**, 𝔊 *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις*, 'and moreover' (Lupton, cf. *v.* 10), or, 'and in spite of this ' (Torrey, 25, 54).

33. **one upon another**, 𝔊ᴮ *εἰς* [*ἕτερος πρός*, A] *τὸν ἕτερον* ; 𝔊ᴸ *ἕτ. τῷ ἑτέρῳ* (see Torrey, 54 *g*).

35. **maketh**, rather 'doeth ' ; the reference is transferred from the Sun to the Deity (see esp. Jos.).

therefore, *καί*, rather 'but '.

36 things. All the earth calleth upon truth, and the heaven blesseth her: all works shake and tremble,
37 but with her is no unrighteous thing. Wine is unrighteous, the king is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, all the children of men are unrighteous, and unrighteous are all such their works; and
38 there is no truth in them; in their unrighteousness also they shall perish. But truth abideth, and
39 is strong for ever; she liveth and conquereth for evermore. With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, *and refraineth* from all unrighteous and
40 wicked things; and all men do well like of her works. Neither in her judgement is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, and the kingdom, and the power, and the majesty, of all ages. Blessed
41 be the God of truth. And with that he held his tongue. And all the people then shouted, and said, Great is truth, and strong above all things.
42 Then said the king unto him, Ask what thou wilt more than is appointed in writing, and we will give it thee, inasmuch as thou art found wisest; and thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my

36. **calleth upon**, A.V. mg. *praiseth the truth*, Lag. *invocat*; Athanasius, *Or. II. c. Arian.* ii. xx, quotes the passage ('all . . . tremble'), and argues that if all the earth 'praiseth' (ὑμνεῖ) the Demiurge and Truth, the former is the Logos.

works, ἔργα, perhaps originally 'created things' (Torrey), Lag. *quae mouentur trement.*

with her (so Jos.), but *him* (mg.) is a well attested reading and refers to the Deity as in *v.* 35 (see Torrey, 55).

37. **and there is**, Torrey (25) conj. 'if (εἰ) there is . . .'

38–40. See Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiv., August. *de Civit. Dei*, xviii. ch. 36.

38. **for evermore**, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, a Semitism.

39. **rewards**, $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ διαφορά (cf. 𝔏 𝔖), $\mathfrak{G}^{AL}$ διαφθορά; Torrey, 56 *a*, compares 2 Chron. xix. 7.

and refraineth, similarly $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ $\mathfrak{L}^{C}$ 𝔏 Lag.; the text implies a misunderstanding of the comparative particle: 'things that are just *rather than* all . . .' (Fr., Ball, Torrey, 25, 56).

do well like, εὐδοκοῦσι, cf. Matt. iii. 17.

40. **she**, αὕτη; $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ αὐτῆς 'hers'; read perhaps αὐτῇ 'to her' (cf. Lag. *ipsi*). With the doxology cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 11, Dan. ii. 37, Matt. vi. 13.

Blessed . . ., or, since Truth is praised, restore 'blessed of God be Truth' (Torrey, 56).

41. 𝔊 Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὑπερισχύει; 𝔏 *magna est veritas et praevalet* ($\mathfrak{L}^{C}$ + *omnibus*). There is no good authority for the erroneous *praevalebit.* Jos. ignores the saying. Cyprian (*Ep.* lxxiv. 9) quotes it as *veritas manet et invalescet.* August. (*de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36) refers to this passage as a prophecy of Christ. See further, for citations, Pohlmann, 263 seq.

The appendix on Truth (*vv.* 33–41) does not seem to be part of the original story; one may perhaps compare the various embellishments in the story of Ahikar. André (192) points out parallels in the praise of Wisdom and refers to Wisd. iii. 9, where Truth has a deeper mystical signification as though synonymous with the God of Truth.

The decree of Darius and the return of Zerubbabel, iv. 42–v. 6. (*a*) The vow of Darius practically duplicates that of Cyrus, and both kings are curiously associated with the capture of Babylon in Jos. x. 11 4. That Cyrus was unable to fulfil his vow need not imply, as Büchler supposes, the existence of some specific tradition; it may be merely an attempt to justify this story of Darius, see *Introd.* p. 16. In any case the return of exiles under Zerubbabel in the reign of Darius (v. 6) is complicated by the references in v. 7 seqq. (E ii. seq.) to that of Cyrus. Since ii. 1–15 seems to be incomplete, it has been urged that the gap between E i. and ii. may be filled, partly at least, by *E* v. 1–6, reading *Cyrus* for *Darius* in *v.* 2 and adjusting or omitting *v.* 6 (see Ewald, 86; the comm. of Bertheau and Ryssel; Sellin, *Stud.*, 112 seq.; Davies, 49 seq.). Against this see Schrader, 482 n. *b.* It is otherwise held that v. 1–6 refer to a return, perhaps under Joakim (see v. 5), in the reign of Darius (De Saulcy and Kaulen [so Nikel, 52, 126]; Schrader; Reuss; Ryle, 15; André, 137–40). But it has been shown by Schrader (*loc. cit.*) and Torrey that this passage cannot be severed from the close of iv, and that both are of Semitic origin. The relationship between E i. and *E* iv. v. 1–6, 7 seqq. (E ii.) thus becomes more difficult, and Torrey (followed by Kent) would treat the Story of the Three Youths as an (Aramaic) interpolation in the (Hebrew) history of the time of Cyrus. Hence iv. 43–7, 57–61, and v. 6 *a* are regarded as redactional, linking the interpolated Darius story with the main narrative. The latter thus comprises E i. (*E* ii. 1–15), *E* iv. 47 *a*, 48 *a* ('and *Cyrus* the king wrote . . .'), 48 *b*–56, 62 seq., v. 1 seqq. (with *Cyrus* in *v.* 2, and in *v.* 6 reading only 'in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, king of Persia, in the month . . .'); see Torrey, *Journ. Bibl. Lit.*, xvi (1897), 168 seq., *Ezra Stud.*, 26, 32 seq., 58, 133; Kent, 340 seq. This would represent an earlier stage than the MT, but still furnishes a narrative, which both scholars regard as unhistorical, and which has been expanded by transferring E iv. 7 seqq. from its incorrect position before the reign of Darius to one equally incorrect in *E* ii. 16 seqq.

(*b*) Although the effort has been made to link together traditions of Cyrus and Darius, the interpolation-hypothesis brings fresh difficulties. The Story of the Three Pages (iii. 1–iv. 41), whatever its true origin and form, can only have been used because of its sequel. True, it could only have been inserted here, but a compiler was under no obligation to insert it, and the exhibition of rhetorical skill evidently served his purpose. The royal favour once obtained is turned to good account (cf. Est. v.), and unless the story had been already connected with Jewish history it is difficult to explain its presence. Only the fact that it deals with Darius and not Cyrus explains its survival, and the confusion arising from the effort to combine it with the history of the exiles is evidence of deliberate method. On these grounds, then, we have a bona-fide tradition—not necessarily a valuable one—of a return in the reign of Darius. Hence it is that ii. 16 seqq. seek to explain the delay between the time of Cyrus (who belongs to the past, ii. 30, iii. 1, iv. 44, 57) and that of Darius, and that Darius is represented partly as initiating (iv. 43, 47–56) and partly as endorsing (iv. 44, 57, see vi. 34) the return of the Jews. The whole is the result of a compromise. iv. 43–6 (Aramaic, Torrey, 29 n. 13) and 57–61 (Hebrew, *id.* 59) bear no resemblance to redactional patches (against Torrey, 57 seqq.). They actually being new details (the valuable *v.* 45), and *vv.* 44, 57, by ignoring the return of the vessels in ii. 10–15, link conflicting traditions, but do not link an otherwise unnecessary interpolation with the tradition which runs through E i.–iii. Besides, it is not clear that the gap between E i. and ii. is filled by Torrey's restoration (see Bayer, 134) or that the attempt to fill it is (in view of the development of the Cyrus-tradition) at all necessary. It may be concluded,

43 cousin. Then said he unto the king, Remember thy vow, which thou didst vow to build Jerusalem,
44 in the day when thou camest to thy kingdom, and to send away all the vessels that were taken out of Jerusalem, which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon, and vowed to send them
45 again thither. Thou didst also vow to build up the temple, which the Edomites burned when Judæa
46 was made desolate by the Chaldeans. And now, O lord the king, this is that which I require, and which I desire of thee, and this is the princely liberality that shall proceed from thee: I pray therefore that thou make good the vow, the performance whereof thou hast vowed to the King of heaven with thine own mouth.

47 Then Darius the king stood up, and kissed him, and wrote letters for him unto all the treasurers and governors and captains and satraps, that they should safely bring on their way both him, and
48 all those that should go up with him to build Jerusalem. He wrote letters also unto all the governors that were in Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, and unto them in Libanus, that they should bring
49 cedar wood from Libanus unto Jerusalem, and that they should build the city with him. Moreover he wrote for all the Jews that should go out of his realm up into Jewry, concerning their freedom,
50 that no officer, no governor, no satrap, nor treasurer, should forcibly enter into their doors; and that all the country which they occupied should be free to them without tribute; and that the Edomites
51 should give over the villages of the Jews which then they held: and that there should be yearly
52 given twenty talents to the building of the temple, until the time that it were built; and other ten talents yearly, for burnt offerings to be presented upon the altar every day, as they had a command-
53 ment to offer seventeen: and that all they that should come from Babylonia to build the city should
54 have their freedom, as well they as their posterity, and all the priests that came. He wrote also *to*
55 *give them* their charges, and the priests' vestments wherein they minister; and for the Levites he wrote that their charges should be given them until the day that the house were finished, and
56, 57 Jerusalem builded up. And he commanded to give to all that kept the city lands and wages. He sent away also all the vessels from Babylon, that Cyrus had set apart; and all that Cyrus had given in commandment, the same charged he also to be done, and sent unto Jerusalem.

58 Now when this young man was gone forth, he lifted up his face to heaven toward Jerusalem, and
59 praised the King of heaven, and said, From thee cometh victory, from thee cometh wisdom, and
60 thine is the glory, and I am thy servant. Blessed art thou, who hast given me wisdom: and to thee
61 I give thanks, O Lord of our fathers. And so he took the letters, and went out, and came unto
62 Babylon, and told it all his brethren. And they praised the God of their fathers, because he had

therefore, that *E* iii. 1–v. 6 furnish a distinctive tradition of some return in the reign of Darius in accordance with his decree in *vv.* 48–56. See further on vi. seq.

On the text of iv. 42 seqq., see especially Torrey, 125 seqq.

43. **Remember,** $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ + O king.

44. **he vowed . . . Babylon,** $\mathfrak{S}$ om.; Gaab (see Fr.) and Torrey conj. 'when he began' (ἤρξατο); $\mathfrak{L}$ *cum excideret* (*desolavit*) *B*. Jos. § 58 omits all reference to Cyrus—'the vessels which Neb., having pillaged, carried to B.'

45. **Edomites,** cf. viii. 69. $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ Ἰουδαῖοι; $\mathfrak{L}$ Lag. '. . Chaldei cum desolata esset Iudea.' Fr. cites MS. 44: . . . ἐνεπύρισε Naβ. See *Introd.* § 5*f.*

46. **O lord the king,** cf. Dan. iv. 24.

and this is the . . .; 'and since such munificence is thine' (Torrey, 29 n. 13).

the vow . . . vowed, lit. 'the vow which thou didst vow.'

47. **letters,** lit. 'the letters', viz. which he desired. The reference is naturally to Darius and Zerubbabel; but on the theory that the story is an interpolation, Cyrus writes for Sheshbazzar (Torrey, Kent).

48. The grant of wood; see v. 55.

49. **enter . . . doors.** According to Jos. § 61 the royal taxes are remitted, cf. E vii. 24.

50. **Edomites** ($\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ Chaldeans). Jos. adds the Samaritans and people of Coelesyria.

51. **twenty talents,** $\mathfrak{G}^{L}\mathfrak{S}$ + 'of silver'. Jos. reads 'fifty', but omits the numbers in *v.* 52.

temple, τὸ ἱερόν, probably בית האלהים; for היכל *E* usually has ναός.

52. **and other . . . yearly,** $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{S}$ at end of verse, perhaps rightly.

seventeen should probably be omitted (Lupton, 69; Torrey, 127).

53. The reference to freedom seems out of place, see Büchler, 98 seq., who joins the last words ('and for all the priests . . .') to *v.* 54.

54. **to give them,** cf. $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ δοθῆναι.

charges, χορηγία. In *v.* 55, Jos. § 62 has 'for the Levites, the musical instruments (τὰ ὄργανα) wherewith they praise God'. With the interest in the Levites, cf. E vii. 24, and especially N xi. 23.

56. **kept** (φρουροῦσι) **the city**; Jos. + 'and the temple'; on his paraphrase of the verse, see Büchler, 99 n. 3.

58. **toward Jerusalem,** cf. Dan. vi. 10, Tob. iii. 11 seq. With the prayer cf. E vii. 27, Dan. ii. 19, 20, 23.

59. $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ 'counsel (βουλή) and wisdom and victory, and thine is the glory'; so $\mathfrak{L}^{c}$, transposing 'wisdom' and 'victory'. Origen, *Hom. ix. in Iosuam*, quotes from 'Esdras': 'a te Domine est victoria et ego servus tuus, benedictus es Deus veritatis' (cf. *v.* 40).

60. **give thanks,** rather 'praise'.

62. **God of their fathers,** cf. E vii. 27, viii. 28, x. 11.

63 given them freedom and liberty to go up, and to build Jerusalem, and the temple which is called by his name: and they feasted with instruments of music and gladness seven days.

5 1 After this were the chiefs of fathers' houses chosen to go up according to their tribes, with their 2 wives and sons and daughters, with their menservants and maidservants, and their cattle. And Darius sent with them a thousand horsemen, till they had brought them back to Jerusalem safely, 3 and with musical instruments, tabrets and flutes. And all their brethren played, and he made them go up together with them.

4 And these are the names of the men which went up, according to their families amongst their 5 tribes, after their several divisions. The priests, the sons of Phinees, the sons of Aaron: Jesus the son of Josedek, the son of Saraias, and Joakim the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the 6 house of David, of the lineage of Phares, of the tribe of Judah; who spake wise sentences before Darius the king of Persia in the second year of his reign, in the month Nisan, which is the first month.

EZRA

7 And these are they of Jewry that came up | Now these are the children of the province, 2 1

63. **which is called . . .** 𝔊 οὗ ὠνομάσθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ; a Hebraism, cf. 2 Chron. vi. 33, vii. 14, *E* vi. 33. **feasted,** Jos. § 66 τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἑορτάζοντες.

V. 2. **brought . . . back,** 𝔊ᴮᴬ ἀποκαταστῆσαι, 𝔊ᴸ ἀποκατασκηνῶσαι.

safely, mg. *with peace,* a literal rendering in the Greek of the Hebrew term. For the escort, cf. E viii. 22, N ii. 9.

3. **And all . . .,** 𝔊 MSS. nos. 55, 58 omit 'and'; the brethren were naturally the musicians, cf. *v.* 42 below.

he made . . ., 𝔊ᴸ 'they'. Restore perhaps (after Torrey, 130) 'played and were sending them (on their way) as they went up'. Cf. Jos., and possibly (so Lupton) Tertullian, *De Cor. Milit.* ix. 'facilius cum tympanis et tibiis et psalteriis revertens de captivitate Babyloniae quam cum coronis', &c.

4. Cf. viii. 28; the *tribal* arrangement also recalls E's twelve lay-families.

5. Read 'of the priests' (Torrey, 131), cf. E viii. 2, where also priests are mentioned first (cf. E iii. 2, but contrast iv. 3, v. 2).

Phinees (Phinehas), the son (𝔊ᴸ 𝔖) + of Eleazar the son of Aaron (𝔊ᴸ).

and Joakim the son of Z. 𝔊ᴸ ὁ καὶ Z., thus identifying, cf. Zer. and Sheshbazzar in vi. 18. This genealogy conflicts with that of Zerubbabel in 1 Chron. iii. 19 seqq., and Joakim the priest was the son of Jeshua (N xii. 10, 26). Some (e.g. Fr., Reuss) accept Joakim as the original hero of the story in iii. seq. and as the leader of a return in the reign of Darius. Büchler (56) would read 'and Zer. the son of Shealtiel the son of Joakim' (i.e. the king), corresponding to Jeshua the grandson of the priest Seraiah. Similarly Bayer (121 seq.) who also reads 'Jeshua the son . . . of Seraiah, the son of Phinehas, the son of Aaron the priest'. Torrey (131) suggests 'and there rose up with him Zer.' (ויקם בו, cf. ii. 8). This is attractive but seems rather abrupt. The analogy of E viii. 2 would suggest the presence of priestly and Davidic representatives. Such is the confusion, however, in the history of the return that 'Joakim the son of' may conceivably be an insertion on the view that Zer. (identified with Sheshbazzar) had already led a return in the time of Cyrus. On the intricacies see *Introd.* p. 15 seq.

6. **which is . . .,** rather 'on the first of the month' (Fr.; Jahn; Torrey, 27, 61). The date is properly not that when Zer. gained the king's ear (cf. N ii. 1, also the first month), but of the departure (see *E* viii. 6), and, although it conflicts with *v.* 57, the mention of the year is presupposed by the reference in *v.* 47. Note the care to give dates in E vii. 7 seq., viii. 31, &c.

The Register of the Return. v. 7–46 = E ii, N vii. 6–73; Jos. xi. 3 10 merely gives a brief summary. This list is the foundation-stone of the canonical post-exilic history, its authenticity a matter of keen dispute among those who have investigated this period, its essential trustworthiness accepted even by those who reject almost all that remains for the time of Cyrus (*E* i.–iv. 5). Its problems involve the entire structure of E–N. It is the list of those who returned 'every man to his own city' (*E v.* 8), thus connecting in the most realistic manner the large community (the *ḳāhāl*) which returned to the land of their ancestors with the pre-exilic population. It is no less closely connected with subsequent events in E–N; note the families in Ezra's band several decades later (see on *E* viii. 28–40), the enumeration in *E* ix. 21 seqq., the signatories of the covenant (N x.), and the various lists in N xii. As a whole the list may be likened to the register of the children of Israel before the Exodus (Gen. xlvi. 8–27) and after the settlement (Num. xxvi. 1–51, 1 Chron. ii.–viii.).

As a Register of the Return it ignores both the many Jews who had never left Palestine or who may have fled (perhaps temporarily) into Egypt, and the South Judaean families who had moved northwards into the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (1 Chron. ii.). Confining itself to the deportation by Nebuchadrezzar it ignores other returns (on the assumption that Zech. vi. 9 seq. do not represent an isolated occurrence). It implies the possibility of a very easy settlement by the exiles among the people of the land (contrast the tradition in *E* iv. 50); and the manifest improbability that the families could return after many years each to its old abode cannot be explained away (with Meyer, 151, and others) in view of the explicit statements in *v.* 46 seq. Moreover, the list includes the common people (see 2 Kings xxiv. 14–16), numbers Zerubbabel alone among the Davidic descendants, and apparently excludes guilds of artisans (2 Kings, *l.c.*). Although the numbers (*v.* 41) have been skilfully defended, considerable perplexity is caused by the place-names enumerated (see Elhorst, *Th. T.* xxix, 97 seq.; Kosters ib. xxx, 499 seq., xxxi, 531; Nikel, 57 seq.). Whether the list enumerates families carried off at the exile or applies to the new settlers—and those who accept the list are divided on this very important question—it is very difficult to account for the absence of some places (Nikel, 54 seq.) and the presence of others (Meyer, 105 seqq., 190). Moreover, the list implies a careful retention of the various local origins and divisions of the ecclesiastical and lay families during the years of exile, although once in Palestine there are, as is to be expected, continual changes and developments (Kosters, *E Bi.* col. 1483, § 8). No doubt some of the personal names are old, but it is improbable that such family-names as Jeshua, Pahath-moab, Elam, Bigvai (better Bagoi *E v.* 14), and Aspadath (*E* Aspharasus *v.* 8) are of pre-exilic date. It also assumes the existence

from the captivity, where they dwelt as strangers,
whom Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon had
carried away unto Babylon.

8 And they returned
unto Jerusalem, and to the other parts of Jewry,
every man to his own city, who came with Zoro-
babel, with Jesus, Nehemias, *and* Zaraias, Resaias,
Eneneus, Mardocheus, Beelsarus, Aspharasus,
9 Reelias, Roimus, *and* Baana, their leaders. The
number of them of the nation, and their leaders:
the sons of Phoros, two thousand a hundred
seventy and two: the sons of Saphat, four
10 hundred seventy and two: the sons of Ares,
11 seven hundred fifty and six: the sons of Phaath
Moab, of the sons of Jesus and Joab, two thou-
sand eight hundred and twelve:
12 the sons of
Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four:
the sons of Zathui, nine hundred forty and five:
13 the sons of Chorbe, seven hundred and five: the
sons of Bani, six hundred forty and eight: the
sons of Bebai, six hundred twenty and three:

that went up out of the captivity of those which
had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar
the king of Babylon had carried away unto
Babylon, and that returned unto Jerusalem and
Judah, every one unto his city; which came with 2
Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah,
Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, Ba-
anah. The number of the men of the people of
Israel:
the children of Parosh, two thousand 3
an hundred seventy and two.

The children of 4
Shephatiah, three hundred seventy and two.
The children of Arah, seven hundred seventy 5
and five. The children of Pahath-moab, of the 6
children of Jeshua *and* Joab, two thousand eight
hundred and twelve. The children of Elam, a 7
thousand two hundred fifty and four. The chil- 8
dren of Zattu, nine hundred forty and five. The 9
children of Zaccai, seven hundred and threescore.
The children of Bani, six hundred forty and two. 10
The children of Bebai, six hundred twenty and 11

of trustworthy genealogies (*v.* 37 seqq.) which apparently were not preserved at Babylon, but were cherished by the natives of Judah. Such lists as are incorporated in Chron. (especially 1 Chron. xxiv., which has several points of resemblance with the E–N lists) are on critical grounds practically valueless for the pre-exilic age, and it is necessary, therefore, to suppose that—if the great list is genuine—the older genealogical records have disappeared (see Meyer, 140, 160 seqq.). On the other hand, one important list which vitally conflicts with this is preserved in Neh. iii., and, as Ed. Meyer was the first to observe, testifies to the prominence of an indigenous population, secular and ecclesiastical, wherein the presence of the South Judaean groups may be recognized. But that list testifies also to the weakness of any body of Babylonian exiles; see *Introd.* § 5 (*c*).

While this list forms the backbone of the biblical post-exilic history and is in a context where the events are closely interconnected (viz. the generous decree, the great return, the steps to reorganize religious conditions), the evidence of Haggai and Zechariah (520 B.C.) renders the whole context untrustworthy (so even Meyer, pp. 49, 73, 98 seq., 191). These prophets ignore the presence of this great community (see *Introd.* § 4. II.), and the successful opposition as described in *E* v. 66 seqq. 'shows how small a number had really returned' (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii, 298 seq.). Certain considerations might support the genuineness of the list and its context (see Davies, 14, 80; Torrey, 144), but the weight of evidence, and the recognition that the list has been subsequently 'edited' (Holzhey, 15; Davies, 51), or may comprise the result of several returns between 538 and 520 or 516 (Sellin, *Ser.* 7, *Stud.* 42, 108 seq., 115, 158), indicate that whatever return or returns took place the list and the context describe events in such a way that the historical facts cannot be recovered by any internal criticism of the narratives.

The list appears in the account of Nehemiah (*c.* 444) where it is treated as that of 'the children of the province', and should incorporate those native families who had separated from the heathen (*E* vii. 6. 13); see *Introd.* p. 9. On internal grounds N vii. (not necessarily in its present form) appears to be its earlier form, and it is noteworthy that *E* and to a greater extent E show traces of some adjustment of the list to the history before the building of the Temple (see below). On the minutiae of the list, see Smend (who notes frequent agreement with N, so also Bayer, 38); Moulton, *ZATW*, xix, 246 seq.; Meyer, 141 seqq., and Bayer, 42 seqq., and, besides the comm., the several articles in *E Bi.* The readings in the R.V. mg., with the identifications of the more difficult names, have been omitted in the notes here and in the other lists, viii. 29 seqq., ix. 19 seqq., &c.

7. **captivity** . . . , 𝔊 *τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς παροικίας* (𝔊ᴸ *ἀποικεσίας*).

8. The leaders are twelve in number (cf. the tribes, and see on *v.* 4) through the insertion of Eneneus (= Nahamani N vii. 7). N𝔊 reads 'who came with Zer. and Jeshua and Neh.: Azariah . . . Mispereth, Ezra, Bigvai . . . Baanah, Masphar'; cf. the old view that the return of Zer. was contemporary with that of N or E (see *Introd.* p. 10 *a*). Among the important variants are *E Zaraias* (E *Seraiah*, N *Azariah*); *Resaias* (E *Reelaiah*, N *Raamiah*, see *E Bi.*, 3997); *Beelsarus* (EN *Bilshan*, see *E Bi.*, 574); *Aspharasus* (? Pers. Aspadata; Marq. 35); *Reelias* (i.e. Reelaiah, EN *Bigvai*); *Roimus* (E *Rehum*, N *Nehum* = 𝔊ᴸ in E). Jos. xi. 3 § 73 seq. mentions besides Zer. and Jeshua two names of prominent donors (see *v.* 44 seq.), Mordecai (see on vii. 15) and Sherebiah.

9–23. The lay-families. *E* 15 seq. add *Kilan* (? Keilah), *Azetas* (? Azekah), *Azaru* or *Azuru* (cf. Asara *v.* 31, or Azzur N x. 17), *Annis* or *Annias* (cf. Hananiah, or Hodiah N x. 18). For *Arom* cf. *Harim*, E 32 (wanting in *E*, unless *Chorbe v.* 12 represents it and not *Zaccai*; see N x. 14) or *Hashum* (E 19 before *Gibbar* [see below]; N x. 18 before *Bezai* [*E* Bassai]). On these additions see also Bayer, 43 seqq., 75. For the compound *Arsiphurith*, cf. *Jorah* E 18 = *Hariph* N vii. 24 (𝔊ᴺ + 'the children of Asen'), x. 19. *Baiterus* (note the number) takes the place of *Gibbar* (E) or *Gibeon* (N); cf. perhaps Bether, Josh. xv. 19 𝔊 and see Guthe, *SBOT*. With the *Chadiasai*, cf. perhaps Hadashah, Josh. xv. 37, or Adasa, 1 Macc. vii. 40; and with the *Ammidioi*, perhaps Modin, 1 Macc. ii. 1, or Migdal-Gad, or Middin (Ball); Bayer (45 seq.) discovers the names Hashum and Hodijah. In *v.* 21 Ai is wanting, and if *Niphish* represents *Magbish* (E only, cf. Magpiash N x. 20), the men of Nebo, the other Elam (cf. E 31) and Harim (see E 39, *E* 25) are absent. *Calamolalus* (𝔊ᴮ -calus) and *Onus* represent *Lod*, *Hadid* and *Ano*.

the sons of Astad, a thousand three hundred
14 twenty and two: the sons of Adonikam, six
hundred sixty and seven: the sons of Bagoi, two
thousand sixty and six:
the sons of Adinu, four
15 hundred fifty and four: the sons of Ater, of
Ezekias, ninety and two: the sons of Kilan and
Azetas, threescore and seven: the sons of Azaru,
16 four hundred thirty and two: the sons of Annis,
a hundred and one: the sons of Arom: the sons
of Bassai, three hundred twenty and three: the
17 sons of Arsiphurith, a hundred and twelve: the
sons of Baiterus, three thousand and five: the
sons of Bethlomon, a hundred twenty and three:
18 they of Netophas, fifty and five: they of Ana-
thoth, a hundred fifty and eight: they of Bethas-
19 moth, forty and two: they of Kariathiarius,
twenty and five: they of Caphira and Beroth,
20 seven hundred forty and three: the Chadiasiai
and Ammidioi, four hundred twenty and two:
they of Kirama and Gabbe, six hundred twenty
21 and one: they of Macalon, a hundred twenty
and two: they of Betolion, fifty and two: the
sons of Niphis, a hundred fifty and six:

22 the sons
of Calamolalus and Onus, seven hundred twenty
23 and five: the sons of Jerechu, three hundred
24 forty and five: the sons of Sanaas, three thou-
sand three hundred and thirty. The priests:
the sons of Jeddu, the son of Jesus, among the
sons of Sanasib, nine hundred seventy and two:
the sons of Emmeruth, a thousand fifty and two:
25 the sons of Phassurus, a thousand two hundred
forty and seven: the sons of Charme, a thousand
and seventeen.
26 The Levites: the sons of Jesus,
and Kadmiel, and Bannas, and Sudias, seventy
27 and four. The holy singers: the sons of Asaph,
28 a hundred twenty and eight. The porters: the
sons of Salum, the sons of Atar, the sons of
Tolman, the sons of Dacubi, the sons of Ateta,
the sons of Sabi, in all a hundred thirty and nine.

29 The temple-servants: the sons of Esau, the sons
of Asipha, the sons of Tabaoth, the sons of
Keras, the sons of Sua, the sons of Phaleas, the

three. The children of Azgad, a thousand two 12
hundred twenty and two. The children of 13
Adonikam, six hundred sixty and six. The 14
children of Bigvai, two thousand fifty and six.
The children of Adin, four hundred fifty and 15
four. The children of Ater, of Hezekiah, ninety 16
and eight.

The children of Bezai, three hundred 17
twenty and three. The children of Jorah, an 18
hundred and twelve. The children of Hashum, 19
two hundred twenty and three. The children of 20
Gibbar, ninety and five. The children of Beth- 21
lehem, an hundred twenty and three. The men 22
of Netophah, fifty and six. The men of Ana- 23
thoth, an hundred twenty and eight. The chil- 24
dren of Azmaveth, forty and two. The children 25
of Kiriath-arim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven
hundred and forty and three. The children of 26
Ramah and Geba, six hundred twenty and one.
The men of Michmas, an hundred twenty and 27
two. The men of Beth-el and Ai, two hundred 28
twenty and three. The children of Nebo, fifty 29
and two. The children of Magbish, an hundred 30
fifty and six. The children of the other Elam, 31
a thousand two hundred fifty and four. The 32
children of Harim, three hundred and twenty.
The children of Lod, Hadid, and Ono, seven 33
hundred twenty and five. The children of 34
Jericho, three hundred forty and five. The 35
children of Senaah, three thousand and six
hundred and thirty. The priests: the children 36
of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, nine hundred
seventy and three.
The children of Immer, a 37
thousand fifty and two. The children of Pashhur, 38
a thousand two hundred forty and seven. The 39
children of Harim, a thousand and seventeen.
The Levites: the children of Jeshua and Kad- 40
miel, of the children of Hodaviah, seventy and
four. The singers: the children of Asaph, an 41
hundred twenty and eight. The children of the 42
porters: the children of Shallum, the children of
Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of
Akkub, the children of Hatita, the children
of Shobai, in all an hundred thirty and nine.
The Nethinim: the children of Ziha, the children 43
of Hasupha, the children of Tabbaoth; the chil- 44
dren of Keros, the children of Siaha, the children

24 seq. The priests. The family of Jedaiah is ascribed to Sanasib (𝔏ᶜ Enassibe) i.e. Eliashib, grandson of Jeshua and grandfather of Jaddua (N xii. 10–12); Meyer, 169; Batten, *SBOT*, 59. The omission of Eliashib in EN is more explicable (in view of the foreign alliance in N xiii. 4, 28) than its presence in *E*. The reference to Jeshua may be due to insertion. Apart from this, it is noteworthy that there is little variation in the versions, perhaps an indication of the lateness of the list of the priests (*SBOT loc. cit.*).

26. The Levites. As regards the small number, it may be noticed that certain Levitical families, at all events, appear not to have been deported, so Henadad (see *v.* 58), and also the Korahites (Meyer, *Israel.*, 352 n. 5), see Meyer, *Ent.* 167, 177, Nikel, 86 (from another standpoint), and *Introd.* § 5 (*c*).

29 seqq. The Nethinim. *E* (but not 𝔊ᴸ, which is as usual corrected after the MT) adds *Uta* (? cf. *Uthai*, E viii. 14), *Ketab* (or Ketam, cf. N vii. 48 𝔊ᴺᴬ, and see Torrey, 89 seq., Bayer, 52), *Chaseba* (? cf. Chezib, Cozbi), *Asara* (see *Azaru*, *v.* 15, and cf. Ḥasrah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22), *Pharakim* (see *E Bi.*, 3686) and *Cutha* (? cf. the Cuthaeans, or, with Bayer, Sotai, E 55).

30 sons of Labana, the sons of Aggaba, the sons of
Acud, the sons of Uta, the sons of Ketab, the
sons of Accaba, the sons of Subai, the sons of
Anan, the sons of Cathua, the sons of Geddur,
31 the sons of Jairus, the sons of Daisan, the sons of
Noeba, the sons of Chaseba, the sons of Gazera,
the sons of Ozias, the sons of Phinoe, the sons of
Asara, the sons of Basthai, the sons of Asana,
the sons of Maani, the sons of Naphisi, the sons
of Acub, the sons of Achipha, the sons of Asur,
32 the sons of Pharakim, the sons of Basaloth, the
sons of Meedda, the sons of Cutha, the sons of
Charea, the sons of Barchus, the sons of Serar,
the sons of Thomei, the sons of Nasi, the sons of
Atipha.
33 The sons of the servants of Solomon:
the sons of Assaphioth, the sons of Pharida, the
sons of Jeeli, the sons of Lozon, the sons of
34 Isdael, the sons of Saphuthi, the sons of Agia,
the sons of Phacareth, the sons of Sabie, the sons
of Sarothie, the sons of Masias, the sons of Gas,
the sons of Addus, the sons of Subas, the sons of
Apherra, the sons of Barodis, the sons of Saphat,
35 the sons of Allon. All the temple-servants, and
the sons of the servants of Solomon, were three
36 hundred seventy and two. These came up from
Thermeleth, and Thelersas, Charaathalan lead-
37 ing them, and Allar; and they could not shew
their families, nor their stock, how they were of
Israel: the sons of Dalan the son of Ban, the
sons of Nekodan, six hundred fifty and two.
38 And of the priests, they that usurped the office
of the priesthood and were not found: the sons
of Obdia, the sons of Akkos, the sons of Jaddus,
who married Augia one of the daughters of
39 Zorzelleus, and was called after his name. And
when the description of the kindred of these men
was sought in the register, and was not found,
they were removed from executing the office of
40 the priesthood: for unto them said Nehemias
and Attharias, that they should not be partakers
of Padon; the children of Lebanah, the children 45
of Hagabah, the children of Akkub; the children 46
of Hagab, the children of Shamlai, the children
of Hanan; the children of Giddel, the children of 47
Gahar, the children of Reaiah; the children of 48
Rezin, the children of Nekoda, the children of
Gazzam; the children of Uzza, the children of 49
Paseah, the children of Besai; the children of 50
Asnah, the children of Meunim, the children of
Nephisim; the children of Bakbuk, the children 51
of Hakupha, the children of Harhur; the chil- 52
dren of Bazluth, the children of Mehida, the
children of Harsha;
the children of Barkos, the 53
children of Sisera, the children of Temah; the 54
children of Neziah, the children of Hatipha.
The children of Solomon's servants: the children 55
of Sotai, the children of Hassophereth, the chil-
dren of Peruda; the children of Jaalah, the 56
children of Darkon, the children of Giddel; the 57
children of Shephatiah, the children of Hattil,
the children of Pochereth-hazzebaim, the chil-
dren of Ami.

All the Nethinim, and the chil- 58
dren of Solomon's servants, were three hundred
ninety and two. And these were they which 59
went up from Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, Cherub,
Addan, *and* Immer: but they could not shew
their fathers' houses, and their seed, whether
they were of Israel: the children of Delaiah, the 60
children of Tobiah, the children of Nekoda, six
hundred fifty and two. And of the children of 61
the priests: the children of Habaiah, the children
of Hakkoz, the children of Barzillai, which took
a wife of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite,
and was called after their name. These sought 62
their register *among* those that were reckoned
by genealogy, but they were not found: there-
fore were they deemed polluted and put from
the priesthood. And the Tirshatha said unto 63
them, that they should not eat of the most holy

33 seq. Servants of Solomon. *E* (but not 𝔊ᴸ) omits *Sotai*, severs (with 𝔊 of E–N) *Pochereth-hazzebaim*, and between the latter and *Ami* (E; N *Amon*, *E* Allon) inserts eight names, on which see *E Bi.*

36. See the comm. *Leading* is apparently based upon a doublet of *Tel-harsha* (חרשא), as though connected with ראש (רשא) 'head, leader'; but see *v.* 8 end.

37. **Dalan,** 𝔊ᴮ *ασαν*, MT Delaiah. *Ban*, marg. *Baenan* (𝔊ᴮ), but MT Tobiah (? cf. N vi. 17 seq., xiii. 4), though with the addition of *βουα*, E𝔊ᴮ, N𝔊ᴬ. *Nekoda(n)*, cf. *v.* 31 (*E* Noeba).

38. **And of the priests** (similarly N 63), they that claimed . . . (*οἱ ἐμποιούμενοι* [𝔊ᴸ *μεταποι.*] *ἱερωσύνης*). *Obdia*, 𝔊ᴮ Obbeia, N Hobaiah. The family of Hakkoz, according to the traditional view, had been legitimate (1 Chron. xxiv. 10), was now deposed, but was subsequently reinstated and held a prominent place (N iii. 4, 21, E viii. 33). If this list is of the time of Zerubbabel we must explain the retention of the name in N vii. 63 and its omission in N x., xii. (cf. Kosters, *Th. T.*, xxxi, 539). The passage has not the value set upon it (notably by Meyer, 170, who compares the Calebite Ḳoṣ, 1 Chron. iv. 8; see also Jampel i, 313), but only shows that at some period the legitimacy of the family was evidently doubtful.

the sons of Jaddus, apparently Jaddua; note the variant text in E.

40. **Attharias,** i.e. the Tirshatha (cf. ix. 49). The verb (*εἶπεν*) is in the singular and 𝔊ᴸ (see A.V. mg.) identifies the two. 𝔖 reads only *Nehemiah*, and MT only the *Tirshatha* (cf. the variants in *E* ix. 49). Even if the identification be due to a gloss (Fr., cf. Bayer, 53) it must serve a purpose (as in iv. 13, vi. 18), and it is only intelligible if the list belonged originally to the history of N's age (see W. R. Smith, *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed., art. 'Haggai', xi, 370; Harvey, *Expos.*, 1893, vii. p. 440; Howorth, *PSBA*, xxiii, 309 seq.). The mitigated form of the decision in the MT is probably

of the holy things, till there arose up a high
41 priest wearing Urim and Thummim. So all
they of Israel, from twelve years old *and upward*, beside menservants and womenservants,
were *in number* forty and two thousand three
42 hundred and sixty. Their menservants and
handmaids were seven thousand three hundred
thirty and seven: the minstrels and singers, two
hundred forty and five:
43 four hundred thirty and
five camels, seven thousand thirty and six horses,
two hundred forty and five mules, five thousand
five hundred twenty and five beasts of burden.
44 And certain of the chief men of their families,
when they came to the temple of God that is in
Jerusalem, vowed to set up the house again in
45 its own place according to their ability, and to
give into the holy treasury of the works a thousand pounds of gold, five thousand of silver, and
a hundred priestly vestments.
46 And the priests
and the Levites and they that were of the people
dwelt in Jerusalem and the country; the holy
singers also and the porters and all Israel in their
villages.
47 But when the seventh month was at hand,
and when the children of Israel were every man
in his own place, they came all together with
one consent into the broad place before the first
48 porch which is toward the east. Then stood up
Jesus the son of Josedek, and his brethren the
priests, and Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and
his brethren, and made ready the altar of the
49 God of Israel, to offer burnt sacrifices upon it,
according as it is expressly commanded in the
things, till there stood up a priest with Urim
and with Thummim. The whole congregation 64
together was forty and two thousand three
hundred and threescore,
beside their menservants 65
and their maidservants, of whom there were seven
thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and
they had two hundred singing men and singing
women. Their horses were seven hundred thirty 66
and six; their mules, two hundred forty and
five; their camels, four hundred thirty and five; 67
their asses, six thousand seven hundred and
twenty. And some of the heads of fathers' 68
houses, when they came to the house of the
Lord which is in Jerusalem, offered willingly for
the house of God to set it up in its place: they 69
gave after their ability into the treasury of the
work threescore and one thousand darics of gold,
and five thousand pound of silver, and one hundred priests' garments. So the priests, and the 70
Levites, and some of the people, and the singers,
and the porters, and the Nethinim, dwelt in their
cities, and all Israel in their cities.

And when the seventh month was come, and 3 1
the children of Israel were in the cities, the
people gathered themselves together as one
man to Jerusalem.
Then stood up Jeshua the 2
son of Jozadak, and his brethren the priests,
and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and his
brethren, and builded the altar of the God of
Israel, to offer burnt offerings thereon, as it is
written in the law of Moses the man of God.

less original (Guthe, Bertholet, Jahn); instead of being removed, the priests are forbidden to share in the most holy things, which were restricted to the Aaronites.

41. For the age-limit (also in Jos.) cf. Luke ii. 42.

42. For the minstrels cf. *v.* 2 seq., and see Meyer, 192.

43. The horses and mules are wanting in good MSS. of N.

44 seq. *E* and E omit N vii. 70, which refers vaguely to the donations of the heads 'to the work' and mentions the gifts of the Tirshatha (i.e. Nehemiah, so $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$), and also ib. 72, the gifts of the rest of the people, although the priestly garments are recorded. The emphasis upon the proposed building of the temple, natural in *E*E, is wanting in N, although the record there professes to be taken from the history of the time of Zerubbabel (N vii. 5). For the view that *E*E represent a less original form of the passage, see Meyer, 195; Wellh., *GGN*, 1895, p. 176; Nikel, 75 n. 1; Sellin, *Stud.*, 110; Guthe, *SBOT*. For the general situation, cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 6 seqq.

46. On the data of MT and the versions, see the comm. The mention of Jerusalem here and ix. 37 presupposes the completion of the rebuilding of the city; the omission in MT may be due to the context: in E, the city has not yet been restored, in N it is still poorly inhabited and barely ready. Elsewhere, in 1 Chron. ix. 2, N xi, 3. 20 there is a distinction between Jerusalem and the outside villages. In N xi. some of the ecclesiastical body dwell in the city (*v.* 21), but others live in the villages (N xii. 28 seq., cf. 1 Chron. ix. 16), and in N xiii. 10 Levites and singers have deserted and returned to their abodes. In 1 Chron. xiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxiii. 2, they are summoned, especially when new conditions are inaugurated, or when (xxix. 4) the temple-service is resumed (cf. the dedication of the walls, N xii. 27 seq.), or when fresh arrangements are made for them (2 Chron. xxxi. 19).

The Rebuilding of the Altar and the Foundation of the Temple. v. 47–65 = E iii., cf. Jos. xi. 4 1–2. The description of the resumption of the Levitical service (cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31, 2 Chron. ii. 4, viii. 12 seq.) begins with the congregating of the exiles (now 'the children of Israel') in the seventh month. This is the first year of the return (cf. *v.* 56 [Cyrus] and the preliminary date *v.* 6 [Darius]). In ‖ N vii. 73 *b*, viii. 1, it is the first year of N's return (after the completion of the walls, vi. 15), and it introduces the Reading of the Law, which in ‖ *E* ix. 37 *b*, 38 seqq. is the sequel to the purging of the community (cf. probably *E* v. 36–40 and the allusions in vii. 6, 13). The scene of the assembly in *v.* 47 (cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 4, a story of the restoration of the Temple after some disaster, *v.* 9) presupposes the existence of the Temple, as in ix. 6 (E x. 9), 38 (N viii. 1), and, therefore, a later context in the history (cf. the later background of the preceding list). The MT has consequently altered the wording (see Bertholet, Guthe).

50 book of Moses the man of God. And certain
were gathered unto them out of the other nations
of the land, and they erected the altar upon its
own place, because all the nations of the land
were at enmity with them, and oppressed them;
and they offered sacrifices according to the time,
and burnt offerings to the Lord both morning
51 and evening. Also they held the feast of taber-
nacles, as it is commanded in the law, and *offered*
sacrifices daily, as was meet:

52 and after that, the
continual oblations, and the sacrifices of the
sabbaths, and of the new moons, and of all the
consecrated feasts.

53 And all they that had made
any vow to God began to offer sacrifices to God
from the new moon of the seventh month,
although the temple of God was not yet built.
54 And they gave money unto the masons and
55 carpenters; and meat and drink, and cars unto
them of Sidon and Tyre, that they should bring
cedar trees from Libanus, *and* convey them in
floats to the haven of Joppa, according to the
commandment which was written for them by
56 Cyrus king of the Persians. And in the second
year after his coming to the temple of God at
Jerusalem, in the second month, began Zorobabel
the son of Salathiel, and Jesus the son of Josedek,
and their brethren, and the priests the Levites,
and all they that were come unto Jerusalem out
57 of the captivity: and they laid the foundation of
the temple of God on the new moon of the second
month, in the second year after they were come
58 to Jewry and Jerusalem. And they appointed
the Levites from twenty years old over the works

And they set the altar upon its base; for fear 3
was upon them because of the people of the
countries: and they offered burnt offerings
thereon unto the Lord, even burnt offerings
morning and evening.

And they kept the feast 4
of tabernacles, as it is written, and *offered* the
daily burnt offerings by number, according to
the ordinance, as the duty of every day required;
and afterward the continual burnt offering, and 5
the offerings of the new moons, and of all the set
feasts of the Lord that were consecrated, and of
every one that willingly offered a freewill offering
unto the Lord. From the first day of the seventh 6
month began they to offer burnt offerings unto
the Lord: but the foundation of the temple of
the Lord was not yet laid.

They gave money 7
also unto the masons, and to the carpenters; and
meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Zidon,
and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from
Lebanon to the sea, unto Joppa, according to
the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia.
Now in the second year of their coming unto 8
the house of God at Jerusalem, in the second
month, began Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel,
and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and the rest of
their brethren the priests and the Levites, and
all they that were come out of the captivity unto
Jerusalem;

and appointed the Levites, from
twenty years old and upward, to have the over-

50. **upon its own place**; cf. E R.V. mg. *in its place.*

And certain . . . and because all . . . are doublets (𝔏 om. the latter), MT has only *for fear . . . countries* (בְּאֵימָה represented in *E* by בָּאִים; E𝔊ᴮ om. the clause). *E*'s reading finds parallels in 1 Macc. v. 1–2, and possibly N iv. 12 (MT *v.* 6), where the enemy come up against the builders (see comm.).

oppressed (*κατίσχυσαν*), may point to וַיִּתְחַזְּקוּ 'and they strengthened themselves' (see Berth.), or וַיְחַזְּקוּ 'and they [the foreigners] strengthened them' (Ewald, 101 n. 4; Bayer 25 compares v. 66).

to the Lord and **according to the time** (𝔏 om.) are based on doublets in 𝔊 (*κύριος, καιρός*); for the sacrifices, cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 40. Jos. § 76 reads simply *ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς προσχωρίοις ἔθνεσιν πάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθανομένων.*

52. **sabbaths**; appropriate, see Num. xxviii. 9 seq.; 2 Chron. ii. 4, viii. 13.

53. **seventh month**, mg. *first* (𝔊ᴮ).

although . . ., Jos. § 78: 'they also began the building of the temple.' MT *laid*; for the use of יסד, see E iii. 10, 2 Chron. iii. 3, xxiv. 27 (R.V. mg.).

55. Cf. 2 Chron. ii. 8–10, 15 seq.

cars (MT and 𝔊 *oil*), *χάρα* (𝔊ᴮ ? שמחה for שמן), *καρρα* (A) *καρυα* (L), *καρπούς* (58), *καρδα*, &c., &c. 𝔊ᴮ explains Jos. § 78 *τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἡδὺ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν*, &c., and 𝔏 *cum gaudio et dederunt carra* (cf. A.V.). The grant in question is referred to only in the decree of *Darius* (iv. 48, cf. N ii. 8, Artaxerxes). Jos. here and in *v.* 71 characteristically combines Cyrus and Darius on the lines of iv. 57 (D. commands what had been commanded by C.). But, apart from other questions, was Cyrus in a position to make this grant (Ryle, 43)?

56. A new paragraph, note the order Zer. and Jeshua (contrast *v.* 48), and the parentage (see v. 68 and vi. 2).

second year, 𝔊ᴸ (which is often corrected after MT) and 𝔏ᶜ add 'of Darius' (but E𝔊ᴸ *τῆς ἐλεύσεως αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οἶκον* . . .) in agreement with Haggai and Zechariah; see *Introd.* p. 16 (foot). For the *second month* cf. 1 Kings vi. 1.

the priests the Levites, 𝔊ᴸ inserts *and* with MT, cf. *v.* 63.

58. For the age-limit of the Levites, cf. the secondary passages 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 27; 2 Chron. xxxi. 17–19. The reference to the oversight of the works presupposes the statement in *v.* 57 which is wanting in MT. E *v.* 9 is very confused and the names of the Levites are severed; *E* has doublets, and Jos. § 79 points to the reading 'Kadmiel the brother of Judah (= Hodaviah, E ii. 40) the son of Amminadab'; see Bayer, 64 seq. Meyer observes that the Levites of Henadad (wanting in the preceding register) apparently were not of exilic origin; see on *v.* 26.

of the Lord. Then stood up Jesus, and his sons
and brethren, and Kadmiel his brother, and the
sons of Jesus, Emadabun, and the sons of Joda
the son of Iliadun, and their sons and brethren,
all the Levites, with one accord setters forward
of the business, labouring to advance the works
in the house of God. So the builders builded
59 the temple of the Lord. And the priests stood
arrayed in their vestments with musical instru-
ments and trumpets, and the Levites the sons
60 of Asaph with their cymbals, singing songs of
thanksgiving, and praising the Lord, after the
61 order of David king of Israel. And they sang
aloud, praising the Lord in songs of thanks-
giving, because his goodness and his glory are
62 for ever in all Israel. And all the people
sounded trumpets, and shouted with a loud
voice, singing songs of thanksgiving unto the
Lord for the rearing up of the house of the
63 Lord. Also of the priests the Levites, and of
the heads of their families, the ancients who
had seen the former house came to the building
of this with lamentation and great weeping.
64 But many with trumpets and joy *shouted* with
65 loud voice, insomuch that the people heard not
the trumpets for the weeping of the people: for
the multitude sounded marvellously, so that it
was heard afar off.

66 Wherefore when the enemies of the tribe of
Judah and Benjamin heard it, they came to
know what that noise of trumpets should mean.
67 And they perceived that they that were of the
captivity did build the temple unto the Lord,
68 the God of Israel. So they went to Zorobabel
and Jesus, and to the chief men of the families,
and said unto them, We will build together
69 with you. For we likewise, as ye, do obey
your Lord, and do sacrifice unto him from the
sight of the work of the house of the Lord. Then 9
stood Jeshua with his sons and his brethren,
Kadmiel and his sons, the sons of Judah, to-
gether, to have the oversight of the workmen in
the house of God: the sons of Henadad, with
their sons and their brethren the Levites.
And 10
when the builders laid the foundation of the
temple of the Lord, they set the priests in their
apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons
of Asaph with cymbals, to praise the Lord, after
the order of David king of Israel.
And they 11
sang one to another in praising and giving thanks
unto the Lord, *saying*, For he is good, for his
mercy *endureth* for ever toward Israel. And all
the people shouted with a great shout, when they
praised the Lord, because the foundation of the
house of the Lord was laid.
But many of the 12
priests and Levites and heads of fathers' *houses*,
the old men that had seen the first house, when
the foundation of this house was laid before their
eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted
aloud for joy: so that the people could not dis- 13
cern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise
of the weeping of the people: for the people
shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was
heard afar off.

Now when the adversaries of Judah and 4 1
Benjamin heard that the children of the cap-
tivity builded a temple unto the Lord, the God
of Israel;

then they drew near to Zerubbabel, 2
and to the heads of fathers' *houses*, and said
unto them, Let us build with you: for we seek
your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto
him since the days of Esar-haddon king of

59. **stood**, so 𝔊 and some MSS. of the MT.

61. For the refrain see 2 Chron. v. 13, and especially Jer. xxxiii. 10 seq., a prophecy of the repopulating of the desert land (cf. *v.* 7 seq.), which is followed by the promise of the ideal king (*vv.* 14–18).

62. **sounded, shouted**, apparently doublets of ויריעו; cf. *v.* 64 seq.

63. **came** (i.e. באים), but MT *many* (רבים) is wanting.

the former house . . ., E R.V. mg. *the first house standing on its foundation, when this house was before their eyes*; cf. Hagg. ii. 3 (Darius). For the mingling of joy and sorrow cf. *E* ix. 50–4, and for the last words of *v.* 65, cf. Neh. xii. 43.

The Samaritan opposition. v. 66–73 = E iv. 1–5, 24; cf. Jos. xi. 4 3–4, §§ 84–8. The result of the opposition indicates that there could have been no large return of exiles fortified with the decree of a generous king. Jos. (xi. 2 1), and many modern scholars attempt to explain the success of the opponents, but the Sachau-papyri from Elephantine prove that, whatever may have been the case with Cyrus, Cambyses was ready to assist the Jews. Moreover, Haggai and Zechariah do not refer to any persisting opposition of the kind here implied, and, according to the former, when the Temple was ultimately taken in hand in the reign of Darius, not external history, but the desire to remove the distress caused by the failure of the rains was the main factor. The term 'enemies' (*v.* 66) is applied prospectively (Reuss), and, as Ewald (103 n. 4) remarks, 'this severe designation only belongs to the later period in which the mutual hostility of the neighbours on either side had quite broken out.' In fact the situation in 66 seqq. has many untrustworthy features (so even Meyer, 119 seqq., 124 seqq.; Cornill, *Introd.* 252), and the proposal of Rothstein (15, 20) to ascribe 47–55 and 56–73 *a* to the reigns of Cyrus and Darius respectively, though insufficient in itself, illustrates the difficulties. Indeed, all the indications point to an initial absence of Samaritan hostility (see Davies, 81), and there are some striking resemblances between the details here and in N ii., iv., vi., the relation between *v.* 68 seq. and N ii. 20 being especially interesting. See *Introd.* § 5 *a, b, e* (end).

days of Asbasareth the king of the Assyrians,
70 who brought us hither. Then Zorobabel and
Jesus and the chief men of the families of Israel
said unto them, It is not for you to build the
71 house unto the Lord our God. We ourselves
alone will build unto the Lord of Israel, accord-
ing as Cyrus the king of the Persians hath
72 commanded us. But the heathen of the land
lying heavy upon the inhabitants of Judæa, and
holding them strait, hindered their building;
73 and by their secret plots, and popular persuasions
and commotions, they hindered the finishing of
the building all the time that king Cyrus lived:

so they were hindered from building for the
space of two years, until the reign of Darius.

6 1 Now in the second year of the reign of Darius,
Aggæus and Zacharias the son of Addo, the

Assyria, which brought us up hither.
But Zerub- 3
babel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the heads of
fathers' *houses* of Israel, said unto them, Ye have
nothing to do with us to build an house unto our
God; but we ourselves together will build unto
the Lord, the God of Israel, as king Cyrus the
king of Persia hath commanded us. Then the 4
people of the land weakened the hands of
the people of Judah, and troubled them in
building, and hired counsellors against them, 5
to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus
king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius
king of Persia.
Then ceased the work of the 24
house of God which is at Jerusalem; and it
ceased unto the second year of the reign of
Darius king of Persia.
Now the prophets, Haggai the prophet, and **5** 1
Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied unto the

69. **Asbasareth** (𝔊ᴬ), mg. *Asbacaphath* (B and partly 𝔖), but L *αχορδαν*; see Torrey, 169 n. Jos. has Shalmaneser (cf. E iv. 10 𝔊ᴸ and Tobit i.); he ascribes the origin of the Samaritans to Cutha and Media (§ 85, cf. § 19), and, in his version of *v.* 71 (where Cyrus and Darius are associated), allows them and other peoples to come to Jerusalem for worship (similarly xviii. 2 2).

70. **for you**, mg. *for us and you* (𝔊ᴬ, 𝔖).

71. **alone**; E *together*, which would be more appropriate in E iv. 2. For the spirit of the reply, cf. Neh. ii. 20 and see 2 Chron. xiii. 5–12, xxv. 7, and 2 Kings xvii. 7–41, xviii. 12.

72 seq. **lying heavy**, *ἐπικοιμώμενα* (BA), *ἐπικοινωνοῦντα* (L), *gentes autem terrae quae commixtae erant* (𝔏), 'that were set over them' (𝔖). Fr. conj. *ἐπικείμενα*.

holding them strait (*πολιορκοῦντες*), mg. *besieging them.*

by their secret plots, &c., mg. *leading the people astray in counsel and raising commotions*: *καὶ βουλὰς* (*ἐπιβουλάς*, A) *καὶ δημαγωγοῦντες* (*-ας*, B[ab]; *δημαγωγίας*, AL) *καὶ συστάσεις* (*ἐπιστάσεις*, L) *ποιούμενοι*. See further, Moulton, *ZATW*, xx. 1 seq. The language (E v. 4 seq.) implies that the Jews were slandered at the Persian court (Ryle, Bertholet); the whole situation is illustrated by Neh. ii. 19 seq., iv., vi.

73. **for the space of two years**; the MT is correctly reproduced in *E* ii. 30; see *Introd.* p. 17 *c.* Jos. (§ 89), who has filled in the gap between *E* ii. 15 and 16 (§ 19) and consistently placed *E* v. in the reign of Darius (who carries out the wish of Cyrus), refers to the new opposition (as in the days of Cyrus and Cambyses), ignores the actual cessation and the fresh 'beginning' (*E* vi. 2), and passes on to the visit of Tattenai.

The rebuilding and completion of the Temple in the reign of Darius. vi.–vii. = E v.–vi., cf. Jos. xi. 4 1–8, whose treatment of the material is highly instructive. (*a*) In MT the narrative, apart from E vi. 19–22, is, like E iv. 8–24, in Aramaic, and the dialect, though in close agreement with Eg.-Aram.-papyri of the fifth cent., is certainly later; see Bevan, *Daniel*, 34; T. Nöldeke, *Ency. Brit.* xxiv. 624; A. Kamphausen, ib. 1010 n. 1; Driver, *Lit.* 504, 515; Torrey, 161 seqq. The excerpts show some traces of Jewish colouring and of compilation and adjustment (see *E* vi. 8, 18, 23, 26, 33), and the whole concludes with an account, in the chronicler's style, of the dedication of the Temple. To what extent reshaping and revision have been effected is of course uncertain (see Torrey, 142 seqq.). *E* is especially noteworthy for its doublets (vi. 5, 10, 12, 15, 28, see further Marq. 44 seq.), perplexing paraphrases (e.g. vi. 19 seq., 26 seqq.), and for a few interesting material variations (see vi. 4, 18, 26 seq., 32, vii. 1 seq., 5 seq., 9).

(*b*) The narrative represents a zealous satrap anxious to ascertain whether the Jews had really received permission from Cyrus to rebuild the temple. His procedure is quite formal (cf. E iv. 8 seqq., contrast N. iv., vi.), and Darius, having found the 'memorandum' of Cyrus, not only confirms that king's permission, but goes further in his benevolence. Such a representation agrees with the traditional friendliness of Darius (see also vi. 26), but utterly conflicts with his own decree already given in *E* iv. The wording does not suggest that the Jews, whether before or after the intervention of Darius, were rewarded for any act of loyalty, e.g. abstinence from the intrigues at his succession. Nor does it point to any serious Samaritan hostility (see Kosters, *Th. T.* xxxi. 545 seq.; Meyer, 124; Sellin, *Ser.* 88). In thus agreeing with Hag. and Zech. it also does not state that the Jewish builders were exiles from Babylon (Kosters, 26; contrast the explicit E iv. 12; see on *E* vi. 5, 18). Both sources agree, moreover, in dating the founding of the Temple in the second year of Darius (see on vi. 1 seq.), and this narrative, implying that the building was in course of erection, might be taken to refer to a slightly later date.

(*c*) It throws another light upon the decree of Cyrus (vi. 17–20, 24–26, see ii. 1 seqq.). It confirms the return of the vessels (contrast iv. 44, 57), but gives prominence to Sheshbazzar (cf. E i.) and not to Zerubbabel (E iii., see on *E* vi. 18 seq.). These two are identified by harmonists (see 18, 27, 29), but to the latter alone do the independent prophecies ascribe the commencement and completion of the Temple (see *Introd.* § 4, II). In addition to this, while vi. 1 seq. relate the 'beginning' by Zer. and Jeshua, the context combines the representation of *continuous* operations since the return of Sheshbazzar (E v. 16) with a complete cessation (iv. 24) which is attributed to the decree of a Persian king. See further *Introd.* § 6. On the text, see also Torrey, 189 seqq., 201 seqq.

1 seq. The opening verses agree with Hag. in the date of the beginning of the building, yet not 'before a stone was laid upon a stone' (Hag. ii. 15), but after a complete cessation (E iv. 24); contrast, however, *v.* 20 below.

Addo, mg. *Eddin* (𝔊ᴮ). A *priest* Zechariah son of Iddo is mentioned in the time of Joiakim the son of Jeshua

prophets, prophesied unto the Jews in Jewry
and Jerusalem; in the name of the Lord, the
2 God of Israel, *prophesied they* unto them. Then
stood up Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and
Jesus the son of Josedek, and began to build
the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, the prophets
of the Lord being with them, *and* helping them.
3 At the same time came unto them Sisinnes the
governor of Syria and Phœnicia, with Sathra-
buzanes and his companions, and said unto them,
4 By whose appointment do ye build this house
and this roof, and perform all the other things?
and who are the builders that perform these
things?

5 Nevertheless the elders of the Jews
obtained favour, because the Lord had visited
6 the captivity; and they were not hindered from
building, until such time as communication was
made unto Darius concerning them, and his
answer signified.
7 The copy of the letter which Sisinnes, governor
of Syria and Phœnicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with
their companions, the rulers in Syria and Phœnicia,
wrote and sent unto Darius;

8 To king Darius,
greeting: Let all things be known unto our lord
the king, that being come into the country of
Judæa, and entered into the city of Jerusalem,
we found in the city of Jerusalem the elders of
9 the Jews that were of the captivity building a
house unto the Lord, great *and* new, of hewn
10 and costly stones, with timber laid in the walls.
And those works are done with great speed, and
the work goeth on prosperously in their hands,
and with all glory and diligence is it accom-

Jews that were in Judah and Jerusalem; in the
name of the God of Israel *prophesied they* unto
them. Then rose up Zerubbabel the son of 2
Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and
began to build the house of God which is at
Jerusalem; and with them were the prophets of
God, helping them.
At the same time came to 3
them Tattenai, the governor beyond the river,
and Shethar-bozenai, and their companions, and
said thus unto them, Who gave you a decree to
build this house, and to finish this wall?
Then 4
spake we unto them after this manner, What are
the names of the men that make this building?
But the eye of their God was upon the elders of 5
the Jews, and they did not make them cease, till
the matter should come to Darius, and then
answer should be returned by letter concerning it.

The copy of the letter that Tattenai, the 6
governor beyond the river, and Shethar-bozenai,
and his companions the Apharsachites, which
were beyond the river, sent unto Darius the
king: they sent a letter unto him, wherein was 7
written thus; Unto Darius the king, all peace.
Be it known unto the king, that we went into 8
the province of Judah,

to the house of the great
God, which is builded with great stones, and
timber is laid in the walls, and this work goeth
on with diligence and prospereth in their hands.

(N. xii. 16); but the family of Iddo, though among the priests in N. xii. 4, is not named in the great list (E ii., &c.). Did the four families in E ii. 36–9 suddenly expand into the twenty-two in Neh. xii. 1–7 or the twenty-four in 1 Chron. xxiv., or were the latter incorporated into four great classes? On the traditional view some explanation is necessary.

unto them (ἐπ' αὐτούς), E, R.V. mg. *which was upon them*, cf. Jer. xv. 16.

3. On the identification of the names (Uštani, a prefect of Transpotamia temp. Darius, or Taddanu a Bab. name; and Mithrabuzanes, or perhaps Satibarzanes), see the comment. and Torrey, 172. *E*'s Sisinnes, though probably incorrect, is a thoroughly authentic name and typical of the cleverness of the translator.

his (E *their*) **companions.** On the variation in the possessive pronoun, see Guthe, *SBOT*.

4. **roof**, E wall, אֶשְׁרְנָא (𝔊 χορηγία, 'charges' in *E* iv. 54 seq.). The readings represent (so Torrey, 175 seq.) אגרא (*iggarā* 'roof', *agrā* 'pay'), cf. אגורא 'shrine, temple', in the Aram. papyri from Egypt (Sayce and Cowley, E 14 J 6, Sachau I, 6, &c.). אשרנא, also in Sachau I, 11, denotes some part of a temple, whether fore-court (Sach.), colonnade (Torrey), or the temple as a whole (see Haupt, Delitzsch, *SBOT*, 34, 63, Nikel 130 n. 2, Jampel i. 494). Jos. (§ 89) finds a reference to the porticoes (στοαί, see on vii. 9) and the walls of the city. Was אגרא altered in MT because of its heathen associations? Cf. its use in the Targums of a heathen altar, and the Bab. *ekur*; cf. also the distinction observed in MT between כֹּהֵן and כֹּמֶר.

and who. E 'then spake we' (𝔊 𝔖 'then spake they'), an actual quotation from the report, cf. ib. 9 seq.

5. **the captivity** (cf. E𝔊), and see *vv.* 8, 27 seq.; based upon a doublet שָׂבֵי 'elders [of]' and שִׁבְיָי 'captivity'.

7. 𝔊 'The copy of the letter which he (𝔊ᴸ 'they') wrote unto D. and sent: Sis., the governor, &c., to king Darius greeting' (cf. 𝔏).

7 seq. **Let all things . . .** 𝔏ᶜ combines this with the reading of E.

our lord the king, rightly, cf. 21 seq., ii. 17 seq.

The reference to the arrival at Jerusalem and the discovery is quite appropriate (Marq., 46 seq.); MT has apparently condensed.

9. **new**, apparently based upon *v.* 25, where it represents MT חדת an error for חד 'one'; the doublet combines both corrigendum and correctum (see Berth. xvi. seq., 24).

11 plished. Then asked we these elders, saying,
By whose commandment build ye this house,
12 and lay the foundations of these works? Therefore, to the intent that we might give knowledge unto thee by writing who were the chief doers, we questioned them, and we required of them
13 the names in writing of their principal men. So they gave us this answer, We are the servants of
14 the Lord which made heaven and earth. And as for this house, it was builded many years ago by a king of Israel great and strong, and was
15 finished. But when our fathers sinned against the Lord of Israel which is in heaven, and provoked him unto wrath, he gave them over into the hands of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon,
16 king of the Chaldeans; and they pulled down the house, and burned it, and carried away the
17 people captives unto Babylon. But in the first year that Cyrus reigned over the country of Babylon, king Cyrus wrote to build up this
18 house. And the holy vessels of gold and of silver, that Nabuchodonosor had carried away out of the house at Jerusalem, and had set up in his own temple, those Cyrus the king brought forth again out of the temple in Babylonia, and they were delivered to Zorobabel and to Sanabassarus the governor,
19 with commandment that he should carry away all these vessels, and put them in the temple at Jerusalem; and that the temple of the Lord should be built in its place.
20 Then Sanabassarus, being come hither, laid the foundations of the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem; and from that time to this being still a-building, it is not yet fully ended.
21 Now therefore, if it seem good, O king, let search be made among the royal archives of our lord the king
22 that are in Babylon: and if it be found that the building of the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem hath been done with the consent of king Cyrus, and it seem good unto our lord the king, let him signify unto us thereof.
23 Then commanded king Darius to seek among the archives that were laid up at Babylon:
and

Then asked we those elders, and said unto them 9
thus, Who gave you a decree to build this house,
and to finish this wall? We asked them their 10
names also, to certify thee, that we might write the names of the men that were at the head of them.

And thus they returned us answer, saying, 11
We are the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and build the house that was builded these many years ago, which a great king of Israel builded and finished.

But after that our 12
fathers had provoked the God of heaven unto wrath, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed this house, and carried the people away into Babylon.

But in the first year of Cyrus, 13
king of Babylon, Cyrus the king made a decree to build this house of God.

And the gold and 14
silver vessels also of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the temple that was in Jerusalem, and brought them into the temple of Babylon, those did Cyrus the king take out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered unto one whose name was Sheshbazzar, whom he had made governor; and he 15
said unto him, Take these vessels, go, put them in the temple that is in Jerusalem, and let the house of God be builded in its place.

Then 16
came the same Sheshbazzar, and laid the foundations of the house of God which is in Jerusalem: and since that time even until now hath it been in building, and yet it is not completed. Now 17
therefore, if it seem good to the king, let there be search made in the king's treasure house, which is there at Babylon, whether it be so, that a decree was made of Cyrus the king to build this house of God at Jerusalem, and let the king send his pleasure to us concerning this matter.

EZRA 6

Then Darius the king made a decree, and 1
search was made in the house of the archives, where the treasures were laid up in Babylon.
And there was found at Achmetha, in the palace 2

13. **the Lord which made** (τοῦ κτίσαντος), cf. 2 Chron. ii. 12 (ἐποίησεν) and the quotation in Eupolemos (ἔκτισεν), second cent. B.C. (Swete, *Introd.* 370; Torrey, 82); also Jer. x. 11 and the late Gen. xiv. 19 R.V. mg.

15. **Lord . . . heaven.** A conflate reading.

Note that even the Aram. source presents the later and inaccurate form of the name Nebuchadrezzar.

18. **his own temple**, cf. ii. 10.

and to Sanabassarus (mg. *Sabanassarus*). Some MSS. omit *and*; this and the sequel ('that *he* should carry') indicate that the attempt has been made to identify Sheshbazzar (E i.) with the more prominent Zerubbabel (Nikel, 42 n. 1, 45). Note the introduction of the latter in *vv.* 27, 29.

E 'whom he had made' . . . , but $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$ 'to the treasurer . . . who was over the treasury'. This must refer not to Shesh., but to Mithredath (E i. 8) whom Jos. combines with Zer. here (§ 92, cf. ib. xi. 3 §§ 11, 14), although in his version of *E* 20, 26, he mentions only Shesh. The allusion to the treasury may be supported by E v. 17, vi. 1. That the texts are not in their original form is obvious.

19. **all these vessels**, mg. *the same* ($\mathfrak{G}^{A}$).

21. **of our lord** (Κυρίου), $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ $\mathfrak{S}$, curiously 'of Cyrus' (so A.V.).

so at Ecbatana the palace, which is in the
country of Media, there was found a roll where-
24 in these things were recorded. In the first
year of the reign of Cyrus king Cyrus com-
manded to build up the house of the Lord
which is in Jerusalem, where they do sacrifice
25 with continual fire: whose height shall be sixty
cubits, and the breadth sixty cubits,

with three
rows of hewn stones, and one row of new wood
of that country; and the expenses thereof to
26 be given out of the house of king Cyrus: and
that the holy vessels of the house of the Lord,
both of gold and silver, that Nabuchodonosor
took out of the house at Jerusalem, and carried
away to Babylon, should be restored to the
house at Jerusalem, and be set in the place
where they were before.

27 And also he com-
manded that Sisinnes the governor of Syria
and Phœnicia, and Sathrabuzanes, and their
companions, and those which were appointed
rulers in Syria and Phœnicia, should be careful
not to meddle with the place, but suffer Zoro-
babel, the servant of the Lord, and governor of
Judæa, and the elders of the Jews, to build that
28 house of the Lord in its place. And I also do
command to have it built up whole again; and
that they look diligently to help those that be
of the captivity of Judæa, till the house of the
29 Lord be finished: and that out of the tribute of
Cœlesyria and Phœnicia a portion be carefully
given these men for the sacrifices of the Lord,
that is, to Zorobabel the governor, for bullocks,
30 and rams, and lambs; and also corn, salt, wine,
and oil, and that continually every year without
further question, according as the priests that
be in Jerusalem shall signify to be daily spent:

that is in the province of Media, a roll, and
therein was thus written for a record.

In the 3
first year of Cyrus the king, Cyrus the king
made a decree; Concerning the house of God at
Jerusalem, let the house be builded, the place
where they offer sacrifices, and let the founda-
tions thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof
threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof three-
score cubits; with three rows of great stones, 4
and a row of new timber: and let the expenses
be given out of the king's house:

and also let 5
the gold and silver vessels of the house of God,
which Nebuchadnezzar took forth out of the
temple which is at Jerusalem, and brought unto
Babylon, be restored, and brought again unto the
temple which is at Jerusalem, every one to its
place, and thou shalt put them in the house of
God. Now therefore, Tattenai, governor beyond 6
the river, Shethar-bozenai, and your companions
the Apharsachites, which are beyond the river,
be ye far from thence:

let the work of this house 7
of God alone; let the governor of the Jews and
the elders of the Jews build this house of God in
its place. Moreover I make a decree what ye 8
shall do to these elders of the Jews for the build-
ing of this house of God:

that of the king's
goods, even of the tribute beyond the river,
expenses be given with all diligence unto these
men, that they be not hindered. And that 9
which they have need of, both young bullocks,
and rams, and lambs, for burnt offerings to the
God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oil,
according to the word of the priests which are

23. **roll** (𝔊^A, Jos.), mg. *place* (𝔊^BL 𝔏 𝔖), a confusion of τόμος and τόπος. The 'memorandum' (דכרון) recalls the זכרן (Sach. Pap. III) relating to the rebuilding of the Jewish sanctuary at Elephantine. The fact that the roll was sought for at Babylon but found at Ecbatana points to some condensation in the narrative.

24. **continual fire.** A slight change of the MT supported by most scholars.

25. Jos. (§ 99) applies these measurements to the altar, although in xi. 1 3 (see below on *v.* 26) he rightly refers them to the Temple.

one row of new wood (similarly Jos.) **of that country,** 'one' and 'new' are doublets, (see *v.* 9), and 'country' seems to be some confusion of the Heb. ארץ (land) and אֶרֶז (cedar), so Jahn; or of the Aram. ארע (land) and אע (wood), so Marq. For the details see 1 Kings vi. 36, vii. 12.

26. Note the changes of person and number in MT (E 6 has *their* companions). The compiler turns the decree of Cyrus into a command to Shesh. (*and thou shalt place*), and then passes on to the commands of Darius (see Meyer, 47); a clear case of compilation. *E*, however, takes E 6 to belong to the old decree, and Jos. actually attributes the whole (to the end of *v.* 33) to Cyrus, which Darius (as in *v.* 34) simply endorses. Hence, in his history of Cyrus, Jos. (xi. 1 3) gives a lengthy decree on these lines in the form of a letter to Tattenai and Shethar-bozenai, an interesting and instructive example of history-making.

27. **the servant of the Lord.** Jos. (§ 101) 'the servants of God (cf. *v.* 13), the Jews and their leaders'. Here and in *v.* 29 Zer. appears to be due to later insertion (Jos. omits); perhaps the translator misunderstood עבידת ('work') in the MT, where 𝔊^B om. 'the governor (𝔊^AL governors, or leaders) of the Jews and'. In E v. 5, 9, vi. 8, 14 only the 'elders of the Jews' are mentioned; see Guthe, *SBOT*.

28. **till . . . finished,** a natural limitation, cf. iv. 51, and the stipulation in N ii. 6; with MT cf. the free hand given to Ezra (E vii.).

29. **of the Lord . . .,** cf. 𝔖; 𝔊 τῷ κυρίῳ (𝔊^L + τοῦ, cf. Dan. vi. 26, Bel and Dragon, 41) Ζορ. ἐπάρχῳ (𝔊^L om.).

30. **question,** a misunderstanding (as in E𝔊) of שלו, as though from שאל.

31 that drink offerings may be made to the Most
High God for the king and for his children, and
that they may pray for their lives.
32 And that
commandment be given that whosoever shall
transgress, yea, or neglect anything *herein*
written, out of his own *house* shall a tree be
taken, and he thereon be hanged, and all his
33 goods seized for the king. The Lord therefore,
whose name is there called upon, utterly destroy
every king and nation, that shall stretch out his
hand to hinder or endamage that house of the
34 Lord in Jerusalem. I Darius the king have
ordained that according unto these things it be
done with diligence.

7 1 Then Sisinnes the governor of Cœlesyria and
Phœnicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with their com-
panions, following the commandments of king
2 Darius, did very carefully oversee the holy works,
assisting the elders of the Jews and rulers of the
3 temple. And so the holy works prospered, while
Aggæus and Zacharias the prophets prophesied.

4 And they finished these things by the command-
ment of the Lord, the God of Israel, and with the
consent of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, kings
5 of the Persians. *And thus* was the house finished
by the three and twentieth day of the month
6 Adar, in the sixth year of king Darius. And the
children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites,
and the other that were of the captivity, that were
added *unto them*, did according to the things
7 *written* in the book of Moses. And to the dedica-
tion of the temple of the Lord they offered a
hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hun-
at Jerusalem, let it be given them day by
day without fail: that they may offer sacri- 10
fices of sweet savour unto the God of heaven,
and pray for the life of the king, and of his sons.
Also I have made a decree, that whosoever 11
shall alter this word, let a beam be pulled
out from his house, and let him be lifted up
and fastened thereon; and let his house be
made a dunghill for this:
and the God that 12
hath caused his name to dwell there overthrow
all kings and peoples, that shall put forth their
hand to alter *the same*, to destroy this house of
God which is at Jerusalem. I Darius have
made a decree; let it be done with all dili-
gence.
Then Tattenai, the governor beyond the river, 13
Shethar-bozenai, and their companions, because
that Darius the king had sent, did accordingly
with all diligence.
And the elders of the Jews 14
builded and prospered, through the prophesying
of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of
Iddo. And they builded and finished it, accord-
ing to the commandment of the God of Israel,
and according to the decree of Cyrus, and Darius,
and Artaxerxes king of Persia. And this house 15
was finished on the third day of the month Adar,
which was in the sixth year of the reign of
Darius the king.
And the children of Israel, the 16
priests and the Levites, and the rest of the child-
ren of the captivity, kept the dedication of this
house of God with joy.
And they offered 17
at the dedication of this house of God an
hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hun-

31. For the praying cf. Baruch i. 10 seq., 1 Macc. vii. 33, Sach. Pap. I, 25 seq. 𝔊ᴸ reads *θυσίαι κ. σπονδαί* and adds *ἐνδελεχῶς* at end of verse.

32. **written**, mg. *afore spoken or written* (𝔊ᴬ).

goods seized, similarly Jos.; cf. Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29, 𝔊. This interpretation of MT נולו (נולי) 'dunghill' is supported by Jahn (55) and by Torrey (85, who compares Ar. *nāla* 'take, obtain'). Bayer, 30, emends.

33. **therefore**, MT *for this*, end of *v.* 11.

whose name . . ., the Jewish colouring in this verse (cf. Deut. xii. 11, xiv. 23) is commonly admitted (Meyer, 51, Holzhey, 25, &c.).

VII. 1 seq. The more active intervention of the strangers (*ἐπεστάτουν . . . ἐπιμελέστερον*), though in harmony with viii. 67 (E viii. 36), is less emphatic in MT '. . . their companions did according to the decree which . . . sent', cf. above, 27 seq., with E vi. 7.

2. **rulers of the temple** (*ἱεροστάταις*; Jos. 'princes of the Sanhedrin'), cf. i. 8 (2 Chron. xxxv. 8), and the addition in E𝔊 'and the Levites'.

4. **consent** (A.V. mg. *the decree*, *γνώμη*) . . . **Artaxerxes** (Jos. omits Art., 𝔊ᴸ transposes with Darius), **kings** (𝔊ᴮᴸ and MT *king*) . . . The name can hardly be explained even as a careless interpolation; the reading *king* suggests that only one name was originally written; see *Introd.* § 5 (*e*).

𝔊ᴬ, 𝔖, 𝔏 add 'until (by) the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians'.

5. **the house**, mg. *the holy house* (𝔊ᴬ).

Jos. confirms the 23rd day (adopted by Bertholet, Torrey, 195, but treated by Bayer, 83, as a misreading, עשרים for עד יום), but reads the *ninth* year of Darius; in *C. Apion.* i. 21 he states that the foundations of the Temple were laid in the second year of Cyrus and it was finished again in the *second* year of Darius.

6. **that were added**, explained by *v.* 13, although this act of separation is not recorded, contrast N ix. 2, xiii. 3 (see below, p. 47).

book of Moses, cf. v. 49, and especially N. viii. 1, x. 29, xiii. 1.

8 dred lambs; *and* twelve he-goats for the sin of all
Israel, according to the number of the twelve
9 princes of the tribes of Israel. The priests also
and the Levites stood arrayed in their vestments,
according to their kindreds, for the services of the
Lord, the God of Israel, according to the book of
Moses: and the porters at every gate.
10 And the children of Israel that came out of
the captivity held the passover the fourteenth
day of the first month, when the priests and the
11 Levites were sanctified together, and all they that
were of the captivity; for they were sanctified.
12 For the Levites were all sanctified together, and
they offered the passover for all them of the cap-
tivity, and for their brethren the priests, and for
13 themselves. And the children of Israel that came
out of the captivity did eat, even all they that
had separated themselves from the abominations
of the heathen of the land, and sought the Lord.

14 And they kept the feast of unleavened bread
15 seven days, making merry before the Lord, for
that he had turned the counsel of the king of
Assyria toward them, to strengthen their hands
in the works of the Lord, the God of Israel.

8 1 And after these things, when Artaxerxes the
king of the Persians reigned, came Esdras the

dred lambs; and for a sin offering for all Israel,
twelve he-goats, according to the number of the
tribes of Israel. And they set the priests in 18
their divisions, and the Levites in their courses,
for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem; as
it is written in the book of Moses.

And the children of the captivity kept the 19
passover upon the fourteenth *day* of the first
month. For the priests and the Levites had 20
purified themselves together; all of them were
pure: and they killed the passover for all the
children of the captivity, and for their brethren
the priests, and for themselves.

And the chil- 21
dren of Israel, which were come again out of the
captivity, and all such as had separated them-
selves unto them from the filthiness of the
heathen of the land, to seek the Lord, the God
of Israel, did eat, and kept the feast of unleavened 22
bread seven days with joy: for the Lord had
made them joyful, and had turned the heart of
the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen
their hands in the work of the house of God, the
God of Israel.

Now after these things, in the reign of Artax- 7 1
erxes king of Persia, Ezra the son of Seraiah, the

8. **princes**, mg. *twelve tribes of Israel* (𝔊ᴸ).

9. Cf. v. 59. For the *porters* (also in Jos.), cf. i. 16, and 2 Chron. viii. 14, xxiii. 18 seq.; Jos. adds that the Jews also built the cloisters (στοάς) of the inner temple. See vi. 4 above.

10. From this verse onwards the MT, with the exception of E vii. 12-26, is in Hebrew. With this account of the celebration of the Passover, cf. 2 Chron. xxx. (after the purification of the Temple by Hezekiah), xxxv. = *E* 1 (after Josiah's reforms); see also p. 58.

of Israel, lit. 'of Israel, of those that were of the captivity.'

when the priests, several MSS. *because.*

11 seq. mg. *and they that were of the captivity were not all sanctified together: but the Levites were all sanctified together. And, &c.*; cf. 𝔊ᴸ 𝔏 𝔖, but not Jos. For the textual variants see *ZATW*, xx. 12 seq. Since the Levites perform the slaughtering there may be an anti-Aaronite bias, as also in 2 Chron. xxix. 34 (cf. perhaps xxx. 3, 15 17); see Kittel, *Chron.* 160.

13. **even**, wanting in 𝔊.

15. Jos. (§§ 111–13) after summing up with an account of the constitution, &c., appends (§§ 114–19) a new story of Samaritan enmity and of the intervention of Darius. The Jews send Zerubbabel and four nobles, including Ananias and Mordecai (see for the latter, v. 8 above) to complain that the Samaritans did not carry out the royal commands and were hostile. Darius accordingly writes to the eparchs and council (βουλή, cf. ii. 17), viz. to Taganas and Sambas (or Sambabas), the eparchs, and to Sadrakes and Bouēdōn (var. Bouēlōn, &c.), 'the rest of their fellow servants' (σύνδουλοι, cf. 𝔊 E v. seq. for 'companions'). On the conjectural origin of these corrupt names, see Marq. 52, 54 (Tag. from Tattenai, Sad. and Bou. from Shethar-bozenai).

The Work of Ezra. (*a*) The narratives are severed in the MT, which places E vii.–x. (*E* viii. 1–ix. 36) in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (458 B.C.), and N viii. seqq. (*E* ix. 37–55 + . . .) in the twentieth. They are of composite origin: note the introductory impersonal E vii. 1–10 (see Driver, *Lit.*, 548 seq.), the change from 'I' (vii. 27–ix.) to the impersonal form in viii. 35 seq., the use of 'I' (ix.), 'he' (x.), and 'we' (N ix. 38, x. 30). In spite of parallels (Torrey, 244 seq.), these changes seem to prove diversity of source. Various signs of revision and condensation are to be noticed in vii. (see *E* viii. 8–24), x. (Meyer, 96 n. 1), and elsewhere.

(*b*) Although N viii. seqq. interrupt the history of Neh., and both E and N are engaged in reorganizing religious conditions, the story of N ignores the work of E, and the story of E mentions N only somewhat incidentally (N viii. 9, x. 1). The two groups of narratives have different backgrounds. The E-story shows no trace of the desolation and misery which N sought to remedy. E is intent upon the Temple and the law, and comes to an apparently peaceful city, whereas N appears as a reformer of elementary civic, social, and religious conditions at a time when E was presumably in Jerusalem. The secular pioneer builds up and reconstructs; the priestly scribe gives, as it were, a finishing stroke in the way of important, though less initial, reforms. While N laments the ruin and distress, E recognizes the manifestation of God's favour, which the people had ill requited by their heathenish marriages. The former encounters suspicion, hostility, and treachery; the latter, armed with most remarkable powers, finds a people anxious to hear and obey the law, eager to remove the stain of the marriages, and ready to carry out measures which N, with characteristic impulsiveness, seems merely to initiate in N xiii. The whole situation in the E-story forbids

son of Azaraias, the son of Zechrias, the son of
2 Helkias, the son of Salem, the son of Sadduk,
the son of Ahitob,
the son of Amarias, the son
of Ozias, the son of Memeroth, the son of
Zaraias, the son of Savias, the son of Boccas,
the son of Abisue, the son of Phinees, the son
of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the chief priest.
3 This Esdras went up from Babylon, as being
a ready scribe in the law of Moses, that was
4 given by the God of Israel. And the king did
him honour: for he found grace in his sight in
all his requests.
5 There went up with him also
certain of the children of Israel, and of the priests,
and Levites, and holy singers, and porters, and
6 temple-servants, unto Jerusalem, in the seventh
year of the reign of Artaxerxes, in the fifth
month, this was the king's seventh year;
for they
went from Babylon on the new moon of the first
month, and came to Jerusalem, according to the
prosperous journey which the Lord gave them
7 for his sake. For Esdras had very great skill, so
that he omitted nothing of the law and commandments of the Lord, *but* taught all Israel the ordinances and judgements.

son of Azariah,
the son of Hilkiah, the son of 2
Shallum, the son of Zadok, the son of Ahitub,
the son of Amariah, the son of Azariah, the son 3
of Meraioth, the son of Zerahiah, the son of Uzzi, 4
the son of Bukki, the son of Abishua, the son of 5
Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron
the chief priest:
this Ezra went up from Baby- 6
lon; and he was a ready scribe in the law of
Moses, which the Lord, the God of Israel, had
given: and the king granted him all his request,
according to the hand of the Lord his God upon
him. And there went up some of the children 7
of Israel, and of the priests, and the Levites, and
the singers, and the porters, and the Nethinim,
unto Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Arta-
xerxes the king. And he came to Jerusalem in 8
the fifth month, which was in the seventh year
of the king. For upon the first *day* of the first 9
month began he to go up from Babylon, and on
the first *day* of the fifth month came he to Jerusalem, according to the good hand of his God
upon him. For Ezra had set his heart to seek 10
the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach
in Israel statutes and judgements.

the identification of E's return with that in E iv. 12 (*E* ii. 18). The rebuilding mentioned in the latter is excluded in the E-story and ignored in N i.–vi., where there is neither any reference to an earlier attempt to rebuild nor any hint of such a return as that in E vii.–x.

(*c*) E vii.–x. are severed from E i.–vi. by nearly sixty years. A large body of exiles, 'children of the captivity' (iv. 1), had rejected the families of doubtful blood (ii. 59–63), and had been reinforced by those who had separated from the heathen (vi. 21). Jewish exclusivism had apparently been established. Now, however, E returns with a representative band (vii. 7), 'children of the captivity' (viii. 35), and, after an interval (the vague ix. 1), hears of the deplorable extent of intermarriage among the people of Israel, the 'holy seed' (ix. 2), 'the captivity' (ix. 4). The sin is admitted, and it is proposed to make a solemn covenant (x. 3). 'The children of the captivity' are summoned from their settlements under the penalty of excommunication from 'the congregation of the captivity' (x. 6–8). The area affected proves to be extremely restricted (x. 9). The congregation agrees to the separation (*vv.* 10–12). There is, however, an inquiry lasting three months, and as a veritable anti-climax we have an extremely small list of offenders (see on *E* ix. 21–36). Forthwith (so *E*), or apparently some twelve years later (so N viii.), E reads the law to the people, and 'all the congregation, those who had returned from captivity' (N viii. 17, cf. E vi. 21), celebrate the feast of Tabernacles. After a solemn confession of sin, the erring 'seed of Israel' separate from the heathen (ix. 1 seq.), and this epoch-making event, which (see E x. 1–12) might be expected after the prayer in E ix. 6 seqq., is followed by a second prayer on behalf of the backsliding people. Finally, there is a covenant (N ix. 38) signed by the congregation and all that separated themselves from the people of the land (x. 28). Whether we follow the tradition or any modern hypothesis, these data are extremely complicated (see Kosters, 67, 96 seqq., *Th. T.*, xxix, 554 seqq.). They point to a close literary connexion in the E-story, which makes it improbable that E vii.–x. should be severed, as in MT, from N viii. seqq. They reveal a serious literary intricacy which must be due to revision and reshaping, and they do not show at all clearly that the 'children of the captivity' who returned (E viii. 35) found a people constituted as E ii. 59–63, vi. 21, would imply. It is possible that the E-story (of independent origin, see *Introd.* p. 9 *d.*) has confused the accounts of the purification of the exiles who returned with E and the separation of the native Judaeans from the heathen, the two events which are kept more distinct in E i.–vi.

The return of Ezra, viii. 1–67 = E vii., viii., cf. Jos. xi. 5 1–2 (who replaces Artaxerxes by Xerxes). In addition to the comm., see Torrey, 196 seqq., 205 seqq., 265 seqq.

2. **Azaraias** and **Zechrias** (𝔊[B]; Ἐζερίου A, Ἀζαραίου L) = Seraiah and Azariah. The former was contemporary with the fall of Jerusalem (1 Chron. vi. 14 seq.), but the genealogy would make him identical with the Seraiah in Neh. xi. 11 (‖ 1 Chron. ix. 11, Azariah), priest at the renovation of the city.

𝔊[B] omits the names Memeroth—Savias (Uzzi).

5. **temple-servants**, mg. *the Nethinim*, cf. i. 3, and for the sequence of the classes cf. the arrangement in v. 9 seqq.

6. The date of arrival (E 8) probably coincides with that of Nehemiah (departure in the first month, ii. 1; arrival at the beginning of the fifth, interval of three days, ii. 11; and, after fifty-two days, the completion of the walls on the 25th of the sixth month, vi. 15).

seventh year (𝔊[B] 'second', cf. v. 6, vi. 1), the absence of a date in *v.* 1 is noticeable. On the chronological and other details in the verse see the comm.

for his sake, 𝔊[B] ἐπ' αὐτῷ, 𝔊[A] om., 𝔊[L] (*v.* 7) ἐπ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ Ἔζδρας ἦν, ὃς . . .

7. **but taught**, so 𝔊[A] διδάξαι. For the variants see Moulton, *ZATW*, xx. 14.

8 Now the commission, which was written from Artaxerxes the king, came to Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord, whereof this that followeth is a copy;

9 King Artaxerxes unto Esdras the priest and reader of the law of
10 the Lord, greeting: Having determined to deal graciously, I have given order, that such of the nation of the Jews, and of the priests and Levites, and of those within our realm, as are willing and desirous, should go with thee unto
11 Jerusalem. As many therefore as have a mind *thereunto*, let them depart with thee, as it hath seemed good both to me and my seven friends
12 the counsellors; that they may look unto the affairs of Judæa and Jerusalem, agreeably to that
13 which is in the law of the Lord, and carry the gifts unto the Lord of Israel to Jerusalem, which I and my friends have vowed;

and that all the gold and silver that can be found in the country
14 of Babylonia for the Lord in Jerusalem, with that also which is given of the people for the temple of the Lord their God that is at Jerusalem, be collected: even the gold and silver for bullocks, rams, and lambs, and things thereunto apper-
15 taining; to the end that they may offer sacrifices unto the Lord upon the altar of the Lord their God, which is in Jerusalem.

16 And whatsoever thou and thy brethren are minded to do with gold and silver, that perform, according to the will of
17 thy God. And the holy vessels of the Lord, which are given thee for the use of the temple of thy God, which is in Jerusalem:

18 and whatsoever thing else thou shalt remember for the use of the temple of thy God, thou shalt give it out of the
19 king's treasury. And I king Artaxerxes have also commanded the keepers of the treasures in Syria and Phœnicia, that whatsoever Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Most High God shall send for, they should give it him with
20 all diligence, to the sum of a hundred talents of silver, likewise also of wheat even to a hundred measures, and a hundred firkins of wine, and salt in abundance.

11 Now this is the copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe, even the scribe of the words of the commandments of the Lord, and of his statutes to Israel.
12 Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, per-
13 fect and so forth. I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and their priests and the Levites, in my realm, which are minded of their own free will to go to Jerusalem, go with thee.

14 Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and his seven counsellors, to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand;

15 and to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose
16 habitation is in Jerusalem, and all the silver and gold that thou shalt find in all the province of Babylon, with the freewill offering of the people, and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem;

17 therefore thou shalt with all diligence buy with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meal offerings and their drink offerings, and shalt offer them
18 upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem. And whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the silver and the gold, that do ye after
19 the will of your God. And the vessels that are given thee for the service of the house of thy God, deliver thou before the God of Jerusalem.
20 And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it out of the king's treasure
21 house. And I, even I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done with all diligence,

22 unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil, and salt

8–24. Jos. xi. 5 1, §§ 123–30 reproduces this remarkable decree more carefully than he does the rest of the Ezra story. The document, which is in Aramaic, should be compared with the decrees of Cyrus and Darius (see Torrey, 158): its value rests upon the Ezra-story as a whole and is variously estimated (see Berth., 34 seq., Nikel, 167 seqq.). According to Jewish tradition, of course, the book of Esther, with the story of the favour of Xerxes, would precede the present situation. *v.* 8 𝔊 has no conclusion and there are signs of unevenness especially in 9 seq. and 22.

9 seq. Read, perhaps E 12 seq., 'perfect peace, and now I make . . .' (cf. E v. 7).

10. Some words are probably missing at the beginning (Lupton).

and of those, mg. *being within* $𝔊^{AL}$ 𝔏 𝔖.

17. Jos. prefixes *ἀναθήσεις*, $𝔏^{C}$ 'pones', cf. MT *deliver* (rather 'hand over wholly'). The MT *God of Jerusalem* ($𝔊^{BA}$ 'before God [$𝔊^{L}$ 'the God of Israel'] in J.') is very strange.

18. **remember** (*ὅσα ἂν ὑποπίπτῃ σοι*), rather, 'shall occur to, or befall thee', MT 'thou shalt have to give .

19. **send for** (E *shall require*), a misreading (שלח for שאל; so Ball, Moulton), or merely a paraphrase.

20. **salt** (𝔏 and some MSS. of 𝔊), mg. *other things* ($𝔊^{A}$ 𝔏; B om.); $𝔏^{C}$ 'sal sine mensura et caetera sine men.'; $𝔊^{L}$ 𝔖 'and other things according to the law of God' (see *v.* 21).

21 Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently unto the Most High God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his sons.
22 I command you also, that no tax, nor any other imposition, be laid on any of the priests, or Levites, or holy singers, or porters, or temple-servants, or any that have employment in this temple, and that no man have authority to impose anything
23 upon them. And thou, Esdras, according to the wisdom of God ordain judges and justices, that they may judge in all Syria and Phœnicia all those that know the law of thy God; and those that know it not thou shalt teach.
24 And whosoever shall transgress the law of thy God, and of the king, shall be punished diligently, whether it be by death, or other punishment, by penalty of money, or by imprisonment.

25 Then said Esdras the scribe, Blessed be the only Lord, the God of my fathers, who hath put these things into the heart of the king, to
26 glorify his house that is in Jerusalem: and hath honoured me in the sight of the king, and his counsellors, and all his friends and nobles.
27 Therefore was I encouraged by the help of the Lord my God, and gathered together out of Israel men to go up with me.
28 And these are the chief according to their families and the several divisions thereof, that went up with me from
29 Babylon in the reign of king Artaxerxes: of the sons of Phinees, Gerson: of the sons of Ithamar, Gamael: of the sons of David, Attus
30 the son of Sechenias: of the sons of Phoros, Zacharias; and with him were counted a hun-
31 dred and fifty men: of the sons of Phaath Moab, Eliaonias the son of Zaraias, and with
32 him two hundred men: of the sons of Zathoes, Sechenias the son of Jezelus, and with him three hundred men: of the sons of Adin, Obeth the son of Jonathan, and with him two hundred
33 and fifty men: of the sons of Elam, Jesias son of Gotholias, and with him seventy men:

without prescribing how much. Whatsoever is 23
commanded by the God of heaven, let it be done exactly for the house of the God of heaven; for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons? Also we certify you, 24
that touching any of the priests and Levites, the singers, porters, Nethinim, or servants of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose tribute, custom, or toll, upon them.

And thou, 25
Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God that is in thine hand, appoint magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye him that knoweth them not. And 26
whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgement be executed upon him with all diligence, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.
Blessed be the Lord, the God of our fathers, 27
which hath put such a thing as this in the king's heart, to beautify the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem; and hath extended mercy unto 28
me before the king, and his counsellors, and before all the king's mighty princes. And I was strengthened according to the hand of the Lord my God upon me, and I gathered together out of Israel chief men to go up with me.
Now these are the heads of their fathers' 8 1
houses, and this is the genealogy of them that went up with me from Babylon, in the reign of Artaxerxes the king. Of the sons of Phinehas, 2
Gershom: of the sons of Ithamar, Daniel: of the sons of David, Hattush. Of the sons of 3
Shecaniah; of the sons of Parosh, Zechariah: and with him were reckoned by genealogy of the males an hundred and fifty. Of the sons 4
of Pahath-moab, Eliehoenai the son of Zerahiah; and with him two hundred males. Of the sons 5
of Shecaniah, the son of Jahaziel; and with him three hundred males. And of the sons of Adin, 6
Ebed the son of Jonathan; and with him fifty males. And of the sons of Elam, Jeshaiah the 7
son of Athaliah; and with him seventy males.

22. The decree is now addressed to the Persian officials in Palestine, cf. the direct address E vi. 6 seq., and the abstract in *E* iv. 49 seqq.

that have employment, πραγματικοῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ; 𝔏 𝔖 'scribes of the temple' (as though γραμματικοῖς).

24. **punishment,** 𝔊[BA] τιμωρία, L, ἀτιμία, 𝔏 cruciatu, 𝔏[C] tormentis, E *banishment*, prop. 'uprooting', 𝔊 παιδεία.

imprisonment, mg. *captivity*, 𝔊[BA] ἀπαγωγή, L δεσμεῦσαι, 𝔏 abductione, 𝔏[C] exilio. Jos. + ἔρρωσο, cf. 𝔏 Lag. *bene valeas.*

25. **Then . . . scribe,** 𝔊[BL] om., 𝔏[C] om. *the scribe.*

Blessed . . ., or 'blessed alone be the Lord' (Ball).

28–40. Ezra's band. With the priestly families (*v.* 29), cf. Eleazar and Ithamar, 1 Chron. xxiv. 2 seqq., where the priesthood is not restricted to the Zadokites but as a compromise a share is given to the subordinate family of Ithamar. For the priestly and Davidic families, cf. *E* v. 5. With the preferable reading: Hattush of the sons of Shechaniah (*v.* 29), cf. 1 Chron. iii. 22. The names of the *twelve* (see v. 4) lay families recur in the great register *E* v.; Pahath-moab and Joab (*vv.* 31, 35) are, however, severed (contrast v. 11). The sons of Zattu (*v.* 32) are wrongly omitted in E (but see 𝔊[A] ib.). *Zaraias* represents Zerahiah in *v.* 31, but Zebadiah in *v.* 34; *Jezelus* (*v.* 35) = Jehiel, cf. on i. 8. The family of Bani (*v.* 36) is wanting in E (but see 𝔊[A] ib.). *Istalcurus* (*v.* 40) = Zabbud or Zaccur; see *E Bi.*, art. Zabud (2); Bayer 56 would restore עותי בן יזכור. For other details see the comm.

34 of the
sons of Saphatias, Zaraias son of Michael, and
35 with him threescore and ten men: of the sons
of Joab, Abadias son of Jezelus, and with him
36 two hundred and twelve men: of the sons of
Banias, Salimoth son of Josaphias, and with him
37 a hundred and threescore men: of the sons of
Babi, Zacharias son of Bebai, and with him
38 twenty and eight men: of the sons of Astath,
Joannes son of Akatan, and with him a hun-
39 dred and ten men: of the sons of Adonikam,
the last, and these are the names of them, Eli-
phalat, Jeuel, and Samaias, and with them
40 seventy men: of the sons of Bago, Uthi the son
of Istalcurus, and with him seventy men.
41 And I gathered them together to the river
called Theras; and there we pitched our tents
42 three days, and I surveyed them. But when
I had found there none of the priests and
43 Levites, then sent I unto Eleazar, and Iduel,
44 and Maasmas, and Elnathan, and Samaias, and
Joribus, Nathan, Ennatan, Zacharias, and Mo-
sollamus, principal men and men of understand-
45 ing. And I bade them that they should go unto
Loddeus the captain, who was in the place of
46 the treasury: and commanded them that they
should speak unto Loddeus, and to his brethren,
and to the treasurers in that place, to send us
such men as might execute the priests' office in
47 the house of our Lord. And by the mighty
hand of our Lord they brought unto us men of
understanding of the sons of Mooli the son of
Levi, the son of Israel, Asebebias, and his sons,
and his brethren, who were eighteen,
48 and
Asebias, and Annuus, and Osaias his brother, of
the sons of Chanuneus, and their sons were
49 twenty men; and of the temple-servants whom
David and the principal men had appointed for
the service of the Levites, two hundred and
twenty temple-servants, the catalogue of all their
50 names was shewed. And there I vowed a fast
for the young men before our Lord, to desire of
him a prosperous journey both for us and for
our children and cattle that were with us:
51 for
I was ashamed to ask of the king footmen, and
horsemen, and conduct for safeguard against
52 our adversaries. For we had said unto the
king, that the power of our Lord would be with

And of the sons of Shephatiah, Zebadiah the 8
son of Michael; and with him fourscore males.
Of the sons of Joab, Obadiah the son of Jehiel; 9
and with him two hundred and eighteen males.
And of the sons of Shelomith, the son of Josi- 10
phiah; and with him an hundred and threescore
males. And of the sons of Bebai, Zechariah the 11
son of Bebai; and with him twenty and eight
males. And of the sons of Azgad, Johanan the 12
son of Hakkatan; and with him an hundred and
ten males. And of the sons of Adonikam, *that* 13
were the last; and these are their names, Eliphe-
let, Jeuel, and Shemaiah, and with them three-
score males. And of the sons of Bigvai, Uthai 14
and Zabbud; and with them seventy males.
And I gathered them together to the river 15
that runneth to Ahava; and there we encamped
three days: and I viewed the people, and the
priests, and found there none of the sons of Levi.
Then sent I for Eliezer, for Ariel, for Shemaiah, 16
and for Elnathan, and for Jarib, and for Elnathan,
and for Nathan, and for Zechariah, and for Me-
shullam, chief men; also for Joiarib, and for El-
nathan, which were teachers. And I sent them 17
forth unto Iddo the chief at the place Casiphia;
and I told them what they should say unto Iddo,
and his brethren the Nethinim, at the place
Casiphia, that they should bring unto us minis-
ters for the house of our God.
And according 18
to the good hand of our God upon us they
brought us a man of discretion, of the sons of
Mahli, the son of Levi, the son of Israel; and
Sherebiah, with his sons and his brethren, eigh-
teen; and Hashabiah, and with him Jeshaiah of 19
the sons of Merari, his brethren and their sons,
twenty;
and of the Nethinim, whom David and 20
the princes had given for the service of the
Levites, two hundred and twenty Nethinim: all
of them were expressed by name.
Then I pro- 21
claimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we
might humble ourselves before our God, to seek
of him a straight way, for us, and for our little
ones, and for all our substance. For I was 22
ashamed to ask of the king a band of soldiers
and horsemen to help us against the enemy in
the way: because we had spoken unto the king,
saying, The hand of our God is upon all them

41. **called**, perhaps a better reading (Ew. 137 n. 4).
Theras (𝔊[B] om.), see *vv.* 50, 61. Jos. § 134 'beyond (? πέραν for Θεράς, Lupton) the Euphrates'.
42. In E only the Levites are absent, see *v.* 29 and note the textual difficulties in 42 seqq. (see Berth.), and elsewhere where the priests and Levites are concerned.
43 seq. **sent I unto.** Omit *unto*; the accusatival ל (see esp. 2 Chron. xvii. 7) was misunderstood.
45. **place of the treasury,** E *Casiphia*, but cf. 𝔊 ib. Cf. also *v.* 46, where, too, the Nethinim are ignored.
47. **men,** mg. *a man* (𝔊[BL]).
48. **Annuus** = MT *itto* 'with him' (to be read *eth*, a mark of the accusative).
Chanuneus (E *Merari*) might suggest Chenani(ah), Neh. ix. 4, 1 Chron. xv. 22, &c.
50. **for the young men,** an obscure statement, perhaps a misreading of E's *river* (נער for נהר), *Ahava* being omitted (Ball).

them that seek him, to support them in all ways.
53 And again we besought our Lord as touching
these things, and found him favourable *unto us.*
54 Then I separated twelve men of the chiefs of the
priests, Eserebias, and Assamias, and ten men of
their brethren with them:
55 and I weighed them
the silver, and the gold, and the holy vessels of
the house of our Lord, which the king, and his
counsellors, and the nobles, and all Israel, had
56 given. And when I had weighed it, I delivered
unto them six hundred and fifty talents of silver,
and silver vessels of a hundred talents, and a hun-
57 dred talents of gold, and twenty golden vessels,
and twelve vessels of brass, even of fine brass,
58 glittering like gold. And I said unto them, Both
ye are holy unto the Lord, and the vessels are
holy, and the gold and the silver are a vow unto
59 the Lord, the Lord of our fathers. Watch ye,
and keep them till ye deliver them to the chiefs
of the priests and Levites, and to the principal
men of the families of Israel, in Jerusalem, in
the chambers of the house of our Lord.
60 So the
priests and the Levites, who received the silver
and the gold and the vessels which were in
Jerusalem, brought them into the temple of the
Lord.
61 And from the river Theras we departed the
twelfth day of the first month, until we came to
Jerusalem, by the mighty hand of our Lord
which was upon us: and the Lord delivered us
from *assault by* the way, from every enemy, and
62 *so* we came to Jerusalem. And when we had
been there three days, the silver and gold was
weighed and delivered in the house of our Lord
on the fourth day unto Marmoth the priest
63 the son of Urias. And with him was Eleazar
the son of Phinees, and with them were Josabdus
the son of Jesus and Moeth the son of Sabannus,
the Levites: all *was delivered them* by number
and weight.
64 And all the weight of them was
written up the same hour.
65 Moreover they that
were come out of the captivity offered sacrifices
unto the Lord, the God of Israel, even twelve
bullocks for all Israel, fourscore and sixteen rams,
66 threescore and twelve lambs, goats for a peace
offering, twelve; all of them a sacrifice to the

that seek him, for good; but his power and his
wrath is against all them that forsake him. So 23
we fasted and besought our God for this: and
he was intreated of us. Then I separated twelve 24
of the chiefs of the priests, even Sherebiah,
Hashabiah, and ten of their brethren with them,
and weighed unto them the silver, and the gold, 25
and the vessels, even the offering for the house
of our God, which the king, and his counsellors,
and his princes, and all Israel there present, had
offered: I even weighed into their hand six 26
hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver
vessels an hundred talents; of gold an hundred
talents; and twenty bowls of gold, of a thousand 27
darics; and two vessels of fine bright brass,
precious as gold. And I said unto them, Ye are 28
holy unto the Lord, and the vessels are holy;
and the silver and the gold are a freewill offering
unto the Lord, the God of your fathers. Watch 29
ye, and keep them, until ye weigh them before
the chiefs of the priests and the Levites, and the
princes of the fathers' *houses* of Israel, at Jeru-
salem, in the chambers of the house of the Lord.
So the priests and the Levites received the 30
weight of the silver and the gold, and the vessels,
to bring them to Jerusalem unto the house of our
God.

Then we departed from the river of Ahava on 31
the twelfth *day* of the first month, to go unto
Jerusalem: and the hand of our God was upon
us, and he delivered us from the hand of the
enemy and the lier in wait by the way. And 32
we came to Jerusalem, and abode there three
days.

And on the fourth day was the silver and 33
the gold and the vessels weighed in the house of
our God into the hand of Meremoth the son of
Uriah the priest; and with him was Eleazar the
son of Phinehas; and with them was Jozabad
the son of Jeshua, and Noadiah the son of Bin-
nui, the Levites; the whole by number and by 34
weight: and all the weight was written at that
time. The children of the captivity, which were 35
come out of exile, offered burnt offerings unto
the God of Israel, twelve bullocks for all Israel,
ninety and six rams, seventy and seven lambs,
twelve he-goats for a sin offering: all this was
a burnt offering unto the Lord.

54. **Eserebias** (= Sherebiah), $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$ prefix 'and'; there are thus twelve Levites (cf. *v.* 47 seq., N xii. 24) and twelve priests (cf. *v.* 60). E includes the two men and their brethren among the twelve priests.
55. **all Israel,** Jos. 'who remained at Babylon' (cf. *v.* 13 seq.), some qualification is necessary.
57. **twelve,** $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ 'ten'.
58. **holy,** cf. Is. lii. 11.
and the vessels . . ., mg. *and the vessels and the silver and the gold, &c.* ($\mathfrak{G}^{B}$).
60. **which [were] in Jerusalem,** the words belong to the end of the verse.
61. **every enemy,** reading ואויב for ואורב. $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ confuses the first and the third person (for the latter see 65–7) and omits 'our' in *v.* 62. See on *vv.* 68 seqq.
66. **peace offering,** or thank-offering, cf. the Geneva Bible 'for salvation'. For E cf. vii. 7 seq. (E vi. 17).

67 Lord. And they delivered the king's commandments unto the king's stewards, and to the governors of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia; and they honoured the people and the temple of the Lord.

68 Now when these things were done, the prin-
69 cipal men came unto me, and said, The nation of Israel, and the princes, and the priests and the Levites, have not put away *from them* the strange people of the land, nor the uncleannesses of the Gentiles, *to wit*, of the Canaanites, Hittites, Pherezites, Jebusites, and the Moabites,
70 Egyptians, and Edomites. For both they and their sons have married with their daughters, and the holy seed is mixed with the strange people of the land; and from the beginning of this matter the rulers and the nobles have been
71 partakers of this iniquity. And as soon as I had heard these things, I rent my clothes, and my holy garment, and plucked the hair from off my head and beard, and sat me down sad and full of
72 heaviness. So all they that were moved at the word of the Lord, the God of Israel, assembled unto me, whilst I mourned for the iniquity: but I sat still full of heaviness until the evening sacri-
73 fice. Then rising up from the fast with my clothes and my holy garment rent, and bowing my knees, and stretching forth my hands unto the Lord,

74 I said, O Lord, I am ashamed and confounded
75 before thy face; for our sins are multiplied above our heads, and our errors have reached up unto heaven,
76 ever since the time of our fathers; and we
77 are in great sin, even unto this day. And for our sins and our fathers' we with our brethren and our kings and our priests were given up unto the kings of the earth, to the sword, and to captivity, and for a prey with shame, unto this day.
78 And now in some measure hath mercy been shewed unto us from thee, O Lord, that there should be left us a root and a name in the place of thy
79 sanctuary; and to discover unto us a light in the house of the Lord our God, *and* to give us food in
80 the time of our servitude. Yea, when we were in bondage, we were not forsaken of our Lord; but he made us gracious before the kings of Persia, so
81 that they gave us food, and glorified the temple

And they 36
delivered the king's commissions unto the king's satraps, and to the governors beyond the river: and they furthered the people and the house of God.

Now when these things were done, the princes 9 1
drew near unto me, saying, The people of Israel, and the priests and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands, *doing* according to their abominations, even of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites. For they have 2
taken of their daughters for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the peoples of the lands: yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass. And when I heard this 3
thing, I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat down astonied.

Then were assembled 4
unto me every one that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the trespass of them of the captivity; and I sat astonied until the evening oblation. And at the 5
evening oblation I arose up from my humiliation, even with my garment and my mantle rent; and I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the Lord my God; and I said, O my 6
God, I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God: for our iniquities are increased over our head, and our guiltiness is grown up unto the heavens. Since the days of our fathers 7
we have been exceeding guilty unto this day; and for our iniquities have we, our kings, and our priests, been delivered into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword, to captivity, and to spoiling, and to confusion of face, as it is this day. And now for a little moment grace 8
hath been shewed from the Lord our God, to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving in our bondage.

For we are bondmen; yet our 9
God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up

67. **honoured,** ἐδόξασαν (so EG), cf. viii. 25, 81, and Is. lx. 13; a weak and inappropriate rendering (Ew. 138 n. 6).
The mixed marriages, *vv.* 68–90 = E ix., cf. Jos. xi. 5 3. See below on ix. 37 seqq. G^L gives the narrative in the third person.
69. **the uncleannesses . . .**, mg. *nor their uncleannesses* (to wit) *of the Gentiles, &c.* (G^B).
Edomites, see iv. 45, 50.
72. **So all they,** G^A + 'that were zealous and all they'.
73. **fast,** cf. E R.V. mg. *fasting.*
75. **multiplied above . . .**, G^L L S 'multiplied more than the hairs of our head', cf. Ps. xl. 12.
77. **we with our brethren** (אנחנו 'we' read as אחינו).
78. **root** (cf. *v.* 88), perhaps influenced by 2 Kings xix. 30 seq. (Bayer, 15).
79. **food,** E *reviving* (מְחַיָּה, cf. Judg. vi. 4).

of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Sion, to give us a sure abiding in Jewry and Jerusalem.
82 And now, O Lord, what shall we say, having these things? for we have transgressed thy commandments, which thou gavest by the hand of thy
83 servants the prophets, saying, That the land, which ye enter into to possess as an heritage, is a land polluted with the pollutions of the strangers of the land, and they have filled it with their uncleanness.
84 Therefore now shall ye not join your daughters unto their sons, neither shall ye take
85 their daughters unto your sons. Neither shall ye seek to have peace with them for ever, that ye may be strong, and eat the good things of the land, and that ye may leave it for an in-
86 heritance unto your children for evermore. And all that is befallen is done unto us for our wicked works and great sins: for thou, O Lord, didst
87 make our sins light, and didst give unto us such a root: *but* we have turned back again to transgress thy law, in mingling ourselves with the
88 uncleanness of the heathen of the land. Thou wast not angry with us to destroy us, till thou hadst left us neither root, seed, nor name.
89 O Lord of Israel, thou art true: for we are left a
90 root this day. Behold, now are we before thee in our iniquities, for we cannot stand any longer before thee by reason of these things.

91 And as Esdras in his prayer made his confession, weeping, and lying flat upon the ground before the temple, there gathered unto him from Jerusalem a very great throng of men and women and children: for there was great weep-
92 ing among the multitude. Then Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of Israel, called out, and said, O Esdras, we have sinned against the Lord God, we have married strange women of the heathen of the land, and now is all Israel aloft.
93 Let us make an oath unto the Lord herein, that we will put away all our wives, which *we have*
94 *taken* of the strangers, with their children, like as seemeth good unto thee, and to as many as do obey the law of the Lord.
95 Arise, and put in execution: for to thee doth this matter appertain, and we

the house of our God, and to repair the ruins thereof, and to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem. And now, O our God, what shall 10
we say after this? for we have forsaken thy commandments, which thou hast commanded by 11
thy servants the prophets, saying, The land, unto which ye go to possess it, is an unclean land through the uncleanness of the peoples of the lands, through their abominations, which have filled it from one end to another with their filthiness. Now therefore give not your daugh- 12
ters unto their sons, neither take their daughters unto your sons, nor seek their peace or their prosperity for ever: that ye may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever.
And after 13
all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great guilt, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such a remnant, shall we again 14
break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the peoples that do these abominations? wouldest not thou be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant, nor any to escape? O Lord, the God 15
of Israel, thou art righteous; for we are left a remnant that is escaped, as it is this day: behold, we are before thee in our guiltiness; for none can stand before thee because of this.

Now while Ezra prayed, and made confession, **10** 1
weeping and casting himself down before the house of God, there was gathered together unto him out of Israel a very great congregation of men and women and children: for the people wept very sore. And Shecaniah the son of 2
Jehiel, one of the sons of Elam, answered and said unto Ezra, We have trespassed against our God, and have married strange women of the peoples of the land: yet now there is hope for Israel concerning this thing. Now therefore let 3
us make a covenant with our God to put away all the wives, and such as are born of them, according to the counsel of my lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the law. Arise; 4
for the matter belongeth unto thee, and we are

81. **Sion.** G. A. Smith (*Jerusalem*, i. 150 seq.) observes that the term is not found in Ezek., Chron. (except the quotations 1 Chron. xi. 5, 2 Chron. v. 2), E and N.

82. **having . . . transgressed**, presumably based upon misreadings אחזי for אחרי, עברנו for עזבנו (see Ball).

86. **make . . . light**, cf. E𝔊.

88. **Thou wast not**, mg. *wast thou not*, &c., see E.

The marriage-reforms, viii. 91–ix. 36 = E, x., cf. Jos. xi. 5 4.

92. **Israel** (Jos. 'Jerusalem'), E *Elam*, cf. E x. 26.

aloft, mg. *exalted* (with a reference to Deut. xxviii. 13, לְמַעְלָה). This points to the reading מַעַל 'trespass' (E ix. 2, 4, x. 6) for מקוה 'hope' (𝔊ᴸ 𝔖 here) and is preferred by Jahn. 𝔏 et nunc es super omnem Israel (𝔏ᶜ et nunc de populo I.). Bayer (16) conj. ἐπάνω corruption of ὑπομονή (E𝔊).

'Concerning this thing' in E is read by 𝔊ᴮᴬ 𝔏 at the beginning of *E* 93.

94. 𝔊ᴸ 𝔖 'and as many as obeyed . . . having arisen, said unto Ezra, Arise . . .' (reading קמו החרדים).

95. **put into execution,** כַּלָּה has probably dropped out from the MT (Guthe, *SBOT*).

96 will be with thee to do valiantly. So Esdras arose, and took an oath of the chief of the priests and Levites of all Israel to do after these things; and *so* they sware.

9 1 Then Esdras rising from the court of the temple went to the chamber of Jonas the son of 2 Eliasib, and lodged there, and did eat no bread nor drink water, mourning for the great iniquities of the multitude.

3 And there was made proclamation in all Jewry and Jerusalem to all them that were of the captivity, that they should be gathered 4 together at Jerusalem: and that whosoever met not there within two or three days, according as the elders that bare rule appointed, their cattle should be seized to the use of the temple, and himself cast out from the multitude of them that were of the captivity.

5 And in three days were all they of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin gathered together at Jerusalem: this was the ninth month, on the 6 twentieth day of the month. And all the multitude sat together trembling in the broad place before the temple because of the present foul 7 weather. So Esdras arose up, and said unto them, Ye have transgressed the law and married strange wives, *thereby* to increase the sins of 8 Israel. And now make confession and give glory unto the Lord, the God of our fathers, 9 and do his will, and separate yourselves from the heathen of the land, and from the strange 10 women. Then cried the whole multitude, and said with a loud voice, Like as thou hast spoken, 11 so will we do. But forasmuch as the multitude is great, and it is foul weather, so that we cannot stand without, and this is not a work of one day or two, seeing our sin in these things is spread 12 far: therefore let the rulers of the multitude 13 stay, and let all them of our habitations that have strange wives come at the time appointed, and with them the rulers and judges of every place, till we turn away the wrath of the Lord from us for this matter.

14 *Then* Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezekias the son of Thocanus accordingly took the matter upon them: and Mosollamus and Levis and Sabbateus were assessors

with thee: be of good courage, and do it. Then 5 arose Ezra, and made the chiefs of the priests, the Levites, and all Israel, to swear that they would do according to this word. So they sware. Then Ezra rose up from before the 6 house of God, and went into the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib: and *when* he came thither, he did eat no bread, nor drink water: for he mourned because of the trespass of them of the captivity. And they made pro- 7 clamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem unto all the children of the captivity, that they should gather themselves together unto Jerusalem; and 8 that whosoever came not within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation of the captivity.

Then all the men of Judah and Ben- 9 jamin gathered themselves together unto Jerusalem within the three days; it was the ninth month, on the twentieth *day* of the month: and all the people sat in the broad place before the house of God, trembling because of this matter, and for the great rain. And Ezra the priest 10 stood up, and said unto them, Ye have trespassed, and have married strange women, to increase the guilt of Israel. Now therefore make 11 confession unto the Lord, the God of your fathers, and do his pleasure: and separate yourselves from the peoples of the land, and from the strange women. Then all the congregation 12 answered and said with a loud voice, As thou hast said concerning us, so must we do. But the 13 people are many, and it is a time of much rain, and we are not able to stand without, neither is this a work of one day or two: for we have greatly transgressed in this matter. Let now 14 our princes be appointed for all the congregation, and let all them that are in our cities which have married strange women come at appointed times, and with them the elders of every city, and the judges thereof, until the fierce wrath of our God be turned from us, until this matter be despatched. Only Jonathan the son of Asahel and 15 Jahzeiah the son of Tikvah stood up against this *matter*: and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite helped them.

96. **the chief** (rather **chiefs**, as in viii. 49) . . . **and Levites**, for *and* see Guthe, *SBOT*.

IX. 2. **lodged there**, rightly reading וילן for וילך.

6. **in the broad place.** According to Jos. § 149 there was a meeting of the elders in the upper room (but Niese ὑπαίθρῳ) of the temple.

8. $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$ 'Give confession ($\mathfrak{G}^{L}$+and) glory'; a doublet of תּוֹדָה (Fr., &c.).

11. **forasmuch as**, wanting in $\mathfrak{G}$.

13. **for this matter**, cf. E R.V. mg. *as touching this matter*.

14. **took the matter** (ἐπεδέξαντο, cf. with Fr. 1 Macc. i. 42); cf. E R.V. mg. *were appointed over this* (*matter*). On the conflicting interpretations of this passage see the comm.

Ezekias, mg. *Ezias* ($\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$ $\mathfrak{S}$).

Levis . . ., E $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ 'the Levites'.

assessors, $\mathfrak{G}$ συνεβράβευσαν, $\mathfrak{L}$ cooperati ($\mathfrak{L}^{c}$ consenserunt).

15 to them. And they that were of the captivity
did according to all these things.
16 And Esdras the priest chose unto him principal
men of their families, all by name: and on the
new moon of the tenth month they were shut in
17 together to examine the matter. So their cause
that held strange wives was brought to an end
by the new moon of the first month.
18 And of the
priests that were come together, and had strange
19 wives, there were found; of the sons of Jesus
the son of Josedek, and his brethren; Mathelas,
20 and Eleazar, and Joribus, and Joadanus. And
they gave their hands to put away their wives,
and *to offer* rams to make reconcilement for
21 their error. And of the sons of Emmer; Ana-
nias, and Zabdeus, and Manes, and Sameus, and
Hiereel, and Azarias.
22 And of the sons of Phaisur;
Elionas, Massias, Ismael, and Nathanael, and
23 Ocidelus, and Saloas. And of the Levites;
Jozabdus, and Semeis, and Colius, who was called
Calitas, and Patheus, and Judas, and Jonas.
24 Of
25 the holy singers; Eliasibus, Bacchurus. Of the
26 porters; Sallumus, and Tolbanes. Of Israel, of
the sons of Phoros; Hiermas, and Ieddias, and
Melchias, and Maelus, and Eleazar, and Asibias,
27 and Banneas. Of the sons of Ela; Matthanias,
Zacharias, and Jezrielus, and Oabdius, and Hiere-
28 moth, and Aedias. And of the sons of Zamoth;
Eliadas, Eliasimus, Othonias, Jarimoth, and
29 Sabathus, and Zardeus. Of the sons of Bebai;
Joannes, and Ananias, and Jozabdus, and Ema-
30 theis. Of the sons of Mani; Olamus, Mamuchus,
Jedeus, Jasubus, and Jasaelus, and Hieremoth.
31 And of the sons of Addi; Naathus, and Moossias,
Laccunus, and Naidus, and Matthanias, and Ses-
32 thel, Balnuus, and Manasseas. And of the sons
of Annas; Elionas, and Aseas, and Melchias, and
33 Sabbeus, and Simon Chosameus. And of the
sons of Asom; Maltanneus, and Mattathias, and
Sabanneus, Eliphalat, and Manasses, and Semei.
34 And of the sons of Baani; Jeremias, Momdis,
Ismaerus, Juel, Mamdai, and Pedias, and Anos,
Carabasion, and Enasibus, and Mamnitanemus,
Eliasis, Bannus, Eliali, Someis, Selemias, Natha-
nias: and of the sons of Ezora; Sesis, Ezril,
35 Azaelus, Samatus, Zambri, Josephus. And of
the sons of Nooma; Mazitias, Zabadeas, Edos,
Juel, Banaias.

And the children of the 16
captivity did so. And Ezra the priest, *with*
certain heads of fathers' *houses*, after their fathers'
houses, and all of them by their names, were
separated; and they sat down in the first day of
the tenth month to examine the matter. And 17
they made an end with all the men that had
married strange women by the first day of the
first month. And among the sons of the priests 18
there were found that had married strange
women: *namely*, of the sons of Jeshua, the son
of Jozadak, and his brethren, Maaseiah, and
Eliezer, and Jarib, and Gedaliah. And they 19
gave their hand that they would put away their
wives; and being guilty, *they offered* a ram of
the flock for their guilt. And of the sons of 20
Immer; Hanani and Zebadiah. And of the 21
sons of Harim; Maaseiah, and Elijah, and She-
maiah, and Jehiel, and Uzziah. And of the sons 22
of Pashhur; Elioenai, Maaseiah, Ishmael, Ne-
thanel, Jozabad, and Elasah. And of the 23
Levites; Jozabad, and Shimei, and Kelaiah (the
same is Kelita), Pethahiah, Judah, and Eliezer.
And of the singers; Eliashib: and of the porters; 24
Shallum, and Telem, and Uri.
And of Israel: 25
of the sons of Parosh; Ramiah, and Izziah, and
Malchijah, and Mijamin, and Eleazar, and Mal-
chijah, and Benaiah. And of the sons of Elam; 26
Mattaniah, Zechariah, and Jehiel, and Abdi, and
Jeremoth, and Elijah. And of the sons of 27
Zattu; Elioenai, Eliashib, Mattaniah, and Jere-
moth, and Zabad, and Aziza. And of the sons 28
of Bebai; Jehohanan, Hananiah, Zabbai, Athlai.
And of the sons of Bani; Meshullam, Malluch, 29
and Adaiah, Jashub, and Sheal, Jeremoth.
And 30
of the sons of Pahath-moab; Adna, and Chelal,
Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattaniah, Bezalel, and Bin-
nui, and Manasseh. And *of* the sons of Harim; 31
Eliezer, Isshijah, Malchijah, Shemaiah, Shimeon;
Benjamin, Malluch, Shemariah. Of the sons of 32, 33
Hashum; Mattenai, Mattattah, Zabad, Eliphelet,
Jeremai, Manasseh, Shimei. Of the sons of 34
Bani; Maadai, Amram, and Uel; Benaiah, 35
Bedeiah, Cheluhi; Vaniah, Meremoth, Eliashib; 36
Mattaniah, Mattenai, and Jaasu; and Bani, and 37, 38
Binnui, Shimei; and Shelemiah, and Nathan, and 39
Adaiah; Machnadebai, Shashai, Sharai; Azarel, 40, 41
and Shelemiah, Shemariah; Shallum, Amariah, 42
Joseph. Of the sons of Nebo; Jeiel, Mattithiah, 43

16. **chose**; read accordingly in E 'separated for himself' (Eichhorn, Bayer, &c.), or better (Torrey) 'they separated'.
to examine . . ., MT לְדָרִיוֹשׁ; the singular Heb. word has a no less singular resemblance to 'Darius' (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ).
20. Read in E 19 'and for their guilt offering . . .' (וְאַשְׁמָם for וַאֲשֵׁמִים 'and being guilty').
21–36. In view of the tenour of the whole narrative viii. 68–ix. 20 this list of 113 (E, 111 𝔊) offenders is an anticlimax. On the one hand, the separation of the people of Israel generally, though anticipated at this juncture (see viii. 91–ix. 17), is not recorded until N ix. 2, after the reading of the law. On the other hand, the list cannot refer only to 'the congregation that had come out of captivity' with E (N viii. 17, combined with the purified Israel in x. 28), since the families of Harim, Hashum and Nebo did not return with E, but many years earlier under Zerubbabel.
On the variants see the comm. and *E Bi*. There are omissions in *vv.* 21, 25, much confusion in *vv.* 31 seqq., and Zaccur should be added after Eliashib in E 24 (cf. 𝔊[L]).

36 All these had taken strange wives,
and they put them away with their children.

37 And
the priests and Levites, and they that were of
Israel, dwelt in Jerusalem, and in the country, on
the new moon of the seventh month, and the
children of Israel in their habitations.

38 And the whole multitude were gathered toge-
ther with one accord into the broad place before
39 the porch of the temple toward the east: and
they said unto Esdras the priest and reader,
Bring the law of Moses, that was given of the
40 Lord, the God of Israel. So Esdras the chief priest
brought the law unto the whole multitude both
of men and women, and to all the priests, to hear
the law on the new moon of the seventh month.
41 And he read in the broad place before the porch
of the temple from morning unto midday, before
both men and women; and all the multitude gave
heed unto the law.

42 And Esdras the priest and
reader of the law stood up upon the pulpit of
43 wood, which was made *for that purpose.* And
there stood up by him Mattathias, Sammus, Ana-
nias, Azarias, Urias, Ezekias, Baalsamus, upon
44 the right hand: and upon his left hand, Phaldeus,
Misael, Melchias, Lothasubus, Nabarias, Zacha-
Zabad, Zebina, Iddo, and Joel, Benaiah. All 44
these had taken strange wives: and some of
them had wives by whom they had children.

So the priests, and the Levites, and the NEH. 7
porters, and the singers, and some of the people, 73
and the Nethinim, and all Israel, dwelt in their
cities. And when the seventh month was come,
the children of Israel were in their cities.

And all the people gathered themselves together NEH. 8 1
as one man into the broad place that was before the
water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe
to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the
Lord had commanded to Israel.

And Ezra the
priest brought the law before the congregation, 2
both men and women, and all that could hear
with understanding, upon the first day of the
seventh month. And he read therein before the 3
broad place that was before the water gate from
early morning until midday, in the presence of
the men and the women, and of those that could
understand; and the ears of all the people were
attentive unto the book of the law. And Ezra 4
the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood, which
they had made for the purpose; and beside him
stood Mattithiah, and Shema, and Anaiah, and
Uriah, and Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his right
hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and Mis-
hael, and Malchijah, and Hashum, and Hash-

36. The MT cannot be translated (R.V. mg. has 'some of the wives had borne children') and E's reading is eminently more intelligible.

The division between the books E and N which occurs at this point is a relatively late feature in the MT. The scribes counted them as one book. This is important in considering questions of the transposition and rearrangement of the contents.

The Reading of the Law, ix. 37–55 = Neh. vii. 73–viii. 13 *a*, cf. Jos. xi. 5 5. The view is strongly urged (Hoonacker, Ryle, Meyer, Bertholet, Nikel, Jampel, Driver, &c.) that E iv. 7 seqq. (*E* ii. 16 seqq.), which cannot refer to the return of Ezra, fills partially at least the gap between the books E and N. This would imply a new catastrophe, a new and important return, and a somewhat extensive work of rebuilding in the time of Artaxerxes, after E x. and before N i. On the other hand, the formal proceedings of the adversaries in E iv. 7 seqq. and the words of the king do not suggest that the opponents would be likely to exceed instructions which, in themselves, are not necessarily sufficient to explain the ruined Jerusalem which so deeply moved Nehemiah. Further, it cannot be assumed that the disgrace of 113 offenders in the matter of the mixed marriages aroused the hostility that is represented in N i.-vi. The people themselves had recognized their sin (*E* viii. 68 seqq.), they feel themselves to be the 'holy seed', and the proposed covenant and the willingness of the people to act 'according to the law' (*v.* 94, E x. 3), would make the entire tenour of the narrative unintelligible unless the writer was describing the successful issue (despite the obscure opposition in E x. 15) of steps initiated, not by Ezra, but by the community (Meyer, 228, 240, 241 n. 2, Torrey, 278). Moreover, the close literary connexion between E ix. seq. and N viii. seqq. forbids the severance of these portions (see above, p. 47 *c*). The sequence of events in *E* ix. is adopted by many (Michaelis, Fr., Berth., &c.), but can hardly be original, since there is still a lacuna between the reforms and the Reading of the Law, and ix. 37, though the natural introduction to the latter, is not in place after *vv.* 1–36 (note the awkward dates *vv.* 17, 37). *v.* 37[a] more properly concludes the account of *some* return, as in v. 46, where *vv.* 47 seqq. describe another religious event, also dated in the seventh month. Finally, it is a very natural supposition that the law brought by Ezra was being made known during the four months' interval between viii. 67 and 68 (E viii. and ix.); see A. P. Stanley, *Jew. Church*, iii. 118; Lupton, 60. Hence it is highly probable, following Torrey (*Comp.* 29 seqq., *Essays*, 253 seqq., 260 seq.), H. P. Smith (*Hist.* 393), and Kent (ii. 369 seqq.), that the introduction of the law to the notice of the people came at the beginning of Ezra's work (after E viii.), and thus explains the people's recognition of their sins. Such an arrangement is found in the Greek summaries of Esdras Book I (= *E*) and Esdras Book II (= N) in Lag. *Sept. Stud.*, ii, 84 (see below, p. 58).

38. For the locality cf. v. 47, ix. 6. Perhaps the compiler who placed this narrative before N i.-viii. believed that the water-gate was in ruins (see N iii. 26); cf. the adjustment in E iii. 1.

39. 𝔊[A] 'the chief priest', *vv.* 40, 49 (contrast N).

40. **the priests**, a misreading of כהן for מבין (see E viii. 16, 1 Chron. xxv. 8), or merely a paraphrase; in any case in an unsuitable position.

41. **all the multitude . . .**, mg. *they gave all heed* (𝔊[B]).

43 seq. *E* adds Azariah after Anaiah, reads Hezekiah for Hilkiah, and perhaps rightly omits Meshullam. For other variants see *E Bi.* and comm.

45 rias. Then took Esdras the book of the law
before the multitude, and sat honourably in the
first place before all.
46 And when he opened the
law, they stood all straight up. So Esdras blessed
the Lord God Most High, the God of hosts,
47 Almighty. And all the people answered, Amen;
and lifting up their hands they fell to the ground,
48 and worshipped the Lord. Also Jesus, Annus,
Sarabias, Iadinus, Jacubus, Sabateus, Auteas,
Maiannas, and Calitas, Azarias, and Jozabdus,
and Ananias, Phalias, the Levites, taught the law
of the Lord,
and read to the multitude the law of
the Lord, making them withal to understand it.
49 Then said Attharates unto Esdras the chief priest
and reader, and to the Levites that taught the
50 multitude, even to all, This day is holy unto the
Lord; (now they all wept when they heard the
law:)

51 go then, and eat the fat, and drink the
sweet, and send portions to them that have
52 nothing; for the day is holy unto the Lord:
and be not sorrowful; for the Lord will bring
you to honour.
53 So the Levites published all
things to the people, saying, This day is holy;
54 be not sorrowful. Then went they their way,
every one to eat and drink, and make merry,
and to give portions to them that had nothing,
55 and to make great cheer; because they under-
stood the words wherein they were instructed,
and for the which they had been assembled.

baddanah, Zechariah, *and* Meshullam. And 5
Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the
people; (for he was above all the people;) and
when he opened it, all the people stood up: and 6
Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God. And all
the people answered, Amen, Amen, with the lift-
ing up of their hands: and they bowed their
heads, and worshipped the Lord with their faces
to the ground. Also Jeshua, and Bani, and 7
Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah,
Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan,
Pelaiah, and the Levites, caused the people to
understand the law: and the people *stood* in
their place. And they read in the book, in the 8
law of God, distinctly; and they gave the sense,
so that they understood the reading. And 9
Nehemiah, which was the Tirshatha, and Ezra
the priest the scribe, and the Levites that taught
the people, said unto all the people, This day is
holy unto the Lord your God; mourn not, nor
weep. For all the people wept, when they heard
the words of the law. Then he said unto them, 10
Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet,
and send portions unto him for whom nothing
is prepared: for this day is holy unto our Lord:
neither be ye grieved; for the joy of the Lord
is your strength. So the Levites stilled all the 11
people, saying, Hold your peace, for the day is
holy; neither be ye grieved. And all the 12
people went their way to eat, and to drink, and
to send portions, and to make great mirth,
because they had understood the words that
were declared unto them.
And on the second day were gathered to- 13
gether . . .

46. 𝔊 𝔏 (but not 𝔊ᴸ) transliterate the familiar יהוה צבאות, and add the paraphrase Παντοκράτωρ, *omnipotentem* (wanting in 𝔏ᶜ). On the use of this paraphrase, see H. St. J. Thackeray, *Gram. of O.T. in Greek*, 9, and for the distribution of the term 'Lord of Hosts', see M. Löhr, *Buch Amos* (*Beiheft* to *ZATW*, 1901), 38 seqq.

47. **Amen**, 𝔊ᴮ 𝔖 + Amen, cf. N.

48. The teachers are Levites, cf. 2 Chron. xvii. 8 seq., and contrast N *and*. On the forms in *E* see *E Bi.*; *Annus* is apparently a corruption of Banaias.

and read . . . Lord, 𝔊ᴬ 𝔏 om.

The texts are confused, see N𝔊.

49. In N, some read 'and N and E', omitting 'which was the Tirshatha' (Smend, Stade, Wellh., Nikel, &c., cf. 𝔊ᴮᴺᴬ 𝔖); others omit 'N which was' (Fr., Schlatter, Guthe, Torrey, &c.); and yet others read simply 'and E', omitting all reference to N (Meyer, 200 n. 3; Howorth, *PSBA*, xxv. 15 seq.; Berth., Jahn, Davies). The difficulty caused by the presence of N or of an unnamed Tirshatha makes it still more difficult to remove it by simple excision. The identification of N and the Tirshatha, even if a gloss, expresses a plausible view (cf. N x. 1), and its omission in *E* may be due to the presence of the passage before N i. seqq. (cf. Meyer, 200 n. 3). N and especially *E* may seem to give the Tirshatha undue prominence, but this may be supported by v. 40, N vii. 70 (his gifts), and the position of the governor Bagohi in the Sachau papyri.

52. **honour**, חדות, 'joy', misread הדרת (Ball).

53. **published**, ἐκέλευον, an error for κωλύω, or מחשים ('stilled') read as מחוים.

55. **understood**, mg. *were inspired by*; ἐνεφυσιώθησαν (cf. John xx. 22); cf. *v.* 48 ἐμφυσιοῦντες ἅμα τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν.

and for the which . . . This conceals the abruptness of 𝔊: καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν. N𝔊 reads καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ συνηχ., but *E*, which handles the MT more freely (cf. the dates in viii. 62, ix. 37), probably placed the date after the verb. Bayer's explanation (90 seq.) seems too artificial. 𝔊ᴸ cites the whole of N 13. 𝔏 reads: et coadunati (congregati) sunt omnes (universi) in Ier. iocundari (celebrare laetitiam) secundum dispositionem (testamentum) Domini dei Israel; 𝔏ᶜ + explicit Esdrae liber primus de templi restitutione. Jos., whose treatment of the story of E is free and summary, proceeds to refer to the feast of tabernacles (N viii. 16 seqq.), the return of the people to their homes, the death of the aged E, and his burial in Jerusalem contemporary with the death of the high-priest Joiakim and the succession of Eliashib (cf. N xii. 10). He then gives a summary of the labours of N, either an extremely arbitrary version or else based upon another recension (xi. 5 6–8). N, hearing of the desolation and captivity, returns with a band of exiles in the 25th year of Xerxes (cf. N i.–ii. 9). He appeals to the people (cf. ii. 17 seq.) and the work of

rebuilding is distributed (cf. iii.). Ammon, Moab, Samaria, and Coelesyria are hostile, but the walls (evidently begun in the 5th month, cf. vi. 15) are completed in 2 years 4 months, in the 9th month of the 28th year of Xerxes (N v. is ignored). The walls are dedicated (cf. xii. 27 seqq.) and there is a feast of eight days. The surrounding peoples are enraged at the completion of the building (cf. vi. 16). The population of the city is augmented (cf. vii. 4, xi.), and arrangements are made for the priests and Levites (cf. xii. 44, xiii. 10–13). N dies an old man, and the walls of the city are his eternal monument (cf. Ben Sira, xlix. 13). Next follows the story of Esther (xi. 6), and the Samaritan schism (cf. N xiii.) is placed at the close of the Persian age (xi. 7, 8). Thus Jos. does not testify to the present fragmentary condition of *E*; he treats the life of E independently of and before that of N, and his points of agreement with the MT make his divergences the more significant.

A Syriac Catena (Brit. Mus. Add. 12168), representing a text of the seventh cent., illustrates the relationship between *E* and the MT in an interesting manner. It uses 1 and 2 Chron., '1 Ezra' (i.e. *E*), '2 Ezra' (i.e. N) and Daniel; *E* is said to be 'according to the tradition of the Seventy (i.e. the Septuagint).' It passes from 2 Chron. xxxv. 20–25 to *E* ii. 1–15, 16, 24–30, iv. 35 *b*–36, 38–40, 49–57, v. 47–73, vi. 1–2, vii. 6–15, viii. 1–26, 68–72, 91–6, ix. 1–10, 46 *b*–47. Then follow N i. 1–4 *a*, ii. 1–8, iv. 1–3, 10–16, vi. 15–16, vii. 73 *b*–viii. 18, ix. 1–3 (the references are to the R.V.). This removal of the Reading of the Law appears to be a compromise between *E* (note the retention of ix. 46 *b*–47) and the MT of N. But there is some evidence that *E* may have had another sequel, and that it or a following book may have treated the life of E and of N on other lines (cf. H. Bloch, *Quellen d. Fl. Jos.*, 1879, p. 79 seq.). Thus according to Justin Mart. (*Dial. Tryph.* lxxii) an account of the passover celebrated by E was among the passages cancelled by the Jews. The passage quoted recurs in Lactantius (*Inst.* iv. 18): 'Apud Esdram ita scriptum est: Et dixit Esdras ad populum: Hoc pascha Salvator noster est, et refugium nostrum, cogitate et ascendat (Just. *καὶ ἐὰν διανοηθῆτε καὶ ἀναβῇ*) in cor uestrum, quoniam habemus humiliare eum in signo (Just. *ὅτι μέλλομεν αὐτὸν ταπεινοῦν ἐν σημείῳ*), et post haec sperabimus (but Epit. xlviii. *-avimus*) in eum, ne deseratur (J. *ἐρημωθῇ*) hic locus in aeternum tempus (J. *ἅπαντα χρόνον*), dicit Dominus Deus virtutum (*λέγει ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων* [= יהוה צבאות]). Si non credideritis ei neque exaudieritis annuntiationem eius, eritis derisio (*ἐπίχαρμα*) in gentibus.'

The quotation may be compared generally with the spirit of E's prayers (E ix., N ix.). It can hardly be based upon E viii. 35, which recalls the sacrifices at the dedication of the Temple by Zerubbabel (vi. 17) mentioned before the celebration of the passover by the 'children of the captivity' (vi. 19 seqq.). Elsewhere the chronicler deals at length with the passover celebrated by Hezekiah and Josiah (2 Chron. xxx., xxxv.), in each case after a restoration or reform of the Temple, and 2 Chron. xxx. 6–9 illustrate the importance attached to the celebration. It is very noteworthy, also, that the Latin Lucca Synopsis (Lag. 18 seq.), after using *E* iii. seq., combines the return of Zerubbabel with that of E (using *E* viii.) and asserts that the passover was celebrated on reaching Jerusalem. Moreover, a Greek synopsis of 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras (= N) testifies to E's passover. According to 1 *E*, Jeshua, E and Zer. were the three youths of *E* iii. seq., and the statement of the return is followed immediately by the notice that the builders were Zer., Jeshua and N; E brings the law, reads it, casts out the foreign wives and the people observe the passover and a fast. As for 2 *E*: *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λέγει Ἔ. περὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου χωρὶς τῶν προβληθέντων.* But it is chiefly concerned with 'N. the eunuch' and his building of the Temple. E reads the law and celebrates the passover, and in the seventh month there is a fast and the Feast of Tabernacles. E then notices the foreign marriages (Ashdodite women are mentioned, see N xiii. 23) and persuades the people to promise to observe the law and expel the women. They swear to keep the law and after being cleansed rejoice and depart each to his own home (Lag. *Sept. Stud.* ii. 84). It seems clear from the foregoing evidence that the form of the narrative whether in the present EN or in *E* was not the only one extant. See further, *Introd.*, p. 17.

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Title.

The Greek title Μακκαβαίων[1] α′ takes its origin from the surname applied, in the first instance, to Judas (cp. 1 Macc. ii. 4. 66; 2 Macc. viii. 5. 16; x. 1. 16, &c.), but later on to all the members of the family and their followers. The title is transliterated by Origen (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25. 2) Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναιέλ (= ספר בית חשמנאי 'the book of the house of the Hasmonæans', see further, Dalman, *Aramäische Grammatik*, p. 7 [2nd ed.]); but this title is Aramaic, and is not likely to have stood at the head of a book written in Hebrew (see § 6); it was, therefore, probably, the title of an Aramaic translation of the original Hebrew. What the actual title of the book in its original form was, is not known.

§ 2. Contents.

The book is a sober and, on the whole, trustworthy account of the Jewish struggle for religious liberty and political independence during the years 175–135 B. C., i. e. from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon the Maccabee. The narrative is, with few exceptions, written in chronological order, and is concerned almost wholly with military events. The main part of the book deals with the exploits of Judas Maccabaeus, who is regarded as the central figure in the whole struggle. The divisions of the book are clearly marked, and are as follows:

i. 1–9. A brief introduction in which reference is made to the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the division of his kingdom.
10–64. The original cause of the Maccabaean struggle.
ii. 1–70. The beginning of the struggle, under the leadership of Mattathias.
iii. 1–ix. 22. The account of the events during the leadership of Judas. The purification of the Temple and re-dedication of the altar. The acquisition of religious liberty.
ix. 23–xii. 53. The leadership of Jonathan; the establishment of the Hasmonaean high-priesthood.
xiii. 1–xvi. 24. The leadership of Simon; political independence secured. A brief reference to the rule of John Hyrcanus.

§ 3. The Author.

There are no direct indications in the book as to who the author was, nor is anything to be gathered elsewhere regarding him; but some points concerning him may be inferred from certain *data* in his book. It is clear that he was a rigid adherent of orthodox Judaism, and his patriotism is everywhere evident. That he was a native of Palestine is equally clear, for he manifests an intimate, and even minute knowledge, both of the geography and topography of the land. There are grounds for believing that he belonged to the circle of the Sadducees; although a loyal upholder of the Law, his zeal is not characterized by any approach to Pharisaic fanaticism; his sympathy for the Jewish high-priesthood is frequently manifested; his tolerant attitude towards the profaning of the Sabbath (ii. 41; ix. 43 ff.) is very different from that which would have been adopted by a Pharisee; there is not the slightest hint of a belief in the life after death, see ii. 52 ff. where a reference to this would have been eminently appropriate, had it been believed in. These reasons go far in justifying the opinion that the author was a Sadducee.

[1] The name is derived, most probably, from the Hebrew מַקָּבָה 'hammer' (cp. Judges iv. 21); another derivation is suggested by S. J. Curtiss (*The name Machabee*, Leipzig, 1876), namely מַכְבִּי 'quencher' (cp. Isa. xliii. 17), i.e. he who exterminated the enemies of his people. Earlier commentators explained the name as consisting of the initial letters of the words מי כמכה באלם יהוה ('who is like unto thee among the gods, Yahweh', Exod. xv. 11); but there is no reason to suppose that a cryptic title of this kind would have been adopted by those whose special boast was loyalty to their God and His Law.

§ 4. Date of the Book.

The passages which throw light on the date of the composition of the book are:

(*a*) In reference to the sepulchre which Simon the Maccabee built for his parents and his four brothers at Modin, the writer says in xiii. 30: 'This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it is there unto this day.' The sepulchre in question was an elaborate one, as is clear from the description given (xiii. 27–29); it consisted of seven pyramids with 'great pillars' around them; when, therefore, it is spoken of as being in existence 'unto this day', it must have been standing for some considerable time when the author wrote this book. The building of this sepulchre is described as having taken place immediately after the death of Jonathan (xiii. 25), i. e. in 143 B. C., and Simon was murdered in 135 B. C. When the writer, therefore, speaks of the sepulchre standing 'unto this day', we must allow at the least the lapse of about thirty years, probably more, from the time the year 143 B. C. to the time when the writer made this statement. That would make the earliest possible date of the book about 110 B. C.

(*b*) But in xvi. 23, 24 we have the following: 'And the rest of the acts of John, and of his wars . . . behold, they are written in the chronicles of his high-priesthood, from the time that he was made high-priest after his father'; the formula here used is very frequent in the O.T., but it is invariably employed in reference to a ruler whose reign has been concluded. These chronicles, that is to say, took up the narrative at which our author ceased his account; therefore he was writing at a period subsequent to the time at which the chronicles of John's high-priesthood had been compiled. Now John (Hyrcanus) died in 105 B. C., so that even if the records of his doings were being kept from year to year during his rule, they were not finished until the year 105 B. C., and therefore the writer of 1 Macc. did not begin his work until, at the earliest, after this year. On the other hand, the book cannot have been written after the year 63 B. C., for it was in the autumn of this year that Pompey took Jerusalem, and desecrated the Temple by entering into the Holy of Holies (cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 2–4; *Bell. Iud.* I. vii. 3–6); it is inconceivable that the book would have contained no reference to this, had it been written after this calamity had taken place. Cf. the references to the faithfulness of the Romans as allies (viii. 1. 12, xii. 1, xiv. 40). Roughly speaking, therefore, the book must have been finished some time between the years 100–70 B. C., nearer the former than the latter date. But this does not mean to say that the writer did not *begin* his work at an earlier period; for, although, the author made use of certain documents (see below), which implies, of course, that he was writing some time subsequent to the events recorded, there are passages which certainly give the impression that he wrote as a contemporary of those who took the leading part in those events; such a passage, e. g. as xiv. 4–15, in which the details of Simon's reign are described, reads like the account of an eye-witness; it was a period of peace ('And the land had rest all the days of Simon'), and therefore conducive to literary work. There seems to be nothing that can be urged against the belief that the writer began his work during the reign of Simon; the looking-up of records, and the compiling of a book which is, upon the face of it, a very careful piece of work, must have taken some time to complete. The conclusion, therefore, is that the gathering of materials began as early as the time of Simon (142–135 B. C.), but that the completed work must be dated some time later. We cannot be far wrong in assigning the work in its final form to somewhere during the last quarter of the second century B. C.

§ 5. Literary and Religious Characteristics.

Although a translation (see § 6) the literary style of the book is admirable; the narrative is written in a simple, straightforward manner, with an entire absence of anything artificial; the reader's interest is engaged throughout, both on account of the easy flow in the style of writing, as well as on account of the graphic way in which the details are presented. The author writes as a historian, whose duty it is to record the facts without colouring them with personal observations; he is impartial, but this does not prevent him from sometimes bursting out into a poetical strain. While, as might be expected, there are frequent reminiscences of the language of the Old Testament, the author in no wise imitates this, his writing being marked throughout by his own individual style. On the other hand, there are not infrequent exaggerations, especially in point of numbers; and considerable freedom is observable in the way in which discourses are put into the mouths of important persons; but in these things the author only shows himself to be the child of his age; his substantial accuracy and trustworthiness are not affected thereby.

From the religious standpoint the book is likewise marked by special characteristics; these are to be explained partly by the writer's sober and matter-of-fact way of looking at things, and partly by the somewhat altered religious outlook of the age as compared with earlier times. The most striking

characteristics here are (i) that the direct divine intervention in the nation's affairs is not nearly so prominently expressed as in the books of the Old Testament; and (ii) that God is not mentioned by name in the whole book. The writer is very far from being wanting in religious belief and feeling; his conviction of the existence of an all-seeing Providence who helps those who are worthy comes out strongly in such passages as ii. 61, iii. 18 ff., iv. 10 ff., ix. 46, xii. 15; but he evidently has an almost equally strong belief in the truth expressed in the modern proverb, that 'God helps those who help themselves'. This very sensible religious attitude, which is as far removed from scepticism as it is from fatalism, fully corresponds to the writer's sober impartiality as a historian. But his attitude was, doubtless, also due to the influence of certain tendencies which were beginning to assert themselves. These centred round the Jewish doctrine of God. Just as there was a disinclination, on account of its transcendent holiness, to utter the name of God, and instead, to substitute paraphrases for it, so there arose also a disinclination to ascribe action among men directly to God, because of His inexpressible majesty. One result of this was the further tendency to emphasize and extend the scope of human free-will. These tendencies were only beginning to exert their influence, but they largely explain the religious characteristics of the book.

§ 6. Original Language.

In his *Prologus Galeatus* Jerome distinctly states that Hebrew was the language in which the book was written: 'Machabaeorum primum librum hebraicum repperi' (cp. also the title given by Origen, see § 1 above). The question arises, nevertheless, as to whether Hebrew proper or Palestinian Aramaic is meant; two considerations, however, make it almost certain that it was Hebrew. In the first place, the writer clearly takes as his pattern the ancient inspired Scriptures (cp. Grimm, p. xvii), so that the obvious presumption is that he would have written in the holy tongue. And, secondly, there are many indications in the book itself that it was translated from Hebrew rather than from Aramaic, many of these will be found in the commentary; in some cases, mistakes in translation are most easily and naturally accounted for on the supposition that they were translated from Hebrew, e. g. i. 28 *καὶ ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν*: this presupposes an original ל׳ which was translated 'against' instead of 'because of'; it can mean either of these, according to the context; other examples are found in ix. 24, xiv. 28, see notes in commentary. There are, furthermore, many examples of Hebrew idiomatic phrases translated literally into Greek. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that the book was originally written in Hebrew. But it seems clear that this original Hebrew text was little used, and disappeared altogether at a very early period; the reasons which lead to this supposition are firstly that not even does Josephus show any signs of having used it, and secondly, as Torrey (*E. B.* 2866) points out: 'There is no evidence of correction from the Hebrew, either in the Greek, or in any other of the versions . . . on the contrary, our Greek version is plainly seen to be the result of a single translation from a Hebrew manuscript which was not free from faults.'

§ 7. The Sources of the Book.

One of the chief sources of information utilized by the writer of 1 Macc. seems to have been the accounts given to him by eye-witnesses of many of the events recorded; one is led to this conviction by considering the wonderfully graphic descriptions of certain episodes (cp., e. g., iv. 1–24, vi. 28–54, vii. 26–50, ix. 1–22, 32–53, x. 59–66, &c.), the sober presentation of the facts, and the frequent mention of details obviously given for no other reason than that they actually occurred. That the writer had also written sources to draw from is to be presumed from such passages as ix. 22: 'And the rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did, and his greatness, they are not written,' the implication being that in part these acts had been written (cp. xi. 37, xiv. 18, 27, 48, 49), and xvi. 23, 24: 'And the rest of the acts of John . . . behold, they are written in the chronicles of his high-priesthood. . . .'

Besides these sources, there are a certain number of documents which have been incorporated in the book; the genuineness, or otherwise, of these requires some more detailed consideration. They fall into three groups; but for reasons which will become apparent the documents belonging to each group respectively cannot in every case be kept separate.

i. *Letters of Jewish origin.*

(*a*) The letter from the Jews in Gilead asking Judas to send them help because they were being attacked by the Gentiles (v. 10–13). This purports to contain the very words which were written; but it is probably merely a summary of what the author of the book had derived from some well-informed source; that it represents, however, in brief, the contents of some written document, and

was not simply a verbal message, may be assumed, as it stands in contrast to what is said to have been a verbal message in v. 15.

(*b*) The letter from Jonathan to the Spartans (xii. 6–18). Concerning this it must be said that the artificial way in which it has been pressed into the text is sufficient to arouse suspicion. In xii. 1 we are told of an embassy being sent to Rome; the narrative is broken by *v.* 2 which refers to a letter which was sent to the Spartans, and 'to other places'; in *v.* 3, which comes naturally after *v.* 1, the thread of the narrative is taken up again. Then in *v.* 5, where one might reasonably have expected further details about the embassy to Rome, it goes on to say: 'And this is the copy of the letter which Jonathan wrote to the *Spartans*.' The copy of this letter then follows; but the main subject with which the chapter began, obviously a more important one, is left without further mention. On considering the letter itself, it must strike one that it is not easy to understand what the purpose of it was. In *v.* 10 the purpose is stated to be the renewing of brotherhood and friendship; but in the same breath, as it were, it is said that the Jews needed none of these things, 'having for our encouragement the holy books which are in our hands.' Then, again, in *v.* 13, after reference has been made to the afflictions which the Jews had endured, the letter continues (*vv.* 14, 15): 'We were not mindful, therefore, to be troublesome unto you . . . for we have the help which is from heaven to help us. . . .' Thus, in the same letter, brotherhood and friendship are desired, on the one hand, while on the other it is said that this is not required. The object of the letter is, therefore, not apparent; nor can it be said that it reads like a genuine document. That a relationship of some kind existed between the Jews and the Spartans need not be doubted; the letter probably reflects the fact of this relationship, which the writer of this book, or more probably a later editor, desired to place on record, while not wishing to make it appear that his people had any need to depend upon foreign help in struggling with their enemies (see further the notes on this passage in the commentary). In connexion with this letter the following one must be considered.

(*c*) The letter from Areios, king of the Spartans, to Onias the high-priest (xii. 20–23). This owes its presence here to the fact that in the letter just dealt with Jonathan cites the existence of former friendship between the Jews and the Spartans as a reason for renewing the same (xii. 7–9); it is added as an appendix to Jonathan's letter. The original of this document must have been written about 150 to 200 years earlier than that in which it is incorporated (see the notes on the passage in the commentary). It is only of indirect importance in the present connexion as it does not bear on the history of the Maccabaean struggle. But the fact of a letter written so long before this period being quoted here shows with what care such documents were preserved, and thus tends to inspire confidence in the general historicity of our book, since it is clear that the writer (or, as in this case, probably a later editor) had recourse to the national archives for information; for even if, as some commentators rightly believe, this letter was added by a later editor, it is equally true that he depended on ancient documents for his additions.

(*d*) In xiv. 27–47 we have a source of an entirely different character. This passage contains a panegyric on Simon, together with a *résumé* of his prosperous reign. It is stated to have been engraved on tables of brass, and to have been set up in a conspicuous place within the precincts of the sanctuary; copies of it are also said to have been deposited in the treasury (cp. *vv.* 27, 48, 49). On comparing the details of Simon's reign given in this section with those in chaps. xi–xiii, however, it will be found that there are several chronological discrepancies. The course of the history, as given in the book itself, is acknowledged on all hands to be, on the whole, of a thoroughly trustworthy character; but if the passage in question be really the copy of an official document, as it purports to be, the accuracy of other portions of the book is, to some extent, impugned. It is difficult to suppose that one and the same author would write the historical account of Simon's reign in chaps. xi–xiii, and then in the very next chapter give a *résumé* of what had preceded differing from it in a number of particulars. The suggested explanation of the difficulty is as follows: The original writer of the book gave in chaps. xi–xiii a substantially correct account of the period of history in question, but was inaccurate in the sequence of events; a later editor added a copy of the document under consideration, to which the original author of the book, for some reason or other, did not have access; or perhaps he gathered his materials from different eye-witnesses of the events recorded, and therefore saw no purpose in utilizing this document. The later editor was not concerned with the discrepancies between the written history and the copy of the document which he added, because he saw that, in the main, they were in agreement. If this solution be the correct one it will follow that for the historical period in question we have two independent accounts as far as the main history is concerned.

ii. *Letters from the suzerain power (Syrian kings) to Jewish leaders.*

(*a*) The letter from Alexander Balas[1] to Jonathan (x. 18–20). There can scarcely be two opinions regarding this document; it is not a copy of the letter, but merely its purport which our author has woven into his narrative, much after the same manner in which he incorporates the general sense of the various speeches he records. It is far too short and abrupt to be the actual letter of one who was seeking the help and alliance of the Jewish leader, and for whose friendship this aspirant to the Syrian throne was bidding. The author of our book, moreover, adds some words of his own in the middle of the letter, a thing he is scarcely likely to have done had he been quoting the actual words of the letter itself. On the other hand, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that a genuine document has been made use of here.

(*b*) The letter from Demetrius I to the nation of the Jews (x. 25–45). This was written for the purpose of out-bidding Alexander Balas in promises of favour, remitting of taxes, and conferring of privileges, &c., on the Jews in return for their support in his struggle to retain his throne. While it must be admitted that the letter is based upon an original document—all the probabilities go to support this—there are two reasons for questioning the accuracy of the details. The promises and concessions made to the Jews are of such an exaggerated character that, had they really been made, they would have defeated their object by arousing suspicions among the Jews regarding the writer's sincerity; this, indeed, was actually the case (see *v.* 46), but the reason of Jonathan's incredulity is not the character of the promises, but the fact that Demetrius had before done 'great evil in Israel', and 'had afflicted them very sore'; that does not tally with the contents of the letter as given. If one compares the sober contents of another letter from Demetrius on the same subject, not actually quoted, but incorporated in the narrative (x. 3–6), the document under consideration must strike one as untrustworthy as regards details. Then, in the second place, a number of the things actually promised in the letter correspond so exactly with the highest aspirations of the Jews at this time, that they suggest rather the expression of Jewish ideals than actual promises; such are, the promise that Jerusalem is to be 'holy and free' (*v.* 31), a thing which would have been impossible for the Syrian king to grant if he was to have any real hold upon this part of his kingdom, a Syrian garrison in Jerusalem being essential to his overlordship; the promise to permit the full observance of all the ancient feasts and holy-days, together with 'immunity and release'[2] for all Jews during these periods, as well as during three days before and after each (*vv.* 34, 35); this would have meant an end to the hellenization of Jewry which the Syrian kings had always regarded as indispensable if the Jews were to be their genuine subjects; the promise that the Jews were to have their own laws (*v.* 37), a thing which would have meant an *imperium in imperio*, a dangerous state of affairs from the Syrian point of view; and finally, the promise to remit a large amount of taxation, and to give princely gifts to the sanctuary (*vv.* 39 ff.); this would have meant considerable loss to the royal coffers at a time when there was the highest need of increasing monetary supplies. For these reasons, the letter we are considering must be regarded as ungenuine so far as most of its details are concerned.

(*c*) The letter from Demetrius II to Jonathan, enclosing one to Lasthenes (xi. 30–37). Most of what has been said regarding (*b*) applies to this document as well. It represents an original letter, the contents of which were utilized by the author of 1 Macc., and elaborated in accordance with his ideas of things.

(*d*) The letter from Antiochus VI to Jonathan (xi. 57). This is clearly a succinct summing-up of the contents of the original letter; its extreme shortness and the absence of salutation show that, although written in the first person, it does not profess to do more than to give the general sense of the original.

(*e*) The letter from Demetrius II to Simon (xiii. 36–40). This letter, in which the Syrian king acknowledges receipt of certain presents from the Jewish high-priest, and confirms earlier privileges, is stamped with the mark of genuineness; it reads like an original, and is doubtless a copy of this.

(*f*) The letter from Antiochus VII to Simon (xv. 2–9). To some extent what was said in reference to (*b*) and (*c*) applies also to this letter; it is probably not a verbatim copy of the original, but represents in part the contents of this; on the other hand, there are elements in it which are the expression of ardent desires rather than the actual facts of the case.

iii. *Letters from the rulers of foreign kingdoms.*

(*a*) The document containing the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Jews (viii. 23–32). In *vv.* 24 ff. it is stated, as one of the articles of the treaty, that if the Romans are attacked, the Jews

[1] He was, of course, not yet king when he wrote this letter.
[2] See, on this, the notes in the commentary.

must not render the enemy any help, whether of 'food, arms, money, or ships' (*v.* 26); this mention of ships is held by several commentators to be a proof that this document belongs to a later date than the time of Judas, when the Jews were not in possession of any ships, and that therefore the whole section is a later interpolation. But it is quite possible that the foresight of the Romans sufficiently explains this mention of ships; they might, indeed, very naturally have assumed the possession of ships by the Jews, as they must have been aware of the long stretch of coast-land which belonged to Palestine. It was, as a matter of fact, not long after the time of Judas that the Jews acquired a harbour: 'And amid all his glory he (i. e. Simon) took Joppa for a haven, and made it an entrance for the isles of the sea' (xiv. 5), cp. also xiii. 29. There seems no sufficient reason to doubt that the author of 1 Macc. made use here of the actual document in question, though it may be that he gives only its general contents, and not a verbatim copy.

(*b*) *The letter from the Spartans to Simon* (xiv. 20–22). We are confronted here with the same difficulty which occurs in the letter from Jonathan to the Spartans (xii. 6–18, see i. (*b*) above). The section opens (*v.* 16) with the words: 'And it was heard at Rome that Jonathan was dead, and even unto Sparta, and they were exceedingly sorry;' it then goes on to say that the Romans wrote to Simon (who had succeeded his brother) on tables of brass to renew 'the friendship and the confederacy' (*v.* 18); but then, instead of giving a copy of this letter, as might reasonably have been expected, it goes on to say: 'And this is a copy of the letter which the Spartans sent.' In this letter it is stated that the two Jewish ambassadors who were the bearers of it were Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater, the son of Jason. But then the narrative (in *v.* 24) goes on: 'After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, in order to confirm the confederacy with them.' On the previous occasion on which mention is made of a *rapprochement* between the Jews and the Romans on the one hand, and the Spartans on the other, the same two ambassadors were sent, first to the Romans and then to the Spartans, on the same journey (see xii. 16, 17); on the present occasion it is to be presumed, for the text implies it, that this was also done; but if so, how is one to account for the fact that in the letter to the Spartans these ambassadors are said to be the bearers of it, while immediately after (*v.* 24) it is said that Numenius started on his journey? Then there is this further difficulty; is it likely, as stated in the text, that on the death of Jonathan the Romans would have taken the initiative in renewing the treaty with the Jews? This seems to be directly contradicted by *v.* 24. It seems probable that *vv.* 17–23 are an interpolation added later; this would also explain the otherwise unaccountable words 'and even unto Sparta' in *v.* 16, which was presumably put in because of the interpolation; the text of this verse, as it stands, cannot fail to strike one as suspicious: *καὶ ἠκούσθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν Ἰωναθάν, καὶ ἕως Σπάρτης, καὶ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα.* The contents of the letter read like an official document; the probability seems to be that use has been made of some genuine record which, as already remarked, was interpolated at a later period.

(*c*) The letter from Lucius, the Roman consul, to Ptolemy Euergetes II, king of Egypt (xv. 16–21). This is the copy of a circular letter written in the name of 'Lucius the consul', and brought back by Numenius. In it the friendship between the Romans and the Jews is proclaimed; copies of it are sent not only to the kings of Egypt and Syria, but also to a number of small separate States which enjoyed complete independence. Now Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. viii. 5) mentions a letter from the Roman Senate, written in the name of the praetor Lucius Valerius in reply to a message brought by a Jewish embassy; as in the case just referred to, Numenius, the son of Antiochus, is one of the ambassadors,[1] and he brings a gift of a golden shield; the contents of the letter are similar, and it is, likewise, sent to a number of independent petty States. But, according to Josephus, this happened in the ninth year of Hyrcanus II, who reigned 63–40 B. C. Now if, as is maintained by some (especially by Willrich, in his *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, pp. 70 ff.), Josephus is right here, the passage in question is an interpolation, and must have been added shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. Mommsen (*Hermes* ix. 284 ff., cp. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testamentes*, i. p. 30) has proved that Josephus is recording genuine history in saying that the praetor Lucius Valerius sent a letter to the Jews, with the contents as given, during the reign of Hyrcanus II. But this does not constitute an insuperable difficulty, for one of the consuls in 139 B. C. was named Lucius Calpurnius Piso, and the 'Consul Lucius' spoken of in the text (xv. 16) could quite well refer to him. What is more difficult is the fact of the great similarity in the contents between the letter as given in 1 Macc., and that given in Josephus; Mommsen maintains that they are not identical, which would mitigate the difficulty; but the mention of Numenius, the son of Antiochus, in both documents is more serious; the explanation

[1] Two other ambassadors, Alexander the son of Jason, and Alexander the son of Dositheus, accompany him, according to this account.

given by Torrey (*E.B.* 2865) that Josephus 'omitted the portion of 1 Macc. containing the mention of Numenius and the golden shield, but took occasion to introduce this important name, and the most interesting details, at the next opportunity', is not very illuminating. Probably Willrich is right in regarding the passage as a later interpolation, added because it seemed appropriate in a place where Simon's treaty with Rome was mentioned (*op. cit.* p. 72); this conclusion was arrived at independently by the present writer, on the following grounds:—Numenius is mentioned in 1 Macc. in connexion with an embassy to Rome in xii. 16, in the letter of *Jonathan* to the Spartans, which, as we have already seen reasons to believe, is a later interpolation; he is also referred to incidentally in a similar connexion in the time of *Simon* xiv. 24, cp. xv. 15. But a Numenius, in all respects identical, so far as description and name are concerned, is mentioned by Josephus as taking part in an embassy to the Romans, and having presented a shield of gold of a thousand pounds' weight, in the reign of *Hyrcanus II*; it seems, on the face of it, highly improbable that both references can be correct; either the episode of the shield in connexion with Numenius took place in the reign of *Simon*, or in that of *Hyrcanus II*. The account given by Josephus, and the letter as quoted by him (*Antiq.* XIV. viii. 5), appear to be undoubtedly genuine; it follows that 1 Macc. xv. 15–24 is due to an interpolator; there are also independent reasons for regarding this passage as an interpolation, since it breaks the narrative in a very obvious and awkward manner. The interpolator, knowing that negotiations had actually taken place between Simon and the Romans, has transferred an incident describing a Jewish embassy to Rome, which belongs to a later period, to the time of Simon. Josephus, in his edition of 1 Macc., did not read the section xv. 15–24 as we have it (see *Antiq.* XIII. vii. 3); he does, however, follow 1 Macc. xii. 16 ff. (see *Antiq.* XIII. v. 8) in associating Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater, the son of Jason, with an embassy sent to Rome in the reign of *Jonathan*; but we have already seen that the whole of this letter in 1 Macc. is a later interpolation; it follows, therefore, that Josephus had this interpolation in his copy of 1 Macc., though the Lucius letter (xv. 16–24) seems to have been absent from the text he used.

§ 8. The Greek Manuscripts.

The most important of these are the three uncials *Cod. Sinaiticus* (ℵ), *Cod. Alexandrinus* (A), *Cod. Venetus* (V), the latter belonging to the eighth or ninth century. *Cod. Vaticanus* (B) does not contain the books of the Maccabees. The text represented in ℵ V is, on the whole, better than that represented in A; but all three are undoubtedly the offspring of a single Greek MS. Whether, however, it can be said that *all* our texts, as well as the Versions, come from one Greek MS. (Torrey, in *E.B.* 2867) is not so certain; for there are isolated readings (small in number, it is true) in some of the cursives which presuppose a better text in the passages in question than that represented in the three uncials; in some cases these readings are supported by one or other of the Versions. Of the cursives which have been used, 52, 106, 107 follow, now ℵ A against V, now ℵ V against A; in a somewhat less degree this is also true of 56, 62, as well as of 55; but this latter has retained some readings, peculiar to itself, which are superior to those in any other MS., uncial or cursive (see e. g. iii. 47, 48, 49, iv. 61, v. 22, 67, vii. 7, 38), and it is possible that these represent echoes of a MS. or MSS. other than the single Greek MS. which is the parent of the three uncials; at the same time the fact is not lost sight of that in other cases the variations in 55 are merely explanatory additions, and in this, as well as in its agreement at times with $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ (see below), betrays a Lucianic colouring. Another group is formed by 19, 64, 93;[1] these are Lucianic in character, but 64 less so than the other two; with these three $\aleph^{c.a}$ sometimes agrees against all other Greek MSS.; very frequently 19, 93 and $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ (see below) go together against all other authorities; this occurs in about fifty cases. The cursive 71 offers a curious phenomenon on account of its large number of omissions; these are usually skilfully manipulated; they have been recorded in the *apparatus criticus* because it quite looks as if in some instances a better reading were afforded by the omission. That in spite of these omissions 71 here and there shows signs of Lucianic colouring is an interesting fact. So far as the cursives are concerned, with the exception of 19, 64, 93, and 71, only those readings are recorded in the *apparatus criticus* which seemed to be of importance.

The collations used for the above are, for the uncials, Swete's *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. iii., and for the cursives the *apparatus criticus* of Holmes and Parsons.

§ 9. The Syriac and Latin Versions.

(*a*) The Syriac text exists in two forms; one is represented in *Cod. Ambrosianus* (sixth century);[2] this follows in the main the text of the Greek uncials ($\mathfrak{S}^{g}$ in the *app. crit.*), and is preserved up to

[1] = Luc in the *apparatus criticus*.
[2] Edited by Ceriani (Milan, 1876).

xiv. 25[a], from there onwards it = $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$; the other is the text found in the Peshitta,[1] which is, however, Lucianic in character, and has, as we have seen, great affinity with the Lucianic group of cursives 19, 64, 93.[2] See the very useful notes on the two Syriac recensions by G. Schmidt, 'Die beiden syrischen Uebersetzungen des 1. Makkabäerbuchs,' in *ZATW*, 1897, pp. 1 ff., 233 ff.

(*b*) The Latin Version is also preserved in two recensions; both are pre-hieronymian; one is that found in the Vulgate ($\mathfrak{L}^1$), the other is that contained in *Cod. Sangermanensis*;[3] ($\mathfrak{L}^2$) the latter is only preserved up to the beginning of chap. xiv.

Both the Syriac and Latin Versions are translations from the Greek.

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Other works which have been of use are referred to in the body of the work.

[1] Edited by P. de Lagarde, *Libri vet. test. apocryphi Syriace* . . . (Leipzig, 1861).
[2] It is represented by $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ in the *app. crit.*; the sign $\mathfrak{S}$ denotes the consensus of these two recensions.
[3] Edited by Sabatier, *Bibl. Sacr. Latinae versiones antiquae*, ii. pp. 1017 ff.

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

Introduction. I. 1–9.

I. 1–4. *The Victory of Alexander the Great over the Persians, and the founding of his empire.*

1 1 And it came to pass after Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian[a], who came from the land
of Chittim, had smitten Darius, king of the Persians and Medes[b], that he reigned in his stead[c].
2, 3 And he waged many wars, and won strongholds[d], [e]and slew kings[f], and pressed forward to the ends
of the earth, and took spoils from many peoples[e]. But when the land was silenced[g] before him, [hi]he
4 became exalted[h], and his heart was lifted up[i]. Then he gathered together [k]a very mighty army[k],
and ruled over lands and peoples and principalities[l]; and they became tributary unto him.

I. 5–9. *The sickness and death of Alexander; the division of his empire.*

5, 6 And after these things he took to his[m] bed, and perceived that he was about to die. Then he
called his chief ministers, men who had been brought up with him from his youth, and divided his
7 kingdom among them while he was yet alive. And Alexander had reigned twelve years when he
8, 9 died. And his ministers ruled, each in his particular domain. And after he was dead they all

I. [a] + who first reigned in Greece $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [b] *the repetition of the verb* (*και επαταξεν*) *is not required*; > $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [c] *προτερον* (*προτερος* $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ Luc) *επι την Ελλαδα is probably a gloss*; > $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [d] + many $\mathfrak{L}^2$ + all $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [e–e] > $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [f] + of the earth ℵ V $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [g] was silent and quiet $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [h–h] > $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [i–i] > ℵ [k–k] a strong and numerous host $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [l] princes ℵ [m] *αυτου* ℵ A $\mathfrak{L}^2$

I. 1. **And it came to pass.** The Hebrew original of the book is indicated at the outset, *καὶ ἐγένετο* being the usual Septuagint rendering of ויהי.

Alexander the 'Great', 356–323 B.C., the third Macedonian king of this name.

Chittim. i.e. the people of the islands and coastlands of Greece, cp. Jer. ii. 10 אִדֵּי כִתִּיִּים. In Gen. x. 4 the *Chittim* are called 'sons of Javan' (Greece). They took their name originally, according to Phoenician inscriptions, from *Kiti* (the Greek *Kition*), the chief city on the island of Cyprus, now called Larnaca. The original colonists were Phoenicians, later on many Greeks settled down there, hence the term 'sons of Javan' applied to these *Chittim*.

Darius. The third of the name, known as Codomannus.

he reigned in his stead. Cp. Dan. viii. 21, where Alexander is spoken of as מלך יון, and xi. 2, where his kingdom is spoken of as מלכות יון.

2. **kings.** Not to be taken in a literal sense, generals, governors, and the like, are meant.

3. **the ends of the earth.** A constant O.T. expression: עד אפס הארץ.

his heart was lifted up. Cp. Dan. xi. 12. ורם לבבו.

4. **principalities.** The reading of א (*τυράννων* for *τυραννιῶν*) is perhaps preferable; *satrapies* (or *satrap*), the Persian province is presumably meant, though in Esther ix. 3 a difference is made between the ruler of a province and a 'tyrannos' (*οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι*).

they became tributary unto him. In Judges i. 28 (= Sept. i. 30) this phrase occurs, but the Heb. ויהיו למס = 'they were subject to task-work', cp. Gen. xlix. 15.

6. **chief ministers.** *παῖς* is used in 1 Sam. xix. 1 of the chief officers of Saul (עבדיו).

brought up with him. *τοὺς συνεκτρόφους αὐτοῦ*, cp. Acts xiii. 1 *Μαναήν τε Ἡρῴδου τοῦ τετράρχου σύντροφος.*

divided his kingdom . . . Grimm, *in loc.*, gives numerous references to ancient authors in which this is referred to, but shows that the statement is unhistorical; he says that the story was probably circulated by the partisans of the various Hellenic kings in order to make their assumption of kingship appear legitimate in the eyes of the people.

while he was yet alive. When one remembers how young Alexander was at his death, the improbability of the whole tradition is obvious. 'Greater likelihood attaches to the statement of Justin (xii. 15), Diodorus Siculus (xviii. 2), and Curtius (x. 5. 7), that when no longer able to speak, the dying Macedonian took off his signet-ring and handed it to Perdiccas, the captain of his body-guard, in token of his desire that he should reign after him' (Fairweather and Black, *in loc.*; this is also referred to by Grimm); but as an hereditary monarchy existed in Macedonia (cp. *v.* 9), this statement must also be regarded as unhistorical.

7. **he died.** He was taken ill with fever in the night of May 31, 323 B.C., and died eleven days after.

8. **And his ministers . . .** This is a continuation of the unhistorical statement just referred to.

9. **they all assumed . . .** This is inexact, as only five of Alexander's generals assumed the title of king, and that not till 306 B.C., seventeen years after his death.

assumed the diadem, and their sons after them [did likewise; and this continued for] many years.
And these wrought much evil on the earth.

The Cause of the Maccabaean Revolt. I. 10–64.

I. 10–15. *Antiochus Epiphanes and the Hellenistic party in Judaea.*

10 And a sinful shoot came forth from them, Antiochus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus the king,
who had been a hostage in Rome, and had become king in the one hundred and thirty-seventh
11 year of the Greek kingdom. In those days [n] there came forth out of Israel lawless men[n], and per-
suaded many, saying: 'Let us go and make a covenant with the nations that are round about us;
12 for since[o] we separated ourselves from them many evils have come upon us.' And the saying
13 appeared good in their eyes; and as certain of the people were eager (to carry this out), they went
14 to the king, and he[p] gave them authority to introduce the customs of the Gentiles. And they built
15 a gymnasium[q] in Jerusalem according to the manner of the Gentiles. They also submitted them-
selves to uncircumcision[r], and repudiated the holy covenant; yea, they joined themselves to the
Gentiles, and sold themselves[s] to do evil.

I. 16–19. *Antiochus subdues Egypt.*

16 And when, in the opinion of Antiochus, the kingdom was (sufficiently) established, he
determined to exercise dominion also over the land of Egypt, in order that he might rule over two
17 kingdoms. So he pushed forward into Egypt with an immense force; with chariots, and elephants

n–n אℒ¹ o + the day Luc ℒ² p the king Luc 𝔖ℒ² q stadium 𝔖 r *lit.* they drew forward the prepuce 𝔖ˡᵘᶜ s were tempted אᶜ·ᵃ 19 𝔖ˡᵘᶜ

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the diadem. Cp. viii. 14, xi. 54; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. x. 1; a blue and white band which was worn around the Persian royal hat as a badge of royalty; to be distinguished from the crown worn on state occasions. The Heb. equivalent is צָנִיף and מִצְנֶפֶת. It was also worn by the Parthian kings, and by the Byzantine emperors.

wrought much evil. Heb. הִרְבּוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע; cp. Ecclus. xlviii. 16 (Sept.; the Heb. is different).

10. **a sinful shoot.** Cp. Ecclus. xl. 15; in Dan. xi. 21 he is called a 'contemptible person'.

Antiochus Epiphanes. The fourth of the name; he seized the Syrian throne in 175 B.C., on the murder of his elder brother Seleucus IV; he died in 164 B.C. (cp. 1 Macc. vi. 1–16, 2 Macc. i. 10–17). The title 'Epiphanes' (the 'Illustrious') which he assumed on coming to the throne, was in mockery changed to 'Epimanes' (the 'Madman') on account of the outrageous acts of which he was guilty. On his coins are found the epithets Θεός and Νικηφόρος; the former title is applied to him by the Samaritans in their letter to him asking him to permit their temple to be called 'The Temple of Hellenius' (Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. v. 5).

the son of Antiochus. i.e. the 'Great'; the third of the name, who reigned 223–187 B.C.

who had been a hostage in Rome. The reference is to Antiochus Epiphanes, who was sent as a hostage to Rome after the defeat of his father at the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.); he remained in Rome for twelve years.

in the . . . of the Greek kingdom. The reference is to the Seleucid era, which began on October 1, 312 B.C., on the accession of Seleucus I (cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. vi. 7); the author of this book reckons according to the months of the Jewish calendar, according to which the year begins on the first of Nisan (April), so that his dates are all six months earlier than those of the Seleucid era.

11. **In those days.** An indefinite reference to date occurring very often in the O.T. as well as the N.T.; Heb. בימים ההם.

there came forth . . . Cp. Deut. xiii. 13 (14 in Sept.); the reference is to Jason, cp. *v.* 13 and 2 Macc. iv. 7–10.

make a covenant. The regular Heb. phrase, כרת ברית. The object of this was, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. v. 1, *Bell. Iud.* I. v. 1), solely the acquisition of temporal advantage.

since we separated ourselves . . . The reference here cannot be to any particular time, for the observance of the Mosaic Law was the cause of this separation; it had always been intended to be the means of keeping Israelites free from the contamination of the Gentiles.

many evils have come upon us. Lit. 'have found us', thoroughly Hebraic, cp. e.g. Deut. xxxi. 21. תמצאן . . . רעות רבות:

12. **appeared good.** Cp. the Hebr. phrase, 'to do what is pleasing in the eyes of'; עשׂה הטוב בעיני which is of frequent occurrence in the O.T.

13. **and he gave them authority.** Cp. 2 Macc. iv. 9.

14. **And they built a gymnasium.** Cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. v. 1), 2 Macc. iv. 9, 12.

15. **They also submitted . . .** See the rendering of the Syriac in the critical note; cp. 1 Cor. vii. 18. Those who submitted to this operation were called *Meshukim* (from a root meaning 'to draw back'), according to the Roman name, *Recutiti* (Grimm, *in loc.*).

repudiated the holy covenant. Since circumcision was the covenant-mark (Gen. xvii. 11), its obliteration was *ipso facto* the repudiation of the covenant.

sold themselves to do evil. Hebraism, cp. 1 Kings xxi. 20: הִתְמַכֶּרְךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע.

16. **the kingdom . . . established.** Hebraism, cp. 1 Kings ii. 12: וַתִּכֹּן מַלְכוּתוֹ.

two kingdoms. i.e. Syria and Egypt.

17. **with an immense force.** Lit. 'a heavy force'; Hebrew usage, cp. בְּעַם כָּבֵד; cp. Dan. xi. 22–24.

18 and horsemen[t], together with a great fleet[u]. And he waged war against Ptolemy, the king of
Egypt. And Ptolemy turned back[x] from before him, and fled; [y]and there fell many wounded[yz].
19 And they[a] captured the fortified cities in Egypt[b]; and he took the spoils from the land[c] of Egypt.

I. 20–28. *The Desecration of the Temple; slaughter of the Jews.*

20 And Antiochus, after he had smitten Egypt, returned in the one hundred and fifty-third year,
21 and went up against Israel and[d] Jerusalem with a great army. And in (his) arrogance he entered
into the sanctuary, and took the golden altar, [e]and the candlestick for the light[e], and all its acces-
22 sories, and the table of the shewbread, and the cups, and the bowls, and the golden censers[f], and the
veil, and the crowns, and the golden adornment on the façade of the Temple, and he scaled it all off.
23 Moreover, he took the silver, and the gold, and the choice vessels; he also took the hidden treasures
24 which he found. And having taken everything, he returned[g] to his own land[h].

25 'And there was great mourning in Israel[i] in every place;
26 And[k] the rulers and elders groaned;
Virgins and young men languished,
And the beauty of the women faded away;
27 Every bridegroom took up (his) lament,
She that sat in the bridal-chamber mourned[l].
28 And the land was moved for her inhabitants,
And all [m]the house of[m] Jacob was clothed with shame.'

I. 29–40. *Jerusalem occupied by Apollonius; massacre of the people; desecration of the Sanctuary.*

29 After the lapse of two years the king[n] sent a chief collector of tribute to the cities of Judah; and
30 he came to Jerusalem with a great host. And he spoke unto them peaceful words in subtilty, so
that they had confidence in him; but he fell upon the city suddenly, and smote it with a grievous
31 stroke, and destroyed much people in Israel. And he took [o]the spoils of the city[o], and burned it
32 with fire, and pulled down the houses thereof and the walls thereof[p] round about. And they led
33 captive the women and the children, and [q]took possession of[q] the cattle. And they fortified the
city of David with a great and strong wall with strong towers, so that it was made into a citadel for
34 them. And they placed there a sinful nation, lawless men; and they strengthened themselves
35 therein. And they stored up (there) arms and provisions, and collecting together the spoils of
36 Jerusalem, they laid them up there. And it became a sore menace, for it was a place to lie in wait
in against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel continually.

[t] > 64 [u] with great pomp 𝔖 [x] ℵ; ενετραπη A ℵ[c.a] V (= 𝔏[1]) [y–y] > 𝔖[g] [z] fled ℵ were slain 𝔖[luc] [a] he 𝔖[g] 𝔏[1] [b] the land of Egypt A V 93 [c] > land ℵ V [d] + went up against 𝔖[luc] 𝔏[2] 𝔏[1] [e–e] > V [f] the instruments of the sacrifices and offerings 𝔖[luc] [g] carried (*them*) V [h] + And he (A they) made a great slaughter and he (A they) spake with great arrogancy; *all authorities* (*exc* 𝔖[g]); + and he made a great slaughter 𝔖[g], *omitting the rest. The words have probably got out of place, and should come after v.* 21. [i] Jerusalem 64 [k] Therefore 𝔖 [l] ℵ; εγενετο εν πενθει A V επενθησε Luc [m–m] > 93 [n] Antiochus the king Luc [o–o] much spoil 𝔖 [p] of Jerusalem 𝔖 [q–q] > ℵ; + for themselves ℵ[c.a] Luc 𝔖[luc]

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18. **Ptolemy.** The sixth of the name, Philometor, 181–146 B.C.; he was only sixteen years old at this time.
there fell many wounded. The Hebrew equivalent וַיִּפְּלוּ חֲלָלִים רַבִּים would imply that they were wounded to death (cp. R.V.), but in Greek the word has not this intensive force.
20. **went up against . . . Jerusalem.** Cp. 2 Macc. v. 11 ff.
21. **the golden altar.** Cp. Exod. xxx. 1–6.
the candlestick. Cp. Exod. xxv. 31–9.
22. **the table of the shewbread.** Cp. Exod. xxv. 23–30; cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* III. vi. 6.
23. **the hidden treasures.** Cp. 2 Macc. iii. 10–12; Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* II. ix. 4.
25–8. This lament was probably originally in poetical form, and is largely made up from the language of the O.T. poetical books. Cp. for some verses cast in a somewhat similar mode 2 (4) Esdras x. 22.
25. **great mourning.** Cp. Job xxx. 31.
26. **the elders.** Cp. Lam. i. 19, ii. 10.
faded away. Cp. Sept. of Ps. cviii. 24, ἠλλοιώθη (cix. 24 in Hebr.).
virgins and young men . . . Cp. Lam. i. 4, 18, ii. 10, 20.
27. **took up (his) lament.** Cp. Sept. of Lam. v. 13 κλαυθμὸν ἀνέλαβον (the Heb. reads differently).
28. **clothed with shame.** Cp. Job. viii. 22; Ps. xxxv. 26, cxxxii. 18.
29. **a chief collector of tribute.** i.e. Apollonius, according to 2 Macc. v. 24.
After the lapse of two years. Lit. 'After two years of days'; Heb. מִקֵּץ שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים, cp. Gen. xli. 1.
30. **he spoke peaceful words.** A Hebrew idiom: וַיֹּאמֶר דִּבְרֵי שָׁלוֹם. Cp. Deut. ii. 26.
he fell upon . . . suddenly. Cp. 2 Macc. v. 24 ff.
33. **into a citadel.** εἰς ἄκραν, i.e. Acra.

37 And they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary,
And they defiled the sanctuary[r].
38 And because of them the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled,
And she became a dwelling for strangers,
Being herself estranged to her offspring,
And her children forsook her.
39 Her sanctuary became desolate as a wilderness,
[s]Her feasts were turned into mourning[s],
Her sabbaths [t]into shame[u],
Her honour[tx] into contempt.
40 According as her glory[y] (had been) [z]so was (now) her dishonour increased[z],
And her high estate was turned to mourning[a].

I. 41–53. *Edict of Antiochus, forbidding Jewish Worship.*

41, 42 And the king[b] wrote unto his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and that every one
should give up his [religious] usages. And all [c]the nations[c] acquiesced[d] in accordance with the com-
43 mand of the king. And many in Israel took delight in [e]his (form of) worship[e], and they began
44 sacrificing to idols, and profaned the sabbath[f]. Furthermore, the king sent letters[g] by the hand of
messengers to Jerusalem and to the cities of Judah (to the effect that) they should practise customs
45 [h]foreign[i] to (the traditions of) the land[h], and that they should cease the (sacrificing of) whole burnt
offerings, and sacrifices, and drink offerings in the sanctuary, and that they should profane the sabbaths
46, 47 and feasts, and pollute the sanctuary and [k]those who had been sanctified[k]; that they should (more-
over) build high places, and sacred groves, and [l]shrines for idols[l], and that they should sacrifice
48 swine and (other) unclean[m] animals; and that they should leave their sons uncircumcized, and make
49 themselves abominable by means of (practising) everything that was unclean and profane, so that
50 they might forget the Law, and change all the (traditional) ordinances. And whosoever should not
51 act according to the word of the king, should die. In this manner did he write unto the whole[n] of
his kingdom; and he appointed overseers[o] over all the people; and he commanded the cities of Judah
52 to sacrifice, every one of them. And many of the people joined themselves unto them, all[p] those
53 [namely] who had forsaken the Law; these did evil[q] in the land, and caused Israel to hide in all
manner of hiding-places.

I. 54–64. *Idolatry forced upon the people of Judah; destruction of copies of the Scriptures; massacre of Israelites.*

54 And on the fifteenth[r] day[s] of Chislev in the one hundred and forty-fifth[t] year they set up upon the
altar an 'abomination of desolation', and in the cities of Judah on every side they established high-

[r] + of the Lord V [s–s] > Sg [t–t] > ℵ *but added by* ℵ[c.a] [u] humiliation 19 [x] *plur. in* Sg 𝔏[1] [y] her children ℵ* [z–z] the land was filled with shame ℵ [a] humiliation 64 S[luc] [b] + Antiochus 𝔏 [c–c] > Sg [d] 𝔏[2] [e–e] the worship of the king Sg [f] sanctuary A[a] sabbath A* [g] > 64 93 [h–h] of the Gentiles in the land 𝔏 [i] > 93 [k–k] the holy things S 𝔏[2] [l–l] idols A V[a] S 𝔏 [m] all ℵ* (unclean ℵ[c.a]) [n] > A V S 𝔏 [o] + over all his kingdom and Sg [p] all Sg 𝔏[1] [q] much evil 64 93 [r] twenty-fifth Sg [s] + in the month Luc [t] forty-fifth A

37–40. Another lament in poetical form originally, the language of which is again largely borrowed from that of the O.T. poetical books.

37. **they shed innocent blood.** Cp. Ps. lxxix. 3.
they defiled the sanctuary. Cp. Ps. lxxix. 1.

38. **a dwelling for strangers.** Cp. Ps. liv. 3; Lam. v. 2.
Being herself estranged. Cp. Lam. i. 1.
her children forsook her. Cp. Lam. i. 5.

39. **Her feasts . . .** Cp. Amos viii. 10.
Her sabbaths into shame. Cp. Lam. ii. 6.

40. **And her high estate . . .** Cp. Lam. ii. 9, 10.

41. **one people.** i.e. as regards religious practice.

44. **letters.** βιβλία, Heb. סְפָרִים.

47. **swine and unclean animals.** i.e. animals holy to heathen gods and goddesses; the pig and the hare were holy to Astarte, and as holy animals occupied an important place in the religions of Greece and Asia Minor.

51. **appointed overseers.** Cp. 2 Macc. v. 22.

54. **the fifteenth day of Chislev.** We should read here with Sg 'the twenty-fifth day', see *v.* 59. Chislev is the ninth month of the Hebrew calendar (= December approximately).
the one hundred and forty-fifth year. i.e. 168 B.C.
an abomination of desolation. Cp. Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11; i.e. the abomination which brought about profanation (= desolation); it was a small heathen altar which was set up on the altar of burnt-offering, see *v.* 59.

55, 56 places; and [u]they offered sacrifice[u] at the doors of the houses and in the streets. And the books of
57 the Law which they found they [x]rent in pieces, and[x] burned them in the fire. And with whomsoever
was found a book of the covenant, and if he was (found) consenting unto the Law, such an one was,
58 according to the king's sentence[y], condemned to death. Thus did they in their might to the Israelites
59 who were found[z] month by month in their[a] cities. And on the twenty-fifth day of the month they
60 sacrificed upon the altar which was upon the altar of burnt-offering. And, according to the decree[b],
61 they put to death the women who had circumcised their children, hanging their babes round their
(mothers') necks, and they put to death their (entire) families[c], together with those who had circum-
62 cised them. Nevertheless many in Israel stood firm[d] and determined in their hearts[e] that they would
63 not eat unclean things, and chose rather to die so that they might not be defiled with meats, thereby
64 profaning the holy covenant[f]; and they did die. And exceeding great wrath came upon Israel.

Mattathias. II. 1–70.

II. 1–5. *The Genealogy of the Maccabees.*

2 1 In those days rose up Mattathias, the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of
2 Joarib, from Jerusalem; and he dwelt at Modin. And he had five sons: John, who was surnamed
3, 4, 5 Gaddis; Simon, who was called Thassis; Judas, who was called Maccabaeus; Eleazar, who was
called Auaran; and Jonathan, who was called Aphphus.

II. 6–14. *A Dirge over the desecration of the Holy City.*

6, 7 And he saw the blasphemous things that were done in Judah and in Jerusalem, and said, 'Woe is
me, why was I born to behold the ruin of my people and the ruin[a] of the holy city, and to sit still
there while it was being given into the hand of enemies, and the sanctuary[b] into the hand of
strangers?'

8 [c]Her house[d] is become like (that of) a man dishonoured[ec];
9 [f]Her glorious vessels are carried away captive;
Her infants have been slain in her streets,
Her young men with the sword of the enemy.
10 What nation hath the kingdom not taken possession of,
(Of what nation) hath it not seized the spoils?
11 Her adornment hath all been taken away,
[g]Instead of a free woman she is become a slave[g].
12 And, behold, our holy things, and our beauty, and our glory have been laid waste,
13 And the heathen have profaned them! To what purpose should we continue to live?
14 And Mattathias and his sons rent their garments, and covered themselves with sackcloth, and
mourned greatly.

[u–u] they burned incense and offered sacrifice $\mathfrak{L}^1$ they burned incense $\mathfrak{L}^2$ [x–x] > $\mathfrak{S}$ [y] edict $\mathfrak{L}^2$ [z] + and they led them away by force $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [a] V; the ℵ A &c. [b] the command of the king $\mathfrak{S}$ the command of king Antiochus $\mathfrak{L}^2$ [c] houses ℵ V their entire houses $\mathfrak{L}$ ($\mathfrak{S}^g$ = A) + and plundered $\aleph^{c.a}$ $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [d] were hanged A 19 [e] > 19 $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [f] the holy Law of God $\mathfrak{L}^2$

II. [a] > 19 93 $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ $\mathfrak{L}^2$ [b] her sanctified ones $\mathfrak{S}^g$ + were delivered $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [c–c] T.R. $\mathfrak{L}^2$; Her temple was like an illustrious man ℵ A V $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ $\mathfrak{L}$. They did clothe her temple with glory as a man (*is clothed*) $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [d] people 93 [e] 19 $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [f] + And now Luc [g–g] Her freedom is become bondage $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$

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55. **at the doors of the houses.** The reference is to sacrifices offered to the 'deities of the street', i. e. images of Greek gods which stood in the porches of houses.
56. **the books of the Law.** i. e. rolls of the Pentateuch.
58. **to the Israelites who were found.** A literal translation of the Hebrew לישראל הנמצאים.
63. **and chose rather to die.** Cp. 2 Macc. vi, vii.

II. 1. **In those days . . .** Cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vi. 1.
the son of Simeon. Josephus adds τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου, from whom the adjectival form of the family name, Asmonaean or Hasmonaean, was derived; the name does not occur in the books of the Maccabees, though Josephus often uses it, and it is found in the Mishnah (*Middoth* i. 6), and frequently in the Gemara (e. g. *Shabbath* 21 *b*, *Baba Kama* 82 *b*), where the name Hasmonaeans is always used for Maccabaeans.
the sons of Joarib. Cp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 ff.
Modin. Cp. v. 70, xiii. 25. The present El-Medije, east of Lydda.
4. **Maccabaeus.** See Introduction.
7. **The holy city.** עיר הקדש Isa. xlviii. 3; cp. 2 Macc. i. 12, iii. 1, ix. 14.
8–12. Another dirge in poetical form.
14. **rent their garments . . .** The usual signs of mourning in the East, see further Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie* I. 192 ff.

II. 15–28. *The commencement of the Maccabaean Revolt.*

15 And the king's officers who were enforcing the apostasy came to the city of Modin [h]to make them
16 sacrifice[h]. And many from Israel went unto them ; but Mattathias and his sons[i] gathered themselves
17 together. Then the king's officers answered and spake unto Mattathias, saying: 'A ruler art thou,
18 and illustrious and great in this city, and upheld by sons and brothers. Do thou, therefore, come first, and carry out the king's command, as all the nations have done, and all the people[k] of Judah, and they that have remained in Jerusalem; then shalt thou[l] and [m]thy house[m] be (numbered among) the friends of the king, and thou and thy sons shall be honoured with silver and gold, and with many
19 gifts.' Thereupon Mattathias answered and said with a loud voice: 'If all the nations that are within the king's dominions obey him by forsaking, [n]every one of them[n], the worship of their fathers,
20 and have chosen for themselves to follow his commands, yet will I and my sons and my brethren
21 walk in the covenant of our fathers. Heaven forbid that we should forsake the Law and the ordi-
22 nances; (but) the law[o] of the king we will not obey by departing from our worship either to the
23 right hand or to the left.' And as he[p] ceased speaking [q]these words[q], a Jew came forward in the
24 sight of all to sacrifice[r] upon the altar in Modin in accordance with the king's command. And when Mattathias saw it, [s]his zeal was kindled[s], and his heart quivered (with wrath); and his indig-
25 nation burst forth for judgement, so that he ran and slew him on the altar; and [t]at the same time[t]
26 he [also] killed the king's officer who had come to enforce the sacrificing, pulled down the altar, and [thus] showed forth his zeal for the Law, just as Phinehas had done in the case of Zimri the son of
27 Salom. And Mattathias cried out with a loud voice in the city, saying, 'Let everyone that is
28 zealous for the Law and that would maintain the covenant come forth after me!' And he and his sons fled unto the mountains, and left all that they possessed in the city.

II. 29–38. *A strict observance of the Sabbath results in the massacre of a thousand Jewish people.*

29 At that time many who were seeking righteousness and judgement went down to the wilderness to
30 abide there, they and their sons, and their wives, and their cattle; for misfortunes [u]fell hardly[u] upon
31 them. And it was reported to the king's officers and to the troops that were in Jerusalem, the city of David, that men who had set at nought the king's command[x] had gone down into hiding-places
32 in the wilderness. And many ran after them, and having overtaken them, [y]they encamped against

[h–h]to sacrifice 64 𝔏[2]; + and burn incense and forsake the Law of God 𝔏[1] [i]they that were with him 64 93 [k]rulers א V [l]+ and thy sons V 64 [m–m]and thy sons א[c.a] 𝔖 𝔏 [n–n] > 𝔖[luc] [o]the word א V Luc [p]Mattathias 64 93 [q–q] > א (*hab* א[c.b]) [r]to burn incense A 𝔖[g] [s–s] 𝔖[g] *places this after* quivered [t–t] > 𝔏 [u–u]+ and were multiplied א* א[c.a] were multiplied V [x]counsel א [y–y] > 𝔖[luc] 𝔏[1]

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18. **the friends of the king.** There were, according to Polybius (xxxi. 3. 7), two orders of royal favourites under the Graeco-Syrian kings, viz. those of the 'Companions' and the 'Friends'; these occupied the position of a military aristocracy. Cp. x. 65, xi. 27; 2 Macc. viii. 9.

19. **the king's dominions.** ἐν οἴκῳ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ βασιλέως, cp. Amos vii. 13 οἶκος βασιλείας, בית ממלכה, in reference to Bethel.

have chosen for themselves. Cp. 2 Chron. xxix. 11 (Sept.).

21. **Heaven forbid.** ἵλεως = חלילה, cp. 2 Sam. xx. 20.

22. **either to the right hand or to the left.** Cp. 2 Sam. xiv. 19.

24. **his heart.** Lit. 'his kidneys', the seat of the emotions and affections, cp. Ps. lxxiii. 21 וכליותי אשתונן, 'for my kidneys were in a ferment.'

for judgement. Heb. כמשפט; what, according to the statute, he was bound to do.

and slew him. Cp. Deut. xiii. 9; 2 Chron. xxx. 16.

26. **as Phineas had done . . .** Cp. Num. xxv. 7, 8.

27. **Let everyone . . . come forth after me.** Grimm quotes (from Livy xxii. 53) the cry of the Roman patriots in time of danger: *Qui rempublicam salvam volunt me sequantur.*

28. **fled unto the mountains.** This would enable him, with a comparatively small number of followers, to defy almost any force that might be brought against him, an attacking party being always at a great disadvantage in mountain warfare.

29. **righteousness and judgement.** Cp. Ps. lxxxix. 14, xcvii. 2; righteousness (צדקה) = ethical right-doing; judgement (משפט) = sense of justice; the technical terms are 'to do (עשה) righteousness', and 'to keep (שמר) judgement', cp. Isa. lvi. 1; the terms are generally used in the reverse order, and rightly so as the more logical; the inward sense of justice has as its result outward acts of righteousness; this is also borne out by the verbs used, 'to keep,' 'to do.'

the wilderness. i.e. the wilderness of Judaea, west of the Dead Sea; it was called Jeshimon, cp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 19, 24, xxvi. 13, meaning 'desolation'.

30. **their cattle.** In the wilderness of Tekoa, which lay to the north of the district just mentioned, there was sufficient vegetation to support cattle, cp. Amos i. 1, vii. 14.

31. **hiding-places in the wilderness.** Cp. 1 Sam. xxiv. 3; Isa. xlii. 22.

33 them, and[y] set the battle in array against them on the Sabbath day. And they said unto them:
'[z]Let it suffice now[z]; come forth, and do according to the command of the king, and ye shall live.'
34 And they answered, 'We will not come forth, nor will we do according to the command of the king,
35, 36 and thereby profane the Sabbath day. Thereupon they immediately attacked them. But they
37 answered them not, nor did they cast a stone at them, nor even block up their hiding-places, saying,
'Let us all die in our innocency; Heaven and earth bear us witness that ye destroy us wrongfully'[a].
38 And they attacked them on the Sabbath; and they died, they and their wives, and their children,
and their cattle, about a thousand souls.

II. 39–48. *Mattathias, supported by the Chasidim, continues the war with success.*

39, 40 And when Mattathias and his friends knew[b] it they mourned greatly for them. And one said to
another, 'If we all do as our brethren have done, and do not fight against the Gentiles for our lives
41 and our ordinances, they will soon destroy us from off the earth.' And they took counsel on that
day, saying, 'Whosoever attacketh us on the Sabbath day, let us fight against him, that we may not in
42 any case all die, as our brethren died in their hiding-places.' Then were there gathered unto them
[c]a company of the Chasidim[c], mighty men of Israel who willingly offered themselves for the Law,

[z–z] Do ye resist still even now? 𝔏 [a] uncharitably 𝔖g [b] heard 𝔖luc [c–c] the whole company of Jews ℵ V

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32. **on the Sabbath day.** From the words in *v.* 33 it is evident that the enemy had no desire of taking a mean advantage by fighting on a day on which they knew the Jews would make no resistance.

34. **and thereby profane the Sabbath day.** The profanation of the Sabbath would, according to the preceding words, consist in coming forth and doing according to the command of the king; i.e. the command of the king was that they should come forth and submit themselves. This the Jews would not have done at any time, but to do so on the Sabbath would have been an aggravation of the offence, since, apart from the act of renegades which submission would, under the circumstances, have implied, the coming forth with their belongings would, in itself, have constituted a breaking of the Sabbath.

36. **nor did they cast a stone.** i.e. there was not even the semblance of resistance.

37. **in our innocency.** ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι ἡμῶν, i.e. 'in our integrity' (תם); cp. Ps. xxvi. 1, 11, xxv. 21, xli. 13.

wrongfully. Cp. xv. 33 where R.V. renders ἀκρίτως 'wrongfully'; this is a better rendering than 'without trial' as R.V. translates here, for the revolt having been entered upon by the events recorded in *vv.* 15–28, the idea of a trial is out of the question. Cp. Ps. lxix. 4, 'They that would cut me off, being mine enemies wrongfully, are mighty.'

38. **they attacked them.** This hardly bears out the statement of Josephus: 'they burned them as they were in the caves without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves' (*Antiq.* XII. vi. 2).

and they died . . . about a thousand souls. Josephus adds: 'But many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath day' (*ibid.*), cp. *vv.* 40, 41.

39. **they mourned greatly for them.** ἕως σφόδρα = עד־מאד; ἐπ' αὐτούς, the verb אבל ('to mourn') is usually followed by על ('upon' or 'over').

40. **and one said to another.** καὶ εἶπεν ἀνὴρ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ is another Hebraism: ויאמר איש אל־רעהו.

41. **and they took counsel . . .** Cp. ix. 44 ff., xi. 34, 43 ff.; the counsel ('Whosoever attacks . . .') taken was a modification of the Law; but, as a matter of fact, the Written Law did not forbid necessary labour on the Sabbath. What we have here is an ordinance of the Oral Law, framed by the rigid legalists as the interpretation of the Written Law. The mention of the *Chasidim* in the next verse is significant, as they were responsible, in large measure, for the strict interpretation of the Written Law. The passage shows that the party of the *Chasidim* was already in existence, and was not created by the persecution under Antiochus; see next note.

42. **a company of the Chasidim.** The Ἀσιδαῖοι (= חסידים) are here referred to as though well known, a fact which further substantiates what was said in the preceding note. The *Chasidim* ('pious') were those, frequently referred to in some of the later Psalms (e.g. xii. 2, xxx. 4, xxxi. 23, xxxvii. 28, cxlix. 1–9), who remained true to the traditions and customs of their fathers when, in the third century B.C. and onwards, the Jews of the Dispersion, and also of Palestine, were becoming lax in their observance of orthodox Judaism owing to the rise of the Hellenistic spirit. They were animated by a hatred of everything and everyone that savoured of Hellenism, for, according to them, this implied unfaithfulness to the God of Israel. Although in existence beforehand, it was only during the Maccabaean struggle that they commenced to play an important rôle in the political life of the nation. In 1, 2 Macc. they are referred to three times; the data regarding their characteristics seem, at first sight, to be conflicting. In 1 Macc. ii. 43, 44 they are described as warlike; in vii. 12–14 they appear as the peaceful party, while in 2 Macc. xiv. 6 they are said to 'keep up war, and are seditious, not suffering the kingdom to find tranquillity'. It is probable that these descriptions both witness to the true facts of the case; the natural inclination of these strict observers of the Law would obviously be in the direction of peace; but as soon as they realized that the cherished object of their existence was imperilled, it behoved them to be up and doing. This is borne out by what we read in the Psalms concerning them, for at one time they are spoken of as peaceful worshippers (xxx. 4), and as the lovers of the Lord (xxxi. 23, xxxvii. 28); while at another time they are represented as warriors zealous for the honour of God, and fighting His enemies (cxlix. 6–9). It is not without significance that after the Maccabaean struggle, when the victory for orthodox Judaism had been won, nothing further is heard of the *Chasidim.* They seem to have gradually developed into the Pharisaic party, which was characterized by the same zeal for the Law (cp. Moritz Friedländer, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Apologetik*, pp. 316 ff., 464 ff.).

mighty men of Israel. Cp. 1 Chron. vii. 2, 7 (Sept.).

43 every one of them. And all they that fled from the evils were added unto them, and reinforced
44 them. And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath;
45 and the rest fled to the Gentiles to save themselves. And Mattathias and his friends[d] went round
46 about[e], and pulled down altars[f], and they circumcised by force the children that were uncircumcised,
47 as many as they[g] found [h]within the borders[h] of Israel. And they pursued after the sons of pride,
48 and the[i] work prospered in their hand. And they rescued[k] the Law out of the hand of the
Gentiles, and [l]out of the hand[l] of the[m] kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.

II. 49–70. *The last words of Mattathias; his death.*

49 And the days drew near that Mattathias should die, and he said unto his sons: 'Now have pride
50 and rebuke[n] gotten strength and a season of destruction and wrath of indignation. And now (my)
51 children, be zealous for the Law, and give your lives for the covenant of your[o] fathers[q]. [p]And call
to mind the deeds of the[r] fathers[s p] which they did in[t] their generations[q]; [u]that ye may receive[u]
52 great glory and an everlasting name. Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was
53 reckoned unto him for[x] righteousness? Joseph, in the time of his distress, kept the commandment,
54 and became lord of Egypt. Phinehas, our father, for that he was zealous exceedingly, obtained the
55 covenant[y] of an everlasting[z] priesthood. Joshua, for fulfilling the word[a], became a judge in Israel.
56, 57 Caleb, for bearing witness in[b] the congregation, obtained [c]land (as) an heritage[c]. David, for being
58 merciful, inherited[d] the throne of[d] a [e]kingdom for ever and ever[e]. Elijah, for that he was exceeding
59 zealous for the Law, was taken up into heaven[f]. Hananiah, Azariah (and) Mishael, believing (in
60 God)[g], were saved from the flame. Daniel, for his innocency, was delivered from the mouth of the
61 lions[h]. And thus consider ye [i]from generation to generation[i];—all who hope in Him shall want for
62 nothing. And[k] be not afraid of the words of a sinful man, for his glory [shall be][l] dung and worms[m].
63 To-day he shall be lifted up, and to-morrow[n] he shall in no wise be found, because he is returned
64 unto his dust, and his thought is perished. [o]And ye[o], (my) children, be strong and show yourselves
65 men [p]on behalf of the[q] Law[p]; for therein shall ye obtain glory. And behold Simeon your[r] brother,
66 I know that he is a man of counsel[s]; give ear unto him alway[t]; he shall be a father unto you. And

[d] sons A; they that were with him 𝔖[g] [e] commanded ℵ [f] their altars A V [g] he A V [h–h] among the sons ℵ [i] their 19 [k] took 𝔖[g] [l–l] > 64 [m] their ℵ[c.a] 64 93 [n] famine 𝔖[g] [o] our A [p–p] > 𝔖[luc] [q–q] > 71 [r] our A [s] first ones 𝔖[g] [t] > A [u–u] and ye shall receive 𝔏[2] [x] > A [y] the lot of a covenant ℵ [z] holy A > 71 [a] words Luc. + of the Lord 𝔏[1] [b] > A [c–c] the heritage ℵ 𝔏[1] a heritage of land V a land of heritage 𝔖[luc] [d–d] > 71 [e–e] an everlasting kingdom A 71 [f] verses 59–63 are omitted by 71 [g] 𝔏[1] [h] lion ℵ 64 [i–i] according to generation A [k] > 𝔖[luc] [l] Luc [m] a worm 19 𝔖[luc] 𝔏[1] [n] > A [o–o] > ℵ (*hab* ℵ[c.a]) [p–p] > 71 [q] your A [r] our 93 [s] good counsel 𝔏[2] counsel and intelligence 𝔖 [t] > 𝔏[1]

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44. **sinners . . . lawless men.** i.e. the renegade Israelites.

46. **the children . . . Israel.** An eloquent witness to the way in which the Hellenistic spirit had influenced the Jews. The same applies to the mention of altars (i.e. idol-altars), for these verses evidently refer to Jews, cp. the words of Josephus: '. . . and overthrew their idol-altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could bring under his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him (i.e. Mattathias).'

47. **sons of pride.** Hebraism, cp. 'sons of tumult' (בני שאון) Jer. xlviii. 45; the reference is to the Syrians; cp. i. 21.

48. **neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.** *οὐκ ἔδωκαν κέρας τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ*, Hebraism; cp. Ps. lxxv. 5, 'Lift not up your horn on high'; a frequent O.T. figure for strength.

49. **And the days drew near . . .** A frequent O.T. phrase, cp. Gen. xlvii. 29; 1 Kings ii. 1.

50 ff. With this enumeration of the deeds of the fathers, cp. Ecclus. xliv–xlix.

51. **an everlasting name.** On the ideas connected with this cp. the writer's *Life, Death, and Immortality; Studies in the Psalms*, Lecture III.

52. **. . . in temptation.** Cp. Gen. xxii. 1.
reckoned unto . . . Cp. Gen. xv. 6.

53. **kept the commandment.** Cp. Gen. xxxix. 9.

54. **was zealous exceedingly.** Cp. Num. xxv. 7, 13.

55. **a judge.** שֹׁפֵט in the sense of 'ruler', cp. Mic. iv. 14.

56. **for bearing witness . . .** Cp. Num. xiii. 31, xiv. 24; Joshua xiv. 14.

57. **the throne of a kingdom.** Cp. 2 Sam. vii. 16.

58. **exceeding zealous . . .** Cp. 1 Kings xviii. 40, xix. 10.
was taken up . . . Cp. 2 Kings ii. 11.

59. **Hananiah . . .** Cp. Dan. i. 6 ff.
believing. Cp. Dan. iii. 17.

60. **. . . of the lions.** Cp. Dan. vi. 22.

61. **shall want for nothing.** Cp. Ps. xxxiv. 10.

63. **To-day . . .** Cp. Ps. cxlvi. 3, 4; Ecclus. x. 10.

64. **Be strong . . .** Cp. Joshua x. 25; 1 Sam. iv; 1 Kings ii. 2.

Judas Maccabaeus, he[u] hath been strong and mighty[v] [w]from his youth[w]; he shall be your captain and
67 shall fight[x] the battle[y] of the people[z]. And ye, take you unto you all those who observe the Law,
68 and avenge the wrong of your people. [a]Render a recompense to the Gentiles, and take heed to the commandments of the Law.'
69, 70 And he blessed them, and was gathered unto his[b] fathers. [c]And he[d] died in the one hundred and forty-sixth[e] year[f c]; [g]and his sons buried him[g] [h]in the sepulchres[i] of his fathers[h] at Modin; [k]and all Israel made great lamentation for him[k].

JUDAS MACCABAEUS. III. 1—IX. 22.

III. 1–9. *A Song of praise in honour of Judas Maccabaeus.*

3 1, 2 And his son Judas, [l]who was called[l] Maccabaeus, rose up in his stead.
And all his brethren helped him,
And all they that clave unto[m] his father,
And they fought with gladness the battle of Israel.

3 And he[n] extended the glory [o]of his people[o],
And put on a breastplate as a giant,
And girt on his weapons of war.

[p]He set battles in array,
He protected [q]the army with the sword[q p].
4 And he was like a lion in his[r] deeds:

And as a lion's whelp roaring for prey,
5 He pursued the lawless, seeking them out,
And burnt up those that troubled [s]his people[s].

6 And the lawless lost heart for fear of him,
And all the workers of lawlessness were sore troubled;
[t]And deliverance prospered in his hand.[t]

7 And he angered many[u] kings,
And made Jacob[x] glad with his acts.
And his memorial is blessed for ever.

8 And he went about among the cities of Judah,
And destroyed the ungodly[y] thereout[z],
And turned away wrath from Israel.

9 And he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth,
And gathered together [a]those who were perishing[a].

III. 10–26. *Victories of Judas Maccabaeus over Apollonius and Seron.*

10 [b]And Apollonius gathered[b] the Gentiles[c] together, and[d] a great host from Samaria, to fight
11 against Israel. And Judas perceived it, and went forth to meet him, and smote him, and slew him;

[u] > ℵ Luc [v] in might A [w–w] > 71 [x] ye shall fight A [y] battles Luc [z] for the people 71 𝔏[1] 𝔖 [a] > *this v.* 71 [b] their ℵ* (his ℵ[c.a]) [c–c] > 71 [d] Mattathias Luc [e] forty-eighth ℵ 𝔖[luc] [f] + of the kingdom Luc [g–g] he was buried ℵ 71 𝔏[1] [h–h] > 71 [i] sepulchre Luc [k–k] > 71

III. [l–l] > 𝔖[luc] [m] followed 64 [n] Judas Luc 𝔏[2] [o–o] by his word V [p–p] So that they fell in the battle; and he raised up shields against the fortresses 𝔖[g] [q–q] with his sword in battle V [r] > ℵ [s–s] > A [t–t] > 93 [u] > 93 𝔖[g] [x] Israel Luc [y] kings 64 [z] thereon A [a–a] Apollonius (*as subject*) V[a] [b–b] > V[a] [c] > 19 [d] > 𝔖[g]

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68. **Render a recompense.** Cp. Ps. cxxxvi. 11 (Sept.).
69. **and was gathered . . .** A regular O.T. phrase, cp. e.g. Gen. xxv. 8; Deut. xxxii. 50, cp. also Acts xiii. 36.
70. **in the one hundred and forty-sixth year.** i.e. 167–166 B.C.

III. 1. **Judas.** Hebr. יהודה.
who was called Maccabaeus. Cp. ii. 4, 66, v. 24; 2 Macc. ii. 19, viii. 1.
3–9. In his panegyric on Judas Maccabaeus the author adopts a poetical form.
3. **giant.** *γίγας* is not a good rendering of גבור, which means 'hero'; for the Sept. usage see, e.g., Gen. x. 9, Isa. iii. 2.
weapons of war. *τὰ σκεύη τὰ πολεμικά* = כלי מלחמה, cp. 1 Sam. viii. 12.
4. **like a lion.** Cp. 2 Macc. xi. 11.
5. **burnt up.** Better 'exterminated', according to the sense of בער in 2 Sam. iv. 11; unless it is meant literally cp. *vv.* 5, 44, 2 Macc. viii. 33; this was regarded as the most degrading death, cp. Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9; Deut. xxi. 23; Joshua vii. 25; Amos ii. 1.
7. **his memorial . . .** Cp. Prov. x. 7.
10. **Apollonius.** Cp. i. 29 and 2 Macc. v. 24; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. v. 5, vii. 1.

12 and many fell wounded to death, and the rest fled. And they[e] took their spoils[f]; and Judas took
the sword of Apollonius, and therewith fought he all (his) days.
13 And Seron, the commander of the host of Syria, heard that Judas had gathered [g]a gathering and[g]
14 a congregation of faithful men with him, [h]and[i] of such as went out to war[h]; and he said: 'I will make
a name for myself, and get me glory in the kingdom; and I will fight against Judas[k] and them that
15 are with him, that[l] set at nought the word of the king.' [m]And he went up again[m]; and there went up
16 with him a mighty army of the ungodly to help him, to take vengeance on the children of Israel.
And he[n] came near to the ascent of Bethhoron; and Judas[o] went forth to meet him[p] with a small
17 company. But [q]when they[r] saw the army coming to meet them[q s], they said unto Judas: 'What?[t] shall
we be able, being a small company, to fight against so great [u]and strong[u] a multitude? And we, for
18 our part, are faint, having tasted no food this day.' And Judas said: 'It is an easy thing for many
to be shut up in the hands of a few, and there is no difference [v]in the sight of[v] Heaven[w] to save by
19 many or by few; for victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of an host, but strength is from
20 Heaven[x]. They come unto us in[y] fulness of insolence and lawlessness, [z]to destroy us and our wives
21, 22 and our children, for[a] to spoil us[z]; but we fight for our lives and our laws. And He Himself[b] will
23 discomfit them before our face; but as for you, be ye not afraid of them.' Now when he[c] had left
off speaking, he[d] leapt suddenly upon them, and Seron and his army were discomfited [e]before him[e].
24 And they pursued them[f] at the descent of Bethhoron unto the plain; and there fell of them about
eight hundred men; and the rest fled into [g]the land of[g] the Philistines.
25 Then began the fear of Judas [h]and of his brethren[h], and the dread (of them) fell upon the nations[i]
26 round about them. And his name came near even unto the king; and [k]every nation[k] told of
the battles[l] of Judas.

III. 27–37. *Lysias is commissioned to continue the war against the Jews during the absence of Antiochus in Persia.*

27 But when Antiochus the king[m] heard these words he was full of indignation; and he sent and
28 gathered together all the forces [n]of his kingdom[n], [o]an exceeding strong army[o]. And he opened his
treasury and gave his forces pay for a[p] year, and commanded them to be ready[q] for every need[r].
29 And he saw that the money failed from his treasures, and that the tributes of the country were
small, because of the dissension and harm which he had brought upon the land (in seeking) to take
30 away the laws which had been (in vogue) from the earliest times; and he feared (therefore) that he
would not have (enough), as (he had had) at other times, for the charges and the gifts which he gave

[e]he 19 [f]arms (*lit.* vessels) A [g–g]> $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [h–h]> $\mathfrak{S}$ [i]> Luc [k]+ the son ℵ [l]and those that A
[m–m] *Reading* και προσεθετο του αναβηναι (ויוסף לעלות); and he prepared himself $\mathfrak{L}^1$ > $\mathfrak{L}^2$ [n]they V Luc [o]he $\mathfrak{S}^g$
[p]them V 64 [q–q]> 71 [r]+ that were with him Luc [s]him A V^a (them V) [t]How 71 [u–u]> A [v–v] $\mathfrak{L}^1$;
$\mathfrak{G}$ *lit.* before [w]the God of Heaven ℵ V him that dwelleth in Heaven $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [x]the Heavenly One 19 64 [y]> A
[z–z]> $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [a]and 71 $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ $\mathfrak{L}$ [b]the Lord Luc $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [c]Judas Luc [d]they $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [e–e]> 93 [f]him ℵ [g–g]> V
[h–h]> 19 [i]all the nations $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [k–k]the nations ℵ 64 93 [l]acts 93 $\mathfrak{S}$ [m]> $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [n–n]> 71 [o–o]> ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [p]the A [q]+ for a year A [r]all things $\mathfrak{L}^2$

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15. **and he went up again.** See critical note.

16. **the ascent of Bethhoron.** About five hours' journey north-west of Jerusalem. 'From a military point of view Bethhoron was an important outpost, and to an invading force from the maritime plain the key to Jerusalem; cp. Joshua x. 16–26' (Fairweather and Black, *in loc.*).

18. **to save by many or by few.** Cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 6.

22. **He Himself.** Thus avoiding the mention of the name of God; this is characteristic of later usage; cp. ii. 61.

23. **were discomfited.** *συντρίβειν* has a stronger meaning, 'were utterly crushed'.

28. **pay for a year.** This suggests that his forces could not always be relied upon. The extravagance of Antiochus Epiphanes (cp. *v.* 30) and the way in which he squandered money on public displays, games, and the like, must have often made it difficult to find the wherewithal to pay his soldiers, in consequence of which discontent would have manifested itself. The Jews had a great advantage here, since, in fighting, they were actuated solely by patriotic motives. According to Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* I. ii. 5) the Jews never employed mercenary troops until the time of Hyrcanus I (135–107 B.C.).

to be ready for every need. The meaning is, presumably, that they were not necessarily to be employed against the Jews only, but that they were to be prepared to go anywhere; this provision was necessary, for with his Egyptian campaigns Antiochus was always in need of soldiers. In 2 Macc. v. 5–11, e.g., we are told that he was hurriedly called back from an Egyptian campaign in order to quell an outbreak in Judaea under Jason.

30. **the gifts which . . . with a liberal hand.** Cp. the words of Polybius (xxvi. 1): 'Rational people were at a loss what to think about him. Some regarded him as a simple and homely man, others looked upon him as crazed. . . . To some he gave bone dice, to others dates, to others gold. But if perchance he should meet anyone whom he had never seen before, he would give him unexpected presents' (quoted by Fairweather and Black, *in loc.*). Grimm mentions that in one of his Egyptian campaigns Antiochus gave a piece of gold to every Greek in Naukratis (Polybius, xxviii. 17. 11); cp. also Dan. xi. 24, 'In time of security shall he come even upon the fattest places of the

31 aforetime with a liberal hand,—[s]and he was more lavish than the kings that were before him[s]. He
was (therefore) exceedingly perplexed in his mind; so he[t] determined to go to Persia, and to take
32 tributes of the countries[u], and (thus) to gather much money. And he left[v] Lysias, an honourable
man, and [w]one of the seed royal[w], (to be) over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto
33, 34 the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus until he should return. And he delivered unto
him the half of the forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge over all the things that he would
35 have done and concerning them[x] [y]that dwell in Judaea and Jerusalem, (namely) that he should send
a host [z]against them[z] to root out[a y] and destroy the strength[b] of Israel and[c] the remnant of Jerusalem,
36 and [d]to take away[d] their[e] memorial from the place; and that he should make strangers to dwell in
37 all their borders, and that he should [f]divide their land by lot[f]. And the king took the half that
remained of the forces, and removed from Antioch, [g]from his[h] royal city[g], [i](in) the one hundred and
forty-seventh year[i]; and he passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper countries.

[s-s] > A [t]they A Antiochus Luc [u]country 𝔖[luc] [v]sent ℵ* (left ℵ[c.a]) [w-w]by race (belonging) to the king 𝔖[luc] . . . the kingdom 𝔖[g] . . . the country 𝔏 [x]all them A [y-y] > 93 [z-z] > 𝔖[g] [a]to drive out AV 64 93 [b]name 𝔖[g] [c] + to take away Luc [d-d] > Luc [e]its A [f-f]take possession of their land A take possession of their land and divide it by lot 𝔏 [g-g] > 𝔏[1] [h]the 𝔖[g] [i-i] > 71

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province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them prey, and spoil, and substance.'

31. **Persia, and to take . . . countries.** i. e. the countries east of the Euphrates under the rule of the Seleucidae; cp. vi. 56, where the reference is to Media and Persia.

to gather much money. 'The temples of the Asiatics had hitherto been for the most part respected by their European conquerors, and large stores of the precious metals were accumulated in them. Epiphanes saw in these hoards the means of relieving his own necessities, and determined to seize and confiscate them. Besides plundering the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem (see i. 21–23), he made a journey into the south-eastern portion of his empire, about 165 B. C., for the express purpose of conducting in person the collection of the sacred treasures. It was while he was engaged in this unpopular work that a spirit of disaffection showed itself; the East took arms no less than the West; and in Persia, or upon its borders, the avaricious monarch was forced to retire before the opposition which his ill-judged measures had provoked, and to allow one of the doomed temples to escape him' (cp. vi. 1–4), Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 5.

32. **Lysias.** For the part played by this general during the Maccabaean struggle, see, besides this passage, iv. 1 ff., 28 ff., vi. 5 ff., 28 ff., 51 ff.; he was put to death at the accession of Demetrius I, in 162 B. C. (vii. 1–4); see also 2 Macc. x. 11 ff., xi–xii. 1, xiii. 1–xiv. 2; the two accounts are not always in agreement.

one of the seed royal. זרע המלוכה[מ] as in 1 Kings i. 46; Jer. xli. 1; Dan. i. 3, or זרע הממלכה as in 2 Kings xi. 1; 2 Chron. xxii. 10.

the affairs of the king. For the phrase cp. 2 Macc. viii. 8, x. 11, xi. 1.

33. **his son Antiochus.** The future Antiochus V, surnamed Eupator (cp. vi. 17), 'on account of the virtues of his father,' according to Appian (quoted by G. A. Smith in *EB* 187); he was murdered, after two years' reign, together with Lysias (see vii. 1–4; 2 Macc. xiv. 2).

34. **elephants.** The Persians were the first to use elephants in warfare, as far as is known; they are first mentioned in this connexion as having been used in the army of Darius at the battle of Arbela, in 331 B. C. They are referred to several times in this book; vi. 34 ff., where they are described as being furnished with towers of wood, and as being driven by an Indian (cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 12); see also viii. 6, xi. 56; 2 Macc. xi. 4, xiii. 15.

35. **to root out.** *τοῦ ἐκτρῖψαι*; Cod. A has the milder word *τοῦ ἐκρῖψαι*, 'to drive out.'

the strength. The Syriac Version reads 'the name', which in the Old Testament is not infrequently used as equivalent to 'seed', Num. xxvii. 4; Deut. xxv. 6; Ruth iv. 5, 10; 1 Sam. xxiv. 22; Isa. xiv. 22, &c.

36. **strangers.** *υἱοὺς ἀλλοτρίους* is a Hebraism, בְּנֵי נֵכָר.

divide their land by lot. i. e. apportion it to others, cp. Ps. lxxviii. 55; this is the reading of ℵ *κατακληροδοτῆσαι*.

37. **Antioch.** Not, of course, the Pisidian Antioch, though this, too, was founded by the Seleucid kings about 300 B. C.; but the Syrian Antioch, built (300 B. C.) by Seleucus Nicator on the left bank of the Orontes. It was situated just where the Libanus range joins the Taurus range. 'Holm has summed up in a striking sentence the historical position of Antioch under the Seleucid kings. Although close to the sea (*ἀνάπλους αὐθημερόν*, Strabo, p. 751), it was yet no seaport; on the borders of the desert, it was yet something more than a centre for the caravan trade between the East and the West. The city reflected the character of the kingdom of which it was the capital, a kingdom which itself also was neither a genuine naval nor a genuine land power. Antioch was a Greek city, just as the Seleucid kingdom was an attempt to impose upon the Orient the political ideas and forms of Hellas. Yet, in the capital, as in the kingdom at large, there was no true Hellenism; the commingling of Oriental and Western elements resulted in the perpetuation of the worst features of both races, and the moral worthlessness of the Syrian found in the brilliance and artistic temperament of the Greek merely the means of concealing the crudities of his own life. The characteristic failing of the Greek also was exhibited on a great scale. A third element, and that the one most important for biblical history, was provided by the Jews. The colony was in fact coeval with the city, for it dated from the time of Seleucus Nicator, who gave the Jews the same privileges as he gave the Greeks (Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii. 1). For this connexion with the Syrian kings see 1 Macc. xi. 42 ff.' (*EB* 185.)

the one hundred and forty-seventh year. 166–165 B. C.

the upper countries. Cp. vi. 1, 2 Macc. ix. 25. Grimm quotes Polybius (v. 40. 5) and Arrian (iii. 6. 12) as referring in similar terms to Persia and Media.

III. 38–60. *Lysias dispatches an army into the land of Judah under Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. Judas Maccabaeus prepares for the coming struggle.*

38 And Lysias chose [k]Ptolemy the son of[k] Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, mighty men of the
39 king's friends; and with them he sent forty[l] thousand footmen, and seven thousand horse, to go into
40 the land of Judah, and to destroy it, according to the king's command. And they[m] removed with
41 all their host, and came and pitched near Emmaus in the plain country. And the merchants of the country heard tell of them, and took silver and gold exceeding much, together with fetters[n], and came into the camp, to take the children of Israel as slaves. And there were added unto them troops from Syria and from the land of the Philistines[o].

42 And Judas and his brethren saw that evils were multiplied, and that the forces (of the enemy) were encamping[p] in their borders; and they[q] took knowledge of the king's[r] commands which he had
43 put forth (with a view) to bring about the destruction and annihilation of the people. So they said, each man to his neighbour: 'Let us raise up the ruin[s] of our people, [t]and let us fight for our people[t]
44 and the Holy Place.' And the[u] congregation was gathered together, so as to be ready for battle, and to pray and to ask for mercy and compassion.

45 And Jerusalem was uninhabited like a wilderness,
There was none of her offspring that went in [v]or went out[v].
And the Sanctuary was trodden down,
And the sons of strangers (dwelt) in the citadel,
A lodging-place for Gentiles (it became);
And joy [w]was taken away[w] from Jacob,
And the pipe and the harp ceased.

46 And they gathered themselves together, and came to Mizpeh[x], over against Jerusalem; for in
47 Mizpeh there had been aforetime a place of prayer for Israel. And they fasted that day, and put on

[k-k] > V [l] fifty V ten 𝔖 [m] + who were round about Ptolemy Luc [n] bands and fetters 𝔖; servants (παιδας for πεδας) 𝔊 (= 𝔏); 'fetters' Josephus [o] 𝔖; *lit.* strangers 𝔊 𝔏 [p] had surrounded 𝔖ᵍ [q] he 𝔖ᵍ [r] royal A [s] kingdom 𝔏² [t-t] > A V [u] all the V [v-v] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ^c.a) V 71 𝔏¹ [w-w] was brought to an end 64 [x] Massepha 𝔊

38 ff. With this section cp. 2 Macc. viii. 8–22; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vii. 3.

Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes. Cp. 2 Macc. iv. 45, viii. 3, x. 12, in this last passage he has the surname Macron, and is described as being friendly disposed to the Jews; he committed suicide by taking poison because he was regarded as a traitor for abandoning Cyprus. This is the only mention of him in 1 Macc.

Nicanor. Cp. vii. 26–50; 2 Macc. viii. 9, xiv, xv.

Georgias. Cp. v. 56 ff.; 2 Macc. x. 14, xii. 32–7.

forty thousand. See critical note. In 2 Macc. viii. 9 the number is 20,000, no mention being made of horsemen.

to destroy it. Better 'to lay it waste'.

40. **Emmaus.** Not the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. 13, but a city in the plain into which the mountains of Judaea slope down; it is twenty-two Roman miles from Jerusalem on the road to Joppa; the modern *Amwas.* It was fortified by Bacchides, cp. ix. 50.

41. **the merchants of the country.** In earlier days the Edomites are mentioned as slave-dealers (cp. Amos i. 6, 9); in Ezek. xxvii. 13 Javan (Greeks), Tubal, and Meshech (probably peoples of Asia Minor) are said to have traded with 'the persons of men'; from the fifth century B.C. onwards Syrian slaves, among whom Jews were reckoned, were in great demand in Greece (cp. Robertson Smith, in the *Encycl. Brit.* xiii. 705). The Phoenicians played a leading rôle in the slave-market; Rawlinson (*Hist. of Phoenicia*, p. 296) says: 'The traffic in slaves was one in which the Phoenicians engaged from very early times. They were not above kidnapping men, women, and children in one country and selling them in another; besides which they seem to have frequented regularly the principal slave-marts of the time. They bought such Jews as were taken captive and sold into slavery by the neighbouring nations.' See further 2 Macc. viii. 11, 34.

fetters. See critical note.

troops from Syria . . . According to Josephus these were 'auxiliaries (σύμμαχοι) out of Syria and the country round about, as also some of the renegade Jews' (*Antiq.* XII. vii. 3), i.e. presumably volunteers who joined either from the love of fighting, or from the hope of plunder, or possibly out of sheer hatred of the Jews.

Philistines. See critical note.

43. **each man to his neighbour.** See note on ii. 40.

45. This verse was probably in poetical form in the original; it is full of O.T. thoughts and expressions.

uninhabited. Cp. Isa. v. 9, vi. 11; Jer. ix. 11, xlvi. 19.

there was none of her offspring. Cp. Jer. xxxiii. 10.

that went in or went out. Cp. Jer. xxxvii. 4; Zech. viii. 10.

the Sanctuary . . . Cp. Ps. lxxix. 1.

the sons of strangers. See note on v. 36.

A lodging-place . . . Cp. Isa. i. 8.

joy was taken away. Cp. Lam. v. 15; Isa. xxiv. 11; Hos. ix. 1.

the pipe . . . ceased. Cp. Isa. xiv. 11, xxiv. 8.

46. **aforetime a place of prayer.** Cp. 1 Sam. vii. 6–9.

48 sackcloth, and put[y] ashes upon their heads[z], and rent their clothes. And they spread out the roll
of the Law, (one of those) concerning which the Gentiles were wont to make search [a b]in order to depict
49 upon them[a] likenesses of their idols[b]. And they brought the priestly garments, and the firstfruits, and
50 the tithes; and they shaved[c] the Nazirites who had accomplished their days. And they cried aloud[d]
toward heaven, saying: 'What shall we do with these men, and whither shall we carry them away?
51 For[e] thy Holy Place is trodden down and defiled, and thy priests are in heaviness and brought low.
52 And, behold, the Gentiles are gathered together against us to destroy us; thou knowest what things
53, 54 they imagine against us. How shall we be able to stand before them unless thou help us?' And
they sounded with the trumpets[f], [g]and cried with a loud voice[g].
55 And after this Judas appointed leaders of the people, captains of thousands, and captains of
56 hundreds, [h]and captains of fifties[h], and captains of tens. And he said to them that were building
houses, and were betrothing wives, and were planting vineyards, and were fearful, that they should
57 return, each man to his own house, according to the Law[i]. And the army removed, and encamped[k]
58 on the south of Emmaus. And Judas said: 'Gird yourselves, [l]and be[l] valiant men; and be ready
on the morrow to fight against these Gentiles that are assembled together against us to destroy us,
59 and our Holy Place; for it is better for us to die [m]in battle[m] than to look upon the evils (that have
60 come) upon our nation and the Holy Place. Nevertheless, as may be the will in heaven, [n]so shall
he do[n].'

IV. 1–25. *Victory of Judas over Gorgias.*

4 1 And Gorgias took five thousand (foot-) men, and a thousand chosen horse; and the[a] army moved
2 by night so that it might fall upon the army of the Jews[b] and smite them suddenly; and (certain)[c]
3 men from the citadel were his[d] guides. And Judas heard thereof, and he removed, he and the valiant
4 men, that he might smite the king's host, which was at Emmaus, while as yet the forces were
5 dispersed from the camp. And Gorgias came into the camp of Judas by night[e], and found no man;
6 and he sought them in the mountains, for he said: 'These men flee from us.' And as soon as it was
day, Judas appeared in the plain with[f] three thousand men; howbeit, they had not armour nor
7 swords as they would have wished (to have had). And they saw the camp of the Gentiles strong
8 (and) fortified, and horsemen compassing it round about; and these were experienced in war. And
Judas[g] said to the men that were with him: 'Fear ye not their multitude, neither [h]be ye afraid of[h]
9 their onset. Remember how our fathers[i] were saved in the Red Sea, when Pharaoh pursued them
10 with a host[k]. And now, let us cry[l] unto heaven[m], [n]if he will have mercy upon us[n], [o]and[p] will

[y] > 𝔊 (*exc* 55); 𝔖[luc] 𝔏[1] *supply the verb* [z] head ℵ V Luc [a-a] > 𝔊 (*exc* 55 71) [b-b] and mourned before the Holy One concerning the Gentiles, because they forced them to imitate their ways 𝔖[luc] [c] raised up 𝔊 (*exc* 55) [d] *lit.* with a voice; with a great voice 93 [e] And 𝔊 > 𝔖[g] [f] + fortiter 𝔏[1] [g-g] > 𝔏[1] [h-h] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ[c.a]) 𝔖[g] [i] + of Moses 𝔏[1] [k] assembled 𝔏[1] [l-l] > 93 [m-m] > 93 [n-n] so be it done 𝔏 𝔖[g]

IV. [a] his 19 93 𝔖[luc] [b] Judah 𝔖[luc] + by night 19 93 𝔖[luc] [c] the A [d] to them 𝔖[luc] 𝔏 [e] > 𝔖[luc] [f] + only 𝔏[1] [g] he 𝔖[luc] [h-h] > 71 [i] brethren 𝔏[1] [k] a great host 𝔖[luc] 𝔏 [l] we will cry ℵ [m] the Lord 71 our Lord 𝔏[1] [n-n] *Several cursives* 𝔖[g] 𝔏[1]; if he will have us ℵ A V [o-o] > 71 [p] + the Lord 𝔖[luc]

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48. **they spread out . . .** In order that the roll of the Law might bear witness before God against the blasphemous proceeding of the Gentiles.

49. **and they brought . . .** All these acts were intended to witness against the evils which the Gentiles had wrought, and thus call down upon them the divine wrath.

54. **they sounded with the trumpets.** Cp. Num. x. 1 ff.

58. **be valiant men.** Cp. 2 Sam. ii. 7, xiii. 28 (Sept.).

be ready on the morrow. Cp. Exod. xxxiv. 2, xix. 15.

60. **so shall he do.** Another instance of the way in which the mention of the name of God is avoided in this book.

IV. With *vv.* 1–25 cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vii. 4.

1. **Gorgias . . .** The non-mention of Nicanor, the commander-in-chief (cp. 2 Macc. viii. 23, 24), does not necessarily imply that he was not the guiding spirit; the writer is giving the details of one episode in the campaign, in which Gorgias is the leading figure; he is, therefore, not concerned with the question as to under whose orders Gorgias was acting. That there was not one in chief command responsible for the general conduct of the operations, is difficult to believe. Cp. Josephus: 'But when the enemy sent Gorgias . . .'

2. **men from the citadel.** *οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἄκρας*, Hebraism. Josephus speaks of them as 'renegade Jews'.

3. **Emmaus.** See note on iii. 40.

5. **and he sought them in the mountains.** i.e. in the mountainous district south and east of Emmaus; Judas was thus drawing this detachment of the enemy further and further away from the main body with which he intended to deal (see *v.* 13); cp. Josephus: 'And he resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now that their forces were divided.'

6. **three thousand men.** So, too, according to Josephus; in 2 Macc. viii. 16 the number is given as 6,000.

7. **experienced in war.** *διδακτοὶ πολέμου*, Hebraism, cp. Song of Songs iii. 8 מלמדי מלחמה.

11 remember [q]the covenant of the[r] fathers[q], and destroy this army before our[s] face to-day[o]; and (then)
12 all the Gentiles will know that there is one who redeemeth [t]and saveth[t] Israel.' And the strangers[u]
13 lifted up their eyes and saw them coming against them, and they went out of the camp to battle.
14 And they that were with Judas sounded the trumpets, [v]and joined battle[v], [w]and the Gentiles
15 were discomfited, and fled unto the plain. And all[x] the hindmost fell by the sword; and they pursued them unto Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumaea[y] and[z] Azotus and Jamnia; and there fell of them about three thousand men.

16, 17 And Judas and (his)[a] host returned [b]from pursuing after them[b]; and he[c] said unto the people:
18 'Be not greedy of the spoils, for (another)[d] battle is before us, and Gorgias and (his)[e] host are nigh unto us [f]in the mountain[f]. [g]But stand ye now against our enemies[g], and fight (against) them, and
19 afterwards take the spoils with boldness.' While Judas was yet saying[h] these things, there appeared a
20 part of them peering out from the mountain; and they saw that (their host) had been put to flight, and that (the Jews)[i] were burning the[k] camp,—for the smoke [l]that was seen[l] made manifest what had
21 been done. And when they perceived these things they were sore afraid; and perceiving also the
22, 23 army of Judas [m]in the plain[m] ready for battle, they[n] all fled into the land of the Philistines[o]. And Judas returned to the spoil of the camp, and took much gold and silver, and blue[p], and [q]sea-purple[q],
24 and great riches. And as they returned they sang a song of thanksgiving, and blessed [rs](God[t], looking up) to heaven[s], (and saying):

'Good (is the Lord), for his mercy endureth for ever.'[r]

25 And Israel had a great[u] deliverance that day.

IV. 26–35. *Victory of Judas over Lysias.*

26 But as many of the Gentiles[v] as had been saved came and reported to Lysias all that had happened.
27 And when he had heard all[w] he was confounded [x]and discouraged[x], both because it had not happened unto Israel as he had wished, and because the things which the king had commanded him[y] had not come about.
28 And in the next year he[z] gathered together sixty thousand chosen [foot-]men, and five thousand
29 horse, to make war upon them[a]. And they came into Judaea[b], and encamped at Bethsura, and Judas

[q–q] the first covenant 𝔖 [r] our, *several cursives* [s] your 64 [t–t] > א* (*hab* א[c.a]) [u] the Greeks 𝔖g [v–v] > 𝔖g [w] with them Luc [x] > 𝔖g [y] Judæa A V 19 [z] + unto Luc [a] 19 93 𝔖luc [b–b] > 𝔏' [c] Judas Luc [d] Luc 𝔖luc [e] 64 93 [f–f] > 𝔖g [g–g] > 93 [h] T.R. 𝔖 𝔏; *lit.* filling up א A V &c., *reading* ממלא *for* ממלל [i] they that were with Judas Luc [k] their Luc [l–l] > 93 [m–m] > 𝔖g [n] and they 𝔖luc [o] 𝔖; *lit.* strangers 𝔊 [p] precious hyacinth stones 𝔖luc [q–q] purple and sea A [r–r] > 71 Possibly ηὐλόγουν εἰς οὐρανόν here and in *v.* 55 = וברכו לשמים (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 20 for construction) where, therefore, οὐρανός = θεός. Hence 'they blessed Heaven; for He is good, &c.' [Gen. Editor] [ε–s] the Lord that is in the heavens 𝔖 [t] T.R. [u] > Luc [v] *lit.* strangers 𝔊; the Greeks 𝔖g [w] > א V [x–x] > V [y] > 19 93 𝔖luc 𝔏 [z] Lysias T.R. [a] Israel Luc [b] א; B reads Ἰδουμαιαν

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12. **and the strangers lifted up their . . .** From *vv.* 3, 4. Judas evidently intended a surprise attack, but this verse shows that his intention was frustrated. On the other hand, Josephus definitely states that the enemy's defeat was due to Judas's unexpected attack; 'so he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle; and by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him.'

15. **Gazera.** The ancient Gezer, cp. Joshua x. 33, xii. 12, xvi. 3, &c.; see further the note on xiii. 43.

Azotus. Ashdod, cp. Joshua xi. 22; 1 Sam. v. 5; 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, &c., the modern *Asdud.*

Jamnia. Jabneel, cp. Joshua xv. 11, called Jabneh in 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.

the plains of Idumaea. This reading cannot be right, for the border of Idumaea lay at least two days' journey to the south-east of the scene of the battle, and the next day was the Sabbath, cp. 2 Macc. viii. 26, 27; in the next verses Judas and his army are described as being near the mountainous region again; had four days intervened some mention would assuredly have been made of it. Moreover, the three places 'Gazera, Azotus, and Jamnia' lie close together, and the mention of Idumaea in such a connexion is quite out of place. The reading 'plains of Judaea' is equally strange, for Judaea lay behind the pursuers where the country was mountainous. It is possible that 'Emmaus' stood here originally (cp. iii. 40 'Emmaus in the plain country'), the reference being to the plain in which Emmaus stood.

23. **blue and sea-purple.** תכלת 'violet stuff', cp. Ezek. xxiii. 6, xxvii. 7; used in reference to the Temple hangings 2 Chron. ii. 6, 13, 14; ארגמן 'purple-red cloth', generally mentioned with the former; 'sea-purple' refers to the fact that the colour was not a manufactured dye, but that it was the slimy substance from a sea-shell (*Murex trunculus*) found in great quantities on the Phoenician coast; the slime from these shells is white, but becomes gradually darker when exposed to the rays of the sun, until it assumes a deep red, or a deep blue-red colour which never fades. Immense numbers of these shells have been found on the site of an ancient dye-factory near Tyre. According to Judges viii. 26 it would appear that the Midian kings wore a purple garment when going into battle.

24. **for his mercy . . .** Cp. Ps. cxviii. 1–4, and the oft-repeated refrain in Ps. cxxxvi.

29. **Judaea.** This is what Josephus reads, as well as 2 Macc. xi. 5 (the parallel passage), see note *v.* 15.

Bethsura. 'The house of rock' (cp. Joshua xv. 58), in southern Judaea; 'Bethsuron' in 2 Macc. xi. 5.

30 met them with ten thousand men. And he saw that the army[c] was strong, and he prayed, and said:

'Blessed art thou[d], O Saviour [e]of Israel[e], who didst bring to nought the onslaught of the giant[f] by the hand of [g]thy servant[g] David, and didst deliver the army of the Philistines into the hands of Jonathan
31 [h]the son of Saul and of his armour-bearer[h]. Shut up[i] this army in the hands of thy people Israel,
32 that with their host and their horsemen they may be put to shame. [k]Give them fearfulness of heart, and cause the boldness of their strength to melt away, and let them quake at[l] their destruction[k].
33 Cast them down with the sword of them that love thee, [m]and let all that know[n] thy name praise thee with songs of thanksgiving[m].'

34 And they joined battle; and there fell of the army of Lysias about five thousand men, and[o] they
35 fell down over against them. But when Lysias[p] saw that his array had been put to flight, and the boldness[q] that had come upon them that were with Judas, [r]and how ready they were either to live or die nobly[r], he removed to Antioch, [s]and gathered together mercenary troops, that he might come again into Judaea with an even greater (army)[s].

IV. 36–61. *The Purification and Re-dedication of the Temple; the fortification of the Temple-Mount and Bethsura.*

36 But Judas and his brethren said: 'Behold, our enemies are discomfited; let us go up to cleanse[t]
37 the Holy Place, and re-dedicate[u] it. And all the army was gathered together, and they[v] went unto
38 mount Sion. And they saw our[w] sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned[x], and the gates[y] burned up, [z]and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or upon one of the mountains, and the
39 chambers[a] (of the priests) pulled down[bz]; [c]and they rent their garments[c], and made great lamenta-
40 tion, and put ashes [d]on their heads[d]; and they fell on their faces to the ground, [e]and they [fg]blew
41 the solemn blasts[f] upon the trumpets[g], and cried unto heaven[eh]. Then[i] Judas appointed (a certain number of) men to fight against those (that were) in the citadel, until he should have cleansed
42 the Holy Place. And he chose blameless priests, such as had delight in the Law; and they[k]
43, 44 cleansed the Holy Place, and[l] bare out the stones of defilement[m] into an unclean place. And they

[c] +of them that were opposed Luc [d] +Lord ℵ [e–e] > 71 [f] *lit.* mighty man, +Goliath 71 [g–g] > 71 [h–h] > 71 [i] +Lord 𝔏 [k–k] > 71 [l] in 19 93 𝔖luc [m–m] > 71 [n] that have seen A [o] > 𝔖g [p] he 71 [q] +and steadfastness 𝔏1 [r–r] > 71 [s–s] *the MSS. and Versions vary here considerably; but the general sense is clear, and in accordance with the text above* [t] that we may cleanse ℵ c.a Luc [u] that we may re-dedicate ℵ c.a Luc that we may renew it 𝔖luc [v] he 93 [w] the ℵ V [x] waste 93 𝔖luc [y] doors ℵ [z–z] > 71 [a] adornments 𝔖g [b] disruta et detracta 𝔏2 [c–c] 𝔖g *places these words after* heads [d–d] > ℵ 19 93 [e–e] et clamaverunt ad caelum in tubis signorum 𝔏1 [f–f] > 𝔖g [g–g] blew with glorious horns 𝔖luc [h] the Lord 71 [i] and 𝔖g [k] he Luc 𝔖g [l] +they Luc 𝔖g [m] +and placed them 𝔖g +and cast them 𝔖luc

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30–32. In 2 Macc. xi. 6–8 this prayer is only referred to, not quoted; but instead, mention is made of 'one on horseback in white apparel, brandishing weapons of gold', who appeared at the head of the Jewish army, and led them on to victory. This fantastic elaboration is perhaps based on the two stories of David (1 Sam. xvii. 40–54) and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 1–16); in each case a champion came forth and delivered Israel.

34. **they fell down over against them.** i.e. they were struck down and fell at the feet of each individual Jewish warrior, so fierce was the onslaught of the Jews.

36. **cleanse.** טָהֵר is used of cleansing the Temple from unclean things in 2 Chron. xxix. 15, 16, 18, and from the pollution of idolatrous images in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, 5, 8.

re-dedicate. The ritual of cleansing and re-dedicating is detailed in the verses which follow. The Hebrew word for 'dedicate' (חנך) means lit. 'to train up a child' (Prov. xxii. 6); it is used in the sense of dedicating a house in Deut. xx. 5, of the Temple in 1 Kings viii. 63 (= 2 Chron. vii. 5).

38. **the gates burned up.** We have but scanty details of Zerubbabel's temple; mention is made of the Miphkad Gate (Neh. iii. 31) and of the Prison Gate (Neh. xii. 39); in Josephus (*Contra Ap.* i. 22, quoting Hecataeus) there is a reference to 'double gates' in the Temple, but this seems only to refer to one of the ordinary gates. These are the only gates of which mention is made in the O.T., but there must certainly have been others, as there were in the first temple.

the chambers (of the priests). *τὰ παστοφόρια*, cp. Ezra viii. 28, x. 6; Neh. iii. 30, x. 37 ff., xii. 44, xiii. 5 ff.; Josephus *Antiq.* XI. iv. 7, XIV. xvi. 2.

40. **solemn blasts upon the trumpets.** The reference is to the long drawn-out blasts on the ram's-horns. Cp. Num. x. 10.

41. **in the citadel.** Cp. i. 33 ff.

42. **blameless.** *ἀμώμους*, lit. 'without blemish', i.e. Levitical purity; used originally in reference to physical blemish, but later the idea of innocence and integrity is included, cp. Prov. i. 12, where the word (תמים) is used for soundness in health; see Deut. xviii. 13, where it occurs in the figurative sense, cp. Ps. cxxxii. 9, 16. That a physical blemish was, also in later times, an obstacle to the performing of the priestly office may be gathered from Josephus, *Antiq.* III. xii. 2: 'He ordered that the priest who had any blemish should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbad him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house.' In the Talmud no less than 147 physical blemishes are enumerated which make a man unfit to perform ministerial duties, cp. Krauss *Talmudische Archäologie*, i, p. 250.

43. **the stones of defilement.** Cp. i. 54.

an unclean place. What is meant can be seen by a reference to Deut. xxiii. 12–14.

took counsel concerning the altar of burnt offerings, which had been profaned, what they should do with
45 it. And a good idea occurred to them[n] (namely) to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach unto
46 them, because the Gentiles had defiled it; so they pulled down the altar, and laid down the stones
in the mountain of the House, in a convenient place, until a prophet should come and decide[o] (as to
47 what should be done) concerning them. And they[p] took whole stones according to the Law, and
48 built a new[q] altar after the fashion of the former (one); [r]and they built the Holy Place, and the
49 inner parts of the house, and hallowed[s] the courts. And they made the holy[t] vessels new[r], and they
brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings and of incense, and the table, into the
50 temple. And they burned incense upon the altar, and they lighted the lamps that were upon the
51 candlestick [u]in order to give light[v] in the temple[u]. And they set loaves upon the table, and hung up
52 the veils, and finished all [w]the works[w] which they had undertaken. And they rose up early in the morning [x]on the twenty-fifth (day) of the ninth[y] month, which is the month Chislev, in the [z]one hundred
53 and[z] forty-eighth[a] year[xb], and[c] offered sacrifice, according to the Law, [d]upon the new altar of burnt
54 offerings which they had made[d]. At[e] the corresponding time (of the month) and on the (corresponding) day on which the Gentiles had profaned it, on that day[f] was it dedicated afresh, with songs
55 [g]and harps[g] and lutes, and with cymbals. And all [h]the people[h] fell upon their faces, and worshipped[i],
56 and gave praise, (looking up) unto heaven, to him who had prospered them. And they celebrated
the dedication of the altar for eight days, and offered burnt offerings [k]with gladness[k], [l]and sacrificed
57 a sacrifice of deliverance [m]and praise[ml]. And they decked the forefront of the temple with crowns
of gold[n] and small shields, and dedicated[o] afresh the gates and the chambers (of the priests), [p]and
58 furnished them with doors[p]. [q]And there was exceeding great gladness among the people, and the
59 reproach of the Gentiles was turned away[q]. And Judas and his brethren and the whole congregation
of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept [r]in their seasons year
by year for eight days, from the twenty-fifth (day) of the month Chislev, with gladness and joy[rs].
60 And [t]at that season[t] they built high walls[u] and strong[v] towers around mount Sion, lest haply the
61 Gentiles should come and tread them[w] down, [x]as they had done aforetime[x]. And he set there[y]
a force to keep it[z], and they fortified Bethsura [a]to keep it[a], that the people might have a stronghold over against Idumaea.

V. 1–8. *Victories of Judas over the Edomites, Baeanites, and Ammonites.*

5 1 And it came to pass, when the Gentiles round about heard that the altar[b] had been built[c] and the
2 sanctuary dedicated[d], [e]as aforetime[e], that they were exceeding wroth. And they determined[f] to

[n] him 𝔖luc [o] speak 𝔖 answer 𝔏 [p] he A V [q] > 𝔖luc [r–r] > 71 [s] he hallowed A V [t] > 93
[u–u] > 71 [v] to be visible Luc [w–w] > 𝔖luc [x–x] > 71 [y] > ℵ [z–z] > 64 [a] ninth 𝔖g [b] > ℵ + of the kingdom Luc [c] > 𝔖g [d–d] > 71 [e] And at ℵ V [f] > A [g–g] > Luc [h–h] > 71 [i] + God 71 [k–k] > 71
[l–l] and a sacrifice of deliverance 𝔏² [m–m] > 71 [n] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [o] he dedicated A [p–p] > 𝔖luc [q–q] > 71
[r–r] > 71 [s] great joy 𝔏¹ [t–t] > 71 [u] a high wall Luc [v] high ℵ* (strong ℵ c.a) [w] it ℵ c.a 93 [x–x] > 71
[y] > 71 [z] them ℵ* (it ℵ c.a) [a–a] > 55 𝔖

V. [b] house 𝔖g [c] > 71 [d] > 𝔏² [e–e] > 71 [f] were wroth ℵ* (determined ℵ c.a)

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46. **the mountain of the House.** Cp. Mich. iii. 12; Jer. xxvi. 18 (הר הבית).

a prophet should come . . . The reference is probably to Deut. xviii. 18, which is not a 'Messianic' passage, however it may have been interpreted subsequently.

47. **according to the Law.** Cp. Exod. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 6.

49. **the candlestick . . . the altar . . . and the table.** These had been taken away by Antiochus Epiphanes, see i. 21, 22; the three are again specifically mentioned in the two next verses.

52 ff. The inauguration of the feast of *Chanukkah*, which has been observed ever since by the Jews. The month Chislev corresponds to December. Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel* iv. 407 [3rd ed.]), followed by Wellhausen (*Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 210), believes that on the 25th Chislev a winter solstice feast had been celebrated long before this time, and that this was adapted and turned into the historical feast of *Chanukkah*. This feast was early known as the Feast of Lights (Φῶτα in Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vii. 7); two methods were in vogue regarding the lighting of the lamps; the followers of Shammai lit eight lamps on the first day of the festival, and one less on each succeeding day until the end of the feast; the Hillelites lit one lamp on the first day of the feast, and added one on each succeeding day, so that on the last day eight lamps were lit. 'The Talmudic sources . . . ascribe the origin of the eight days' festival, with its custom of illuminating the houses, to the miracle said to have occurred at the dedication of the purified Temple. This was that the one small cruse of consecrated oil found unpolluted by the Hasmonean priests when they entered the Temple, it having been sealed and hidden away, lasted for eight days, until new oil could be prepared for the lamps of the holy candlestick' (*Jewish Encycl.* vi. 224 *a*). For a legend of somewhat similar character see 2 Macc. i. 18–ii. 15.

57. **crowns of gold and small shields.** Perhaps wreaths of gold, which with the small shields, were temporary ornaments, cf. 1 Kings x. 17.

60. **strong towers.** Cp. i. 31.

V. 1–8. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 1.

destroy (those of) the race[g] of Jacob [h]that were in the midst of them[h], and they began [i]to slay and
3 to destroy among the people[i]. And Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumaea[k] at
Akrabattine, because they annoyed Israel[l] by their attacks; and he smote them with a great
4 slaughter, [m]and humbled[n] them[m], and took spoils from them. And he remembered the malice of
the children of Baean, who were unto the people[o] a snare and a stumbling-block, lying in wait for
5 them [p]in the ways[p]. And they were shut up by him in the towers; and he encamped against[q]
them, [r]and utterly destroyed them[r], and burned[s] [t]with fire[t] [u]the towers of the place[v u], with all that
6 were[w] therein. Then he[x] passed over to the children of Ammon, and found (there) a mighty band,
7 and much people[y], and Timotheus (who was) their leader. And he fought many battles with them,
8 [z]and they were discomfited before him, [a]and he smote them[a z]; and he gat possession of Jazer and
the villages[b] thereof, and returned[c] again into Judaea[d].

V. 9–68. *Victories of Simon in Galilee, and of Judas in Gilead.*

9 And the Gentiles that were in Gilead gathered themselves together against the Israelites that
10 were on their borders, to destroy them; and they fled unto the stronghold of Dathema[e]. And they
sent letters unto Judas and his brethren, saying: 'The Gentiles that are round about us are gathered
11 together [f]against us[f] [g]to destroy us; and they are preparing to come and get possession of the
12 stronghold[g] whereunto we[h] have fled for refuge; and Timotheus is leading their host. Now, there-
13 fore, [i]come and deliver us from their hand, for a number of us are fallen, and all our brethren[i] that
were in the (parts) of Tubias have been put to death, and they have carried into captivity their wives
14 and their children and their[k] belongings, and have destroyed there about a thousand men.' While
the[l] letters were yet being read, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their
15 garments rent, bringing a report to the following effect, saying[m]: 'There be gathered together
against them (men) from Ptolemais, and Tyre [n]and Sidon[n], and all Galilee of the Gentiles, to

[g] seed Luc [h–h] > 71 [i–i] to persecute and to kill them 𝔏[1] [k] Judaea A [l] Amalek ℵ* (Israel ℵ[c.a]) [m–m] > 𝔏[1] [n] scattered 𝔖[g] [o] + of Israel 𝔖[g] [p–p] > 𝔖[g] [q] cast aside A [r–r] > 𝔏[1] [s] they burned 𝔖[luc] [t–t] > V [u–u] their towers 𝔏[1] [v] *lit.* thereof > 𝔖[luc] [w] dwelt ℵ[c.a] 55 [x] Judas 64 93 𝔏[1] [y] + and a mighty band ℵ V Luc [z–z] > 𝔏[1] [a–a] > 19 [b] *lit.* daughters [c] they returned ℵ Judas ret. 64 93 [d] Idumaea V 𝔖[luc] [e] Ramoth 𝔖[g] [f–f] > ℵ [g–g] and have carried us off and are occupying the stronghold 𝔏[1] [h] they ℵ* (we ℵ[c.a]) [i–i] > 71 [k] > 𝔖[luc] [l] these 55 𝔖[luc] [m] *The words which follow are in direct narration in* 𝔖[g], *but in oblique narration in* 𝔊 𝔏 [n–n] > 𝔖[luc]

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2. **(those of) the race of Jacob.** The reading 'seed of J.', though not well attested, is more likely to be correct, being more in accordance with O.T. usage, cp. Ps. xxii. 23, Isa. xlv. 19, Jer. xxxiii. 26, &c.

3. **the children of Esau.** Cp. Gen. xxxvi. 10, 19.

Akrabattine. Cp. מעלה עקרבים (Joshua xv. 3, Judges i. 36); a spot in the hill-country in the south-west of Palestine, which formed the boundary of Judaea, cp. Num. xxxiv. 4.

and he smote them with a great slaughter. A characteristic Hebrew phrase: ויך אתם מכה גדולה.

humbled them and . . . For the phraseology cp. Deut. xxviii. 29.

4. **the children of Baean.** This name does not occur elsewhere; Blau (quoted by Bissell, *in loc.*) says: 'The region in which the event described in 1 Macc. v. 1–6 took place is the same as that which the table by Karnack calls Bajaa, near Kapharbaruk, east from Hebron, where in the time of the Maccabees Idumaeans settled. In my opinion, בְּנֵי בַיָּן signifies simply the inhabitants of the place Bajjan.' Grimm holds that Baean can only refer to the ancestor of a tribe, on the analogy of 'the children of Esau'.

a snare and a stumbling-block. Cp. Ps. lxviii. 23 (Sept.), = lxix. 22 (E.V.).

5. **utterly destroyed.** ἀναθεματίζω = החרים; cp. 1 Sam. xv. 8.

burned . . . the towers. Cp. Judges ix. 49.

6. **the children of Ammon.** Like the Edomites, traditional enemies of Israel, cp. Judges xi. 4, 12; 2 Sam. x. 6–14.

a mighty band. Lit. 'a mighty hand'; a Hebraism, יד חזקה, used in Num. xx. 20 of the fighting power of the Edomites.

Timotheus . . . their leader. Probably an Ammonite who had assumed a Greek name, in accordance with a frequent custom in those times.

7. **and he smote them.** Cp. note on *v.* 3.

8. **he gat possession.** προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι implies a sudden taking possession.

Jazer. A place on the east of Jordan occupied by the Amorites originally (Num. xxi. 32), later by the tribe of Gad (Num. xxxii. 25; Joshua xiii. 25; 1 Chron. vi. 81).

the villages thereof. Lit. the 'daughters thereof', a Hebraism; the 'land of Jazer' was a fertile region with villages dependent upon the city; see Num. xxxii. 1; Isa. xvi. 8; Jer. xlviii. 32.

9. **Gilead.** The reference here is to the 'land of Gilead', i.e. the mountainous district on the east of Jordan between the Yarmuk in the north, and the Arnon in the south; the river Jabbok cuts this region into two parts (cf. Num. xxxii. 29; Joshua xxii. 9; Judges x. 8, xx. 1).

Dathema. This place has not been identified. On the letter contained in *vv.* 10–13 see *Intr.* § 7. 1 (*a*).

13. **Tubias.** Cp. 2 Macc. xii. 17; 'the land of Tob' (Judges xi. 3, 5; 2 Sam. x. 6, 8), twelve miles south-east of the Sea of Galilee.

15. **Ptolemais.** The Accho or Akka of the O.T., cp. Judges i. 31; Joshua xix. 24–31. It is uncertain when this name was changed to Ptolemais; the city had already received it for some time by the end of the third century B.C.

16 consume us.' Now when Judas and[o] the people[p] heard these words, there assembled together
a great gathering to consult what they should do [q]for their brethren who were in tribulation and
17 being attacked by the enemy[rq]. And Judas said unto Simon his brother: 'Choose out men for
thyself, and go and deliver thy[s] brethren in Galilee, while I and Jonathan my brother will go into
18 Gilead.' And he left Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, as leaders of the people, with the
19 rest of the army, in Judaea, to guard it. And [t]he commanded them, saying[t]: 'Take ye the charge of
20 this people, and engage not in battle with the Gentiles until we return.' And three thousand men were
allotted unto Simon to go into Galilee, and eight thousand men[u] unto Judas (to go)[v] into Gilead.
21 And Simon went into Galilee, and engaged in many[w] battles with the Gentiles, and the Gentiles
22 were discomfited before him. And he pursued them unto the gate[x] of Ptolemais; and there fell of
23 the Gentiles[y] about three thousand men, and he took their spoils. And he[z] took [a]those (that were)[a]
in[b] Galilee and Arbatta with (their) wives and children, and brought[c] them[d] into Judaea [e]with great
gladness[e].
24 And Judas Maccabaeus[f] and [g]his brother[g] Jonathan passed over Jordan, and went three days'
25 journey in the wilderness; and they fell in with the Nabataeans, and these met them in a peaceable
26 manner, and recounted to them all things that had befallen their brethren in Gilead; and how that
many of them were shut up in Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Carnaim,—all[h]
27 these cities (being) strong and great; [i]and how that they were shut up in the rest[k] of the cities of
Gilead[i], and that on the morrow (the enemies) had planned[l] to encamp [m]against the stronghold[nm],
28 and to take (it)[o], and to destroy all those[p] (who were in it) in one day. And Judas and his army
turned suddenly [q]by the way of[q] the wilderness unto Bosora[r]; and he took[s] the city, and slew all the
males[t] [u]with the edge of the sword[u], and took all their spoils, and burned[v] it (i.e. the city)[w] with fire.
29, 30 And he[x] removed thence[y] by night, and went on[z] until (he reached) the stronghold. And when it
was morning they lifted up their eyes[a], and behold (there was) a great multitude [b]which could not
be numbered[b], bearing ladders and engines (of war), to take the stronghold[c]; and they were fighting
31 against them (that were in the stronghold). And when Judas saw that the battle had begun, and
32 that the cry of the city[d] went up to[e] heaven, with trumpets and [f]a great sound[f], he[g] said unto the
33 men of his host: 'Fight this day for your[h] brethren.' And he[i] went forth behind them in three
34 companies, and they[k] sounded with trumpets, and cried out in prayer. And the army of Timotheus
perceived that it was Maccabaeus, and they fled from before him; and he[l] smote them with a great[m]

[o] + all 55 64 𝔖g [p] his brethren 𝔖g [q-q] > 71 [r] by them ℵ V &c. by him A [s] > ℵ 93 our 55 64 [t-t] and he said unto them 71 [u] > 71 [v] *this is expressed in* 𝔖luc [w] > V [x] cities A gates 55 > 19 71 93 𝔖luc [y] + in that day 55 [z] Simon Luc [a-a] them A [b] *lit.* from [c] they brought A V [d] all as many as were with them 𝔖g [e-e] > 71 [f] > 71 [g-g] > 71 [h] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) 71 [i-i] > 71 [k] other ℵ > 𝔖g [l] intended to attack (*lit.* to trouble) 64 [m-m] > 93 [n] *plur.* 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏; *but see next note and note* [c] *below* [o] them 19 64 + and the rest of the cities of Gilead 71 [p] > 𝔖luc [q-q] to 55 [r] + a journey (*lit.* a way) of three days 55 [s] fell upon 𝔖luc [t] + thereof 55 [u-u] > 71 [v] they burned ℵ [w] it 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏 [x] Judas 64 93 [y] > 71 [z] they went on ℵ 64 93 [a] + and saw 𝔖luc 𝔏1 [b-b] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [c] *plur.* 19 [d] battle 𝔏1 [e] unto (εως for εις) A 55 (= 𝔖luc) [f-f] > 71 + from the city 𝔏1 [g] Judas 55 64 93 [h] our ℵ c.b A V [i] Judas 64 93 [k] he A [l] they 𝔏1 [m] > 71

Ptolemy Lagi destroyed it in B.C. 312 when it was still called Akka; very possibly the renovated city which subsequently arose took its name from him; but as he only had possession of it for a very short time, it seems more likely that it was named after Ptolemy II, who conquered the whole of Phoenicia, and retained possession of it. For the history of the city during the Maccabaean struggle see 1 Macc. x. 1, 39, 48–66, xii. 45 ff.; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 1, ii. 6, XIII. ii. 3, iv. 1. 6. 9, vi. 2.

all Galilee of the Gentiles. i.e. Upper Galilee with its mixed Gentile population; cp. Isa. viii. 23, ix. 1.

18. **Joseph . . . and Azarias.** See *vv.* 56–62; they are not mentioned otherwise.

23. **Arbatta.** Probably = *Arabah*, i.e. the valley of the Dead Sea (cp. Deut. i. 7; Joshua xi. 16, xii. 8, xviii. 18).

25. **the Nabataeans.** The Ishmaelite tribe of Nebaioth of the O.T. (Gen. xxv. 13), according to Josephus (*Antiq.* I. xii. 4); Petra, their capital, became a great commercial centre in later days. G. A. Smith (*Historical Geography of Palestine*, p. 547) says: 'Their inscriptions are scattered all over eastern Palestine, where they had many settlements, and in Arabia, but have even been discovered in Italy, proving the extent of their trade.'

in a peaceable manner. Cp. ix. 35.

26. **Bosora.** i.e. Bozrah in Moab (cp. Jer. xlviii. 24), not the Bozrah in Edom (Isa. lxiii. 1).

Bosor. i.e. most likely = Bezer 'in the wilderness', in the inheritance of the Reubenites (Deut. iv. 43, Joshua xx. 8, xxi. 36); mentioned also on the Moabite Stone.

Alema, Casphor, Maked. These places are not otherwise mentioned; they cannot be identified further than that they were cities of Gilead, see *v.* 36.

Carnaim. Cp. Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. i. 4; Am. vi. 13; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26.

29. **the stronghold.** i.e. Dathema.

33. **And he went forth . . .** Cp. Judges vii. 16.

cried out in prayer. i.e. a battle-cry which was also a prayer, cp. Judges vii. 18, where the cry is: 'For the Lord and for Gideon,' which was also preceded by the blowing of trumpets. Cp. the battle-cry, 'Allah, Allah!' of the Turks (Grimm), and 'For God and St. George!' of the English.

35 slaughter; and there fell of them [n]on that day[n] about eight thousand men. And he[o] turned aside[p]
to Mizpeh and fought against it, [q]and took it[q], and slew[r] all the males thereof, and took[s] the spoils
36 thereof[t], and burned it with fire. From thence he[u] removed, and took Casphor, Maked, Bosor, and
the other cities [v]of Gilead[v].
37 Now after these things Timotheus gathered another army, and encamped over against Raphon,
38 beyond[w] the brook. And Judas sent (men) to espy the army[x]; and they reported to him, saying[y]:
'All the Gentiles [z]that are round about us[az] are gathered together unto them[b], an exceeding[c] great
39 host; and they have hired Arabians to help them, and are [d]encamping beyond the brook[d], ready to
40 come against thee[e] to battle.' And Judas went to meet them. And Timotheus said unto the
captains of his host, when Judas [f]and his army[f] drew nigh unto the brook of water: 'If he pass over
41 unto us first, [g]we shall not be able to withstand him[h], for[g] [i]he will mightily prevail against us[i]; but
[k]if he be afraid, and[k] encamp beyond the river, we will cross over [l]unto him[l], [m]and prevail against
42 him[mn].' Now when Judas came nigh unto the brook [o]of water[o], he placed the officers[p] of the people
[q]by the brook[q], and [r]commanded them, saying[r]: [s]'Suffer no man to encamp[s], but let all[t] come to
43 the battle.' And he crossed over first against them, and all[u] his[v] people after[w] him; and all[x] the
Gentiles were discomfited before his[y] face, and cast away their[z] arms, and fled unto [a]the temple of[a]
44 Carnaim. And they[b] took the city[c], and burned the temple[d] with fire, together with all [e]that were[e]
therein. [f]And Carnaim was subdued[f]; neither could they[g] stand any longer before the face of
Judas.
45 And Judas gathered together all Israel, them that were in Gilead, [h]from the least unto the
greatest[h], and their [i]wives, and their[i] children, and their belongings, an exceeding great army, that
46 they might come into the land of Judah. And they came as far as Ephron; and this was a large
city at[k] (the entrance of) the pass, exceeding strong; it was not (possible) to turn aside [l]from it[l]
47 either to the right or the left, but (one had) to go through the midst of it. And they of the city shut
48 them out, and stopped up the gates with stones. And Judas sent [m]unto them[m] with words of peace,
saying: 'We[n] would pass through[o] thy[p] land to go into our own land; and none shall harm you,
49 we will only pass by on our feet.' But they would not open unto him[q]. And Judas [r]commanded
proclamation to be made[r] in the army, that each man should encamp in the place where he was.
50 [s]And the men of the host[t] encamped[s]; and they[u] fought against the city all that day and all that

[n–n] > 71 [o] Judas Luc [p] enclosed 𝔏[1] [q–q] > 𝔖[luc] [r] they slew 𝔖[luc] [s] they took 𝔖[luc] [t] > 𝔖[luc] [u] Judas Luc [v–v] > 𝔖[g] [w] in front of ℵ at 𝔏[1] [x] the land 𝔖[g] [y] > 71 [z–z] > 71 [a] you A [b] him ℵ 𝔏 𝔖[g] [c] > 71 [d–d] > 71 [e] us 𝔏[1] [f–f] > 71 𝔖[g] [g–g] > 71 [h] before the face of him 55 𝔖[luc] [i–i] > 𝔏[1] [k–k] > 71 [l–l] > 71 unto them 𝔖[g] [m–m] > A [n] them 𝔖[g] 𝔏[2] [o–o] > 71 [p] *lit.* scribes [q–q] > 71 [r–r] said 71 [s–s] leave no man behind 𝔏[1] [t] > 71 [u] > 71 [v] > ℵ V [w] before A [x] > ℵ 19 93 𝔖[luc] [y] their ℵ 𝔏[1] [z] all their A [a–a] > 𝔏[1] [b] + that were round about Judas Luc he 𝔖[g] 𝔏[2] [c] + of Carnaim 55 [d] the place 𝔏[1] [e–e] > ℵ V Luc [f–f] > 𝔏[1] [g] he A 93 [h–h] > 71 [i–i] > 71 [k] ℵ V (επι *instead of* η) [l–l] > 64 93 [m–m] > 𝔖[g] [n] I A 19 64 [o] into A [p] your 𝔖[luc] 𝔏[2] [q] them ℵ* (him ℵ[1]) 𝔖[luc] 𝔏 [r–r] proclaimed 71 [s–s] > 71 [t] city A [u] he ℵ

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35. **Mizpeh** in Gilead; cp. Judges xi. 29.
36. **Casphor . . .** See notes on *v.* 26.
37. **Raphon.** According to Pliny (quoted by Grimm) this was one of the cities of 'Decapolis'; Josephus (*Antiq* XII. viii. 4) speaks of it as a 'city'.

the brook. χειμάρρους = נחל, 'a torrent' of water in a narrow channel; cp. Judges v. 21, &c.

39. **Arabians.** Cp. 2 Macc. xii. 10.
40. **For he will mightily prevail against us.** Grimm aptly refers to 2 Chron. xxxii. 13 (Sept.) = יָכֹל יוּכַל לָנוּ.
42. **officers.** τοὺς γραμματεῖς = שֹׁטְרִים. Cp. Deut. xx. 5 ff. (Kautzsch).
43. **and he crossed over first.** That no attempt was made by Timotheus to oppose the Jews during this crossing shows extraordinary ineptitude; bad leadership on the part of the enemy must evidently have had much to do with many of their defeats during the Maccabaean struggle.

the temple. τέμενος is the entire piece of consecrated ground in which a temple stands; regarding this temple of Carnaim cp. 2 Macc. xii. 26.

45. **from the least unto the greatest.** A characteristic O.T. expression, מקטן ועד־גדול.
46. **Ephron.** According to Kautzsch, identical with the Γεφροῦς or Γεφροῦν, mentioned by Polybius V. lxx. 12, as having been conquered by Antiochus the Great. From *vv.* 43, 52 (cp. 2 Macc. xii. 27 f.) it must have lain in the stretch of land between Ashtaroth and the Jordan, opposite Scythopolis or Beth-Shan (Grimm). The situation of the city explains why it was not possible 'to turn aside from it either to the right or the left', i.e. the land was precipitous on either side.
48. **we would pass through . . .** Cp. the similar request preferred by Moses to the king of Edom (Num. xx. 17) and to the king of the Amorites (Num. xxi. 22).

we will only pass by on our feet. Cp. the Hebrew phrase ברגלי אעברה 'let me pass through with my feet' (Num. xx. 19), the idea being that of rapidly passing through; cp. Ps. ciii. 16.

49. **each man should encamp . . .** In view of what is said in the next *v.*, that they fought 'all that day', it can only be a temporary halt that is here referred to, not an encampment proper.

51 night; and [v]the city[v] was delivered into his[w] hands; and he[x] destroyed all the males[y] with the edge
of the sword, and rased[z] the city, and took[a] the spoils thereof[b], and passed[c] through the city over
52 them that were slain. And they[d] went over Jordan into the great plain over against Bethshan.
53 [e]And Judas gathered together those that lagged behind, and encouraged the people all the way
54 through until[e] he came into the land of Judah. And they went up to mount Sion with gladness
and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings, because not so much as one of them was slain [f]until they
returned in peace[f].

55 And in the days when Judas and Jonathan[g] were in the land[h] of Gilead, and Simon [i]his brother[i]
56 in Galilee [k]before Ptolemais[k], Joseph[l] the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, leaders[m] of the armies[n] (in
57 Judaea), heard of their exploits and of the war,—[o]what things they had done[o]; and they said: 'Let
us[p] also make a name for ourselves, and [q]let us go[q] fight[r] against the Gentiles that are round about
58 us.' [s]And they gave charge unto the (men) of the host[t] that was with them[s], and went toward
59, 60 Jamnia. And Gorgias and his men came out of the city [u]to meet them[u] in battle. And Joseph and
Azarias were put to flight, [v]and were pursued[v] unto the borders of Judaea[w]; and there fell on that
61 day [x]of the people[x] of Israel about two thousand men. And there was a great overthrow [y]among
62 the people[y], because they hearkened not unto Judas [z]and his brethren, thinking to do some exploit[a z].
63 But they were not of the seed of those men, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel. [b]But
[c]the man[c] Judas and his brethren were glorified exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and of all[d] the
64 Gentiles, wheresoever[e] their name was heard of[b]; [f]and[g] (men) gathered unto them, acclaiming
(them)[h f].

65 And Judas and his brethren went forth, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward
the south; and he smote Hebron and the villages[i] thereof[k], and pulled down the strongholds[l] thereof[m],
66 and burned the towers thereof round about. [n]And he[o] removed[n] to go into the land of the Philis-
67 tines[p], and he went through Marisa[q]. In that day (certain) priests fell in battle, desiring[r] themselves[s]
68 to do exploits, in that they[t] went out to the war unadvisedly. And Judas turned aside to Azotus, to
the land of the Philistines, and pulled[u] down their altars, and burned the carved images of their gods[v],
and took the spoil of their cities, and returned into [w]the land of[w] Judah.

[v–v] it 71 [w] their V 55 [x] they 55 93 [y] + thereof Luc 55 [z] they rased 19 𝔖luc [a] they took 19 𝔖luc [b] of the city A [c] they passed 19 𝔖luc [d] he 𝔖g [e–e] > 71 [f–f] > 71 [g] + his brother 19 93 𝔖luc [h] > A [i–i] > 71 [k–k] > 71 [l] Josephus Luc [m] *lit.* rulers [n] army ℵ V [o–o] which Judas had waged (*lit.* done) Luc > 𝔖luc [p] + we 55 [q–q] > 71 [r] > V let us fight 71 [s–s] > 71 [t] > 𝔏[1] [u–u] and they stood before him V [v–v] > 𝔏[1] [w] Idumaea 19 (*but wrongly spelt*) 𝔖luc [x–x] > V [y–y] > 71 in Israel ℵ[c.a] among them 93 [z–z] > 71 [a] + him (*sic*) A + they also Luc [b–b] > 71 [c–c] > 𝔖luc [d] > 𝔖g [e] and wheresoever 𝔖g [f–f] > 71 [g] > 𝔖g *making one sentence with the foregoing* [h] 64 him 93 [i] *lit.* daughters [k] > 71 [l] *sing.* A [m] > 71 [n–n] And Judas removed from thence Luc [o] they 𝔖g [p] *lit.* strangers [q] 𝔏[2] Samaria 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏[1] (*see note below*) [r] *reading* βουλευομενοι *with* ℵ* [s] *reading* αυτοι *with* 55 [t] *reading* αυτους *with* T.R. [u] *this and the following verbs in the plur.* 𝔖luc [v] + in fire ℵ T.R. [w–w] > A

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50. **the city was delivered.** For the expression cp. Gen. xiv. 20; Deut. iii. 3; Judges xi. 21; the idea was that the Lord of hosts (i.e. of the Israelite hosts) brought this about; cp. 2 Macc. xii. 36.

52. **the great plain.** i.e. the plain of Esdraelon, between the Jordan and mount Gilboa; Kautzsch suggests that it was called the 'great' plain because it was here much broader than the continuation of it east of Jordan.

Bethshan. Beth-Shean; called Scythopolis in Judges i. 27 (Sept.); 2 Macc. xii. 29; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 5, XIII. vi. 1; *Bell. Iud.* III. ix. 7; one of the cities of the Decapolis, the only one of the ten lying on the west of Jordan; the modern *Beisan.*

56. **Joseph . . . and Azarias.** Cp. *v.* 18.

58. **Jamnia.** See note on iv. 15.

59. **Gorgias.** Cp. iii. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 9, 'a captain and one that had experience in matters of war.'

61. **because they hearkened not . . .** i.e. to the command given to them by Judas in *v.* 19. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. viii. 6) says concerning this: 'For besides the rest of Judas' sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befel the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them.'

62. **But they were not of the seed . . .** i.e. not Hasmonaeans; the writer apparently resents the idea that any not belonging to the Hasmonaeans should take part in the national deliverance; cp. note on iii. 28.

63. **the man Judas.** Cp. Exod. xi. 3, xxxii. 1; Num. xii. 3.

65. **Hebron.** The ancient Kirjath-Arba (Judges i. 10).

the villages thereof. Cp. note on *v.* 8.

the strongholds. Cod. A reads 'stronghold', i.e. the citadel.

66. **Marisa.** i.e. Mareshah in the plain of Judaea. The reading of all authorities, excepting 𝔏[2] and Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 6), viz. 'Samaria' cannot be right, for to go from Hebron to Philistia via Samaria without very special reasons is unthinkable; no reasons are given, but they certainly would have been given by the intelligent and careful author of this book if this enormous *détour* had been undertaken.

67. **In that day . . .** This episode is not mentioned by Josephus; but in 2 Macc. xii. 38–40, where, however, no mention of priests is made, these men are said to have fallen because under their garments were found 'consecrated tokens of the idols of Jamnia'.

68. **Azotus.** See note on iv. 15.

pulled down their altars . . . Cp. x. 84.

VI. 1–17. *Death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and accession of his son, Antiochus Eupator.*

6 1 And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries; and he heard that Elymais[a], in
2 Persia, was[b] a city [c]renowned for riches, for silver and gold[c], and that the temple which was in it
(was) rich exceedingly, and that therein (were) golden shields, and breastplates, and arms, which
Alexander, son of Philip[d], the Macedonian[e] king, who reigned first among [f]the Greeks[f], had left
3 behind there. So he came and sought to take the city, [g]and to pillage it[g]; but he was not able (to
4 do so) because the thing had become known to them of the city. And they rose up[h] against him to
battle[i]; and he fled, and removed[k] thence with great heaviness, to return to Babylon.
5 And [l]there came one bringing him tidings[l] into Persia[m] that [n]the armies, which went against
6 [o]the land of[o] Judah[n], had been put to flight; and that Lysias had gone forth at the head of a strong
army, and had been put to shame before them; [p]and that they had waxed strong by reason of
arms [q]and power, and with store of spoils[q], which they took from the [r]armies that they had cut off[rps];
7 and that they had pulled down [t]the abomination which he had built[u] upon the altar that was in
Jerusalem[t]; and that they had compassed about the sanctuary[v] with high walls, [w]as (had been the
8 case) formerly[w], and Bethsura, [x]his city[x]. And it came to pass, when the king heard these words,
he was struck with amazement and greatly moved; and he laid him down upon (his) bed, and fell
9 sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he had looked for. And he was there many days,
10 because great[y] grief was renewed upon him; and he[z] reckoned that he was about to die. And he
called for all his Friends, and said unto them: 'Sleep departeth from mine eyes, and (my)[a] heart
11 faileth [b]for care[b]. [c]And I said in (my) heart[c], Unto what tribulation am I come, and how great
12 a flood is it wherein I now am! For I was gracious and beloved in my power. But now I remem-
ber the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and that I took all[d] the vessels [e]of silver and gold that were
13 therein, and sent forth (armies) to destroy the[f] inhabitants[e] of Judah without a cause. I perceive
that on this account these evils are come upon me, and, behold, I perish [g]through great grief[g] in
14 a strange land.' And he[h] called for Philip, [i]one of his Friends[ki], and set him over all his kingdom,
15 and gave him (his) diadem, and his robe, and (his) signet-ring, [l]to the end that he should educate[l]

VI. [a] ενλυμαις ℵ V (εν ελυμαις 55) ελυμες A [b] had ℵ [c–c] glorious, and full of riches, possessing gold and silver 𝔏[2] [d] > 71 [e] > 71 [f–f] them ℵ [g–g] > 𝔖g [h] withstood 𝔏[1] [i] > 93 [k] > 𝔏[1] [l–l] there came (men) bringing tidings to him 𝔖luc [m] + to Antiochus 19 93 𝔖luc [n–n] the encampments in the land of Judah 𝔏[1] [o–o] > ℵ [p–p] > 71 [q–q] > A [r–r] the encampments 𝔏[1] [s] smitten Luc [t–t] the execrable thing, the monstrous thing which they had built in Jerusalem 𝔏[1] [u] had been built 19 93 𝔖luc [v] > 71 the altar and the sanctuary 𝔖g [w–w] > 71 [x–x] > ℵ their city 19 93 𝔖luc [y] > 𝔖luc [z] Antiochus 64 93 [a] 19 93 𝔖luc [b–b] > 71 [c–c] > 71 [d] > 55 71 𝔖luc [e–e] > 71 [f] all the 55 [g–g] > 71 [h] Antiochus 64 93 [i–i] his friend 𝔏[2] [k] servants V [l–l] to bring them to Luc 𝔖

VI. 1. **Elymais.** See critical note. Most commentators take Elymais as the name of a province (Elam of the O.T. lying between Media and the Persian Gulf), and retain the ἐν, because a city of this name is unknown; but the preposition does not belong to the original text, and the whole context necessitates our regarding Elymais as a city, and not as a province. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 1) speaks of 'a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais', and says that Antiochus 'went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it'. Elymais is mentioned in Tobit ii. 10, where, however, it is thought of as a province; but it is possible, and even probable, that the text in this passage is based on a misunderstanding of an original Semitic form (see Dillon in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1898, referred to in *EB* col. 1284). See next note.

2. **the temple which was in it.** Cp. 2 Macc. i. 12–17, where this episode is clearly referred to; here this temple is spoken of as that of Nanaea, one of the primeval Babylonian deities, = Innanaea, called in later times Nana, and identified with Ishtar; she is spoken of as the 'goddess of the world', and also as the 'goddess of war' (see further Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i. 76 f.). The chief centre of the cult of this goddess was the city of Erech, and continued so to the very end of the Assyrian Empire. There is, therefore, the possibility that in the name Elymais there lurks a corruption of some form of the name of Erech in the original Hebrew text.

had left behind there. i. e. as votive offerings.

5. **the armies . . . had been put to flight.** i. e. those of Seron (iii. 23), Nicanor (iv. 14), and Gorgias (iv. 22).

7. **the abomination . . .** Cp. i. 54.

10. **Sleep . . .** Cp. Gen. xxxi. 40 (Sept.). With this and the following *vv.* cp. 2 Macc. ix. 12–17; in Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 1) this speech is merely summarized.

13. **these evils are come upon me.** According to Polybius (xxxi. 11), who is, however, only repeating a tradition (ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν), 'these evils' constituted a species of madness, for he died δαιμονήσας . . . διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς ἐπισημασίας τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν παρανομίαν. The author of 1 Macc. is evidently preserving some tradition based on fact, though he assigns the cause of Antiochus' disorder to his desecration of the temple at Jerusalem, while Polybius traces it to strange apparitions seen during his attempt to rob the temple in Elymais. Cp. the argument in Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 1) who certainly does *not* take the will for the deed!

in a strange land. This is a natural addition by a Jew who wishes to represent things as bad as possible for the arch-enemy of his race, cp. for the conception Amos vii. 17. Antiochus the Great was killed while plundering the temple at Elymais.

14. **Philip.** Cp. 2 Macc. v. 22, vi. 11, viii. 8, ix. 29, see also 1 Macc. i. 6.

15. **signet-ring.** Cp. Gen. xli. 42; Esther iii. 10, viii. 2.

that he should educate . . . This duty had been assigned to Lysias (iii. 32–4); the reason for the change is

16 Antiochus his son, [m]and bring him up to be king[m]. And king[n] Antiochus died there [o]in the one
17 hundred and forty-ninth year[o]. And when Lysias knew that the king was dead, he set up Antiochus his (i.e. the king's) son to reign[p], whom he had nourished up while yet young, and he called his name Eupator.

VI. 18–54. *The struggle between Judas and the forces under Lysias and Eupator for the possession of Jerusalem and Bethsura.*

18 And they that were in the citadel kept enclosing Israel round about the sanctuary, and continually
19 sought their hurt, [q]and (acted as) a support to the Gentiles[q]. And Judas[r] purposed to destroy
20 them, and called all[s] the people together to besiege them. [t]And they were gathered together, and besieged them[t] in [u]the one hundred and fiftieth year[u]; and he[v] constructed siege-towers[w] against
21 them, and engines (of war). And there came forth some [x]of them[x] that were shut up, and unto
22 them were joined certain ungodly men of Israel[y]. And they went unto the king and said: 'How
23 long wilt thou not execute judgement, and (when wilt thou) avenge our brethren? We were willing
24 to serve thy father, and to walk after his words, [a]and to follow his commandments[a]. [bc]For this cause[c] the children of our people [d]besieged it (i.e. the citadel)[e][b], and were alienated from us, and[f] [g]as
25 many of us as they could light on[g] they killed[h], [i]and they spoiled[k] our inheritances[i]. And not
26 against us only did they stretch out their hand, but also against all their[l] borderlands. And, behold, they are encamped this day against the citadel in Jerusalem with the object of capturing it, and
27 they have fortified the sanctuary[m] and Bethsura. And if thou art not[n] beforehand with them quickly they will do greater things than these, and thou wilt not[o] be able to control them.'

28 And the king was angry when he heard (this); and[p] he gathered together all his Friends, (who
29 were) the leaders of his host, and them that were over the horse[q]. And there came unto him[r] from
30 other kingdoms[s], and from [t]the isles of the sea[t], bands of mercenaries. And the number of his forces was a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants trained
31 for war. And they went through Idumaea, and encamped against Bethsura, and fought against (it) many days, and made engines (of war); but [u]they (that were besieged)[u] came out and burned them
32 with fire, and fought manfully. And Judas removed from the citadel, and encamped at Beth-
33 zacharias, over against the king's camp. And the king rose early in the morning, and removed the army in its eagerness [v]along the road to Beth-zacharias[v]; and his forces prepared themselves[w] for
34 the battle, and sounded with trumpets. And they showed the elephants the blood of grapes and
35 mulberries, that they might prepare them for the battle. And they divided the beasts among the phalanxes[x], and they set by each elephant a thousand men armed with coats of mail, and helmets

[m–m] that he should reign Luc [n] > Sg [o–o] > 71 [p] + in his stead A V 19 64 Sg [q–q] > 71 Sg [r] > Sg [s] > 71 [t–t] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) A 71 [u–u] 71 [v] they 𝔏 S [w] turrets to fight (from) S [x–x] thereof A [y] Jerusalem ℵ [z] + to the king 𝔏¹ [a–a] > 71 [b–b] > 71 [c–c] and ℵ V [d–d] A 55 [e] T.R. Sluc [f] but A V [g–g] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [h] *pass. in* G 𝔏 Sluc *act. in* Sg [i–i] > 71 [k] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [l] thy 𝔏¹ [m] > V the fortress 𝔏¹ with high walls 55 [n] ye be not ℵ V 55 64 Sluc [o] ye will not Sluc [p] + he sent and 55 [q] tribute 55 chariots S 𝔏 [r] them Sg 𝔏² [s] kings A V [t–t] many isles Sluc [u–u] the children of Israel 55 [v–v] > 71 [w] + in order that they might be ready 55 [x] defiles A 71

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not given; cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 2), who adds: 'But it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, of whom at present he had the care, and called him Eupator.' The appointment of Philip was fraught with evil consequences, see *vv.* 55–63.

16. **one hundred and forty-ninth year.** 163 B.C.

17. **while yet young.** Appian (*Syr.* xlvi) says he was: *ἐνναετὲς παιδίον.*

and he called his name. A very frequent O.T. phrase ויקרא את־שמו.

Eupator. Appian (*ibid.*) says: *προσέθηκαν ὄνομα Εὐπάτωρ οἱ Σύροι διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετήν.*

18. **kept enclosing . . .** This is explained by Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 3): 'For the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out suddenly, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices; for this citadel adjoined to, and overlooked the temple.'

20. **the one hundred and fiftieth year.** 162 B.C.

21. **ungodly men of Israel.** Cp. i. 11.

26. **they have fortified . . .** Cp. iv. 60, 61.

30. **a hundred thousand footmen . . .** These numbers, which are also given by Josephus, are probably exaggerated; in 2 Macc. xiii. 2, the number of horsemen given is still larger, but the other forces are smaller, though there are added, 'three hundred chariots armed with scythes.'

32. **Beth-zacharias.** A place between Jerusalem and Beth-zur, an hour's walk to the south of Bethlehem; the present Beth-zacharieh.

34. **they showed the elephants . . .** Grimm refers to Aelian, *De Animal.* xiii. 8 in support of the fact that spirituous liquors were given to elephants in order to excite them. In the present case the liquor was only shown to them, for had they drunk of it they would have got out of control. Josephus omits all reference to this. In 3 Macc. v. 1, 2 there is an account of the intention to give unmixed wine to elephants, and, when thoroughly maddened, to drive them into an enclosure full of Jews, in order that the latter might be trampled upon.

36 of brass [y]on their heads[y]; and for each beast were appointed five hundred chosen horsemen. These
had previously been (with the beasts) [z]wherever a beast was[z]; [a]and whithersoever it went, [b]they
37 went together with (it)[b]; they did not leave it[a]. And towers of wood (were) upon them, strong
38 (and) covered, (one) upon each beast, girt fast [cd]upon them with[d] (special) contrivances[c]; and upon
each were †thirty-[e]two† men[e], fighting [f]from them[f], [g]and (each beast had) its Indian[g]. [h]And the
residue of the horsemen he placed on this side and that side, on either wing of the army, [i](thus)
39 striking terror (into the enemy, while) covering the phalanxes[ih]. Now when the sun shone upon the
40 shields of gold [k]and brass[k], the mountains shone therewith, and blazed like torches [l]of fire. And
a part[l] of the king's[m] army [l]was spread[l] upon the high[n] mountains, and some on the [o]low ground[o],
41 and they went on [p]safely[q] and in order[p]. And all that[r] heard the noise of their multitude, [s]and of
the marching of the multitude, and the rattling of the arms[s], did quake; for the army was exceeding[t]
42 [u]great and[u] strong. And Judas and his army drew near for battle, and there fell of the king's army
six hundred men.

43 And Eleazar Avaran saw one of the beasts armed with royal breastplates, and he was higher than
44 all the (other) beasts, so that it appeared as though the king were upon it; and he gave himself to
45 deliver his people and to acquire an everlasting name; and he ran upon it courageously into the
midst of the phalanx[v], and slew on the right hand and on the left, and they parted asunder [w]from
46 him[w] on this side and on that; and he crept under the elephant, [x]and[y] thrust him from beneath[x],
47 and slew it; and it fell to the earth upon him, and he died there. And when they[z] saw the strength
of the royal[a] (army), and the fierce onslaught[b] of the hosts, they[c] turned away from them.

48 [d]But they[d] of the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king encamped toward
49 Judaea, and toward mount Sion. And he made peace[e] with them of Bethsura; for[f] they[g] came out
of the city, because they had no food there[h] to be shut up therein (any longer), [i]because it was
50 a sabbath to the land[i]. And the king took Bethsura, and appointed[k] a garrison there to keep it.
51 And he encamped against the sanctuary many days, and set there siege-towers[l], and engines (of war),
52 and instruments for casting fire [m]and stones[m], and pieces to cast darts and slings. And they (who
53 were besieged) also made engines against their engines, and fought for many[n] days. But there were
no victuals in the store-chambers[o] [p]because it was the seventh year[p], and they that had fled for
54 safety [q]to Judaea[q] from the Gentiles had eaten up the residue of the store; and there were (but)
a few men left in the sanctuary, because the famine prevailed against them, and they were scattered,
each man to his own place.

VI. 55–63. *An abortive treaty of peace.*

55 And Lysias heard that Philip, whom Antiochus the king[r]—while he was yet alive—appointed to
56 nourish up his son Antiochus[s] that he might be king, had returned from Persia [t]and Media[t], and

[y-y] > Sg [z-z] > Sluc *which joins the preceding sentence to this verse* [a-a] > 71 [b-b] > 𝔏[1] [c-c] > 71
[d-d] under it ℵ > Sg [e-e] men of strength ℵ V > two 19 55 64 [f-f] against them [*i. e. the foes*] A [g-g] > 71
[h-h] > 71 [i-i] striking with weapons Sg moving together in close order in legions 𝔏[2] [k-k] > A 55 71 [l-l] > ℵ*
(*hab* ℵ c.a) [m] > Sluc [n] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [o-o] low mountains Sluc [p-p] cautiously 𝔏[1] [q] with confidence S
[r] + inhabited the earth 𝔏[2] [s-s] > 71 [t] > V [u-u] > Sg [v] defile A 71 [w-w] > 64 [x-x] > 𝔏[1] [y] + the
sword 19 64 [z] Judas Luc [a] *lit.* of the kingdom [b] *plur.* A [c] Judas Luc [d-d] and some A Sluc [e] > A
[f] *lit.* and [g] he; *but the sense of the passage shows that this is wrong* [h] > 93 Sluc [i-i] > 𝔏[1] [k] smote A
[l] turrets to fight (from) S [m-m] > V 71 [n] > ℵ V [o] T.R. V sanctuary ℵ A &c. [p-p] > 71 [q-q] > Sluc
[r] > Sluc [s] > Sluc [t-t] > 71

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37. **thirty-two.** This is, of course, an impossible number; Grimm, following Michaelis, suggests in the original the reading שלש שנים ('two (or) three') which, through a copyist's error, became שלישים ושנים ('thirty-two'); Fairweather and Black offer the ingenious suggestion that 'possibly the original text may have read שָׁלִשִׁים ("picked warriors"), the term used in Exod. xiv. 7, xv. 4 of the picked men in Pharaoh's chariots, which the translator mistook for שְׁלֹשִׁים ("thirty")'; some Greek MSS. read 'thirty', and ℵ V read 'thirty men of strength'. The usual number of warriors on an elephant was three or four.

its Indian. This name came to be applied to the driver whether an Indian or not.

39. **the shields of gold . . .** This is merely a rhetorical picture.

43. **Eleazar Avaran.** Cp. ii. 5.

45. **they parted asunder from him.** i. e. they could not withstand his onslaught.

47. **they turned away from them.** An instance of the general trustworthiness of the writer, who does not conceal the fact of defeat; that he does not enlarge upon it is very excusable; cp. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* I. i. 5. In 2 Macc. xiii. 22, 23 the Jewish defeat is represented as a victory.

49. **it was a sabbath to the land.** i. e. a Sabbatical year, cp. Exod. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 2–7; cp. *v.* 53.

51. **pieces.** *Lit.* 'little scorpions,' so called because part of the 'piece', or instrument, resembled the uplifted tail of a scorpion. The Hebrew word עקרבים occurs in 1 Kings xii. 11, 14; 2 Chron. x. 11, 14.

53. **they that had fled for safety . . .** i. e. those from Gilead and Galilee, see v. 23, 45.

55. **Philip.** Cp. *v.* 14.

with him the forces that went with[u] the king, and that he was seeking to take unto him the govern-
57 ment[v]. And he[w] made haste, and gave consent to depart; and he[x] said [y]to the king and[y] to the
leaders of the host and to the[z] men: '[a]We languish daily[a], and our food is scant, and the place which
58 we are besieging is strong[b], and the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us; now therefore let us give the
59 right hand to these men, and make peace [c]with them[c], [d]and with all their nation[d]; and let us settle
with them that they (be permitted) to walk after their own laws, as aforetime; for because of their
60 laws which we abolished were they angered, and did all these things.' And the saying pleased the
61 king and the leaders, and he sent unto them to make peace[e]; and they[f] accepted thereof. And the
king [g]and the leaders[g] sware unto them in accordance with these (conditions); (thereupon) they[h]
62 came forth from the stronghold, and the king entered into mount Sion. But (when) he saw the
strength of the place, he set at nought the oath [i]which he had sworn, and gave commandment[i] to
63 pull down[k] the wall round about. And he[l] removed in haste, and returned unto Antioch, and found
Philip master of the city; and he fought against him, and took the city [m]by force[m].

VII. 1–20. *Demetrius becomes king of Syria; Bacchides and Alchimus sent against the Jews.*

7 1 In the one hundred and fifty-first[a] year Demetrius the son of Seleucus came forth from Rome, and
2 went up with a few men [b]unto a city[c] by the sea[b], and reigned there. And [d]it came to pass[d], when
he had formed the purpose of entering into the house of the kingdom of his fathers, that the soldiery[e]
3 laid hands on Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him. [f]And when the thing was made known
4 to him[g], he[f] said: 'Show me not their faces.' And the soldiery slew them. And Demetrius sat
5 upon the throne of his kingdom. And there came unto him all the lawless and ungodly men of
6 Israel; and Alcimus[h] led them, desiring to be (high)[i] priest. And they accused the people unto the
king, saying: 'Judas and his brethren have destroyed all thy Friends, and have scattered us from
7 our[k] land[l]. Now therefore send a man whom thou trustest, and let him go and see [m]all the havock
which he hath made of us and of the king's country[m], and [n]let him punish[n] them and all that[o] helped

[u] > A 55 𝔏[1] [v] regni negotia 𝔏[2] the affairs of the kingdom 𝔖[luc] [w] they A [x] Lysias Luc [y-y] > 𝔏[2] [z] + great 64 93 [a-a] it is all up here 𝔖[luc] [b] is firm and strongly fortified 𝔖[luc] [c-c] > ℵ [d-d] > 71 [e] + with them Luc [f] he A [g-g] > 71 [h] he A [i-i] > 71 [k] and they (he 64 71) pulled down A Luc [l] they A [m-m] > 𝔖[g] 𝔏

VII. [a] fiftieth 𝔖[g] [b-b] to abide in a city 𝔏[1] [c] *plur.* 𝔖[luc] [d-d] > 71 [e] the captains of the forces 𝔖 [f-f] and when they had been brought, Demetrius 𝔏[1] [g] > V [h] + their leader ℵ [i] 𝔖 [k] their 𝔖[g] [l] + and from our people 55 [m-m] these things 71 [n-n] 55; ℵ A V &c. he hath punished [o] those that 71

59. **to walk after their laws.** To achieve this was the one object, originally at any rate, of the Maccabaean struggle.

63. **returned unto Antioch.** See the further details given by Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 7); cp. also 2 Macc. xiii. 4–7.

VII. 1. **the one hundred and fifty-first year.** 162–161 B.C.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus. The first of the name, called also Soter, on account of his having delivered the Babylonians from the satrap Heraclides; he reigned 162–150 B.C. His father was Seleucus IV, surnamed Philopator.

came forth from Rome. i.e. he escaped from Rome, mainly through the help of Polybius the historian, where he was as a boy sent as a hostage in place of Antiochus Epiphanes, his uncle. He escaped to Tripolis, the 'city by the sea' (cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 1; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. x. 1).

a few men. According to Polybius, five men and three boys; in 2 Macc. xiv. 1 he is said to have arrived in Tripolis 'with a mighty host and a fleet'.

and reigned there. Rather, proclaimed himself king there, cp. x. 1, xi. 54; Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 1) says: 'and set the diadem on his own head.' Polybius (xxxi. 20. 4 f.) says that while Demetrius was yet in Rome his guardian Diodorus brought him the news from Syria that distrust had arisen between Lysias and the Syrians, in consequence of which there was much turmoil in the land of his fathers. It was owing to the advice of Diodorus, who assured him that he would be welcomed in Syria, that he determined to escape. The event proved that he was well advised.

2. **the house of the kingdom.** i.e. Antioch, the royal city, cp. Dan. iv. (27) 29.

the soldiery. The Syriac rendering is probably more strictly correct, 'the captains of the forces.'

3. **And when the thing was made known to him.** See critical note.

Show me not their faces. A hint that they should be put away; Josephus says they were 'immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius'.

4. **the throne of his kingdom.** He was the rightful heir.

5. **the lawless and ungodly men.** i.e. those who did not obey the Law (Torah), the Hellenizing element.

Alcimus. According to Josephus Ἰάκειμος, a graecized form of יָקִים abbreviated from אֶלְיָקִים (= Eliakim), cp. 2 Kings xviii. 18, &c., another form of the name is Jehoiakim.

desiring to be (high-) priest. According to 2 Macc. xiv. 7 he had already been high-priest, but had 'laid aside' his 'ancestral glory,' meaning the high-priesthood. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 1) speaks of him as 'high-priest', and makes no mention of his now desiring to be so; and, again, in XX. x. 1 he says: 'Antiochus (Eupator) and Lysias, the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high-priesthood, and slew him at Beraea, and put Jacimus into the place of the high-priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of this house' (i.e. of Onias). The words before us are, therefore, not strictly correct, and must be understood in the sense of desiring to be confirmed in the office by the new king, cp. *v.* 9.

8 them.' And the king chose Bacchides, (one) of the king's friends[p], who was ruler in the country
9 beyond the river, [q]and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king. And he sent him[q],
and the ungodly Alcimus, and made[r] sure to him the (high-) priesthood[s]; and he commanded him
to take vengeance upon the children of Israel.
10 And they[t] removed, [u]and came[u] with a great host into [v]the land of Judah[wv]; and he[x] sent
11 messengers to Judas and his brethren with words of peace, deceitfully. But they gave no[y] heed to
12 their words; for they saw that they were come[z] with a great host. And there was gathered together
13 unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes, to seek for justice. And the Chassidim were the
14 first among [a]the children of[a] Israel that sought peace of them; for they said: 'One that is a priest
15 of the seed of Aaron is come [b]with the forces, and he[c] will do us no wrong[b]. And he spake with
them words of peace, and sware unto them, saying: 'We will seek the hurt neither of you nor of your
16 friends.' And they believed him; and he laid hands on threescore men of them, and slew them in
one day, according to the [d]words which (the psalmist)[e] wrote[d]:

17 The flesh of thy saints and their blood
They poured out around Jerusalem;
And there was no man to bury them.

18 And the fear [f]and the dread[f] of them fell upon all the people, for they said: 'There is neither truth
19 nor judgement in them; for they have broken[g] the covenant and the oath which they sware.' And
Bacchides removed from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bezeth; and he sent[h] and took many[i] of the
deserters that were with[k] him, and certain of the people, and slew them, (and cast them) into the
20 great pit. And he delivered the land to Alcimus, and left with him a force to aid him; and
Bacchides went away unto the king.

VII. 21–50. *Judas takes vengeance on the deserters; his victories over Nicanor.*

21, 22 And Alcimus strove for the high-priesthood[l]. And there were gathered unto him all they that
troubled their people, and they got the mastery of the land of Judah, and did[m] great hurt in Israel.
23 And Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had wrought among the children of
24 Israel, worse than (that of) the Gentiles; and he went out into all the coasts of Judaea[n] round about,
and took vengeance on [o]the men[p] that had deserted from him[o], and they were restrained from going
25 forth into the[q] country. But when Alcimus saw[r] that Judas and his company waxed strong, and

[p] the king's Friend V [q–q] > 71 [r] they made A V [s] high priesthood V [t] he A [u–u] > 71 [v–v] Judaea V Judah 64 93 [w] > 𝔏[1] [x] they 𝔖[luc] [y] > Luc [z] + against them Luc 𝔖[luc] [a–a] > 𝔖[g] [b–b] to us 𝔏[1] [c] they 𝔖[luc] [d–d] word which the prophet spoke 𝔖 word of Asaph the prophet 55 𝔏[1] [e] the prophet א [c-a] Luc 𝔖 Asaph the prophet 55 [f–f] > 𝔖[luc] 𝔏[2] [g] + the judgement and 19 93 𝔖[luc] [h] > 𝔖[g] [i] > 𝔖[luc] [k] from Luc [l] priesthood א 55 > 93 [m] he did 𝔖[luc] [n] + and A [o–o] the children of the deserters 𝔏[1] [p] + and (on those) A [q] their 𝔖[g] [r] heard 𝔏[2]

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8. **Bacchides.** Cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 2), who speaks of him as 'a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man (a reading which Grimm disputes), and one that had been entrusted with all Mesopotamia.'

the river. i.e. the Euphrates, cp. Isa. viii. 7; Zech. ix. 10.

13. **the Chassidim.** See note on ii. 42.

14. **one that is a priest.** *ἄνθρωπος ἱερεύς*, a Hebraism אִישׁ כֹּהֵן, cp. Lev. xxi. 9.

16. **which (the psalmist) wrote.** In different MSS. the subject ('the psalmist') varies; 'the prophet', 'David', 'Asaph' occur.

17. **The flesh . . .** A shortened form of Ps. lxxix. 2, 3.

thy saints. חֲסִידֶיךָ, i.e. Chassidim, cp. *v.* 13; this word was most probably the reason for which the writer quoted the passage, for the circumstances of the Psalm are not analogous to the occurrence here described.

18. **the fear and the dread of them.** Cp. Isa. viii. 13.

neither truth nor judgement. Cp. Ps. cxi. 7.

they have broken the covenant. *παρέβησαν τὴν στάσιν*, *lit.* 'they have transgressed the statute'; in the O.T. the usual phrase is עבר את־ברית (Joshua vii. 11, &c.), but ברית, 'covenant', is not infrequently = to חק (חקה), 'statute' (e.g. Isa. xxv. 5; Ps. l. 16).

the oath which they sware. See *v.* 15.

19. **Bezeth.** Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 2, xi. 1), 'the village called Bethzetha' (= *Βηθζαιθά*, 'the house of the olive', cp. Judith v. 2), Hebr. בית זית; in *Bell. Iud.* V. iv. 2 Josephus speaks of Bezetha as the new quarter of Jerusalem (*καινὴ πόλις*). Probably the place is to be identified with this.

the deserters that were with him. i.e. that had been with him (Bacchides). Judas did likewise, see *v.* 24.

the great pit. *φρέαρ*, *lit.* 'well' or 'cistern' (= באר); the use of the definite article shows it was well known.

21. **strove for . . .** Cp. note on *v.* 5; the meaning is that he strove to retain the office he already possessed, cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 3).

24. **into all the coasts.** i.e. the whole border of, cp. Judges xxix. 19. בכל גבול ישראל.

they were restrained . . . i.e. they were besieged in their fenced cities.

25. **But when Alcimus . . .** In 2 Macc. xiv. 26 the return of Alcimus is stated to be the understanding that had been arrived at between Judas and Nicanor; the account in Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 3, 4) does not agree with this.

knew that he was not[s] able to withstand them[t], he returned to the king[u], and brought evil accusations against them[v].

26 And the king[w] sent Nicanor, [x]one of his honourable princes, a man that hated Israel and was their
27 enemy[x], and commanded him to destroy the people. And Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great
28 host; and he sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully[y] with words of peace, saying: 'Let there be no battle between me and you[z]; I[a] will come with a few men, that I may see [b]your faces[b] in
29 peace.' And he[c] [d]came to Judas[d], and they saluted one another peaceably[e]. But the enemies were
30 ready to take away Judas by violence. And the thing became known to Judas, (namely) that he
31 came unto him with deceit; and he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more. And (when) Nicanor knew that his purpose was discovered, he went out to meet Judas [f]in battle[f] beside
32 Capharsalama; and there fell of those (that were) with Nicanor about five hundred[g] men, and they fled into the city of David[h].

33 And [i]after these things[i] Nicanor went up to mount Sion; and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary, and some of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to show him the
34 whole burnt sacrifice that was being offered for the king; but he mocked them, and laughed at them,
35 and polluted them, and spake haughtily, and sware in a rage, saying: 'Unless Judas and his army be now delivered into my hands, it shall be that, if I come again in safety, I will burn up this house.'
36 And he went forth with great[k] wrath. And the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and
37 the temple[l], and wept and said: 'Thou[m] didst choose this house to be called by thy name, to be a
38 house of prayer [n]and supplication[n] for thy people; take vengeance on this man and his army, and let them [o]fall by the sword[o]; remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to live any longer.'

39 And Nicanor went forth from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bethhoron, and there met him the host
40 of Syria. And Judas encamped in Adasa with three thousand men; and Judas prayed, and said:
41 'When they that came from the king blasphemed, thine angel went out and smote among them one
42 hundred and eighty-five thousand. Even so crush[p] this army before us to-day; and let all the rest know that he hath spoken wickedly against thy sanctuary; and judge him[q] according to his wicked-
43 ness.' And the armies joined battle [r]on the thirteenth (day) of the month Adar[r]; and Nicanor's
44 army was discomfited, [s]and he himself was the first to fall in the battle[s]. Now when his army saw
45 that Nicanor was fallen, they cast away their arms, and fled. And they[t] pursued after them a day's journey from Adasa until thou comest to Gazara, and they sounded an alarm after them [u]with the

[s] > A [t] him 𝔖g [u] to them 𝔏¹ [v] him 93 [w] + Demetrius 64 93 [x–x] that was Israel's enemy 71 [y] > 𝔖g [z] thee 𝔖g [a] and I 19 93 𝔖luc [b–b] thy face 𝔖g [c] they 𝔖luc [d–d] Judas came to him 𝔖g [e] > 71 [f–f] > A Luc [g] thousand A V [h] Judah 71 [i–i] > 71 [k] > A [l] the steps of the altar (κατάστρωμα, cp. Joel ii. 17) 𝔖luc + and called upon God 55 [m] + O Lord 55 71 𝔏¹ [n–n] > 71 𝔏¹ [o–o] all fall by the mouth of the sword 55 [p] he crushed A [q] them Luc 55 [r–r] > 71 [s–s] > 71 [t] + that were with Judas 64 93 [u–u] > 71

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26. **Nicanor.** Cp. iii. 38; Josephus (*l. c.*) speaks of Nicanor as 'the most kind and most faithful of all his (Demetrius') friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome"; Polybius (xxxi. 22. 4) also speaks of him as one of Demetrius' intimate friends in Rome.

28. **that I may see your faces in peace.** i. e. that I may have friendly intercourse with you; it is a Hebraism (ראות פנים); but it is also used of simply appearing before someone, e. g. Exod. x. 28, and cp. *v.* 30.

31. **he went out to meet Judas in battle.** A Hebrew phrase, cp. Num. xx. 18 פן־בחרב אצא לקראתך, 'lest with the sword I go forth to meet thee.'

Capharsalama. Called 'a village' by Josephus; possibly to be identified with the modern Salame, a village distant from Jaffa about an hour's walk (Kautzsch).

32. **and there fell . . .** According to Josephus, Nicanor 'beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was in Jerusalem'; an obvious error since the citadel ('Akra') was in the hands of the enemy!

33. **there came . . . out of the sanctuary.** i. e. the outer court; they came from the inner court into which Nicanor, as a Gentile, was not permitted to enter.

offered for the king. Cp. Jer. xxix; Ezra vi. 10; Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* II. xvii. 2.

34. **polluted them.** Most probably by spitting on them; this was, according to the Rabbis, one way whereby Levitical purity was lost (cp. Krauss, *Talm. Arch.*, i, pp. 251, 704).

35. **unless.** ἐὰν μή = אם לא; the threat is conditional on his winning the victory.

37. **to be called by thy name . . .** Cp. with this verse 1 Kings viii. 38, 43.

39. **Bethhoron.** See note on iii. 16.

40. **Adasa.** An hour and a half north-east of Bethhoron; Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 5) speaks of it as 'a village which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethhoron.'

41. **when they that came from the king . . .** The reference is to Sennacherib, see 2 Kings xviii. 22 ff.

one hundred . . . Cp. 2 Kings xix. 35; reference to the same event is made in Ecclus. xviii. 21.

43. **Adar.** The twelfth month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, corresponding roughly to March; in leap-years there is what is called *Adar Sheni* (the 'Second Adar'), which is then the thirteenth month.

45. **a day's journey.** From Adasa to Gazara is about fifteen miles.

Gazara. See note on iv. 15.

46 solemn trumpets[u]. And they came forth out of all the villages of Judaea round about[v], [w]and closed them in[w]; and these turned back on those (behind), and they all fell by the sword, and there was
47 not one of them left. And they took the spoils and the booty, and they smote off Nicanor's head, [x]and his right hand, which he stretched out so haughtily, and brought them[x], and hanged them up[y]
48 near Jerusalem. And the people was exceeding glad, [z]and they kept that day as a day of great
49 gladness[z]. And they ordained that this day should be observed year by year (on) the thirteenth
50 (day) of Adar. And [aa]the land of[aa] Judah had rest [bb]a little while[bb].

VIII. 1–32. *Judas concludes a treaty with the Romans, after having heard of their power and rule.*

8 1 And Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were valiant men, and that they were friendly disposed towards all who attached themselves to them, and that they offered friendship[a] to
2 as many as came unto them, [b]and that they were valiant men[b]. And they told him about their wars and exploits which they had done among the Galatians, and [c]how they had [d]conquered them[d],
3 and brought them under tribute; and (they told him also of) what things they had done in the land
4 of Spain[c], how they had acquired [e]the mines of silver and gold there[e]; [f]and how that by their policy and persistence[g] they had conquered the whole[h] land (and the land was exceeding far [i]from them[i]); also (they told) of the kings that had come against them from the uttermost part of the earth, until they had discomfited them[f], and smitten them very sore; and how the rest had given
5 them tribute year by year. Furthermore, (they told) of how they had discomfited in battle [k]Philip,

v > Sluc w–w *lit.* outflanked them > 71 x–x > L[1] y *lit.* stretched them out z–z > 71 in that day L[1] aa–aa > V bb–bb *lit.* a few days.

VIII. a + and to as many as held to them A b–b > Sluc c–c > 71 d–d won their land L[1] e–e The mountains from whence silver and gold are sought out Sg f–f > 71 g wisdom L[1] h > Sg i–i > Sg k–k > Sg

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the solemn trumpets. *Lit.* 'the trumpets of signals', i. e. to give a signal to their friends in the villages round about, see next verse.

46. **closed them in.** ὑπερεκέρων αὐτούς, 'outflanked them', thanks to the alarm given by the signal trumpets.

47. **smote off . . .** Cp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 9; Judith xiii. 8–15.

stretched out . . . hanged them up. ἐξέτεινεν . . . ἐξέτειναν, a word-play quite after the Hebrew fashion.

49. **. . . the thirteenth (day) of Adar.** This festival was originally called 'Nicanor Day', but it was displaced (when, is not known) by the Fast of Esther, which was kept on this day in memory of Esther's fasting, mentioned in Esther ix. 31 (cp. Esther iv. 3, 16); this fast was a preparation for the feast of Purim, which occurs on the fourteenth of Adar. 'Nicanor Day' is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah*, ii. 66 *a*), where it is spoken of as a semi-festival.

50. **the land . . . had rest.** Cp. ix. 57, xiv. 4, and for the Hebrew שׁקטה הארץ cp. Joshua xi. 23.

a little while. *Lit.* 'a few days', i. e. about a month, cp. ix. 3.

VIII. 1–32. 'The details of this narrative have been called in question by many critics, although the fact of a treaty having been concluded between the Jews and the Romans has been generally admitted. Wellhausen, e.g., while asserting that the journey to Rome, the negotiations with the Senate, and the return to Jerusalem, could not have been accomplished in a single month, goes on to say: "This would be decisive, only I am not convinced that the usual assumption is correct. For the festival of Nicanor's day is unintelligible, if the sensation of victory had been forthwith effaced through a reverse of the worst description. It is not maintained that the statement of 1 Macc. viii. 17 (2 Macc. iv. 11) is drawn purely from the imagination" (*Isr. und Jüd. Gesch.*[2], p. 250, note 3). That the narrative does contain inaccuracies (*vv.* 8, 15, 16) is not to be denied. These, however, may be accounted for by the defective means of international communication in those days, and still more by the fact that the interests of the Jews were practically confined to agriculture and their ancestral religion. The writer's graphic picture is, upon the whole, "not unfaithful" (Rawlinson), and has "quite the character of that *naïveté* and candour with which intelligence of that sort is propagated in the mouth of the common people" (Grimm). In spite of what is said in *v.* 13, he is apparently blind as to the dangers attending negotiations with Rome' (Fairweather and Black, p. 157).

1. **all who attached themselves to them.** Rawlinson points out that 'the Romans had received into alliance Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Ptolemy Philometor, and the Rhodians.'

2. **the Galatians.** Kautzsch thinks it improbable that the reference is to the Gauls in Asia Minor who were conquered by Manlius Vulso, 189 B. C.; he thinks, with Mommsen and others, that the Gauls of Upper Italy are meant; these were subjugated by the Romans in 190 B. C., and laid under tribute.

3. **the land of Spain.** This came under the Roman dominion in 201 B. C., though only that portion of it which had belonged to the Carthaginians; it was not until nearly two centuries later that the whole country became incorporated into the Roman Empire.

the mines of silver and gold there. Pliny (*Hist. Naturalis*, xxxiii. 4, §§ 21, 23) speaks of the gold and silver found in Spain, the former in the shape of gold-dust in the bed of the Tagus; Diodorus Siculus (v. 35, § 1) says: 'Spain has the best and most plentiful silver from mines of all the world' (cp. Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phoenicia*, pp. 313 ff.).

4. **the whole land.** τόπος is used here of the whole country as in 1 Sam. xii. 8 (Sept.); Jer. xvi. 2, 3 (Sept.); the Hebrew word (מקום) is used in the same way in these passages. The statement here is an exaggeration, see note on *v.* 3.

5. **Philip.** i. e. Philip V, King of Macedonia, 220–179 B. C.; he was finally defeated at the battle of Cynoscephalae in Thessaly (197 B. C.) by T. Quinctius Flaminius.

[l]and[k] Perseus[l], king of Chittim, and them that lifted themselves up against them, and had conquered
6 them; Antiochus also, the great[m] king of Asia, who had come against them to battle, having
a hundred and twenty elephants, with cavalry, and chariots, and an exceeding great host,—he had
7 also been discomfited by them[n], and they had taken him alive, and had appointed that both he and
such as reigned after him should give them a great tribute[o] and should give hostages, and a 'tract'
(of land), (namely) the country of India, and Media, and Lydia, and of the goodliest of their
9 countries; and how they had taken them from him, and had given them to king Eumenes. Also
10 (they told of) how they of Greece had purposed to come and destroy them, and the thing had
become known to them, and they had sent against them a captain, and had fought against them,
and many of them had fallen, [p]wounded to death[p]; and (of how) they had made captive their wives
and their children, [q]and had spoiled them and conquered their land, and had pulled down their
11 strongholds[rq], and had brought them into bondage unto this day. And (they told of) how they had
destroyed the residue of the kingdoms [s]and of the isles[s], as many as had risen up against them[t], and
12 had made them their servants; but that with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept
amity; and (of) how they had conquered the kingdoms[u] that were nigh and those that were far off,
13 and that all who heard of their fame were afraid of them. Moreover (they told) that whomsoever
they will to succour and to make kings, become kings[v]; and that whomsoever they will, do they
14 depose; and they are exalted exceedingly; and that for all this none of them did ever put on
15 a diadem, [w]neither did they clothe themselves with purple, to be magnified[x] thereby[y].[w] (They told)
also how they had made for themselves a senate house, and how day by day three hundred [z]and

[l-l] > 19 93 [m] > 71 [n] him Luc [o] + year by year Luc [p-p] > L[1] [q-q] > 71 [r] + and spoiled them 𝔊 &c. [s-s] > 𝔏[1] the rest of the isles 𝔖[luc] [t] + and had plundered them Luc + and had plundered them and taken them captive 𝔖[luc] [u] kings ℵ V 19 93 𝔖[luc] [v] will become kings A [w-w] > 71 [x] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ[c.a]) [y] to exalt themselves (*in the sense of assuming too much power*) 𝔖[g] [z-z] > 𝔖[g]

Perseus. The illegitimate son and successor of Philip; he was conquered by L. Aemilius Paullus at the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), whereby the Macedonian kingdom was brought to an end.

Chittim. See note on i. 1.

and them that lifted . . . Probably the reference is to those who sent reinforcements to Perseus, viz. the Epirots, Thessalians, and Thracians (Grimm).

6. **Antiochus also . . .** i.e. Antiochus III, the Great, King of Syria 223–187 B.C., son of Seleucus Callinicus.

Asia. See note on xi. 13.

discomfited. At the battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C., by Scipio Africanus (Polybius, iii. 3. 4).

7. **taken him alive.** 'Here the author has been misled by a false report. According to the unanimous testimony of the classical writers, Antiochus succeeded in making his escape' (Fairweather and Black); Kautzsch suggests that possibly the author has mixed up Antiochus with Perseus here.

such as reigned after him. Seleucus IV, Philopator (187–176 B.C.), and Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), with whom the tribute ceased.

a great tribute. According to Polybius, xxi. 14. 3-6, 15,000 Euboic talents, 500 of which had to be paid at the conclusion of the negotiations, 2,500 when peace was ratified, and 1,000 a year for the next twelve years (quoted by Knabenbauer, p. 152).

hostages. See note on i. 10.

a tract. διαστολή, the word is apparently used in the same sense as in Rom. iii. 22, a 'distinction', i.e. the land in question was to be distinguished in the future from the rest of his possessions by being assigned to the Romans.

8. **India.** This never belonged to Antiochus, so he could not have ceded it to Rome.

Media. According to Livy xxxvii. 56, xxxviii. 38 it was only his possessions on this side of the Taurus (i.e. on the west) that Antiochus was forced to give up. We must probably see here, as elsewhere in this section, a rhetorical exaggeration. The ingenious attempts which have been made to emend to the text, and read 'Ionia and Asia', or 'Mysia', may or may not be justified, but they have absolutely no support either from MSS. or Versions.

. . . to king Eumenes. Eumenes II, king of Pergamos (197–158 B.C.), and son of Attalus I; these territories were given to him by the Romans in recognition of the help rendered during the war with Syria, and especially at the battle of Magnesia (see further, Smith's *Dict. of Class. Biog.* s.v.).

9. **Also . . .** What this all refers to is not known. Kautzsch thinks that very probably the reference may be to the Roman victory over the forces of the Achaean Alliance (147–146 B.C., i.e. fifteen years after the death of Judas Maccabaeus); in this case the 'captain', mentioned in *v.* 10, would be L. Mummius. The war, which was short and decisive, resulted in the subjugation of the whole of Greece, which was reduced to the status of a Roman province, under the name of Achaia.

11. **the isles.** i.e. Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, together with the isles of the Grecian Archipelago.

12. In this and the next few verses the subjects of *vv.* 1 ff. are again reverted to.

with their friends . . . they kept amity. This is not in accordance with the facts; the statement is, no doubt, due to insufficient knowledge.

15. **and how day by day . . .** As Fairweather and Black point out, 'this is quite a mistake. The regular sittings of the Senate were confined to the Kalends, Nones, Ides, and Festivals. In case of emergency, however, it could be summoned in a moment, as its members were not allowed to leave Rome for more than a day, and only a few of them at a time. In the later days of the Republic the Senate sat on all lawful days in February to receive foreign ambassadors, but there is no evidence that the practice was as old as the time of the Maccabees. If it was, the writer's mistake is easily explained.' The reference to three hundred and twenty members of the Senate is also a mistake, it never reached more than three hundred.

twenty[z] men sat in council, consulting alway for the people, to the end that they[a] might be well
16 ordered; and how they committed their government to one man year by year, that he should be over
them, and be lord over all[b] their country; and that all are obedient to this one, and that there is
neither envy nor emulation among them.
17 And Judas chose Eupolemus, the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, and
18 sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy [c]with them[c], and that they should
take the yoke from[d] them, when they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks did keep Israel in
19 bondage. And they[e] went to Rome, [f]and the way was exceeding long[f]; and they entered into the
20 Senate house, [g]and answered[g] [h]and said[h]: 'Judas, who is also (called) Maccabaeus, and his brethren,
and the whole people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you,
21 and that we might be registered (as) your confederates and friends.' And the thing was well-pleasing
22 in their sight. And this is the copy of the writing[i] which they wrote back again on tablets of brass,
and sent to Jerusalem, [k]that it might be with them there[k] for a memorial of peace and confederacy:
23 'Good success be to the Romans, and to the nation of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever; the
24 sword also and the enemy be far from them. But if war arise for Rome[l] first, [m]or for any of their
25 confederates in all their dominion[m], the nation of the Jews shall help them as confederates as the occasion
26 shall prescribe [n]to them[n], with all their heart; and unto [o]them that make war[o] they (i.e. the Jews)
[p]shall not give[p], neither supply, food, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto Rome; and
they (i. e. the Jews) shall observe their obligations, receiving nothing (in the way of a bribe). [q]In the
27 same manner[q], moreover, if war come first[r] upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them
28 as confederates with all their soul, as the occasion shall prescribe to them; and to them that are
confederates[s] there shall not be given corn, arms, money, [t]or ships[t], as it hath seemed good unto

[a] *the reflex pron.*, A V *suggesting that the Senate was looking after its own interests* [b] > 71 [c-c] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [d] > A [e] + that were with Eupolemus Luc [f-f] > 𝔏² [g-g] > 𝔏¹ [h-h] > A [i] letter ℵ [k-k] > 𝔖luc [l] the Romans 𝔖luc 𝔏 [m-m] > 71 [n-n] > 𝔖luc 𝔏 [o-o] 𝔖 *in* 𝔊 *the reference seems to be to the Romans* [p-p] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) 93 [q-q] > 𝔖luc [r] > 𝔖g [s] that make war 55 𝔏² [t-t] > A

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16. **one man.** Another instance of inadequate knowledge; there were, of course, two consuls.

neither envy . . . This also is contrary to fact; on this, however, Grimm remarks that 'it is psychologically very comprehensible that, having regard to the assistance to be looked for by an alliance with Rome, the darker side of the conditions which obtained in the Roman State, of which the writer might have been cognisant, were naturally overlooked or left unnoticed.' At any rate, it is not to be expected that the writer should have had much intimate acquaintance with the internal affairs of Rome; and even if he had, his knowledge of the deplorable conditions in his own country would unconsciously tend to make him take a bright view of all that concerned the powerful people from whom so much was hoped.

17. **Eupolemus.** 'Perhaps identical with that Eupolemus who is known to us as a Hellenistic writer' (Schürer, *The Jewish People . . .*, Div. I, vol. i, p. 231, see also Div. II, vol. iii, pp. 203 ff.); he was a Palestinian Jew who wrote about 158–157 B. C. or shortly afterwards.

the son of John. See 2 Macc. iv. 11.

Accos. More correctly Hakkoz, cp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 10; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21, vii. 63, belonging to a priestly family.

Jason the son of Eleazar. Perhaps the same Jason who is mentioned as the father of Antipater in xii. 16, xiv. 22.

18. **the yoke.** i. e. the Syrian yoke; this implies either that the victory over Nicanor, recorded in ch. vii, had not yet taken place, or else that it was, after all, not of a wholly decisive character; Schürer thinks that 'from the general drift of the First Book of Maccabees, it may be assumed that Judas had first arranged the embassy after the victory over Nicanor' (op. cit. Div. I, vol. i, p. 232 note).

22. **tablets of brass.** The usual way of preserving documents of this kind; Grimm quotes Polybius, iii. 26. 1, who says, in reference to the treaties between Rome and Carthage, that they were preserved in this way, and that they were kept in the Capitol. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 6) says regarding this treaty that the Romans 'also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judaea; it was also laid up in the Capitol, and engraven in brass.'

23. **Good success be to the Romans.** The equivalent, as Grimm points out, of the usual Roman formula: *Quod bonum, faustum felixque sit populo Romano . . .*

26. **unto them that make war . . . ships.** Kautzsch sees in this mention of ships, which at this time (161 B. C.) the Jews could not have supplied, one of the reasons for regarding this whole section (*vv.* 22–32) as having been added later, whether in the Hebrew original or when the translation was made; but there is much in Grimm's contention that the mention of ships shows the far-seeing character of Roman policy, especially as not long after this the Jews got possession of a harbour (cp. xiv. 5). At the same time, it is worth while noting that in Josephus' account the ships are not spoken of in reference to the Jews; in *Antiq.* XII. x. 6 the decree runs: 'It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money'; this is the only mention of ships. It is, therefore, just possible that the form of the decree in 1 Macc. is due to a misunderstanding of the original Roman form of it.

as it hath seemed good unto Rome. This, together with the phrase in *vv.* 25, 27, 'as the occasion shall prescribe to them', made the treaty far more advantageous to the Romans than to the Jews; see also the same words in *v.* 28. It is true that in *v.* 30 there is a *proviso* that modifications might be made by either party by mutual consent, but this does not appear to be part of the actual treaty, the words of which clearly stop at the end of *v.* 28.

29 Rome[u]: and they shall observe these obligations, and that without deceit.' [x]According to these
30 words have the Romans made (a treaty) with the people of the Jews. But if hereafter the one party [y]or[z] the other[y] shall determine to add or to diminish anything, they shall do it at their
31 pleasure, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be established. And as touching the evils which king[aa] Demetrius doeth [bb]unto you[bb cc], we have written [dd]to him[ee] saying[dd]: 'Wherefore hast
32 thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends (and)[ff] confederates the Jews? If, therefore, they plead any more against thee, we will do them justice[gg], and fight thee by sea and by land.'

IX. 1–22. *Death of Judas Maccabaeus.*

9 1 And when Demetrius had heard that Nicanor [a]was fallen[a] with his forces [a]in battle[a], he sent Bacchides and Alcimus again into the land of Judah [b]a second time[b], and the right wing (of his army)
2 with them. And they[c] went by way of Gilgal[d], and encamped against Mesaloth, which is in Arbela,
3 [e]and gat possession of it[e], and destroyed[f] much people. And [g]in the first month of the one
4 hundred and fifty second year[g] they encamped against Jerusalem. And they removed and went
5 unto Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horse. And Judas was encamped at

[u] the Romans ℵ Sluc L [x] + thus Luc [y-y] + Sluc [z] and A V Luc Sluc L [aa] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a)
[bb-bb] > L [cc] them ℵ (*not* ℵ c.a) A Luc S [dd-dd] and sent unto him Sluc [ee] thus Sg [ff] + our Luc
[gg] vengeance 55 vengeance and justice Sluc

IX. [a-a] had waged battle A [b-b] > Sg [c] + that were with Bacchides Luc [d] Gilead Luc Sluc [e-e] > Sg and occupied it L² [f] he destroyed A V [g-g] > 71

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31. **we have written to him . . .** But, as Schürer truly points out, this came too late, for through the energetic action of Demetrius the overthrow of Judaea had already been completed before there was any possibility of interference on the part of the Romans (cp. ix. 1–21).

wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy. A Hebraism הכביד עול (cp. 2 Chron. x. 10, 14).

32. **we will do them justice.** Another Hebrew phrase עשה משפט ('to do justice', lit. 'judgement'), Deut. x. 18, &c.

IX. 1. **that Nicanor was fallen.** Cp. vii. 43, 44.

he sent . . . a second time. *προσέθετο . . . ἀποστεῖλαι*, 'he added to send', a Hebrew phrase ויסף לשלח.

the right wing. The Jews faced eastwards so that from their point of view the right would be the Syrian troops in the south, but the actual right wing of the Syrian army was that part of it stationed towards the north; see next note, Bacchides probably came from the north, Josephus directly states that he 'marched out of Antioch' (*Antiq.* XII. xi. 1).

2. **Gilgal . . . Mesaloth . . . Arbela.** The identification of the place which 'Gilgal' represents is extremely difficult, perhaps impossible. The best attested reading is *Γάλγαλα* = Gilgal; but there are at least three places of this name mentioned in the O.T.; Joshua's Gilgal, the Gilgal by Bethel, and the Gilgal by Mount Gerizim (on this see G. A. Smith in *EB* 1729 ff.). Some MSS., followed by the Lucianic Syriac, read *Γαλαάδ* = Gilead; and Josephus has *Γαλιλαίαν* = Galilee. Assuming, as is permissible, that the two last readings are to be rejected, and that 'Gilgal' is the right reading, it seems upon the whole best to identify this with the Gilgal by Mount Gerizim; 'if', says G. A. Smith (*EB* 291 f.), 'Bacchides wished to avoid the road which had proved so fatal to Nicanor, he may have taken the road from Esdraelon south through Samaria. . . . On this route Masaloth might be Meselieh or Meithalūn, respectively 5 or 8 miles south of Jenīn, each of them a natural point at which to resist an invader. A greater difficulty is presented by *ἐν Ἀρβήλοις*. The plural form evidently signifies a considerable district. Now, Eusebius (*OS*(2) *Ἀρβηλά*) notes the name as extant in his day, on Esdraelon, 9 Roman miles from Lejjūn, while the entrances from Esdraelon on Meselieh and Meithalūn are 9½ Roman miles from Lejjūn. It is therefore possible that the name *Ἀρβηλά* covered in earlier days the whole of this district. The suggestion is, however, far from being capable of proof. The chief points in its favour are the straight road from the north, which was regarded as a natural line of invasion, and the existence along the road of a Jiljūljeh [= Gilgal], a Meselieh, and a Meithalūn.'

3. **the first month.** If, as there is every reason to suppose (cp. i. 54, vii. 43), it is the Jewish first month that is meant, it is the month Nisan, corresponding roughly to April. This would mean that only six or seven weeks had elapsed since the defeat of Nicanor on the 13th of Adar (= March); that does not allow much time for the news of Nicanor's defeat to have reached Demetrius in Antioch, and for the latter to dispatch the reinforcements under Bacchides, especially as some time must have been taken up in encamping against Mesaloth, and getting possession of it, and destroying much people (see *v.* 2), on the way to Jerusalem. This feat is not impossible, but rather improbable, unless we suppose (with Michaelis, quoted by Grimm) that it was leap-year, in which the month Adar Sheni with its twenty-nine days came between Adar and Nisan. Otherwise the most obvious explanation is that the writer has made a mistake of about a month.

they encamped against Jerusalem. Presumably Bacchides thought Judas was in Jerusalem; otherwise it is difficult to understand why he should have encamped here. It is surprising how badly Bacchides must have been informed about the movements of his opponents; bad generalship and an inefficient intelligence department on the part of the Syrians, both of which are several times unconsciously implied by the writer of this book, must evidently have had much to do with the success of the Maccabees against overwhelming odds. In this particular case the disparity was so great that even bad generalship could not save the Jews from disaster.

4. **they removed . . . unto Berea.** They had scarcely settled themselves down before Jerusalem before they had to break up the camp again. It is not known where Berea was.

5. **Judas was encamped at Elasa.** This place is also unknown; Josephus says that 'Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetha' (*Antiq.* XII. xi. 1).

6 Elasa, and three thousand chosen men with him. And (when) they saw the multitude [h]of the
forces[h], [k]that they[i] were many[k], they feared exceedingly; and many slipped away from the army;
7 there were not left [l]of them[l] more than eight hundred men. And (when) Judas saw that his army
slipped away, [m]and that (nevertheless) the battle was imminent for him[m], he was sore troubled in
8 heart, for that he had no time to gather them together. [n]And he became desperate[n], and said to
them that were left: 'Let us arise and go up against our adversaries, if peradventure we may be able
9 to fight against them.' And they turned from him, saying: 'We shall in no wise be able [o](to with-
stand them)[o]; but let us rather save our lives now[p]; let us return (later on) with our brethren, and
10 fight [q]against them[q]; we are (now too) few.' Then Judas said: 'Far be it [r]from me[r] to do this
thing, to flee from them! [s]And if[t] our time is come[s], let us die manfully[u] for our brethren's sake
11 [v]and not leave a cause (of reproach) against our glory[v].' And the (Syrian) host removed from the
camp, and (the Jews) stood to encounter them; and the horse was divided into two companies, and
the slingers and the archers went before the host together with [w]all the mighty men that fought in
12 the front (of the line of battle)[w]. But Bacchides was on the right wing; and the phalanx drew near
from both sides, and they blew with their trumpets, and the men of [x]Judas' side[x] also blew [y]with
13 their trumpets[y]; and the earth shook [z]with the shout[z] of the[a] armies. And the battle was joined,
14 (and continued) from morning until evening. And (when) Judas saw that Bacchides and the main
strength of (his) army were on the right wing, [b]his followers concentrated their whole attention (upon
15 them)[b], and the right wing[c] was discomfited by them, and they pursued after them unto the mount
16 Azotus[d]. And (when) they that were on the left wing[e] saw that the right wing[e] was discomfited,
17 they turned (and followed) upon the footsteps of Judas and those that were with him. And the
18 battle waxed sore, and many[f] [g]on either side[g] fell [h]wounded to death[h]. And Judas fell, and the
19 rest fled. And Jonathan and Simon [i]took Judas their brother, and[i] buried him in the sepulchre of
20 his[k] fathers at Modin. And they bewailed him[l], and all Israel [m]made great lamentation for him
and[m] mourned[n] many days, [o]and said[o]:
21 '[p]How is the mighty one fallen, the saviour of Israel![p]'
22 And the rest of the acts of Judas, [p]and (his) wars[p], and the valiant deeds [q]which he did[q], [p]and his
greatness[p],—they are not written; for they were exceeding many.

[h-h] > 71 [i] + who were opposed (to them) Luc [k-k] > 71 𝔏[1] [l-l] > 𝔖[luc] [m-m] > 71 [n-n] > 71 𝔏[1]
[o-o] to fight against them ℵ V 55 [p] > 𝔖[g] 𝔏[2] [q-q] > 𝔖[g] [r-r] > ℵ V [s-s] > 71 [t] > A [u] > 𝔏[1]
[v-v] > 71 [w-w] all the men who are skilled in war 𝔏 [x-x] Judah ℵ V [y-y] > 71 [z-z] because of (*lit.* from) A
[a] their A [b-b] 𝔖[luc] and there went with him all that were brave in heart 𝔊 𝔖[g] 𝔏 [c] part ℵ 19 93 [d] Gazara 𝔏
[e] part 𝔖[luc] [f] > 19 93 𝔖[luc] [g-g] of those ℵ [h-h] > 𝔖[luc] [i-i] > 93 [k] their 64 93 [l] + there A Judas 19
93 𝔖[luc] [m-m] > 71 [n] > 𝔏 [o-o] > 71 [p-p] > 71 [q-q] > 𝔖[luc]

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three thousand chosen men. It is strange that so many of these 'chosen men' should have 'slipped away' at the critical moment; Josephus gives their number as only one thousand, but this is obviously a mistake, as he says that 'they all fled away, excepting eight hundred'!

8. **he became desperate.** Cp. Deut. xx. 3 (Sept.).

10. **far be it from me to do this thing.** Μή μοι γένοιτο ποιῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, a very Hebraic phrase: חלילה לי מעשות זאת (cp. xiii. 5), see Gen. xliv. 7, 17; Joshua xxii. 29, xxiv. 16; 1 Kings xxi. 3.

13. **the earth shook.** Cp. 2 Sam. xxii. 8.

from morning until evening. Josephus says the battle continued 'till sun-set', but does not mention when it began; the statement in the text is probably a rhetorical exaggeration; eight hundred against twenty-two thousand, holding out all day, can scarcely be literally true, especially as no hint is given that the smaller number occupied any advantageous position; from the account in the text, as well as in Josephus, the two armies met on equal terms as far as position was concerned.

15. **the mount Azotus.** Josephus, 'a mountain called Eza' (or Aza); no such mountain is known; the text is clearly corrupt.

17. **and the battle waxed sore.** καὶ ἐβαρύνθη ὁ πόλεμος, a Hebrew phrase ותכבד המלחמה; cp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 3; 1 Chron. x. 3; Isa. xxi. 15.

19. . . . **took Judas their brother.** According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. xi. 2) they 'received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy'; this is more likely to be correct, for it is hardly to be expected that the Syrians would have treated the body of the Jewish rebel chief, as they regarded him, with more respect than that which the Jews accorded to the body of the Syrian general Nicanor (see vii. 47), unless there were special reasons for this. Josephus does not mention the terms of this 'treaty'.

Modin. Cp. ii. 1, xiii. 27.

20. **great lamentation.** Cp. xiii. 26.

21. **How is the mighty one fallen.** Cp. 2 Sam. i. 19, 25, 27.

the saviour of Israel. Cp. Judges iii. 9; 2 Kings xiii. 5.

22. **And the rest of the acts . . .** For the phraseology cp. xvi. 23; it occurs often in the Books of the Kings.

they are not written. This statement implies that for this part of the narrative (i.e. the 'rest of the acts') no documents were available; which, on the other hand, implies that what is recorded in our book was based on extant documents.

'With the overthrow of Judas', says Schürer (*op. cit.*, I. i, p. 233), 'it was finally and definitely proved that it

JONATHAN MACCABAEUS. IX. 23—XII. 53.

IX. 23–31. *Jonathan succeeds Judas.*

23 And it came to pass after the death of Judas that the lawless put forth their heads in all the
24 borders of Israel, and all they that wrought iniquity rose up; in those days [r]there arose exceeding
25 great murmuring that the land made peace with them[r]. And Bacchides chose out the ungodly men,
26 and made them lords of the country. And they sought out and searched for the friends of Judas,
and brought them to Bacchides, and he took vengeance on them, [s]and treated them with mockery[s].
27 And there was great tribulation in Israel, such as was not since the time that a prophet appeared
28 unto them[t]. And all the friends of Judas were gathered together, and they said unto Jonathan:
29 'Since thy brother Judas hath died, we have no man like him to go forth[u] against our enemies and
30 Bacchides, [v]and against them of our nation that are inimical (to us)[vw]. Now therefore we have
chosen thee this day to be our ruler and leader [x]in his stead[x], [y]that thou mayest fight our battles[y].'
31 [z]And Jonathan took[a] [b]the leadership upon him at that time[b], and rose up in the stead of his brother
Judas[z].

IX. 32–73. *Jonathan's struggle with Bacchides.*

32, 33 And (when) Bacchides knew it, he sought to slay him. But (when) Jonathan, [c]and Simon his
brother, [d]and all that were with him[dc], knew it, they fled into the wilderness of Tekoah, and

[r-r] *See note below* [s-s] > 𝔏 [t] Israel 𝔖g 𝔏² [u] + and to enter in ℵ V 𝔖g [v-v] > 𝔏¹ [w] 19 64 [x-x] > 𝔖luc
[y-y] for battle 𝔏¹ [z-z] And they chose Jonathan as leader in place of his brother Judas 𝔏¹ [a] chose 19 𝔖g [b-b] > 71
[c-c] > 71 [d-d] > 93

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was a vain endeavour on the part of the Jewish nationalists to measure swords with the mighty forces of Syria. Brilliant as the earlier achievements of Judas had been, he was largely indebted to the recklessness and self-confidence of his opponents. Continuous military success was not to be thought of if only the Syrian authorities seriously roused themselves to the conflict. The following age cannot show even one conspicuous victory of the kind by which Judas had won renown. What the Maccabaean party finally reached, it won through voluntary concessions of claimants to the Syrian throne contending with one another, and generally in consequence of internal dissensions in the Syrian Empire.'

23. **the lawless.** Cp. vii. 24, 25.

put forth . . . rose up. Cp. Ps. xcii. 7 (Sept. xci. 8).

24. **murmuring.** Prof. Torrey (*EB* 2859) thinks the rendering λιμός is due to a misreading of the original Hebrew which had רעם ('murmuring'), not רעב ('famine'); this, if correct, would certainly make the next clause less difficult.

that the land made peace with them. *καὶ αὐτομόλησεν ἡ χώρα μετ' αὐτῶν.* The verb with *μετά* only occurs once in the Septuagint, 2 Sam. x. 19, where the Hebrew has וישלימו את־ישראל, ('and they made peace with Israel'). If we are to be guided by this, the passage before us must mean (if we accept 'famine' as the right reading) that owing to the famine, the land, by which here can only be meant the followers of Judas, made peace with them, i.e. the 'lawless'. This must, however, be rejected; firstly, because 'the land' cannot be restricted in this way, and, secondly, because the sequel shows that there was no peace between the followers of Judas and the 'lawless'. Fairweather and Black take 'the land' to mean 'the country in general, as distinguished from staunch patriots'; but the text gives no justification for this distinction; for the writer of 1 Macc. there are only two parties in the Jewish State, the Maccabaean party and the 'lawless'. Grimm holds that the real meaning of the passage is shown by the paraphrastic rendering of the Syriac Version: 'And the land too has become corrupt with them'; i.e. the land, through the famine, had, as it were, joined hands with the apostates in antagonism against the faithful. This is in accordance with Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. i. 1). Kautzsch concurs in this: 'The land, otherwise so fruitful, seemed to have allied itself with the lawless for the purpose of destroying the godly'; and he renders: 'So that (in the same way) the land fell off (or "deserted") with them, i.e. the lawless.' Against this it is to be urged that the Septuagint nowhere uses the verb in question in this sense (1 Sam. xx. 30, where the participle is used in the sense of 'rebellious' is not *à propos*). If, now, we follow Torrey in regarding 'famine' as a mistake for 'murmuring' (in the sense of indignation), and interpret the verb in the sense in which it is used in 2 Sam. x. 19 (see above), its only other occurrence with *μετά*, we get: 'there arose exceeding great murmuring (i.e. on the part of the faithful) that the land made peace with them,' i.e. the enemy, as the next verse goes on to show; indeed, the verses that follow seem thoroughly to justify this rendering, as offering further grounds for the 'murmuring'. By 'the land' is meant everyone excepting the faithful, who were now obviously in a minority; it must also be remembered that the author of 1 Macc. writes as one of the faithful.

26. **took vengeance on them.** *ἐξεδίκα αὐτούς*, for which T.R. reads *ἐξεδίκει ἐν αὐτοῖς*, cp. Jer. v. 9, 29 (Sept.) = התנקם ב 1 Sam. xviii. 25; נקם ב Judges xv. 7 (Grimm).

treated them with mockery. The reference must be to their religious practices; Josephus, however, says: 'tortured and tormented them.'

27. **since the time that a prophet appeared unto them.** That the writer implies the prophet Malachi here (so Grimm, Bissell, Fairweather and Black, Knabenbauer) is not necessarily certain; we have in the O.T. fragments of the writings of prophets who lived later than the time of Malachi (some short time before 450 B.C.); if they are anonymous, 'Malachi' is pseudonymous; the former may have exercised as great an influence as the latter, although their names have not come down to us. Josephus makes no reference to a prophet, but says: 'They had never experience of the like since their return out of Babylon.' In either case it is a rhetorical exaggeration.

33. **the wilderness of Tekoah.** The wilderness got its name from the city six miles south of Bethlehem, on the borders of the wilderness; the name still exists, *Tekua*; the site of the ancient city lies on the top of a hill with

34 encamped by the water [e]of the pool Asphar[e]. [f]And Bacchides got to know of this on the Sabbath
day, and he came, he and all his army, over Jordan[f].
35 And (Jonathan)[g] sent his brother, a leader of the multitude, and besought his friends, the Nabath-
36 aeans, that they might leave with them their baggage, which was much. But the children of Ambri
37 came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way [h]with it[h]. [i]But after
these things[i] they brought word to Jonathan [i]and Simon[i] his brother, that the children of Ambri
were making a great marriage, and were bringing the bride from Nadabath with a great train,
38 a daughter of one of the great nobles of Canaan. And they remembered[k] John their[l] brother, and
39 went up, and hid themselves under the covert of the mountain ; [m]and they lifted up their eyes[m], and
saw, and behold, a great ado and much baggage ; and the bridegroom came forth, and his friends
and his brethren to meet them (i.e. those forming the bridal procession) with timbrels, and minstrels,
40 and [n]many[o] weapons[n]. And they rose up [p]from their ambush[p] against them, and slew them ; and
many fell wounded to death, and the rest fled into the mountain ; and they took all their spoils[q].
41 And the marriage was turned into mourning, and the voice of their[r] minstrels into lamentation.
42 And (thus) they avenged fully the blood of their brother ; and they turned back to the marsh-land[s]
of Jordan.
43 And (when) Bacchides[t] heard it[u], he came on the Sabbath day unto the banks of the Jordan
44 with a great host. And Jonathan said unto his brethren[v] : 'Let us arise now and fight [w]for our
45 lives ; for it is not (with us) to-day, as yesterday and the day before. For, behold, the battle is
before us and behind us[w] ; moreover, the water of the Jordan is on this side and on that side, and (this
46 is) marsh-[x] and wood-land, and there is no place to turn aside. Now, therefore, cry unto heaven,
47 that ye may be delivered out of the hand of your[y] enemies.' And the battle was joined, and
48 Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, and he turned away back from him. And
Jonathan, and they that were with him[z], leapt into the [a]Jordan, and swam over to the other side ;

[e–e] > 𝔏[1] [f–f] B. and all his army crossed the Jordan on the Sabbath day 𝔏[1] [g] T.R. [h–h] > 𝔏[1] [i–i] > 71
[k] + the blood of ℵ 𝔖[g] 𝔏[2] And Jonathan remembered 𝔖[luc] [l] his ℵ* (their ℵ[c.a]) 93 𝔖[luc] [m–m] > 71 [n–n] much people 55 64 [o] > 71 [p–p] > 19 [q] vessels A [r] the 19 [s] mountainous-land A V 55 71 bank 𝔏[1] ford 𝔖[luc]
[t] > 𝔖[luc] [u] that Jonathan had returned Luc 𝔖[luc] (*with slight variations*) [v] them that were with him ℵ V
[w–w] > 71 [x] > 𝔖[luc] [y] our A [z] + behind Luc [a–a] > 𝔖[g]

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sloping sides; the top is of considerable extent, and is covered with ruins spread over four or five acres of ground (cp. 1 Chron. ii. 24 ; 2 Chron. xx. 20 ; Amos i. 1 ; Jer. vi. 1).

the pool Asphar. 'The Be'er Asphar' is probably the modern *Bīr-Selhūb*, a considerable reservoir in the wilderness, six miles WSW. of Engedi, and near the junction of several ancient roads ; the hills around still bear the name *Ṣafrā*, an equivalent of Asphar' (G. A. Smith, *EB* 343).

34. This verse, which is a variant of *v.* 43, has got out of place ; it should be deleted.

35. **his brother.** i. e. John ; cp. *vv.* 36, 38.

the Nabathaeans. See note on *v.* 25.

36. **the children of Ambri.** The reading Ἰαμβρεί is probably due to dittography, the ι of the preceding υἱοί having been repeated by mistake (Kautzsch). Cheyne, however, thinks that the form Jambri (or Jamri) is correct, as the name יעמר has been found on an Aramaic inscription at *Umm er-Reṣāṣ*, about twelve miles SSE. of Medeba (*EB* 2317). The name is not otherwise met with ; but, as the text shows, they belonged to an Arab clan of this name living at or near Medeba. Josephus has οἱ Ἀμαραίοι παῖδες, i. e. Amorites ; cp. Num. xxi. 29–31, where Medeba is spoken of as a city of the Amorites.

Medaba. Mentioned on the Moabite Stone : '. . . Now Omri annexed the (land) of Medeba, and dwelt therein' (ll. 7, 8). It was situated on the high land of Moab to the south of Heshbon ; cp. Joshua xiii. 9, 16. The ruins still survive and are called Medaba (see the *Quarterly Statement* of the Pal. Expl. Fund, July 1895 and July 1901).

37. **they brought word.** Presumably some escaped.

Nadabath. Possibly = Nebo ; Clermont-Ganneau (*Journal of the American Oriental Soc.*, 1891, pp. 541 ff.) thinks it is a mistake for Rabatha = Rabbath Ammon, twenty-two miles east of Jordan, on the river Jabbok (cp. 2 Sam. xii. 26–28) ; the modern *'Amman*.

39. **his friends.** Cp. Judges xiv. 11.

42. **the marsh-land.** τὸ ἕλος ; at the present day the ford nearest the Dead Sea is called *el Helu* ; it is no doubt owing to this that the Syriac Version reads 'the ford'! (cp. Grimm).

44. **for it is not . . .** i. e. the state of affairs is more desperate than hitherto on account of the hopeless position they are in, as described in the next verse.

45. **on this side and on that side.** i. e. they were caught in a bend of the river.

47. **and he turned . . .** The exact meaning here is not quite clear ; in view of the words : 'The battle was joined,' it is probable that the reference is not to a personal conflict between Jonathan and Bacchides, but that their names here refer to their respective parties. In this case, the meaning of *vv.* 47, 48 would be that Jonathan and his followers made such a vigorous onslaught upon the enemy that the latter gave way temporarily ; Jonathan, thereupon, seeing the indecision of the enemy, took advantage of the momentary respite, and plunged into the river, followed by his men. That he gained some advantage at the commencement of the battle seems evident from the fact that Bacchides is afraid to pursue ; he is, presumably, deterred by the courage of despair which had been evinced by his opponents. The mention of the loss of a thousand Syrians also points to a conflict which at the start, at all events, was not one-sided.

49 and they (i.e. Bacchides and his followers) did not pass over[a] Jordan against them. And there fell[b]
[c]of Bacchides' company[c] [d]that day[d] about a thousand[e] men.
50 And they[f] returned[g] to Jerusalem; and they[h] built strong cities in Judaea, (namely), the strong-
hold that is in Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Timnath[i], Pharathon, and
51 Tephon, with high walls, [k]and gates and bars[k]. And they[l] set garrisons[m] in them to vex Israel.
52 And they[n] fortified [o]the city Bethsura[o], and Gazara, and the citadel; [p]and they[q] put forces in them,
53 and store of victuals[p]. And they[r] took the sons[s] of the chief men of the country for hostages, and
put[t] them in ward in the citadel at Jerusalem.
54 Now in the one hundred and fifty-third year, [u]in the second month[u], Alcimus commanded to pull
down the wall of the inner court [u]of the sanctuary[u], (in so doing) he pulled down[v] also the works of
55 the prophets. [u]And (when) he began to pull down[u], at that (very) time, Alcimus was stricken, and
his works were hindered; and his mouth was stopped, and he became palsied, [u]and he could no more
56 speak anything, (nor) give order concerning his house[u]. And Alcimus[w] died at that time with great
57 torment. And (when) Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king. And the
land of Judah had rest two years.
58 And all the lawless men took counsel, saying: 'Behold, Jonathan, and they of his part are dwelling
at peace, (and) in security; [x]let us therefore now bring[x] Bacchides, and he will lay hands on them
59, 60 all[y] in one night.' And they went and consulted with him. And he[z] removed, and came with
a great host, and sent letters privily to all his confederates that were in Judaea, that they should lay
hands on Jonathan, and (on) them that were with him; but they were[a] not able (to do so), because
61 their plan became known to them[b]. And they (that were of Jonathan's part) laid hands on [c]about
62 fifty men[c] of the country that were the ringleaders in the wickedness, and slew[d] them. And Jona-
than, and Simon, and they that were with him, gat them away[e] to Bethbasi, which is in the wilder-
63 ness, and he built up [f]that which had been pulled down thereof[f], and made[g] it strong. And [h](when)
Bacchides knew it[h], he gathered together all[i] his multitude, and sent word to them that were in Judaea.
64 And he [k]went and[k] encamped against Bethbasi, and fought against it [k]many days, and made[k]
65 engines[l] (of war). And Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city, and went forth into the country;

[b] there went through A [c-c] by the side of Bacchides A [d-d] > 71 [e] three thousand ℵ V 55 𝔖g [f] he ℵ V Luc 𝔏
[g] + Bacchides 64 93 [h] he ℵ c.a [i] + and ℵ A V [k-k] > 71 [l] he ℵ [m] V *only* [n] he ℵ V [o-o] 𝔖 𝔏;
Bethsura ℵ 64 93 the city and Bethsura A the city near (*lit.* in) Bethsura V [p-p] > 71 [q] he ℵ V Luc 𝔏
[r] he ℵ V 𝔏 Bacchides 64 93 [s] + of Israel 55 [t] he put ℵ V 𝔏 64 93 [u-u] > 71 [v] destroyed 𝔏 [w] > 𝔖g
[x-x] V[a] *only* we will bring ℵ A V* let us lead Luc [y] > 19 64 𝔏[1] [z] Bacchides Luc [a] he was not A
[b] > ℵ him 𝔖g [c-c] > ℵ [d] he slew ℵ A 𝔏[1] [e] + from them ℵ [f-f] > 71 [g] they made ℵ 𝔏[1] T.R. [h-h] > 𝔏[1]
[i] > 𝔖luc [k-k] > 71 [l] with engines 71

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50. **they.** i.e. the Syrians; cp. critical note.

the stronghold that is in Jericho. Grimm refers to the two citadels by Jericho mentioned by Strabo as having been destroyed by Pompey, namely Taurus and Thrax; the reference here must be to one of these.

Emmaus. See note on iii. 40.

Bethhoron. See note on iii. 16.

Bethel. About ten miles north of Jerusalem, the modern *Beitin*, nearly 3,000 ft. above the sea-level.

Timnath. Several places of this name are mentioned in the O.T.; the one here must be either the Timnath-Serah in Mount Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (Joshua xix. 50, xxiv. 30; Judges ii. 9), or the Timna (called also Timnatha) in Danite territory about fifteen miles to the west of Jerusalem; the latter is, perhaps, the more likely.

Pharathon. The Syriac and O.L. versions, like Josephus, omit 'and'. This place is the Pirathon of the O.T. (Judges xii. 13, 15), in Ephraimite territory (but cp. xi. 34), the modern Ferata, about six or seven miles south-west of Nablous, the ancient Sichem.

Tephon. Probably a corruption of Tappuach, also in the inheritance of Ephraim (Joshua xvi. 8).

52. **Bethsura, and Gazara.** See notes on iv. 29. 15.

the citadel. Cp. i. 33, and the note on v. 53.

54. **the one hundred and fifty-third year.** i.e. 159 B.C.

the second month. Iyar in the Jewish calendar.

the wall of the inner court. The inner court was restricted to Israelites, so that the pulling down of its wall implied the obliteration of all religious difference between Israelites and Gentiles; this was to undo the work of the prophets whose aim was to keep the Israelites distinct from their idolatrous neighbours.

56. **Alcimus died.** Josephus places the death of Alcimus earlier, before the death of Judas, see *Antiq.* XII. x. 6; he says that Alcimus was 'smitten suddenly by God'.

57. **he returned to the king.** Assuming, no doubt, that the country had now been subjugated; but, as the sequel shows, the period of rest which the land had enjoyed, was utilized by the national party to good purpose.

62. **Bethbasi, which is in the wilderness.** G. A. Smith says that 'in the wilderness of Judaea, east of Tekoa, there is a *Wady el-Bassah*, which name as it stands means 'marsh', an impossible term, and therefore probably an echo of an ancient name' (*EB* 550); possibly Bethbasi is to be identified with this.

65. **and went forth into the country.** For the purpose of creating diversions, and to come to the relief of his brother at the right moment.

66 and he went with a (small) number. And he smote Odomera and his brethren, and the children of
67 Phasiron in their tents. And he[m] began to smite (them) and to go up with (his) troops. Then Simon
68 and they that were with him went out of the city and set on fire the engines (of war); and they fought against Bacchides, and he was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore, [n]for his plan
69 and his attack had been in vain[n]. And they[o] were very wroth with the lawless men that gave him counsel to come into the country, and they slew many of them. And he determined to depart into
70 his own land. And (when) Jonathan had knowledge (thereof), he sent ambassadors [p]unto him[p], to the end that they should make peace with him, and that he should restore unto them[q] the captives.
71 And he[r] accepted (the thing), [s]and did according to his words[s], and sware unto him that he would
72 not seek his hurt all the days of his life. And he restored unto him the captives which he had taken captive aforetime out of [t]the land of[t] Judah; and he[u] returned and departed into his own land, and
73 came[v] not any more into their borders. And the sword ceased from Israel. And Jonathan dwelt at Michmash. And Jonathan began to judge the people[w]; and he destroyed the ungodly out of Israel[x].

X. 1–66. *Jonathan supports Alexander Balas in his struggle with Demetrius I.*

10 1 In[a] the one hundred and sixtieth year Alexander [b]Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus[b], went up
2 and took possession of Ptolemais, and they[c] received him, and he reigned there[d]. And (when) king Demetrius heard (thereof), he gathered together exceeding great forces, and went forth to meet him
3 in battle. And Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with words of peace, so as to magnify him.
4 For he said: 'Let us be beforehand to make peace with them, ere he make peace with Alexander
5 against us. For he will remember all the evils which we have done [e]unto him[e], and unto his
6 brethren and unto his nation[f].' And he gave him authority to gather together forces, and to provide arms, and to be his confederate; and he commanded that they should deliver up to him the hostages
7 that were in the citadel. And Jonathan came to Jerusalem, and read the letters [g]in the ears of all[h]

[m] they ℵ V 64 93 [n-n] > 71 [o] he ℵ c·a V Bacchides 19 93 Sluc [p-p] unto them ℵ 93 > V [q] him 55 L Sg [r] Bacchides Luc [s-s] > 71 [t-t] > ℵ Sg [u] Bacchides 19 93 Sluc [v] looked Luc [w] + of Israel 19 93 Sluc [x] of it Sluc

X. [a] And in G L Sluc [b-b] the son of Antiochus Epiphanes Sluc > Antiochus L² [c] it A 93 ℵ c·a [d] (over) them L¹ [e-e] > L¹ [f] race V [g-g] > 71 [h] > Sg

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with a (small) number. ἀριθμῷ, cp. Isa. x. 19 (Sept.).

66. **Odomera.** Another reading is Odoarres; presumably the name of the head of some Bedouin clan; this applies also to Phasiron.

and to go up with (his) troops. i.e. to lead his troops against the enemy; for the Hebrew phrase 'to go up' (עלה על) for the purpose of fighting cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 10; Judg. vi. 3, xv. 10, xviii. 9, &c.

70. **the captives.** i.e. those who had been taken captive aforetime (see *v.* 72).

73. **And the sword ceased . . .** 'With this laconic notice the First Book of Maccabees passes over the following five years. This can only mean that Jonathan, while the official Sanhedrim of Jerusalem was still filled by those friendly to the Greeks, established at Michmash a sort of rival government, which gradually won the position of main influence in the country, so that it was able even to drive out (ἀφανίζειν) the ungodly, that is, the Hellenizing party. The Hellenistic or Greek-favouring party had no root among the people. The great mass of the Jews had still the distinct consciousness that Hellenism, even if it should tolerate the religion of Israel, was irreconcilable with the religion of the scribes. So soon, then, as pressure from above was removed, the great majority of the people gave themselves heart and soul to the national Jewish movement. The Maccabees, therefore, had the people soon again at their back. And this is the explanation of the fact that during the struggles for the Syrian throne now beginning, the claimants contended with one another in endeavouring to secure to themselves the goodwill of the Maccabees' (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 239).

Michmash. Nine miles north of Jerusalem, the modern *Mukhmas.*

and he destroyed . . . This shows how the power of the national party had been consolidated.

X. 1. **In the one hundred and sixtieth year.** 153 B.C.; the last date given was 159 B.C. (see ix. 54), and in *v.* 57 we are told that the land had rest for two years; seven years have, therefore, elapsed since the time that Bacchides thought the land was subjugated (see note on ix. 57); and during this interval nothing is recorded save an abortive attempt on the part of Bacchides to subdue Jonathan (ix. 58–73).

Alexander Epiphanes. Alexander Balas was a low-born native of Smyrna who, owing to his resemblance to Antiochus Eupator, gave himself out to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. He was taken up by Attalus II, King of Pergamum, from whom he received the name of Alexander, and who supported his claims to the kingdom of Syria against Demetrius. Although, according to Polybius (xxxiii. 14. 6), it was well known that the claims of Alexander were without justification, he was, nevertheless, recognized by the Roman Senate, who promised to support him. His success was largely due to the fact that Demetrius was hated by his own people (see Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. ii. 1) on account of his 'insolence and difficulty of access', and because he was 'slothful and negligent about the public affairs'.

Ptolemais. See note on v. 15, and cp. Josephus, *l. c.*

2. **went forth to meet . . .** See note on vii. 31.

3. **with words of peace.** See note on i. 30.

7. **in the ears of all the people.** Cp. Isa. xxxvi. 2 באזני העם.

8 the people, and of them that were in the citadel[g]; and they were sore afraid when they heard that
9 the king had given him[i] authority to gather together forces. And they [k]of the citadel[k] delivered up
10 the hostages unto Jonathan, and he[l] restored them to their parents. And Jonathan dwelt[m] in
11 Jerusalem, and began to build [n]and renew[n] the city. And [o]he[p] commanded them that did the work
to build[o] the walls and the mount Sion round about with square[q] stones for defence; and they[r] did
12, 13 so. And the strangers, that were in the strongholds that Bacchides had built, fled away; [s]and
14 each man left his place[s], and departed into his own land. Only in Bethsura were there left certain
of those that had forsaken the Law, [s]and the commandments; for it was a place of refuge unto
them[s].

15 And king Alexander heard all the promises which Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan; and they
told him of the battles and the valiant deeds [t]which he and his brethren had done, [u]and of the toils
16 which they had endured[tu]; and he said: 'Shall we find another such man? And now [v]let us make[v]
17 him our Friend [w]and confederate[w].' And he wrote letters, [xy]and sent (them) unto him[y], according to
18, 19 these words, saying[x]: 'King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting[z]! We have heard
20 concerning thee, that thou art a mighty[a] man of valour, [b]and meet to be our Friend[b]. And now we
have appointed thee [c]this day[c] (to be) high-priest of thy nation, and (it is our will) that thou shouldest
be called the king's Friend'—and he[d] sent unto him a purple robe and a crown[e] of gold[f]—'and that
21 thou shouldest take our part, and keep friendship[g] with us.' And Jonathan put on the holy garment
[h]in the seventh month of the one hundred and sixtieth year[h], at the feast of Tabernacles, and he
gathered together forces, and provided arms in abundance.

22, 23 And (when) Demetrius heard [i]these things[i], he was grieved, and said: 'Why have we permitted
this to be done, that Alexander hath been beforehand [k]with us in establishing friendship with the
24 Jews[k], to strengthen himself? I also will write unto them words of encouragement, [l]and of honour,
25 and gifts, that they may be with me for (my) aid.' And he sent unto them according to these words[l]:
26 'King Demetrius unto the nation of the Jews, greeting! Forasmuch as ye have kept covenant with
us, and have continued in our friendship, [m]and have not joined yourselves to our enemies, we, (who)
27 have heard (hereof), rejoice. And now continue ye still[m] to keep faith with us, and we will recom-
28 pense unto you [n]good things[n] [o]in return for what ye do in our behalf[o]; and we will grant you many
29 immunities, and will give you gifts. [p]And now I (herewith) free you, and release all the Jews from
30 the tributes[p], and from the custom on salt, and from (the presenting of)[q] the crowns; and instead of

[i] them A [k-k] > 𝔏² [l] they A [m] heard A [n-n] > 71 [o-o] > 71 [p] Jonathan 64 93 [q] four-foot א V 55
[r] he א V 𝔏¹ [s-s] > 71 [t-t] > 71 [u-u] > 𝔖luc [v-v] we will make א V 19 64 [w-w] > 71 [x-x] unto him 71
[y-y] > Luc [z] > V [a] good A [b-b] > 71 [c-c] > 71 [d] they A [e] a royal crown 𝔖g [f] + and saying א c.a
[g] *plur.* א Luc [h-h] > 71 [i-i] > 71 [k-k] > V [l-l] > 71 [m-m] > 71 [n-n] > 𝔖g [o-o] > 71 [p-p] And
now I release all Jews from tribute 𝔏² [q] the custom of 55

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8. **they were sore afraid.** ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν, cp. Luke ii. 9.

11. **square stones.** Cp. 1 Kings vi. 36, vii. 9; Isa. ix. 9; called in Hebrew אַבְנֵי גָזִית; not אבני מחצב ('hewn stones'), which were smaller, and not necessarily 'square'.

14. **Bethsura.** See note on iv. 29.

16. **Friend.** See note on ii. 18.

18. **King . . . greeting!** A Greek formula which often occurs in 1–2 Macc.; the Hebrew equivalent for 'greeting' would be שָׁלוֹם 'Peace'.

19. **a mighty man of valour.** A very frequent O.T. expression, גִּבּוֹר חַיִל.

20. **high-priest.** This office had been vacant for seven years, i.e. since the death of Alcimus.

a purple robe and a crown of gold. Cp. xi. 58, xix. 43; Esther viii. 15; Dan. v. 7.

21. **the holy garment.** i.e. the specific high-priestly robe (מְעִיל); the 'robe of righteousness' (Isa. lxi. 10).

the seventh month. Tishri, corresponding roughly to October.

the feast of Tabernacles. Called *Sukkoth* ('Booths'); the feast began on the 15th of Tishri, and lasted seven days (Lev. xxiii. 34); nowadays it lasts nine days, and is called 'the season of Rejoicing'; cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* VIII. iv. 1.

he gathered together forces . . . Jonathan evidently thought it wisest, in the long run, to trust to himself only.

27. **we will recompense . . .** These promises were of such an extravagant character that Jonathan would in any case have regarded them with suspicion; but he evidently knew the real state of affairs, and foresaw that the doom of Demetrius was sealed.

29. **the tributes.** This was the principal burden laid upon the people, the poll-tax; 'it was, strictly speaking, a kind of trade-tax, a percentage that varied according to the nature of the work and the means of the individual, not a personal tax, uniform and unchanging' (*EB* 4909, after Aristotle, *Oeconom.* ii. 1. 4).

the custom on salt. A very large quantity of salt is deposited upon the marshy land around the Dead Sea when the annual spring floods, which cause the sea-level to rise several feet, subside. The tax on this was called ἡ ἁλική; the very words here used, ἀπὸ . . . τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἁλός, have been found on an Egyptian ostrakon. See further on the whole subject of salt-taxes in Palestine under the Seleucidae, Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten* . . ., i. pp. 141 ff.

and from . . . crowns. These were originally voluntary gifts given to the sovereign, but afterwards exacted as of right. For another instance of the remission of taxes to the Jews see Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii. 3, where we are told of 'poll-money, and the crown tax, and other taxes' being remitted.

the third part of the seed, and instead of [r]the half of[r] the fruit of the trees, which falleth to me
to receive, I release (them) from this day and henceforth, so that I will not take (them) from the
land of Judah, and from the three governments which are added thereunto from the country of
31 Samaria and Galilee, [s]from this day forth and for all time[s]. And [t]let Jerusalem be[t] holy and
32 free, [u]together with the outlying districts, (regarding)[v] the tenths and the tolls. [w]I yield up[w]
also my authority over[u] the citadel which is at Jerusalem, and give (it) to the high-priest[x], that
33 he may appoint in it (such) men as he shall choose, to keep it. And every soul of the Jews that
hath been carried away captive from the land of Judah into any part of my kingdom, I set at
34 liberty [y]without price[y]; and let all remit the tributes of their cattle also. And all the feasts, and
the Sabbaths, and new moons, and appointed days, and three days before a feast, [z]and three days
after a feast[z], [a]let them all be days of immunity and release for all the Jews [b]that are in my king-
35 dom[ab]; and no man shall have authority to exact (anything) from any of them, or to trouble them
36 concerning any matter. And let there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty[c] thousand men
37 of the Jews, and pay shall be given unto them, as belongeth to all[d] the king's forces. [ef]And of them
some shall be placed in the king's[e] great strongholds, and some of them shall be placed over the
affairs of the kingdom[g], which are of trust; and let those that are over them, and their rulers, be
from among themselves, and let them walk after their own laws, even as the king hath commanded
38 in the land of Judah. And the three governments that have been added to Judaea from the country
of Samaria[h] [i]let them be added to Judaea, [k]that they may be reckoned[ik] to be under one (man),
39 that they obey not any other authority than that of the high-priest[f]. As for Ptolemais, and the land
pertaining thereto, I have given (it [l]as) a gift[l] to [m]the sanctuary that is at[m] Jerusalem, for the
40 expenses [n]that befit[n] the sanctuary. And I (undertake to) give every year fifteen thousand shekels
41 of silver [o]from the king's revenues[o], [p]from the places which are (most) convenient[p]. [qr]And all the

[r-r] > Sluc [s-s] > 71 [t-t] J. shall be V [u-u] > L1 [v] and I remit A V 19 S [w-w] > A 19 71 S [x] to the holy house Sg [y-y] > 71 [z-z] > 71 L1 [a-a] *paraphrased in* S [b-b] > 71 [c] three Sluc [d] > Sluc [e-e] > ℵ L1 [f-f] > 71 [g] of the king Sluc [h] + and Galilee Luc [i-i] let them be reckoned with Judaea Sg L1 [k-k] > 19 Sluc [l-l] > Sluc [m-m] > Sg [n-n] > Sluc [o-o] > 71 from the king's treasury Sg from the treasury L2 [p-p] > Sluc [q-q] All that is owing to me Sluc [r-r] > 71

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30. **the seed.** Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 3): 'the fruits (of the field),' cp. τὰ σπειρόμενα, XIV. x. 6.

half of the fruit . . . A larger proportion of this was appropriated because the produce involved less labour.

the three governments. Cp. xi. 28, 34, called 'toparchies'.

and Galilee. This is an erroneous addition; the three toparchies mentioned belonged to Samaria, cp. xi. 34; in *v.* 38 of this chapter a similar error is made in some MSS., see critical note there.

and for all time. Cp. xi. 36.

31. **let J. be holy.** What is meant is made very clear by referring to a rescript of Antiochus III, the Great, quoted by Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. iii. 4): 'It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the Temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. . . . Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmae of silver.

free, . . . the tenths and the tolls. The reference is to the tithes, and the tax on the revenues of the Temple, which had been exacted by the Syrian rulers; Josephus makes this clear (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 3): 'I also release to you those ten thousand drachmae which the kings received from the Temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that Temple' (cp. also 2 Macc. xi. 3). The Temple dues which were thus taxed were: (1) 'the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God' (Neh. x. 32), which every Israelite of twenty years and upwards had to pay annually; originally it was a half-shekel (about one shilling and twopence halfpenny), for rich and poor alike (Exod. xxx. 14, 15); but on this see Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. 1. 250; (2) the votive offerings (cp. Lev. xxvii; Deut. xxiii. 22–24; see also Josephus, *Antiq.* IV. iv. 4) = נדרים; and (3) the free-will offerings (נדבות). On the whole subject of these offerings see the Mishnic tractate *Shekalim.*

33. **and let all remit.** The 'all' must refer to the king's officials, 'their cattle' to the property of Jews; what is meant is explained by Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 3): 'I also give order that the beasts belonging to the Jews be not pressed for our service.'

34. **days of immunity . . .** i.e., as the next verse shows, on these days the Jews were to be left unmolested, whether as regards the payment of taxes or debts (cp. *v.* 43) or as regards service for the king.

36. **And let there be enrolled . . .** This would give a *status* to the Jews which they had not hitherto enjoyed; but Demetrius' main object was to increase his forces in order to withstand Alexander.

pay. ξένια = the clothing, food, and pay given to mercenary troops.

37. **and some of them shall be placed . . .** Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. ii. 3) says: 'And some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court;' cp. *Antiq.* XII. ii. 5.

38. **the three governments.** See note on *v.* 30.

39. **As for Ptolemais . . .** As Alexander had taken possession of this (see *v.* 1), the promise was merely a bribe to induce Jonathan to attack the rival of Demetrius.

40. **from the places . . . convenient.** i.e. those which could best afford it; the clause is omitted by the Lucianic Syriac, and Josephus makes no reference to it.

41. **all the overplus.** Fairweather and Black are probably right in understanding this to refer to the additional

overplus [q] which the officials paid not in—as (has been done) in former years [s]—they shall from
42 henceforth give towards the works of the [t] house [r]. And [u] beside this [u], the five thousand shekels of silver, which they used to take from the dues of the sanctuary [v] [w] out of the income [w] year by
43 year, [x y] this also is released, because it appertaineth [x] to the priests that minister [y]. And whosoever shall flee unto the temple that is in Jerusalem, and in all the precincts thereof, (because) he oweth money to the king, or for any other reason, let (such) go free, together with all, whatsoever they possess,
44 in my kingdom. And for the building and renewing of the works of the sanctuary the expense
45 shall be given also out of the king's revenue. [z] And for the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof round about, [a] shall the expense be given also out of the king's revenue [b z], and for the building of the walls (of other cities) in Judaea [a].'

46 Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credence unto them [c], nor received they (them), because they remembered the great evil that he had done in Israel [d], and that
47 he had afflicted them very sore. And (moreover) they were well pleased with Alexander, because he was the first that spake [e] words of peace [e] unto them, and they remained confederate with him always.

48 And king Alexander gathered together [f] great forces [f], and encamped over against Demetrius.
49 And the two kings joined battle, and the army of Alexander [g] fled, and Demetrius [h] followed after
50 him [i], and prevailed against them. And he continued the battle [k] obstinately until the sun went down; and Demetrius fell that day.

51 And Alexander [l] sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, [m] according to these words [m],
52 saying: 'Forasmuch as I am returned to my kingdom, and am set on the throne of my fathers, and have gotten the dominion, and have overthrown Demetrius, [n] and have gotten possession of our
53 country [n]—yea, I joined battle with him, and he and his army were discomfited by us, and we [o] sat
54 upon the throne of his kingdom,—let us now establish amity [p] one with the other [p]; and give me now [q] thy daughter to wife; and I will make affinity with thee, and will give both thee and her gifts
55 worthy of thee.' And Ptolemy the king answered, saying [r]: 'Happy is the day wherein thou didst
56 return into the land of thy fathers, and didst sit upon the throne of their kingdom. And now will I do to thee (according to) the things which thou hast written. But meet (me) [s] at Ptolemais, that
57 we may see one another; and I will make affinity with thee [t] even as thou hast said [t].' And Ptolemy went out of Egypt, he and Cleopatra his daughter, [u] and came unto Ptolemais, in the one hundred
58 and sixty-second year [u]; and he bestowed on him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great pomp, as the manner of kings is.

59, 60 And king [v] Alexander wrote unto Jonathan, that he should come to meet him. And he [w] went

[s] nations Luc $\mathfrak{L}^2$ [t] this Luc [u-u] > 71 [v] + as in former years A V 55 71 $\mathfrak{S}$ $\mathfrak{L}$ [w-w] > $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [x-x] > $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [y-y] > 71 [z-z] > $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [a-a] > 64 [b] house 19 93 $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [c] him $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ > 71 [d] Jerusalem 64 [e-e] > 71 [f-f] all the forces ℵ + and many 19 93 [g] Demetrius ℵ c.a, c.b V 19 64 [h] Alexander ℵ c.a V 19 64 [i] them ℵ c.a 19 $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [k] $\mathfrak{S}^g$ *is wanting from here to* year *in v.* 67 [l] + in that day Luc $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [m-m] > 71 [n-n] > 71 [o] I Luc [p-p] with him A with them ℵ [q] > ℵ 19 71 93 $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ $\mathfrak{L}$ [r] > 71 [s] *expressed in* ℵ c.a 19 93 [t-t] > 71 [u-u] > 71 [v] > 71 [w] Jonathan Luc

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yearly subsidy granted for the Temple service out of State funds, and regularly paid ('as in former years') under the Persians, Ptolemies, and Seleucidae, prior to Antiochus Epiphanes.

the works of the house. i.e. the affairs of the Temple, see preceding note.

42. **the five thousand shekels of silver, which . . .** This item has already been dealt with in *v.* 31.

dues. Text reads χρειῶν = צרכי, corrupt for ערכי [Gen. Editor].

43. **shall flee unto the temple.** Jewish law granted the right of asylum only to those who had committed murder accidentally; the places of asylum were the altar in the Temple, and the six cities of refuge (cp. Exod. xxi. 14; 1 Kings i. 50, ii. 28, 29).

44. **for the building . . .** Cp. Ezra vi. 8, vii. 20.

46. **they gave no credence.** The promises were far too extravagant to inspire confidence.

47. **the first.** ἀρχηγός, i.e. he took a higher place in their estimation.

49, 50. This laconic account can only be understood by the aid of Josephus, who says (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 4): 'And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp. But the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away. But Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he being now on foot, fought bravely; but at length he received so many wounds that he was not able to bear up any longer, and fell.'

51. **Ptolemy.** The sixth of the name, surnamed Philometor; he reigned 180–146 B.C., first under the guardianship of his mother, Cleopatra, and jointly with his brother until 170, when he became sole king of Egypt.

52. **I am returned to my kingdom . . .** This insolent falsehood had been so sedulously propagated that many believed Alexander to be the rightful heir; presumably the author of 1 Macc. also believed this.

54. **thy daughter.** Cleopatra, the issue of the incestuous union between Ptolemy and his sister, Cleopatra.

[x] with pomp to Ptolemais [x], and met the two kings, and gave them and their Friends silver and
61 gold, and many [y] gifts; and he found favour in their sight. And there were gathered together
against him [z] (certain) pestilent fellows out of Israel [z], men that were transgressors of the Law, to
62 complain against him; but the king [a] gave no heed to them. And the king [a] commanded [b], and they [c]
63 took off Jonathan's garments, and clothed him in purple; [d] even so did they do [d]. And the king [e] made
him sit with him, and said unto his princes: 'Go forth with him into the midst of the city, and make
proclamation, that no man complain against him [f] concerning any matter [f], and let no man trouble
64 him for any manner of cause.' And [g] it came to pass [g], when they that complained against him [h] saw
his glory [i] according as (the herald) made proclamation [i], and (saw) him clothed in purple [k], that they
65 all fled away. [l] And the king showed him [h] honour, and wrote [m] him among his Chief Friends, and
66 made him a captain, and governor of a province [l]. And Jonathan returned [n] to Jerusalem [n] with
peace [o] and gladness [o].

X. 67–89. *Victory of Jonathan over Apollonius, the general of Demetrius II; he is rewarded by Alexander.*

67 And in the one hundred and sixty-fifth year came Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, out of Crete
68 into the land of his fathers. And (when) king Alexander heard (thereof) he [p] was grieved exceed-
69 ingly, and returned [q] unto Antioch. And Demetrius appointed Apollonius, [r] who was [r] over
Coelesyria [s], (captain); and he gathered together a great host, and encamped in Jamnia, and sent
70 unto Jonathan the high-priest, saying: 'Thou alone liftest up thyself against us; but I am had in
derision and in reproach because of thee. [t] And why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the
71 mountains? [t] Now therefore, if thou trustest in thy forces, come down to us in the plain, and there
72 let us try conclusions with one another, for with me is the power of the cities [u]. Ask and learn who
I am, [v] and the rest [w] (of those) that help us; and they (will) say, Your [x] foot cannot stand before
73 our face; for thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land. And now thou wilt not

[x-x] > 71 [y] > Sluc [z-z] > 93 [a-a] > 93 [b] + them A [c] he A [d-d] > 71 L[1] [e] kings ℵ [f-f] > 71
[g-g] > 71 Sluc [h] Jonathan Luc [i-i] > 71 [k] linen A [l-l] > 71 [m] appointed 55 [n-n] > ℵ [o-o] > 71
[p] the king ℵ [q] sent 19 [r-r] leader 55 L[1] defender Sg [s] Syria Sluc [t-t] > 71 [u] wars 64 [v-v] > 71
[w] > Sluc [x] Thy Sg

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60. **and he found favour in their sight.** A Hebrew expression (מָצָא חֵן בְּעֵינֵי) which frequently occurs in the O.T., e.g. Gen. xxx. 27, xlvii. 25, 29; 1 Sam. i. 18, &c.

61. **pestilent fellows.** *ἄνδρες λοιμοί*, cp. 1 Sam. xxx. 22 (Sept.) *ἀνὴρ λοιμός*; 1 Sam. xxv. 25 . . . *τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λοιμόν* . . . (אִישׁ בְּלִיַּעַל).

62. **clothed him in purple.** 'It is still the custom of oriental kings to bestow upon State officials, vassals, governors, ambassadors, and scholars, as a mark of honour, not, it is true, purple, but a costly garment, called *Khila* . . . and especially also those whom they wish publicly and solemnly to declare innocent of some charge do they clothe in gorgeous apparel, and cause them to be led through the royal city' (Grimm); references to the accounts of travellers are given. Cf. Gen. xli. 43; Esther vi. 11.

65. **Chief Friends.** There were evidently different grades among the King's Friends, just as in an aristocracy; Jonathan had already been made a Friend of the King (see *v.* 16).

a captain, and governor of a province. '*Στρατηγός* and *μεριδάρχης* may be taken as equivalent to military and civil governor. . . . It specially deserves notice, that, in spite of Jonathan's appointment as *στρατηγός*, a Syrian governor still continued to occupy the citadel of Jerusalem' (Schürer).

66. **with peace and gladness.** The rebuff which the Hellenistic Jews had received, and the honours which had been heaped upon Jonathan, occasioned him outward and inward peace.

67. **the one hundred and sixty-fifth year.** 147 B.C.

Demetrius. The second, surnamed Nicator. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 2) adds further that he came with a large number of mercenary troops, brought to him by Lasthenes, a Cretan, and sailed to Cilicia. He had been living in exile in Crete since the war between his father and Alexander began.

68. **returned unto Antioch.** i.e. from Ptolemais.

69. **Apollonius.** According to Polybius (xxxi. 21. 2), the foster-brother (*σύντροφος*) of Demetrius I. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 2) calls him 'Apollonius Daus', i.e. belonging to the Dahae, a great Scythian people who led a nomad life over a large tract of country east of the Caspian Sea, still called Daghestan.

Coelesyria. i.e. 'hollow (*κοίλη*) Syria', so called because it included, and was originally restricted to, the depression between the two Lebanons (cp. Joshua xi. 17 בִּקְעַת הַלְּבָנוֹן, 'the valley of Lebanon'); but in the Greek period it included the whole of eastern Palestine; Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. iv. 5) says that it stretched from 'as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt'; it is in this extended sense in which the name is here used. It occurs for the first time in 1 Esdras ii. 17. In the Roman period Coelesyria was again used in the restricted sense, as it was made a separate province.

Jamnia. See note on iv. 15.

72. **for thy fathers . . .** As Apollonius is writing from Jamnia (Jabneel), i.e. from what was formerly Philistine territory, he is probably referring to Israelite defeats at the hands of the Philistines; the two most signal instances were the battle of Aphek, at which the Philistines captured the Ark (1 Sam. iv. 1–11), and the battle of Mount Gilboa,

be able to withstand the horse and such an host as this in the plain, where there is neither stone
74 [y] nor flint [y], nor (any) place [z] to flee unto [v].' Now when Jonathan heard the words of Apollonius, he
was [a] moved in his mind [a]; and he chose out ten thousand men, [b] and went forth [b] from Jerusalem;
75 and Simon his brother met him for to help him. And he encamped against Joppa; and they of the
city shut him [c] out, because Apollonius (had) a garrison [d] in Joppa [d]; and they [e] fought against it.
76 [f] And they of the city, being afraid, opened (the gates) [f], and Jonathan became master of Joppa.
77 And (when) Apollonius heard (of this), he gathered [g] an army of three thousand horse, and a great
host, and went to Azotus as though (intending) to journey on, but [h] at the same time [h] moved
78 forward [i] into the plain, because he had a multitude of horse, and relied on this. And he [k] pursued
79 after him [l] to Azotus, and the armies joined battle [m]. Now Apollonius had left a thousand horse
80 [n] behind him [n], hidden [o]; but Jonathan realized that there was an ambushment [p] behind him [p]. And
they surrounded his army, and cast (their) [q] darts at the people from morning until [r] late in the
81 afternoon [r]; but the people stood still, as Jonathan (had) commanded, while the (enemy's) horses
82 were wearying (themselves). And Simon drew forth his host, and joined battle with the phalanx—
83 for the horsemen [s] were spent—and they were discomfited by him, [t] and fled. And the horsemen [s]
were scattered in the plain [t]; and they fled to Azotus, and entered into Beth-dagon, their idol's tem-
84 ple [u], to save themselves. And Jonathan burned Azotus, and the cities round about it, and took
85 their spoils; [v] and the temple of Dagon, [w] and them that fled into it [w], he burned with fire [v]. And
they that had fallen [x] by the sword [x], with them that were burned, were about eight thousand men.
86 And from thence Jonathan removed, and encamped against Askalon, and they of the city came forth
87 to meet him with great pomp. And Jonathan, with them that were on his side, returned to Jerusalem,
88 having many spoils. And [y] it came to pass [y], when king Alexander heard these things, he honoured
89 Jonathan yet more; and he sent unto him a buckle of gold, as the use is to give to such as are of
the kindred of the kings; moreover, he gave him Ekron and all the borders thereof for a possession.

[y-y] > 𝔏 [z] + whither A [a-a] enraged and moved 𝔖g [b-b] > 𝔖luc [c] ℵ* V 𝔖luc 𝔏1 *make this refer to the city* [d-d] therein 𝔖luc [e] he 𝔖g [f-f] And they were afraid and departed from the city 𝔏1 [g] interposed 93 𝔖luc [h-h] > 𝔖luc [i] led forward A 55 [k] Jonathan T.R. 𝔖 [l] + for battle ℵ V [m] + after him 𝔊 (*exc.* Luc) 𝔖 𝔏 [n-n] > 71 [o] in a hiding-place T.R. [p-p] > 𝔖 [q] *expressed in* 19 93 [r-r] evening T.R. the sinking (*of the sun*) 𝔖g [s-s] > 71 [t-t] > 𝔖g [u] > 93 𝔖luc 𝔏1 [v-v] > 19 93 𝔖luc [w-w] and its (i.e. *the city's*) temple A > 71 [x-x] > 𝔏1 [y-y] > 71 𝔖luc 𝔏2

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when king Saul was slain (1 Sam. xxxi. 1–7). These were by no means, however, the only occasions on which the Israelites were defeated by the Philistines, and perhaps for this reason Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 3) says that 'these are the very men who *always* conquered thy progenitors', though this, again, is a gross exaggeration, cp. e.g. 2 Sam. v. 17–21, when David defeated them at the battle of Baal-perazim (2 Sam. viii. 1; 1 Chron. xviii. 1, &c.).

73. **neither stone nor flint.** An exaggeration, to emphasize the contrast between the mountainous country and the plain.

75. **Joppa.** The modern Jaffa, 3½ miles from Jamnia; its chief importance lay in its harbour, which was the best, though not an ideal one, on the coast of Palestine; cp. 1 Macc. xii. 33, 34, xiii. 11, xiv. 5, 34, xv. 28–30, 35; 2 Macc. xii. 3–7.

77. **Azotus.** See note on iv. 15.

but . . . moved forward. With the purpose of enticing Jonathan out.

79. **hidden.** Lit. 'in secret', Josephus, more explicitly, 'in a gully.'

80. **realized.** Lit. 'knew', presumably by means of spies.

cast (their) darts. 'Shot their arrows' (Hebr. ירה חץ, as in, e.g. 1 Sam. xx. 36).

81. **but the people stood still.** This is explained by Josephus, who says that Jonathan commanded his army 'to stand in a square battle array'; they covered themselves with their shields, against which the enemy hurled their missiles in vain.

82. **Simon drew forth his host.** Evidently having been held in reserve all this time.

83. **Beth-dagon.** Dagon was one of the chief gods of the Philistines (cp. Judges xvi. 23, 24; 1 Sam. v. 1–5), whose worship they took over when they first entered into the land; his name occurs on the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, and has also been found inscribed on the walls of the temple of Mukair in southern Babylonia. Although it cannot be proved that Dagon was a fish-god, it is probable that this was the case, though Philo Byblius speaks of him as a corn-god (deriving the name from דגן 'corn', instead of דג 'fish').

84. **the cities . . .** Josephus, more correctly, 'the villages about it.'

86. **Askalon.** One of the five chief cities of the Philistines (Joshua xiii. 3), lying on the coast between Ashdod and Gaza; the modern *Askalûn.*

88. **he honoured . . . yet more.** *προσέθετο δοξάσαι,* a Hebraism (יסף ל).

89. **a buckle of gold.** Cp. xi. 58, xiv. 44; the golden buckle and the purple robe (see *v.* 21) were only worn by the most distinguished men of the kingdom, or by 'the kindred of the kings'.

Ekron. The most northerly of the chief Philistine cities; it lay between Ashdod and Jamnia towards the east; the modern Akir.

XI. 1–19. *Alliance between Ptolemy VI and Demetrius II, resulting in the downfall of Alexander Balas. Demetrius becomes king of Syria.*

11 1 And[a] the king of Egypt gathered together [b]great forces[b], as the sand which is by the sea shore
(for multitude), [c]and many ships[c], and sought to make himself master of Alexander's kingdom by
2 deceit, and to add it to his own kingdom. And he went forth into Syria with[d] words of peace; and
they of the cities opened unto him (the gates), and met him, and king Alexander's command was
3 that they should meet him, because he was his father-in-law. Now when [e]Ptolemy entered into the
4 cities[e], he placed in each city[f] his forces ([g]for) a garrison[g]. And when he came near to Azotus, they
showed him the temple of Dagon (which had been) burned with fire, [h]and Azotus, (which) together
with the suburbs thereof, had been pulled down, and the bodies scattered about, and them that had
been burned, [i]whom he had burned[i] [k]in the war[k], for they had made heaps of them in his way[h].
5 And they told the king what things Jonathan had done, in order to cast blame on him; and the
6 king[l] held his peace. And Jonathan met the king[m] [n]with pomp[n] at Joppa, and they saluted one
7 another, and they slept there. [o]And Jonathan went with the king[o] as far as the river [p]that is called[p]
Eleutherus, and returned to Jerusalem.
8 But king Ptolemy made himself master of the cities upon the sea coast, unto Seleucia [q]which is by
9 the sea[q], and he devised evil devices concerning Alexander. And he sent ambassadors unto king
Demetrius, saying: 'Let us make a covenant with one another, and I will give thee (to wife) my
10 daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou shalt reign over thy father's kingdom; for I have repented
11 that I gave my daughter unto him, for he sought to slay me.' [r]But he cast blame on him (thus),
12 because he coveted his kingdom[r]. And taking his daughter (from Alexander), he gave her to
13 Demetrius, and [s]was estranged from Alexander[s], and their enmity became manifest. And Ptolemy

XI. [a] + Ptolemy 71 [b-b] an army $\mathfrak{L}^2$ [c-c] > $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [d] speaking ℵ [e-e] he entered into the cities of Ptolemais A V ℵ[c.a] [f] of them $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [g-g] to guard (*it*) ℵ[c.b] V 55 [h-h] > 71 [i-i] who had been killed $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [k-k] with fire $\mathfrak{S}^g$ [l] + went forth and 55 + when he heard it $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [m] him 71 [n-n] > 71 [o-o] And they went 71 [p-p] > 19 [q-q] > $\mathfrak{L}^1$ [r-r] and to obtain my kingdom $\mathfrak{L}$ [s-s] T.R.; Alexander changed his face A it became known unto Alexander ℵ

XI. 1. **the king of Egypt.** Ptolemy VI, Philometer, cp. x. 51.

as the sand . . . For this frequently used O.T. metaphor cp. Joshua xi. 4; Judges xvii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5, xvii. 11, &c.

by deceit. Cp., on the other hand, Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 1), according to whose account Ptolemy came in perfect good faith.

4. **the suburbs thereof.** Cp. xi. 61.

5. **held his peace.** So as not to commit himself either for or against Jonathan.

6. **met the king.** Cp. x. 86, where *συνάντησις* is used in the sense of a meeting for the purpose of submitting oneself (Kautzsch); the verb here used is *συναντᾶν*, cp. Gen. xlvi. 28 (Sept.) where this verb is used in the sense of meeting some one with the purpose of showing honour to him (Jacob sending Judah to Joseph).

7. **Eleutherus.** The modern *Nahr al-Kebir*, the most important river in Phoenicia; it rises in the Lebanon and reaches the sea a little north of Arka; Jonathan therefore accompanied Ptolemy for a considerable distance. Burckardt (*Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 161) says: 'It is a large torrent, dangerous at this period of the year (March) from its rapidity. The Hamah caravans have been known to remain encamped on its banks for weeks together, without being able to cross it.'

8. **Seleucia which is by the sea.** Five miles north of the spot where the Orontes flows into the sea; one of the four most important cities of northern Syria; the port of Antioch, which was sixteen miles distant; it was founded by Seleucus I Nicator (reigned 312–280 B.C.), the founder of many cities. Mentioned in connexion with the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 4.

9. **sent . . . unto king Demetrius.** He was presumably in Cilicia; cp. x. 67, and *v.* 14, where it is said that the people of Cilicia had revolted against Alexander.

10. **for he sought to slay me.** The occasion of this is not mentioned in our book; the author was biassed in favour of Alexander because of the friendship between him and Jonathan; but Diodorus does not refer to it either, he says that Ptolemy only turned against Alexander when he realized what a hopeless weakling he was (cp. Grimm). On the other hand, Josephus refers to the occurrence in a circumstantial manner (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 6): 'But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction, for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who had laid the design.' It is difficult to believe that there was not some truth in Ptolemy's allegation.

11. **because he coveted . . .** This can scarcely have been the case originally, otherwise why should he have given his daughter in marriage to Alexander? A pretext for quarrelling could easily have been found if, in the first instance, Ptolemy had intended to seize the kingdom. It seems more likely that it was the proof of Alexander's enmity which was the reason of Ptolemy's determination to wrest the kingdom from him.

entered into Antioch, and put on himself the diadem of Asia; so he (now) had put two diadems upon his head, the diadem of Egypt and that of Asia.

14 But king Alexander was in Cilicia at that season, [t]because they of those parts were in revolt[t].
15 And Alexander heard of it, and he came against him in war; and Ptolemy led forth[u] (his host)[v], and
16 met him with a strong force, and put him to flight. And Alexander fled into Arabia, [w]that he might
17 be sheltered there; but king Ptolemy was exalted[w]. And Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's
18 head, and sent it to Ptolemy. And king Ptolemy died the third day (after); and they that were in
19 his strongholds were slain [x]by them that dwelt in the strongholds[x]. And Demetrius became king in the one hundred and sixty-seventh year.

XI. 20–37. *Jonathan secures the favour of Demetrius II.*

20 In those days Jonathan gathered together [y]them of Judaea[y] to take the citadel that was in
21 Jerusalem; and he made many engines (of war) against it. And [z]certain ones that hated their[a] own nation[z], men that transgressed the Law, went unto the king, and reported unto him[b] that Jonathan
22 was besieging the citadel. And (when) he heard it he was angered; but immediately [c]on hearing it[c] he set forth, and came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan that he should not besiege it[d], and that
23 he should meet him and speak with him at Ptolemais with all speed. But when Jonathan heard (this), he commanded (that the citadel should continue) to be besieged; and he chose (certain) of the elders
24 of Israel and of the priests[e] and put himself in peril, and taking silver and gold and raiment, and
25 divers presents besides, went to Ptolemais unto the king. And he found favour in his sight. And
26 certain lawless men of them that were of the nation made complaints against him; but the king did unto him even as his predecessors had done unto him[f], and exalted him in the sight of all his Friends[g],
27 and confirmed him in the high-priesthood, and whatsoever other honours he had before[h], and gave
28 him pre-eminence among his Chief Friends. And Jonathan requested of the king, that he would make Judaea[i] and the three provinces of the country of Samaria[j] free from tribute; and he[k] promised him
29 [l]three hundred[l] talents. And the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan concerning all these things after this manner:

30, 31 'King Demetrius unto (his) brother Jonathan and unto the nation of the Jews, greeting; The copy of the letter which we wrote unto Lasthenes our[m] kinsman concerning you, we have written also unto
32, 33 you, that ye may see (it). King Demetrius unto Lasthenes (his) father, greeting; We have determined

[t–t] > 71 [u] went forth 55 𝔖[luc] [v] *expressed in* ℵ[c.a] Luc [w–w] > 71 [x–x] > 𝔏[2] [y–y] Israel 𝔖[g] [z–z] > 71 [a] our ℵ* [b] + saying Luc [c–c] > 71 [d] the citadel ℵ[c.a] Luc [e] Jews ℵ > 𝔖[g] [f] + and glorified him with great glory 55 [g] enemies 𝔏[1] [h] + and exalted him 19 93 𝔖[luc] [i] Idumaea 64 [j] *Reading, with Grimm, τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος for καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίτην* [k] they A [l–l] thirty 55 [m] your ℵ* A*

13. . . . **entered into Antioch.** Cp. Diodorus (quoted by Knabenbauer), who says that Hierax and Diodotus, who had been left in charge of Antioch by Alexander, gave up his cause as hopeless, and induced the people of Antioch to offer the crown and kingdom to Ptolemy.

Asia. Not the Roman province of this name, which was formed in 133 B.C., and included Mysia, Lysia, Caria, the western part of Phrygia, together with the Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian coast-cities, with the islands lying off the coast (Ramsay, in *HDB*, s.v.); nor the continent; but the Asia as understood after it had been reduced about 285 B.C., and when the name Asia was 'restricted to the coast-cities and the lower valleys of the Maeander, Cayster, Hermus, and Caicus' (Ramsay).

15. **and met him.** According to Strabo, Ptolemy attacked Alexander at the river Oenoparas, on the plains of Antioch (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 244). Josephus says that Ptolemy was accompanied by Demetrius.

17. **Zabdiel.** 'A prince among the Arabians' (Josephus). The name occurs on a Palmyrene inscription (A.D. 155) in the form Zabd-ila (Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* 2590; cp. G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 272).

18. . . . **died the third day (after).** Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 8) says that Ptolemy was thrown from his horse in the battle, and wounded in the head by his enemies; he was unconscious for four days, but partially recovered on the fifth, and died 'a little while after'.

they that were in his strongholds. Cp. *v.* 3.

19. **the one hundred and sixty-seventh year.** i.e. 145 B.C.

21. **men that transgressed . . .** As on several other occasions, it was the renegades of their own race who were the worst enemies of the Jewish leaders.

24. **he found favour in his sight.** For the Greek phrase cp. Sept. of Gen. vi. 8, xviii. 3, xxx. 27.

26. **as his predecessors had done . . .** Cp. x. 6, 18–20, 25 ff., 61–65.

27. **confirmed him in the high priesthood.** Cp. x. 20.

28. **the three provinces . . .** Cp. x. 30, and especially xi. 34; these provinces had been taken from Samaria; the reading καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίτην, though supported by all MSS. and Versions, cannot be right, see crit. note.

29. **after this manner.** With the Greek cp. 2 Macc. i. 24.

30. **unto (his) brother.** Cp. x. 18, 25.

31. **Lasthenes our kinsman.** Cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 3), where it is said that it was Lasthenes, the Cretan, who brought a great number of mercenary soldiers to Demetrius. 'Kinsman', like 'brother' in *v.* 30, is a title of honour; the same is the case with 'father' in the next verse; cp. *Antiq.* XII. iii. 4, where Antiochus III addresses Zeuxis, the general of his forces and his 'intimate friend', as 'father'.

to do good to the nation of the Jews, who are our friends, and observe what is just toward us, because
34 of their good will toward us. We have confirmed unto them, therefore, the districts of Judaea, and
the three governments of Aphaerema[n], and Lydda, and Ramathaim—(these) were added unto Judaea
from the country of Samaria—and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in
Jerusalem, instead of the king's[o] dues which the king received of them yearly aforetime from the
35 produce of the land and the fruits of trees. And as for the other things which appertain unto us,
[pq]from henceforth[q], of the tenths and the tolls [r]that appertain to us[r], [s]and the saltpits, and the crowns
36 that appertain to us[p], all these we will bestow upon them[s]. [t]And not one of these things shall be
37 annulled[t] from this time forth and for ever. Now therefore be careful to make a copy of these things,
and let it be given unto Jonathan, and let it be set upon the holy mount in a fitting [u]and conspicuous
place[u].'

XI. 38–53. *Jonathan assists Demetrius in opposing Tryphon.*

38 And (when) king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before him, [v]and that no resistance was
made to him[v], he sent away all his forces, each man to his own place,—except the [w]foreign forces[w],
which he had raised from the isles of the Gentiles—and (therefore) all the forces [x]of his fathers[x]
39 were inimically disposed towards him. Now Tryphon was of those who aforetime had been of
Alexander's part, and he saw that all the forces murmured against Demetrius, and he went to
40 Imalkue[y] the Arabian, who was nourishing up Antiochus, the young child [z]of Alexander[z], [a]and
pressed sore upon him that he should deliver him unto him[a], that he might reign[b] in his father's
stead; and he[c] told him all that Demetrius had done, and the hatred wherewith his forces hated
him; and he abode there many days.
41 And Jonathan sent[d] unto king Demetrius, that he should cast out of Jerusalem them of the citadel,
42 and them that were in the strongholds; for they fought against Israel continually[e]. And Demetrius

[n] Ephraim S > L[1] [o] > Sg L[1] [p-p] > 71 [q-q] > Sluc [r-r] > Sluc [s-s] we remit unto them L [t-t] > 71
[u-u] > 71 Sluc [v-v] > 71 [w-w] > Sluc [x x] > 71 [y] Malchus L[2] Sg = Josephus [z-z] > Sg [a-a] > ℵ
[b] make him king Luc [c] they A [d] + letters 71 [e] > L[1]

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34. **Aphaerema.** i.e. Ephraim (2 Sam. xiii. 23), or Ephron (2 Chron. xiii. 9); according to Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* IV. ix. 9) it lay not far from Bethel, '. . . he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities.' Cp. also John xi. 54 (see further, Robinson, *Researches in Palestine*, iii, pp. 67 ff.).

Lydda. *Lod* in Hebr., afterwards called Diospolis, the modern Ludd; between Joppa and Jerusalem; one of the toparchies of Judaea, according to Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* II. xx. 4).

Ramathaim. Cp. 1 Sam. i. 1, where it is called *Ramathaim Zophim* (but see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Sam.*, in loc.), and located on Mount Ephraim; the usual form of the name is *ha-Ramah* ('the height'), which is, however, to be differentiated from the Ramah belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, nearer Jerusalem. It is probably to be identified with the modern *Beit Rima*, north-east of Lydda, in the neighbourhood of Thamna; this agrees with the accounts of Eusebius and Jerome (see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 246).

from the country of Samaria. Cp. x. 30, xi. 28.

as do sacrifice in . . . i.e. the privilege is for the orthodox Jews; the 'transgressors of the Law', as well as the Samaritans living in the three provinces, are excluded.

instead of . . . The text is clearly not in order, something having dropped out; in Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 9) it says: 'I remit to them the three provinces . . . as also what the kings, my predecessors, received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and whatever else belongs to us . . .'; cp. x. 29–31.

35. See notes on x. 29, 30.

all these . . . It is noteworthy that there is no mention about the siege of the citadel in Jerusalem (*vv.* 20–23); presumably the siege was raised in consideration of all these concessions; the Syrian garrison, therefore, still remained in possession.

37. **a copy.** On tables of brass, cp. viii. 22.

38. **the foreign forces . . . from . . .** From Crete and from the other islands (Josephus), i.e. of the Grecian Archipelago.

were inimically disposed. The real reason for this was their loss of pay; Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 9) says that the kings before this used to give pay to the soldiers in time of peace, 'that they might have their goodwill, and that they might be fully prepared to undergo the difficulties of war, when any occasion should require it.' This short-sightedness of Demetrius is only to be explained by the natural slothfulness which seems to have been characteristic of him; cp. Justin. xxxvi. 1. 1, 9, referred to by Grimm.

39. **Tryphon.** 'Diodotus, who was also called Trypho, an Apamaean by birth, a commander of Alexander's forces' (Josephus).

Imalkue the Arabian. On a Palmyrene inscription (A.D. 162) the name *Maliku* (מלכו) occurs (de Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*, 9); on another of later date (A.D. 242) we have *Zabdila the son of Maliku, the son of Maliku*, cp. *v.* 17 (Vogüé, 15; cp. G. A. Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 276, 278). In Josephus the form is Malchus, so also the Syriac and one Latin Version. Schürer (*op. cit.* i. 1. 247) refers to Nöldeke, in Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 74, where a Palmyrene inscription is given in which the name ימלכו (= Imalku) occurs; Diodorus gives Iamblichus, which also is nothing else than ימלכו.

41. . . . **that he should cast out . . .** Nothing could better illustrate the broken power of the Seleucidae, and the way in which Jonathan was able, in consequence, to draw advantage from it.

sent unto Jonathan, saying: 'I will not only do this for thee and thy nation, but I will greatly honour
43 thee [f]and thy nation[f], if I find favourable occasion. Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me
44 men who shall fight for me; for all my forces are revolted.' And Jonathan sent him[g] three thousand valiant men unto Antioch. And they came unto the king; and the king[h] was glad at their coming.
45 And they of the city gathered themselves together [i]into the midst of the city[i], to the number of a
46 hundred and twenty thousand men; and they were minded to slay the king[j]. And the king fled into the palace, and they [k]of the city[k] seized [l]the thoroughfares of the city[l], and began to fight.
47 And the king called the Jews to (his) aid[m], and they were gathered together unto him [n]all at once[n]; and they dispersed themselves [o]in the city[o]; and they slew that day to the number of a hundred
48, 49 thousand. And they set the city on fire, and got many spoils [p]that day[p], and saved the king. And (when) they of the city saw that the Jews had made themselves masters of the city [q r]as they would[q],
50 they waxed faint in their hearts[r], and cried out to the king with[s] supplication, saying: 'Give us (thy)
51 right hand, and let the Jews cease from fighting against us and the city.' And they cast away their arms[t], and made peace. And the Jews [u]were glorified in the sight of the king, and before all that
52 were in his kingdom[v u]; and they[w] returned to Jerusalem, having many spoils. And (when) king[x]
53 Demetrius was seated on his throne of his kingdom (again), and the land was quiet before him, he lied in all that he had spoken, and estranged himself from Jonathan and recompensed (him) not ([y]according to)[z] the benefits with which he (had promised to) recompense him[y]; but he afflicted him sore.

XI. 54–74. *Friendship between Jonathan and Antiochus VI.*

54 Now after this Tryphon returned, and with him the young child Antiochus; and he reigned, and
55 put on a diadem. And there were gathered unto him all the forces which Demetrius had sent away
56 in disgrace; and they fought against him, and he[a] fled, [b]and was[c] put to rout[b]. [d]And Tryphon
57 took the elephants[d], and became master of Antioch. And the young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying: 'I confirm unto thee the high-priesthood, and appoint thee over the four govern-
58 ments, and to be one of the king's Friends. And he sent unto him golden vessels and furniture for the table, and gave him leave to drink in golden vessels, and to be clothed in purple, and to have
59 a golden buckle. And his brother Simon he made governor (over the district) from the Ladder of
60 Tyre unto the borders of Egypt. And Jonathan went forth, and took his journey beyond the river, and through the cities; and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to be his
61 confederates. And he came to Askalon, and they of the city met him honourably. And he departed thence to Gaza, and they of Gaza shut him out; and he lay siege unto it, [e]and burned the
62 suburbs thereof with fire[e], and spoiled them. And they of Gaza made request unto Jonathan, and he gave them his right hand, and took the sons of their princes for hostages, and sent them away to Jerusalem. And he passed through the country as far as Damascus.
63 And Jonathan heard[f] that Demetrius' princes were come to Kedesh, which is in Galilee, with

[f-f] > 71 [g] of them A 55 64 93 [h] > 71 [i-i] > 55 𝔏[1] [j] + Demetrius 64 93 [k-k] > 93 [l-l] (it) 93
[m] palace 𝔏[2] [n-n] > 71 55 𝔖[luc] 𝔏 [o-o] > 71 𝔖[g] [p-p] > 71 [q-q] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ[c.a]) [r-r] > 19 [s] + much 64
[t] + and gave him their right hand 𝔖[luc] [u-u] > 71 [v] + and they were named in his kingdom ℵ 𝔏[1] [w] the Jews 71
[x] > 71 𝔏[1] [y-y] > ℵ 93 [z] *expressed in* V [a] Demetrius 64 93 [b-b] > 𝔏[1] [c] they were ℵ [d-d] > 55
[e-e] and they burned it 𝔖[g] [f] saw 𝔏[1]

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43. **all my forces are revolted.** According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. v. 3), the inhabitants of Antioch revolted, but all the troops which Demetrius had not dismissed (see *v.* 38) remained faithful to him; 'he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with him . . . and assaulted the Antiochians.'

45. **a hundred and . . .** This is an evident exaggeration, so too the number of the slain, *v.* 47.

48. **they set the city on fire.** Josephus adds that the houses were close together, and mostly built of wood.

49. **they waxed faint in their hearts.** For the Greek cp. Isa. vii. 4, Sept. (Grimm).

53. **afflicted him sore.** Josephus, more specifically, says that 'he threatened that he would make war upon him unless he would pay all the tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings' (i. e. of Syria).

57. **the four governments.** i. e. Judaea and the three governments mentioned in *v.* 34.

58. **clothed in purple, . . . golden buckle.** See notes on x. 20, 62, 89.

59. **the Ladder of Tyre.** Cp. Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* II. x. 2), who says it is a high hill, a hundred stadia north of Ptolemais.

60. **beyond the river.** πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ = עבר הנהר, i. e. the territory this side of the Euphrates from the point of view of the Israelites, that side of the Euphrates from the point of view of the Babylonians (cp. 1 Kings v. 4); the reference here is, therefore, to Syria; cp. the words in this verse, 'all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him.'

Askalon. See note on x. 86.

61. **Gaza.** The southernmost of the five chief Philistine cities, the modern *Ghuzzeh*.

62. **Damascus.** The modern *Esh-Sham*; it lies 120 miles north-east of Jerusalem, and 200 miles south of Antioch.

63. **Kedesh.** Cp. Joshua xxi. 32; Judges iv. 6, 11; situated on the northern frontier of Palestine, among the mountains of Naphtali. Josephus speaks of it as belonging to the Tyrians (*Bell. Iud.* II. xviii. 1, IV. ii. 3); it still retains its ancient name.

64 a great host, with the object of hindering him from his purpose; and he went to meet them, but
65 Simon his brother he left in the country. And Simon encamped against[g] Bethsura, and fought
66 against it many days, and shut it[h] up; and they made request to him that he would give them his right hand, and he gave it to them; but he put them out from thence, and took possession of the
67 city, and set a garrison over it. And Jonathan and his army encamped at the water [i]of Gennesar[i],
68 and early in the morning they got them to the plain of Hazor[k]. And, behold, an army of strangers met him[l] in the plain, and they laid an ambush for him [m]in the mountains, but they themselves met
69 (him)[n] face to face. But they that lay in ambush[m] rose out of their places, and joined battle; and
70 all they that were of Jonathan's side fled; not one of them was left, except Mattathias the son of
71 Absalom, and Judas the son of Chalphi, captains of the forces. And Jonathan rent his clothes, and
72 put earth upon his head, and prayed. And he turned again unto them in battle, and put them to
73 rout, and they fled. And (when) they of his side who were fleeing saw it, they returned unto him,
74 and pursued (them) with him unto Kedesh to their camp; and they encamped there. And there fell of the strangers [o]on that day[o] about three thousand men. And Jonathan returned unto Jerusalem.

XII. 1–38. *Jonathan renews his alliance with Rome, and enters into a league with the Spartans. He defeats the followers of Demetrius.*

12 1 And Jonathan saw that the time served him, and he chose men, and sent them to Rome, to confirm
2 and renew the friendship that they had with them. [a]And to the Spartans, and to other places, he
3 sent letters after the same manner[a]. And they [b]went unto Rome, and[b] entered into the senate house, and said: 'Jonathan the high-priest, and the nation of the Jews, have sent us, to renew for
4 them the friendship and the confederacy, as in former time[c].' And they gave them letters unto (the governors) of every place, that they should bring them on their way to the land of Judah in peace.
5, 6 And this is the copy of the letter which Jonathan wrote to the Spartans: 'Jonathan the high-priest[d], and the Council [e]of the nation[e], and the priests, and the rest of the people of the Jews, unto their
7 brethren the Spartans, greeting! Even before this time were letters sent unto Onias the high-priest from Areios[f], who was reigning among you, (to the effect) that ye are our brethren, as the copy
8 (here) underwritten showeth. And Onias treated honourably [g]the man that was sent[g], and received[h]
9 the letters, wherein declaration was made of confederacy and friendship. Therefore we also—albeit

[g] in A 64 𝔖luc [h] them Luc 𝔏[1] 𝔖luc [i-i] > V [k] Nazor A V 55 64 [l] them 55 𝔖g [m-m] > 𝔖luc
[n] *expressed in* 55 [o-o] > 𝔏[1]

XII. [a-a] > 71 [b-b] > 𝔏[1] [c] + and they that were in Rome welcomed them 19 93 𝔖luc [d] + of the nation A
[e-e] > A 𝔖luc [f] 𝔏[1] = Josephus; *all other authorities read* Dareios [g-g] those who were sent 𝔏[1] [h] gave 71

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his purpose. i. e. of helping Antiochus.

65. **Bethsura.** See note on iv. 29.

67. **the water of Gennesar.** i. e. the lake of Gennesareth; the name occurs here for the first time.

the plain of Hazor. Cp. Joshua xi. 1, xii. 19, xix. 36; Judges iv. 2; 1 Sam. xii. 9; 1 Kings ix. 15; Josephus (*Antiq.* V. v. 1) says it was near the lake Semechonitis, or Merom; it lay, therefore, right in the north of Palestine.

74. **three thousand.** Josephus says two thousand (*Antiq.* XIII. v. 8).

XII. 1. **he chose men.** i. e. Numenius and Antipater, see *v.* 16, xiv. 22.

to confirm . . . Cp. viii. 17 ff.

2. **and to other places.** It is not specified either in this book or in Josephus what these 'other places' were.

6. **the Council of the nation.** This *Gerousia* is mentioned as being already in existence in the time of Antiochus the Great (cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii. 3); the earliest reference to it is, however, 2 Chron. xix. 8. It developed later into the Sanhedrin, a name which occurs for the first time in the reign of Hyrcanus II (cp. *Antiq.* XIV. ix. 4). The head of this Council was the high-priest, as the head also of the State; it exercised judicial and administrative functions (cp. 1 Macc. xiv. 20). The measure of its authority varied according to the amount of autonomy granted by the suzerain power; but its moral influence over the Jews, whether in the Dispersion or in Palestine, was always very considerable.

the rest of the people. ὁ λοιπὸς δῆμος; Grimm pointedly remarks that it is probably not without a purpose that the Greek translator of this book almost invariably restricts the use of the word δῆμος to documents sent to or received from a foreign nation (viii. 29, xiv. 20, 25, xv. 17); his object in doing so is to place on record the fact that the Jewish people is one that is free and independent.

7. **Onias.** The first of the name, son of Jaddus (*Antiq.* XI. viii. 7) or Jaddua (Neh. xii. 11), father of the high-priest Simon I, the Just. There is great uncertainty as to his date, some scholars putting it at about 320–300 B. C., while others contend for some fifty years later; others, again, place it between these two extremes.

Areios. The first of the name, who reigned over the Spartans 309–265 B. C. This is the correct form of the name Areus. All Greek MSS. wrongly read Dareios (see crit. note). That Areios is the right reading is evident from Josephus; the form Oniares occurs in *v.* 20; Cod ℵ reads there ονιαaρης (= Ὀνίᾳ Ἄρης). The Old Latin Version alone has preserved the right reading.

8. **the man that was sent.** Named Demoteles, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. v. 8).

10 [i]we need none of[i] these things, having for our comfort the holy books which are in our hands—have
assayed to send that we might renew our brotherhood [k]and friendship[k] with you, to the end that we
should not become estranged from you altogether; for long time is passed since ye sent unto us.
11 [l]We therefore at all times without ceasing, both at our feasts, and on other convenient days, do
remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as it is right and meet to be
12, 13 mindful of brethren; and, moreover, we are glad for your glory[l]. But as for ourselves, many
[m]afflictions and many wars[m] have encompassed us, [n]and the kings that are round about us have
14 fought against us[n]. We were not minded, however, to be troublesome to you, or to the rest of our
15 confederates[o] and friends, in these wars; for we have the help that is from heaven [p]to help us[p], and
16 we have been delivered from our enemies, and [q]our enemies[q] have been humiliated. We chose,
therefore, Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, and have sent (them)
unto the Romans, to renew the friendship that we had [r]with them[r], [s]and the former[t] confederacy[s].
17 We commanded them, therefore, to go also unto you, and to salute you, and to deliver you our letters
18 concerning the renewing [u](of friendship) and[u] of our[v] brotherhood. And now ye shall do[w] well if
19 ye give us an answer thereto.' And this is the copy of the letters [x]which they[y] sent[x] to Onias:
20, 21 'Areios[z], king of the Spartans, to Onias, the chief priest, greeting! [a]It hath been found in writing,
concerning the Spartans and the Jews, that they are brethren, and that they are [b]of the stock[b] of
22 Abraham; and now, since these things have come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us
23 of your prosperity. And we, moreover, do write on our part to you[a], that your cattle and goods
are ours, [c]and ours are yours. We do command, therefore, that they[d] make report unto you on
this wise[c].'
24 And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were returned to fight against him with a greater
25 force than afore, so he removed from Jerusalem, and met them in the country of Hamath; for he
26 gave them no respite to set foot in his country. And he sent spies into their[e] camp; and they
returned, and reported unto him that in such and such a way they had planned to fall upon him by
27 night. But as soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms,
that all the night long they might be ready for battle; and he sent forth sentinels (and placed them)
28 round about the camp. But (when) the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men[f] were ready
for battle, they were afraid and trembled in their heart; and they kindled fires in their camp, [g]and
29 departed[g]. But Jonathan and his men knew it not till morning; for they saw the fires burning.
30 And Jonathan[h] pursued after them, but did not overtake them; [i]for they had gone over the river
31 Eleutherus. And Jonathan turned aside (and fought) against the Arabians, who are called Gaba-
32 daeans, and smote them[i], and took their spoils. And he set out from thence, and came to Damas-
cus, [k]and took his journey through all the country.
33 And Simon went forth[k], and took his journey as far as Askalon, and the strongholds that were

[i-i] we do not put our trust in 𝔖g [k-k] > 71 [l-l] > 71 [m-m] > V [n-n] > 71 [o] +and brethren 𝔖g
[p-p] > 71 𝔏[1] [q-q] they that are before us Luc 71 [r-r] > 𝔖g [s-s] > 71 [t] > 𝔖luc [u-u] > 𝔖luc 𝔏[1] [v] your 𝔖luc
[w] ye have done A [x-x] > 71 [y] he ℵ[c.a] 64 93 [z] 𝔏[1] (> 𝔏[2]) *alone* [a-a] > 71 [b-b] > 𝔖g 𝔏[2] [c-c] and if ye
command anything we will readily fulfil it 71 [d] we 𝔖g 𝔏[2] [e] his 𝔊 (*exc.* Luc) 𝔖luc 𝔏 > 𝔖g [f] fathers ℵ
[g-g] Luc 𝔖 *only* (= Josephus) [h] > A [i-i] > 71 [k-k] > 𝔖g

9. **the holy books.** Cp. i. 56, 57, iii. 48.

15. **we have been delivered . . .** Cp. iii. 18 ff., iv. 30 ff., &c.

21. **concerning the Spartans and the Jews . . .** 'The fiction of a relationship between the Jews and the Spartans, which constituted the motive for the Spartans to write their letter (1 Macc. xii. 6, 7, 21, cp. 2 Macc. v. 9), was not unheard of during the era of Hellenism. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, p. 29, note, refers in illustration and for proof to Stephen of Byzantium under the word Ἰουδαία . . . ὡς Κλαύδιος Ἰούλιος ἀπὸ Οὐδαίου Σπάρτων ἑνὸς ἐκ Θήβης μετὰ Διονύσου ἐστρατευκότος. In a decree of the Pergamenes (Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xviii. 22) there is also mention of a relation between the Jews and the Pergamenes' (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1. 251). On the other hand, as S. A. Cook and W. J. Woodhouse (*EB* 4744) contend: 'There is no reason to doubt the fact of diplomatic relations with Sparta having been set on foot by Jonathan. For Sparta was too obscure at the time to have suggested itself to a forger eager to magnify his hero by inventions of the kind. Again, the incident leads to no result in the sequel; the reverse would have tended to throw doubt upon the entire episode.' The probability is that while the details can scarcely be regarded as historical, the broad fact of diplomatic relations of some kind between the Jews and the Spartans is to be accepted as true (see further, *Intr.* § 7). The Greek legend of the Spartans having been descended from the Phoenicians may not have been without influence upon the subject (see, further, Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii, pp. 372 f.). Grimm's important pages (187–191) should, however, also be consulted; while not prepared to accept the copy in 1 Macc. as representing the original document, he holds that since diplomatic relationships were in existence between the two nations, documents of some kind must have been exchanged.

24. **And Jonathan heard . . .** The narrative, interrupted by *vv.* 1–23, is now taken up from xi. 74.

25. **Hamath.** On the Orontes; the modern Hamah. Cp. Num. xiii. 21; 1 Kings viii. 65.

30. **Eleutherus.** See note on xi. 7.

31. **Gabadaeans.** Probably the small tract of land, about eight miles north of Damascus, now called *Zabdini.* 𝔊, 𝔏, 𝔖 read 'Zabadaeans'.

33. **Askalon . . . Joppa.** See notes on x. 75, 86.

34 near unto it. And he turned aside to Joppa, and took possession of it, for he had heard that they
were minded to deliver the stronghold unto the men of Demetrius; and he placed a garrison there
to keep it.
35 And Jonathan returned, and called the elders of the people together; and he took counsel with
36 them to build strongholds in Judaea, and to make the walls of Jerusalem higher, and to raise a great
mound between the citadel and the city, [l]for to separate it from the city[l], [m]so that it might be
37 isolated[m], [n]that they (within it) might neither buy nor (they without) sell[n]. And they were
gathered together to build (the city)[o]; and (a part of) the wall by the brook that is on the east side
38 had fallen down, and [p]he repaired that which is called Chaphenatha[p]. And Simon also built Adida
in the plain country, and made it[q] strong, [r]and set up gates[s] and bars[r s].

XII. 39–53. *The capture of Jonathan through treachery.*

39 And Tryphon sought to reign over Asia and to put on himself the diadem, and to stretch forth
40 his hand against Antiochus the king[t]. And he was afraid lest haply Jonathan should not suffer
him (to do so), [u]and lest he should fight against him[u]; so he [v]sought a way[w] how[v] to take him,
41 [x]that he might destroy him[x]. And he [y]removed, and came[y] to Bethshan. [z]And Jonathan came
42 forth[z] [a]to meet him[a] with forty thousand men chosen for battle, and came to Bethshan. And
(when) Tryphon saw that he came with a great host, he was afraid to stretch forth his hand against
43 him; and he received him honourably, and commended him unto all his Friends, [b c d]and gave him
gifts[d], and commanded his Friends[b] and his forces to be obedient unto him, [e]as unto himself[c e].
44 And he said unto Jonathan: 'Why hast thou put all this people to trouble, seeing there is no war
45 betwixt us? And now, send them away to their homes, but choose for thyself a few men who shall
be with thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, and I will give it up to thee, [f]and the rest[g] of the
strongholds and the rest of the forces, and all the (king's) officers; then I will return and depart; for,
46 for this cause did I come[f].' And he trusted him and did even as he said, and[h] sent away his
47 forces, and they departed into the land of Judah. But he reserved to himself three thousand men,
48 two thousand [i]of whom[i] he left in Galilee, but one thousand went with him. But when Jonathan
had entered into Ptolemais, [k]they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and[k] took him; and all they that
49 had come with him they slew with the sword. And Tryphon sent forces and horsemen into Galilee,
50 [l]and[m] into the great plain[l], to destroy all Jonathan's men. And they perceived that he was taken
and had perished, and they that were with him; nevertheless they encouraged one another, and went
51 on their way close together, ready for war. And (when) they that were following (upon them) saw
52 that they were ready (to fight) for their lives, they turned back again. And they all came in peace
to the land of Judah, and they mourned for Jonathan and them that were with him, [n]and they were
53 sore afraid. And all[o] Israel mourned[n] with a great mourning. And all the Gentiles that were
round about them sought to destroy them utterly, for they said: 'They have not [p]a man[p] (that is)
leader and (who will) help (them); [q]now therefore let us fight against them[q], and take away their
memorial from among men.'

[l-l] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [m-m] > 𝔖g [n-n] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) [o] *expressed in* ℵ cities V [p-p] he pulled down the mound which is called Chesphonitho 𝔖 [q] > A [r-r] > A [s-s] > 55 𝔖g [t] the younger 𝔖g [u-u] > 71 [v-v] was desirous 𝔏 [w] > ℵ [x-x] > 𝔖g [y-y] came stealthily V [z-z] > 𝔖g [a-a] > 64 93 [b-b] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) V [c-c] > 71 [d-d] > 𝔖g [e-e] likewise A [f-f] > 71 [g] many A [h] + Jonathan ℵ c.a 19 93 𝔖luc [i-i] about ℵ A [k-k] > 𝔖luc [l-l] > 71 [m] > A [n-n] > 71 [o] > A 98 [p-p] > ℵ V [q-q] > 71

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37. **the brook that . . .** i.e. the Kidron.
Chaphenatha. The meaning of this word is unknown; it does not occur elsewhere; Josephus does not mention it.
38. **Adida.** The Chadid of Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 34, four miles east of Lydda; Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 5) says it is 'upon an hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judaea'. The modern *el-Chadite.*
the plain country. Σεφηλά = the lowland region west of the mountainous country of Judaea.
40. **Bethshan.** See note on v. 52.
41. **with forty thousand men.** The number shows how Jonathan's power and influence had increased; it was not without reason that Tryphon recognized Jonathan's power to hinder him in his designs (cp. *v.* 40). Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 1) says that the reason why Jonathan came with such a large army was because he expected to be attacked by Tryphon.
43. **commended.** For this sense of *συνίστημι* cp. 2 Macc. iv. 24; Wisd. vii. 14; Rom. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. x. 18; for further references see Schleusner *s.v.*
49. **the great plain.** See note on v. 52.
50. **had perished.** But see xiii. 23, though it was natural to suppose that he had been murdered.
52. **they mourned . . .** Cp. ix. 20, xiii. 26; *ἐπένθησεν . . . πένθος μέγα*, a Hebraism.
53. **They have not . . .** Both the rival kings were now at enmity with the Jews; hitherto the Jewish leader had always managed to have the support of one or other of the claimants to the throne.
let us fight against them. This intention does not appear to have been carried out.
. . . take away their memorial . . . Cp. iii. 35, Ecclus. x. 17.

Simon Maccabaeus XIII. 1—XVI. 24.

XIII. 1–11. *Simon elected leader.*

13 1 And Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered together a numerous [a] host to come into the land of
2 Judah, and destroy it utterly. And he saw that the people were troubled [b] and (were) in great fear [b];
3 so he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together, and encouraged them, and said unto
them: 'Ye yourselves know what things I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have [c] done for
4 the [d] laws and the sanctuary [d], and the battles [e] and the distresses [e f] which we have seen [f]; by reason
5 whereof all my brethren have perished for Israel's sake, and I alone am left. And now be it far from
me that I should spare my own life in any time of affliction; [g] for I am not better than my brethren [g].
6 Howbeit I will take vengeance for my nation, and for the sanctuary, and for our [h] wives and [h] children;
7 because all [i] the Gentiles are gathered together to destroy us [k] of very hatred [k].' And the spirit of
8 the people, [l] as soon as [l] they heard these [m] words, revived. [n] And they answered with a loud voice,
9 saying [n]: 'Thou art our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brethren [o]. Fight thou [p] our war [p],
10 and all that thou shalt say unto us, that will we do.' And he [q] gathered together all the men of war,
11 and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and fortified it round about. And he sent Jonathan
the son of Absalom, and with him a great host, to Joppa; and he cast out them that were therein,
and abode there [r s] in it [s].

XIII. 12–24. *Simon defeats Tryphon.*

12 And Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a mighty host to enter into the land of Judah; and
13, 14 Jonathan was with him in ward. But Simon encamped at Adida, [t] over against the plain [t]. And
(when) Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan [u], and meant to join
15 battle with him, he sent ambassadors unto him, saying: 'It is for the money which Jonathan thy
brother owed unto the king's treasure, [v] by reason of the offices which he had [v], that we hold him fast.
16 And now send a hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons (as) hostages, that when he is set at
17 liberty he may not revolt from us,—and we will set him at liberty.' And Simon knew [w] that they
spake [x] unto him [x] deceitfully, but sent the money and the children, lest peradventure he should bring
18 upon himself great hatred on the part of the people [y], (in that they should be) saying: 'Because I sent
19 him not the money and the children [z a] he perished [b].' [c] And he sent the children [z c] and the hundred
20 talents; and [a] he [d] dealt falsely, and did not set Jonathan at liberty. And [e] after this [e] Tryphon came
to invade the land [f], and destroy it, and he went round about by the way (that leadeth) to Adora;

XIII. [a] great 𝔖g [b-b] > 71 [c] + all ℵ V [d-d] the holy laws 𝔏 [e-e] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c) V 71 [f-f] T.R. ℵ c.b
[g-g] > 71 [h-h] > 𝔖luc [i] > 𝔖g [k-k] > 71 [l-l] αυτου (*for* αμα του) *in reference to people* [m] his 19 93 𝔖luc
[n-n] And they said 𝔏 [o] 55 𝔖luc; brother 𝔊 𝔏 [p-p] > 𝔏 [q] Simon 64 93 [r] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ c.a) V 𝔖g
[s-s] > 𝔖luc 𝔏 [t-t] in the sight of the temple 𝔏 [u] > 71 [v-v] > 71 [w] knew not V 55 [x-x] > 71
[y] Israel 55 𝔖luc + Israel Luc [z-z] > ℵ [a-a] > 𝔖g [b] > 55 64 [c-c] > 71 [d] Tryphon Luc [e-e] > 71 𝔏
[f] city A + of Judah Luc

XIII. 1. **Simon.** The last survivor of the five Maccabaean brothers. He completed the work so brilliantly carried out by Jonathan, and made his people entirely independent of the Syrian kings.

3. **which we have seen.** i. e. experienced; ἰδεῖν is used in this sense like ראה, see Jer. v. 12, xiv. 13, &c.

4. **my brethren have perished.** According to the general belief Jonathan had been murdered, but he was still alive at this time, see *vv.* 12, 23.

I alone am left. Cp. the words of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 22.

5. **I am not better . . .** Cp. the similar words of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 4.

7. **the spirit . . . revived.** Cp. Gen. xlv. 27 ἀνεζωπύρησε τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰακώβ.

9. **and all that . . .** Cp. Exod. xix. 8; Joshua i. 16.

10. **to finish the walls . . .** This work had been begun by Jonathan, see xii. 36, 37.

11. **Absalom.** Cp. xi. 70.

. . . to Joppa . . . Cp. xii. 33, according to which Joppa was already in possession of the Jews; Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 4) makes the matter clear: 'And sent . . . Jonathan the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him command to cast out the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho.'

13. **Adida.** See note on xii. 38.

the plain. πεδίον here, in xii. 38 σεφηλά.

14. **to join battle with him.** For the Greek phrase cp. Deut. ii. 14 (Sept.).

15. **the king's treasure.** i. e. the royal treasury, cp. 2 Macc. iii. 13.

the offices which . . . Cp. x. 65, xi. 63.

20. **he went round about by the way.** Cp. 1 Kings iii. 9 (Sept.); κυκλοῦν ὁδόν = סַב דֶּרֶךְ (Grimm), i. e. he purposely made a *détour* by way of Adora.

Adora. Adoraim in the O.T., cp. 2 Chron. xi. 9, one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam, the modern *Dûra* (Josephus calls it Dora, *Antiq.* XIII. vii. 2), five miles south-west of Hebron.

21 and Simon and his army marched over against him to whatsoever place he went. Now they of the citadel sent [g] unto Tryphon [g] ambassadors, hastening him to come [h] unto them through the wilderness,
22 and to send them victuals [h]. And Tryphon made ready all his horse to come; and in that night there fell [i] a great quantity of [i] snow, and he did not (find it possible to) come because of the snow;
23 so he removed, and came into the country of Gilead. But when he came near to Bascama, he slew
24 Jonathan, and he was buried there. And Tryphon returned, and went away into his own land.

XIII. 25–30. *Jonathan's sepulchre at Modin.*

25 And Simon sent, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried him [k] at Modin, the city
26 of his fathers. And [l] all Israel [l] made great [m] lamentation over him, [n] and mourned for him many
27 days [n]. And Simon built (a monument) upon the sepulchre of his father and of his brethren, and raised it aloft, [o] so that it could be seen [o] (from afar); (he built it) with polished stone behind and
28 before. And he set up [p] seven pyramids, [q] one over against another, for (his) father, and mother, and
29 four brethren [q]. And [r] for these [r] he made cunning devices, setting about them [s] great [t] pillars, and upon the pillars he fashioned [u] all manner of arms [u] for a perpetual memory, and beside [u] the
30 arms [u] [v] carved ships [v], that they should be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, (and it is there) unto this day.

XIII. 31–42. *Murder of Antiochus. Treaty between Simon and Demetrius II.*

31, 32 Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young [w] king [x] Antiochus, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, and put on himself the diadem of Asia, and brought great calamity upon the land.

[g-g] > A [h-h] > 71 [i-i] > 𝔏 [k] them T.R. [l-l] they 71 [m] > Luc [n-n] > 71 [o-o] *lit.* to the sight [p] + upon it 55 Luc [q-q] > 71 [r-r] > 𝔖luc [s] + four 𝔏 [t] > 55 [u-u] panoplies *Gk.* propitiatory offerings 𝔖g (?) [v-v] various carved things A + he set up 𝔖luc [w] great 64 93 [x] > 𝔖g

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marched over against him. i.e. marched parallel with him, Simon in the mountain country and Tryphon in the plain.

21. **hastening.** For the Greek καταστεύδειν cp. Sept. of Exod. v. 13 ('And the taskmasters were urgent . . .').

22. **because of the snow.** It is but rarely that snow falls south of Hebron, though it is not altogether unknown even so low down south as that; see further, Nowack, *Hebr. Archäologie*, i. 49.

23. **Bascama.** This place is not mentioned elsewhere, its position is quite uncertain; see, further, Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 241.

25. **Modin.** See note on ii. 1.

26. **great lamentation.** Cp. ii. 70, ix. 20.

27. **the sepulchre . . .** 'Ever since, in the fourth century B.C., Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, King of Caria, erected at Halicarnassus a stately monument to his memory—hence the word *mausoleum*—the custom of building similar sepulchred edifices had been spreading in the East' (Fairweather and Black, *op. cit.*, p. 230).

28. **seven pyramids.** Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 6) says that these had 'been preserved to this day'; he seems to be referring to some additional source of knowledge in adding: 'And we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations;' cp. in *v.* 30 the words 'unto this day'. The seventh pyramid Simon presumably set up for himself.

29. **carved ships.** Josephus makes no mention of these.

30. **unto this day.** Concerning the bearing of this on the date of the book see *Intr.* § 4. Grimm quotes Eusebius, who says in his *Onomasticon*: 'Modeim . . . unde fuerunt Maccàbaei, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulchra monstrantur.'

31. **and slew him, and reigned in his stead.** 'There are coins of Antiochus VI from 167 to 170 of the Seleucid era, or from 146–145 to 143–142 B.C. Coins of Trypho bear the number of the years III and IV. Josephus assigns to the reign of Antiochus VI a period of four years, and to Trypho a period of three years (*Antiq.* XIII. vii. 1, 2). This is in agreement with the statement of Porphyry, who gives to Demetrius, before his imprisonment, only a three years' reign (Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 257, 263 ff.), from Olympiad 160. 1, which is really Olym. 159. 4, or 141–140 B.C., to Olympiad 160. 3, or 138–137 B.C. Porphyry evidently reckons the reign of Demetrius as beginning with the displacement by conquest or murder of Antiochus VI. In thorough accord with this, too, is the chronology of 1 Macc. xiii. 31–41, which unhesitatingly assigns the murder of Antiochus by Trypho to the Seleucid year 170, or 143–142 B.C. Finally, it is no serious discrepancy when, in 1 Macc. xiv. 1 the Parthian campaign of Demetrius is dated from the Seleucid year 172, or 141–140 B.C.; while Porphyry, on the other hand, assigns it to Olympiad 160. 2, or 139–138 B.C. In direct contradiction, however, with the foregoing, stands the statement made by many writers (Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. v. 11, vii. 1; Appian, *Syr.* 67, 68; Justin. xxxvi. 1), that Antiochus was not murdered by Trypho before the time of the Parthian campaign by Demetrius, and indeed not till after Demetrius had been taken prisoner. This, however, is in opposition not only to the chronology of 1 Macc., but also to the circumstance that then there is not left a three or four years' reign for Trypho, which yet, according to Josephus and the coins, must be admitted. Then Trypho's death occurs almost contemporaneously with the seizure of Demetrius by the Parthians in 138 B.C. . . . It therefore seems to me hazardous to assume, with many modern critics, that the last-named authorities should have precedence over 1 Macc.' (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 176 f.). Regarding the death of Antiochus, Grimm quotes Livy (*Epit.* 55) to the effect that 'Alexandri filius, rex Syriae, decem annos admodum habens, a Diodoto, qui Tryphon cognominabatur, tutore suo, per fraudem occisus est, corruptis medicis, qui eum calculi dolore consumi ad populum mentiti, dum secant, occiderunt.'

32. **Asia.** See note on xi. 13.

33 And Simon built the strongholds[y] of Judaea, and fenced (them) about with high towers, and great
34 walls[z], and gates, and bars; and he laid up victuals in the strongholds. And Simon chose men, and
sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the country an immunity, [a] because all that
35 Tryphon did was to plunder[a]. [b] And king Demetrius sent unto him according to these words, and
36 answered him, and wrote a letter unto him, after this manner[b]: 'King Demetrius unto Simon the
37 high-priest and Friend of kings[c], [d] and unto the elders and nation of the Jews[d], greeting. The golden
crown, and the palm-branch[e], which ye sent, we have received; and we are ready to conclude
38 a lasting peace with you, and to write to the officers to grant immunities unto you. [f] And whatsoever
things we (have now) confirmed unto you, they are confirmed[f]; and the strongholds which ye have
39 builded, [g] let them be[g] your own. [h] As for any oversights and faults (committed) unto this day, we
forgive (them[i])[h]; and the crown which ye owed[k] (we remit); and if there were any other toll
40 exacted in Jerusalem, [l] let it no longer be exacted[l]. And if (there be) some of you meet to be
enrolled among those round about us, let them be enrolled; and (thus) let there be peace betwixt
41 us.' [m] In the one hundred and seventieth year (therefore) was the yoke of the heathen taken away
42 from Israel[m]. And the people of Israel[n] began to write in their instruments and contracts: [o] 'In
the first year[o] of Simon the great high-priest and captain[p] and leader of the Jews.'

XIII. 43–53. *Simon captures Gazara and the citadel of Jerusalem.*

43 In those days he[q] encamped against Gazara[r], and compassed it round about[s] with armies; and he
44 made [t] an engine of siege[t], and brought it up[s] to the city, and smote one tower, and took it[u]. And
they that were in the engine of siege leaped forth into the city; and there was a great uproar in the
45 city; and they of the city rent their clothes, and went up [v] on the wall[v] with their wives and children,
46 and cried with a loud voice, making request to Simon to give them right hands. And they said:
47 'Deal not with us according to our wickednesses, but according to thy mercy.' And Simon was
reconciled unto them, and did not fight against them; but he drove them out of the city, and cleansed
the houses wherein the idols were, and so[w] entered into it with [x] singing and giving of praise[x] [y].
48 [z] And he put all uncleanness out of it[z], and caused to dwell in it men who observed the Law; and
he made it stronger (than it was before), and he built therein a dwelling-place for himself.
49 But they of the citadel of Jerusalem were hindered from going forth, [a] [b] and from going[a] into the
country[b], [c] and from buying and selling[c]; and they hungered exceedingly, and many of them
50 perished through famine. And they cried out to Simon [d] to take right hands; which thing he
granted them[d]; but he cast them out from thence; and he cleansed the citadel from pollutions.

[y] stronghold A [z] + and towers A [a-a] > 71 [b-b] And he sent unto him a writing thus 71 [c] of the king $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$
[d-d] > 71 [e] palm-branched ℵ embassy 93 *so probably* $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ שׁליחותא ('*robe*') *being a mistake for* שׁליחותא ('*embassy*')
[f-f] > 71 [g-g] they are $\mathfrak{L}$ [h-h] > 71 [i] you A [k] owe V[a] [l-l] > 71 [m-m] > 71 [n] > ℵ V 64 93
[o-o] > 71 [p] > 71 [q] Simon T.R. [r] *with Josephus, Antiq.* XIII. vi. 7; *Bell. Iud.* I. ii. 2; Gaza *all the MSS. and Versions, wrongly* [s-s] > 71 [t-t] > A a strong wooden tower $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$; *in* $\mathfrak{S}^{g}$ *the Gk. is transliterated* [u] the city $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [v-v] > 19 93 $\mathfrak{S}^{luc}$ [w] then $\mathfrak{S}^{g}$ $\mathfrak{L}$ [x-x] > 71 [y] + to God V $\mathfrak{L}$ [z-z] > 71 [a-a] > A 71 93
[b-b] > $\mathfrak{S}^{g}$ [c-c] > 71 [d-d] > 71

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33. **And Simon built . . .** Simon was not slow to utilize the opportunity for strengthening his own position which the struggle for the Syrian throne afforded him.

34. **And Simon chose men . . .** This is not mentioned by Josephus.

36. **King Demetrius . . .** On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. ii. (*e*).

the elders. See note on xii. 6.

37. **the palm-branch.** So critical note. The reading *βάϊν* is to be preferred, *βαϊνήν* of Cod. ℵ being most likely due to the following *ἣν*, cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 4, where it is said that 'a chaplet of gold and a palm' (*φοίνικα*) were presented to Demetrius. The reference here is most likely to a sceptre the top of which was shaped into palm-leaves. In the O.T. the palm-tree is referred to as a symbol of prosperity (cp. Ps. xcii. 12); it is with this signification that it is depicted on some Jewish coins, see De Saulcy, *Numismatique Juive*, Pl. I, fig. 6; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 71.

to grant immunities . . . Cp. x. 28–35.

39. **the crown . . .** Cp. x. 29.

41. **In the one hundred and seventieth year.** i.e. 143–142 B.C.

42. **And the people of Israel began to write . . .** On the importance of the study of numismatics in connexion with this statement see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 257 ff., and his Appendix IV.

43. **Gazara.** See critical note. For the correctness of this reading see *v.* 53; xiv. 7, 34; xv. 28; xvi. 1. On Gazara see note on iv. 15. On the situation of Gazara, Eusebius, *Onom.*, ed. Lagarde, p. 244 (quoted by Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 261), remarks: *καὶ νῦν καλεῖται Γάζαρα κώμη Νικοπόλεως ἀπέχουσα σημείοις δ' ἐν βορείοις.* It is the modern Tell-Jezer discovered by Clermont-Ganneau in 1873, and excavated by the *Pal. Explor. Fund* during the years 1902–9; see the 'Quarterly Statement' for these years.

an engine of siege. *ἑλέπολις* (see critical note); on this machine see Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiq.*, s.v.

46. **Deal not with us . . .** Cp. Isa. i. 16 (Sept.); Jer. xxxiii. 5.

51 And he[e] entered into it[f g] on the three and twentieth day of the second[h] month, in the one hundred
and seventy-first year[g], with praise, and palm-branches, [i]and with harps and with cymbals, [k]and
with viols, and with hymns[k], and with songs[i]; because a great[l] enemy had been destroyed out of
52 Israel[m]. And he ordained that they should keep that day every year [n]with gladness[n]. [o]And the
hill of the temple that was by the citadel he made stronger (than it was before); and he dwelt there,
53 (both) he and his men[o]. And Simon saw that John his son was (grown to be) a man, and he made
him leader of all his forces; and he dwelt at Gazara.

XIV. 1–3. *Demetrius II imprisoned by Arsaces, king of Persia.*

14 1 In the one hundred and seventy-second year Demetrius the king gathered his forces together, and
2 went into Media, to get him help, that he might fight against Tryphon. And (when) Arsaces, the
king of Persia[a] and Media[a], heard that Demetrius was come into his borders, he sent one of his leaders
3 to take him alive; and he went and smote the army of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to
Arsaces; [b]and he put him in ward[b].

XIV. 4–15. *Simon's beneficent rule; an ode in his honour.*

4 And the land[c] had rest all the days of Simon; and he sought the good of his nation; and his
5 authority [d]and his glory[d] was well-pleasing to them [d]all his days[d]. And [d]in addition to all his
(other) glory (was this that)[d] he took Joppa for a haven, and made it a place of entry for the ships[e]
of the sea.

6 And he enlarged the borders of his nation,
  [f]And ruled over the land[f].
7 And he gathered together [g]many that had been in captivity[g],
  And he ruled over Gazara, and Bethsura, [f]and the citadel.
  And he took away uncleannesses therefrom[h f],
  And there was none that could resist him.
8 And they tilled their land in peace;
  And the land gave her increase,
  And the trees of the plains their fruit.
9 Old men sat in the streets[i],
  [k]All spoke together of the (common) weal[k],
  And the young men put on glorious and[l] warlike apparel.

[e] they ℵ 19 93 𝔖luc [f] the citadel Luc [g-g] > 71 [h] > 19 93 𝔖luc [i-i] > 71 [k-k] > 𝔖luc [l] > 64
[m] Jerusalem V +and no enemy rose up any more to fight Luc 𝔖luc [n-n] > A [o-o] > 71

XIV. [a-a] > 71 [b-b] > ℵ (*hab* ℵ c.a) [c] +of Judah ℵ V 19 55 𝔖 𝔏 [d-d] > 71 [e] Luc 𝔖; isles *all other authorities* [f-f] > 71 [g-g] much treasure 𝔖g [h] from them 64 93 [i] assemblies ℵ (streets ℵ c.a) [k-k] > 71
[l] +not Luc 𝔖g

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51. **the three and twentieth day . . .** The 23rd of Iyyar (= Ziv in O.T., cp. 1 Kings vi. 1) 171 = the 23rd May 142 B.C.

palm-branches. Cp. 2 Macc. x. 7; John xii. 13.

with harps . . . Cp. iv. 54.

52. **And he ordained . . .** This feast is referred to in *Megillath Ta'anith* ('The scroll of Fasting', so called because fasting is forbidden on the days enumerated), ch. ii, which enumerates thirty-five days of joy in Jewish history which were kept as feast-days; it was compiled about the beginning of the Christian era. Possibly this feast is included in the words contained in Judith viii. 6, but it has long ceased to be celebrated.

And the hill of the temple . . . On this statement, and that of Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 7), that Simon had the hill on which the citadel stood removed, in order that the Temple might stand higher than any other building in Jerusalem, see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 263.

53. **John.** i.e. John Hyrcanus I.

XIV. 1. **one hundred and seventy-second year.** On the Parthian expedition see note on xiii. 31.

2. **Arsaces.** i.e. Mithridates I, king of the Parthians. The name Arsaces was assumed by all the kings of Parthia after the founder of the Empire of this name.

7. **Gazara . . .** Cp. iv. 29, xiii. 43, 49–51.

8. **they tilled . . .** Cp. Lev. xxvi. 4; Ezek. xxxiv. 27.

the land gave . . . Cp. Zech. viii. 12.

the trees . . . Cp. Deut. viii. 8; Hag. ii. 19.

9. **Old men . . .** Cp. Zech. viii. 4, 5.

10 For the cities he provided victuals,
[m]And furnished[n] them with defensive works,
Until his glorious name was proclaimed to the end of the earth.
11 He made peace in the land,
And Israel rejoiced with great joy.
12 And each sat under his vine[o] and his fig tree[o],
And there was none to make them afraid[m];
13 And no one was left in the land to fight them
[p]And the[q] kings were discomfited in those days.
14 And he strengthened all that were brought low of his people;
He sought out the Law,
And put away the lawless and wicked.
15 [r]He glorified the sanctuary[p],
And multiplied[r] the[s] vessels of the Temple.

XIV. 16–24. *Renewal of the alliance with Rome.*

16 And (when) [t]it was heard[t] in Rome that Jonathan was dead, [u]and[v] (even) unto Sparta[u], they
17 were exceeding sorry. But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high-priest[u] in
18 his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein[u], they wrote unto him on tablets of brass, to
renew with him the friendship and the confederacy which they had established with[u] Judas and[u]
19, 20 Jonathan[u] his brethren[u]; and they were read before the congregation in Jerusalem. And this is the
copy of the letter which the Spartans sent: 'The rulers and the city[vv] of the Spartans, unto Simon the[w]
high-priest, and unto the elders, [u]and the priests, and the rest of the people of the Jews, (who are)
21 brethren[u], greeting; [u]The ambassadors that were sent unto our people made report to us of your[x]
22 glory and honour; and[u] we were glad for their coming. And we did register the things that were
spoken by them in the public records, after this manner: Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Anti-
pator, son of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us.
23 And it pleased the people to receive the men honourably, and to place the copy of their words
among the public records, to the end that the people of the Spartans might have a memorial thereof.'
24 Moreover they[y] wrote a copy of these things unto Simon the high-priest. After this Simon sent
Numenius to Rome having a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight[z], in order to confirm
the confederacy with them.

XIV. 25–49. *The hereditary High-priesthood conferred upon Simon; a memorial tablet to Simon and the Maccabaeans is set up in the Temple.*

25 But when the people heard these things, they said: 'What thanks shall we give to Simon[a] and his
26 sons? For he, and his brethren, and his father's house have [b]made themselves strong[b], and have
chased away in fight the enemies[c] of Israel from them, [d]and established liberty for it[d].' And they
27 wrote on tablets of brass, and set them upon a pillar[e] in mount Zion. [f]And this is the copy of the
writing: 'On the eighteenth day of Elul, in the one hundred and seventy-second year—that is the

[m-m] > 71 [n] strengthened Sluc [o-o] > ℵ [p-p] > 71 [q] their A [r-r] > ℵ [s] And the ℵ [t-t] he heard A they heard Luc 55 71 [u-u] > 71 [v] + it was heard Luc [vv] cities 𝔏[1] Sluc [w] + great Luc 55 [x] peace and your Luc [y] we V 93 [z] > Sg [a] + the high priest Sluc [b-b] acted valiantly Sluc [c] the sons 64 [d-d] and they gave the inheritance to Simon and established (him) Luc, *making 'the people' in v. 25 the subject* [e] pillars ℵ V [f-f] > 71

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12. **each sat under . . .** Cp. 1 Kings iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10.
And there was none . . . Cp. Deut. xxviii. 26; Jer. vii. 33; Zech. i. 21.
14. **all that were brought low.** πάντας τοὺς ταπεινούς; cp. Ps. xvii. 28; Isa. xiv. 32; Amos ii. 7 (all in Sept.).
He sought out the Law. Cp. Ps. civ. 45 (Sept.).
16. **and (even) unto Sparta.** See *Intr.* § 7. iii. (*b*).
18. **the friendship and the confederacy . . .** Cp. viii. 17–30, xii. 1–4.
20. **The rulers and . . .** On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. iii. (*b*). The rulers were the *Ephors* ever since the year 192 B.C., when Nabis, the last of the 'tyrants', was murdered.
22. **Numenius.** Cp. xii. 16.
24. **After this . . .** See *Intr.* § 7. iii. (*c*).
a thousand pound weight. An obvious exaggeration, cp. xv. 18.
27. **Elul.** The sixth month in the sacred year (= September approximately); cp. Neh. vi. 15.
the one hundred and seventy-second year = 141 B.C.

28 third year of Simon [g] the [h] high-priest [g], [i] and the **prince of the people of God** [i]—in a great congre-
gation of priests and people and princes of the nation, and of the elders of the country, [k] (the following)
29 was promulgated by us [k]; Forasmuch as oftentimes there have been wars in the country [f], Simon the
son of Mattathias, [f] the son of the children of Joarib [f], and his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy,
and withstood the enemies of their nation, that their sanctuary and the Law might be upheld; and
30 they glorified their nation with great glory. [l] And Jonathan assembled their [m] nation together [l], and
31 became high-priest to them; and he was gathered to his people. Then their enemies determined to
invade their country, [n] that they might destroy their country utterly [n], and stretch forth their hands
32 against their sanctuary. Then rose up Simon and fought for his nation; and he spent much of his own
33 substance, and armed the [o] valiant men of his nation, and gave them wages. And he fortified the cities
of Judaea, and Bethsura (that lieth) upon the borders of Judaea, where the arms of the enemies were
34 aforetime, and set there a garrison of Jews. [p] And he fortified Joppa which is by the sea, and Gazara
which is upon the borders of Azotus, wherein the enemies dwelt aforetime; and he placed Jews there [p],
35 and whatsoever things were needful for the sustenance [q] of these he put in them. And (when) the
people saw the faith [r] of Simon, and the glory which he sought to bring unto his nation, they made him
their leader [p] and high-priest, because he had done all these things, and because of the justice and the
36 faith which he kept to his nation, and because he sought by all means to exalt his people [p]. And in
his days things prospered in his hands [s], [t] so that the Gentiles were taken away out of their (the
Jews') country; and they also that were in the city of David, they that were in Jerusalem, who had
made themselves a citadel, out of which they issued, and polluted all things round about the sanc-
37 tuary, and did great hurt unto its purity (these did he expel) [t]; and he made Jews to dwell therein,
and fortified it for the safety of the country and of the city; and he made high the walls of Jeru-
38 salem. And king Demetrius confirmed him in the high-priesthood [u] in consequence of these things [u],
39, 40 and made him one of his Friends, [v] and honoured him with great honour [v]. For [w] he had heard [w]
that the Jews had been proclaimed by the Romans friends, and confederates, [v] and brethren [v], and
41 that they had met the ambassadors of Simon honourably. And [x] the Jews and the priests were well
pleased that Simon should be their leader and high-priest [v] for ever, until a faithful prophet should

[g-g] > Slᵘᶜ [h] + great ℵ V Luc 55 [i-i] in Asaramel (Saramel A = שר עם אל) 𝔊 the prince of Israel 𝔖
[k-k] he made known to us ℵ A V &c. we made known to you Luc Slᵘᶜ these things were made known 𝔏 (= הוֹדַע)
[l-l] > ℵ 71 [m] his V Slᵘᶜ 𝔏¹ [n-n] > ℵ* (*hab* ℵ ᶜ·ᵃ) V [o] his ℵ [p-p] > 71 [q] nourishment and susten-
ance Slᵘᶜ [r] deeds Slᵘᶜ 𝔏¹ + deeds V [s] + and fortified Jerusalem 71 [t-t] > 71 [u-u] *lit.* according to
these things; > 71 Slᵘᶜ [v-v] > 71 [w-w] it had been heard A Luc 71 [x] 71; *all other authorities add* that

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the third year . . . Cp. xiii. 42.

28. **the prince of the people of God.** Greek ἐν Σαραμέλ, see critical note, where, however, the meaning of this expression given does not account for the ἐν; Schürer thinks that this represents the remains of σεγεν (= סגן, the Hebr. for στρατηγός [τοῦ ἱεροῦ], cp. Jer. li. 23, 28, 57; Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23; Ezra ix. 2; Neh. ii. 16, iv. 8, xii. 40, xiii. 11; Dan. iii. 2, 27, vi. 8; Acts iv. 1), *op. cit.* i. 1. 265; ii. 1. 258 f.; but, in this case, what has become of the σεγ? It seems more natural to follow Wernsdorf (quoted by Grimm and Kautzsch) and see in σαραμέλ the transliteration of שר עם אל, 'Prince of the people of God'; the translator, assuming that this was the name of a place, would then have inserted ἐν. The difficulty here is the mention of God, which is uniformly avoided in this book; it may, therefore, be that the Syriac Version has retained the original reading, 'a prince of Israel,' שר ישראל; the Hebrew script in use before the square characters were introduced might easily account for reading an m (מ) for the second s (ש); the translator, who was obviously puzzled, may also have taken exception, through ignorance, to the repeated שר.

was promulgated by us. See critical note.

29. **Joarib.** Cp. ii. 1.

33. **Bethsura.** Cp. iv. 29.

34. **he fortified Joppa.** Cp. xii. 33, 34.

Gazara . . . upon the borders of Azotus. Cp. xiii. 43–8. This is a mistake as Gazara was 17 miles distant from Ashdod; Grimm thinks the error is due to the translator.

wherein. ἐν ᾗ . . . ἐκεῖ, a Hebraism; cp. e.g. Deut. iv. 5, 14, 26, ἡ γῆ εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς εἰσπορεύεσθε ἐκεῖ; and often.

35. **they made him . . .** But cp. xiii. 8 ff.; on the chronological discrepancies between the details given in this letter and those in xi. 16–xiv. 24 see *Intr.* § 7. iii.

40. **and brethren.** σύμμαχοι is the more usual expression, cp. v. 18, viii. 20, xv. 17; ἀδελφοί is scarcely original.

41. **leader and high-priest.** Simon has three official titles: ἀρχιερεύς, as spiritual ruler; στρατηγός, as military chief; and ἐθνάρχης, as civil governor; see xiii. 42, and *v.* 47 of this chap., cp. also xv. 1, 2.

for ever. i. e. that it should be hereditary in his family.

until a faithful prophet . . . By this is meant that 'this popular decree should remain in force until an authentic communication from God should make some other enactment. . . . The significance of this popular resolution lies not so much in the fact that it conveyed to him (Simon) any new dignity, but rather in this, that it legitimized and pronounced hereditary those dignities which he already had. In this way a new high-priestly and princely dignity was founded, that of the Asmoneans' (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 265).

42 arise[v]; and that he should be a captain over them[y], to set them over their works, and over the country,
43 and over the arms, and over the strongholds, [v]and that he should take charge of the sanctuary, and that he should be obeyed by all, and that all instruments in the country should be written in his
44 name[v], and that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold; and that it should not be lawful for anyone among the people or among the priests to set at nought any of these things, or to gainsay the things spoken by him, or to gather an assembly [z]in the country[z] without him, or that any (other)
45 should be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of gold; [aa]but that whosoever should do otherwise,
46 or set at nought any of these things, should be liable to punishment[aa]. And all the people con-
47 sented to ordain[bb] for Simon that it should be done according to these words. And Simon accepted (hereof), and consented to fill the office of high-priest, and to be captain and governor of the Jews [aa]and of the priests, and to preside over all matters[aa].'

48 And they commanded to put this writing on tablets of brass, and to set them up within [cc]the
49 precinct of[cc] the sanctuary in a conspicuous[dd] place; and copies of this (they caused) to be placed in the treasury, to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.

XV. 1–9. *Antiochus VII (Sidetes) seeks the throne, and solicits the help of Simon.*

15 1 And Antiochus, son of Demetrius the king, sent letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the
2 priest[a] and governor of the Jews, and to all the nation[b]; [c]and the contents thereof were after this manner[c]:

'King Antiochus to Simon the high-priest and governor, and to the nation of the Jews, greeting:
3 Forasmuch as pestilent fellows have made themselves masters of the kingdom of our[d] fathers, and my purpose is to claim the kingdom, that I may restore it [c]as before,—I have, moreover, raised a mul-
4 titude of foreign soldiers, and have prepared ships of war[c], and I have determined to land in the country, that I may punish them that have devastated our country, and them that have made many cities in the[e]
5 kingdom desolate,—I therefore (herewith) confirm [f]unto thee[f] (the release from) all the exactions which
6 the kings that were before me remitted unto thee, [c]and whatsoever gifts[g] besides they remitted unto
7 thee[c]; [h]and I give thee leave[h] [i]to coin money[k] for thy country[k] with thine own stamp[i]. And Jerusalem and the sanctuary shall be free; [c]and all the arms which thou hast prepared[c], and the strongholds
8 [c]which thou hast built, which thou hast in thy possession[c], let them remain unto thee. And everything owing to the king, [l]and the things that shall be owing to the king, let them be remitted unto thee
9 from now and unto all time[l]. Moreover, when we shall have established[m] our kingdom, we will glorify thee and thy nation and [n]the Temple with great glory[n], so that your glory shall be made manifest in all the earth.'

XV. 10–14. *Antiochus VII besieges Tryphon in Dor.*

10 In the one hundred and seventy-fourth year Antiochus went forth into the land of his fathers;
11 and all the forces came together unto him, so that there were (but) few men[o] with Tryphon. And
12 king Antiochus pursued him, and in fleeing he[p] came to Dor, which is by the sea; for he perceived
13 that[q] troubles were come upon him, and that his forces had forsaken him. And Antiochus encamped against Dor, and with him a hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horse.
14 And he compassed the city round about, [r]and the ships joined in the attack from the sea; and he pressed the city sore[r] by land[s] and sea[s], and suffered no man to go out or in.

[y] + and should take charge of the sanctuary 𝔊 𝔖luc 𝔏1; *these words have crept into the text by mistake, they occur again in the next verse* [z-z] > 𝔖luc [aa-aa] > 71 [bb] + these things 64 93 [cc-cc] > 𝔖luc [dd] safe A

XV. [a] high-priest 55 64 [b] + of the Jews 71 [c-c] > 71 [d] my 55 𝔖luc [e] my ℵ V [f-f] > 𝔖luc [g] exactions A [h-h] > A [i-i] to make laws and to put forth decrees according to thine own will 𝔖luc [k-k] > 𝔖luc [l-l] > 71 [m] obtained 𝔏1 [n-n] our Temple 55 [o] + that were left T.R. [p] Tryphon 64 93 [q] + all Luc [r-r] > ℵ [s-s] > 𝔖luc

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43. . . . **clothed in purple, and wear gold.** Cp. viii. 14, x. 20, 89, and *v.* 44 of this chap.
49. **in the treasury.** Cp. 2 Macc. iii. 6, 28, v. 18; John viii. 20.

XV. 1. **Antiochus.** Called *Sidetes* on account of his having been brought up in the city of *Side* in Pamphylia (cp. *v.* 23). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. viii. 2), he was also called the 'Pious' (Εὐσεβής), because of 'the great zeal he had concerning religion'. He was the seventh of the name; son of Demetrius I, and brother of Demetrius II.

from the isles of the sea. Schürer quotes Appian, *Syr.* c. 68, to the effect that while at Rhodes Antiochus learned of his brother's captivity (πυθόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας).

2. **the contents thereof . . .** On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. ii. (*f*).
6. **to coin money . . .** See Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 257–60.
10. **In the one hundred and seventy-fourth year.** i.e. 139–138 B.C.
11. **Dor.** Cp. Joshua xi. 2, xii. 23, xvii. 11; Judges i. 27; an ancient Phoenician town on the Mediterranean coast, about nine miles north of Caesarea; the modern *Tanturā.*

XV. 15–24. *The return of the Jewish envoys from Rome.*

15 And Numenius and his company came from Rome, having letters to the kings, and to the countries, wherein were written these things:
16, 17 'Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemy, greeting: The Jews' ambassadors came unto us (as) our friends and confederates, to renew the old friendship and confederacy, being sent from
18 Simon the high-priest, [t]and from the people of the Jews[t]; moreover, they brought a shield of gold
19 of a thousand[u] pound[v]. It pleased us, therefore, to write unto the kings and unto the countries, [w]that they should not seek their hurt, nor fight against them[w], [x]and their cities, and their country[y],
20 nor be confederates with such as fight against them[x]. And it seemed good to us to accept the
21 shield from them. If, therefore, any pestilent fellows should have fled from their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high-priest, that he may take vengeance on them according to their law.'
22 And the same things wrote he to Demetrius the king, and to Attalus, and to Ariarathes[z], and to
23 Arsaces, and unto all the countries, and to Sampsames[a], and to the Spartans, and unto Delos, and unto Myndos, and unto Sicyon, and unto Caria[b], and unto Samos, and unto Pamphylia, and unto Lycia, and unto Halicarnassus, and unto Rhodes, and unto Phaselis, and unto Cos, and unto Side, and
24 unto Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus and Cyrene[c]. And a copy hereof they wrote to Simon the high-priest.

XV. 25–41. *Antiochus VII breaks his covenant with Simon.*

25 And Antiochus the king encamped against Dor the second (day)[d], bringing his forces up to it
26 continually, and making engines (of war); and he shut up Tryphon[e] from going in or out. And Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to fight for him, and silver and gold, and instruments (of
27 war) in abundance. But he would not receive them, [f]but set at nought everything that he had
28 previously covenanted [g]with him[g f]; [h]and he was estranged from him[h]. And he sent unto him Athenobius, one of his Friends, to commune with him, saying; 'Ye hold possession of Joppa and
29 Gazara, and the citadel that is in Jerusalem, [f]cities of my kingdom. The borders thereof have ye wasted, and done great hurt in the land[f], and have got the dominion of many places in my kingdom.
30 Now, therefore, deliver up the cities which ye have taken, [f]and the tributes of the places whereof ye
31 have gotten dominion outside of the borders of Judaea[f]; or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver; and for the harm that ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred
32 talents; otherwise we[i] will come and make war upon you.' And (when) Athenobius, the king's Friend, came to Jerusalem, and saw the glory of Simon, and the[k] cabinet with gold and silver vessels,
33 and his great attendance, [l]he was amazed[l], and reported to him[m] the king's words. And Simon [n]answered, and[n] said unto him: 'We have neither taken other men's land, nor have we possession of that which appertaineth to others, but of the inheritance of our fathers; [n]howbeit, it was had in
34 possession of our enemies wrongfully for a certain time[n]. But we, having (taken) the opportunity,

[t-t] > 71 [u] five thousand A 55 [v] talents 55 [w-w] > ℵ (*hab* ℵ c.a) 55 [x-x] > 71 [y] countries A 93 𝔖luc 𝔏l
[z] Arathes A 55 71 [a] Sampsaces A 𝔖luc Lampsacus 𝔏l [b] Caris A [c] Smyrna V [d] *expressed only in* ℵ c.a Luc [e] + from all sides 𝔖luc [f-f] > 71 [g-g] > 𝔖luc [h-h] > 55 [i] they A [k] + golden Luc 𝔖luc
[l-l] > 𝔖luc [m] them A Simon Luc [n-n] > 71

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16. **Lucius . . .** On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. ii. (*c*).
Ptolemy. The seventh of the name; Euergetes II, Physcon; he reigned jointly with his brother, Ptolemy VI, Philometor, 170–164 B.C., and alone from 164–117.
22. **Attalus.** King of Pergamum, but uncertain whether the first or second of the name (Grimm).
Ariarathes. The fifth of the name, king of Cappadocia, 162–130 B.C.
Arsaces. Mithridates I, king of Parthia; see note on xiv. 2.
23. **Sampsames.** Possibly the harbour on the Black Sea between Sinope and Trebizond, but uncertain.
Delos. This and Samos are islands in the Archipelago.
Myndos. Like Halicarnassus and Cnidus, in Caria, the country on the south-west coast of Asia Minor.
Sicyon. On the north coast of the Peloponnesus, west of Corinth.
Pamphylia. The country on the coast of Asia Minor between Lycia and Cilicia; Side is a sea-port of Pamphylia.
Rhodes. The island lying south off the coast of Caria.
Phaselis. A city on the coast of Lycia.
Cos. An island lying off the coast of Caria.
Aradus. An island close to the Phoenician coast, nearly opposite the mouth of the Eleutherus (see xi. 7).
Gortyna. A town on the island of Crete.
Cyrene. The capital of Libya, the country lying to the west of Egypt.
The disordered enumeration of all these shows that the writer's knowledge of their geographical positions was extremely meagre.

35 hold fast [o] the inheritance [o] of our fathers. Nevertheless, as touching Joppa and Gazara which thou
demandest,—(though it was) they that did great harm among the people [n] and in our land [n]—we will
36 give a hundred talents for them.' And he [p] answered him not a word, but returned in a rage to the
king, and reported unto him these words, [n] and the glory of Simon, and all things whatsoever he had
seen [n]; and the king was exceeding wroth.

37, 38 But Tryphon embarked on board a ship, and fled to Orthosia. And the king appointed Cende-
39 baeus chief captain of the sea-coast, and gave him forces of foot [q] and horse [q]; and he commanded
him to encamp before Judaea; also [r] he commanded him [r] to build up Kedron, [r] and to fortify [s] the
40 gates [t r], and that he should fight against the people; but the king pursued Tryphon. And Cende-
baeus came to Jamnia, [r] and began to provoke the people [r], and to invade Judaea, and to take [r] the
41 people [r] captive and to slay them. And he [u] built Kedron, and set horsemen there, and forces of
foot, to the end that, [v] issuing out, they might make outroads upon the ways of Judaea [v], according
as the king had commanded him.

XVI. 1–10. *Judas and John, the sons of Simon, defeat Cendebaeus.*

16 1, 2 And John went up from Gazara, and told Simon, his father, what Cendebaeus was doing. And
Simon called his two eldest [w] sons, Judas and John, and said unto them: 'I and my brethren and my
father's house have fought the battles of Israel [x] from our youth, even unto this very day [x]; and things
3 have prospered in our hands, [x] (so that we were able) to deliver Israel oftentimes [x]. But now I am
old, and ye moreover, [x] by (God's) [y] mercy [x], are of sufficient age [z]; be ye (then) instead of me [x] and
my brother, and go forth [x] and fight for our nation; [x] and let the help that is from Heaven be with
4 you [x].' And he [aa] chose [bb] out of the country [bb] twenty thousand men of war and horsemen; and they
5 went against Cendebaeus, and rested at Modin. And rising up in the morning, they went into the
plain, and, behold, a great host came to meet them, of footmen and horsemen; and there was
6 a brook betwixt them. And he encamped over against them, [x] he and his people; and he saw that

[o-o] our inheritance and (that) A [p] Athenobius T.R. [q-q] > V 93 [r-r] > 71 [s] to build up ℵ [t] cities A
[u] Cendebaeus Luc [v-v] they might fight Judaea 71
XVI. [w] > 71 [x x] > 71 [y] *expressed in* 𝔖luc [z] > 𝔖luc [aa] John Luc [bb-bb] > V 71

37. **Orthosia.** A town on the Phoenician coast, north of Tripolis; the name is preserved to the present day, the ruins of the ancient town being still called *Arthûsi.*

38. **Cendebaeus.** According to Schürer (*op. cit.* i. 1, p. 270) a name derived from Κάνδυβα, a town in Lycia, cp. Sidetes, from *Side* (see *v.* 1).

39. **Kedron.** Probably identical with Gederoth (Joshua xv. 41), the present Katra, south-west of Ekron, near Modin, according to xvi. 4 ff.

40. **Jamnia.** See note on iv. 15.

XVI. 2. **his two eldest sons.** A third, Mattathias, is mentioned in *v.* 14.

things have prospered in our hands. Cp. the Hebr. phrase הוֹשִׁיעַ יַד לְ 'to gain success for'.

3. **I am old.** Cp. Joshua xxiii. 2 זקנתי.

by (God's) mercy. ἐν τῷ ἐλέει, again the avoidance of the divine name which is characteristic of this book; cp. 'the help that is from Heaven' further on in this verse.

of sufficient age. Lit. 'sufficient in years'.

go forth and fight. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vii. 3), Simon himself took the lead: '. . . Taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army . . .'; this is also borne out by the *vv.* that follow here, in spite of 'be ye instead of me' in this verse.

4. **he chose.** Logically 'Simon' is the subject; 'John' of the Lucianic MSS. (see critical note) was presumably inserted because of the words, 'I am old . . .'.

out of the country. The point of these words is not quite clear (see critical note); the Jews had not yet had any idea of employing mercenaries, so that the words cannot be supposed to imply native-born soldiers as distinct from foreigners; nor could they have been new recruits, since they were 'men of war'. The MSS. which omit the words are perhaps justified in doing so.

horsemen. This is the first time mention is made of the Maccabees using horsemen, though their use in warfare was not new to the Jews (cp. Isa. xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 9; Hos. i. 7; Neh. ii. 9, &c.); that more use had not been made of them during the Maccabaean war was due to the method of warfare on the part of the Maccabaeans; it was more advantageous for them to adopt mountain warfare.

rested. Lit. 'slept', = 'passed the night', the Hebr. לון.

Modin. See note on ii. 1.

5. **they went into the plain.** Cp. Job xxxix. 10 (Sept.).

a great host. δύναμις πολλή, cp. Ps. lxxvii. 12 (Sept.).

to meet them. εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς, cp. the same phrase in Gen. xiv. 17 (Sept.).

a brook. See note on v. 37.

6. **he encamped.** See notes on *vv.* 3, 4.

his people. λαός is used in the sense of an army in Joshua x. 5 (Sept.) for the Hebrew מחנה.

the people were afraid to pass over the brook, so he passed over first [x]; and (when) the men saw him
7 (doing this), they passed over after him. And he divided the people, [cc] and (set) the horsemen in the
8 midst of the footmen, for the enemies horsemen were exceedingly numerous [cc]. And they sounded
with the [dd] trumpets; and Cendebaeus and his army were put to the rout, and there fell of them [ee]
9 many wounded to death; and they that were left fled to the stronghold. At that time was Judas,
John's brother, wounded; but John pursued after them, till he came to Kedron, [ff] which [Cendebaeus] [a]
10 had built [ff]. And they fled unto the towers that are in the fields of Azotus; and he burned it with
fire; and there fell of them about a thousand [b] men. And he returned to Judaea in peace.

XVI. 11–24. *Murder of Simon and his two sons, Mattathias and Judas, by Ptolemy; John Hyrcanus escapes.*

11 And Ptolemy the son of Abubus had been appointed captain [ff] for the plain [ff] of Jericho; and he
12, 13 had much silver and gold, for he was the high [c]-priest's son-in-law. [ff] And his heart was lifted up [ff],
and he was minded to make himself master of the country; and he took counsel deceitfully against
14 Simon and his sons, to make away with them. Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the
country, and taking care for the good ordering of them. And he went down to Jericho, he himself
and Mattathias and Judas, [d] his sons [d], [e] in the one hundred and seventy-seventh year, in the eleventh
15 month, the same is the month Sebat [e]. And the son of Abubus received them deceitfully into the
little stronghold that is called Dok, [e] which he had built [e]; and he made them a great banquet; and
16 he hid men there. And when Simon and his sons had drunk freely [f], Ptolemy and they that were
with him rose up, and took their arms, and came upon Simon [e] into the banqueting hall [e], and slew
17 him and his two sons, and certain of his servants. [e] And he committed (thus) a great act of
18 treachery [g] [e], and recompensed evil for good. And Ptolemy wrote these things, and sent to the king,
that he should send him forces to aid (him), and that he should deliver to him their [h] country and the
19 cities. And he sent others to Gazara to make away with John; [e] and unto the captains of thousands
20 he sent letters to come unto him that he might give them silver and gold and gifts [e]. And others he
21 sent to take possession of Jerusalem, [e] and of the mount of the Temple [e]. And one [i] ran [k] before to
Gazara, and told [k] John [e] that his father and brethren had perished, 'and', (said he), 'he hath sent to

[cc-cc] > 71 [dd] + holy V T.R. [ee] it A (*in reference to the army*) > 71 [ff-ff] > 71 [a] they Luc Ꞩ[luc] [b] two thousand ℵ V 71 three thousand Luc Ꞩ[luc] [c] > V 55 [d-d] his brother ℵ* (his sons ℵ[c.a]) [e-e] > 71 [f] + and were merry Ꞩ[luc] [g] a godless act A [h] the Luc 71 [i] > A 71 93 Ꞩ[luc] [k-k] *plur.* 93 Ꞩ[luc]

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7. **the horsemen in the midst . . .** An unusual proceeding; Grimm cites an instance of the Romans having done so. The object here was two-fold; to accustom the horsemen to their new duties, and to avoid their meeting the full force of the enemy's cavalry, which was numerically superior.

8. **they sounded with . . .** Cp. Num. x. 8; the addition of ἱεραῖς in some MSS. is probably due to the mention of the priests in Num. x. 8, from which the phrase here seems to be borrowed; *οἱ ἱερεῖς σαλπιοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν*, cp. 1 Chron. xv. 24 (Sept.).

the stronghold. i.e. Kedron, see xv. 39–41.

10. **they fled.** i.e. those of the enemy who had not been able to get into Kedron, and who had, therefore, been forced to continue their flight.

the fields of Azotus. i.e. the open country round the city. The 'towers' (מגדל) were used both for the defence of cities and for the protection of flocks; for the former use cp. 2 Kings xvii. 19, xviii. 8.

he burned it with fire. i.e. the city of Azotus; Jonathan had done this to Azotus ten years before (see x. 84), but it is not necessary to suppose that either then, or on this occasion, the city was wholly obliterated.

about a thousand men. See critical note.

11. **Ptolemy the son of Abubus.** He was the son-in-law of Simon, see below.

the plain of Jericho. ערבות יריחו Joshua v. 10, see also Sept. of this. The plain was 'seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad; wherein it (i.e. the fountain near Jericho) affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens that are thick set with trees' (Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* IV. viii. 3).

12. **the high-priest's son-in-law.** See further Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vii. 4, viii. 1).

13. **his heart was lifted up.** See note on i. 3.

14. **went down to Jericho.** For the phrase cp. Luke x. 30.

the one hundred and seventy-seventh year. i.e. 135 B.C.

the month Sebat. Properly Shebat (שבט); cp. Zech. i. 7. It corresponds approximately to February; the fifth civil and eleventh ecclesiastical month in the Jewish Calendar; the month, according to Jewish tradition, in which demons prevail.

15. **Dok.** Δώκ, Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. viii. 1; *Bell. Iud.* I. ii. 3) calls it Δαγών. 'The name is still retained in that of the fountain *'Ain ed-Duk*, north of Jericho, on the border of the mountain land, in a position very suitable as the site of a fortress' (Schürer, *op. cit.* p. 271). Grimm says that *Duk* is mentioned as a mountain fortress lying between Jericho and Bethel, and belonging to the Templars; this was still standing in the thirteenth century.

16. **had drunk freely.** ἐμεθύσθη means that Simon was intoxicated cp. the murder of king Elah by Zimri under similar circumstances (1 Kings xvi. 9, 10).

17. **act of treachery.** See critical note. Cp. 2 Macc. xv. 10.

22 slay thee also [e].' And when he [1] heard (it), he was sore amazed; and he laid hands on the men [m] that
came to destroy [n] him [m], and slew [n] them; [o] for he perceived that they were seeking to destroy him [o].
23 And the rest of the acts of John, and of his wars, and of his valiant deeds [o] which he did [o], and of
24 the building of the walls which he built, and of his (other) deeds, behold they are written in the
chronicles of his high-priesthood, from the time that he was made high-priest after his father.

[1] John Luc m-m > 93 Sluc n-n > V o o > 71

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23. **acts.** Lit. 'words', but the Hebr. word דבר means 'act' as well; cp. 2 Sam. xi. 18 *ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δαβὶδ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ πολέμου.*

the building of the walls. i.e. the walls of Jerusalem which had been broken down by Antiochus VII Sidetes (Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. viii. 3).

24. **in the chronicles.** *ἐπὶ βιβλίου ἡμερῶν*; cp. the Hebrew name of the Books of Chronicles, דברי הימים, lit. 'the acts of the days'.

Grimm mentions that 'Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca sancta*, lib. i, p. 39) declares that he saw in the library of Santes Pagninus in Lyons the manuscript of a very hebraic Greek book of the Maccabees, which embraced the history of thirty-one years (according to Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. x. 7, Hyrcanus reigned this number of years), and which began with the words, *καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτανθῆναι τὸν Σίμωνα ἐγενήθη Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἱερεὺς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ*; a book which, according to this description, must either have contained the chronicles here mentioned, or have been, at any rate, one which contained their substance. Unfortunately, soon after Sixtus Senensis had given this news to the world, the library in question was destroyed by fire'. Schürer (*op. cit.* ii. 3, p. 14) says regarding this manuscript: 'Judging from the enumeration of the contents as given by Sixtus, this book simply narrates *the history of John Hyrcanus*, and precisely as in Josephus (the same facts and in the same order). With regard to this he himself observes: "*Historiae* series et narratio eadem fere est quae apud Iosephum libro Antiquitatum decimo tertio; sed *stylus, hebraicis idiotismis abundans*, longe dispar." Consequently he ventures to conjecture that it may have been a Greek translation of the history of Hyrcanus mentioned at the end of the First Book of the Maccabees. Many modern writers have concurred in this conjecture. . . . But in view of the enumeration of the contents given by Sixtus, it seems to me there can hardly be a doubt that the book was simply a reproduction of Josephus, the style being changed perhaps for a purpose.'

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Contents and Characteristics.

2 Maccabees is the anonymous ἐπιτομή (ii.26,28) or digest of an earlier Maccabaean history which had been composed by a Hellenistic Jew called Jason of Cyrene. The writer condensed Jason's five books into one. It is unnecessary to hold that his statements to this effect are simply a literary device, as though he were a Jewish Defoe who thus attempted to gain the fictitious authority of age for his own composition (so e. g. Kosters in *Theolog. Tijdschrift*, 1878, 491 f., and Kamphausen). Had this been the case, the contents would have been more of a unity than they are, and the *lacunae* would have been fewer. Besides, more than once, the style (e. g. in xiii. 22 f.) suddenly corresponds to that of an historian who is hurriedly compressing as well as popularizing some earlier source. Upon the whole the materials, the contents, and the style of the book answer fairly to the writer's account of his own method and aims (in ii. 19–32, vi. 12–17, xv. 37–9). His work is an abridgement and at the same time more than an abridgement. He must have omitted large sections of Jason's treatise and summarized even what he took over, but, instead of preserving invariably either the language or the shape of his selections, he embellished the former to suit the popular taste and enlarged the latter, for the sake of edification, with pious amplifications of the miraculous element.

The outline of the epitome is thus characterized by a unity of religious feeling, rather than by any historical sequence. The introductory documents of i. 1–ii. 18, containing two letters, are followed by a naïve preface (ii. 19–32), after which the epitome proper begins, with five successive pauses (iii. 40, vii. 42, x. 9, xiii. 26, xv. 37, perhaps after Jason). The only formal interruption is a short passage upon the doctrine of retribution as the clue to Jewish history (vi. 12–17). Judas Maccabaeus comes on the scene in v. 27, and, once his story is resumed (in viii. 1 f.), it runs on to the end, the only digression being the highly-coloured tale of Antiochus' death (ix. 1–29 ; x. 1–8 resumes the narrative dropped at viii. 33). The epilogue (xv. 37–9) echoes the prologue. Indeed the aim of even the prefixed letters corresponds to the general purpose of the book, which is to magnify the two festivals of the Ḥanukka and Nicanor's day,[1] as the ceremonial glories which recall the heroism of Judas Maccabaeus.[2]

2 Maccabees is not a sequel to 1 Maccabees. It is, in Luther's words,[3] *a* second book upon the Maccabaean struggle, not *the* second book. As the period of its narrative (175–161 B. C.) coincides with part of 1 Maccabees, a comparison of the two books might be expected therefore to clear up the problem of their relative value, and furnish a standard for valuating the second. To some extent this expectation is realized. But critical opinion has swayed curiously between an undue depreciation of 2 Maccabees as an historical document and an exaggerated claim on its behalf. The former tendency is represented by modern critics like Willrich and (especially) Kosters ; the latter by Niese (*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, 1900), who not only succeeds in vindicating the trustworthiness of the book at several points, but attempts to prove that it is older and more authentic than 1 Maccabees—an attempt which has failed to carry conviction (cp. e. g. the articles of Lévi in *Revue des études juives*, 1901, 222–30, Abrahams in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1901, 508–19, Kamphausen in *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1901, 287–90, and Wellhausen in *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, pp. 117–63). The parallel narratives of the two books are as follow :—

[1] On the improbability of any connexion between the Purim festival of the book of Esther and Nicanor's day see L. B. Paton's 'Esther' (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*), pp. 78 f.

[2] Cp. Hochfeld in *ZATW*, 1902, pp. 264–84, who emphasizes, after Geiger, the Pharisaic interests and methods of the writer.

[3] 'Man wolt es denn heissen ein anders buch und nicht das ander buch Maccabeorum, alium vel alienum scilicet non secundum.'

1 Macc.	2 Macc.
Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes: i. 10.	iv. 7: accession of Antiochus Epiphanes.
	iv. 7–8: sacerdotal intrigues of Jason.
Gymnasium, &c., introduced in Jerusalem: i. 11–15.	iv. 9–17: gymnasium, &c., introduced in Jerusalem.
	iv. 18–22: fresh intrigues of Jason.
	v. 23–50: high-priesthood of Menelaus.
Expedition of Antiochus against Egypt: i. 16–19.	v. 1: expedition[1] of Antiochus against Egypt.
	v. 2–10: intrigues and death of Jason.
Antiochus plunders Jerusalem: i. 20–8.	v. 11–21: Antiochus plunders Jerusalem.
His royal commissioner completes secularization of Jerusalem: i. 29 f.	v. 22 f.: Apollonius, his deputy, completes the work.
The Maccabees leave Jerusalem: ii. 1 f.	v. 27: Judas Maccabaeus and his followers leave Jerusalem.
Hellenizing decree of Antiochus brought by messengers to Jerusalem: temple profaned and pagan customs established: i. 41–59.	vi. 1–9: Athenian commissioner of Antiochus has temple profaned and pagan customs established.
Jewish mothers and their children[2] killed: i. 60–1.	vi. 10: two Jewish mothers and their children[2] killed.
Jews massacred for keeping sabbath: i. 29–38.	vi. 11: Jews burnt for keeping sabbath.
Jews martyred for refusing to eat swine's flesh: i. 62 f.	vi. 18–31: Eleazar martyred for refusing to eat swine's flesh.
	vii. 1–42: mother and seven sons martyred for refusing to eat swine's flesh.[3]
Mattathias and his sons refuse to sacrifice: ii. 15–26.	
Mattathias organizes a revolt: ii. 27 f.	
Judas Maccabaeus succeeds Mattathias: ii. 49–70.	
Successful revolt of Judas: iii. 1–9.	viii. 1–7: successful revolt of Judas.
He defeats Apollonius and Seron: iii. 10–26.	
Lysias commissioned by Antiochus to exterminate the Jews: iii. 27 f.	
Lysias commissions Ptolemaeus, Nicanor, and Gorgias to devastate Judaea: iii. 38 f.	viii. 8 f.: Ptolemaeus, Nicanor, and Gorgias commissioned to devastate Judaea.
Slave-dealers join expedition: iii. 41.	viii. 10–11: slave-dealers join expedition.
Mustering of Jews: iii. 42–60.	viii. 12–23*a*: mustering of Jews.
Withdrawal of some: iii. 55–6.	viii. 12 f.: withdrawal of some.
Defeat of Gorgias: iv. 1–25.	
	viii. 23*b*–29: defeat of Nicanor.
	viii. 30: defeat of Timotheus and Bacchides.
Defeat of Lysias[4]: iv. 26–35.	
Entry into Jerusalem: iv. 36–7.	viii. 31 f.: entry into Jerusalem.
	ix. 1–28: miserable death of Antiochus.
Purification of temple: iv. 38–51.	x. 1–5: purification of temple.
Celebration of Ḥanukka-feast: iv. 52–61.	x. 5 f.: celebration of Ḥanukka-feast.
	x. 9–11: accession of Antiochus Eupator.
Judas subdues Idumaeans, Baeanites, Ammonites under Timotheus: v. 1–8.	x. 15 f.: Judas[5] defeats Idumaeans, Timotheus, &c.
Judas subdues pagans under Timotheus in Gilead, Galilee, &c.: v. 9–54.	
Gorgias defeats Joseph and Azarias outside Jamnia: v. 55–62.	

[1] This invasion of Egypt by Antiochus is not 'second' to the preliminary march south in iv. 21 (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 297–8), but the second of the campaigns against Egypt (cp. Dan. xi. 25 f., which agrees better with 1 Maccabees), the first of which (170 B.C.) was really followed by the attack upon Jerusalem.

[2] The question of circumcision.

[3] The earliest martyrology—an important tradition preserved by Jason, though the presence of the king at the tortures, even if the scene is transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch, is dramatic rather than historical.

[4] The epitomist (xi. 1–12) not only transfers this to the next reign but embellishes it in order to glorify the success of Judas. On the other hand, he dates the death of Antiochus too early. Whether the one error led to the other, and, if so, which was primary, it is impossible to determine.

[5] These wars on the neighbours of the Jews may have lasted longer than 1 Maccabees implies, and it is even probable that some details which the epitomist has supplied in xii. 1 f. are to be credited, but Niese (pp. 55–60) is not justified in proceeding to set aside the fact that they began before the death of Antiochus. At his death the king had only heard (1 Macc. vi. 5–8) of the Jewish rebellion as recorded up to iv. 61, but this does not imply that the Jews had not already embroiled themselves with the surrounding tribes. The motive assigned in 1 Macc. v. 1 for the rising of these tribes is perfectly natural, and is not to be explained as a mere unhistorical echo of Neh. iv. 1.

1 Macc.	2 Macc.
Judas subdues Edomites and Philistines: v. 63–8.	
Miserable death of Antiochus: vi. 1–16.	
Accession of Antiochus Eupator: vi. 17.	
Judas attacks citadel of Jerusalem: vi. 18 f.	
	xi. 1–12: defeat of Lysias.
	xi. 13 f.: Lysias arranges terms of peace.
	xii. 1 f.: Judas punishes Joppa and Jamnia, &c., defeats pagans under Timotheus[1] in Gilead, &c.
Lysias and Eupator invade Judaea: vi. 28–54.	xiii. 1 f.: Lysias and Eupator invade Judaea.[2]
Lysias concludes a treaty of peace: vi. 55–63.	xiii. 22 f.: treaty of peace.
Accession of Demetrius I: vii. 1–4.	xiv. 1–2: accession of Demetrius I.
Alcimus installed high-priest by Bacchides: vii. 5–22.	xiv. 3 f.: Alcimus to be re-instated high-priest by Nicanor.[3]
Nicanor's mission, attempt to seize Judas by treachery, threats against temple, defeat and death: vii. 23–47.	xiv. 15–xv. 35: Nicanor's mission, friendliness to Judas, attempt to seize him, threats against temple, defeat and death.
Institution of feast: vii. 48–50.	xv. 36: institution of feast.

A broad survey of the two documents puts it beyond reasonable doubt that upon religious questions like the resurrection of the body (e. g. vii. 11, xiv. 46) and the prohibition of warfare on the sabbath (viii. 27, xv. 1 f.), 1 Maccabees is decidedly more primitive than 2 Maccabees. It is probably the latter interest, among other things, which led the anti-Hasmonean epitomist to omit all reference to Mattathias (cp. 1 Macc. ii. 39 f.; also ii. 49 with its absence of any allusion to the resurrection). Niese (pp. 45 f.) attempts to turn the force of this argument against the accuracy and impartiality of 2 Maccabees by ascribing the introduction and prominence of Mattathias in 1 Maccabees to tendency—i. e. to the desire of glorifying the later Hasmoneans through Simon his son. But the probabilities are against this theory. It is incredible that Jewish traditions went wrong in glorifying the rôle of Mattathias; 'the Rabbinic tradition (which is independent of both books of the Maccabees) recognized Mattathias as the principal figure in the struggle for religious liberty' (Abrahams, *op. cit.* 516), and this consideration corroborates the impression that it is the omission of Mattathias in the epitome, not his rôle in 1 Maccabees, which is secondary.

The chronological disorder of 2 Maccabees, as has been already noted, further tells against the hypothesis of its superiority to 1 Maccabees. The first part of the epitome closes with the feast of the purification (x. 1–8), the second with the feast of Nicanor's day (xv. 36). The former feast is apparently[4] dated after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes; but there is really no sound reason for doubting that 1 Maccabees has preserved the correct tradition in the reverse order of these events (iv. 36 f., vi. 1 f.) as well as in its description of the manner in which Antiochus died, while the entire account of Lysias' subsequent actions (in 2 Macc. xi. 1 f.) shows that the writer, or the sources on which he relied, must have confused the two defeats of Lysias. It is not possible, with Niese, to establish the historical inferiority of 1 Maccabees on the basis of these incidents.

The historicity of the Roman correspondence in xi. 34 f. is also supposed to be corroborated not only by the fact that, in keeping with contemporary usage, the cognomen is omitted (Niese, 31), but by the likelihood that the Romans would no more hesitate to negotiate with the Jews against Demetrius at this juncture than they hesitated to deal with Timarchus who was in arms against the same opponent (Diod. Sic. xxxi. 27 a; cp. Niese 63 f., 88 f., and, for a more cautious statement, Laqueur, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.). Still, these considerations do not amount to more than the possibility that such documents (as e. g. the letters from Antiochus III in Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii) were composed at an early period by some Alexandrian writer who possessed good knowledge of the situation. At most they may reflect an historical nucleus, but in their present form the epistles of xi. 16 f. are almost certainly manufactured documents, like those in i–ii.

Here, as elsewhere, Niese's arguments and researches prove that the sources (i. e. especially Jason) used by the epitomist evince a knowledge of the age which is hardly likely to have been possessed

[1] An instance of the compiler's carelessness: he had already killed Timotheus (x. 37).

[2] Even Niese (pp. 76 f.) admits that 1 Maccabees at this point is plainly superior to the self-contradictions and patriotic evasions of 2 Maccabees. It is the inferior character of xii f. which has led some critics (from Grotius onwards) to suspect that Jason is no longer used.

[3] 2 Maccabees, fusing the missions of Bacchides and Nicanor, obliterates the real course of events, but gives a not incredible account of the latter's policy and temper.

[4] Laqueur (*Kritische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Makkabäerbuch*, 1904, pp. 30 f.), arguing that the Antiochus of xi. 22 f. was originally Antiochus Epiphanes, not Antiochus V, proposes to transfer x. 1–8 and xi to their true position before viii. 30 f. But this is a *tour de force* of criticism.

by a Jewish writer after the second century B. C. There are vivid touches which are more than circumstantial, and independent notices which point upon the whole to the information of eye-witnesses and contemporaries behind some of Jason's narratives. Upon the other hand, 2 Maccabees exaggerates numbers generally (cp. e. g. xiv. 1 with 1 Macc. vii. 1) and horrors invariably, abounds in confused and contradictory notices (cp. e. g. on i. 17, ix. 18, xi. 5, xiii. 23), and is repeatedly unhistorical (see on iv. 21, ix. 2, 9, x. 11, xiii. 22, xv. 33), besides containing some references (e. g. to the vicarious suffering of the martyrs, vi. 28, and to sacrifices for the dead, xii. 43) which at any rate suggest that it is less primitive than its predecessor.[1] The result is that Niese must be pronounced more successful in establishing afresh the historicity of some details which are peculiar to 2 Maccabees, in opposition to ultra-scepticism, than in depreciating 1 Maccabees in favour of the general trustworthiness of the epitome. The epitomist, in fact, has the artistic temperament as well as the pious aim of edification; on both grounds he is naturally careless of the exact accuracy which an historian pursues, and satisfied if he can produce his effects in a picturesque manner. The relative position of the two Maccabaean books may be, therefore, summed up in Wellhausen's verdict (*Geschichte*[4], p. 246): 'Niese's criticism of the two Maccabean books has taught me a great deal, but it has not convinced me that the second book is older than the first and that it deserves preference. . . . We must not indeed look at everything through the spectacles of the first book. Nevertheless we have no alternative but to make it our basis.'

§ 2. MSS. AND VERSIONS.

Second[2] Maccabees (Μακκαβαίων B, Machabaeorum liber secundus), like 1 Maccabees, is preserved in A and V, as well as in a number of minuscules. Probably owing to the influence of Athanasius, who objected to the Maccabaean books, it was omitted from the Ethiopic version (Rahlfs, *ZATW*, 1908, pp. 63–4). The Syriac version is paraphrastic and of less value than in the case of 1 Maccabees. On the other hand, in addition to the pre-Hieronymian Old Latin or Vulgate version, there is a version reproduced in Codex Ambrosianus E 76 inf. (cp. A. Peyron's *Ciceronis orationum pro Scauro, pro Tullio et in Clodium fragmenta inedita*, 1824, pp. 73–117), and yet another in Codex Complutensis (cp. S. Berger's *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1895, pp. 147–52). Four fragments (iv. 39–44, 46–v. 2, v. 3–14, x. 12–26, x. 27–xi. 1) recently published by Mercati (*Revue Biblique*, 1902, 184–211, 'Frammenti Urbinati d' un' antica versione latina del libro II de' Maccabei editi ed illustrati') seem to be connected with the Peyron-text; iii. 13–iv. 4 and iv. 10–14, which also occur in a fragmentary Breslau MS. (eighth or ninth century), are now published by W. Molsdorf in *ZATW* (1904, pp. 240–50). It is thus from the Latin versions, as representing varied types, that most help is to be gained in the determination of the text. Still, the extant Greek text has been so badly preserved at certain points, that neither the aid of the versions nor of conjecture is sufficient to yield any sure confidence that we can have a text before us which approximates to the original.

§ 3. DATE.

The date of the epitome, and inferentially of Jason, cannot be fixed except within approximate limits. It has indeed been argued by Niese (see below) that, as i. 1–ii. 18 represent a composition of the author in 125–124 B. C. (i. 7, 10 a), this will date the entire epitome. But the integrity of the introductory section must be abandoned (see below); i. 10 a only dates (or professes to date) the particular letter to which it is appended; and, even on Niese's showing, the loose connexion between the introduction and ii. 19 f. would invalidate any argument from the date of the former to that of the latter. Furthermore, even supposing that 1 Macc. xvi. 23–4 formed part of the original work, these verses do not necessarily presuppose a date subsequent to the death of Hyrcanus (cp. Torrey in *Ency. Bib.* 2859 f., as against Niese on the one hand and Destinon, Wellhausen, and Abrahams on the other), so that 1 Maccabees need not be assigned to a period (after 104 B. C.) subsequent to the supposed date of the epitome (when the latter, or its source, is placed shortly after the last event which it records). The utmost that can be said, with any degree of certainty, as opposed to Niese on the one hand and to Willrich (*Judaica*, 1900, pp. 131 f.) on the other, is that the *terminus ad quem* is fixed by the use of 2 Maccabees not only in Fourth Maccabees and the Epistle to the Hebrews (especially xi. 35 f.) but in Philo (*quod omnis probus liber*, § 13), while the *terminus a quo* for its source is 161 B. C., the date of Nicanor's defeat by Judas (xv. 1–36)—although, if xv. 36 is an

[1] 'The Pharisaic author of 2 Maccabees may scatter angel appearances and surprising wonders over his romantic work. But the pious contemporaries . . . of the Maccabean brethren were content with the providential wonders of history' (Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, 344 f.).

[2] The first occurrence of the title is in Eus. *Praep. Euangel.* viii. 9 ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Μακκαβαίων.

allusion to the book of Esther (ix. 21), the source of the epitome can hardly have been written earlier than *c.* 130 B. C., while the epitome itself must be later than 125 B. C. Jason's work may be dated, therefore, roughly after 130 B. C.; the epitome probably falls not later than the first half of the first century B. C. The internal evidence, as compared with that of 1 Maccabees, offers remarkably few reliable clues to its distance from the period of its subject. The predilection for the supernatural in the shape of apparitions (ἐπιφάνειαι, ii. 21), prodigies, and visions, vouchsafed from heaven to its favourites in need, is neither unexampled in Greek historians—indeed the apparition of the two youths (iii. 6 f.) recalls the cult of the Dioscuri—nor is it necessarily any proof of late composition. Legends spring up early on such soil, especially at some distance from the scene, and popular tales of the miraculous (so far as they go back to the sources) may be contemporaneous in the main with the events which they embellish (cp. Niese, pp. 34 f.). But the matter-of-fact air which pervades 1 Maccabees, in spite of its tendencies and omissions, invests it with superiority as an historical document to 2 Maccabees, and superiority here is practically equivalent to priority.

There is no obvious reason for conjecturing (so e. g. Kosters recently) that the latter is deliberately and primarily an attack on the former, although there is perhaps as little for suspecting that the epitomist (not Jason) was not familiar with the earlier document.[1] In any case, he had a fine, if uncritical, enthusiasm for the heroes (private as well as public) and the principles of the Maccabaean rising; more specifically, as his pages prove, he was an Alexandrian Jew, a rhetorical adherent of the Pharisees, who wrote, probably during the third or fourth generation afterwards, in order to foster reverence for the temple in Jerusalem and also strictness in the observance of the Maccabaean festivals as a bond of union between the Jews of Palestine and Egypt. If the anti-Hasmonean bias of the book is emphasized, a more precise *terminus a quo* for its composition might be found *c.* 106 B. C., when the Pharisees broke with the Hasmoneans (so Hochfeld). But this is not inevitable; 2 Maccabees might have been compiled shortly before that date, under stress of the growing antagonism, as naturally as after it.

§ 4. Integrity and Composite Nature of the Text.

2 Maccabees, says Luther in his brief preface, appears to be 'zusammen geflickt aus vielen büchern'. This is evident (*a*) in i. 1–ii. 18, where some critics, like Grätz ('Das Sendschreiben der Palästiner an die ägyptisch-judäischen Gemeinden wegen der Feier der Tempelweihe', in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wiss. des Judentums*, 1877, pp. 1–16, 49–72), N. Brüll ('Das Sendschreiben der Palästiner an die Alexandriner', in *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, 1887, pp. 30–40), and B. Niese (*op. cit.* pp. 10 f.), have contended that there is only one letter, opening properly at i. 10 after the introductory preface of i. 1–9, while others, e. g. Bruston (*Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1890, pp. 110 f.), Willrich (*Juden und Griechen vor der makkab. Erhebung*, 1895, pp. 76 f.), and Laqueur (*op. cit.* pp. 52 f.), have detected no fewer than three (in i. 1–7 a, 7 b–10 a, 10 b–ii. 18); the majority, however, rightly distinguish only two, in i. 1–10 a and i. 10 b–ii. 18, although opinion is still seriously divided upon the precise extent, date, and trustworthiness of both (cp. generally the older pamphlets by F. Schlünkes: *Epistulae quae secundo Machabaeorum libro cap. I. vv* 1–9 *legitur explicatio*, 1844, *Difficiliorum epistulae quae II Mach. I.* 10 *ad II.* 18 *legitur locorum explicatio*, 1847, with Kosters' essay in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1898, 68 f., C. Torrey's article in *Zeitschrift für die alttestam. Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 225–42, and H. Herkenne's full monograph, in Bardenhewer's *Biblische Studien*, viii. 4, on *Die Briefe zu Beginn des Zweiten Makkabäerbuches*, 1904). It is fair to start from the likelihood that, just as in xi. 21, 33, 38, the date of the first letter is placed at the end (i. 10 a). The date in ver. 6 (i. e. 144–143 B. C.) refers to a previous communication, to which the writer (or editor) awkwardly refers in order to lend verisimilitude to his present production as one item of a correspondence between the Palestinian and Egyptian Jews. The date assigned to this later epistle is 124 B. C. Those who join i. 10 a to the following letter are involved in the double awkwardness not only of beginning the letter with the date but of placing a full stop after ὑμῖν in i. 7 (so Torrey), or else (cp. D. M. Sluys, *De Macchabaeorum libris I et II quaestiones*, 1904, pp. 1–79) of taking i. 2–6 as an interpolation. The second letter apparently comes from a different source; it is undated, except generally after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the writers precede the receivers in the address (i. 10 b, c). But the object is the same (i. 18 a, ii. 16 f. = i. 9)—to bring out the historical and religious significance of the Maccabaean feast of the Ḥanukka. Both epistles, as they stand, are specimens of the Alexandrian epistolography which was fond of producing such documents for purpose of edification. At the same time, the language of i. 18 a (μέλλοντες ἄγειν κτλ) and of ii. 16 (μέλλοντες οὖν ἄγειν κτλ) is

[1] So e. g. Montet (*Essai sur les Origines des Partis Saducéen et Pharisien*, 1883, pp. 13 f.).

a watermark of interpolation, the intervening paragraphs being a legendary insertion based on the tradition of x. 3 and perhaps on Epist. Jerem. 4–6. The retrospective allusion to Judas in ii. 14 is incompatible with the position assigned him in i. 10 b, but it fits in with the aim of setting Judas within the great succession of Moses, Solomon, Jeremiah, and Nehemiah; he ranks with Nehemiah as a collector of the sacred scriptures, and with the others as a transmitter of the holy fire which was essential to the sacrifices of the temple.

Whether authentic or not, these letters did not belong to the Jason-source, as the position of the preface (ii. 19–32) and the discrepancy between the two accounts of the death of Antiochus (i. 12 f. and ix. 1 f.) are enough to show, but there is scarcely sufficient evidence to indicate decisively whether both came from the same pen, and if so, whether it was the pen of the epitomist or of another. As the insertion (i. 18 b–ii. 15) is in all likelihood his own work, the two letters which form the framework may have been found by him in some other source and prefixed to his abridgement proper, instead of being placed chronologically in the narrative. It is a further question whether he translated one (the second, according to Ewald's *History of the Jews*, Eng. Tr. v, pp. 467 f.; the first, according to Schlünkes) or both (so e.g. Grätz, Brüll, and Torrey) from the original Hebrew (Aramaic). Upon the whole, it seems difficult to give a satisfactory answer in the negative, with any positive evidence, to such a query, although the rest of the book was undoubtedly written in Greek ('Machabaeorum . . . secundus Graecus est; quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest', Jerome's *Prologus Galeatus*).

(*b*) This opens up the intricate problem of the sources which lay before the epitomist. Without refusing to deny that he had access to a Jason-source, we may conjecture that not only in i. 1–ii. 18 but in the body of the epitome (e.g. x. 32 f. and xii. 2 f.) he occasionally employed traditions and even documents from other quarters,[1] e.g. (i. 10) from the famous Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus (cp. Schürer's *Geschichte*, iii, pp. 512 f.). The conjecture, however, cannot be worked out with any approach to definiteness. Büchler, in his important *Die Tobiaden u. die Oniaden im II Makkabäerbuche*, &c. (1899), pp. 277 f., 396–8, and Laqueur (*op. cit.* pp. 72–87) have recently elaborated precise theories of the use made respectively of Jason and of a supposed second source, involving frequent transpositions of material. The patent variations of style may lend some colour to the hypothesis that Jason is specially employed e.g. in viii. 1 f., and that throughout the writer is often an interpolator (e.g. in iii–v, cf. Büchler, pp. 277 f.) as well as an epitomizer. But as the available data (even e.g. in iv. 5–6 and viii. 20) are purely internal, they seldom enable us to check such theories, and the possibility—amounting to a probability—that Jason's large work already contained a variety of oral traditions counterbalances any attempt to run literary analysis into a confident scheme of results. Unfortunately we possess no independent clue to the character and scope of Jason's treatise. While the second book of τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά is an abridgement, it is not on the same footing as e.g. the *periochae* of the lost books of Livy. 2 Maccabees is neither a bare synopsis nor the summary of a summary; it is a literary composition, whose materials were selected from the original work of Jason. The latter's work has not survived, however, and even his personality is in dispute. He has been precariously identified (Herzfeld: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1855, 445 f.) with the Jason of 1 Macc. viii. 17 (= the Judas[2] of 2 Macc. i. 10, ii. 14), and even more arbitrarily his Jewish nature has been denied (Sluys, *op. cit.* pp. 74 f.). The name (Ιασων Κυρηναιος) has been found in an Egyptian temple of Thothmes III (cp. Sayce in *Revue des études grecques*, 1894, p. 297), apparently dating from the third century B.C., but, while this does not necessarily tell against a Jew, the individual need not, on the other hand, be the author of the epitomist's source. His connexion with Cyrene would suggest a more accurate knowledge of Palestinian sites and affairs than the epitome reveals; its references to the latter are less reliable than in the case of the Syrian realm.

§ 5. Authorship.

While the relation of the book to 1 Maccabees resembles on the whole that of the books of Chronicles to the books of Kings, in so far as a definitely religious pragmatism controls the epitomist, the affinities of the latter are with the Pharisaic type of Jewish piety. He lays emphasis e.g. upon legal praxis, the divine providence, recompense, the temple cultus, the sabbath, angels, and the resurrection. The last-named feature is bound up with the martyr-stories (cpp. vi–vii) which have floated the book into wide popularity throughout Christianity as well as throughout Judaism. They are told with a detailed ghastliness which jars on modern taste. Probably 'the

[1] It is impossible to ascertain whether an extra-Biblical touch like viii. 19 f. was due to the author or to Jason.

[2] Attempts have often been made to identify this Judas not with Judas Maccabaeus but with some other Judas (so e.g. Ewald and Niese), or to emend the text into τῶν Ἰουδαίων or Ἰουδαίας (Syr., so e.g. Torrey), or Ἰούδας Ἀριστόβουλος Ὀνίᾳ (Sluys), but in vain (cp. Grimm 36–7, Herkenne 65).

stories had already clothed themselves for the writer in a halo of legend, and he tricks them out in that poor rhetoric, that stifled literary jargon, which was the curse of third-rate authors in the Hellenistic world; but if you can penetrate through this repellent medium, you can still touch an anguish that was once real and quivering' (E. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 1904, p. 83). The anonymous author belongs to Alexandrian rather than to Palestinian Judaism, but beyond this general inference it is not possible to pass with any confidence to theories, for example, like the ingenious but unconvincing guess of Büchler (*op. cit.* pp. 396 f.), that the author or final editor was a Hellenistic Jew who reversed the polemic of the original (written by a Samaritan in Egypt) against the temple in Jerusalem.

§ 6. Influence on Later Literature.

(*a*) The use of 2 Maccabees in Philo[1] and in 4 Maccabees (see above, § 3) is clearer than the evidence for Josephus' acquaintance with it; none of the latter's relevant passages (*Antiq.* XII. v. 1 = 2 Macc. iv. 1 f., XII. v. 5 = 2 Macc. vi. 2, XII. ix. 7 = 2 Macc. xiii. 3–8, XII. x. 1 = 2 Macc. xiv. 1) makes such a conjecture necessary. More is to be said for the hypothesis that the epitome is echoed in the *Assumptio Mosis* (cp. v. 1–4 = 2 Macc. iv. 11 f., v. 8, &c.; viii. 3 f. = 2 Macc. vi. 4 f., 11, 28, &c.; ix. 1 f. = 2 Macc. vi. 18 f.; ix. 6 = 2 Macc. vi. 11, vii. 2, x. 6, &c.). The edifying narratives of the martyrs in especial led to haggadic developments in Jewish literature (cp. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 130 f.), and also (*b*) in early Christianity where the Maccabaean martyrs were eventually canonized[2] and accorded a yearly festival (August 1st) in the Greek and Latin churches (cp. Maas in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, 1900, pp. 145–56). This tallies with the early and widespread diffusion of the book, from the period of the epistle to the Hebrews down to Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerome. Portions of it are read in the Roman Breviary (for October).

§ 7. Theology.

The later popularity of 2 Maccabees is due as much to the support found in it by the Roman Church for dogmas like prayers for the dead (xii. 43, 45) and the intercession of the saints (xv. 11–16) as to the martyr-stories or the miraculous and legendary incidents (ἐπιφάνειαι). Otherwise,[3] the theological ideas resemble those of the Pharisaic school during the latter half of the second century B.C. The doctrine of retribution and chastening is naturally worked out with particular care (vi. 12–17). The worst punishment is to be left severely alone by God, as is the case with pagan nations; the Jews, on the contrary, are chastened and thus prevented from lapsing into the excesses of sin which draw down upon their neighbours (individuals as well as nations) the shattering penalties of God even in this life (cp. e.g. iv. 38, v. 9–10, ix. 5–6, xiii. 4 f., xv. 32 f.). The sufferings of the martyrs, again, although due to the sins of their nation, avail to expiate God's just anger (vii. 33–8) on their fellows. After death, only the righteous rise, and rise with their bodies (vii. 11, 22 f., xiv. 46) to life eternal, i.e. apparently to participation in the messianic kingdom (vii. 29, 33, 37, xiv. 15) on earth. The similarity of this conception to that of Eth. En. lxxxiii–xc, where the scene of the messianic kingdom is also on earth, suggests that 2 Maccabees, in its eschatological outlook at this point, 'belongs essentially to the second century' (R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, 1899, p. 230). The outlook on the future, as might be expected from the nature of the subject, has nothing of the catholic hope which dominated the best of the O.T. prophets.

§ 8. Special Literature.

In addition to essays and monographs already cited: (*a*) critical editions of text in editions of LXX by Holmes and Parsons (*Vetus Testamentum Graece*, v, 1827), Fritzsche (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Testam. Graece*, 1871), Tischendorf (*Vet. Test. Graece*, 6th ed., 1880), and H. B. Swete (*The Old Testament in Greek*, iii, 1894); (*b*) annotated editions by Grotius (*Annotationes in Vet. Testamentum*, 1644), Grimm (*Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch zu den Apocryphen des AT*, 1857), Keil (Leipzig, 1857), Reuss (*La Bible*, vii, 1879), E. C. Bissell (*The Apocrypha of the O.T.*, 1880, New York, pp. 550–614), W. R. Churton (*Canon. and Uncan. Scriptures*, pp. 481 f.), Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comm.*, 1888, London), Kamphausen (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des AT*, 1901), and Knabenbauer (in *Cursus sacr. s. Comment. in Vet. Test.*, 1908); (*c*) general literature, Westcott in Smith's *Dict. of Bible* (ii. 174–8), Welte in *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexicon* (viii. 418–22), André's *Les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament* (Florence, 1903, pp. 86–115), Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*[4] (iii, 1909, pp. 482–9), Fairweather in Hastings' *Dict. of Bible* (iii. 189–92), Torrey in *Encycl. Biblica* (2869–79), C. F. Kent in *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives* (pp. 38 f., 387 f.), Bertholet in Budde's *Geschichte d. althebräischen Literatur* (pp. 345–50), and F. Bechtel in *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (ix. 497–8).

[1] Cp. Lucius, *Der Essenismus* (1881), pp. 36–9.

[2] Cp. the Acts of the Christian Felicitas and her Seven Sons, a variation of the same theme. The scene of the Maccabaean martyrdom was transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch, where a basilica was erected in their honour.

[3] The book's angelology is allied to a belief in dreams (xv. 11).

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES

I. 1–10 a. *First document.*

1 1 To the brethren, the Jews in Egypt, greeting. The brethren, the Jews in Jerusalem and
2 throughout the land of Judaea, wish you perfect peace; yea, may God do good unto you, and
3 remember his covenant with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, his faithful servants; may he give you
4 all a heart to worship him and do his pleasure with hearty courage and a willing soul; may he give
5 you an open heart for his law and for his statutes, and make peace, and hearken to your supplica-
6 tions; may he be reconciled to you, and not forsake you in time of evil. Such, then, are our
7 prayers for you in this place. In the reign of Demetrius, in the hundred threescore and ninth year,
we the Jews have already written unto you in the extreme tribulation that came upon us during
these years, from the time that Jason and his company revolted from the holy land and the kingdom,
8 setting the porch on fire and shedding innocent blood: but we besought the Lord, and were heard;
we offered sacrifice and made the meal offering, we lighted the lamps, and set forth the shewbread.
9, 10 See that ye keep the days of the feast of tabernacles in the month Chislev. Written in the hundred
fourscore and eighth year.

I. 10 b—II. 18. *Second document.*

They that are in Jerusalem and they that are in Judaea and the senate and Judas, unto
Aristobulus, king Ptolemy's teacher, who is also of the stock of the anointed priests, and unto the
11 Jews that are in Egypt, send greeting and health. Having been saved by God out of great perils,
12 we render great thanks, as befits us to thank **One who arrayeth himself** against a king. For He
13 flung away into Persia those who had arrayed themselves against the holy city. For when the leader
arrived, with a force that seemed irresistible, they were cut to pieces in the temple of Nanaea by
14 the treachery of Nanaea's priests. Antiochus, on the pretext of marrying her, came into the place,
he and his Friends who were with him, that they might take a great part of the treasures by way
15 of dowry; but when the priests of the Nanaeon had set the treasures forth, and he had passed
with a small company inside the wall of the precincts, they shut to the temple when Antiochus had
16 entered: then opening the secret door in the panelled ceiling, they threw stones and struck down
17 the leader, and hewing the company in pieces threw their heads to those who were outside. Blessed
18 for all things be our God who gave the impious doers for a prey. Whereas we are now about to
celebrate the purification of the temple in the month Chislev, on the five and twentieth day, we

I. 7. **already written**, i.e. referring to some previous communication. The alternative (see *Introd.* § 4) is to take the perfect (γεγράφαμεν) in the sense of the epistolary aorist (ἐγράψαμεν, ii. 16), and render: *we write*, as if the context dated the present letter.

extreme tribulation (ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ), i.e. that under Demetrius (see 1 Macc. xi. 53). The hendiadys of the exaggeration is too obvious to justify Herkenne's (pp. 42–4) conjecture of ἀλκῇ (= warlike attack) for ἀκμῇ (cp. iv. 13).

the kingdom, i.e. the theocracy; Jason's apostasy is described in iv. 13 f. The following words are a loose summary of the outrages subsequent to Jason's movement, and of the restoration under Judas (1 Macc. iv. 38, 50 f.).

9. **see that ye keep**: i.e. in Egypt, as we do in the Holy Land; or, by sending representatives to Jerusalem. The Maccabaean festival of the temple's reconsecration was called either τὰ ἐγκαίνια (cp. John x. 22) or ἡ σκηνοπηγία (John vii. 2) τοῦ Χασελεύ, being celebrated for the same time and almost on the same lines (cp. 2 Macc. x. 6–7) as the feast of tabernacles, only during Chislev (December) instead of during Tisri (October).

11. **arrayeth himself**. Reading, with Bruston and Herkenne, παρατασσομένῳ (cp. Zech. xiv. 3, LXX) for παρατασσόμενοι.

13. **in the temple of Nanaea.** i.e. the temple in Elymais of Artemis or Aphroditê (cp. Polyb. xxxi. 2; Josephus, *Ant.* XII. ix. 1, and Appian. *Syr.* 66) as identified with the Persian goddess Anaea (Anaitis), or of the Babylonian Nanâ.

14. **take . . . by way of dowry.** For this diplomatic trick see Seneca's *Orat. Suas.* 1, where Antony agrees to marry Athenê at Athens for a dowry of a thousand talents. Antiochus is said to have tried a similar device at Hierapolis in Syria.

17. **gave the impious doers for a prey.** In 187 B.C. Antiochus III lost his life in an attempt to plunder a shrine of Bel in the Elymaean hills, and Antiochus VII (Sidetes) perished, in 129 B.C., in battle against the Parthians; ἡσσώμενος ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν (Appian. *Syr.* 68). The writer of the letter may have been so barren in imagination as to have embellished the death of this king (so recently Torrey and Niese) with legendary traits drawn from the fate of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is the latter who is (erroneously) meant.

deem it our duty to inform you, that you too may keep the feast of tabernacles.—Now ⟨concerning⟩
the fire, on the occasion of Nehemiah offering sacrifices, after he had built both the temple and the
19 altar (, you must know that) when our fathers were to be led into the land of Persia, the godly priests
of that time took some of the fire of the altar, and hid it secretly in the hollow of a sort of empty
20 cistern, wherein they made it sure, so that the place was unknown to all men. Well, after many
years, when it pleased God, Nehemiah was sent on a mission by the king of Persia, and he sent in
quest of the fire the descendants of the priests who had hid it. When they announced that they had
21 found no fire, but thick liquid, he commanded them to draw out some and bring it to him: and when
the sacrifices had been duly placed (on the altar), Nehemiah commanded the priests to sprinkle the
22 liquid both on the wood and on the sacrifices. When this was done, after some time had elapsed
and the sun, formerly hidden in clouds, had shone out, there was kindled a great blaze, so that all
23 men marvelled. And the priests offered prayer, while the sacrifice was being consumed,—priests
24 and all, Jonathan leading and the rest saying it after him, as did Nehemiah. The following was the
prayer: O Lord, Lord God, the creator of all things, who art terrible and strong and righteous and
25 merciful, who alone art King and gracious, who alone suppliest every need, who alone art righteous
and almighty and eternal, thou that savest Israel out of all evil, who madest the fathers thine elect,
26 and didst sanctify them: accept this sacrifice for all thy people Israel, guard thine own Portion,
27 and consecrate it. Gather together our dispersion, set at liberty them that are in bondage among
the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that thou
28, 29 art our God. Torment them that oppress us and in arrogancy shamefully treat us. Plant thy
30, 31 people in thy holy place, even as Moses said. Then the priests sang the hymns. Now as soon as
the sacrifice was consumed, Nehemiah ordered the rest of the liquid to be poured on large stones.
32 And when this was done, a flame was kindled; but, when the light from the altar shone over against
33 it, it was extinguished. And when the matter became known, and it was told the king of the
Persians, that, in the place where the captive priests had hid the fire, there had appeared the liquid with
34 which Nehemiah and his company purified the sacrifice, then the king, after verifying the matter,
35 had the place made a sacred enclosure. And the king exchanged gifts with those in his favour.
36 Nehemiah and his company called this thing Nephthar, which is by interpretation, Cleansing; but
most people call it Nephthai.

2 1 It is also found in the records, that Jeremiah the prophet commanded them that were carried
2 away to take some of the fire, as has been already noted: and how that the prophet charged them
that were carried away, after giving them the law, that they should not forget the statutes of the
Lord, neither be led astray in their minds, when they saw images of gold and silver, and the adorn-
3 ment thereof. And with other such words exhorted he them, that the law should not depart from
4 their heart. This also was in the writing, that the prophet, being warned by God, commanded the
tabernacle and ark to accompany him, and that he went away to the mountain which Moses had

18. **the feast of tabernacles.** Several critics (from Schlünkes and Grimm to Kosters and Kamphausen) supply *τὰς ἡμέρας* before *τῆς σκηνοπηγίας*, while Herkenne adds *τά*. Something like *τοῦ ἀνευρεθέντος* or *δοθέντος* or *φανέντος* is usually supposed, also, to have dropped out after *πυρός*. But if (as the Syriac version suggests) *περί* is read for *καί*, the text may be rendered as above (so Torrey). Here the long interpolation (i. 18 b–ii. 15) begins.

built. The *v. l. οἰκονομήσας* (125, so Herkenne) for *οἰκοδομήσας* is an attempt to get rid of the unhistorical statement about Nehemiah, whose prestige is exaggerated in another direction in ii. 13.

20. **announced.** The meaningless *ἡμῖν* (*to us*) between *διεσάφησαν* and *μή* is rightly omitted by Rawlinson (with 64, 93, *Syr.*) as the result of dittography (*ησαν* repeated from *διεσάφησαν* and then amended into *ἡμῖν*).

26. **thine own Portion.** Deut. xxxii. 9.

29. Cp. Baruch ii. 28–35.

31. **to be poured on.** This involves the reading of *καταχεῖν* (A, vg.) for *κατέχειν* or *κατασχεῖν*, and either the addition of *ἐπί* (or *εἰς*) before *λίθους* or the construction of *καταχεῖν* with a double accusative, but there is no more satisfactory explanation of a corrupt and obscure passage.

33–5. The writer appeals to the testimony of the pagan monarch, whose respectful attitude to the phenomenon of the fire—as befitted a Persian—adds glory to this Jewish portent.

35. **exchanged gifts,** &c. Reading, with V, *ἐχαρίζετο* after *οἷς*—a naïve Oriental method of expressing pleasure at some happy occurrence (cp. Esth. ix. 19, 22; Apoc. John xi. 10).

36. **Nephthai.** An inflammable oil, like the modern naphtha, is in the writer's mind, but the etymology of the word is beyond recovery. The writer equates N. with *καθαρισμός*, and this is the point of the legend, which connects the discovery of the fiery liquid with the purification of the temple (*v.* 18). The least improbable line of explanation is that which connects the word with the Persian *naptar; naptar apanm* was a Zend epithet for the sacred elemental water (*arduisur*), which possessed purifying qualities (cp. Benfey and Stern's *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, 1836, pp. 204 f.).

II. 1. Legend had no scruple in transforming a prophet who was radically indifferent, if not hostile, to the ritual of the temple into a pious conservative (cp. further, xv. 14).

5 climbed to view the inheritance of God. On reaching it Jeremiah found a cavernous chamber, in which he placed the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense; and he made fast the door.
6, 7 And some of his followers drew near in order to mark the road, but they could not find it. Now when Jeremiah came to know this, he blamed them, saying, Unknown shall the spot be until God
8 gather the people again together, and mercy come; then indeed shall the Lord disclose these things, and the glory of the Lord shall be seen, even the Cloud, as in the days of Moses it was visible, and
9 as when Solomon prayed that the Place might be consecrated with solemn splendour. It was also
10 narrated how he, in his wisdom, sacrificed at the consecration and completion of the temple; as Moses prayed to the Lord, and fire descended from heaven to consume the sacrifice, so Solomon also
11 prayed, and the fire descended and burned up the holocaust; [and Moses said, Because the sin
12 offering had not been eaten, it was consumed in like manner with the rest;] and Solomon kept the eight days.
13 These things were narrated also in the archives or memoirs of Nehemiah; as well as how he founded a library and collected the books about the kings and the prophets, and the books of David,
14 and letters of kings about sacred gifts. Even so did Judas collect for us all the writings which had
15 been scattered owing to the outbreak of war. They are still with us. So, if you need them, send some messengers to fetch them for you.
16 Seeing therefore that we are about to keep the purification, we write thus to you. You will do well,
17 then, to keep the days (of the festival). Now God, who saved all his people, and restored to all the
18 heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the hallowing, even as he promised through the law,—in God have we hope, that he will speedily have mercy upon us, and gather us together from under the (wide) heaven to the holy place: for he did deliver us out of great evils, and did purify the place.

II. 19–32. *The preface of the epitomist.*

19 Now the things concerning Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers, and the purification of the great
20 temple, and the dedication of the altar, and further the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and
21 Eupator his son, and the heavenly apparitions vouchsafed to those that vied with one another in manful deeds for the religion of the Jews—so that, in spite of their small numbers, they plundered
22 the whole country, and routed the barbarian hordes, and regained the temple renowned all the world over, and freed the city, and restored the laws which were on the verge of abolition, since the Lord
23 showed favour graciously to them: (all) this, recounted by Jason in five books, we will try to compress
24 into a single volume. For, in view of the flood of statistics and the difficulties presented by the mass
25 of material to those who desire to go into the narratives of the history, we have aimed at attracting those who are fond of reading, at smoothing the path for those who like to memorize their facts, and
26 at being of some service to our readers in general. As for ourselves, we have not found this self-imposed task of abridging to be a light business. On the contrary, we have sweated and sat up late
27 over it—just as there is no lack of work for any one who has to superintend a banquet and look after the interests of others. Still, to reap the gratitude of many, we will cheerfully undertake this
28 toilsome labour; leaving the historian to investigate details, we will exert ourselves to prepare
29 an epitome upon the usual lines. For as the masterbuilder of a new house has to look after the entire edifice, while the decorator who undertakes to inlay and paint it has only to look out
30 what is suitable for embellishing the house, so, methinks, is it with us. To enter into details and
31 general discussions and elaborate researches is the business of the original historian; on the other hand, any one who simply recasts the material must be allowed to aim at conciseness of expression and to eschew any thoroughgoing treatment of the subject.
32 Well now, let us begin the story. We have no more to add, by way of preface; for it is truly stupid to expatiate in introducing a history and then cut short the history itself.

10. **fire descended . . . sacrifice.** A midrashic expansion of Lev. ix. 23–4. The Solomonic legend follows the midrash of 2 Chron. vii. 1 in preference to 1 Kings viii. 62 f., and a precedent for the Maccabaean ceremonial is artificially found in the tradition of 1 Kings viii. 66 (2 Chron. vii. 8). The origin of the incoherent touch in verse 11 must have been also a midrashic paraphrase of Lev. x. 16 f.

13. **about sacred gifts,** i.e. about presents made to the temple. A specimen is preserved in Ezra vii. 12 f. The interest of 2 Maccabees in the temple comes out incidentally even in this allusion; such letters are ranked alongside of the sacred scriptures in Nehemiah's library. The next verse reflects the companion interest in the prestige of Judas Maccabaeus.

18. Cp. Exod. xix. 6; Deut. xxx. 1–10.

21. **plundered the whole country.** In the sense in which Cromwell's troops swept over England during the Civil War.

27. **superintend a banquet.** For the duties of the ἀρχιτρίκλινος (?) see Sir. xxxii. 1–2; John ii. 8–9.

28. **exert ourselves.** Reading διαπονοῦντες for ἀτονοῦντες.

III. 1–39. *The miraculous discomfiture of Seleucus and Heliodorus in their attack upon the temple at Jerusalem.*

3 1 When the holy city was inhabited in unbroken peace, and the laws were kept right strictly,
2 owing to the godliness of Onias the high-priest and his hatred of wickedness, it came to pass that
even kings themselves did honour the Place and glorify the temple with the noblest presents;
3 so much so that Seleucus the king of Asia actually defrayed, out of his own revenues, all the expenses
4 connected with the ritual of the sacrifices. But a certain Benjamite, Simon, who had been appointed
5 warden of the temple, fell out with the high-priest over the management of the city-market. Unable
to get the better of Onias, he betook himself to Apollonius of **Tarsus**, then governor of Coelesyria
6 and Phoenicia, and informed him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of such untold sums
of money that the wealth of the funds was past counting; they did not belong, he said, to the
7 accounts of the sacrifices, and they could be got into the hands of the king. So when Apollonius
met the king, he informed him of the money which had been mentioned to him, and the king
chose his chancellor, Heliodorus, and dispatched him with orders to carry out the removal of
8 the aforesaid money. Heliodorus at once started on his journey, giving out that he intended to
visit the cities of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, though his real object was to execute the king's design.
9 On reaching Jerusalem, where he was courteously welcomed by the high-priest and the city, he
submitted the information which had been given him, and explained why he had come, inquiring
10 further if this information was really true. The high-priest pointed out to him that there were
11 deposits belonging to widows and orphans, besides monies belonging to Hyrcanus, the son of Tobias,
a man of extremely high position (by no means what that impious Simon had alleged), and that in
12 all there were four hundred talents of silver and two hundred of gold; it was utterly impossible, he
added, that injury should be inflicted on those who had put their trust in the sacredness of the Place
13 and in the majesty and inviolable sanctity of the temple, honoured over all the world. Heliodorus
had his orders from the king, however, and he replied that in any case these monies must be
confiscated for the king's treasury.
14 So, having appointed a day, he went in to superintend the investigation of the treasure. And
15 there was no small distress throughout the whole city. The priests, arrayed in their priestly robes,
flung themselves before the altar, and called to heaven on him who had appointed the law regarding
16 deposits, beseeching him to preserve these treasures safe for the depositors. And no one could look
at the mien of the high-priest without feeling a pang of heart. His countenance and changed colour
17 betrayed the anguish of his soul. For terror and a shuddering of the body had come over the
18 man, which plainly showed to the onlookers the grief that was at his heart. As for the people in
the houses, they flocked out with a rush to join in common supplication that the Place should not be
19 dishonoured. The married women, girt under their breasts with sackcloth, thronged the streets, while
the maidens who were kept in ward ran together, some to the porticoes, others to the walls, and
20 others to look out at the windows; but all, stretching forth their hands toward heaven, made their
21 solemn supplication. One could not but pity the populace all prostrate with one accord, and the
anxiety of the high-priest in his sore distress.
22 Meantime, however, as they were invoking the all-powerful Lord to keep the deposits safe and
23, 24 sure for the depositors, Heliodorus proceeded to execute his orders. But when he and his guards
had got as far as the front of the treasury, the Sovereign of spirits and of all authority prepared
a great apparition, so that all who had presumed to enter were stricken with dismay at the power
25 of God and fainted with sheer terror. For there appeared to them a horse with a terrible rider, and

III. 4. **warden of the temple.** Whether this office corresponded to that of the sĕgan (or στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) or of the γαζοφύλαξ (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. iii. 11, &c.) depends largely on the meaning assigned to τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀγορανομίας (the *v. l.* παρανομίας being an attempt to smooth out the difficulty). According to Büchler (*op. cit.* pp. 33 f.; cp. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 163) Simon the Tobiad, as στρατηγός, was also ἀρχιερεύς in the sense that he exercised a certain political control of the temple affairs. This identification of Simon with the Simon of Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iv. 10, is preferable to the alternative identification of Onias II (*Antiq.* XII. iv. 1–10) with the Onias of 2 Macc. iii (so e.g. Schlatter, Willrich, and Guthe in *Encycl. Biblica*, 3504 f.).

5. **of Tarsus.** Adopting Hort's convincing conjecture of Θαρσέα for the Θρασαίου of the MSS.

7. **Heliodorus.** Probably the Heliodorus of the Delian inscriptions (cp. Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, pp. 303–7). The payment of the annual instalment of the war indemnity to Rome was one of the causes which made the government press for money in any likely quarter. Simon's information suggested a welcome and unexpected source of revenue.

9. **and.** Inserting καὶ (V) after ἀρχιερέως.

11. **Hyrcanus.** Perhaps the Jewish Alcibiades of Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iv. 2–11, whom Wellhausen sees behind Zech. xi. 4–17.

24. **Sovereign of spirits.** This is the same expression as Lord of spirits in 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, &c.

presumed to enter. The implied insolence (cp. v. 15) is described in 1 Macc. i. 21. In the following account, the first horseman (ver. 25) seems to belong to a different tradition from that of the other two (26 f.). The latter do all the work. Similar traces of fusion occur in ix. 6 f., as if the author had embroidered his source with outside matter.

it was decked in magnificent trappings, and rushing fiercely forward it struck at Heliodorus with its
26 forefeet. And the rider seemed to be armed with a golden panoply. Two youths also appeared
before Heliodorus, remarkable for their strength, gloriously handsome, and splendidly arrayed, who
27 stood by him on either side, and scourged him unceasingly, inflicting on him many sore stripes. He
dropped suddenly to the ground, and thick darkness wrapped him round, but (his guards) caught him
28 up and put him into a litter, and carried him away—carried him who had just entered the aforesaid
treasury with a large retinue and all his guard, but who was now absolutely helpless—recognizing
29 clearly the sovereign might of God. And so he had been laid prostrate, deprived of speech owing to
30 God's strong hand, bereft of all hope and succour. But the Jews blessed the Lord who had done
marvellous honour to his own place; and the temple, which a little before had been full of terror and
alarm, was filled with joy and gladness, thanks to the manifestation of the all-powerful Lord.
31 Now some of Heliodorus' intimate friends at once besought Onias to call upon the Most High,
32 and so grant life to him, as he lay quite at the last gasp. The high-priest suspected that the king
might imagine the Jews had perpetrated some foul play against Heliodorus, and he offered a sacrifice
33 for the recovery of the man. But as the high-priest was offering the sacrifice of propitiation, the same
young men appeared again to Heliodorus, arrayed in the same robes; and they stood and said, Give
Onias the high-priest hearty thanks, since it is for his sake that the Lord has granted thee thy life;
34 and do thou, since thou hast been scourged from heaven, publish abroad to all men the sovereign
35 majesty of God. And when they had spoken these words, they vanished out of sight. So Heliodorus
offered sacrifice to the Lord and vowed very great vows to him who had preserved his life, and, after
36 taking a friendly farewell of Onias, he returned with his army to the king, testifying to all men the
37 deeds of the supreme God which he had witnessed with his own eyes. And when the king asked
Heliodorus what sort of person would be suitable for another mission to Jerusalem, he said, If thou
38 hast any enemy or conspirator against the state, send him thither, and thou shalt get him back well
scourged—supposing he escapes with his life; for the Place is really haunted by some power of God.
39 He who dwells in heaven above has his eye upon that Place and defends it, smiting and destroying
those who approach it for ill ends.

III. 40—IV. 22. *Intrigues of Simon and Jason over the high-priesthood.*

40 Such was the history of Heliodorus and the preservation of the treasury. But the aforesaid
4 1 Simon, who had informed about the money and betrayed his country, proceeded to slander Onias,
alleging that it was he who had maltreated Heliodorus and who had contrived the whole mischief.
2 He dared to accuse of conspiracy the very man who had proved the benefactor of the city, and the
guardian of his fellow-countrymen, and a zealot for the laws! And when the feud between them
3 went to such a pitch that one of Simon's trusted followers actually committed several murders, Onias,
4 recognizing the danger of the contention, and observing that Apollonius, **the son of Menestheus**, as
5 governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, was fanning Simon's malice, betook himself to the king—not
that he went about to accuse his fellow-citizens, but simply with a view to the good of all the people,
6 both public and private; for he saw that, unless the king intervened and interested himself, it was
impossible for the State to be at peace, nor would Simon abandon his insensate attempt.
7 But when Seleucus died, and Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, succeeded to the kingdom,
8 Jason the brother of Onias supplanted his brother in the high-priesthood, promising in a petition to
9 the king three hundred and threescore talents of silver, besides eighty talents from another fund; in
addition to which he undertook to pay a hundred and fifty more, if he was commissioned to set up
10 a gymnasium and ephebeum and to register the Jerusalemites as citizens of Antioch. And when
the king had given his assent, Jason at once exercised his influence in order to bring over his fellow-
11 countrymen to Greek ways of life. Setting aside the royal ordinances of special favour to the Jews,
obtained by John the father of Eupolemus who had gone as envoy to the Romans to secure their
friendship and alliance, and seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he introduced new customs
12 forbidden by the law: he deliberately established a gymnasium under the citadel itself, and made

28. **recognizing.** Reading ἐπεγνωκότες, with the majority of MSS., instead of ἐπεγνωκότα.

IV. 4. **Menestheus.** Reading Μενεσθέως, Hort's certain emendation of μαίνεσθαι ἕως or ὡς. Cp. ii. 21; Apollonius was naturally exasperated at the miscarriage of his little plot.

7, 8. **Jason . . . promising,** &c. If Josephus is correct, however, the charge of simony is undeserved; Jason succeeded to his brother's position, as Onias died leaving only an infant son (cp. *Antiq.* XII. v. 1).

9. **to register . . . as citizens of Antioch.** The coveted title of 'Antiochenes' (cp. Schürer, *Gesch. jüd. Volkes*[4], ii. 166–7), i.e. 'loyalists' (to the Seleucid dynasty and policy), carried with it certain privileges (cp. ver. 19). The cognate promise (ix. 15) to confer on the Jews the privileges of Athenian citizens is true to the Hellenistic and Athenian proclivities of Antiochus (Niese, pp. 29–30), who probably tried to atticize his Antiochene subjects.

11. See 1 Macc. viii. 17–32.

13 the noblest of the young men wear the petasus. And to such a height did the passion for Greek fashions rise, and the influx of foreign customs, thanks to the surpassing impiety of that godless
14 Jason—no high-priest he!—that the priests were no longer interested in the services of the altar, but despising the sanctuary, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hurried to take part in the unlawful
15 displays held in the palaestra after the quoit-throwing had been announced—thus setting at naught
16 what their fathers honoured and esteeming the glories of the Greeks above all else. Hence sore distress befell them; the very men for whose customs they were so keen and whom they desired
17 to be like in every detail, became their foes and punished them. For it is no light matter to act impiously against the laws of God; time will show that.

18 Now games, held every five years, were being celebrated at Tyre, in the presence of the king,
19 and the vile Jason sent sacred envoys who were citizens of Antioch to represent Jerusalem, with three hundred drachmas of silver for the sacrifice of Heracles. The very bearers, however, judged
20 that the money ought not to be spent on a sacrifice, but devoted to some other purpose, and, thanks to them, it went to fit out the triremes.

21 Now when Apollonius the son of Menestheus was sent to Egypt to attend the enthronement of king Ptolemy Philometor, Antiochus, on learning that the latter was ill-disposed to him, proceeded
22 to take precautions for the security of his realm. Thus he visited Joppa, and travelled on to Jerusalem, where he had a splendid reception from Jason and the city, and was brought in with blazing torches and acclamation. Thereafter, he and his army marched down into Phoenicia.

IV. 23–50. *Intrigues of Menelaus.*

23 Now after a space of three years Jason sent Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother, to convey the
24 money to the king and to remind him of some matters which required attention. But Menelaus got into favour with the king, whom he extolled with an air of impressive authority, and secured the high-
25 priesthood for himself, outbidding Jason by three hundred talents of silver. On receiving the royal mandate, he appeared in Jerusalem, possessed of no quality which entitled him to the high-priesthood,
26 but with the passions of a cruel tyrant and the rage of a wild beast. So Jason, who had supplanted his brother, was in turn supplanted by another man, and driven as a fugitive into the country of the
27 Ammonites. Menelaus secured the position, but he failed to pay any of the money which he had
28 promised to the king, although Sostratus the governor of the citadel demanded it. As the latter
29 was responsible for collecting the revenue, the king summoned both men before him; Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus to act as his deputy in the high-priesthood, while Sostratus left (as his deputy) Crates, the viceroy of Cyprus.

30 At this juncture, it came to pass that the citizens of Tarsus and Mallus raised an insurrection,
31 because they were to be assigned as a present to Antiochis, the king's mistress; so the king went off hurriedly (to Cilicia) to settle matters, leaving Andronicus, a man of high rank, to act as his
32 deputy. Then Menelaus supposed he had got a favourable opportunity, so he presented Andronicus with some golden vessels which he had stolen from the temple;—others he had already sold to Tyre
33 and the surrounding cities. On ascertaining the truth of this, Onias sharply censured him, withdrawing
34 for safety into the sanctuary of Daphne, close to Antioch. Whereupon Menelaus took Andronicus aside and exhorted him to kill Onias. So Andronicus went to Onias, gave him pledges by guile and also his right hand with oaths (of friendship), and persuaded him, despite his suspicions, to come out of
35 the sanctuary. He then **killed** him at once, regardless of justice. This made not only the Jews but

12. **the petasus**, i.e. a broad-brimmed felt hat, which, as the mark of Hermes, was the badge of the *palaestra*. The otiose *ὑποτάσσων* of V probably arose from dittography with the following *ὑπὸ πέτασον*.

16. For this idea of the punishment fitting the crime see ver. 38 (= Herod. iii. 64), v. 9–10, viii. 33, ix. 6, xiii. 8, xv. 32, Wisd. xi. 16, Test. Gad v. 10.

18. The celebration of games, in imitation of the Olympic festival and the Panathenaea, was an important part of the Hellenizing policy (cp. vi. 7). For the games held by Alexander the Great at Tyre see Arrian ii. 24. 6, iii. 6. 1.

20. **thanks to them.** Reading, with V, *τῶν παρακομιζόντων*, instead of *τῶν παρόντων*.

21. **Antiochus, on learning that the latter was ill-disposed,** &c. Apollonius, the representative of Antiochus at the enthronement (*πρωτοκλισία* or *πρωτοκλησία* = the *ἀνακλητήρια* of Polybius xxviii. 12. 8, *τὰ νομιζόμενα γίνεσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὅταν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθωσιν*) of the young Ptolemy, evidently reported to his master that a move was on foot to regain Coelesyria for Egypt. Antiochus took the initiative by concentrating his forces in Phoenicia. The writer, however, merely narrates the episode for the purpose of branding Jason's servility. In the following episode (30–8), either he or his source must be assumed to have coloured and shaped the death of Onias from the story of prince Seleucus' murder at the hands of Andronicus (so Willrich's *Juden und Griechen*, pp. 86 f., 120 f., and Wellhausen's *Geschichte*[3], pp. 243 f.), even though the murder of Onias is taken (as e.g. by Niese and Guthe) to be historical.

29. **deputy.** In the semi-technical sense of *διάδοχος*, the Egyptian court-title (cp. ver. 31 and xiv. 26). As Cyprus belonged to the Ptolemies, Crates can only have been viceroy of the island during the later and brief occupation by Antiochus. The phrase is therefore proleptic.

34. **pledges.** Reading *πίστεις* (62, so Niese) for *πεισθείς*, with *δεξιὰς θεὶς μεθ' ὅρκων*, and *ἀπέκτεινεν* (so Niese after vg. and 𝔖) for *παρέκλεισεν*.

36 many people of other nationalities indignant and angry over the unjust murder of the man. So when the king returned from the regions of Cilicia, the Jews of the capital (with the support of the 37 Greeks who also detested the crime) complained to him about the illegal murder of Onias. Antiochus was heartily sorry about it, and was moved to pity and tears for the dead man's sober and well- 38 ordered life; inflamed with passion, he at once had Andronicus stripped of his purple robe, and led, with rent under-garments, all round the city to the very spot where he had committed the outrage upon Onias; there he had the murderer dispatched, the Lord rendering to him the punishment he had deserved.

39 Now when many acts of sacrilege had been committed in the city by Lysimachus, with the connivance of Menelaus, the report of these spread abroad throughout the country, till the people rose against Lysimachus; for by this time a large number of gold vessels had been sold in all directions. 40 But when the people rose in a frenzy of rage, Lysimachus armed about three thousand men and took the offensive with a bold charge, led by a certain Auranus, a man well up in mad folly no less than 41 in years. On realizing that Lysimachus was attacking them, however, some of the people caught up stones, others logs of wood, and some snatched handfuls of ashes that lay near, flinging them all 42 pell-mell upon Lysimachus and his troops. In this way they wounded many, felled some to the ground, and routed the whole band, slaying the sacrilegious robber himself beside the treasury.

43, 44 In connexion with this affair, proceedings were taken against Menelaus, and when the king 45 reached Tyre, three men sent by the senate laid their accusation before him. Menelaus felt that all was now over with him, but he promised a large sum of money to Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, 46 in order to get the king talked over. So Ptolemy took the king aside into a gallery, as though to 47 get some fresh air, and induced him to change his mind, the result being that he acquitted Menelaus, who was responsible for all the trouble, and condemned to death the hapless trio, who would have 48 been discharged as innocent, even had they pled before Scythians. This unjust punishment was 49 inflicted instantly upon these spokesmen for Israel's city and folk and sacred vessels; which moved 50 some Tyrians, who hated the crime, to provide magnificent obsequies for them. Menelaus, however, still remained in power, thanks to the covetousness of the authorities, and, waxing more and more vicious, he proved a great plotter against his fellow-citizens.

V. 1–27. *Profanation of temple and oppression of Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes.*

5 1, 2 Now about this time Antiochus made his second inroad into Egypt. And it so befell that throughout all the city of Jerusalem for almost forty days horsemen were seen charging in mid-air, 3 wearing robes inwrought with gold, armed with lances, and arrayed in troops: swords flashing, squadrons of horse in array, assaults and charges repeated from one side and another, shields shaken, spears massed together, darts hurtling to and fro, the sheen of golden trappings, and corselets of all 4 kinds. Which made all men pray that the apparition might betoken good.

5 Now a false rumour got abroad that Antiochus had died. Whereupon Jason took not less than a thousand men, and made a sudden attack on the city; the troops stationed on the walls were 6 routed, and, as the city was now practically captured, Menelaus took refuge in the citadel, while Jason proceeded to slaughter his fellow-citizens without mercy, reckless of the fact that to get any advantage over kinsfolk is the worst kind of disadvantage, and imagining to himself that he was winning 7 trophies from foes and not from fellow-countrymen. He failed to secure the place of power, however; and in the end he reaped only shame from his conspiracy, and had to pass over again as 8 a fugitive into the country of the Ammonites. As for the end of his wretched career—imprisoned under Aretas the Arabian prince, flying from city to city, pursued by all men, hated as an apostate from the laws, and loathed as a butcher of his country and his fellow-citizens, he was expelled into 9 Egypt. He who had driven so many into exile, died himself in exile, crossing over to the Lacedaemonians, with the idea of finding shelter there among kinsfolk. He who had flung out many

40. **Auranus.** The variant reading 'Tyrannus' (Τυράννου, V; cp. Acts xix. 9) is more likely to have arisen from the uncommon Αὐράνου (A, 55, 74, 106) than vice versa. The latter, even when read as Αὐράνου, cannot mean 'homo in Auranitide', which would be Αὐρανίτιος or Αὐρανιτίτης. Nor is there any connexion between this assassin's name and Eleazar's title of Avaran (Αὐαράν) or the 'stabber' (?) in 1 Macc. ii. 5.

V. 8. **imprisoned.** Owing to the compressed style of this passage, which recapitulates generally the closing adventures of Jason, the conjectural reading ἐγκληθείς (= arraigned; so read many editors from Luther and Grotius to Grimm), instead of ἐγκλεισθείς (cp. Nestle's *Septuaginta-Studien*, iv, p. 22), is plausible, but the lack of connexion in the epitome here is enough to explain how Jason could be described as fleeing from city to city after being a prisoner. Probably ἔτυχεν goes with ἐγκλεισθείς (cp. iv. 32), and πέρας with κακῆς ἀναστροφῆς. The easier *v. l.* ἔλαβεν (V) enables πέρας to be taken not in an absolute construction but in close connexion with the verb.

9. **kinsfolk.** Cp. 1 Macc. xii. 21; Josephus, *Wars*, i. 26. 1. On the origin of the legend see Büchler, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f. H. Winckler (*Altorient. Forschungen*, ii. 3. 565 f.) takes the Maccabaean references as editorial additions based on a misunderstanding of the original כתים.

a corpse to lie unburied had none to mourn for him, nor had he a funeral of any kind or place in the
11 sepulchre of his fathers. Now when tidings of what had happened reached the king, he thought
12 Judaea was in revolt. He therefore started from Egypt in a fury, stormed the city, and commanded
his soldiers to cut down without mercy any one they met, and to slay those who sheltered in their
13 houses. So there was a massacre of young and old, an extermination of boys, women, and children,
14 a slaughter of virgins and infants. In the short space of three days eighty thousand were destroyed,
15 forty thousand of them in close combat, and as many again were sold into slavery. Not content
with this, he dared to enter the most holy temple on earth, under the guidance of Menelaus, who
16 proved himself a traitor both to the laws and to his country; he laid polluted hands on the sacred
vessels, and swept off with his profane hands what other kings had dedicated to enhance the glory and
17 honour of the Place. Uplifted in spirit, Antiochus did not consider that it was on account of the sins
of those who dwelt in the city that the Sovereign Lord was provoked to anger for a little while; hence
18 His indifference to the Place. Had they not been involved in so many sins, this fellow would have
fared like Heliodorus, who was sent by king Seleucus to pry into the treasury—he would have been
19 scourged as soon as he pressed forward, and turned back from his presumption. But the Lord did not
20 choose the nation for the sake of the Place; he chose the Place for the sake of the nation. And so
the Place, after partaking in the calamities that befell the nation, shared afterwards in its prosperity;
forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, it was restored again in full glory when the great Sovereign
became reconciled.

21 Antiochus, then, carried off from the temple eighteen hundred talents and hurried away to
Antioch, thinking in his arrogance to make the land navigable and the sea passable by foot—so
22 uplifted was he in heart. He also left governors behind him to ill-treat the Jewish people: at
Jerusalem, Philip, a Phrygian by race, whose disposition was more barbarous than that of his
23 master; at Gerizim, Andronicus; and, besides these, Menelaus, who lorded it worst of them all
24 over the citizens. And in malice against the Jews he sent the Mysian commander Apollonius with an
army of two and twenty thousand, under orders to slay all those that were of full age and to sell
25 the women and the younger men. This fellow, on reaching Jerusalem, played the rôle of a man of
peace, waiting till the holy day of the sabbath; then, finding the Jews at rest from work, he com-
26 manded his men to parade in arms, put to the sword all who came to see what was going on, and
27 rushing into the city with the armed men killed great numbers. Judas Maccabaeus, however, with
about nine others got away, and kept himself and his companions alive in the mountains, as wild
beasts do, feeding on herbs, in order that they might not be polluted like the rest.

VI. 1–31. *Enforced Hellenization of the Jews.*

6 1 Shortly after this the king sent an old Athenian to compel the Jews to depart from the laws
2 of their fathers, and to cease living by the laws of God; further, the sanctuary in Jerusalem was to
be polluted and called after Zeus Olympius, while the sanctuary at Gerizim was also to be called
3 after Zeus Xenius, in keeping with the hospitable character of the inhabitants. Now this proved a sore
4 and altogether crushing visitation of evil. For the heathen filled the temple with riot and revelling,
dallying with harlots and lying with women inside the sacred precincts, besides bringing in what
5 was forbidden, while the altar was filled with abominable sacrifices which the law prohibited. And
6 a man could neither keep the sabbath, nor celebrate the feasts of the fathers, nor so much as
7 confess himself to be a Jew. On the king's birthday every month they were taken—bitter was the
necessity—to share in the sacrifice, and when the festival of the Dionysia came round they were
8 compelled to wear ivy wreaths for the procession in honour of Dionysus. On the suggestion of
Ptolemy, an edict was also issued to the neighbouring Greek cities, ordering them to treat the Jews
9 in the same way and force them to share in the sacrifices, slaying any who refused to adopt
10 Greek ways. Thus any one could see the distressful state of affairs. Two women, for example,
were brought up for having circumcised their children; they were paraded round the city, with

23. **And in malice against the Jews.** Omitting (with V) πολίτας in ver. 23, and taking ἔχων . . . ἀπεχθῆ with what follows (so Grimm, and R.V. margin).

24. **the Mysian commander.** τὸν μυσάρχην may be either a derogatory epithet or an official title; probably it is both. The Mysians (Μυσοί, cp. Polyb. xxxi. 3. 3) formed a special division or guard in the Seleucid armies, and the unique formation Μυσάρχης means 'commander of the Mysians' (cp. Κυπριάρχης, xii. 2 = ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Κυπρίων, for the form, though μυσιάρχης would mean 'governor of Mysia'). But the ill-repute of the Mysians (Μυσῶν ἔσχατος, a scoundrel) suggested a play on the term, as if it meant 'detestable ringleader'.

27. Cp. x. 6, Heb. xi. 37–8.

VI. 2. **Zeus Xenius.** i.e. the protector of strangers or guests.

7. **the king's birthday every month.** For the monthly celebration of a royal birthday see the evidence from Egypt, Commagene, and Pergamum, collected by Schürer in Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1901), pp. 48–52.

11 their babies hanging at their breasts, and then flung from the top of the wall. Some others, who had taken refuge in the adjoining caves in order to keep the seventh day secretly, were betrayed to Philip and all burnt together, since they scrupled to defend themselves, out of regard to the honour of that most solemn day.

12 Now I beseech the readers of this book not to be discouraged by such calamities, but to reflect
13 that our people were being punished by way of chastening and not for their destruction. For indeed it is a mark of great kindness when the impious are not let alone for a long time, but
14 punished at once. In the case of other nations, the Sovereign Lord in his forbearance refrains from punishing them till they have filled up their sins to the full, but in our case he has deter-
15 mined otherwise, that his vengeance may not fall on us in after-days when our sins have reached
16 their height. Wherefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us; and though he chasteneth his
17 own people with calamity, he forsaketh them not. So much by way of a reminder to ourselves; after these few words we must come back to our story.

18 Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, a man already well stricken in years and of a noble counten-
19 ance, was compelled to eat swine's flesh. But he, welcoming death with renown rather than life
20 with pollution, advanced of his own accord to the instrument of torture, affording an example of how men should come forward who have the courage to put from them food which, even for the
21 natural love of life, they dare not taste. Now those in charge of that forbidden sacrificial feast took the man aside, for the sake of old acquaintance, and privately urged him to bring some flesh of his own providing, such as he was lawfully allowed to use, and to pretend he was really eating of the
22 sacrifice which the king had ordered, so that in this way he might escape death and be kindly treated
23 for the sake of their old friendship. But he with a high resolve, worthy of his years and of the dignity of his **descent** and of his grey hair reached with honour and of his noble life from childhood and, still more, of the holy laws divinely ordained, spoke his mind accordingly, telling them to
24 dispatch him to Hades at once. 'It ill becomes our years to dissemble,' said he, 'and thus lead many younger persons to imagine that Eleazar in his ninetieth year has gone over to a heathenish
25 religion. I should lead them astray by my dissimulation, for the mere sake of enjoying this brief
26 and momentary life, and I should bring stain and foul disgrace on my own old age. Even were I for the moment to evade the punishment of men, I should not escape the hands of the Almighty in
27 life or in death. Wherefore, by manfully parting with my life now, I will show myself worthy of my
28 old age, and leave behind me a noble example to the young of how to die willingly and nobly
29 on behalf of our reverend and holy laws. With these words he stepped forward at once to the instrument of torture, while those who a moment before had been friendly turned against him,
30 deeming his language to be that of a sheer madman. Now, just as he was expiring under the strokes of torture, he groaned out, The Lord, who hath holy knowledge, understandeth that, although I might have been freed from death, I endure cruel pains in my body from scourging and
31 suffer this gladly in my soul, because I fear him.' Thus he too died, leaving his death as an example of nobility and a memorial of virtue, not only to the young but also to the great body of his nation.

VII. 1–42. *Martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother.*

7 1 It also came to pass that seven brothers and their mother were arrested and shamefully lashed with whips and scourges, by the king's orders, that they might be forced to taste the abominable
2 swine's flesh. But one of them spoke up for the others and said, Why question us? What wouldst
3 thou learn from us? We are prepared to die sooner than transgress the laws of our fathers. Then
4 the king, in his exasperation, ordered pans and cauldrons to be heated, and, when they were heated immediately, ordered the tongue of the speaker to be torn out, had him scalped and mutilated
5 before the eyes of his brothers and mother, and then had him put on the fire, all maimed and crippled as he was, but still alive, and set to fry in the pan. And as the vapour from the pan spread

18. **of a noble countenance, was compelled.** Reading *κάλλιστος τυγχάνων ἠναγκάζετο* (19, 52, 62, 93, Syr.; V om. *ἀναχαίνων*) with Niese and Nestle (*Sept.-Studien*, iv. 20).

20. **affording an example.** For *προπτύσας δέ* (= but spat out the flesh first), which comes in awkwardly, read *προτυπώσας* (so one minuscule: Nestle, pp. 20–1) as above, which tallies with 27–8 better than *πρωτεύσας* (V^a). The less natural alternative is to omit *δὲ* (with Niese) and read *τόπον* (so Grotius) for *τρόπον*.

23. **descent.** For *γήρους* (A) or *γήρως* (V) read, with Niese, *γένους*. The two considerations of age and race are developed in the following clauses, where *ἀναστροφῆς* (R.V. margin, so A, 52, 55, 62) is preferable to *ἀνατροφῆς* (R.V. text).

26. Cp. Heb. x. 31, xi. 35; also *vv.* 19 and 30 with Heb. xi. 35 (*ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν*), and vii. 28 with Heb. xi. 3.

VII. 4. **scalped.** *Περισκυθίσαντας* refers to the practice of the Scythians, the typical savages (see above, iv. 47) and Red Indians of the ancient East, who flayed and scalped their victims (Herod. iv. 64).

6 abroad, they and their mother exhorted one another to die nobly, uttering these words: The Lord God beholdeth this, and truly hath compassion on us, even as Moses declared in his Song which testifieth against them to their face, saying,

And he shall have compassion on his servants.

7 And when the first had died after this manner, they brought the second to the shameful torture, tearing off the skin of his head with the hair and asking him, Wilt thou eat, before we punish thy
8 body limb by limb? But he answered in the language of his fathers and said to them, No. So he
9 too underwent the rest of the torture, as the first had done. And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou cursed miscreant! Thou dost dispatch us from this life, but the King of the world shall raise
10 us up, who have died for his laws, and revive us to life everlasting. And after him the third was made a mocking-stock. And when he was told to put out his tongue, he did so at once, stretching forth
11 his hands courageously, with the noble words, These I had from heaven; for His name's sake
12 I count them naught; from Him I hope to get them back again. So much so that the king himself and his company were astounded at the spirit of the youth, for he thought nothing of his
13 sufferings. And when he too was dead, they tortured the fourth in the same shameful fashion.
14 And when he was near his end, he said: 'Tis meet for those who perish at men's hands to cherish hope divine that they shall be raised up by God again; but thou—thou shalt have no resur-
15, 16 rection to life. Next they brought the fifth and handled him shamefully. But he looked at the king and said, Holding authority among men, thou doest what thou wilt, poor mortal; but dream
17 not that God hath forsaken our race. Go on, and thou shalt find how His sovereign power will
18 torture thee and thy seed! And after him they brought the sixth. And when he was at the point of death he said, Deceive not thyself in vain! We are suffering this on our own account, for sins
19 against our own God. That is why these awful horrors have befallen us. But think not thou shalt
20 go unpunished for daring to fight against God! The mother, however, was a perfect wonder; she deserves to be held in glorious memory, for, thanks to her hope in God, she bravely bore the sight
21 of seven sons dying in a single day. Full of noble spirit and nerving her weak woman's heart with the courage of a man, she exhorted each of them in the language of their fathers, saying, How you
22 were ever conceived in my womb, I cannot tell! 'Twas not I who gave you the breath of life or
23 fashioned the elements of each! 'Twas the Creator of the world who fashioneth **men** and deviseth the generating of all things, and he it is who in mercy will restore to you the breath of life even
24 as you now count yourselves naught for his laws' sake. Now Antiochus felt that he was being humiliated, but, **overlooking** the taunt of her words, he made an appeal to the youngest brother, who still survived, and even promised on oath to make him rich and happy and a Friend and
25 a trusted official of State, if he would give up his fathers' laws. As the young man paid no atten-
26 tion to him, he summoned his mother and exhorted her to counsel the lad to save himself. So,
27 after he had exhorted her at length, she agreed to persuade her son. She leant over to him and, befooling the cruel tyrant, spoke thus in her fathers' tongue: My son, have pity on me. Nine months I carried thee in my womb, three years I suckled thee; I reared thee and brought thee up
28 to this age of thy life. Child, I beseech thee, lift thine eyes to heaven and earth, look at all that is therein, and know that God did not make them out of the things that existed. So is the race of
29 men created. Fear not this butcher, but show thyself worthy of thy brothers, and accept thy death,
30 that by God's mercy I may receive thee again together with thy brothers. Ere she had finished, the young man cried, What are you waiting for? I will not obey the king's command, I will obey the
31 command of the law given by Moses to our fathers. But thou, who hast devised all manner of evil
32 against the Hebrews, thou shalt not escape the hands of God. We are suffering for our own sins,
33 and though our living Lord is angry for a little, in order to rebuke and chasten us, he will again be
34 reconciled to his own servants. But thou, thou impious wretch, vilest of all men, be not vainly
35 uplifted with thy proud, uncertain hopes, raising thy hand against the heavenly children; thou hast
36 not yet escaped the judgement of the Almighty God who seeth all. These our brothers, after

6. **Song which testifieth . . . face.** This sententious description of the Song (Deut. xxxii. 36) is not only out of keeping with the *mise en scène*, but far-fetched; the testimony of the Song in question was borne against faithless Israel, not against outside oppressors.

18. Some MSS. insert διό before, or γάρ after, ἄξια. Niese, reading the latter, and following V[a] (ἄξιοι) and V (γεγόναμεν), conjectures κολασμοῦ for θαυμασμοῦ (i. e. *and have deserved punishment*). But the above reading, though characteristically abrupt, yields a good sense.

23. **men.** For ἀνθρώπου γένεσιν read with Niese ἄνθρωπον (or ἀνθρώπους), the first γένεσιν being repeated *per incuriam* from the second.

24. **overlooking.** For ὑφορώμενος ('suspecting') read ὑπερορώμενος (Vg. = *exprobrantis uoce despecta*) with Kamphausen. For the promised rank of Friend (i. 14, viii. 29, 1 Macc. ii. 18, &c.) see Deissmann's *Bible-Studies*, pp. 167 f.

27. **reared thee.** Omitting (with 71, Vg, S) the anticlimax of καὶ τροφοφορήσασαν (= *and sustained thee*, lit. nursed).

enduring a brief pain, have now **drunk** of everflowing life, in terms of God's covenant, but thou shalt
37 receive by God's judgement the just penalty of thine arrogance. I, like my brothers, give up body
and soul for our fathers' laws, calling on God to show favour to our nation soon, and to make thee
38 acknowledge, in torment and plagues, that he alone is God, and to let the Almighty's wrath, justly
39 fallen on the whole of our nation, end in me and in my brothers. Then the king fell into a passion
40 and had him handled worse than the others, so exasperated was he at being mocked. Thus he also
41 died unpolluted, trusting absolutely in the Lord. Finally after her sons the mother also perished.
42 Let this suffice for the enforced sacrifices and the excesses of barbarity.

VIII. 1–36. *Revolt and early successes of Judas Maccabaeus.*

8 1 But Judas, who is also called Maccabaeus, together with his companions, went round the villages by stealth, summoning their kinsfolk and mustering those who had adhered to Judaism, till
2 they collected as many as six thousand. And they invoked the Lord to look upon the people whom
3 all men oppressed, to have compassion on the sanctuary which the godless had profaned, and also to pity the ruined city which was on the point of being levelled with the ground, to hearken to the
4 blood that cried to him, to remember the impious massacre of the innocent babes and the blasphemies
5 committed against his name, and to manifest his hatred of evil. Now as soon as Maccabaeus had got his company together, the heathen found him irresistible, for the Lord's anger was now turned
6 into mercy. He would surprise and burn both towns and villages, gaining possession of strategic
7 positions and routing large numbers of the enemy. He took special advantage of the night for such attacks. And the whole country echoed with the fame of his valour.
8 So when Philip saw that the man was gaining ground inch by inch and adding daily to his successes, he wrote to Ptolemy, the governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, for support in maintaining
9 the king's cause. The latter lost no time in selecting Nicanor, the son of Patroclus, one of the foremost among the king's Friends, whom he dispatched at the head of no fewer than twenty thousand troops of all nationalities to exterminate the entire population of Judaea; and with him there was associated Gorgias, a military commander who had considerable experience of active service.
10 Nicanor, however, determined to sell the Jews into slavery, and so to make up the sum of two
11 thousand talents which the king owed by way of tribute to the Romans. He therefore sent at once to the maritime towns, inviting them to purchase Jewish slaves, whom he promised to sell at the rate of ninety a talent—little imagining the judgement that was to overtake him from the Almighty.
12 Now when Judas was informed of Nicanor's inroad, and when he told his followers about the
13 arrival of the host, those who were cowardly and sceptical about God's judgement ran off and decamped,
14 while others sold all their remaining possessions and withal besought the Lord to deliver those
15 whom the impious Nicanor had already sold before the battle; and this, if not for their own sakes, at least for the sake of the covenants made with their fathers and for the sake of His reverend and
16 glorious name, by which they were called. But when Maccabaeus had got his men together, six thousand in number, he bade them have no fear of **chains and slavery** and no dread of the vast
17 number of the heathen who had attacked them wrongfully; let them fight nobly, keeping before their eyes the wanton and lawless outrage of the heathen upon the holy place, the shocking and despiteful
18 violence done to the city, and further the overthrow of their ancestral polity. They trust to arms and daring deeds, he said, but we rely upon the Almighty God, who by a nod can lay low our
19 enemies, aye and the whole world. Then he rehearsed to them the aid repeatedly vouchsafed in the days of their ancestors, as in the days of Sennacherib, when a hundred and eighty-five thousand
20 perished, and as at the battle fought against the Galatians in Babylonia, where only eight thousand

36. **drunk.** Hort's conjecture, *πεπώκασι*, for the MSS. *πεπτώκασι*, restores the original sense of the passage.

VIII. 4. **massacre of the innocent babes.** Cp. above, vi. 10, and 1 Macc. i. 61.

6. **villages.** *κώμας* ('villages') is to be read for *χώρας*.

routing . . . enemy. Cp. Heb. xi. 34.

13. **God's judgment.** i.e. on their foes (cp. ver. 11). Contrast the account of 1 Macc. iii. 56.

14. **those whom . . . sold before the battle.** i.e. not stray captives picked up by the way but the speakers themselves, whom Nicanor had sold in advance.

16. **six thousand in number.** But this was the original number of the army (ver. 1)!

slavery. For *τοὺς πολεμίους* (V) or *τοῖς πολεμίοις* read *τοῖς δεσμοῖς*, which has been altered in A into *τοῖς δεσμίοις*, as the variant (19, 62) *τοῖς πολέμοις* has been altered into *τοῖς πολεμίοις*.

18. **by a nod.** Cp. Apoc. Bar. xxi. 5, &c.

and the whole world. For the turn of expression see 1 John ii. 2.

20. **the battle . . . in Babylonia.** Nothing is known of the engagement which forms the subject of this exaggerated boast. The eight thousand, who are obviously Jews, may have been fighting either under Antiochus the Great against a body of Gallic mercenaries under Molon, the rebellious satrap of Media (221–220 B.C.), or, earlier, in the ranks of Antiochus Soter (281–261 B.C.), who is said to have won his title (Appian, *Syr.* 66) from his efforts against the Gallic raiders in Asia Minor.

men, together with four thousand Macedonians, took the field, and where, after the Macedonians were hard pressed, the eight thousand slew the hundred and twenty thousand, owing to the aid vouchsafed
21 them from heaven, and won rich booty. With these words he inspirited them and got them ready
22 to die for the laws and for their country. He then divided his army into four, and put his brothers at the head of the various divisions, Simon, Joseph, and Jonathan each being in command of fifteen
23 hundred men; he also made Eleazar read aloud the holy Book, and taking 'God's Help' as a watch-
24 word put himself at the head of the first division, and engaged Nicanor. And, since the Almighty fought on their side, they slew over nine thousand of the enemy, wounded and disabled the greater
25 part of Nicanor's army, and forced them all to flee. They also secured the very money of those who
26 had arrived for the purpose of buying them. Then, after pursuing them for some distance, they were obliged to turn back on account of time; it was the day before the sabbath, and therefore they made
27 no effort to follow them up. So, after collecting the arms of the enemy, and stripping them of their spoils, they attended to the duties of the sabbath, loudly blessing and praising the Lord who had
28 preserved them unto this day and thus begun to show them mercy; after the sabbath, when they had apportioned part of the spoils to their own wounded and to the widows and orphans, they
29 shared the remainder among themselves and their children. This done, they united in supplication, beseeching the Lord of mercy to be fully reconciled to his servants.

30 In an encounter with the forces of Timotheus and Bacchides, they also killed over twenty thousand and got possession of some extremely high strongholds, securing a large quantity of plunder which they distributed equally with themselves not only among the wounded, the orphans, and the widows,
31 but also among the older people. Then, after collecting the arms of the enemy, they stored them all
32 carefully in the most important forts, conveying the rest of the spoils to Jerusalem. They also slew Phylarches, who belonged to Timotheus' forces, a most impious scoundrel who had inflicted serious
33 injuries on the Jews. And while they were celebrating the victory in the city of their fathers, they burned Callisthenes and some others, who had set fire to the sacred gates, and who had taken refuge
34 in a small house; thus did these men receive the due reward of their impiety. As for the thrice-
35 accursed Nicanor, who had brought the thousand merchants to buy the Jews for slaves, those whom he reckoned of no account humbled him by the help of the Lord; doffing his splendid uniform, he had to make his way alone, like a runaway slave, straight across country to Antioch, having fared
36 disastrously in his expedition and having left his army annihilated. So the man who undertook to secure tribute for the Romans by selling the Jerusalemites into captivity, proved the means of showing that the Jews had a Champion and that they were invulnerable since they followed the laws which He enacted.

IX. 1–29. *The miserable death of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

9 1 Now about that time it happened that Antiochus had to beat a disorderly retreat from the region
2 of Persia. He had entered the city called Persepolis and tried to rob temples and get hold of the city; whereupon the people flew to arms and routed him, with the result that Antiochus was put to
3 flight by the people of the country and broke up his camp in disgrace. And while he was at
4 Ecbatana, news reached him of what had happened to Nicanor and the forces of Timotheus. So, in

22. **Joseph,** here and in x. 19, is an error of the author or of a copyist for John (cp. 1 Macc. ix. 36 f.).

23. **made Eleazar read aloud.** Reading (Vg, 𝔖, 19, 62, 64, 93, so Grimm, Rawlinson, and Kamphausen) παραγνῶναι for παραναγνούς (A.V. Fritzsche, Swete). 'God's Help' is a play on the name of Eleazar.

26, 27. The real reason was not sabbatarian strictness (cp. 1 Macc. iv. 17 f.), and the spoiling of the enemy is ante-dated (cp. 1 Macc. iv. 18, 23). On the Sabbatarianism see above, vi. 11, and Jub. 7. 6–13.

27. **after collecting the arms.** Here, though not in ver. 31, ὁπλολογήσαντες αὐτούς might also be rendered, 'having piled their arms' (contrast 1 Macc. iv. 6).

thus begun to show them mercy. The pretty reading, στάξαντος ('distilled'), is less well supported than τάξαντος (as above, cp. ver. 5) or τάξαντι (62). Niese, reading the latter, with καί after αὐτούς, renders, 'to him who had preserved them and appointed this day to be the beginning of mercy for them.'

29. **to be fully reconciled.** i.e. to show the permanence of his favour by continuing to crown their efforts with success. Grimm quotes a similar phrase from Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 16. 2 (τῆς θείας προνοίας . . . τῷ μὲν αὐτῆς καταλλαττομένης λαῷ, of the cessation of persecution).

33. **a small house.** The point of mentioning the smallness of the house (οἰκίδιον, a real diminutive) is obviously to contrast the number who took refuge in it. This tells, together with the position of ὑφῆψαν after Καλλισθένην, in favour of πεφευγότας instead of πεφευγότα (as if Callisthenes was the only incendiary who hid himself in the hut or cottage), of καί τινας ἄλλους after Καλλισθένην, and of ἐκομίσαντο for ἐκομίσατο.

reward of their impiety. For the phrase cp. 2 Pet. ii. 13.

35. **fared disastrously.** Reading ὑπεράγαν δυσημερηκώς.

IX. 2. **Persepolis** was not in Elymais; consequently, unless 'Elymais' in 1 Macc. i. 6 is a corruption (cp. Cheyne in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1284, 3660), there is a geographical contradiction between the two narratives. See i. 12 f.

tried successfully, according to Appian (*Syr.* 66).

3. **Ecbatana,** the capital of Media, was not near the route of his flight to Babylon (1 Macc. vi. 4).

a transport of rage, he determined to wreak vengeance on the Jews for the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of those who had forced him to fly, and ordered his charioteer to drive on without halting till the journey was ended. Verily the judgement of heaven upon him was imminent! For thus he spoke in his arrogance: When I reach Jerusalem, I will make it a common
5 sepulchre of Jews. But the all-seeing Lord, the God of Israel, smote him with a fatal and unseen stroke; the words were no sooner out of his mouth than he was seized with an incurable pain in
6 the bowels, and his internal organs gave him cruel torture—a right proper punishment for one who
7 had tortured the bowels of other people with many an exquisite pang. He did not cease from his wild insolence, however, but waxed more arrogant than ever, breathing fire and fury against the Jews, and giving orders to hurry on with the journey. And it came to pass that he dropped from his
8 chariot as it whirled along, so that the bad fall racked every limb of his body. Thus he who in his overweening haughtiness had supposed the waves of the sea were at his bidding and imagined he could weigh the high mountains in his scales, was now prostrate, carried along in a litter—a manifest
9 token to all men of the power of God. Worms actually swarmed from the impious creature's body; his flesh fell off, while he was still alive in pain and anguish; and the stench of his corruption turned
10 the whole army from him with loathing. A man who shortly before had thought he could touch
11 the stars of heaven, none could now endure to carry, such was his intolerable stench. Then it was that, broken in spirit, he began to abate his arrogance, for the most part, and to arrive at some knowledge of the truth. For, as he suffered more and more anguish under the scourge of God, unable
12 even to bear his own stench, he said: Right is it that mortal man should be subject to God, and not
13 deem himself God's equal. The vile wretch also made a vow to the Lord (who would not now
14 have pity on him), promising that he would proclaim the holy city free—the city which he was
15 hurrying to lay level with the ground and to make a common sepulchre—that he would make all the Jews equal to citizens of Athens—the Jews whom he had determined to throw out with their
16 children to the beasts, for the birds to devour, as unworthy even to be buried—that he would adorn with magnificent offerings the holy sanctuary which he had formerly rifled, restoring all the sacred vessels many times over, and defraying from his own revenue the expense of the sacrifices;
17 furthermore, that he would even become a Jew and travel over the inhabited world to publish abroad
18 the might of God. But when his sufferings did not cease by any means (for God's judgement had justly come upon him), he gave up all hope of himself and wrote the following letter, with its humble supplication, to the Jews:

19 To his citizens, the loyal Jews, Antiochus their king and general wisheth great joy and health
20 and prosperity. If you and your children fare well and your affairs are to your mind, I give thanks
21 to God, as my hope is in heaven. As for myself, I am sick. Your esteem and goodwill I bear in loving memory. On my way back from Persia I have fallen seriously ill, and I think it needful to
22 take into consideration the common safety of all my subjects—not that I despair of myself (for,
23 on the contrary, I have good hopes of recovery), but in view of the fact that when my father marched
24 into the upper country, he appointed his successor, in order that, in the event of anything un-

8. Cp. v. 21; Isa. xl. 12, li. 15.

9. **worms**, &c. A conventional doom for blasphemous persecutors (cp. Acts xii. 23). The narrative of Jason probably described the disease as a result of the fall from the chariot. The epitomist not only puts in the supernatural touch of ver. 5, but some of the high colouring in the edifying sequel.

11. **broken in spirit.** V's reading (*ὑποτεθραυσμένος*) may mean either that he grew steadily worse (Bissell) or that he was suffering severely (an instance of meiosis, so Grimm and Kamphausen); but the variant of A (*τεθραυσμένος*, so Fritzsche, Rawlinson, &c.) gives a better sense, and Niese's conjecture that *κατὰ στιγμήν* has arisen by dittography from *μάστιγι* (cp. 62, *μάστιγμην*) is very plausible. 'Ferner muss man mit 19, 62, 64, 93 lesen: *καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἔρχεσθαι ἀληθείας· θείᾳ γὰρ μάστιγι ἐπιτεινόμενος ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι καὶ μηδὲ τῆς ὀσμῆς δυνάμενος ἀνέχεσθαι κτλ*' (*Kritik*, p. 113). In ver. 12 *ὑπερήφανα* (A, 55, 71, 74, 106, 243) is probably (so Grimm, Bissell, Kamphausen) a gloss upon *ἰσόθεα* (cp. Phil. ii. 6; Aesch. *Persae*, 820, &c.).

17. **become a Jew**, &c. The narrative makes Antiochus outdo even Nebuchadrezzar (Dan. iv. 37) in the way of abject penance, or at least of promises.

18. **the following letter, with its humble supplication.** The letter does not answer to this description, and, as addressed to Judas and his party, is entirely out of keeping with the facts of the situation. Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, ii. 177, 298), like Niese (30), defends it by supposing that it was originally meant for the Hellenizing Jewish community of Jerusalem, which Antiochus affected to regard as the genuine article. He calls them *χρηστοί* in the sense in which the Cavaliers in seventeenth-century England were called the 'honest' party (cp. e.g. Aristoph. *Frogs* 783 *ὀλίγον τὸ χρηστόν ἐστιν*), and describes himself as their *στρατηγός* (general) by way of flattery, implying that he was proud to be *strategos* in Jerusalem no less than in Athens. Had the author, or Jason, composed the letter, he would probably have coloured and shaped it to fit the context. Its very discrepancies with the present setting tell in favour of the hypothesis that it reflects some authentic document.

21. **I am sick. Your esteem**, &c. The asyndeton is awkward, but it is more awkward to insert *εἰ μή* before *ἀσθενῶς* or *ἄλλως γάρ* before *ὑμῶν*, and translate (with Rawlinson): 'I am sick, otherwise I would have remembered, &c.' (retaining the *ἄν* before *ἐμνημόνευον*, which probably arose from the last syllable of the preceding *εὔνοιαν*).

23. **marched into the upper country.** Cp. 1 Macc. iii. 37.

24. **anything unexpected.** A euphemism for the king's death, like 'the coming event' (ver. 25).

expected occurring or any unwelcome news arriving, the residents at home might know whom the
25 State had been entrusted to, and so be spared any disturbance. Besides these considerations, as
I have noticed how the princes on the borders and the neighbours of my kingdom are on the alert
for any opportunity and anticipate the coming event, I have appointed my son Antiochus to be king.
I have often committed and commended him to most of you, when I hurried to the upper provinces.
26 I have also written to him what I have written below. I therefore exhort and implore you to
remember the public and private benefits you have received and to preserve, each of you, your
27 present goodwill toward me and my son. For I am convinced that with mildness and kindness he
will adhere to my policy and continue on good terms with you.
28 So this murderer and blasphemer, after terrible suffering such as he had inflicted on other people,
29 ended his life most miserably among the mountains in a foreign land. His bosom-friend Philip
brought the corpse home; and then, fearing the son of Antiochus, he betook himself to Ptolemy
Philometor in Egypt.

liar
two face

X. 1–8. *The temple purified and the feast of dedication instituted.*

10 1 Now Maccabaeus and his followers, under the leadership of the Lord, recaptured the temple and
2 the city, and pulled down the altars erected by the aliens in the market-place, as well as the sacred
3 inclosures. After cleansing the sanctuary, they erected another altar of sacrifice, and striking fire
out of flints they offered sacrifices after a lapse of two years, with incense, lamps, and the presentation of
4 the shew-bread. This done, they fell prostrate before the Lord with entreaties that they might never
again incur such disasters, but that, if ever they should sin, he would chasten them with forbearance,
5 instead of handing them over to blasphemous and barbarous pagans. Now it so happened that the
cleansing of the sanctuary took place on the very day on which it had been profaned by aliens, on
6 the twenty-fifth day of the same month, which is Chislev. And they celebrated it for eight days
with gladness like a feast of tabernacles, remembering how, not long before, during the feast of
7 tabernacles they had been wandering like wild beasts in the mountains and the caves. So, bearing
wands wreathed with leaves and fair boughs and palms, they offered hymns of praise to him who had
8 prospered the cleansing of his own place, and also passed a public order and decree that all the
Jewish nation should keep these ten days every year.

X. 9–38. *Further campaigns of Judas.*

9, 10 Such was the end of Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes. We will now explain what occurred
under Antiochus Eupator, the son of that godless man, summarizing the calamities of the wars.
11 When he succeeded to the throne, he appointed a certain Lysias as his chancellor and as supreme
12 governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia. For Ptolemy, who was called Macron, had set an example
of justice to the Jews in righting wrongs done to them, and had endeavoured to deal amicably
13 with them. For this he was arraigned before Eupator by the king's Friends; on every side he heard
himself called a traitor for having abandoned the island of Cyprus which Philometor had entrusted
to him, and for having sided with Antiochus Epiphanes: so, feeling unable to maintain the prestige of
his position, he took poison in a fit of despair and made away with himself.
14 But when Gorgias became governor of this district, he maintained a force of mercenaries and kept
15 up war with the Jews at every turn. Besides that, the Idumaeans, who were in possession of important
strongholds, harassed the Jews and did their utmost to keep the feud going by welcoming the refugees
16 from Jerusalem. But Maccabaeus and his men, after solemnly imploring and beseeching God to

29. **bosom-friend.** A Hellenistic court title (cp. Fränkel in *Alterthümer von Pergamon*, viii. 1, pp. 111 f.) here as in Acts xiii. 1 and in the inscription of Delos (see above, on iii. 7) which assigns it to Heliodorus.

X. 3. **striking fire out of flints.** According to the ancient view that only fire obtained thus fresh from nature, i.e. struck from flints or otherwise (cp. i. 22 f.), could be used to rekindle altar-fires. 'Two' years is a mistake for 'three' (cp. 1 Macc. iv. 54).

6. **wandering**, &c. v. 27, Heb. xi. 37–8.

11. **a certain Lysias.** The off-hand allusion to Lysias (τινά) is on a par with the unhistorical conception of the regent's position (cp. 1 Macc. iii. 32, vi. 17, &c.).

12. **For** gives the reason why Lysias was made governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, which Ptolemy (cp. viii. 8) had hitherto ruled. The boy-king must have been a puppet in the hands of Lysias; the latter was responsible for the impeachment of Ptolemy, who was evidently suspected by the anti-Semites on much the same flimsy pretext as Desdemona ('She did deceive her father, marrying you. And . . .').

13. **the king's Friends.** This title was revived by the phalanx of political mercenaries in the eighteenth century who intrigued for George III. As though, said Junius, the mass of Englishmen were enemies of the king!

prestige. Grimm's conjecture, εὐγενίσας, for the textual variants (εὐγενναίσας, εὐγεννασίας, εὐγεννασίαν, &c.) gives an excellent sense, but the words ὑπ' ἀθυμίας (56), though poorly supported by MS. evidence, are too vivid and essential to be a gloss.

15. **the refugees.** i.e. Hellenistic Jews expelled by Judas.

17 fight on their side, rushed at the strongholds of the Idumaeans and, after a vigorous assault, captured
the positions, beating off those who manned the walls, slaying any whom they came across, and
18 slaughtering no fewer than twenty thousand. No less than nine thousand took refuge in two
19 extremely strong towers, which were well equipped to stand a siege; so Maccabaeus left Simon and
Joseph, together with Zacchaeus and his division, as a force adequate for the siege, and went off
20 in person to various places where he was needed. But the covetous retinue of Simon allowed them-
selves to be bribed by some of those inside the towers, and let some of them slip out, on payment of
21 seventy thousand drachmas. When Maccabaeus learned of what had occurred, he summoned the
leaders of the nation and accused them of selling their brethren for money, by setting their enemies
22 free to fight against them; then he slew these men for having turned traitors and instantly stormed
23 the two towers. Successful in every feat of arms which he undertook, he destroyed in the two
strongholds more than twenty thousand men.

24 Now Timotheus, who had been previously defeated by the Jews, mustered a foreign force of vast
size, and raised a large detachment of Asiatic cavalry, and arrived in Judaea as though he meant
25 to capture it by force of arms. But on his approach Maccabaeus and his men sprinkled earth upon
26 their heads and girded their loins with sackcloth, in supplication to God, and falling down upon the
step in front of the altar besought Him to show favour graciously to them, to be the enemy of their
27 enemies, and the adversary of their adversaries, as the law affirmeth. Then rising from prayer they
took up their arms and advanced some distance from the city, halting when they drew near to the
28 enemy. And when the dawn came, the two armies joined battle; one had a pledge of success and
victory, not only in their valour but in their appeal to the Lord, while the other side were impelled
29 to the struggle by their own passions. And as the fight waxed fierce, the enemy saw five resplendent
30 men from heaven on horses with golden bridles, who led on the Jews and took Maccabaeus between
them, sheltering him with their armour and preserving him scatheless; they also showered arrows
and thunderbolts on the enemy till, blinded and disordered, they were utterly bewildered and cut to
31, 32 pieces. Twenty thousand five hundred were slain, with six hundred horsemen, and Timotheus
himself took refuge in a stronghold called Gazara, which was very strongly fortified under command
33 of Chaereas. The troops of Maccabaeus laid eager siege to this fort for twenty-four days, during
34 which time the besieged, who relied on the strength of the place, blasphemed furiously and gave
35 vent to impious cries. But, as the twenty-fifth day dawned, twenty youths from the Maccabaean army,
burning with anger at all this blasphemy, stormed the wall like men, and in a wild fury of passion
36 proceeded to cut down every one they met. Meantime others had followed them up by a wheel
movement and had set fire to the towers, kindling fires and burning the blasphemers alive, while
37 some burst the gates open and admitted the rest of the band. So they captured the city, and killed
Timotheus, who had concealed himself in a cistern, and his brother Chaereas, and Apollophanes.
38 Having accomplished this feat, they sang hymns of thanksgiving, blessing the Lord who rendereth
great services to Israel and giveth them the victory.

XI. 1–38. *Defeat of Lysias, and terms of peace arranged.*

11 1 Quite soon after this, Lysias, the king's guardian and kinsman and chancellor, who was seriously
2 annoyed at what had taken place, collected about eighty thousand infantry with all his cavalry and
3 marched against the Jews, intending to make the city a residence for Greeks, to levy tribute on the
temple as on the other sacred places of the nations, and to put up the high-priesthood for sale
4 every year; for he never reckoned with the might of God, but was puffed up with his own myriads

19. **Zacchaeus** (cp. viii. 22) is otherwise unknown, unless his name is explained from 1 Macc. v. 56. Thus Grotius conjectured that the original reading here was καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ζακχαίου.

21. **selling their brethren for money.** i. e. betraying the wider interests of the nation for the sake of pecuniary advantage to themselves.

24. **Asiatic cavalry.** The Iranian cavalry were a famous item in the Seleucid armies; but if ἵππους here is equivalent to *horses*, probably Media is intended specially.

25. **sprinkled earth upon their heads.** See xiv. 15 and 1 Macc. xi. 71.

26. **as the law affirmeth.** Cp. Exod. xxiii. 22.

28. **came.** Literally 'succeeded the night' (διαδεχομένης as in Wisd. vii. 30).

30. **led on the Jews, &c.** Reading Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ κτλ. (instead of Ἰουδαίων οἱ δύο καὶ κτλ.). Δύο is the gloss of a scribe who wished to emphasize that Judas was escorted by two of the angels, one on each side (so Grimm).

32. **Gazara.** Gezer was really captured by Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 43 f.), but, in this extract, the credit of the exploit is assigned to the troops of Judas, the only Maccabee in whom the book is interested, and the story is retold in order to bring out the religious fanaticism of the Jewish army (cp. Kosters in *Theolog. Tijdschrift*, 1878, pp. 519 f.). This strong post, on a ridge of the Shephelah, was 'virtually the key of Judaea at a time when Judaea's foes came down the coast from the north' (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr. of Holy Land*, pp. 215 f.). But, if the story is taken as an independent narrative, Gazara must be identified with Jazer (1 Macc. v. 8) in Gilead.

5 of infantry and thousands of cavalry and eighty elephants. On entering Judaea, he came up to
6 Bethsuron, a strong fort about five leagues from Jerusalem, and pressed it hard. Now when Maccabaeus
and his men learned that he was besieging the strongholds, they and all the people wailed and wept,
7 beseeching the Lord to send a good angel to save Israel. Maccabaeus himself was the first to take
up arms, and he urged the others to join him at the hazard of their lives, in order to succour their
8 brethren. So they sallied forth, all together, right willingly. And ere ever they had left Jerusalem,
9 a rider appeared at their head, in white apparel, brandishing weapons of gold; and they joined in
blessing God the merciful and were still more encouraged; ready now to break through not only
10 men but ferocious beasts and walls of iron, they advanced in array with their heavenly ally—for the
11 Lord had mercy on them. And leaping like lions upon the foe, they slew eleven thousand of
12 their infantry, and sixteen hundred of their cavalry, and forced all the rest to flee. The majority
only escaped with wounds and the loss of their arms, while Lysias himself had to save his life by
13 a disgraceful flight. Now Lysias was no fool. Thinking over the defeat he had sustained, and
14 recognizing that the Hebrews were invincible, thanks to the mighty God who was their ally, he sent
to persuade them to agree to a fair and comprehensive settlement, undertaking that he would even
15 induce the king to become their friend. Maccabaeus agreed to all the terms proposed by Lysias,
thereby showing a sagacious regard for the interests of the people, since the king did grant all the
16 written demands which Maccabaeus made to Lysias on behalf of the Jews. Now the letter addressed
by Lysias to the Jews was to this effect:

17 Lysias to the people of the Jews, greeting. Your envoys, John and Absalom, have presented the
18 appended petition and asked for a decision upon its contents. I have therefore informed the king
19 of whatever had to be laid before him, and he has agreed to all that could be granted. If you will
20 maintain your goodwill toward the State, I will endeavour in future to promote your interests, and,
as for this particular business, I have instructed your representatives and my own to confer with
21 you. Fare ye well. Written in the hundred and forty-eighth year, on the four and twentieth day
of the month Dioscurus.

22 The king's letter ran as follows:

23 King Antiochus to his brother Lysias, greeting. Now that our father hath passed over to the
gods, it is our pleasure that the subjects of the realm should live undisturbed and attend to their own
24 concerns. As for our Jewish subjects, we understand that they object to our father's project of
bringing them over to Hellenism, preferring their own ways of life and asking permission to follow
25 their own customs. It is our will therefore that this nation also shall not be disturbed, and we have
decided to give them back their temple and to permit them to live after the manner of their
26 ancestors. Thou wilt do well therefore to send messengers to them and give them the right hand
of fellowship, that they may know our purpose and be of good heart and cheerfully settle down to
their own business.

27 The king's letter to the nation was as follows:

28 King Antiochus to the senate of the Jews and to the rest of the Jews, greeting. If you fare well,
29 it is as we wish; we too are in good health. Menelaus has informed us of your desire to return
30 home and attend to your own affairs. Those Jews then who return home up to the thirtieth day of
31 Xanthicus shall have our friendship, with full permission to use their own food and to observe their
32 own laws as of yore; none of them shall be molested in any way for any unwitting offence. More-
33 over, I have sent Menelaus to reassure you. Fare ye well. Written in the hundred and forty-eighth
year, on the fifteenth day of Xanthicus.

XI. 5. **Bethsuron** (Βεθσούρων, gen. after συνεγγίσας as in 1 Macc. xi. 4, xiii. 3, &c.) in 1 Macc. iv. 29 is the strategic fort of Beth-zur, commanding the highroad from Jerusalem to Hebron. The *v. l.* σχοίνους (σχοῖνος = thirty stadii) for σταδίους is probably an attempt to correct the error of placing B. so near to Jerusalem, unless the writer (or his source) confused the place with another of the same name in the vicinity of the capital, e. g. Bêt Sâhûr (Grimm), or Kefr-et-Tûr (on the Mount of Olives, cp. Schick in *Palest. Explor. Fund Quarterly*, 1895, p. 37). The σχοίνους-reckoning, which brings up its distance to 150 stadii, would almost harmonize with the statement of Eusebius that Beth-zur lay 160 stadii from Jerusalem, but this reckoning never occurs elsewhere in 2 Maccabees (cp. xii. 9, &c.).

6. **a good angel.** Cp. xv. 23; Tobit v. 21. He came in white apparel, the conventional guise of angels.

14. **induce the king.** Text corrupt. Translation omits ἀναγκάζειν.

16. **to this effect.** For an analogous expression see Acts xxiii. 25.

people. πλῆθος here, as in 1 Macc. viii. 20, &c., is used in its official and political sense of δῆμος (see below, ver. 34).

17. **Absalom.** Possibly the same as the Absalom of 1 Macc. xiii. 11.

21. **the month Dioscurus.** The Διοσκορινθίου of A, &c. (cp. the Διοσκορίδου of V in ver. 28) is either a corruption of Δυστροῦ (read by some MSS. in Tobit ii. 12; Addit. Esth. xiii. 6, as an equivalent for Adar), or some intercalary month between Dystrus and Xanthicus (cp. below, vers. 33 and 38), or, most probably, an error for Διοσκυροῦ (i. e. the third month of the Cretan calendar). When Διὸς Κορινθίου is read, the first month of the Macedonian calendar is perhaps meant (Δῖος = Marcheshvan, the Μαρσουάνης of Josephus, *Antiq.* I. iii. 3, &c.), and the name betrays the king's love of introducing Hellenic novelties into the very calendar of the East.

29. **to return home.** Literally 'to go down' (i. e. from Jerusalem to the country-districts).

34 The Romans also sent them a letter to this effect:
Quintus Memmius and Titus Manlius, ambassadors of the Romans, to the nation of the Jews,
35 greeting. With reference to what Lysias, the king's kinsman, has granted you, we hereby give our
36 consent. As for the points which he decided were to be referred to the king, send some one at once
37 to advise on them, that we may act in your interests. We are off to Antioch; make haste, then, to
38 send some of your number, that we may know what your mind is. Fare ye well. Written in the hundred and forty-eighth year, on the fifteenth day of Xanthicus.

XII. 1–45. *Fresh campaigns of Judas.*

12 1 After these agreements had been concluded, Lysias went away to the king, while the Jews
2 devoted themselves to husbandry. But some of the local governors, Timotheus and Apollonius, the son of Gennaeus, with Hieronymus and Demophon, and also Nicanor, the governor of Cyprus,
3 would not let them alone or leave them at peace. Some inhabitants of Joppa also perpetrated the following crime: they invited the Jewish residents to embark, with their wives and children, in boats which they provided, as if they meant no harm at all but were simply acting according to the public
4 regulations of the town. The Jews agreed to go, since they wished to be peaceable and had no suspicions; but, when they were out at sea, the men of Joppa drowned no fewer than two hundred
5 of them. Now when Judas heard of this brutal cruelty to his fellow-countrymen, he summoned his
6 men, called on God the righteous Judge, and attacked the murderers of his brethren, setting fire to
7 the haven by night, burning the boats, and putting to the sword those who had fled thither. Then, as the town was shut against him, he retired, intending to come back and extirpate the entire
8 community of Joppa. And on learning that the inhabitants of Jamnia meant to carry out the same
9 kind of plot against the local Jews, he attacked them also by night, and set fire to the haven and the fleet, so that the glare of the light was seen at Jerusalem, two hundred and forty furlongs distant.
10 Now when they had drawn off nine furlongs from thence, on their march against Timotheus, they
11 were attacked by no fewer than five thousand Arabs, with five hundred horsemen, and a stiff fight was waged in which, by God's help, Judas and his men won the victory. The vanquished nomads besought Judas to be their friend, promising to give him cattle and to be of service in other ways,
12 and Judas, with the idea that they would really be of use in a number of ways, agreed to keep peace with them; whereupon, after pledging friendship, they departed to their tents.
13 He also fell upon a town which was strongly fortified with earthworks and walls, and inhabited
14 by a mixed population; its name was Caspin. The inhabitants, relying on the strength of their walls and their ample provisions, scoffed insolently at Judas and his men, and, more than that,
15 blasphemed and uttered cries of impiety; but Judas and his men, invoking the great Sovereign of the world, who without rams and instruments of war had laid Jericho low in the days of Joshua,
16 made a furious attack on the walls, and, capturing the town by the will of God, they massacred an unspeakable number, so much so that the adjoining lake, which was two furlongs broad, looked as though it were filled with the deluge of blood.
17 Drawing off seven hundred and fifty furlongs from thence, they made their way to Charax, to the
18 Jews who are styled Tubieni. Timotheus they did not find in that locality; he had gone off without
19 achieving any success, and left behind him in a certain post an extremely strong garrison. But Dositheus and Sosipater, captains of Maccabaeus, sallied out and destroyed the troops left by
20 Timotheus in the stronghold, over ten thousand men. Whereupon Maccabaeus, arranging his men in divisions, set a leader over each division, and hurried after Timotheus, who had with him

34. **Titus Manlius.** In 163 B.C., two years later than the date of this letter, a certain Manius Sergius was one of the envoys to Antiochus Epiphanes (Polybius, xxxi. 9. 6), and in 164 B.C. T. Manlius Torquatus went on a mission to Egypt (Livy, xliii. 11), but there is no record of any Roman envoys to Syria bearing the names of Q. Memmius and T. Manius (or Manlius). Niese (72 f.), in his desire to identify one of them, emends the reading of V (Μανιος Ερνιος) into Μάνιος Σέργιος, and takes Τίτος as the corruption of a name ending in -tius. But this is too heavy a price to pay for vindicating the historicity of the passage. For πρεσβύτης (*senex*) = πρεσβευτής (*legatus*) see 1 Macc. xiv. 22, xv. 17, Philemon 9.

XII. 6. **thither.** i.e. to the coast, where refugees from the interior were trying to escape by sea.

13. **earthworks.** For γεφυροῦν (om. V, Syr., &c.) read γεφύραις (55, Vg. = *firmam pontibus*) with Grimm and Kamphausen, in sense of 'embankments' or 'earthworks'. In 1 Macc. v. 26–36 Judas, during his raid into Gilead, captures Casphor among other towns, and subsequently (46 f.) storms Ephron, an 'extremely strong' town. When 'Gephyrun' is retained here, it may be identified with this Ephron, as the 'Gephyrus' of Polyb. v. 70. 12, or with Heshbon, which had a large reservoir adjacent (ver. 16). Otherwise the town's name, Caspin (or Caspis), must be connected with Casphor, i.e. the modern el-Muzeirit, 'the great station on the Hajj road' (so G. A. Smith, *Encycl. Biblica*, i. 707–8, who pronounces Furrer's identification of Casphon with Chisfin as 'philologically improbable').

20. **over each division.** Reading τούς, Grimm's conjecture for the MSS. αὐτούς.

21 a hundred and twenty thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry. Now as soon as
Timotheus heard of the onset of Judas, he sent forward the women and children and also the
baggage into a place called Carnaim, which was hard to besiege and difficult of access owing to its
22 narrow approaches on all sides. But when the first division of Judas appeared in sight, panic seized
the enemy, who were terrified by the manifestation of Him who beholdeth all things; they took
to flight in all directions, so that many got hurt by their own men and wounded by the points of
23 one another's swords, while Judas kept up a hot pursuit, putting the wicked wretches to the sword,
24 and destroying as many as thirty thousand men. Timotheus himself fell into the hands of Dositheus
and Sosipater, whom he adjured with plenty of specious guile to spare him and let him go, on the
ground that he had the parents of many and the brothers of some in his power, and that (if he were
25 not released) it would be the worse for them. So, to save their brethren, they let him go, after he
26 had solemnly pledged himself with many an oath to restore them unhurt. Then Judas attacked
27 Carnaim and the temple of Atergatis, massacring twenty-five thousand persons, and after this rout
and slaughter he made war against Ephron, a strong city, where Lysias had a residence and where
the inhabitants came from all nationalities. Stalwart young men drawn up in front of the
28 walls offered a resolute defence, and the place held ample stores of military engines and darts, but
the Jews invoked the Sovereign who crusheth forcibly the strength of his enemies, and got the city
29 into their hands, destroying as many as twenty-five thousand of the inhabitants. Setting out from
thence they marched in haste against Scythopolis, which is six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem,
30 but since the local Jews testified to the goodwill shown them by the Scythopolitans and to their
31 humane conduct during periods of misfortune, they simply thanked them and enjoined them to
continue well-disposed to their race in future. Then they marched up to Jerusalem, as the feast
of weeks was close at hand.

32, 33 After the feast called Pentecost they hurried against Gorgias, the governor of **Jamnia**, who came
34 out to meet them with three thousand foot soldiers and four hundred cavalry. And when they
35 joined battle, it came to pass that a few of the Jews fell. But a man Dositheus, belonging to the
Tubieni, who was a powerful horseman, caught hold of Gorgias and, gripping his mantle, dragged
him off by main force, meaning to capture the accursed wretch alive. A Thracian horseman bore
36 down on him, however, and disabled his arm, so that Gorgias managed to escape to Marisa. And
as Esdris and his men were now exhausted by the long fight, Judas called upon the Lord to
37 show he was their ally and leader in the fight; then, raising the war-cry and songs of praise in the
language of the fathers, he made an unexpected rush against the troops of Gorgias and routed them.
38 And Judas took his army to the town of Adullam, where, as the seventh day was coming on, they
39 purified themselves according to custom and kept the sabbath. Next day, when the troops of Judas
went—as it was high time they did—to pick up the corpses of the slain, in order to bring them
40 home to lie with their kinsfolk in their fathers' sepulchres, they discovered under the shirts of every
one of the dead men amulets of the idols of Jamnia—a practice forbidden the Jews by law. All saw
41 at once that this was why they had perished, and, blessing the (dealings) of the Lord, the just Judge
42 who revealeth what is secret, all betook themselves to supplication, beseeching that the sin committed might be wholly blotted out; and the noble-hearted Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, after what they had seen with their own eyes as the result of sin committed by those

21. **Carnaim.** The Carnaim of 1 Macc. v. 26, 43, where Derkĕto, the fish-goddess (cp. W. R. Smith's *Religion of Semites*[2], pp. 171 f.; Cheyne in *Encycl. Biblica*, i. 379), was worshipped as Atargatis (see below, ver. 26).

26. **Then**, &c. Resuming the narrative of ver. 23, after the interlude of vv. 24–25.

29. **Scythopolis**, the Bethshan of 1 Macc. v. 52, is so named in Judith iii. 10 and Polybius v. 70. 4 (cp. Rix, *Tent and Testament*, pp. 152 f.). Though a Hellenistic town under the Syrian power, it was not bitterly anti-Semitic at this period.

32. **Jamnia.** The change (Grotius) of Ἰδουμαίας into Ἰαμνείας brings the narrative more into line with ver. 40, 1 Macc. v. 58–9, and Josephus, *Ant.* XII. viii. 6 (where Gorgias is called Ἰαμνείας στρατηγός).

35. **Dositheus.** Evidently a different man from the Dositheus of vv. 19 and 24. For τοῦ Βακήνορος read (with 19, 62, 64, 93; so Niese) τῶν Τουβιηνῶν (Τωβιηνῶν). Dositheus belonged to the Tubieni Jews of ver. 17.

36. **Esdris.** The Γοργίαν of A 44, 64, &c., is more probably a correction of Ἐσδρίν, due to the feeling that Esdris (for the name cp. 1 Chron. xxvii. 26) has not hitherto been mentioned, than of Ἔσδραν (i. e. priests called after Ezra, Ewald). The epitomist, with characteristic carelessness, has forgotten to transcribe from Jason any previous allusion to this Jewish captain; hence the abruptness of his introduction. The earlier part of the engagement seems to have been costly and doubtful (for the reason assigned in ver. 40), but Judas as usual, with divine aid, proves successful in the end.

38. **the town of Adullam.** Not far from Marisa (the Mareshah of 1 Macc. v. 66); cp. Micah i. 15; 2 Chron. xi. 7; Neh. xi. 30.

purified themselves. i. e. from the stains of recent contact with pagans as well as of bloodshed.

40. **a practice forbidden.** Deut. vii. 26, &c. These ἱερώματα were small portable idols, worn as amulets (see W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites*[2], pp. 208–9, and L. Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberwesen*, pp. 86–7).

43 who had fallen. He then collected from them, man by man, the sum of two thousand drachmas of silver, which he forwarded to Jerusalem for a sin-offering. In this he acted quite rightly and
44 properly, bearing in mind the resurrection—for if he had not expected the fallen to rise again, it
45 would have been superfluous and silly to pray for the dead—and having regard to the splendour of the gracious reward which is reserved for those who have fallen asleep in godliness—a holy and pious consideration! Hence he made propitiation for the dead, that they might be released from their sin.

XIII. 1–26. *Lysias and Eupator forced to make terms with Jews.*

13 1 In the hundred and forty-ninth year tidings were brought to Judas and his men that Antiochus
2 Eupator was marching with large troops against Judaea, accompanied by Lysias his guardian and chancellor, each commanding a Greek force consisting of a hundred and ten thousand foot-soldiers, five thousand three hundred cavalry, twenty-two elephants, and three hundred chariots armed with
3 scythes. Menelaus also attached himself to them and, making loud pretences of patriotism, abetted Antiochus—not that he cared for the safety of the fatherland, but because he thought he would
4 be appointed to office. But the King of kings stirred the anger of Antiochus against the scoundrel, and, learning from Lysias that he was responsible for all the troubles, he ordered him to
5 be taken to Beroea and put to death there in the local fashion. For at Beroea there is a tower, fifty cubits high, filled with (hot) ashes, and a revolving contrivance which drops the victim sheer into the
6 ashes. To this they **bring** any one who is guilty of sacrilege or other heinous crimes, and they all
7 **push** him on, to meet his doom. By such a fate it befell that Menelaus, the law-breaker, died,
8 not even getting a grave in earth. And this was perfectly just. Many a sin had he committed against the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy; by ashes, then, he got his death.
9 Now the king was coming in hot indignation to inflict on the Jews the very sorest of the sufferings
10 that had befallen them in his father's time. But when Judas heard this, he bade the people call day and night on the Lord, that he would succour them, now if ever, as they were on the point of losing
11 the Law, their country, and the holy temple, and that he would not allow the people, after their brief
12 and recent revival, to fall into the hands of profane pagans. Now when they had all done so with one accord, and implored the merciful Lord for three days without ceasing, weeping and fasting and
13 lying prostrate, Judas addressed them and ordered them to get ready. After consulting privately with the elders, he determined that, before the king could throw his army into Judaea and master
14 the city, they would march out and decide the issue by the help of God. So, committing the outcome of it to the Creator of the world, and charging his men to fight stoutly, even to death, for
15 laws, temple, city, country, and polity, he pitched his camp near Modin, and, giving his troops the watchword of VICTORY IS GOD'S, he and a picked body of his bravest young men made an onset by night upon the royal tent and slew as many as two thousand men within the camp; they also
16 **stabbed** the chief elephant and his mahout, and finally, after filling the camp with panic and
17 confusion, got away triumphantly, just as the day began to dawn. This was due to the help of God's protection.
18, 19 After this taste of the Jews' prowess the king used stratagem in attacking their positions. Thus he moved upon Beth-sura, a strong fortress of the Jews, was routed, dashed at it (again), was worsted.
20, 21 Judas got the necessaries of life conveyed to those inside. But Rhodocus, a Jewish soldier, betrayed the secrets of the Jews to the enemy; search was made for him, he was arrested and imprisoned.
22 Again the king made overtures to the residents in Beth-sura, pledged his right hand, took theirs,

43. **man by man.** κατ' ἀνδρολογεῖον (Swete) or κατ' ἀνδραλογίαν (V, 74, Fritzsche) is a corruption of κατ' ἄνδρα λογίαν (44, 71, cp. Deissmann's *Bible-Studies*, pp. 219–20) or λογείαν. The following κατασκευάσματα is to be omitted (with 52, 55, 74, 106, 243) as a gloss. The sacrifice for the dead is recounted in such a way as to suggest that the writer anticipated, not unnaturally, objections to it on the score of novelty. It is, from the religious standpoint, one of the remarkable contributions made by this book to our knowledge of contemporary Judaism.

XIII. 2. **elephants.** The elephants and their mahouts (ver. 15) were imported by the Seleucid monarchs from India. The 'futile device' of the scythed chariot (ἅρμα δρεπανηφόρον, *currus falceatus*) was used as late as the battle of Magnesia (cp. Livy xxxvii. 40–1), 'but it may be questioned whether after the experience of that day they were used again' (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 290).

5. Nothing otherwise is known of this local custom at Beroea (the modern Aleppo), 'but suffocation in a pit full of ashes was a recognized Persian punishment, and one frequently inflicted upon offenders of a high class' (Rawlinson). See Ovid's *Ibis*, 317–18.

6. **they bring.** Reading ἄραντες (Niese) for the unintelligible ἅπαντες of the MSS., and προωθοῦσιν below ('push on') for the προσωθοῦσιν of the MSS. With 7–8 cp. iv. 26, ix. 5–6, Wisd. xvi. 1.

15. **stabbed.** Reading συνεκέντησε (cp. xii. 23), Grimm's ingenious correction of the meaningless συνέθηκεν of the MSS.

17. **just as . . . dawn. This.** Omitting (with V) the δέ after ὑποφαινούσης and adding (with V, so Niese) δέ after τοῦτο. Judas still believed in night-attacks (viii. 7).

21. Rhodocus apparently was more leniently treated than the earlier traitors (x. 22).

22. **pledged his right hand, took theirs,** &c. See xii. 12. The writer, or the source which he is hurriedly recapitu-

23 departed, attacked the forces of Judas, was defeated, heard that Philip who had been left as chancellor in Antioch had become desperate, was confounded by the news, proposed peace to the Jews, submitted with an oath to all their equitable conditions, came to terms with them and offered 24 sacrifice, honoured the sanctuary and the sacred Place, behaved humanely, took gracious farewell 25 of Maccabaeus, left Hegemonides in command from Ptolemais to **Gerar**, went to Ptolemais. The men of Ptolemais felt sore over the treaty; they were excessively indignant with the Jews and 26 wanted to annul the articles of the agreement. Lysias advanced to the bêma, defended it as well as possible, convinced them, pacified and won them over, departed to Antioch. Such was the course of the king's inroad and retreat.

XIV. 1–46. *Intrigues and threats of Nicanor.*

14 1 Now after the space of three years Judas and his men learned that Demetrius the son of Seleucus 2 had sailed into the haven of Tripolis with a powerful army and fleet, and had seized the country, 3 after making away with Antiochus and Lysias his guardian. And Alcimus, a former high-priest, who had voluntarily polluted himself in days when there was no trafficking (with the Gentiles), and who therefore judged he was no longer safe and that he was now debarred entirely from the holy 4 altar, came to king Demetrius in the hundred and fifty-first year with the present of a golden crown and palm, and, in addition to these customary gifts, some of the olive-branches from the temple. 5 The first day he said nothing. But when he did get a chance of furthering his infatuated enterprise, on being summoned to confer with Demetrius and being asked about the temper and aims of the 6 Jews, he replied: It is the Jews called Hasidaeans, led by Judas Maccabaeus, who are keeping up the 7 feud and stirring sedition; they will not let the kingdom settle down in peace. Wherefore, deprived of 8 my ancestral glory—I mean, the high-priesthood—I have now come hither, primarily from a sincere concern for the king's interests, and secondly from anxiety on behalf of my own fellow-citizens; for 9 the recklessness of the aforesaid party has involved our nation in no small misfortune. Acquaint thyself, O king, with the details of this business, and take measures on behalf of our country and our 10 sorely tried nation, according to the gracious kindness which thou showest to all. For as long as 11 Judas is alive, it is impossible for the State to be at peace. When he said this, the rest of the king's Friends, who cherished ill will against Judas, hastened to inflame Demetrius still further against him, 12 and, after instantly summoning Nicanor, formerly master of the elephants, and appointing him 13 governor of Judaea, he dispatched him with written instructions to make away with Judas and to 14 scatter his troops and to set up Alcimus as high-priest of the great temple. Now all the heathen throughout Judaea, whom Judas had driven to flight, flocked to join Nicanor, anticipating that the 15 misfortunes and calamities of the Jews would mean gain to them. But when the Jews heard of Nicanor's inroad and the onset of the heathen, they sprinkled earth upon their heads and solemnly invoked Him who had established his own people to all eternity and who ever upholds those who 16 are his Portion with visible aid. Then, by order of their leader, they at once started out and joined 17 battle with them at a village called Lessau. Now Simon, the brother of Judas, had already encountered Nicanor and, thrown suddenly into consternation by the foe, had sustained a temporary 18 check. Nevertheless, Nicanor shrank from deciding the issue at the sword's point, as he had heard of the manliness and the courage shown by the troops of Judas in fighting for their country. 19 He therefore sent Posidonius and Theodotus and Mattathias to give and receive pledges of friend- 20 ship. After full consideration, when the proposals were laid by the general before the troops, and 21 it appeared they were all of one mind, the compact was agreed to, and a day was fixed for the two

lating, glosses over the fact that the fortress was starved into surrender (1 Macc. vi. 49–50), and that Judas was routed (cp. Josephus, *Ant.* XII. ix. 5).

23. Cp. v. 22, ix. 29, where a different tradition emerges. It was really Lysias, not the king, who was upset by the news of Philip's move (cp. 1 Macc. vi. 55 f.).

24. **Hegemonides.** If ἡγεμονίδην is equivalent to ἡγεμόνα, the story is guilty of another historical error in making Lysias appoint Judas as governor. But the word is more probably a proper name, formed on the analogy of Ἡγεμόνιος, especially as στρατηγόν would otherwise be superfluous.

Gerar. For Γερρηνῶν (V), = 'the inhabitants of Gerrha', read Γεραρηνῶν (Γεραρήρων 55) = Gerar, SE. of Gaza (so Ewald), or Garar (Syr.), i. e. Gezer (Gazara) near Lydda (1 Macc. xv. 28, 35). The phrase means 'from Ptolemais on the north to G. on the south'. Gerrha (Gerra), between Rhinocura and Pelusium, belonged at this time to Egypt. Hence, unless the writer is held guilty of a serious error, the other reading is preferable.

XIV. 3. **voluntarily polluted himself,** &c. The Hellenistic proclivities of Alcimus were aggravated, to the writer's mind, by their gratuitousness; he had not been forced to adopt Syro-Greek customs, and he had not the excuse of any syncretistic current during his high-priesthood (cp. ver. 38).

14. **whom Judas had driven to flight.** A solecism (πεφυγαδευκότες τὸν Ἰούδαν) apparently based on the analogous uses of φεύγειν τινά = 'to fly from one' (e. g. Herod. v. 62).

16. **Lessau.** The *v. l.* Δεεσαού is connected by Ewald with the Adasa of 1 Macc. vii. 40, 45; otherwise neither Lessau nor Dessau can be identified.

17. **a temporary check.** Reading βραχέως (V) instead of βραδέως (A, 19, 44, 62, &c.).

22 leaders to meet by themselves. A litter was carried forward from each army; chairs of state were
placed; Judas stationed armed men ready in suitable positions, lest the enemy should spring any
23 treacherous attack; they carried through the conference duly. Nicanor stayed a while in Jerusalem
24 and did nothing amiss; he even disbanded the hordes who had flocked to join his standard;
25 he kept Judas always beside him; he had become heartily attached to the man, urged him to
marry and beget children. He did marry, settled down, and enjoyed life.
26 But when Alcimus saw their mutual goodwill, he got hold of the treaty which had been concluded
and went to Demetrius, alleging that Nicanor was ill affected toward the State, since he had
27 appointed that conspirator Judas to be his successor. At this the king fell into a passion
and, exasperated by the calumnies of the scoundrel, wrote to Nicanor that he was displeased
at the compact, and ordered him to send Maccabaeus instantly as a prisoner to Antioch.
28 Nicanor was confounded by this news and sadly vexed at the thought of annulling the terms
29 arranged, as the man had done no wrong. However, as the king could not be gainsaid, he bided
30 his time to carry out the business by a stratagem. But Maccabaeus noticed that Nicanor was
treating him with less friendliness and behaving more rudely than was his wont; so, reckoning this
harshness was of a sinister character, he gathered a considerable number of his men and hid from
31 Nicanor. The latter, conscious that he had been pluckily outwitted by Judas, went to the great and
holy temple, while the priests were offering the usual sacrifices, and commanded them to deliver up
32, 33 the man. And when they swore they did not know where the man was whom he sought, he
stretched forth his right hand toward the sanctuary, and swore this oath: Unless you hand over
Judas as my prisoner, I will raze this shrine of God to the ground, and break down the altar, and
34 erect on this spot a temple of Dionysus for all to see. With these words he went away. But the
priests stretched forth their hands to heaven, invoking Him who ever fighteth for our nation, thus:
35 O Lord, who hast no need of aught, as it hath pleased thee to have among us a sanctuary where thou
36 dwellest, so now, O holy Lord, from whom is all hallowing, keep free from defilement for evermore
this house so lately cleansed, and shut every impious mouth.
37 Now information was laid before Nicanor against a Jerusalemite elder called Razis, a patriot who
was very highly esteemed, and addressed as Father of the Jews on account of his benevolence. For
38 in bygone days, when there was no trafficking (with the Gentiles), he had been accused of Judaism,
39 and had most resolutely risked body and life for Judaism. So Nicanor, with the intention of
40 showing his hostility to the Jews, sent over five hundred soldiers to arrest him. For he meant to
41 strike a blow at the Jews by this arrest. But when the troops were on the point of capturing the
tower, forcing the outer door of the courtyard and calling for fire to set light to the doors, he fell
42 upon his sword, seeing he was surrounded on every side; he preferred to die a noble death rather
43 than fall into the scoundrels' hands and suffer outrages unworthy of his noble character. Owing to
the hurry of the struggle, however, he missed his stroke, and, as a crowd of men was now pouring
through the door, he pluckily ran up to the wall and threw himself bravely down among the crowds.
44, 45 They drew back at once, so that he fell between them on the open street. Still alive, however, he
got up in a fury of anger and ran, with blood pouring from him, sore wounded as he was, right
46 through the crowds; then, standing on a steep rock, his blood now drained from him, he tore out
his bowels, taking both his hands to them, and flung them at the crowds. So he died, calling on
Him who is lord of life and spirit to restore them to him again.

XV. 1–36. *Attack, defeat, and death of Nicanor.*

15 1 Now, learning that Judas and his men were in the region of Samaria, Nicanor determined to
2 attack them without any risk upon the day of rest. And when the Jews who were forced to accom-
pany him said, Destroy them not so savagely and barbarously, but show honour to the day which
3 He who beholdeth all things hath hallowed in his holiness, the thrice-accursed wretch asked them
4 if there was a Sovereign in heaven who had ordered the observance of the sabbath day. And when
they declared, There is the living Lord, himself a Sovereign in heaven, who bade us observe the
5 seventh day, he replied, I too am a sovereign on earth, and my orders are to take arms and execute
the king's business. Nevertheless he did not succeed in executing his shocking purpose.
6 Now Nicanor, in the height of his overweening pride, had determined to erect a public trophy of
7 victory over Judas and his men; but Maccabaeus still ceased not to trust with absolute confidence

24. **the hordes**, i.e. the supporters mentioned in ver. 14.
36. **and shut every impious mouth.** So 19, 62, *φράξον δὲ πᾶν στόμα ἄνομον* (*φράξεις . . . ἄδικον*, 64, 93 *a*), and 𝔖.
42. A higher motive for suicide than in the case of Ptolemy Macron (x. 13).

XV. 5. **he did not succeed, &c.** The writer gives no account of what transpired. The purpose of the excerpt is simply to exalt, in ultra-Pharisaic and unhistorical fashion (cp. 1 Macc. ii. 41), the rigid sabbatarianism of the Maccabaean army.

8 that he would obtain help from the Lord, and exhorted his company not to dread the onset of the
heathen, but to keep in mind all the help they had formerly received from heaven and to expect at
9 the present hour the victory which would be theirs from the Almighty; and comforting them out
of the law and the prophets, as well as recalling the struggles they had endured, he made them
10 more eager (for the fray). Then, after rousing their spirits, he issued his orders, and at the same time
11 pointed out the heathen's perfidy and breach of their oaths. He armed each man, not so much with
confidence in shields and spears as with the heartening which comes from apt words, and also
12 cheered them all by recounting a reliable dream, a **sort of vision.** This was what he had seen: Onias,
the former high priest, a good and great man, of stately bearing yet gracious in manner, well-spoken
and trained from childhood in all points of virtue—Onias with outstretched hands invoking blessings
13 on the whole body of the Jews; then another man in the same attitude, conspicuous by his grey
14 hairs and splendour, and invested with marvellous, majestic dignity. This, Onias explained to him,
is the lover of the brethren, who prayeth fervently for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah the
15 prophet of God. And Jeremiah held out his right hand to present Judas with a golden sword, and
16 as he gave it he addressed him thus: Take this holy sword as a gift from God, and with it thou
shalt crush the foe.

17 So, encouraged by these truly heroic words of Judas, which had the power of rousing young souls
to valour and stirring them to manliness, they determined not to pitch camp but manfully to set
upon the foe and, by engaging them right valiantly hand to hand, to decide the issue, since the city
18 and the sanctuary and the temple were in danger. For their anxiety about wives and children, as
well as about brethren and kinsfolk, weighed less with them than their supreme and chief anxiety
19 about the consecrated sanctuary. Whereas those left behind in the city were uneasy about the
20 encounter in the open country, and suffered no slight anguish. All were now waiting for the critical
moment, the enemy had now **united their forces** and drawn up their line of battle, the elephants
21 were arranged for easy action, and the cavalry stationed on the wings, when Maccabaeus, surveying
the hordes in front of him, with their varied weapons and fierce elephants, held up his hands to
heaven and called upon the Lord, the worker of wonders, for he knew that victory is not decided
22 by weapons but won by the Lord for such as He judgeth to deserve it. And his prayer was in these
terms: Thou, Sovereign Lord, didst send thine angel in the days of Hezekiah king of Judaea, and
23 he slew as many as a hundred and eighty-five thousand of Sennacherib's host; so now, O heavenly
24 Sovereign, send a good angel before us to scare and terrify the foe; by the great strength of thine
25 arm may those who have blasphemously assailed thy holy sanctuary be utterly dismayed. And as
26 he ended with these words, Nicanor and his men advanced with trumpets and paeans. But Judas
27 and his men joined battle with the enemy, calling upon God and praying; and so fighting with their
hands, while they prayed to God with their hearts, they slew no fewer than thirty-five thousand men,
28 mightily cheered by the manifest help of God. The battle over, they were returning with joy, when
29 they recognized Nicanor lying dead in full armour; a shout of excitement arose, they blessed the
30 Sovereign Lord in the language of their fathers, and he who was ever in body and soul the protagonist
of his fellow-citizens, he who retained through life his youthful patriotism, ordered Nicanor's head
31 and arm to be cut off and carried to Jerusalem. When he arrived there, and had called his country-
32 men together and set the priests before the altar, he sent for the garrison of the citadel, showed them
the vile Nicanor's head and the impious creature's hand which he had stretched out vauntingly
33 against the holy house of the Almighty; then, cutting out the impious Nicanor's tongue, he said he
would throw it piecemeal to the birds and hang up the rewards of his insensate folly opposite the
34 sanctuary. And they all lifted to heaven their cry of blessing to the Lord who had manifested
35 himself, saying, Blessed be He who hath preserved his own Place undefiled. And he hung Nicanor's
36 head from the citadel, a clear and conspicuous token to all of the Lord's help. And all decided, by
public decree, never to let this day pass uncelebrated, but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the
twelfth month—called Adar in Syriac—the day before the day of Mordecai.

11. **a sort of vision.** Reading *ὕπαρ τι* for *ὑπέρ τι*. This intercessory function of the saints is denied in Slav. En. liii. 1.

20. **united their forces.** Reading *συμμιξάντων* (V) for *προσμιξάντων* (A).

21. **and fierce elephants.** Omitting, with V, *ἐπὶ μέρος εὔκαιρον*.

24. **sanctuary.** Reading *ναόν* (V) for *λαόν* (A). Cp. xiv. 33.

33. **the rewards of his insensate folly.** i.e. the mutilated head and hand (cp. 1 Macc. vii. 47), which were the miserable recompense of his insensate attack on the Jews. The citadel was not in the hands of the Jews at this period, however, but held by a Syrian garrison.

34. **to heaven . . . to the Lord.** Cp. 1 Macc. iv. 24, 55.

35. Cp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, Judith xiv. 1. For 'head' (as a rendering of *προτομήν*) R.V. prefers 'head and shoulder' (cp. ver. 30).

XV. 37–39. *Epilogue of the epitomist.*

37 Such was the history of Nicanor; and as the city was held from that period by the Hebrews,
38 I will make this the end of my story. If it has been well told, if it has been skilfully arranged, such
39 was my desire; but if it is poor and indifferent, that was all I could manage. For just as it is bad to drink wine alone or again to drink water alone, whereas wine mixed with water proves at once wholesome and delightful, so the skill with which a book is composed is a delight to the taste of readers.

And here shall be the end.

37. **the city was held from that period.** A pious exaggeration; the citadel was not captured by the Jews till 142–141 B.C., and Antiochus Sidetes recaptured the city in 133 B.C.

39. This verse carries on the thought of the first part of the preceding verse; it has nothing to do with the second part. The writer expresses himself obscurely, although the obscurity may be due to some corruption of the text, but it is clear that he is not comparing graphic and prosaic passages in his narrative to wine and water, as if defending the blend of the two. He did his best, he pleads, to be pointed. For good style, blended with sound matter, adds to the reader's profit and pleasure; facts alone, and style alone, are alike inferior to this combination of history and literature.

THE THIRD BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Contents and Main Conclusions.

The scene of *3 Maccabees* is placed in the reign of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) at the time of the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.). It narrates an attempt made by the king to enter the Temple at Jerusalem, and his miraculous repulse. In consequence he determines to wreak his vengeance on the Jews of Alexandria, and of Egypt as a whole, first by interfering with their religion, and altering their political status, and afterwards by letting loose drunken elephants to trample them to death in the Hippodrome of Alexandria. After his purpose has been several times providentially delayed, it is finally foiled by a vision of angels which turns the elephants upon the persecutors. The king repents and becomes the patron of the Jews, who return in safety and rejoicing to their homes. The story as it stands is full of impossibilities and bombastic exaggerations, but each one of the incidents taken singly may well rest on some basis of fact, though they certainly did not all take place in the same reign. The general accuracy of the technical and official language of the book is confirmed by a comparison with Ptolemaic Papyri, and the book as a whole has striking points of contact with *2 Maccabees* and the *Letter of Aristeas*. It would seem to have been written in Alexandria at about the same time as these books, not far from 100 B.C., a date which is confirmed by indications drawn from Papyri. The writer apparently used the lost memoirs of the reign of Philopator, written by Ptolemy Megalopolitanus shortly after his death. He seems to have combined a narrative of Philopator's attempt to enter the Temple with a later story, preserved in another form by Josephus, of a persecution of Egyptian Jews by Physcon.

§ 2. Title.

Maccabees is really a misnomer, unless with Fritzsche we consider the book to be part of a prolegomena to a complete history of the Maccabees. Πτολεμαικά (see below, § 9) would be more accurate. Syncellus (I. 516) cites the *Letter of Aristeas* as πτολεμαικά. It is probable that the present title is not original. It may easily have arisen from its collocation with the other books of Maccabees in the MSS.

§ 3. MSS. and Versions.

The book is found in A and V (=Holmes and Parsons 23), and in many cursives; see Fritzsche, *Libr. Apocr. Graece*, p. xx, and Swete, *Intr. to the O.T. in Greek*, pp. 148 ff.; 19, 62, 64, 93 agree continually and give a Lucianic Text. It is not in the Vulgate, but is found in the Syriac Peshitta, the text of which represents a free and expanded rendering, sometimes agreeing with the Lucianic Text. There is also an Armenian version, which is probably to be dated A.D. 400–600, in the golden age of Armenian literature. It is a loose, but very literary, translation in the style of the fifth-century historian, Faustus of Byzant, and is found in most MSS. of the Armenian Bible.[1]

The text is generally well preserved and presents as a whole no serious problems. The variations of reading seldom affect the sense, and usually arise from the desire to substitute for the forced phraseology of the writer a simpler and more familiar expression. Even in cases where the MSS. seem to be corrupt, the general meaning is clear, and the confusion always appears to be due to the difficulties raised by the verbose and obscure style of the book. Emendation is very uncertain, as the ordinary canons of language and grammar can hardly be applied. There are interesting examples of probable conflation, e.g. in ii. 6, 24, v. 43.

[1] For these facts, and for the readings from the Armenian version in the critical notes, I am indebted to the ready help of Mr. F. C. Conybeare.

§ 4. Date and Origin.

The date must be determined by internal considerations. There is no early attestation to the existence of the book (see below, § 9), but it cannot have been written after the destruction of the temple. It clearly belongs to the Jewish apologetic literature which sprang into being in the second century B.C. and continued to be popular for some time. It has points of contact with *Esther* and *Judith* on the one hand, though unlike them it has no hero, and with *Sirach*, *Wisdom*, and *4 Maccabees* on the other. But the connexion is specially close with *2 Maccabees* and the *Letter of Aristeas*.

(*a*) *Relation to 2 Maccabees.* (*a*) Many of the leading ideas and incidents are the same:—The repulse of Heliodorus (2 Macc. iii. 22–31), and the punishment of Antiochus (ix. 4 ff., cf. 3 Macc. ii. 21–4); miraculous visions (iii. 25, x. 29, xi. 8; cf. 3 Macc. vi. 18); stress on the sanctity of the temple and prayers for its defence (iii. 15–22, viii. 2–4, xiv. 34–6; cf. 3 Macc. i. 11 ff., ii. 1 ff.); attacks on religion (vi. 9, &c.; cf. 3 Macc. ii. 27 ff., iii. 21); attempts to enforce an alien citizenship (iv. 9; cf. 3 Macc. ib.); stress laid on memorial feasts (x. 6, xv. 36; cf. 3 Macc. vi. 30–6. An aged and pious Eleazar appears in both books (vi. 18; cf. 3 Macc. vi. 1); official letters are included (ix. 18 ff., xi. 16 ff.; cf. 3 Macc. iii. 12 ff., vii. 1 ff.); the picture of the general horror in iii. 15 ff. is like that in 3 Macc. i. 16 ff., iv. 3–8.

(*β*) There is a strong resemblance in style and language. Both books present the same type of literary, or pseudo-classical, Greek. Crasis of the definite article, and various classical syntactical forms, are common to the two books and found nowhere else in the LXX[1]; both show the same fondness for connecting sentences with *δέ*. The following words found in both occur nowhere else in the LXX:—

[2] *διακομίζω* i. 2; iv. 5, ix. 29 in passive.
δοριάλωτος i. 5; v. 11.
ἀντίπαλοι i. 5; xiv. 17.
εὐταξία i. 10; iv. 37.
παραναγιγνώσκω i. 12; viii. 23.
φρυάσσομαι ii. 2; vii. 34 [cf. Acts iv. 25].
κραδαίνω ii. 21; xi. 8.
ἀντιλήμψεως τεύξασθαι ii. 33; xv. 7 [the same peculiar form of the Aorist; see Thackeray, *o. c.*, p. 287].
ἀλιτήριοι iii. 16; xii. 23, xiii. 4, xiv. 42.
ὑψαυχενῶν iii. 19; xv. 6.
ὑφορώμενος iii. 23; vii. 24.
πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνειν iv. 4; viii. 17.
ὁμοεθνής iv. 12, vii. 14; iv. 2.
μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας iv. 14; vii. 20.
ἐλεφαντάρχης v. 4, &c.; xiv. 12.
μεγαλομερῶς vi. 33 [adj. v. 8]; iv. 22, 49.
προσημαίνω v. 13, 47; iv. 23.
ἀθέμιτος v. 20; vi. 5, vii. 1, x. 34.
ὁ ἐπιφανὴς Κύριος v. 35; xv. 34.
ἀλογιστία v. 42; xiv. 8.
ἰσόπεδος v. 43; viii. 3, ix. 14.
ἄτρωτος v. 47; viii. 36, x. 30 [in classical sense = unwounded].
καταστέλλω vi. 1; iv. 31.
τερατοποιός [of God] vi. 32; xv. 21.
οἰωνόβρωτος vi. 34; ix. 15.

The following words are found in both books, and are rare otherwise:—

κατάκλειστος i. 18; iii. 19 [in both cases with *παρθένοι*]; Wisd. xviii. 4.
ἀγερωχία, -ος i. 25, ii. 3; ix. 7; Wisd. ii. 9.
ἀπροσδεής [of God] ii. 9; xiv. 35; 1 Macc. xii. 9 [not of God].
ἐπόπτης [of God] ii. 21; iii. 39, vii. 35; Ad. Esth. v. 1.
ἀνίκητος iv. 21; xi. 13; 4 Macc. *ter*.
ἀπεχθής, -ως iii. 4, v. 3; v. 23; Wisd. xix. 15.
ἀπήμαντος vi. 6; xii. 25; Wisd. vii. 22.
ἀδιαλείπτως vi. 33; iii. 26, &c.; 1 Macc. xii. 11.
ξενίζων [as adj.] vii. 3; ix. 6; Esther iii. 13.
εὐσταθεῖν vii. 4; xii. 2, xiv. 25; Jer. xxx. 9.
ἄδεια vii. 12; xi. 30; Wisd. xii. 11.
καθιδρεύειν vii. 20; iv. 12; Ep. Jer. 17.
προειρημένος five times in 3 Macc.; six times in 2 Macc.; 1 Esdras vi. 32 [A].

The similarity of phrase in the following cases is noticeable:—

χειρονομία i. 5; *ἐν χειρῶν νομαῖς* v. 14.
κισσόφυλλον ii. 29; *κισσοί* vi. 7 and reference to Dionysiac worship.
χείριστος μόρος iii. 1; *οἴκτιστος μόρος* ix. 28.
ἀποτυμπανίζω iii. 27; *τύμπανον* vi. 19, 28.
πασῆς δυνάμεως δυναστεύων v. 7 [cf. *δυνάστης* v. 51]; *πασῆς ἐξουσίας δυνάστης* iii. 24 [all of God].
βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων v. 35; *β. βασιλέων* xiii. 4 [both of God].
'Scythian' cruelty vii. 5; iv. 47.

Add also the idea of the *ἐπιφάνεια* of God, and the use of *τόπος* for the temple, which are frequent in both books.

Though these resemblances are sufficiently striking, there are differences which prevent our ascribing the books to the same author. The style of 2 Maccabees is much better than that of 3 Maccabees; it is less involved and exaggerated, and more akin to the style of Polybius. Nor

[1] See Thackeray, *Gr. O.T. in Greek*, pp. 138, 248, 279.
[2] In each verse the reference to 3 Macc. is given first.

is it easy to establish a direct literary dependence on either side.[1] The impression left is that both books belong to the same school of thought, and probably to the same period.

(*b*) *Relation to the Letter of Aristeas.* (*a*) There is a general similarity in the idea and purpose of the books. Both aim at glorifying the Jew in his own eyes and in the eyes of the Greek world; stress is laid on the importance of his position, and his fidelity to the Ptolemies (*Aristeas*, 36, &c.).[2] A Ptolemy is the central figure in each book, and he is represented as acknowledging the protection of the God of the Jews (16, 19, 37; cf. 3 Macc. iii. 21, v. 31, vi. 24 ff., vii. 6 ff.). Much is made of the inviolability and beauty of the temple (83 ff.) and the overwhelming awe inspired by it (99); the latter would seem to be a simpler expression of the physical terror and helplessness which in 3 Macc. ii. 21 overtakes Philopator; cf. also the punishments of those who profaned the secrecy of the text of the law (313 ff.). Other points of contact are the discussion of Jewish separateness in food and life (128 ff.; cf. 3 Macc. iii. 3 ff.), the place played in each story by the repeated royal feasts (187 &c., 3 Macc. iv. 16, v, vi), the inclusion of official letters, and the position of the typical priest Eleazar (22, 29, 33, 41; cf. 3 Macc. iii. 12, vii. 1; 33, 41, &c.; vi. 1).

(*β*) *Style and language.* The most striking resemblances are found in the official letters, or decrees:—[3]

χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι iii. 12, vii. 1; 35; cf. 41.
προστετάχαμεν iii. 25, vii. 8; 24.
μηνύειν τὸν βουλόμενον ἐφ' ᾧ . . . iii. 28; *τὸν βουλόμενον προσαγγέλλειν περὶ τῶν ἀπειθησάντων ἐφ' ᾧ . . .* 25 [reward follows in each case].

Cf. also iii. 25 with 25 [*διειλήφαμεν γάρ*, &c.]; and *ὑπομαστιαίων* in iii. 27 with *ἐπιμαστιδίων* in 27.
ὁ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τύπος οὕτως ἐγέγραπτο iii. 30; *ἐπιστολὴ τὸν τύπον ἔχουσα τοῦτον* 34.
καθ' ὁντινοῦν τρόπον vii. 7; 24.

Remarkable words or phrases common to both books include the following:—[4]

†*ἐντυχία* [technically of a petition] vi. 40: 1.
†*ἀπόλυσις* vi. 37, 40; 16.
ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός ii. 21; 16.
ὁλοσχερής v. 31; 27 [-*ῶς*].
†*ἀλόγως* vi. 25; 24, 107.
θεωρία v. 24; 31.
καταχωρίζω [technically] ii. 29; 36.
παραναγιγνώσκω i. 12; 42.
ἀδιάλειπτος, -ως vi. 33; 86, 92, 294.
†*ἕως* [dawn] v. 46; 88.
†*ἰδιότης* vii. 17; 97.
παρὰ πόδας ὁρῶντες, or *ἔχοντες* iv. 8, v. 8; 135.
δυναστεύων [of God] v. 7; 168, 195.
†*ἄπταιστος* vi. 39; 187.
τραπῆναι εἰς [*πρὸς*] *εὐφροσύνην* v. 36; 202, 294.
ἀπροσδεής ii. 9; 211.
ἀλόγιστος v. 42, vi. 12; 213.
εὐστάθεια iii. 26, vi. 28; 217, 261.
†*κατευφημεῖν* vii. 13; 217.
†*ἀνέφικτος* ii. 15; 223, 283.
†*μεγαλομερής* v. 8; 226, 319.
ἐπιφάνεια [of God] v. 8; 264.
ἐνέργεια [of God] iv. 21, v. 12; 266.
†*ἄληκτος* iv. 2 [V]; 269.
ἐπιείκεια καὶ φιλανθρωπία [in technical sense, of king] iii. 15; 290.

As with *2 Maccabees*, the connexion seems to be of school and date. The similarity in the use of technical and official language is specially remarkable; as we shall see in the next paragraph, this language was that actually in use in documents of the Ptolemaic period.

(*c*) *Relation to Papyri.* The evidence of the papyri confirms the general accuracy of the official and technical language of the book, and suggests that it belongs to the Ptolemaic period, not the Roman.

Applying Thackeray's test[5] of *οὐθείς* (*μηθείς*) as against *οὐδείς* (*μηδείς*), we find the *θ* form in i. 13 (A), ii. 28 (V), vii. 8 (A), as against six times where the MSS. agree with the spelling with *δ*. The fluctuation is much the same as in Wisdom (see Introd. to Wisdom *in loc.* in this volume), and both books are probably to be referred to the 'period of transition' 132 B.C. to 100 B.C., or rather later.

Again, the formula *χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι κτλ.* (iii. 12, vii. 1), which it will be remembered is found in the *Letter of Aristeas*, seems 'to point to a date at the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C.'[6] Earlier papyri usually have a conditional sentence; papyri of the end

[1] It is usually assumed without any serious attempt at proof that the writer of *3 Maccabees* used *2 Maccabees*. Willrich argues, on the other hand, that the reverse is true (*Iudaica*, pp. 163 ff.).

[2] The references are to Wendland's paragraphs, as printed in Mr. Thackeray's edition in Swete's *Intr. to the O.T. in Greek*[2]. The English translation with critical and exegetical notes will be found in vol. ii of this work.

[3] Thackeray has already called attention to some of these in Swete, *o. c.*, p. 502, n. 3. As before, the reference to 3 Macc. is in each case given first.

[4] Those marked with † do not occur elsewhere in the LXX.

[5] *Grammar O.T. in Greek*, pp. 58 ff.

[6] For the facts and references in this paragraph I am indebted to information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Thackeray in a private letter.

of the first century B.C. and onwards have πλεῖστα χαίρειν. Cf. especially *P. Grenf.* ii. 36 (95 B.C.) and *P. Lips.* 104 (*c.* 96 B.C.), where the resemblance to *3 Maccabees* is peculiarly close.

λαογραφία (ii. 28),[1] which had been supposed to point to the Roman period, has been proved to be entirely in place in the Ptolemaic age; and again the dating by Egyptian months alone (vi. 38), in which Willrich[2] finds a sign of late date, occurs much earlier, the equalizing of the Egyptian and Macedonian months having taken place in the reign of Euergetes II (Physcon).[3]

In *Tebt. P.* 5 (an official document of the beginning of the same reign) we find οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων (cf. 3 Macc. vi. 30); οἱ τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ πραγμάτων [χρειῶν] (cf. vii. 1, v. 14); καθ' ὁντινοῦν τρόπον (cf. vii. 7 and *Letter of Aristeas*, 24). In *Louvre P.* 63 (an official letter of Philometor's reign) occur the words τιθηνεῖσθαι (cf. iii. 15), σκεπάζειν (cf. iii. 27), εὐχρηστία (cf. ii. 33), ἀσχολία (cf. v. 34), the first two words being used in the same technical sense. καταχωρίζω (= enroll, ii. 29; *Aristeas* 36) occurs in the Canopus and Rosetta inscriptions, and frequently in Papyri; the same inscriptions speak of records on a στήλη (ii. 27, vii. 20), and afford evidence of the popularity of commemorative feasts (vi. 36, vii. 19). μηνύειν τὸν βουλόμενον (iii. 28),[4] παρουσία[5] (iii. 17, of a royal visit), φιλανθρωπία (of royal clemency, iii. 15–18), ἐντυγχάνω (= petition, vi. 37–40), are all familiar in Papyri. γραφικοὶ κάλαμοι (a hitherto unparalleled phrase, iv. 20) occurs in *Grenfell P.*, ii. 38 (first century B.C.); οἰκετικός (ii. 28) in *B.M.P.* cccci (*c.* 116 B.C.); κακοτεχνεῖν (vii. 9) in *P. Eleph.* I (311 B.C.); θεωρία (v. 24) in *P. Tebt.* 33 (112 B.C.); σκυλμός (iii. 25 metaphorically) in *P. Tebt.* 41 (119 B.C.).

(*d*) We have therefore converging lines of evidence. There are good reasons for connecting *2 Maccabees* with Alexandria;[6] Jason is probably to be placed between 130 and 100 B.C., and *2 Maccabees* not much later. The *Letter of Aristeas* is certainly Alexandrian and of the same period.[7] Indications derived from the papyri (the nature of the official language, the greetings in the letters, and the use of the forms οὐθείς and μηθείς) suggest a date somewhere about 100 B.C. As we regard the connexion between *3 Maccabees* and the other books as one of school and thought, and not of direct literary indebtedness, it may possibly have been written shortly before them. Its superior limit is fixed by the apparent quotation in 6[6] from *The Song of the Three Children* (LXX), which probably dates from the last quarter of the second century B.C.

Mahaffy[8] points out that polemical tracts for and against the Jews came into vogue during the reign of Physcon (146–117 B.C.), and they certainly continued to be the fashion. Our book clearly belongs to this class of literature. It was apparently written primarily for Jews to encourage and confirm their faith in themselves and their destiny,[9] but it was certainly meant to be read by the outside world as well. It is an apology, representing the Jew as the Ptolemies' most loyal supporter, just as later apologists represented the Christian as the Emperors' best citizen. There is also, not far below the surface, the further suggestion that it is not prudent to interfere too far with him or his religion. The book is further a tract on the orthodox side, supporting the strict view of the Hasidim, as against the laxer Hellenizing section,[10] which must have been even stronger in Egypt than in Palestine. There is, however, little evidence that this polemic was specially directed against a Samaritan element, or even very definitely against the Onias temple.

(*e*) The chief alternative date is that suggested by Ewald.[11] He connects the book with the attempt of Caligula to place his image in the temple, and with the persecutions of the Alexandrian Jews which took place in his reign. Philo tells the story in the *adv. Flaccum*, and the *Legatio ad Caium*.[12] Certain points are found in his story and in *3 Maccabees* as well, e.g. the injustice of the persecution, the loyalty of the Jews, the punishment of the persecutor. But these are commonplaces. We miss the characteristic features of the Caligula story, the attempt to force the Emperor's image into the temple and the synagogues of Alexandria, the attacks on the synagogues, and Caligula's claim to divine honours;[13] since the Ptolemies were θεοί, this feature could have been easily transferred. Further, in Philo the hostility comes first from the populace, the outbreaks in Alexandria *precede* the events in Jerusalem, and the Jews in fact suffer severely. Those who accept this date are therefore forced to hold with Grimm that the author was afraid to work out his parallel too closely. But the tone of *3 Maccabees* is not that of a period of oppression and martyrdom; it belongs rather to a time when the nation is prosperous, and its position has been triumphantly vindicated.

[1] See note on ii. 28. [2] *Iudaica*, p. 166. [3] Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 205.
[4] Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 343. [5] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 372 ff.
[6] *E. B.*, art. *2 Maccabees*. [7] Wendland and Thackeray, 100–80 B.C.
[8] *Emp. Ptol.*, p. 390.
[9] It may also have been intended to be read publicly on the occasion of the festivals commemorating the deliverances (vi. 36, vii. 19).
[10] Cf. ii. 31, vii. 10. [11] *Hist. Isr.* v, pp. 468 ff. [12] See also Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. viii.
[13] See Schürer, *G. J. V.* (1909), ii, iii, pp. 493 ff.

And tempting though Ewald's suggestion appears at first sight, it cannot outweigh the positive indications of an earlier date which we have gained from other sources.

Attempts have also been made to find the occasion for the writing of the book in Pompey's attack on the Temple in 64 B. C., or in the incidents narrated of Herod (Josephus, *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5) or Pilate (ib. XVIII. iii. 1). But the resemblances in these cases are still slighter, and could only be seriously considered if there were independent grounds for ascribing the book to the Roman period.

§ 5. Historical Basis.

(*a*) *Relation to Polybius.* Generally speaking the account of the battle of Raphia, and the picture of Philopator's character, agree with Polybius v. But there are important differences in detail, for which there is no obvious reason; see notes on ch. i. Now there was a certain Ptolemy of Megalopolis (a fellow-townsman of Polybius), who is mentioned by him as governor of Cyprus (xviii. 55. 6, &c.), and who wrote an anecdotic account of the reign of Philopator, giving a very unfavourable picture of the king.[1] Scala[2] shows that he was one of the sources used by Polybius, particularly in the story of Agathocles (xv. 25–33);[3] the comment which he appends to that story (xv. 34. 1) probably refers to Ptolemy's history. 'I am quite aware of the miraculous occurrences and embellishments which the chroniclers of this event have added to their narrative with a view of producing a striking effect upon their hearers, making more of their comments on the story than of the story itself and the main incidents. Some ascribe it entirely to Fortune, and take the opportunity of expatiating on her fickleness, and the difficulty of being on one's guard against her. Others dwell on the unexpectedness of the event and try to assign its causes and probabilities.'[4] Mahaffy,[5] apparently independently, also arrives at the conclusion that this Ptolemy is the authority for the Agathocles section, and is 'probably the source which has blackened the name of Philopator'. Now on the other hand it has been recognized that the author of *3 Maccabees* apparently used some good authority, other than Polybius, for his account of Raphia and the character of Philopator.[6] Can we not then identify this unknown source with the lost history of Ptolemy Megalopolitanus? The characteristics which Polybius ascribes to him, love of 'miraculous occurrences and embellishments', and the fondness for tracing out causes, are exactly those of *3 Maccabees*, and would make him a congenial pattern for the author of the latter book. It is noticeable that in one of his extant fragments[7] he speaks of Philopator's boon companions, of whom we hear so much in *3 Maccabees*. There are again many features in the Agathocles section which remind us of the Jewish story, e. g. the stress laid on the popularity of Arsinoe (cf. 3 Macc. i. 4 ff.), the picture of the confusion in the streets of Alexandria, the debaucheries, the cruelties, the unexpected escape of Moeragenes.[8] These are sufficient to show that the sort of story told in *3 Maccabees* is just that which was narrated by Ptolemy in his anecdotes. I would suggest then that the narrative of the opening verses of *3 Maccabees* may be derived directly from him, and that amongst the stories which he told of Philopator were some which a pious Jew could adapt for the glorification of his own nation.

(*b*) *Relation to Josephus.* In *c.* Ap. ii. 5 there is a story which is certainly in some way connected with that of *3 Maccabees*. After the death of Philometor the Alexandrian Jews supported Cleopatra against his brother Physcon (Ptolemy IX, 146–117 B. C.). The latter in revenge exposed the Jews and their families to drunken elephants, which, however, turned on Physcon's followers and slew many of them. A phantom also appeared to the king, preventing him from further attempts to injure them. But the parallel does not stop here. Earlier in the chapter Josephus mentions a visit of Ptolemy Euergetes I to Jerusalem to offer thankofferings after a victory; stress is laid on the services of Onias and *Dositheus*, Jewish generals; and reference is made to the intercession of Ithaca, or Irene, Physcon's concubine, on behalf of the Jews, as well as to a memorial feast kept by the Alexandrian Jews on the day of their deliverance. It is at once obvious that Josephus' version is far more probable than the exaggerated and sensational narrative of *3 Maccabees*.[9] The mention of the festival in both suggests that some historical incident lies

[1] See Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii, p. 66.
[2] *Studien des Polybius*, pp. 58–60, 263–7.
[3] Also in the character of Philopator, xiv. 11, 12; Cleino, his cup-bearer, mentioned there, is also mentioned in one of the extant fragments of Ptolemy.
[4] Shuckburgh's translation.
[5] *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 272, n. 1; *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, pp. 143 ff.
[6] e. g. by Mahaffy (*Emp. Pt.*, p. 267); Willrich (*Klio*, vii, p. 293); Büchler (*Tobiaden und Oniaden*, p. 174).
[7] *apud* Athen. vi, p. 246 C.
[8] There is no striking resemblance in the language, which is that of Polybius himself; but ἀμετάθετος and παραδειγματίζειν, which occur in 3 Macc. v. 1, 12, iv. 11, and nowhere else in LXX, are found in this section (32. 7, 32. 5); also cf. 31. 5 (χωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διάθεσιν) with ii. 28, 29.
[9] Josephus clearly did not know, or at any rate care to use, *3 Maccabees*.

behind the legends, and there is indeed no *a priori* reason for doubting this. But is Josephus right in placing it in Physcon's reign? The evidence of the papyri tends to show that the Jews as a whole were well treated by this king, and this fact has led Mahaffy and others to reject Josephus' setting of the incident.[1] But the evidence is somewhat scanty and refers to the latter part of the reign. Josephus places the persecution at the very beginning, and implies, as does the author of *3 Maccabees* even more clearly, that the persecutor afterwards became a protector of the Jews. In neither story is there any question of a long continued oppression, but only of a single abortive attempt at vengeance. Further, in the troubles which broke out on the death of Philometor, it is in every way probable that his widow Cleopatra and her infant son were supported by Onias and the loyal Jews of Leontopolis;[2] it is equally probable that in the reprisals with which Physcon signalized his success[3] he may have attempted to punish the Jews. Such a view agrees with the impression left by *3 Maccabees* that the main attack was made on Fayûm Jews brought to Alexandria for the purpose.[4] Again, the fact that in Justin 38. 8 we may have 'traces of an edict [of Physcon] by which Egyptians and Syrians (Jews) were granted the privileges of Alexandrian citizenship'[5] harmonizes exactly with 3 Macc. ii. 30, iii. 21.

On the other hand the Jerusalem incident is probably rightly placed by the writer of *3 Maccabees* in the reign of Philopator. In his triumphal progress after Raphia the king would not be likely to leave out the Jewish capital.[6] With his love of architecture and interest in religion he would certainly wish to enter the Temple. The Jews would no less certainly have tried to prevent him, and his superstitious fears may well have been worked on in some such manner as to give rise to the highly coloured narrative of our book.[7] It is even possible that the story may have been taken in substance from the memoirs of Ptolemy Megalopolitanus.

The hypothesis that two independent stories have been united in *3 Maccabees* is confirmed by an examination of the book itself. The connexion between the Jerusalem episode and the subsequent persecution in Egypt is very artificial. No doubt it is difficult to set bounds to the ἀλογιστία of a despot, but it is not very probable that Philopator should have wished to destroy the innocent and loyal Jews of Egypt merely on account of an insult offered by their fellow-countrymen in Jerusalem, and the narrative itself in its references to taxation and local religious differences affords a far more reasonable explanation of the origin of the persecution.

It would seem, then, that the writer of *3 Maccabees* has combined the Physcon and Philopator stories, transferring the former to the earlier reign. There was an obvious advantage in doing so, since in the original narrative as preserved by Josephus the position of the Jews was a little ambiguous. It is true they had been loyal to Cleopatra, but they had unfortunately sided with the defeated party, and from the point of view of the conqueror they could be regarded as rebels. No such objection attached to the representation in *3 Maccabees*. The writer has also, by the way, worked in a reference to another story glorifying the Jew. Dositheus is mentioned in the Physcon story side by side with Onias as a Jewish general who did good service to the Ptolemies. In the *Hibeh P.* 90 and elsewhere a Dositheus *son of Drimylus* is found as an Alexander priest of 222 B. C. The writer in i. 3 apparently identifies the two, and turns the *son of Drimylus* into a renegade Jew. At the same time he makes him play the rôle of a Mordecai and save the king's life.[8] It is possible that the reference to Arsinoe in i. 1, 4 may be explained on similar lines. She plays no further part in the story and her introduction seems quite pointless. But the writer may have intended that she should play the rôle which Ithaca plays in Josephus, and intercede for the Jews; for some reason he dropped this feature, but omitted to expunge the earlier references to her. On the other hand the episode may have been taken directly from Ptolemy Megalopolitanus, in whose narrative she seems to have figured prominently. In that case she is simply part of the historical setting of the picture, and her introduction was never intended to have any further significance.

It is at any rate clear that the aim of the writer was to combine in a single picture as many

[1] *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, pp. 192 ff.; Willrich, *Juden und Griechen*, pp. 151 ff.
[2] Mahaffy, ib., p. 183.
[3] e. g. the massacre of Cyrenaeans, Diod. xxxiii. 13.
[4] v. inf. § 6, and cf. Abrahams, *J. Q. R.* ix, pp. 39 ff.
[5] Mahaffy, ib., p. 190.
[6] Ib. p. 134.
[7] *The Letter of Aristeas* 99 speaks of the ἔκπληξις and θαυμασμὸς ἀδιήγητος inspired by the Temple; Stanley compares the story of Ibrahim Pacha struck down on attempting to enter the shrine of Isaac (*Hist. J. Ch.* iii, p. 219, n. 1).
[8] See Willrich, *Klio*, vii (1907), p. 293 f. The same writer in *Iudaica*, p. 19 f., and *Hermes*, xxxix. 244 ff., calls attention to the undoubtedly curious coincidence that in Ad. Esth. xii. 1 Tharra the Eunuch slain by Mordecai is called, in Lagarde's *a* text, Thedeutos or Theudetos, while Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vi. 4) calls him Theodosites, or in *Ant.* XI. vi. 10 Theodestes; cf. the Theodotus of 3 Macc. i. 2. Again in Ad. Esth. xi. 1 *Dositheus* a priest and Levite is named as the bearer of the book to Egypt. But his elaborate attempt to reduce all these narratives to versions of a single legend can hardly be followed; it involves a theory of Esther which 'has found no favour thus far among critics' (Paton, *Esther* [in *Int. Crit. Com.*], p. 77).

features as possible, all tending to the glorification of the faithful Jew. We thus have brought together in a single canvas the frustrated attempt to enter the Temple, the saving of the king's life by a Jew, the attacks on religion and attempts to hellenize, affecting both the Jews in Alexandria and in Egypt as a whole, the testimonies to their great influence and unswerving loyalty, the marvels of divine intervention, and the vengeance on renegades. The result is not very convincing artistically or historically. But on the other hand each feature, taken by itself and stripped of its sensational colouring, is entirely credible and probably has some foundation in fact. Our knowledge of the history of the Jews in Egypt under the Ptolemies is too fragmentary to justify us in denying the possibility of sporadic outbreaks of anti-Semitism in the second and third centuries B. C. As we have seen, the papyri confirm in various ways the general accuracy of the writer, and we shall probably be justified in giving his work a somewhat higher historical value than has usually been assigned to it.

On one point all are agreed. The character of Philopator is in full accordance with the picture which history had come to form of him. 'Noctes in stupris, dies in conviviis consumit.'[1] Whether the picture is quite a fair one is another question. It may be due to the bias of Ptolemy Megalopolitanus, and inscriptions suggest that there was something to be said on his side.[2] At any rate they prove an interest in architecture and religion, and a ready liberality to cities and temples, which agree with the statements of *3 Maccabees.*

§ 6. Integrity of the Book.

It is sometimes held that the book is only a fragment of a larger work (Ewald, Fritzsche), or that at any rate the opening has been lost (Grimm). The arguments for this view are found in the abruptness of the introduction,[3] the reference to the plot of Theodotus in i. 2 as though it were well known, and to the 'before-mentioned companions' in ii. 25, who have not in fact been introduced previously. But if we accept the hypothesis of the writer's dependence on Ptolemy Megalopolitanus, it will be more reasonable to suppose that these are slips, due to a careless reproduction of the source. In i. 2 we have 'a *certain* Theodotus', as though from the writer's standpoint he was being mentioned for the first time, while the following words imply a previous reference to his treachery. The source is evidently only imperfectly adapted; the τις shows that Theodotus cannot have been already named in a lost opening of the book itself.

Büchler,[4] on the other hand, argues that *3 Maccabees*, as it stands, has been drastically edited, and contains copious interpolations which have introduced confusion into the story. He points out that in the concluding chapters the Alexandrian Jews are hardly mentioned; they deal solely with the return of country Jews to Moeris and the Arsinoite nome. He suggests that the original narrative dealt with a persecution of Fayûm Jews, who had refused to join in a birthday feast to Dionysus on some occasion when Philopator attempted to establish his cult at Bakchis and Dionysias on the banks of Moeris. The references to renegades point to a Samaritan element which was ready to fall in with a lax syncretism. In accordance with this theory he makes very considerable excisions in the book. There are no grounds for doing this, and it is more probable that the writer himself combined various stories and is responsible for the resultant confusion. At the same time Büchler's hypothesis as to the reasons which led to the persecution of the Fayûm Jews is probable enough, and may well indicate one of the historical elements in the story.

§ 7. Style.

The book is a product of Alexandrian literature, exemplifying in its extremest form the pseudo-Classicalism of the Atticists. It would, however, be misleading to speak of it as written in the most *literary* style, since its artificiality and extravagance make it hardly worthy of the name of literature. Particularly when the writer attempts in descriptions to introduce purple passages, he succeeds only in being obscure and bombastic: e. g. i. 16 ff., iv, v. 6 ff. His sentences are full of repetitions and awkwardly constructed, and for all their attempt at rhetoric are marked by an excessive use of the weak introductory particle δέ; e. g. of the first 11 verses, 10 begin with it. The vocabulary is varied; Swete[5] gives a selection of 32 words not found elsewhere in the LXX, but in fact the list can be extended to over 100; its character may be judged from the fact that it includes 20 adjectives compounded with α privative; many again are poetical, such as πανόδυρτος, or πολύδακρυς. There are also about 14 words not found elsewhere in Greek literature, verbs such as ψυχουλκεῖν, προσυστέλλειν, and compound adjectives of the type of βυθοτρεφής, μισούβρις, μυροβρεχής, ποντόβροχος, φοβεροειδής, πυρόπνους.

Among the Classical forms, unique or unusual in the LXX, which mark the writer as an Atticist,

[1] Justinus xxx. 1. 8; his nickname was Τρύφων.

[2] Mahaffy, *Emp. Ptol.*, pp. 270 ff.

[3] Xenophon's *Oecon.* and Josephus' *Life* also begin with a δέ clause, but apparently in neither case were they meant to be regarded as independent works.

[4] *Tobiaden und Oniaden*, pp. 172 ff.

[5] *Intr. O.T. in Greek*, p. 312.

are the following[1]:—*τέλεον, τελέως, δεσμά, ἴστε, διηρπάσθην, καθειστάντες, ᾤκτειρα*, and the use of crasis with the definite article (*τοὐνάντιον, τἀληθές*).

At the same time the writer shows the influence of the *κοινή* in such forms as *τεύξασθαι, κατεσχέθη, ἠνέῳξα, εἰάσθησαν, θεέ, τετάρτη* (for *τέτρας*). In iv. 19 there is an interesting example of a superfluous *ἐν* with dative after *χρᾶσθαι*.[2]

§ 8. Theology.

The book represents the most orthodox type of old-fashioned Judaism, with its devotion to the temple, the law, and the peculiar position of the chosen people. The business of God is to act as their champion; there is no trace of universalism, or even any desire for proselytes; Philopator is forced to respect God, but he does not worship Him, as does Nebuchadnezzar, nor is there any of the syncretism which we find in the *Letter of Aristeas*. At the same time, side by side with the tone of somewhat arrogant self-satisfaction and narrow materialism, there is a real piety and an absolute faith in the power of prayer. There are no references to the Messianic hope, or apocalyptic ideas, or the future life. An angel vision terrifies Ptolemy and his followers, but it is not seen by the Jews; there is no sign of the desire to interpose intermediaries between God and man, nor is He described by periphrases; e.g. His *πρόνοια* is mentioned, but in no way personified (iv. 21, v. 30). He is addressed directly, and the variety and number of the attributes ascribed to Him is remarkable. The heaping up of such attributes in prayer was a feature of Hellenistic Judaism[3] (ii. 2 ff., 21, v. 7, vi. 2–9, 18, 28; cf. 2 Macc. i. 24, Pr. Man. 1–4). Among the titles of God not found elsewhere in the LXX are the following:—*μόναρχος* (ii. 2), *προπάτωρ* (ii. 21), *μεγαλοκράτωρ* (vi. 2), *μισούβρις* (vi. 9), *ἔντιμος* (vi. 13), *μεγαλόδοξος* (vi. 18), as well as several phrases of the type of *πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύων*.[4] Unusual titles are *πάντων ἐπόπτης* (ii. 21), *ἅγιε ἐν ἁγίοις* (ii. 2, 21), *ὁ ἐπιφανὴς Κύριος* (v. 35), *τερατοποιός* (vi. 32), *ῥύστης Ἰσραήλ* (vii. 23).

From the theological standpoint, therefore, the book seems to belong to the strict and conservative school of the Ḥasidim, devoted to the law, and finding its inspiration in the lessons of the national history (ii. 2–20, vi. 1–15). It expresses a bitter opposition to the attempts at hellenizing, which so nearly overwhelmed Judaism in the second century B. C., and shows no sympathy with the developments of thought and doctrine, which at that time were growing up within the Jewish Church. Though it belongs to Alexandria, it shows no trace of the influence of the typical Alexandrian ideas.[5] The keenest heresy-hunter could have found no fault with its uncompromising orthodoxy.

§ 9. Use of the Book.

The references to *3 Maccabees* are very few, and entirely confined to Christian writers. They include *Apost. Canons* 85, the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus, *Synopsis Athanasii*, Eus. *Chron.* ii. 122. The Stichometry of Codex Claromontanus implies a knowledge of the book, by mentioning the fourth book of Maccabees. In the *Synopsis Athanasii* we find *Μακκαβαικὰ βιβλία δ' Πτολεμαικά*, where Credner's emendation of *καί* for *δ'* is usually followed; Zahn's *πολεμικά* has found little support. Theodoret of Antioch summarizes the book and treats it as historical (*ad* Dan. xi), and Swete[6] calls attention to an interesting combination of Isa. lvii. 15 with 3 Macc. ii. 2 in the *Liturgy of St. Clement*. It will be seen that the attestation is entirely Eastern; the book was not accepted in the Western Church and does not appear in the Vulgate.

§ 10. Bibliography.

(*a*) *Text*—Holmes and Parsons, vol. v; Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Graece*; Tischendorf and Nestle, *Septuagint*; Swete, *O.T. in Greek*, vol. iii (collates A and V). The Syriac is printed in Walton's *Polyglot*, vol. iv (with Latin trans.), and in Lagarde's *Apocr. Syriace*.

(*b*) *Editions*—Grimm in *Kurz. Ex. Handb.* (far the fullest); Kautzsch in *Die Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. des A.T.*; Churton, *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*; Bissell in *Lange-Schaff Commentary*.

(*c*) *Critical inquiries*—Articles in the Bible Dictionaries, &c.; Ewald, *Hist. Isr.* v. 468 ff.; Schürer, *G.J.V.* (1909), ii, iii, pp. 493 ff. [Eng. trans. ii, iii, pp. 216–19]; André, *Les Apocr. de l'A. T.*, pp. 115–32 (full with many references); Swete, *Intr. O.T. in Greek*, pp. 278 ff.; Abrahams, *J.Q.R*, ix, pp. 39 ff. (discusses historicity of the story); Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 267 ff.; *Ptolemaic Dynasty* (vol. iv of Petrie's *Hist. Egypt*), chs. v, viii; Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, pp. 145 ff.; *Iudaica*, pp. 163 ff.; *Klio*, vii, p. 293 f.; *Hermes*, xxxix (1904), pp. 244–58; Büchler, *Tobiaden und Oniaden*, pp. 172 ff. (a very full and suggestive study).

The translation which follows is based to some extent upon Churton's, but is practically a new one. The attempt has been made to give an idea of the characteristics of the Greek by preserving the complexity of the sentences, and the use of out-of-the-way words. A smoother and more literary rendering would have given a wrong impression of the book.

In the notes *Gr.* and *K.* refer to the editions of Grimm and Kautzsch.

[1] These examples are collected from Thackeray, *Gr. O.T. in Greek*; the references will be readily found in the index to that book.

[2] Cf. Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, pp. 75, 104.

[3] Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 297 ff.

[4] v. 7, 28, 51, vi. 2, vii. 9; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 34; Esther viii. 13; Wisd. xiv. 3.

[5] The attempts made to find characteristic features of Philonian thought are very unconvincing.

[6] *Intr. O.T. in Greek*, p. 472.

THE THIRD BOOK OF MACCABEES

1 1 Now when Philopator had learned from those who had returned of the capture by Antiochus of the
places which had been held by him, he issued orders to all his forces, foot and horse, and taking with
him his sister Arsinoe, marched to the district over against Raphia, where the army of Antiochus
2 was encamped. But a certain Theodotus, determining to carry out his plot, took with him the
bravest of the soldiers of Ptolemy who had been previously assigned to him, and went by night to
3 the tent of Ptolemy, intending to kill him single-handed, and thereby put an end to the war. But
Dositheus, called the son of Drimylus, who was by birth a Jew, but had subsequently abandoned
the observance of the law, and renounced his ancestral faith, had conveyed Ptolemy away, and put
some obscure person to sleep in the tent; and so it happened that on this man fell the vengeance
4 intended for the other. And when a fierce battle had begun, and things were favouring Antiochus,
Arsinoe went frequently up and down the ranks, and her hair dishevelled, exhorted them with
lamentation and tears to fight manfully for themselves, their children, and their wives, promising to
5 give them if they conquered two minae of gold each. And thus it came about that their adversaries
6 were destroyed in the encounter, and that many were also taken captive. So Ptolemy, having
7 crushed the attack, determined to visit the neighbouring cities, and encourage them. And having
8 done this, and given gifts to their shrines, he inspired his subjects with confidence. And when the
Jews had sent to him some of the senate and elders to greet him, and bring him gifts, and con-
gratulate him on what had happened, he became the more eager to visit them as quickly as possible.
9 And when he had come to Jerusalem he sacrificed to the Most High God and offered thankofferings,
acting in some measure according to what was suitable to the place. And entering into the *holy*
10 place, and being struck by the care *displayed*, and the beauty, and admiring also the good order of
11 the temple, it came into his mind to purpose to enter into the sanctuary. And when they said that
this was not allowed, since not even members of their own nation could enter, or all the priests, but
12 only the high-priest who was chief of all, and he once a year, he was by no means convinced. And
when the law had been read out to him, not even then did he desist from his claim that he himself
13 should enter, saying, Even if they are deprived of this honour, I must not be so. And he asked
14 why, when he entered into every shrine, none of those present hindered him? And some one

I. 9. μεγιστω] πιστω A των εξης τι] ων εξεστι 64: περιττον τι, or εξοχον τι Arm

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I. 1. The opening describes the relations between Ptolemy IV, Philopator (222–204 B.C.), and Antiochus III, the Great (224–187 B.C.), immediately before the battle of Raphia, which took place in the spring of 217; Antiochus had captured Seleukeia, and occupied Syria and Palestine. See Pol. v. 40 ff.; 82 ff.; Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, ch. vii. The story of Raphia is in substantial agreement with the account of Polybius, but there are certain divergences; (*a*) in Polybius the two armies reach Raphia at about the same time; (*b*) Arsinoe encourages the army in concert with Philopator *before* the battle; Antiochus is at first victorious on the right wing, but at the crisis it is the king himself who changes the fortune of the day; (*c*) Polybius refers to the ready submission of Coele-Syria and to Ptolemy's visits to its cities, but he lays stress on their gifts and homage to him, not on his to them, as in 3 Macc. i. 6, 7. On the significance of these differences see Intr. § 5 *a*; see also § 6 for the abruptness of the opening, and § 5 *b* for character of Philopator. Raphia is referred to in Dn. xi. 11, 12.

his sister Arsinoe. This is correct at the date of Raphia; subsequently, according to Egyptian custom, she became Ptolemy's wife; Livy (xxxvii. 4) calls her Cleopatra; Justinus (xxx. 1. 7) Eurydice. On the significance of her mention here see Intr. § 5 *b*.

2. This Theodotus was a deserter from Ptolemy, who had been of great service to Antiochus (Pol. v. 40, 46, 61). His attempt is narrated ib. 81; there he takes two men with him, Dositheus is not mentioned, Ptolemy is saved because he did not sleep in his official tent, and Theodotus wounds two men and kills Andreas the king's physician (? = the ἄσημός τις of v³). See further Intr. § 5 *b*.

ὅπλων Πτολεμαικῶν τὰ κράτιστα. The translation given above is that of most Edd., and κράτιστα makes it probable. But the reference may be to arms and equipment which were Πτολεμαικά, and therefore not noticed (n. b. ὡς μόνος κτεῖναι). Polybius remarks that the varieties of dress in the two armies prevented discovery.

3. **Dositheus**, see Intr. § 5 *b*.

4. The promise seems impossibly extravagant, but it must be remembered that Egyptian queens had large private property, and Abrahams suggests that the promise was only made to the Greek mercenaries.

5. According to Polybius, Antiochus lost nearly 10,000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and 4,000 prisoners; Ptolemy 1,500 infantry and 700 cavalry.

9. τόπος the temple, as regularly in 2, 3 Macc. and elsewhere.

13. πᾶν τέμενος. Gr. and K. (with hesitation) understand this of the Jewish temple, as though it were πᾶν τὸ τέμενος; why had he been allowed to enter at all, if he might not penetrate into the inmost shrine? But the argument is weak even for a despot, and the translation given above is more pointed.

15 answered thoughtlessly that he did wrong to make this boast. But since this is so, he said, why
16 should I not enter in any case, whether they wish it or not? Then the priests in all their robes fell down, and besought the Most High God to aid them in that which had come upon them, and to turn the violence of him who was making this wicked attack, filling the temple with lamentation
17 and tears; and those who were left in the city hurried forth in confusion, concluding that something
18 strange was happening. The virgins who had been shut up in their chambers rushed forth with their mothers, and covering their hair with dust and ashes, filled the streets with groanings and
19 lamentations. And those who had been lately married, leaving the chambers prepared for *wedded*
20 intercourse and forgetting their proper modesty, ran about in confusion through the city. And as for the new-born children, the mothers and nurses who had charge of them left them here and there, in the houses or in the streets without care, and came in crowds to the temple which is high above all.
21 And manifold were the supplications of those gathered here because of the impious enterprise of the
22 king. And with them the bolder from among the citizens would not endure his carrying the matter
23 to an extremity, or his determination to complete his project; but calling *on one another* to rush to arms, and to die bravely for the law of their fathers, they made great confusion in the place, and being with difficulty turned from their purpose by the elders and the priests, they joined in
24, 25 supplication with them. And the multitude continued meanwhile praying as before. But the elders who were with the king tried in many ways to turn his haughty mind from the purpose he
26 had conceived. But being emboldened and now setting them all aside, he was even beginning to
27 approach, thinking that he would complete the *design* aforesaid. Therefore those who were with him seeing this, joined with our own people in beseeching him who has all power to defend them in
28 their present need, and not to disregard the lawless and insolent deed. So incessant and vehement
29 was the united cry of the multitude that an indescribable uproar arose. For it might have been thought that not only the people, but even the walls and the whole pavement were crying out, since all preferred death to the profanation of the *holy* place.

2 1 Then the High-Priest Simon bowing his knees before the holy place, and spreading out his hands
2 in calm reverence, prayed after this manner: Lord, Lord, king of the heavens, and sovereign of all creation, holy among the holy ones, only ruler, almighty, give ear to us who are grievously troubled
3 by one wicked and profane, made wanton in insolence and might. For thou who hast created all things, and governest the whole world, art a righteous ruler, and judgest those who do aught in
4 violence and arrogance. Thou didst destroy those who aforetime did iniquity, among whom were
5 giants trusting in their strength and boldness, bringing upon them a boundless flood of water. Thou didst burn up with fire and brimstone the men of Sodom, workers of arrogance, who had become known of all for their crimes, and didst make them an example to those who should come after.
6 Thou didst try with manifold and grievous punishments the insolent Pharaoh when he enslaved thy
7 holy people Israel, and didst make known thy mighty power. And when he pursued with chariots and a multitude of peoples thou didst overwhelm him in the depth of the sea, but those who trusted
8 in thee, the ruler of all creation, thou didst bring safely through. And they seeing the works of thy
9 hands did praise thee, the almighty. Thou, O King, when thou didst create the boundless and

15. παντως] παντων A; παντες V 16. πασαις ταις εσθησεσιν] A V 44, 55, 74; ταις αγιαις εσθ. *al*; πασαις ταις αγιαις εσθ. Arm 18. σποδω και] απεδωκαν A V 44, 55, 71, 74; > Arm γοου τε V 44, 55, 74 Arm; που γε A; γοων τε *al*. 19. τους προς απαντησιν διατεταγμενους παστους] τους προς απαν νυν διατεταγμενους (A -ην) A V 55; απαντας 44, 74, with further variations in cursives; 'were sitting veiled (*or* curtained off) and prepared' Arm. The parallel in iv. 6 confirms παστούς, and διατεταγμένην in A suggests that ἀπάντησιν is the original reading. 23. ιερεων] Luc text, Syr; γεραιων A Arm *al*; γερεων V 28. συναγομενης] -ων Syr Arm and Edd

II. 1. A V 55, 71 > whole verse; και ειπον ομοθυμαδον 44, 74; 'they began to pray and said' Arm 6. δοκιμασας τιμωριαις εγνωρισας το μεγα σου κρατος] V; + (after εγνωρισας) την σην δυναμιν εφ αις εγνωρισας A Arm and most cursives with variations; a conflate reading δοκιμασας] εδ. A; δαμασας Luc text 9. ηγιασας . . . σοι] + (before σοι) εις σον ονομα A Arm; εις ονομα σου (> σοι) V

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15. Text and grammar are in some confusion, but the general meaning is clear.

18, 19. The same remark applies; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 19 for the general picture. προσαρτίως is not found elsewhere; L. and S. 'lately'; Edd. 'completely'.

ἐσταλμέναι. There is no parallel for the meaning 'married', which is required by the verse. Gr. and K. suggest 'secluded', others *vestem* (sc. *nuptialem*) *indutae*. Arm. translates 'who had just then only been newly introduced', which is probably right.

II. 1. Simon II, son of Onias II (219–199 B.C.). Perhaps referred to in Sir. l. 1, but it is doubtful whether Simon the Just is to be identified with Simon I or II.

2. This heaping up of the attributes of God is characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism; see Intr. § 8. ἅγιε ἐν ἁγίοις (ii. 21); cf. Isa. lvii. 14; see Intr. § 9 for the liturgical use of the phrase. μόναρχος occurs in Eus. and later writers as a title of God.

4. For **giants** cf. Judith xvi. 7; Sir. xvi. 7; Wisd. xiv. 6; Enoch vii. 2, ix. 9, xv. 8; Jubilees v. 7. See also 2 Pet. ii. 5–6, where we have *angels*, the flood, and Sodom.

measureless earth, didst choose this city and sanctify this place [for thy name] for thyself, who hast
need of nothing, and didst glorify it by a splendid manifestation, establishing it to the glory of thy
10 great and honourable name. And loving the house of Israel, thou didst promise that if there should
be a falling away, and distress should overtake us, and we should come to this place and make our
11, 12 supplication, thou wouldst hear our prayer. And indeed thou art faithful and true. And seeing
that oftentimes when our fathers were afflicted thou didst succour them in their humiliation, and
13 didst deliver them from great evils, behold now, O holy king, for our many great sins we are
14 grievously troubled and put into subjection to our foes, and faint in *our* weakness. In our low
estate this insolent and profane man seeketh to do violence to the holy place which is consecrated
15 upon earth to the name of thy glory. For man cannot reach thy dwelling place, the heaven of
16 heavens. But since thy good pleasure was in thy glory amongst thy people Israel, thou didst
17 hallow this place. Punish us not by the uncleanness of these men, neither chastise us by their
profane doings, lest the transgressors boast in their wrath or exult in the insolence of their tongue,
18 saying, We have trodden down the house of the sanctuary as the houses of the abominations are
19 trodden down. Blot out our sins and scatter abroad our offences and manifest thy mercy at this
20 hour. Let thy compassion speedily overtake us, and put praises in the mouth of the fallen and
broken in heart, granting us peace.

21 Then the God who beholds all, the Father of all holy among the holy ones, hearing the supplication *spoken* according to the law, scourged him who was greatly uplifted in violence and inso-
22 lence, shaking him to and fro as a reed by the wind, so that lying on the ground powerless and
23 paralysed in body he could not so much as speak, being smitten by a righteous judgement. Whereupon his friends and body-guard, seeing that the chastisement which had overtaken him was swift, and fearing lest he should even die, speedily drew him out, being overwhelmed by an exceeding great
24 fear. But having after some time recovered himself, he by no means came to repentance though he had been thus punished, but departed with bitter threats.

25 So, arriving in Egypt, and going on further in his wickedness, through his boon companions and
26 associates, who have been already mentioned, utter strangers to all justice, he was not content with his countless excesses, but even reached such a pitch of insolence that he raised evil reports in those parts, and many of his friends watching carefully the royal purpose, themselves also followed his
27 will. He purposed publicly to inflict a disgrace upon the Jewish nation, and erected a pillar on the
28 tower in the palace with the inscription, That none who did not sacrifice should be allowed to enter their temples; and that all Jews should be degraded to the rank of natives and the condition of
29 serfs, and that those who spoke against it should be taken by force and put to death; and that those who were registered should even be branded on their bodies with an ivy-leaf, the emblem of

24. απειλας δε πικρας θεμενος] V Luc text; μετα απειλης δε πικρας *al*; μετα απειλης δε πικρας θεμενος A (a clearly conflate reading)

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10. 1 Kings viii. 33.

18. **abominations** is of course a slip from the standpoint of the supposed heathen speaker.

21. πάντων ἐπόπτης, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 35, ix. 5; Ad. Esth. xv. 2; *Letter of Aristeas*, 16; see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 429.

ἔνθεσμος expressing the law; cf. v. 10.

For the incident cf. the repulse of Heliodorus in 2 Macc. iii. 22–30, where the resemblance in language is great, and the punishment of Antiochus ib. ix. 4 ff.

25. **already mentioned**; either a slip from a careless use of a source (see Intr. § 6), or a reference to the supposed lost beginning of the book.

26. **evil reports**—whether against himself, or the Jews, is not clear.

28. i.e. the Jews might only enjoy their own worship if they also conformed to the official cult; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iii. 2; *c. Ap.* ii. 6. No other example of the word λαογραφία was known till the discovery of the Papyri. Grenfell and Hunt (*Tebt. P.* [1902] pp. 445–8) discuss this passage with reference to Wilcken's view that the word implies the 'poll-tax' of the Roman period, and is therefore an anachronism in a decree ascribed to Philopator, and in fact proves that the book dates from the Roman period. They show that the word does occur in Ptolemaic papyri, but not in its fully developed technical sense; it means not a tax, but 'a taxing list of persons, most, or all, of whom were native Egyptians'. λαός is the technical term for Egyptians as contrasted with Greeks (ib. p. 552). This exactly fits the context here.

διάθεσις is freq. in Polybius = condition; cf. esp. xv. 31. 5 χωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δ. For the idea cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 17.

29. Ewald finds here an allusion to the vine as 'the symbol and arms of Jerusalem'; i.e. it is maliciously suggested that the Jews have been worshippers of Dionysus all along. This, however, is rather far-fetched. There is good evidence that Bacchus was the family god of the Ptolemies (*vide* Satyrus *ap. Theophr. ad Autolyc.* ii, p. 94). Philopator apparently allowed himself to be branded (Γάλλος, ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος διὰ τὸ φύλλα κισσοῦ κατεστίχθαι ὡς οἱ Γάλλοι, *Steph. Thes. s. v.*); cf. also Büchler, *Tob. u. On.* pp. 197 ff., for traces of the cult in Egypt during this period. In 2 Macc. vi. 1 Antiochus introduces the worship of Bacchus into Jerusalem.

For **branded** cf. Philo, *De Mon.* i. 8 (Jews who allowed themselves to be branded), and Isa. xliv. 5 (a probable reference to branding the name of J" on the hand).

30 Dionysus, and be reduced to their former limited status. But that he might not appear an enemy to all, he added: But if any of them prefer to join those who are initiated into the mysteries, they shall have equal rights with the citizens of Alexandria.

31 Some †obviously hating the price paid for the religion of *their* city† readily gave themselves up,
32 expecting to gain great glory from their association with the king. But the greater part stood firm with a noble courage, and departed not from their religion; and paying money as a ransom for
33 their lives fearlessly attempted to save themselves from the registration. And they remained of good hope that they should find help, and abhorred those who parted from them, accounting them as enemies of their nation, and excluding them from social intercourse and the rendering of any service.

3 1 The impious *king* perceiving this was so greatly enraged that he was not only wroth with those who dwelt at Alexandria, but was even more bitterly hostile to those in the country, and ordered that they should all be speedily gathered together, and put an end to by the most cruel death.
2 While this was being arranged a malicious report was noised abroad against the *Jewish* nation on the part of men who agreed together to do them hurt, an occasion being afforded for representing
3 that they hindered them from the observance of the laws. But the Jews continued to maintain
4 their goodwill towards the kings and their unswerving fidelity. Yet worshipping God, and living according to his law, they held themselves apart in the matter of food; and for this reason they
5 were disliked by some; but adorning their conversation by the good practice of righteousness they
6 were established in the good report of all. But of this good practice, which was the common talk
7 of all men with regard to the nation, the foreigners took no account; but they talked continually of the difference *they made* with regard to worship and food, alleging that they were friendly neither to the king nor his army, but ill-disposed, and bitterly hostile to his interests; thus they cast no
8 small opprobrium upon them. But the Greeks in the city having been in no way injured by them,
9 seeing the unexpected disturbance about them, and the unlooked-for concourse, were not able to help them—for they lived under a tyranny—but tried to comfort them and were indignant, expecting that this affair would take a change for the better; for so great a community could not be thus
10 allowed to perish when it had committed no fault. And already some of their neighbours and friends and business associates, taking aside some of *the Jews* secretly, gave pledges of their protection and earnest endeavours for their assistance.

11 So *the king*, puffed up by his present prosperity, and regarding not the power of the most high God, but supposing that he himself would always hold firmly to the same purpose, wrote this letter

31. επιπολαιως] V[a] Arm; επιπολειως A; επι πολεως V* *al* τα (τας A[1]) της πολεως ευσεβειας επιβαθρα A; τας . . . επιβαθρας V *al*, with numerous variations of ευσεβους, επιβαθροις, and alterations of order στυγουντες] -αι A; στοιχουντες Arm Luc text (with variations of spelling)

III. 4. επι τω κατα τας τροφας] V 62, 64; επι τω καταστροφας A; επι τινων και καταστροφας *al* ενιοις] -οι A

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29. καταχωρίζω is technical = 'enrol' or 'enter'; cf. papyri, *Letter of Aristeas*, 36, Canopus and Rosetta inscriptions. The latter also speak of records set up on a stelé (v. 27).

30. The question of Alexandrian citizenship and its different grades is complicated; cf. Mahaffy, *Ptol. Dyn.*, p. 58. According to the repeated statements of Josephus (*Ant.* XII. i; XIX. v. 2, &c.) the Jews already possessed a full citizenship. But there is no doubt that whatever such privileges they had at this period they enjoyed as individuals and not as a nation, and very little is known of citizenship outside Alexandria. There was therefore room for such a grant as this; and there are in fact independent traces of it in Physcon's reign (Intr. § 5 *b*). Abrahams suggests that Alexandrian citizenship was offered to the Fayûm Jews in order to simplify organization or taxation. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 9 for attempt to impose Antiochene citizenship on the Jerusalem Jews, and Josephus (*Ant.* XII. iii. 2) for close connexion of citizenship with religion.

31. The first part of the verse is very obscure. K., 'who on account of the citizenship in a city hated the approaches to the city of piety'. Gr. takes ἐπὶ πόλεως, 'some who were over a district, or community, in Alexandria,' and the last part is translated by some 'hated the advances of the religion of the city'. I suggest with hesitation the translation given above, which keeps the best attested reading. ἐπιπόλαιος in Aristotle frequently means 'evident' or 'obvious'. ἐπίβαθρον means 'a fare', or more generally 'price paid'; cf. Plut. 2. 727*f*, where the stork by its destruction of snakes pays ἐπίβαθρόν τι γῆς.

The reference would be to the heavy demands made by the Jewish law, or more specifically to the Temple tax, and it is possible, as Büchler suggests, that the renegades may be Samaritans; at any rate they are the lax, Hellenizing section of the Egyptian Jews (cf. Kennett, *Schweich Lectures* [1909], Lect. III). The Arm. gives a similar sense: 'Many of them, shallow-witted people [taking ἐπιπολαίως as meaning "superficially"] who aforetime indeed were irresolute in the ancient law.'

If 'city of piety' be the right translation, it confirms Prof. Burkitt's emendation of חסד for חרם in Isa. xix. 18, though there the reference is not to Jerusalem.

III. 4. On the unpopularity caused by Jewish peculiarities see an exhaustive study by Dobschütz, *Amer. J. Theol.* 1904, pp. 728 ff.; cf. the defence in *Letter of Aristeas*, 128 ff. For the hostility of the populace see Philo's account of the violence of the Alexandrian mob in the outbreak under Caligula.

8. The **Greeks** are the better-class Macedonian element. There is evidence that their position too was attacked by Physcon (Mahaffy, *Emp. Ptol.*, p. 388).

12 against them. King Ptolemy Philopator to his generals and soldiers in Egypt and every place
13, 14 greeting and prosperity. I myself and our affairs prosper. Our expedition into Asia, of which you yourselves are aware, having been brought to an expected conclusion by the help of the Gods
15 granted us deliberately, we thought, not by force of arms, but by kindness and much benevolence to foster the peoples of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, bestowing benefits upon them with all readiness.
16 And having granted large revenues to the temples in the cities, we came to Jerusalem as well, going up thither to show honour to the temple of the accursed people who never cease from their folly.
17 Seemingly they welcomed our presence, but their welcome was insincere; for when we were eager
18 to enter their shrine and to honour it with magnificent and beautiful offerings, carried away by their ancient pride they prevented us from going in, being left unhurt by our power on account of the
19 benevolence we have to all. But they show plainly their ill-will towards us, and standing alone among nations in their stiff-necked resistance to kings and their own benefactors, they refuse to take
20 anything in a proper spirit. We accommodated ourselves to their folly, and returning victoriously
21 to Egypt, and treating all nations with kindness, have acted as was right. And under these circumstances, making known to all our ready forgiveness of their fellow-countrymen, on account of their alliance, and the numerous matters which have been freely entrusted to them from of old, we have ventured to make a change, and have made up our mind to hold them worthy even of Alex-
22 andrian citizenship, and to give them a share in our religious rites from time to time. But they taking this in the opposite spirit and rejecting the good *offer* with their inborn ill-feeling, and
23 continually inclining to evil, not only refused the invaluable citizenship, but also show their contempt silently and by words for the few among them who behave properly towards us, in every case secretly expecting that through their infamous behaviour we should speedily alter our
24 policy. Therefore having good proof for our persuasion that they are evilly disposed towards us in every way, and taking precautions lest when some sudden tumult is raised against us hereafter
25 we should have these impious people behind our backs as traitors and barbarous foes, we give order that, as soon as this epistle reaches you, you shall at once send to us with harsh and violent treatment those who dwell among you with women and children, binding them fast in every way with
26 iron chains, to meet a terrible and ignominious death, as befits traitors. For we believe that when they have been punished together, our estate will be established for the future in the surest and
27 best condition. And whoever shall harbour any Jew, old man or child or very suckling, shall with
28 all his house be tortured to death with the most horrible torments. Information may be given by any one; *the informer* to receive the estate of the guilty party, with two thousand drachmae from
29 the royal treasury, and to be honoured with freedom. And every place where a Jew shall be detected at all in concealment shall be made a waste and burnt with fire, and shall become entirely
30 useless to any mortal creature for all time. Thus ran the letter.

4 1 In every place where this decree reached, a feast at the public charges was made for the heathen with exultation and joy, the hatred which had long before become inveterate in their hearts being now
2 freely displayed. But among the Jews there was unceasing grief and a lamentable crying with tears, their heart being all aflame with their groanings, as they bewailed the unlooked-for destruction
3 which had been suddenly decreed against them. What district or city or what habitable place at

14. +(after συμμαχια) και ημετερα δε ρωμη inferior cursives 21. και μετοχους . . . καταστησαι] > V 62, 64 Arm 25. εννεμομενους] ενσημαινομενους Luc text, Syr; εμμαινομενους Arm (*ut videtur*) 28. της ελευθεριας στεφανωθησεται] A V 55, 74; +(after ελ.) τευξεται και *al*; 'honoured with a crown of freedom' Arm

IV. 2. αληκτον] V 44, 55, 74 (cf. *Letter of Aristeas*, 269); αλεκτον A; ανηκεστον *al* 3. οικητος] οικτιστος A V; unparalleled = 'habitable', in 2 Macc. ix. 28 = pitiable

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13. On the papyri evidence for the technical terms in this letter see Intr. § 4 *c*; on the parallels with similar official documents in the *Letter of Aristeas* see § 4 *b*.

21. For the confidence reposed in Jews see vi. 25, vii. 7; *Aristeas*, 36, and the Josephus passages quoted on ii. 30. The Elephantine Papyri show that as early as the fifth century B.C. Jewish garrisons had been established by the Persians at Elephantine and Assuan to guard the southern frontier of Egypt.

τῶν ἀεὶ ἱερέων, Edd. tr. 'eternal religious rites'. Mahaffy emends to ἱερειῶν, which he translates by 'priesthood' = ἱερωσυνῶν (*Emp. Ptol.*, p. 268, n. 2). But with this reading, the translation of the text seems better, giving ἀεί its idiomatic classical meaning; for the meaning of ἱερειῶν cf. 2 Kings x. 20.

28. The shorter reading, omitting τεύξεται καί, is to be preferred. Deissmann (*B. S.*, p. 341) emends further to ἐλευθερίᾳ (cf. the reading of the Arm.), the *s* being due to the following στεφανωθήσεται. He gives examples from Polyb. xii. 9. 5 and the papyri of the use of στεφανοῦν in the metaphorical sense of 'reward'. Freedom is opposed to the practical slavery with which the Jews were threatened; cf. ἐλεύθεροι in vii. 20. But it is not probable that the Jews themselves should be expected to be the only informers. Accepting his emendation, it would be better to see a reference to native-born Egyptians, who were practically serfs, and more likely to be specially hostile to the Jews (cf. *Aristeas*, 36), in contrast to the Greeks who favoured them (iii. 8). But much is to be said for the emendation τοῖς ἐλευθερίοις ('at the Eleutheria'); ἐλευθερεύς and ἐλεύθερος were names of Dionysus, and the Eleutheria sometimes meant a festival of Dionysus (v. *Steph. Thes. s. v.*). Though there is no evidence of the Eleutheria in Egypt under the Ptolemies, there is abundant evidence of the cult of Dionysus at this period.

4 all or what streets were not filled with wailing and lamentation for them? For in such manner with harshness and pitiless heart were they sent away with one accord by the generals in the cities, that at the sight of their unusual sufferings even some of their enemies, with common pity before their
5 eyes, remembering the uncertain issue of life, wept at their hapless departure. For there was carried away a multitude of old men, covered with their wealth of grey hairs, forcing to a swift journey their feet bent and sluggish from old age under the violence of their rough driving which knew no
6 shame. And the young women who had but lately entered the marriage chamber for the society of wedded life, with lamentations instead of joy, and with their perfumed locks covered with dust, were carried away unveiled, and with one accord sang a dirge in place of the wedding hymn, scarred by
7 the cruel treatment of the heathen; and as prisoners *exposed to* public *gaze* they were dragged
8 along with violence until they were embarked on board. And their consorts, with ropes on their necks instead of garlands, in the flower of their youthful age, spent the remainder of the days of their marriage feast in dirges instead of mirth and youthful ease, seeing the grave already yawning at their
9 feet. And they were brought on board driven like wild beasts under the constraint of iron bonds; some were fastened by the neck to the benches of the ships; others had their feet secured in the
10 strongest fetters; and further they were shut off from the light by the thick planks above, that in entire darkness they might be treated as traitors throughout the whole voyage.

11 When they had been brought to the place called Schedia, and the voyage was completed as determined by the king, he ordered them to be imprisoned in the hippodrome that was before the city, a place of immense circuit and very suitable for making them a gazing stock to all who entered the city, and to those of the inhabitants (?) who went into the country to sojourn, so that they might
12 neither communicate with his army, or in any way claim protection of the walls. But after this had been done, hearing that their fellow-countrymen in the city often went out in secret and bewailed the
13 shameful fate of their brethren, he was enraged and ordered that they should be treated in exactly
14 the same way as the others, receiving in no respect a lesser punishment. And *he commanded* that the whole race should be registered by name, not for the wearisome service of labour which was briefly described before, but that they should be tortured with the torments to which he had sentenced
15 them, and finally be made an end of in the space of a single day. The registration therefore was carried on with bitter haste and zealous diligence from sunrise to sunset, coming to an end after forty days but still uncompleted.

16 But the king was greatly and continually filled with joy, ordering feasts in the temples of his idols, with a heart far astray from the truth and profane lips, praising dumb *idols* which could not speak
17 to them or help, and uttering words which were not fitting against the most high God. But after the aforesaid space of time the scribes reported to the king that they were no longer able to continue
18 the registration of the Jews on account of their incalculable number; although the greater number of them were still in the country, some still remaining in their homes and others on the journey, it
19 was impossible for all the generals in Egypt. And after he had threatened them fiercely as having
20 been bribed to contrive their escape, he was at length clearly convinced on this point, when they told him and proved that even the paper manufactory and the pens which they used for writing had
21 already given out. But this was the working of the invincible providence of him who was aiding the Jews from heaven.

5. γεραιων πληθος πολια πεπυκασμενων] V *al*, with variations; γερων πληρης πολιας πεπυκασμενων A 10. το φεγγος αποκλειομενοι] > A V Luc text, Arm; but the phrase is necessary to the grammar and sense, and is hardly a glossator's 11. τοις εκ τουτων] This can hardly mean 'those of the inhabitants'. For τουτων read ταυτης: 'those who set out from it to the country' (R. H. C.) περιβολων] V *al*; -ω A; -ου Luc text 16. εις δε τον μεγιστον θεον] > τον μεγιστον θεον A 55, 64, 93; > whole concluding clause V 18. κατα τον πορον] Luc text; κατα τον τοπον A; κατα τροπον V; κατα τοπον *al*; Kautzsch suggests a lacuna at the end of the verse, 'to gather them all together'

IV. 5. The verse is obscure and probably corrupt, but the general sense is clear.

6. Cf. i. 18 ff.

11. Schedia was three miles from Alexandria (Strabo xvii, p. 800); probably a landing-place nearer the city is here intended. The Hippodrome was before the east gate of the city (ib. p. 795).

καταξιῶσαι περιβόλων. Edd. supply αὐτούς as object, 'honour them with the protection of walls'. But this is very awkward grammatically, since it is the subject of the previous clause. For meaning of καταξιοῦν as given in the translation adopted cf. 2 Macc. xiii. 12.

14. See ii. 28 (condition of serfs).

16. Cf. Dn. iv. 4.

20. χαρτηρία is not found elsewhere; cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xviii. 10 *Chartariae officinae.* For γραφικοὶ κάλαμοι cf. Grenfell, *P.* ii. 38. Philo, *c. Fl.* 6, gives the number of Jews in Egypt as a million, but it is impossible to defend the bombastic exaggerations of this chapter. There are also some inconsistencies; *vv.* 12 ff. seem to imply that the Jews in Alexandria had not yet been interfered with, and according to *v.* 18 many of the country Jews are still at large; contrast ii. 27 ff., iv. 1 ff.

5 1 Then he called Hermon who was in charge of the elephants, and filled with bitter anger and
2 wrath, and altogether inflexible, ordered him for the next day to drug all the elephants—in number
five hundred—with copious handfuls of frankincense, and abundance of unmixed wine, and then when
they were maddened by the plentiful supply of drink to bring them in to compass the fate of the Jews.
3 And giving this order he turned to his feasting, having gathered together those of his friends and
4 army who were most hostile to the Jews, while [Hermon] the ruler of the elephants attended to the
5 injunction with all care. And the servants who were in charge of the Jews went out in the evening
and bound the hands of the hapless wretches, taking all other precautions to keep them safe through the
6 night, imagining that the nation would at one blow meet its final destruction. But the Jews who
seemed to the heathen to be destitute of all protection, on account of the constraint and bonds
7 which encompassed them on every side, with crying that would not be silenced, all called with tears
8 on the almighty Lord and ruler of all power, their merciful God and father, beseeching him to
frustrate the wicked design against them and to deliver them by a glorious manifestation from the
9 fate yawning ready before them. So their prayer ascended fervently to heaven; but Hermon,
10 having given the pitiless elephants drink till they were filled with the plenteous supply of wine and
sated with frankincense, came early in the morning to the palace to report to the king about this.
11 But the good creature, bestowed night and day from the beginning of time by him who gives the
12 portion of sleep to all, *even* to whomsoever he will, *this* he sent upon the king; and he was over-
borne by a sweet and heavy *slumber* by the operation of the Lord, thus being greatly foiled in his
13 lawless purpose, and utterly disappointed in his unchangeable design. But the Jews having escaped
the appointed hour praised their holy God, and again besought him who is ready to forgive to
14 manifest the might of his all-powerful hand before the proud eyes of the heathen. But when the
middle of the tenth hour had nearly come he who was in charge of the invitations, seeing the guests
15 assembled, went to the king and shook him. And having woken him up with difficulty, he pointed out
16 that the hour for the banquet was already passing, reminding him of the circumstances. And the
king considering these, betook himself to his cups and ordered those who had come for the banquet
17 to take their places over against him. And when this had been done he called on them to give them-
selves up to revelry, and counting themselves highly honoured to reckon as a joy the feast, late as it
18 was. And when the entertainment had gone on for some time, the king called Hermon and asked with
19 fierce threats why the Jews had been allowed to survive that day. But when he pointed out that he
20 had completely carried out the order overnight, and his friends confirmed him, the king with a rage
more fierce than Phalaris, said that *the Jews* might thank his sleep for the *respite* of the day; but,
he added, make ready the elephants in the same manner without further delay for the following day
21 to destroy utterly the accursed Jews. When the king had spoken, all who were present readily
22 assented with joy with one accord, and each one departed to his own house. But they did not
spend the night season in sleep, so much as in devising all manner of cruel insults for those whom
they thought to be in such wretched plight.
23 So as soon as the cock had crowed in the morning, Hermon harnessed the beasts and began to
24 put them in motion in the great colonnade. And the multitudes in the city assembled for the
25 piteous spectacle, eagerly looking for the break of day. But the Jews drawing their last breath for
but a brief moment more, with tearful supplications and strains of woe, raising their hands to heaven,
26 besought the most high God again to help them speedily. The rays of the sun were not yet scattered
abroad, and the king was receiving his friends, when Hermon came to his side and invited him to go
27 forth, explaining that the desire of the king was ready to be fulfilled. When the king understood
him, he was astonished at the unusual *summons* to go forth, having been overwhelmed with complete
28 ignorance, and asked †what was the matter on account of which this had been so zealously completed†.
But this was the operation of God the ruler of all, who had put in his mind forgetfulness of his former
29 devices. But Hermon and all his friends pointed to the beasts and the army; It is prepared, O king,

V. 4. Ερμων] τω Ερμωνι Luc text, Syr, reading ἀραρότως as a proper name, αρορωτ. But H. is the ἐλεφαντάρχης; the position suggests the name is a gloss; Arm > 12. κατεσχεθη] A V *al*; κατασχεθεις υπνω απο εσπερας εως εννατης Luc text, Syr 17. το παρωρον της συμποσιας . . . εις ευφροσυνης (-ην V) καταθεσθαι μερος] V Luc text, Arm; το παρον . . . εις ευφροσυνην A *al* 27. τι το πραγμα εφ ου τουτο αυτω μετα σπουδης τετελεσται] οτι το διασαφουμενον ετι αυτω ει μετα σπουδης τετελεσται A 19, 93 (A > ει); οτι το διμαφουν . . . τετελεσθαι V; apparently a primitive corruption, though the general sense is clear

V. 2. Philadelphus had 300 elephants; Philopator had 73 at Raphia.

5. The mention of the binding has been supposed to be inconsistent with iii. 25, iv. 9; but it is to be presumed that once the Jews were safe in the hippodrome, their fetters were taken off.

14. i. e. 3.30 p.m., the Babylonian reckoning being in use in Egypt.

20. **Phalaris**—the tyrant of Agrigentum in the sixth century B. C., whose cruelty had become proverbial (Polyb. xii. 25); cf. *inf. v.* 42.

30 according to thine eager purpose. But he was filled with fierce anger at the words, because by the providence of God he had entirely lost his wits on this matter, and looking on him said threaten-
31 ingly, If thy parents or offspring were here, I would have furnished them as this rich banquet for the fierce beasts in place of the Jews against whom I have no charge and who have shown in a pre-
32 eminent degree a full and unshaken loyalty to my ancestors. And indeed, if it were not for the
33 affection *kindled* by our life together and thy service, thou shouldst have died instead of these. So
34 Hermon met with an unexpected and dangerous threat, and his eyes and countenance fell. And *the king's* friends, slinking away sullenly one by one, sent away the assembled crowds, each to his
35 own business. And the Jews hearing the words of the king, praised the Lord God who had manifested *his glory*, the king of kings, having obtained this help also from him.

36 But the king, having arranged the banquet once more in the same way, ordered them to turn to
37 their pleasures. And calling Hermon he said threateningly, How often, thou wretched creature,
38 must I give thee orders about these very things? Even now make ready the elephants for the
39 morrow to destroy the Jews. But his kinsmen who sat at table with him wondered at his shifting
40 purpose, and remonstrated, How long, O King, dost thou make trial of us as though we were fools, now for the third time giving orders for their destruction, and once more when the matter is in
41 hand changing and cancelling thy decree? Wherefore the city is in a tumult through its expectation, and being crowded with throngs of people has now been several times in danger of being put
42 to plunder. On this the king, a Phalaris in all things, was filled with madness, and, reckoning nothing of the changes of mind which had been wrought in him for the protection of the Jews, swore strongly a fruitless oath that he would without delay send to the grave the Jews mangled by
43 the knees and feet of the beasts, and would march against Judaea and quickly level it to the ground with fire and sword, †and burning to the earth their temple which we might not enter would quickly
44 make it empty for all time of those who sacrificed therein†. Then his friends and kinsmen went away joyfully with good confidence, and ordered the army to the most convenient places of the city
45 to keep guard. And the ruler of the elephants, having driven the beasts into a state almost, one might say, of madness by fragrant draughts of wine mingled with frankincense, and having fitted
46 them in a fearful guise with implements, at dawn, the city being now filled with countless multitudes thronging towards the hippodrome, entered the palace and urged on the king to the business that
47 lay before him. And he, his impious heart filled with fierce anger, started forth with all his force with the beasts, determined with an unfeeling heart and his own eyes to gaze on the grievous and
48 piteous destruction of the afore-mentioned *Jews*. And when they saw the dust raised by the elephants going out at the gate, and the armed force accompanying them, and the movement of the
49 crowd, and heard the far-sounding tumult, thinking that the last crisis of their life had come and the end of their miserable suspense, they betook themselves to lamentation and groans, and kissed one another, embracing their relatives and falling on their necks, parents and children, mothers and
50 daughters; and others with new-born babes at their breast drawing their last milk. But none the less, reflecting on their former deliverances sent from heaven, with one accord they threw them-
51 selves on their faces, and took the babes from their breasts, and cried out with an exceeding loud voice, beseeching the ruler of all power by a manifestation to show pity upon them now that they were come to the gates of death.

6 1 But a certain Eleazar, a man of note among the priests of the country, whose years had already

29. At the end of this verse 64 has a long addition (14 lines in *Holmes and Parsons*), according to which the king is inclined to spare the Jews; his friends, including Hermon (who is mentioned as though for the first time), remind him of his decree, and the dangerous character of the Jews 30. *μετα απειλης*] + *εις τον Ερμωνα και δυσμενεσι λογοις λοιδορησας* Luc text 31. *εσκευασα αν*] 62; *εσκευασαν* A V 40. *ως αλογους*] V *al*; > 19, 93; > *αλογους* A; 'in thy mind' Arm 42. *Φαλαρις*] *σφαλερος* Arm (a tempting variant, but cf. v. 20) 43. *πυρι πρηνεα εν ταχει και των συντελουντων εκει θυσιας ερημον τον απαντα χρονον καταστησειν*] *πυρι πρην* A V; > *και* A V *al*; > *ερημον* A V Arm *al*; + *εις* (before *τον*) A V *al*; Arm paraphrases freely. The verse is in confusion, and we seem to have a conflate reading (n. b. repetition of *πυρί*, *στήσεσθαι—καταστήσειν*, *διὰ τάχους—ἐν τάχει*). Swete emends *πρην* to *πρησαντα*, but the verse remains unintelligible with the omission of *καί* and *ἔρημον* in the Uncials. Perhaps *πυρι πρην* conceals some adj. governing *τῶν συντελούντων*. Or a tempting emendation would be *πυραν*, which a scribe might have altered to *πυρην*, hesitating as to the form, *πυραν πυρην* giving rise to *πυρι πρην*: 'make [the temple] the funeral pyre of those who sacrifice there.' The objection is that it becomes necessary to omit *τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*.

VI. 1. *ιερεων*] *Ιουδαιων* A, evidently objecting to the presence of Jewish priests in Alexandria

31. The first part of the verse is an iambic, apparently an unidentified quotation from a poet.
39. **kinsmen**—the *συγγενής* was the regular term for the higher officials at the Ptolemaic court.
43. **we**—from the king's point of view, as though the clause was in *oratio recta*.
45. i. e. scythes, knives, &c. were attached to the elephants.

VI. 1. Eleazar is the typical old man of piety and faith; cf. 2 Macc. vi. 18; 4 Macc. vi. 5, vii. 1, and *Letter of Aristeas*, 41, &c.

priests: vii. 13 shows that this reading is right. They are the priests of the temple at Leontopolis and the fact

reached old age, and who was adorned with every virtue of life, made the elders who were round
2 him cease from calling on the holy God, and prayed thus: King of great power, most high, almighty
3 God, who governest all creation with loving-kindness, look upon the seed of Abraham, the children of Jacob thy sanctified one, the people of thy sanctified inheritance, who are unjustly perishing,
4 strangers in a strange land. O Father, thou didst destroy Pharaoh, the former ruler of this Egypt, with his multitude of chariots, when he was lifted high in his lawless insolence and a tongue speaking great things, drowning him together with his proud host, and didst cause the light of thy
5 mercy to shine upon the race of Israel. Thou, when Sennacherib, the cruel king of the Assyrians, was puffed up by his countless hosts, after he had taken the whole earth captive by his sword, and was lifted up against thy holy city speaking grievous words of boasting and insolence, thou, Lord,
6 didst break him in pieces, making manifest thy power to many nations. Thou, when the three friends in Babylonia freely gave their life to the flames that they should not serve vain things, didst make as dew the fiery furnace, and deliver them unharmed even to the hair of their head, turning the
7 flame upon all their adversaries. Thou, when Daniel was cast through the slanders of envy to the
8 lions beneath the ground as food for wild beasts, didst bring him up to the light unhurt. And when Jonah was languishing unpitied in the belly of the sea-born monster, thou didst restore him,
9 O Father, uninjured to all his household. And now thou hater of insolence, rich in mercy, protector of all, quickly manifest thyself to the saints of Israel's line, in their insolent oppression by the
10 abominable and lawless heathen. And if our life has been ensnared in impious deeds during our sojourning, save us from the hand of the enemy, and destroy us, O Lord, by whatever fate thou
11 choosest. Let not the men whose thoughts are vanity bless their vain *gods* for the destruction of
12 thy beloved, saying, Neither has their God delivered them. Thou who hast all might and all power, the Eternal, look now upon us; pity us who by the mad insolence of lawless men are
13 being sent to death as traitors; and let the heathen to-day fear thy invincible might, thou glorious
14 one, who hast mighty works for the salvation of the race of Israel. The whole multitude of babes
15 with their parents beseecheth thee with tears. Let it be shown to all heathen that thou art with us, O Lord, and hast not turned thy face away from us; but as thou hast said, Not even when they were in the land of their enemies have I forgotten them, even so bring it to pass, O Lord.

16 And when Eleazar was even now ending his prayer, the king with the beasts and the whole
17 insolent array of his army came to the hippodrome. And the Jews beholding it raised a great cry to heaven, so that now the surrounding valleys re-echoed it, and caused in all the hosts an incon-
18 trollable trembling. Then the greatly glorious, almighty, and true God, making manifest his holy face, opened the gates of heaven, from which two glorious angels of terrible aspect descended, visible to
19 all but the Jews, and withstood them and filled the army of the adversaries with confusion and
20 terror, and bound them with immovable fetters. And a great horror seized on the body of the
21 king as well, and his fierce insolence was forgotten. And the beasts turned round against the armed hosts that followed them and began to tread them under foot and destroy them.

22 And the king's wrath was turned to pity and tears on account of that which he had devised
23 before. For hearing the outcry and seeing them all prostrate to meet their death, he wept and
24 angrily threatened his friends, saying, Ye usurp the kingly power, surpassing even tyrants in your cruelty; and me myself, who am your benefactor, ye plot to deprive of my dominion and my life,
25 devising secretly things that are unprofitable to the kingdom. Who hath driven each one from his home the men who have faithfully held the fortresses of our country, and gathered them here without

8. αφειδως] -ων 55; αφιδων A; αφελων V; επιδων Luc text A, Luc text (ποιην 62); οιμωγην *al*; > V 55 9. σκεπαστα] δικαστα A αγιοις] απο V 17. πτοην]

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that the writer recognizes them shows that the bias against the Onias temple, which Willrich and others have found in the book, is not very marked.

6. Cf. Dn. iii. 50 (LXX) ἐποίησεν τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου ὡσεὶ πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον; and iii. 94 (Heb. iii. 27) for 'hair of the head'.

8. The restoration of Jonah to his home is not mentioned in the O.T., but is easily inferred.

15. Lev. xxvi. 44.

18. **greatly glorious.** Cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 20; T. Lev. iii. 4, where God is called 'the Great Glory'. For the relation to the narrative of Josephus see Intr. § 5 *b*. For the terror inspired by visions cf. 2 Macc. iii. 24 ff., x. 29; Wisd. xvii. 3, 15, xviii. 17, the repulse of Heliodorus in the first passage being the nearest parallel. Similar ideas meet us in Greek history, e.g. the apparitions at Marathon and Salamis. The peculiar feature here is that the vision is not seen by the Jews themselves. The suggestion that they were already sufficiently terrified is not very convincing. Possibly the current Jewish version of the story ascribed the fright of the elephants to some other cause. But it is noticeable that there are no other references to angels in the book, even in the reference to Sennacherib in vi. 5; the writer did not belong to the school which delighted in them, and he makes as little of their appearance as he can.

25. For the services of the Jews cf. passages quoted on iii. 21.

26 reason? Who hath thus lawlessly overwhelmed with indignities those who from the beginning have
been in all things conspicuous beyond all nations in their goodwill towards us, and have ofttimes
27 encountered the worst dangers man *can undergo*? Loose, yea loose, their unjust bonds; send
28 them to their homes in peace, asking pardon for what has been already done. Set free the sons of
the almighty living God of Heaven, who from the days of our ancestors until now hath granted an
29 unimpaired stability and glory to our estate. Thus he spake; and they, having been set free in
a moment, praised the holy God their saviour, having but now escaped death.

30 Then the king returning to the city called the officer who was over the revenues, and ordered him
to supply to the Jews for a space of seven days wines and all else necessary for a feast, decreeing
that they should keep a festival of deliverance with all manner of rejoicing in the very place in
31 which they had thought to meet their fate. Then those who before were reviled and nigh to the
grave, or rather had already one foot therein, instead of a bitter and most lamentable death, held
a banquet to celebrate their deliverance, and full of joy they portioned between their companies the
32 place which had been prepared for their destruction and grave. And ceasing the piteous strain of
dirges, they took up the song of their fathers, praising God the saviour of Israel and doer of wonders;
and laying aside all wailing and lamentation they formed dances in token of joy for their safe
33 deliverance. And likewise the king too convening a great banquet in celebration of this, unceasingly
34 gave thanks in exalted terms to heaven for their unexpected deliverance. And those who before
supposed that they (the Jews) were doomed to destruction and to be food for birds, and had joyfully
carried out the registration, groaned at finding themselves covered with confusion and their fiery blast
35 of insolence quenched ingloriously. And the Jews, as we have already said, formed the dance which
36 we have before described, and spent their time in feasting with joyful thanksgiving and psalms. And
establishing a public ordinance about this, to be observed for all their sojourning from generation to
generation, they appointed the days mentioned to be kept as a festival, not for the sake of drinking
37 or gluttony, but in memory of the salvation granted them by God. And they petitioned the king,
desiring to depart to their home.

38 Now they were registering them from the twenty-fifth day of Pachon to the fourth of Epiphi,
for forty days; and they were appointing their destruction from the fifth of Epiphis to the seventh,
39 three days. And on these did the ruler of all with great glory manifest his mercy and deliver them
40 one and all unhurt. And they feasted, provided with all things by the king, till the fourteenth day
on which they also made petition for their return.

41 And the king granting their request wrote for them the following letter to the generals in the
cities, generously declaring his purpose.

7 1 King Ptolomaeus Philopator to the generals in Egypt and to all set over his affairs greeting and
2 prosperity. We ourselves and our children prosper, the great God directing our estate as we will.
3 Certain of our friends with evil heart by frequently urging the matter upon us persuaded us to gather
together in a body the Jews in the kingdom, and to inflict upon them extraordinary punishments as
4 traitors, urging that our state would never be firmly established, on account of the enmity which
5 they have to all nations, until this was done. And they, bringing them bound with harsh treatment
as slaves, or rather traitors, without any inquiry or examination, attempted to put them to death,
6 girding themselves with a cruelty fiercer than Scythian customs. But we severely threatened them
for this, and of the clemency which we have to all men scarcely granted them their lives; and
knowing that the God of heaven surely protects the Jews, fighting on their side continually as a

26. επιδεδειγμενους] A V 55, 93; επιδεδεγμενους *al* 31. δυσαιακτου] δυσατακτου A V (? a *vox nihili*); δυσαχθους Luc text; > Arm 33. αυτων] A 55, 93 Arm; αυτω *al*; > V

VII. 2. πραγματα] προσταγματα A

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31. **companies** (κλισίας): cf. Luke ix. 14.

36. Cf. Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 6. The institution of festivals is a common feature at this period; cf. Esth. ix. 15; 1 Macc. iv. 56, vii. 59, xiii. 50; 2 Macc. x. 6, xv. 36; Judith xvi. 25 (Vulg.). The Canopus stone shows that they were equally popular outside Jewish circles.

37. ἐντυγχάνω, technical of a petition to a king, &c. (cf. ἐντυχία, v. 40); see Intr. § 4 *c*.

38. **Pachon**, April 26–May 25; **Epiphi** (in Papyri, Epeiph), June 25–July 24. The names are Egyptian. The Macedonian and Egyptian calendars were combined towards the end of the second century B.C. Accordingly the dropping of the older double dating by months of both systems does not prove that this book belongs to the Roman period.

VII. 1. On the official language of the letter see ii. 12.

For ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων (cf. 2 Macc. iii. 7) see Deissmann, *B.S.*, p. 306. In inscriptions it is technical, as here, 'first minister', but in Polybius and Josephus it stands for the viceroy of an absent king.

2. Philopator had no legitimate son till 208 B.C.

For this and the following verses cf. *Letter of Aristeas*, 37, and vi. 25–8 *sup.*

5. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 47 for Scythian cruelty.

7 father for his children, and taking into account the goodwill as of a friend which they have shown unswervingly to us and our ancestors, we have rightly absolved them from all blame on whatsoever
8 account. And we have ordered them each to return to his own home, and that no one in any place
9 should injure them at all or reproach them for their unreasonable sufferings. For know well that if we devise any evil against them, or harm them in any way, we shall have not man but the ruler of all power, the most high God as an adversary to avenge what is done, *and that* in every way and at all time without being able to escape him. Fare ye well.

10 *The Jews* receiving this epistle did not at once make haste to prepare for their departure, but desired further of the king that those of the Jewish race who had of their own will transgressed against the holy God [and the law of God] should receive at their hand fitting punishment,
11 urging that those who for their belly's sake had transgressed against the divine commands would
12 never be well disposed to the king's commands either. And he acknowledging the truth of what they said and praising them, gave them full indemnity to destroy in every place in his dominions those who had transgressed against the law of God, *and this* with all freedom without any
13 further authority or inquiry from the king. Then having received his words with applause, as was
14 fitting, their priests and the whole multitude with shouts of hallelujah departed in joy. So as they went on their way they slew whomsoever they met of their countrymen who had been defiled, and
15 put them to death with ignominy. And on that day they slew over three hundred men, and they
16 kept it as a joyful festival, having destroyed the impious. But they themselves who had held fast to God even unto death, and had entered into the full enjoyment of their safe delivery, departed from the city crowned with all manner of fragrant flowers and with cries of joy, in praises and melodious hymns giving thanks to the God of their fathers, the eternal saviour of Israel.

17 And when they had reached Ptolemais, called on account of the peculiarity of the place, The
18 rose-bearing, the fleet according to their general wish waited for them seven days, and they held there a banquet to celebrate their deliverance, the king having generously provided for them all
19 things for their journey until each one had come to his own home. Having reached the end of their voyage in peace with befitting thanksgivings, there too in like manner they determined to
20 observe these days as well as a festival during the time of their sojourning; and having inscribed them as holy on a pillar, and having dedicated a place of prayer on the spot where they had held their festival, they departed unharmed, free, and full of joy, being brought safely on their journey by land and sea and river according to the king's command, each to his own country,
21 having even greater authority than before in the eyes of their enemies with glory and respect,
22 and being despoiled by no one at all of their goods. And they all recovered the whole of their property according to the registration, so that those who held any of it returned it with great fear, the great God having perfectly wrought great things for their salvation.

23 Blessed be the deliverer of Israel for ever and ever. Amen.

10. *και του θεου τον νομον*] > *και* A V; *και τον του θεου νομον* Luc text. The omission of *καί* and the variation in order shows that the words are a gloss 16. *σωτηριας απολαυσιν*] *σωτηριαν απολυσιν* A *αιωνιω*] V *al*; *αγιω* A 44, 74 20. *προσευχην*] 19, 93; *-ῃ* 62; *-ης* A V *al* (due to the attraction of *τόπον*) 20, 21. *εις την ιδιαν και πλειστην η εμπροσθεν*] > *ιδιαν . . . η* A; > *η* V; V is clearly right, the homoioteleuton in *εις την* and *πλειστην* explaining A's omission + *Μακκαβαιων γ'* A V

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17. **Ptolemais**—not the famous city in Upper Egypt, but 'Ptolemais at the harbour', on the widening of the canal, 12 miles SW. of Cairo. See Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayum P.*, pp. 12 ff. The epithet *ῥοδόφορος* is not found elsewhere.

20. **sea** has been criticized as a gross error, but Abrahams refers it to Lake Moeris, a view which Wilbrich questions (*Hermes*, xxxix, p. 244). We may compare the use of *θάλασσα* for the Lake of Galilee. But the choice of the word is probably due to the writer's love of rhetoric. On any view of the book it comes from Alexandria, and shows considerable local knowledge. It is therefore beside the point to attempt to convict the writer of a childish geographical error.

In *Tebt. P.* 86 (second century B.C.) we find a Jewish *προσευχή* at Arsinoe.

22. Nothing was said of any confiscation of property connected with the registration, unless the reference is to cases where informers had received a reward (iii. 28). More probably we have here a reminiscence of some occasion on which there was some general attempt at confiscation; the feature of the book is its combination of a variety of attacks on the Jews (Intr. § 6 *b*).

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

This book, composed, possibly in Aramaic, in the last quarter of the third century B.C., probably emanated from orthodox circles in Egypt. It therefore throws considerable light upon the religious and ethical conditions of the Diaspora in that country some 150 years after the date of the recently discovered Aramaic papyri.

The evidences of its popularity, almost from the moment of its composition until the eighteenth or nineteenth century of our era, in themselves constitute a long and interesting history. Its influence is apparent alike in Jewish writings, in the New Testament, in the early Church and in mediaeval art. Carefully revised by A.D. 150 in Jewish circles into the form most common to-day, but almost immediately translated into Aramaic from the first Greek version and later, and more than once, into Hebrew, and yet again revised in Greek in Christian circles, it remained on the one hand a favourite Jewish work, and on the other hand, translated into various languages, it followed the spread of the Christian religion to Edessa in the East, to Rome and Africa in the West, and Ethiopia in the South.

Its religious and moral outlook, with a delightful mixture of real piety and Oriental superstition, is still refreshing to the modern reader. The author's chief merit, however, lies not so much in the originality of his conceptions as in his artistic genius and inimitable art in combining, and working up, strong priestly and prophetic tendencies, distinct pagan and Jewish sources, various written and oral information, definite religious and moral precepts, into a work of singular aesthetic beauty and remarkably liberal sympathies. 'Is it history?' wrote Luther. 'Then is it a holy history. Is it fiction? Then is it a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the performance of a gifted poet.'

§ 2. Title.

The original Greek title was Βίβλος λόγων Τωβείθ which was only modified in R^V in the spelling of the last word—Τωβίτ Cod. Vat.—εἴτ Cod. Al.[1] The title is not extant in R^C. For the other versions see *critical synopsis*.

§ 3. Greek MSS. and Papyrus.

These fall into three groups, representative, along with the versions mentioned in § 4, of three distinct recensions. Their interrelation constitutes a problem of such extreme intricacy and length as to preclude little more than a bare statement of the main conclusion to which the present writer has come. A full statement of his reasons and further details, with a *résumé* of the modern treatment of the problem, he is therefore compelled to publish elsewhere.[2]

[1] Müller supposes that father and son were originally the same individual, whom some editor, later than the author, artificially separated into two when he re-wrote the work in its present form, since in the later portion of the book Sarah appears as a parallel figure to Tobias, but in the earlier portion remnants still remain, e.g. iii. 16, 17, of her original connexion with Tobit. This hypothesis is connected with Müller's theory that the author of Tobit was not a Jew, and that *Tobit* was a foreign name of which *Tobiah* was a welcome variation. But no relics of undigested paganism remain in the work. The forms Τωβείθ (R^S) and Τωβείτ (chiefly R^V, R^C) are Semitic names in Greek dress. Γεννησαρέθ and Ναζαρέθ with their by-forms Γεννησαρέτ and Ναζαρέτ are quite analogous.

[2] The evidence, however, derived from the literary and linguistic characteristics of the respective recensions, is overwhelming. That from the *contents* of the book is equally strong, since it demonstrates that the redaction we shall call R^V is a modification of R^S inasmuch as it reflects (1) the general presuppositions and ideas, (2) the historical conditions, and (3) the religious characteristics and theological developments of an age long subsequent to that in which R^S was written.

i. CODEX SINAITICUS (ℵ). This MS. presents the longest and clearest text, with only two lacunae of great importance[1] and eight slight and practically unimportant ones,[2] a comparatively trustworthy orthography of proper names,[3] only one or two additions to the original text,[4] and only a few—mostly natural—cases of internal textual corruption.[5] All the evidence, as will be seen, points to the comparative originality of the recension of Tobit contained in ℵ, which stands in a few cases alone, but is supported especially by the Old Latin, very frequently by the Aramaic, often by the Münster Hebrew, and—by no means rarely—by the recension of the Greek which we shall term R^C. Some of those scholars, who regard ℵ as only secondary, have described it as *the* B *text*, or simply B, a nomenclature which, apart from prejudging the problem, at least introduces considerable confusion since B is universally recognized as the symbol for Codex Vaticanus, which, according to these scholars, along with Cod. Alex., represents *the* A *text*.[6] In the following pages, therefore, we have avoided this begging of the question and much confusion by referring to the text of ℵ and its auxiliaries not as *the* A *text* (as we believe it to be) but as R^S, i. e. *the Sinaitic recension, the nearest approach which can be made to the original text whether the latter first appeared in Greek or in a Semitic language.* It is this text which has been translated and commented upon in the following pages.[7] The corrector denoted by $ℵ^{ca}$ began to emend the first scribe's text of ℵ, but seems to have recognized that it was essentially divergent from the later one better known in his time and abandoned the task.

ii. CODEX VATICANUS (B) AND CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A) give the second type of text. It is accepted in some quarters as more original than ℵ. In the following pages it is referred to as R^V, i. e. the recension best preserved in Cod. Vat. A number of minuscules[8] belong to this class, but their practical unimportance, except in one or two isolated cases,[9] is admitted by all scholars. The differences between Codd. A and B are comparatively few,[10] and the Syriac, when it follows R^V, follows it practically unerringly and continuously, as do some other versions mentioned below.[11] On the other hand, the differences between R^V as a whole and R^S in its original form are extraordinarily numerous and important in spite of the number of points in which they agree. When R^S faithfully records an incident in detail, R^V summarizes; when R^S retains the poetic and aesthetic beauty of the original, R^V ruthlessly substitutes a brief prosaic narrative. That the text of R^V was finally settled in the reign of Antoninus Pius, not in Christian but in Jewish circles of the Diaspora in touch with the official heads of the Jewish Church in Palestine, is more than sufficiently proved by its general presuppositions and ideas, historical background, and its religious and theological developments in comparison with R^S. R^V, moreover, in spite of its own internal solidity, presents a much corrupted text with the proper names badly written, its grammar that of the vernacular and its style

[1] viz. iv. 6^b–19^a; xiii. 6^b–10^a. They are peculiar to this MS., not derived from its archetype, not destructive of its reputation for general reliability, and easily explicable; see notes *ad loc.*

[2] viz. i. 2, 4, 5; ii. 2, 8; ix. 5; xi. 12, 13; xiii. 11, chiefly single words, at times only the copula and a conjunction.

[3] See notes to i. 1, 2, 15; v. 6; vi. 13; xi. 18; xiv. 10, 15.

[4] xi. 15, due simply to dittography; xii. 9 (merely a gloss).

[5] ii. 1 (case ending), 12; iv. 19^b (owing to the omission in verses 6^b–19^a); v. 6 (already mentioned in previous note); vi. 13 (12); viii. 3, 15; xi. 1 (?), 4; xiii. 16; exclusive of xiv. 4 where the textual corruption ℵ shares with all extant MSS. and versions is outweighed by its unique preservation of the original *Nahum.*

[6] Müller's 𝔏 for R^S and 𝔎 for R^V avoid this difficulty, but lay too much stress on the comparative length of the two recensions to the exclusion of more important and characteristic differences.

[7] The text of ℵ is printed by Swete below that of B in vol. ii of *The Old Testament in Greek* with the variations of A noted at the bottom of each page, an arrangement which, in addition to the premium it allows B, has led, as Nestle, *Septuagintastudien*, iii, 1899, has shown, to some slight confusion in the critical apparatus. This text has, however, been used for the present translation. Swete's verse-numbering of ℵ has also been adopted, that of the Revised English Version appearing in brackets wherever it differs from Swete's. In Fritzsche's *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, 1853, the readings of the Alexandrine and Sinaitic are at times interchanged! In *La Sainte Bible Polyglotte, Ancien Testament*, vol. iii, 1902, edited by F. Vigouroux, B appears on the extreme left, next to it ℵ, on the right-hand page the Vulgate and a French translation. This work is therefore more convenient to consult, but is not ideal, since its critical apparatus notices only a *minimum* of variants of ℵ, B, A, P^2 (= Holmes 243), P^3 (a hitherto uncollated MS. identical, it is claimed, with Holmes 106), and makes no comparative collation of any of the other MSS. and versions. As long ago as 1870 Fr. H. Reusch published an emended text of ℵ with a carefully constructed synopsis of the various readings of the Old Latin MSS. in his *Libellus Tobit e codice Sinaitico editus et recensitus*—a work, to which the present writer is much indebted, though it presents no synopsis at all of the various recensions of R^V and R^C nor even of the more important translations other than the Old Latin.

[8] Their variations are noted by Fritzsche in most cases, but only a few instances, e. g. in ch. vi, appear in our critical synopsis.

[9] e. g. xiv. 15; cf. note *ad loc.*

[10] Cod. A is not, however, quite unimportant since it frequently inclines to R^S, thus showing the antiquity of this latter redaction and its refusal to be ousted entirely by R^V. For the relation of these two MSS. to each other, see Schulte, *Biblische Zeitschr.*, 1908, pp. 262–5.

[11] The solidity of R^V is naturally no guarantee of its antiquity.

abrupt. A minute analysis of these and many other indications of its inferiority as compared with R^S can be seen in the critical apparatus (or, as it might be better described, synopsis) of the differences in the case of each verse and often each word which is printed below the translation of R^S in the following pages.[1]

iii. Between vi. 7 (8) and xiii. 8 THE MINUSCULES 44 (CITTAVIENSIS) 106 (FERRARIENSIS) and 107 (FERRARIENSIS, written *c.* 1337, agreeing almost entirely with 106), furnish a fragment of a third type of text.[2] Before vi. 7 (8) and after xiii. 8 these cursives follow R^V, but it has now been demonstrated by the discovery of the OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS No. 1076[3] that R^C commenced at any rate as early as ch. ii.[4] R^C presents a few characteristics avowedly late, and it is noteworthy that we have no contemporary evidence for the use of a single reading peculiar to it prior to 2 Clem. *ad Cor.* xvi. 16, which presupposes the recension of R^C in Tob. xii. 8. Dr. Rendel Harris[5] has argued that, since this admittedly finer version—at least from the Christian standpoint—of R^C in xii. 8 was known to the author of 2 Clem., it is consequently the original text, though differing from both R^S and R^V. But, if any argument as to the date or originality of the verse can be based on 2 Clem., it is surely that its use in 2 Clem. is evidence for its existence not at an early time but at a period later than R^S, even if it was more or less contemporary with R^V. Moreover, at Alexandria R^V was still in use in the time of Clement of Alexandria, and it is not till the sixth century[6] that the Oxyrhynchus papyrus witnesses definitely to the existence of R^C in Egypt. On the other hand, individual readings in R^C, not now extant in ℵ or BA, may conceivably go back to a considerably earlier date, if not to the original writing, if they are supported by a version which is either itself admittedly ancient or known to contain a text which—on independent grounds—follows R^S in the great majority of cases. Accordingly in ii. 8 it has been possible to restore the original reading of R^S from R^C as preserved in the papyrus, owing to its agreement with the invaluable Old Latin MSS. α and β which so constantly, if not invariably, attest ℵ's general trustworthiness. R^C in fact is a *mediating* redaction, representing a compromise between R^S and R^V. A sentence is preserved in part as it appears in the former, and in part recast in the mould of the latter. It would appear that R^V was in general vogue at the time when R^C arose, but, while the brevity and other characteristics of R^V appealed to its readers, the extent and character of its deviations from R^S precluded its complete popularity everywhere. R^C is therefore an attempt to combine the improvements of R^V with the ancient and well-established R^S.

§ 4. NON-GREEK VERSIONS.

These are indispensable for a critical investigation of the text (*a*) as showing the form in which the book was read in various quarters of the world in several different languages; (*b*) as being by no means insignificant aids to the recovery of the true text of the various chief recensions (R^S, R^V, R^C) to which they belong; (*c*) as conceivably containing among their unique readings a few potentially original ones. Consequently the older versions appear in the critical synopsis below the new translation of R^S in the following pages. The less ancient and less literal, with the exception of Fagius' Hebrew, have not been taken into account there owing to the lack of space in the present volume and their comparative unimportance. A few of their more important readings are enumerated by Marshall, *HDB*, art. 'Tobit.'

A. Aramaic.

The Aramaic version of our book demands our careful attention. This is the case not simply because, as a result of the pronouncements of Neubauer and Bickell,[7] it has been popularly regarded

[1] A less exact idea of the relations of R^S and R^V may be obtained by comparing this translation of R^S with that of the Revised English Version, which, presenting R^V, follows chiefly the readings of Cod. Alex. against Cod. Vat. when the former is supported by the majority of the minuscules. See also C. J. Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*, 1892.

[2] Printed in full by Fritzsche with a collation of the majority of the variants of 44, 106, 107, to which the present writer is chiefly indebted. Vigouroux claims that his P^3 ('supplément grec 609'), hitherto uncollated, is identical with 106. He prints it in full where its variants from R^S and R^V are very numerous. He holds that this revision was made at the commencement of the fourth century by Hesychius.

[3] See A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, viii, 1911. No. 1076 (9·5 × 13·9 cm.) is the lower part of a vellum leaf, the text being written in two columns, and one side of the leaf has shrivelled so that the letters were considerably larger originally.

[4] See ii. 2–4, 5, 8, note *ad loc.* That this fragment belongs to R^C has been proved beyond dispute by Dr. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–9; see further notes to ii. 2–8 on pp. 205 f. below.

[5] *A. J. Th.*, iii, 1899, pp. 547–9.

[6] This is the date assigned to 1076 by Dr. Hunt in view of its carefully formed, large round uncials, the similarity to other papyri of the same date, and the brown colour ink commonly found in the Byzantine period.

[7] *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol.* ii, pp. 216 ff., 764 ff.

as one of the most genuine representatives of the original form of the book, and is still supposed by some scholars to be the 'Chaldee' text used by Jerome,[1] but also on account of the problem of the Aramaic dialect in which it appears, and finally on account of the subsidiary evidence it supplies in favour of the antiquity and originality of R^S. It was first published by Neubauer in 1875, being the fifth part of a MS.[2] in the Bodleian Library, and is headed והוא כתוב במדרש רבה דרבה. This Midrash Rabbah of Rabbah is identified by Neubauer with the *B'reshith Rabbah major* of Martini, which in turn is identified by Zunz,[3] but not by Neubauer, with the *Bereshith Rabbah* of R. Moses had-Darshan.

The linguistic characteristics of this version were first subjected by Nöldeke to a scientific criticism and treatment in the appendix to his epoch-making essay, to which we shall have reason constantly to refer. His investigations at once showed how optimistic was the supposition of Neubauer and Bickell [4] that it usually represents the oldest and most genuine form of the original work even when it differs from R^S and R^V. Nöldeke, on the contrary, came to the conclusion that its dialect was Palestinian, and intermediate between the so-called Babylonian Targums and the more modern Palestinian dialect of the Palestinian Talmud, Midrashim, and Targums, and that consequently this extant form of the Aramaic goes back only to *c.* A. D. 300.

Nöldeke himself, in framing this hypothesis, recognized many of its difficulties, and endeavoured to explain them by the supposition that the text has suffered considerably from errors, mutilations, and grammatical and syntactical alterations of 'ignorant and careless' copyists who had no knowledge whatsoever of the influence of grammatical rules, dialectic variations, or the earlier and later forms of the language other than their own vernacular.

May not many of these characteristics that Nöldeke regards as secondary and scribal corruptions be as primary as those he regards as the most original? Are they not too numerous to allow of the supposition that they are less characteristic than those of the earlier dialects which also survive? Dalman, in fact, is probably correct in his supposition that *the linguistic peculiarities in our MS.* did not appear earlier than the seventh century in circles which were influenced by both Talmuds and by the more ancient Targums.

THE SOURCE OF *Ar.* The extant Aramaic text goes back to an earlier Aramaic version,[5] but the question still remains as to whether—through that earlier Aramaic text—it is to be regarded as a translation and redaction from a Semitic or a Greek original. In Neubauer's judgement 'the pure Semitic idiom of the Chaldee text does not admit for a moment the possibility of its being a translation from a non-Semitic text.[6] Dalman writes: '*Possibly* a source in the style of the Targum of Onkelos might have been utilized and might have been the text known by Jerome, but it is also probable that the Aramaic text is a translation from the Latin.'[7] Nöldeke, on the other hand, rightly argues that the language of *Ar.* certainly does not prevent the recognition, in parts of it, of even a fairly literal, though never a slavish, rendering of the Greek B (=R^S).' Thus, in spite of Bickell's explanations,[8] the forms ראגיש (רגאש, רגאיש, רינגש) רגש presuppose the translation from the Greek Ῥαγοῖς or Ῥαγαῖς, whereas a Semitic original would have resulted in the appearance of רג or רגא.[9] Similarly אגבתנים is a transcription of Ἐκβατάνοις,[10] whereas a Semitic original would have known the Hebrew form אחמתא. For חינרין see note to vi. 2 (1). טובי represents the dative Τωβεί. אשר i. 2 in M = Ἀσσήρ (= Ἀσσώρ?), whereas a Semitic original would have preserved the correct חצור, just as עשאל = Ἀσιήλ, which in LXX regularly represents יחציאל. Supposed misreadings in *Ar.* of a Semitic original and the absence of the dog in *Ar.* and M [11] are equally futile (see notes to vi. 3, 16) as evidence of the translation of *Ar.* and M from a non-Greek original. The forms and partial omissions of Aḥiḳar in *Ar.* and M are also emphatically in favour of a Greek original.

TYPE OF *Ar.'s* TEXT. In Neubauer's judgement *Ar.* 'agrees for the greater part with the Sinaitic text, and consequently with the Itala. However, the Chaldee text has sentences which are to be found sometimes in one, sometimes in another.' Nöldeke, as mentioned above, believes that the original Aramaic was a translation from a Greek MS. of R^S. *Ar.* is, therefore, a not unimportant witness to R^S as the most original text extant, while to some small extent it illustrates among Aramaic-speaking peoples a gradual evolution of the text on lines somewhat

[1] See p. 178.
[2] This MS., containing a collection of smaller and larger Midrashim, is written in Greek-Rabbinical characters and dates from the fifteenth century.
[3] *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, pp. 287 ff.
[4] *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol.* ii, pp. 216 ff., 764 ff.
[5] See *Münster Hebrew* below.
[6] The same view is taken by Bickell, *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol.* ii, pp. 764 ff.
[7] *op. cit.*, p. 37. [8] *op. cit.*, p. 219. [9] See Nöld., *op. cit.*, p. 56, footnotes 1, 2.
[10] For g = k cf. אנריקום = ἔκδικος.
[11] See pp. 184, 195 below.

parallel to those which culminated in the publication of R^V. On the other hand, the fact that it was translated from a Greek MS. is far from supporting the theory that the book was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic (see § 6). The use of the third person throughout is paralleled in the Vulgate.

B. Latin Versions.

1. OLD LATIN VERSIONS[1] AND QUOTATIONS.

The old Latin MSS. with which we are chiefly concerned[2] are: 1. Codex Regius, No. 3564, in Paris (= α); 2. Codex, No. 4, in the Library of G. Germain (= β); 3. Codex Sangermanensis, No. 15 (= γ); 4. Codex Vaticanus, No. 7 (= δ), which once belonged to Christina of Sweden. The four were collated and edited by P. Sabatier.[3] Joseph Blanchini[4] produced a more exact edition of δ than Sabatier's, while Neubauer included in his *Book of Tobit* a carefully corrected text of Sabatier's edition of $\alpha\beta\gamma$.

$\alpha\beta$ are probably to be traced back to a common ancestor, from which Sabatier thought they were transcribed in the ninth century, while γ, in most of its deviations from $\alpha\beta$, represents a later and slight redaction of one of their ancestors, and texts in which it agrees with $\alpha\beta$ therefore go back to a still earlier period and one much closer to the time of translation from R^S. δ, on the other hand, was transcribed about the tenth century,[5] and up to vi. 12 (11)[6] contains either an independent and somewhat free translation of R^S, or, in view of its close approximation to R^C in vi. 7(6)–11(10), a fair example of the existence of R^C in the Western Church.

Most of the Latin patristic quotations[7] agree more or less closely with $\alpha\beta\gamma$. While the fragments of Tobit which appear in the Mozarabic Breviary[8] also mostly follow $\alpha\beta\gamma$ or δ, S. Augustine's *Speculum*[9] presupposes a third Latin text differing both from $\alpha\beta\gamma$ and δ.

The Old Latin with its three types of text is thus one of the most important versions. One type, $\alpha\beta\gamma$, is almost as constant a representative of R^S as is $\aleph$, and through Reusch's careful handling and analysis the Old Latin versions and patristic quotations have become a primary authority for the original text. In the critical synopsis beneath the accompanying translation, therefore, the readings of the various MSS. are given where they are of moment instead of the less detailed $\mathfrak{L}$ denoting the Old Latin as a whole. In a few cases the original reading, lost in $\aleph$, can thus be restored; see notes to i. 4, ii. 2, 12, iv. 6^b–19^a, v. 6, viii. 3, ix. 5, xiii. 6^b–10^a, 16.

2. VULGATE.[10]

This is S. Jerome's translation. His own explanation of its origin he gives in his Preface[11] to the book. Neubauer has argued that his *Ar.* 'in a more complete form was the original from which the translation of the Vulgate was made'. This supposition is not supported by the evidence derived from a comparison of the two texts.

Nöldeke's strictures upon S. Jerome's accuracy and possibly upon his truthfulness are therefore more or less justifiable. Somewhat but not essentially different is Schulte's hypothesis[12] that the saint (i) actually used 'a Chaldee', i. e. an Aramaic text, presumably the parent of *Ar.*, but (ii) with constant reference to $\mathfrak{L}$ and (iii) with considerable freedom in the insertion of his own sentiments.

C. Hebrew Versions.

1. THE MÜNSTER HEBREW.[13]

Neubauer's *Book of Tobit* contains a collation of Münster's text with (1) No. 1251 of the

[1] = $\mathfrak{L}$ in following pages.
[2] For further MSS. see Berger, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques*, xxxiv. 2, 1893, p. 142.
[3] *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, Paris, 1751.
[4] *Vindiciae Canonicarum Scripturarum*, Rome, 1740.
[5] Blanchini, *op. cit.*, p. ciii.
[6] From this point it has the text of $\mathfrak{V}$.
[7] The more lengthy quotations are enumerated by Reusch, and are noticed frequently in our critical apparatus.
[8] See Migne, *P. L.* lxxxvi. 151.
[9] *Spicilegium*, ix, edited by Angelus Maius.
[10] = $\mathfrak{V}$ in the following pages. Cf. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, 1893.
[11] Quoted in full by Neubauer, *op. cit.*, p. ii.
[12] *Die aramäische Bearbeitung des Büchleins Tobias verglichen mit dem Vulgatatext* (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1908, pp. 182–204).
[13] = M in the following pages.

Hebrew MSS. in the National Library in Paris[1]; (2) the Persian translation of M,[2] made in the Pehlewi idiom, written in Hebrew characters, No. 130 of the Hebrew MSS. in the National Library, dating from A.D. 1400[3]; (3) No. 194 of De Rossi's Catalogue,[4] which agrees closely with (2).[5]

Purpose of M. The circle in which M flourished was Jewish and orthodox, with its thoughts directed to the Torah and its hopes centred on the rise of still another generation of 'children busied with the Torah,' for whose edification the translation of its Hebrew may have been made. Its reverence for the Deity is expressed by its use of the periphrasis 'the Holy One blessed be he'; its angelological development is exemplified by the application of the title השר הממנה על־הרפאות to Raphael. For the omission of Noah and the dog and the stress on the later procedure in marriage contracts see p. 184, *infra*. Ginsburg surmises that M dates from the fifth century A.D. Nöldeke points out that the language is not the לשון חכמים, but an imitation of the Biblical language, not, however, entirely uninfluenced by the former,[6] though considerably more ancient than F.

M's Source. It was at one time natural to regard M as a redaction based on a translation of R^S, and usually of that form of R^S extant in the Old Latin rather than that in א. The grounds for this supposition are best stated by H. Sengelmann, *Das Buch Tobit*, 1857, pp. 61–3. Its usefulness as a quite subsidiary, but not as an independent, witness to the comparative originality of R^S was even then of some small moment. But the evidence thus collected for the closeness of M's agreement with R^S became of more vital importance for the solution of the interrelation of R^S and R^V after the discovery of *Ar.* *Ar.* and M are closely and essentially connected (*a*) in phraseology and vocabulary,[7] (*b*) in the sequence and displacements,[8] (*c*) in contents[9] and point of view.[10] They are a unity as distinct from R^V and a clearly deliberate redaction of R^S.[11] But M, having been subjected to changes as a result of the special circumstances and point of view outlined above,[12] is a less perfect representative of this redaction than *Ar.* But while *Ar.* is therefore not derived from M, the latter is evidently not derived from the extant form of the Aramaic. This is shown by a comparison of M and *Ar.*, e.g. in i. 16 (where *Ar.* omits רעמי), 18 (where M retains part of the blasphemy charge omitted by *Ar.*), iii. 3, 5 (where *Ar.* but not M has small omissions), as well as by the abbreviations at the beginning of the book, the avoidance of Raphael's ascension, and the use of the third person throughout the book. We must, therefore, conclude with Nöldeke that *Ar.* and M go back to a common Aramaic ancestor, which was a translation from R^S (cf. p. 177, *supra*). Thus, in spite of its comparatively modern date and secondary character, M's agreement in many important points with R^S adds considerable weight to the great mass of evidence in favour of the antiquity and originality of R^S.

2. FAGIUS' HEBREW.[13]

This is a translation based chiefly on R^V, and is usually regarded as dating from the twelfth century. This late date naturally robs the version of much of the critical value it would otherwise possess, and it has not therefore been necessary to tabulate the minutiae of its readings in full detail. Still it is not without considerable importance. It is an excellent illustration of the type of text in use in Western Europe[14] amongst the Jews of that period. From the literary point of view F is of

[1] Neubauer uses the sign P, while additions peculiar to it are enclosed in square brackets [ ]. These signs have been retained in the following pages.

[2] = Pr. in Neub. and the following pages.

[3] Some of the errors of this translation are due to the translators' ignorance and literalness, see Neub. p. xiii, footnote 2; others form an interesting parallel to F's treatment of proper names, e.g.

מרי = עראק, בבל = בגדאד, ארמנ = קוסטנטנייה, אשור = מווצל.

[4] = Π in Neub. and following pages.

[5] Neub.'s brackets ( ) are retained, signifying passages appearing in M and Π but not in P.

[6] Note the presence of a few נתפעל forms; אותו once as a demonstrative; לירש and לירע; טרם ש and קודם ש beside טרם and בטרם.

[7] e.g. באורח כל־ארעא = בדרך בכל־הארץ, iii. 8.

[8] e.g. iv. 13–16, &c.

[9] e.g. the two *bonds* for the two *bags* in v. 3, &c.

[10] e.g. 'king of the demons' as a title of Asmodaeus, &c.

[11] Theories of mistranslation or mis-reading of a common original as explanations of the deviations of *Ar.* and M from R^S are as inadequate as they are in the case of the differences of R^S and R^V. See note to vi. 16 and pp. 181 f.

[12] Nöldeke further emphasizes the paraphrase of xi. 2 end in M as compared with *Ar.*'s literal translation of R^S, the abridgement in i. 16 f. (see note *ad loc.*), x. 1–7, the expansion in i. 19, the reconstruction of the prayer in viii. 5.

[13] = F in following pages.

[14] This is probably the reason for his interpretation of the reference to Elymais which he understands as Germany, ii. 10. In vi. 2 (1) he is usually supposed to refer to Laodicea but the reference may be to some otherwise

interest as showing a still further development than appears in R^v, and even *Ar.* and M, to introduce biblical phraseology and texts, e.g. iii. 5 f.; iv. 13, and *passim.* It belongs to a strict legal circle which sought for precision in matters of the cultus, e.g. i. 4, current commercial terms, e.g. iii. 17; vii. 10 (9): v. 14 (13), and liturgical formulae, e.g. iii. 16 and *passim.* Special importance was attached to the hope for the rebuilding of the Temple, i. 8. Moreover, in contrast with R^s, R^v, and R^c it insists on the importance of the Halachah as well as the Torah, vii. 12 (13), and consequently describes the marriage rite in the terms of contemporary usage, vii. 13. An element of speculative philosophy, if not of Kabbalistic lore, appears in its insistence upon the Divine foreknowledge of the marriage of Tobias and Sarah on the sixth day of creation, vi. 17 (16). Stress is laid upon the Fatherhood of the transcendent God, who himself hearkens to mortals' prayers, iii. 16. It reflects the point of view of a period in which Noah's reputation had recovered from the stigma which attached to it in the time of the common ancestor of *Ar.* and M (see p. 184). Unlike the original author, he believes in a judgement beyond the grave, a judgement of Gehenna, iv. 11, and speaks of 'the eternal home', iii. 8. The fragmentary character of ch. xiv is probably due to accidents of transmission.

3. THE LONDON HEBREW.

This text was found by Gaster in the British Museum. It is *Add.* 11639. It is of little critical value, but is interesting as showing the culmination of the tendency, observable in germ in R^v and active in F, to approximate to biblical phraseology. The problem of the close interrelation of this version and the Vulgate is probably to be settled in favour of the priority of the latter and the indebtedness of the former to it in some way which is not at present clear.[1] See further, Gaster, *PSBA*, vol. xviii, pp. 208 ff., 259 ff.; vol. xx, pp. 27 ff.

4. THE GASTER HEBREW.

This version was taken by Gaster from a Midrash on the Pentateuch. The tendency to *abbreviate* the original story reaches its culmination in this version. Its affinities are closest with *Ar.* See Gaster, *PSBA*, vol. xix, pp. 33 f.

D. Two Syriac Versions.

1. The first, commencing at i. 1, and extending to vii. 11, is a close translation of R^v. Nestle supposes that this text was once complete, and that all the extant MSS. are descended from one of early date which had been accidentally mutilated.[2] This version, moreover, represents, as Nöldeke thinks, the work of Paul of Tella, and therefore dates from the beginning of the seventh century.

2. The second has ousted the first and taken its place from vii. 11[3] to the end of the book. It belongs almost entirely to R^c, though at times it shows even greater reverence for R^s than usually characterizes R^c.

E. Ethiopic Version.

This is based on R^v. Abbreviations and errors in translation are numerous.

§ 5. Original Language.

A. The only *external evidence* is supplied by Origen[4] and Jerome,[5] and, on the whole, leaves the question quite open.

B. *A priori considerations.* From the Yeb papyri it can be seen that while the proper names of their period were mostly Hebrew, the colony employed Aramaic for literary purposes. Thus *c.* 200 B.C. it is far more likely that a popular work such as Tobit would be written in Aramaic

unknown locality near his own home. The change of Media to Midian, i. 14, is due on the other hand to his extreme subservience to Biblical language and scenery.

[1] Hence Gaster was too optimistic in his belief in its close relationship to Jerome's 'Chaldee'.

[2] For details see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 46, footnote 1.

[3] That the text after vii. 11 is a remnant of a version entirely distinct from that before this verse is apparent not only from the transference of allegiance from R^v to R^c at this point, but from differing orthography in ii. 10, xiv. 10 (Aḥiḳar), vii. 2, 13 (14) (Edna), iv. 1, 20, ix. 2 (Raga). One MS., moreover, in the British Museum, which extends only to v. 14 (13), contains the earlier text, while another in the same collection like the three MSS. at Paris and the one at Oxford (Payne-Smith, *Cat. Col.* 18) contains i. 1–vii. 11, and from that point gives the other Syrian text. It is noteworthy that the Syriac glosses mentioned by Masius in his *Syrorum Peculium* agree with this Syriac version and do not extend beyond ch. vii.

[4] Origen remarks in *Ep. ad Afric.* ch. xiii, with reference to Tobit: *περὶ οὗ ἡμᾶς ἔχρην ἐγνωκέναι ὅτι Ἑβραῖοι τῷ Τωβίᾳ οὐ χρῶνται οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰουδήθ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἑβραϊστί, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν.*

[5] See p. 178, *supra.*

rather than Hebrew, especially if written in Egypt. In Palestine, it must be remembered, Hebrew remained the sacred language, as is shown by Daniel and many Maccabean Psalms, and also the official language of the nation, as can be seen on the coins. Greek, on the other hand, was making headway about this time, particularly in Egypt. Moreover, in the century in which our book was written, the Pentateuch was probably translated into Greek, and in the next century still more of the Scriptures, including Ben-Sirach, also appeared in Greek at Alexandria.

C. The *internal evidence* should be dealt with in four departments:

1. Evidence favouring a *Greek* original—

(*a*) Greek sentences and verbal combinations such as *could not* result at least from literal translation appear in i. 6 ff., iii. 8, iv. 6, vii. 7, xii. 7. Their importance for the problem is emphasized by Nöldeke and André. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the Greek idiom is due either to a translator's conscious attempt to render the original into good Greek or to later correction.

(*b*) It is at least evident that the forms of the proper names in i. 1 f. are the proper and usual Greek equivalents of Hebrew names, not the unfortunate results of misreadings of a Semitic script. See notes *ad loc.*

(*c*) Nöldeke points out (*op. cit.*, p. 60) that there is a considerable difference between the Greek style of our book and that of the translations of Judith and 1 Maccabees. Nöldeke, however, bases his arguments on R^V instead of the original R^S, to which this objection does not apply to the same extent.

2. Evidence *slightly* in favour of a *Semitic* original, but not necessarily so if a Greek original is presupposed; some few at least of these words and phrases belong as much to the κοινή as to the vocabulary of a Greek-speaking Jew. If on the other hand there is independent evidence pointing to a Semitic original, most of them, not being characteristic of the κοινή, will be explicable as literal translations of that Semitic original, and will thus afford subsidiary proof of its existence.

(*a*) The etymological value of names such as Raphael,[1] Azariah,[2] Ananiah,[3] though known sufficiently to be appreciated both by a Greek-writing Jewish author and by his Greek-reading Jewish public, would be the more appropriate if the book was written in a Semitic language.

(*b*) The list Müller gives,[4] though not complete, is sufficiently illustrative of the vocabulary, style, and phraseology which should be included under this section. It is, however, especially in this sphere, that the minor changes of R^V are important. R^V tends to remove them, thus reflecting a consciousness of their non-Greek character.

3. Evidence pointing more or less *definitely* to a *Semitic* original—

(*a*) A few constructions remain which, unlike the preceding, seem to demand for their explanation not simply a Jew who wrote in Greek as their author, but one who thought and wrote in Hebrew or Aramaic.[5]

(*b*) The hypothesis of independent translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original in the various recensions and translations is frequently resorted to, not only to explain the divergences of R^S, R^V, and R^C, and even of each of the versions (e.g. 𝔖, *Ar.*, M, F), but also to prove the existence of a Hebrew or Aramaic original.[6] Various scholars have thrown out suggestions,[7] but Dr. Marshall[8] presents it in its most attractive and logical form. Even if, however, no other solution of the divergences of R^S and R^V existed, it must be confessed that Dr. Marshall's hypothesis would have

[1] 'God heals.' [2] 'Jahveh helps.' [3] 'Jahveh has compassion.'

[4] *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

[5] e.g. (i) In iv. 18 the Greek presupposes בזז על or בסר על. (ii) v. 19 (18), see note *ad loc.* (iii) Cases such as καὶ θάψω, ii. 4; καὶ εὐφρᾶναι, xiii. 10; καὶ ἀπέθανεν (cf. Judges ii. 21), i. 8. (iv) v. 19 (18) and xiii. 3, see notes *ad loc.* and Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f. (v) εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι in xiii. 18 seems to presuppose immediate translation of לעולם ועד, cf. LXX Exod. xv. 18, Theod. in Dan. xii. 3, Aq. Theod. Sym. Ps. xxi. 5. Similarly ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ, iii. 14, 16, might be a literal translation. (vi) ἡμέραι τοῦ γάμου ἃς ὤμοσεν ποιῆσαι τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ, x. 7, might possibly point to a Hebrew or Aramaic original if ποιῆσαι should be taken in the sense of 'spend'. But see Barton, *Eccles.* (*Inter. Crit. Comm.*), p. xxiii and note to Eccles. vi. 12. (vii) προσηλύτοις τοῖς προσκειμένοις in i. 8 may be a doublet translation of גֵּר or the participle of גור. πρόσκειμαι = גור in Lev. xvii. 8. On the LXX's equivalents to this Hebrew root see W. C. Allen, *Expositor*, vol. xx, 1894, p. 264 ff.

[6] So precarious and unscientific has this method proved in the past in the exegetical (see notes to ii. 10, iv. 17, xiv. 4) and other spheres (see notes to v. 3, vi. 3, viii. 3, xii. 6), that it would be beside the point even to allude to it here were it not so intimately bound up with the problem of the original language of the book and consequently to some extent with those of the place and date of composition (see § 6, 7) and the sources of the various non-Greek versions (see above).

[7] Cf. Fuller, *op. cit.*, *Excursus I*, pp. 164–8.

[8] *HDB*, vol. iii, *sub* 'Tobit', where he employs the results of his investigations as an argument for an Aramaic original.

to be pronounced untenable for reasons of which the following are only the more important and are only stated here in outline form:—(i) At the outset it is clear that, to use Dr. Plummer's words with reference to Dr. Marshall's attempt to explain certain divergences in the Synoptic Gospels by a similar hypothesis of independent translation from the Aramaic,[1] 'these possibilities seem to be too isolated and sporadic to be of great value in accounting for differences'.[2] (ii) It is almost inconceivable—both on the analogy of other books and from the evidence we possess of the derivation of *Ar.* and M from R^S, and of 𝔖 and F, &c., in part from R^V and in part from R^C—that each and every secondary translator or redactor in turn had recourse—and that, too, independently of all the others—to this hypothetical Aramaic original, safely preserved and handed down apparently for the sole purpose that they might independently consult it! (iii) Before such a hypothesis could be accepted as a working basis for further research, the independent evidence for the composition of the book in Aramaic would have to be much stronger and certain than it is at present. (iv) Most of the instances Marshall adduces are far more easily and rightly explicable in other ways,[3] while in some cases the reasoning is purely subjective[4] and in others self-evidently weak and erroneous in its premises.[5] (v) If attempts such as Marshall's and Resch's more laborious studies[6] are rightly passed over, along with the oral hypothesis of Gieseler and Dr. A. Wright, by New Testament scholars as being inadequate and useless contributions to the solution of the Synoptic Problem, hypotheses such as this of Marshall's and Bickell's[7] must also fail in the case of Tobit, and for the same fundamental reason. In the case of R^S and R^V especially, and also in that of non-Greek versions of Tobit, as in the Synoptic Gospels, *the problem to be solved is not simply that of the causes for the existence of numerous and important* **divergences**, *but along with, and in spite of, these divergences the reason for the far more numerous and unobtrusive sections, verses, and words,* **exactly alike** *in themselves and in their order in the various recensions, and particularly in the Greek of* R^S *and* R^V. Thus the hypothesis of independent translation is neither adequate nor needed for the solution of the problem of the interrelation of R^S, R^V, and R^C. At the most the *mere possibility* can be admitted that in a few cases R^S (cf. p. 181, footnote 5) and 𝔙 (see e.g. xi. 18, note) contain an instance or two of translations suggestive of their Semitic origin, if indeed the latter can first be shown to have existed, while other versions (see e.g. vi. 16, note) may contain a few readings due ultimately, but not directly, to a recollection—i.e. in an oral, not written manner—of a different or corrupt form of the text in existence in Semitic circles. But this is not evidence that the *original* tongue was Semitic. (vi) Finally it will suffice here to observe that granted the Greek text preserved in R^S was translated—as it must have been if it is indeed a translation—very soon after the original Semitic work was composed, corruptions in the Hebrew would at that time naturally be *very few.* And only a very few even of these select cases can bear the test of an unbiased examination.[8] Even in some passages of real difficulty the true explanation often lies elsewhere,[9] and the possibility of intentional corruption must be taken into account.[10]

4. Evidence pointing to an Aramaic rather than a Hebrew original, e.g. the forms Ἀθήρ and Ἀθουρειάς in xiv. 4, 15. Even these Aramaisms, pronounced as they are, do not, however, settle the question.[11] The possibility will always remain that these two words are an early scribal error,[12] or are even due to the Aramaic environment in which the earlier Greek writers among the Jews found themselves.

It must be admitted that the evidence in favour of a Semitic original is not strong enough to put the matter beyond controversy.

[1] *Expositor*, April and Nov., 1891. His arguments were refuted by W. C. Allen in the *Expositor*, vol. xvii, 1893, pp. 386–400, 454–70, the prefatory note on the linguistic issue by Professor Driver on pp. 386 f. being specially pertinent in connexion with Tobit as well as with the Synoptists.

[2] Plummer, *S. Luke* (*Inter. Crit. Comm.*), p. 154, footnote 1, cf. pp. 102, 186, 222.

[3] e.g. see notes to i. 15, 18.

[4] e.g. רחמותא in i. 13 might equally well be said to be an internal corruption of דמותא, itself a translation of μορφήν!

[5] e.g. iv. 3, see note *ad loc.*

[6] *Agrapha* in *Texte und Untersuch.*, v, Heft 4, 1889, and *Aussercanon. Paralleltexte*, x, Heft 1 and 3, 1893–5.

[7] According to this scholar R^S was a revision made from the original translation with the assistance of the Hebrew original. Nöldeke's reply (*op. cit.*, p. 50) to Bickell applies with even more force to Marshall.

[8] Cf. notes to i. 2, 15, 18; ii. 3, 10; iii. 7; iv. 3; v. 3, 19 (18); vi. 3 (2); xii. 6, &c.

[9] e.g. iv. 17, vi. 16 (15), viii. 3, see notes *ad loc.*

[10] See note to xiv. 4.

[11] See Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 108.

[12] Compare the copyists' variations of the Aramaic quotations in the Greek MSS. of the New Testament, e.g. Mark v. 41, xv. 34.

§ 6. Date of Composition.

That *Tobit* is not an autobiography[1] written in the seventh century B. C., is evident from the writer's historical inaccuracies, e. g. i. 15, chronological blunders, e. g. i. 4 as compared with i. 15–22 and xiv. 1, and knowledge of events long subsequent to 722 B. C., e. g. xiv. 4 f., 15. He differentiates between the return from the Babylonian exile, which has therefore taken place already, and the promise of a further return and the dawn of a still more glorious era, xiv. 5. He betrays a religious as well as literary dependence on the latest portions of the Pentateuch.[2] Similarly a date at the very earliest a little subsequent to the rise and establishment of Judaism is necessitated by his religious and moral teaching (see § 10). The same *terminus a quo* is favoured by the author's general outlook, developed style, and artistic composition, the product of an age accustomed to the chronicling of singular experiences, xii. 20, as well as to the somewhat formal drawing up of marriage contracts, vii. 13 (14). Financial and commercial relations had superseded purely agricultural and pastoral pursuits, and the writer and his contemporaries had grown more or less accustomed to the foreign domination.

The *terminus ad quem* is more debatable, but the book is certainly pre-Maccabean. While the author has some knowledge, derived from the historical books of O.T., of historical events prior to, and including, the Return, and reflects the general religious point of view of the period subsequent to Ezra, he reveals no knowledge of the stirring historical crises of the later Greek domination and the Hasmonean period, and lacks the intense hatred of the heathen they inspired. Not only does he not accept, but in most cases he shows no knowledge of those explicit dogmas of Judaism which first came into prominence at or after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, such as advanced apocalyptic expectations, formulated doctrines of a personified and hypostatized Wisdom, stereotyped descriptions of the Messianic age, explicit belief in a resurrection and immortality. He knows practically nothing of the problem Job was the first to raise, the Hellenizing apostasy, the Essenes' self-abnegation, or the long fight of Pharisaic progressiveness against Sadducean conservatism.[3] The comparatively early date of the book, as it appears in the earliest form known to us, R^S, is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by comparison with R^V, which dates from the second century of the Christian era (see § 3).

There are, too, certain other features which also point more or less definitely to this pre-Maccabean period, though some are much less significant than is usually allowed. To this latter class belongs xiv. 4–6, once a mainstay alike of the more conservative critics[4] in their defence of the book's pre-Herodian date, and also of extremists, like Hitzig,[5] to whom it presents equally circumstantial evidence of composition after the destruction of Herod's Temple in 70 A. D. But while the words καὶ οὐχ ὡς τὸν πρῶτον must certainly have been written before that event, they are quite as likely in the mouth of a pious contemporary of Christ, scandalized by the paganizing tendencies of Herod's Temple architecture and the spiritual unreality of its services, as in the mouth of faint-hearted worshippers in Zerubbabel's Temple (cf. Hag. ii. 3)! It is equally unfortunate that Tobit's scrupulous care for the burial of the dead has been exalted to a position of primary importance for the settlement of the date, e. g. by Graetz, who consequently assigns the book to the reign of Hadrian; by Kohut, who dates it *c.* A. D. 226; and by W. R. Smith and Riggs, who, comparing 2 Macc. v. 10, refer it to the Maccabean revolt. This trait is ultimately due, so far as the author, not later redactors, is concerned, not to contemporary political troubles, but, in the case of Tobit's own action in chs. i, ii, chiefly to his literary dependence on *The Grateful Dead*,[6] and, in the case of advice to the same effect, to the influence of Aḥiḳar[7] and especially to the book of Genesis and its traditional exegesis[8]. Again the stress which, it is usually alleged, is laid by the author on the agnatic or consanguineous marriages led Graetz[9] to suppose that he endeavoured to inculcate the *laity's* observances of the (late) Talmudic regulation[10] which was originally intended to regulate only *Priests'* marriages.

[1] The historicity of the book is still defended by F. Vigouroux (*Les Livres Saints et la critique rationaliste*, fifth edition, 1901, p. 551 ff.). On the other hand, as Cosquin (*Revue Biblique*, vol. viii, 1899, p. 82) points out, several Roman Catholics—Jahn, Dereser, Movers, and Antoine Scholtz—have held that the book is not a history but either an allegory or homiletic treatise. Moreover, the Council of Trent in affirming its canonicity made no pronouncement as to its historicity.

[2] See p. 192, footnote 6.

[3] The hypothesis that the book was written by a Sadducee might account for such silence, but is inadmissible in view of the nascent angelology and the childlike belief in Providence it inculcates—both, in their full growth, leading dogmas of the Pharisees' creed and the butt of the Sadducees' cold logic.

[4] e. g. Fuller, W. R. Smith, Riggs, André.

[5] *ZWT*, 1860, pp. 250 ff.

[6] § 8. ii.

[7] § 8. iii.

[8] See § 8. iv, and I. Abrahams, *JQR*, 1893, vol. i, p. 348.

[9] *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. d. Judentums*, 1879, pp. 509–13.

[10] *Kiddushin*, 76ᵃ.

The author himself appeals to the Pentateuch (vi. 13; vii. 12)! Kohut's explanation[1] that it is due to Zoroastrian influence, is open to the same objection, as well as being contradicted, as Gutberlet[2] first pointed out, by Kohut's own theory, that the book is a protest against Zoroastrianism. To Rosenmann[3] belongs the distinction of having first partially unravelled this problem of the agnatic marriages, while Müller has advanced a stage nearer the true solution. The former scholar has demonstrated that the Talmud nowhere insists on its actual observance by any generation except that of the wilderness wanderings, that even before the destruction of the Temple, A. D. 70, an annual festival on the 15th of Ab had been instituted in celebration of the abolition of the custom, that it had never been recognized by the Pharisaic party, and that 'therefore in practice agnatic marriage was no longer known to the first pre-Christian century'.[4] Thus also Rosenthal's theory that *Tobit* emanated from the School of Rabbi Akiba is bereft of the support it claims from this quarter. In Rosenmann's judgement the author wrote in order 'to break a lance on behalf of agnatic marriage which was already in a moribund condition'. If, however, the author's main interest, as seems to be the case[5], was in Jewish as opposed to international marriage, and his references to agnatic unions were only subsidiary to that and primarily the result of his close dependence on his chief sources, he must have lived in an earlier period, the pre-Maccabean, when agnatic marriages were still to some extent in vogue even in the Diaspora, where the most pressing danger of the day was that of international marriage.

With equal clearness Rosenmann[6] has disproved the inferences which have been drawn from vii. 11–13 (14) in favour of a late date.[7] The ceremony described in these verses differs only from those of the O.T. in its mention of 'an instrument of cohabitation'. Graetz, followed by Rosenthal, understands this *συγγραφή* as the Greek equivalent to the technical כתובה which appears in *Ar.* and M, and which, he supposes, was first coined in the reign of Queen Salome by Simon ben Shetah But the כתובה was in existence before that time, for Simon did not invent it; he only modified the details of its working. To identify, however, this כתובה with the *συγγραφή* of the present passage is to remove from the narrative all mention of betrothal or marriage-rite. Moreover, the usual Greek equivalent of כתובה was *φερνή* or *ἀντιφέρνη* which also represent מהר in LXX of Ex. 22. 15 f., the passage from which the Talmudic rite of the כתובה and its amount are derived.[8] The term *συγγραφή*, on the contrary, is the usual equivalent of שטר של אירוסין or שטר של נישואין. Tob. vii. 11–13 (14) therefore casts an interesting side-light on the early forms of the procedure before it had assumed the stereotyped character of the Talmudic age. Here the father prepares and signs the *συγγραφή*; in the fully developed Talmudic ceremony it should be done by the bridegroom.[9] Here the marriage is consummated the same night; in Talmudic times a virgin could not be married until twelve months, and a widow till one month, after this solemn betrothal.[10]

Finally the references to the *dog* (vi. 2 (1), xi. 5),[11] the number (seven) of Sarah's husbands, vi. 14 (13), vii. 1, and the statement that Noah, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was a prophet and a 'father' of the nation who contracted an agnatic marriage, contribute additional evidence of the comparatively early origin of the book. In the Talmudic period it was prescribed that no one should keep a dog unless it was led by a chain;[12] no woman might marry again whom death had already bereft of *three* husbands in succession;[13] and admiration for Noah, displayed e. g. in Jub., ch. xxv (where the very features of his life appear to which *Tobit* alludes)[14] gave way to the view that Noah was saved not by his own good works—which did not exist—but by the grace of God.[15] So well known and widely accepted, in later times, were these specifically Rabbinical points of view, that in *Ar.* and M, the common Aramaic ancestor of which dates from this period, the dog was not mentioned; in the Addition to the Midrash Tanḥuma,[16] as in the ספר שעשועים,[17] Sarah's seven husbands were reduced to three; and in M no reference at all was made to Noah.[18]

Is it possible to define the date more closely? Ewald[19] favoured 350 B. C., but a number of

[1] Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, vol. x, p. 61 f.
[2] *Das Buch Tobias*, Münster, 1877, p. 47.
[3] *Studien zum Buche Tobit*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 1–7.
[4] Rosenmann, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[5] See p. 196.
[6] *op. cit.*, pp. 15–19.
[7] Even if R^V were the more original text, its *καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς* (vii. 12) is based on Gen. xxiv. 60, and does not therefore necessarily presuppose the Talmudic formula of the ברכת חתנים (*Kethubhoth* 8ᵃ), as Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 132, note 1, urges in his attempt to prove the late origin of the book.
[8] *Kethubhoth* 10.
[9] See *Qiddushim* 9ᵃ.
[10] *Kethubhoth* 57.
[11] See § 9.
[12] *Baba Kama* 83ᵃ, cf. 69ᵇ.
[13] *Yebhamoth* 64ᵇ, *Niddah* 64ᵃ.
[14] Cf. also Sir. xliv. 17 for an appreciation of Noah's righteousness.
[15] *Sanhedrin* 108ᵃ, *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 29.
[16] Neub., *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[17] In יין לבנון, Paris, 1866, p. 18.
[18] The author's explanation of the term Pentecost (ii. 1, see note *ad loc.*) and other details all point to a comparatively early date, but are quite subsidiary to the more important points already mentioned.
[19] *History of Israel*, vol. v, p. 209 ff.

considerations, more or less cogent, point to a date much closer to 170 B. C. The period subsequent to Alexander the Great seems to be demanded by the use of the Greek drachma, v. 15 (14), the Greek name of the month, ii. 12, the wide extent of the Diaspora which the author presupposes, and by the fact that Rages, iv. 1, &c., probably the Ragha of the Avesta,[1] was comparatively unknown before it was rebuilt by Seleucus Nicator, 321–281 B. C.[2] The second tithe, i. 7 (still less the third of R^V, i. 8), was still unknown to the Chronicler (*c.* 300 B. C.), though it appears in Jubilees and in the LXX of Deut. If the author wrote in Egypt, his enthusiastic description of Tobit's marriage to the beautiful Jewess, his relative Sarah, is probably an attempt to substitute a more edifying story for the scandal, still fresh in his own and his readers' minds, of that apostate descendant of another Tobias, Joseph the notorious tax-collector.[3] This did not take place before 230 B. C.[4] Further, the author's affinities—in thought and point of view—with Sirach certainly lead one to suppose that they belonged to the same tendency and type of thought within the pre Maccabean period. Unfortunately they are far from being sufficiently close, immediate or numerous as to warrant the assumption that either writer was dependent on the other.[5]

To sum up, *Tobit* was written at the very earliest, *c.* 350 B. C.; at the latest, *c.* 170 B. C., probably much nearer the latter than the former date.[6]

§ 7. Place of Composition and Purpose.

The nameless author of *Tobit* was not a Palestinian Jew.[7] The characters of his book, as well as the geographical setting, belong to the Diaspora; his readers are in exile (xiii. 3), and he counts himself among them (xiii. 6), while distance lends enchantment to Jerusalem, the goal of all his hopes (i. 4–9, xiii. 7–18). Moreover, his staunch adhesion to Judaism is accompanied by a belief in demons and magic, side by side with a breadth of culture and a liberal outlook on life unequalled by any Palestinian writer whose work has survived. The widespread use of the Greek Verss., the scarcity and comparative lateness of the oriental Verss., and the almost complete ignorance of the book in the Syrian Church, do not favour theories such as Ewald's of the Far East, Kohut's of Persia, or Vetter's of Assyria or Babylonia, or Professor J. H. Moulton's of Media. The internal evidence is in fact antagonistic to any such hypothesis. Such surmises are, at the outset, negatived by the author's ignorance of Eastern geography and his acceptance of the ordinary standards of Greek and Roman geographies. That the Tigris flowed between Nineveh and Media was an idea common among the Greeks; that Ecbatana was situated in a plain was a constant Western fallacy, and is repeated in Diod. ii. 13. 6 in a passage dependent on Ctesias.[8]

The hypothesis that Egypt was the place of composition alone serves to explain all the phenomena, and, at the same time, raises no additional difficulties, and encounters no legitimate objections on the part of the upholders of the Palestinian or Eastern origin of the work. This happy solution of the problem was first stated by Nöldeke, and has been accepted by Löhr, W. R. Smith, André, and others. It has lately received additional support from the discovery of the actual sources upon which the author depended for the plot, outline, literary allusions, and the non-Jewish stratum of his religious and speculative materials. Only Egyptian Jews could need an antidote to the *Tractate of Khons*. No trace can be found in Palestinian literature of any acquaintance with the *Fable of the Grateful Dead*. Only in Egypt, so far as is known, did either Jews or pagans read Aḥiḳar's fortunes at the Assyrian court *in exactly the chronological order* in which they

[1] *Vendidad*, i. 16; *Yasna*, xix. 18; cf. Marquardt, *Eransahr*, pp. 122 ff.

[2] Strabo, 524 C.

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 4. 6. Joseph had sought a *liaison* with a dancing-girl of the Egyptian Court and had only been saved from it by the crafty action of his brother Solymius, who substituted his own daughter. Possibly a covert reference to him is to be found in v. 14, 'Semelias the great.'

[4] The date cannot be fixed definitely and many of the details are fictitious and self-contradictory, see Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, vol. ii, p. 168, note 1; Schürer, *GJV*, fourth edition, i. 183, 195 f.; ii. 99 f. To his credit, Joseph, too drunk at first to notice the deception, afterwards became attached to his niece, and a son, Hyrcanus, was born of the agnatic marriage.

[5] § 8, iv.

[6] Since the foregoing was written, Professor J. H. Moulton has very kindly pointed out to me that the comparatively early date for which I have argued is supported by the fact that, while the book reflects many of the most significant points of ancient Magianism, *it betrays no knowledge of the newer Zoroastrianism*, much less of the still later fusion of those two mighty currents of Persian thought. The importance of this significant argument, for which I am entirely indebted to him, is self-evident in the light of the new and fuller information about Zoroastrianism contained in his *Hibbert Lectures* (see § 8, v, below).

[7] Müller, in spite of his theory that between the present Jewish work of Tobit and the ultimate sources stands a pagan Tobit, holds the view that the Jewish author or redactor lived in Palestine. How the Jewish writer living in *Palestine* could obtain the pagan original or, if it was well known in Palestine, dared to adapt it, retain the *pagan* title, and yet publish it as a genuine autobiography of a seventh-century *saint*, Müller does not explain.

[8] Even R^V still insists that Rages was near Ecbatana.

appear in *Tobit*.[1] The author's environment in Egypt fostered Magian presuppositions[2] and allusions which would be incredible in an author writing in an eastern land such as Persia or Media, where Semitic and Iranian elements first met in deadly antagonism,[3] and highly improbable in Palestine. It was in Egypt, too, that the Jews especially indulged in demonological speculations and practices.[4] Moreover, while the fish, vi. 2 (1)–9 (8), primarily mythological and probably inspired by the details of *The Grateful Dead*, symbolizes[5] the pagan empire endeavouring to seize what portions it could of the pious Diaspora, the fact, on the other hand, that its inner organs are subsequently employed for medicinal and magical purposes suggests that the author, perhaps unconsciously, identified it with the crocodile of the Nile, on the banks of which he lived. 'This conjecture is raised almost to certainty when we read in Ḳazwini i. 132 that the smell of the smoke of a crocodile's liver cures epilepsy, and that its dung and gall cure leucoma, which was the cause of Tobit's blindness.[6] Very similar statements as to the medicinal virtues of the crocodile occur in Greek and Latin writers.' Again, the binding of Asmodeus in Upper Egypt, though mythological in its origin (viii. 3, cf. *note ad loc.*), expresses the author's conviction that Egypt, where he was compelled to live in exile, was the veritable dumping-ground of wickedness and sin, exactly as Zechariah regarded Babylon, the land of exile he knew best, whence some of his hearers had just returned and where exiles still lived, as the goal of the flying Ephah, wherein Wickedness was imprisoned, Zech. v. 5–11. Consequently our author excludes all unnecessary references to the specifically Egyptian life around him.[7] His heroes are made to live out their lives in that distant part of the Diaspora, where Aḥiḳar, like Nehemiah, had held important positions at court. The rustic simplicity and idyllic life of the patriarchs[8] fill in the details of the pictures. This, too, is the motive for the author's careful substitution of Elymais in ii. 10 for Egypt, which appears in Aḥiḳar as the country whither the sage journeyed to demonstrate his wisdom; he felt that Aḥiḳar was too good and noble a Jew ever to have been domiciled in Egypt or compelled to participate in the deliberations of the Egyptian court.[9]

The writer does not, however, forget the practical needs of his readers. The present book, as already pointed out, was a reply to the tractate of the priests of Khons, and was designed to dissuade his co-religionists from apostasy, and convert if possible any pagan who might read it. It is still more pointed in its warning against marriages with non-Jews, and incidentally condemns imitation of the immorality and apostasy of Joseph, the son of another Tobias, an allusion not without point in Egypt, where the scandal had occurred. While the major portion of the Jews in Egypt were probably never deeply influenced by Greek Philosophy, and many of them remained unaffected by the rising tide of Hellenism,[10] the writer, aware of these nascent dangers, makes the pertinent and emphatic statement of iv. 19.

Lastly, our hypothesis illustrates and gives point to the author's position with regard to sacrificial and legalistic religion. The fortunes and religious life of the Jewish exiles in Egypt were

[1] Cf. p. 191.

[2] Cf. p. 193 f.

[3] The hypothesis of Media as the writer's home is, however, most unlikely on other and independent grounds. It involves the following highly improbable suppositions: (i) that our author was a descendant of such of the ten tribes as were deported to Media in 722 B.C. (see 2 Kings xvii. 6); (ii) that the tribe or family to which our author belonged not only preserved the purer religion of Jahveh, but also by some inexplicable means advanced from that comparatively undeveloped faith to the fuller and richer Judaism of the early post-exilic period (see § 10), *along the lines laid down by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah*, and even knew almost immediately and accepted unreservedly the *newly-introduced Law Code of Ezra* as well as *the presupposition of Jerusalem's unique sanctity*, of which his forefathers had naturally known nothing: (iii) that the book, when written, by some equally inexplicable means not only found its way to Jerusalem in the pre-Christian period, but was received with applause by the confessedly narrow-minded religious leaders of the post-exilic community!

[4] See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, second edition, 1911, pp. 306 ff.

[5] This symbolism need not have been based on that of the whale (= the Babylonian Empire) in Jonah, but may, like Jonah, have originated through an allegorical treatment of Jer. li. 34–6.

[6] W. R. Smith, art. 'Tobit', in *Ency. Brit.*[9].

[7] Maspero and Spiegelberg (see Budde, *Das Hohelied*, p. xvi f.) have shown the application of the term *sister* to a wife (Tobit v. 21 (20); vii. 15 (16); viii. 4, 7) was common in the old Egyptian songs. Our author, however, had no need to avoid the term on account of its Egyptian associations as it was also genuinely Hebrew: see Gen. xx. 12; Song of Songs iv. 9, 10, 12.

[8] See p. 192, footnote 7.

[9] Or possibly in the version of Aḥiḳar in use among his co-religionists in Egypt this motive had already eliminated the reference to Egypt. It is, therefore, probably more than a mere coincidence that, as Sachau (*op. cit.*, p. xxii) points out, in the Aramaic papyri, which retail the history of Aḥiḳar, 'there is no trace of the Egyptian episode'. But see Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, pp. 110 f.

[10] Müller (*op. cit.*, pp. 23 f.), however, seems to deny even the possibility of a single Jew resident in Egypt being unaffected by Hellenism in the pre-Maccabean period, the sole but 'decisive' argument, in his judgement, against *Tobit's* composition in Egypt! And yet he himself (p. 20) sees in iv. 19 so clear and definite a refutation 'of the well-known pre-Maccabean efforts in the direction of Hellenism and culture' as to be able to use, and quite rightly, this as an argument in favour of a pre-Maccabean date for the book!

till lately almost unknown to us. But from the papyri we now know, for instance, that, even before the Exile, Jews had migrated to Egypt, become mercenaries in the Egyptian army, and formed a colony as a permanent garrison at Yeb, where they built a temple to Jahveh; that this temple survived the destruction of the Egyptian ones by Cambyses, but towards the close of the fifth century B. C. was destroyed at the instigation of the priests of Chnum, the ram-headed god of the island; and that an appeal was made to Bagoas, the governor of Judaea. It is not clear, however, whether the temple was rebuilt or not. But two important inferences in connexion with the religious evolution of the Jews in Egypt at the time of this catastrophe seem to Sachau to be justified.[1] On the one hand, neither Monotheism nor the Law had there undergone the full development which had resulted from Ezra's establishment of Judaism and the Law some few years before at Jerusalem. On the other hand, even before the catastrophe, reforms in the interests of Judaism, as established at Jerusalem by the priestly school, may have been initiated at Yeb by a party powerful enough at any rate to enforce the principle, if not the details, of the High-priesthood and the imposition of a tax of two shekels of silver in imitation of Ezra and Nehemiah's innovation.[2] If it had been possible for his book to have been written so early, and if he had modelled his work on some tractate of Chnum instead of Khons, our author might well have been one of these pioneers of progressive, and therefore living, though legal, religion in Egypt.[3] But teaching such as our author's with regard to the duty of Egyptian Jews to the Law and the temple must have been needed still more in later days in that part of the Diaspora. A need of that kind must necessarily have produced efforts like the present one to inculcate such principles.[4] This explains the purity of his moral outlook, the true spirituality of his religion, and the depth and reality of his adhesion to the Law. His struggle in Egypt for religious expansion and broad-minded progressiveness, hand in hand with its practical application for the actual lives of his co-religionists, antedated a somewhat different fight in Palestine by only a few years. Because our author's was less sharp than the latter, it left him without much of the rich theology the Ḥasidim's plight evoked. But, because its objective was primarily the establishment of a progressive Judaism and only secondarily the preservation of religion against pagan encroachments and was still less in opposition to a Hellenizing liberalism, it left him fortunately without the Hasidim's narrow bigotry.

§ 8. Sources.

Popular religious and magical speculations, current mythology and demonology, ethical and moral maxims of his day, traditional folklore and romantic legend, all contributed their quota to the education of the author. They widened his outlook on life without vitiating the spirituality of his religion or the reality of his adhesion to Judaism. They endowed him with the culture necessary to a writer whose appeal was probably directed to the educated pagan as well as the enlightened Jew of the Diaspora in its early days. They did this without loosening his grip on his own countrymen's practical difficulties of everyday life, and without stultifying the real usefulness of his literary work with the veneer of a superficial philosophy.[5] But to the following four sources—partly literary, partly oral—he was especially indebted in writing the present work.

i. *The Tractate of Khons.*

A copy of this tractate, designed for the propagation[6] of the cult of the Egyptian God Khons of Thebes, has been preserved on the Bentres Stele, which dates from about 500 B. C. In a town called *Bchtn* (= Ecbatana?) there lived a princess possessed by a demon. 'Khons, the beautifully resting one', the God of Thebes, despatched 'Khons, the executor of plans', to her assistance; the demon was expelled and the princess was healed. It is probable that, conscious of the baneful tendency of this and similar propaganda of Egyptian paganism to encourage apostasy

[1] The line of argument pursued above is, of course, quite independent of Sayce's deductions ('The Jews and their Temple in Elephantine') in the *Expositor*, Nov., 1911.

[2] A long tax list containing more than a hundred names survives, while the personal names in the papyri belong on the whole to the type in vogue at Jerusalem in the later period.

[3] His high ideals for reunion with Jerusalem were in turn destined to receive a set-back, when in the time of Antiochus V Eupator (164–162 B.C.), Onias IV went to Egypt and established the temple at Leontopolis 'in the province of Heliopolis' (Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 9. 7; xiii. 3. 2, and 10. 4; xx. 10; *Bell. Iud.* i. 1. 1; vii. 10. 3).

[4] This would naturally commend the book to the notice of the authorities at Jerusalem. Moreover, the fact that the book is also an abridgement of the main features of Aḥiḳar's history and maxims would win for it an enthusiastic, unanimous, and early reception in Palestine. Thus its wide acceptance there and elsewhere cannot be adduced as an objection to the hypothesis of its composition in Egypt.

[5] See p. 186.

[6] Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, 1909, p. 257, terms it 'a puff advertisement for the God Khons'. On Khons, or Chunsu, see further, Wiedemann, art. 'Religion of Egypt', in *HDB*, Extra vol., p. 185.

among his fellow exiles in Egypt, our author conceived the idea of writing a rival tractate to illustrate Jahveh's sole sovereignty over supernatural as well as human beings, and His ability to protect and assist in dangers, sickness, and exile all who fulfilled his moral and ceremonial requirements. H. Schneider[1] has endeavoured to prove that *Tobit* is a *direct* 'remodelling' of this tractate. The author seems at least dependent upon it for one place-name and for the ideas of demon-possession, supernatural assistance sent from afar to relieve the maiden of high position, the father's unwillingness to allow the instruments of his daughter's deliverance to depart from his roof, his loading them with riches, if not also for the mention of Egypt in connexion with the expulsion of the demon. Such borrowing from a pagan source, with a view to disprove a pagan god's pretensions by ascribing his attributes and work to Jahveh, is more than paralleled among the Jews in Babylon, e. g. by P's use of the Babylonian Tablets of Creation in praise of Marduk in order to work up their contents into a dogmatic statement of Monotheism, of Jahveh's creation of the world, and of the duty of Sabbath observance in Gen. i–ii. 4[a]. But our author's work is more complex than the *Tractate of Khons* in the weaving and working out of its plot, and richer in details, while he abandoned many of the detailed characteristics[2] of the Egyptian story in favour of other sources equally well known to pagan and Jew, but less subversive of the Jewish Faith.

ii. *The fable of the Grateful Dead.*

It was more probably this cycle of stories—either written or oral—which provided the author with the major portion of the general outline of his story, infused the romantic interest, and furnished several of the most exciting crises in the plot—a fact denied by only a very few scholars.[3] The corpse of a debtor, the outline of the fable runs, was rescued from his murderers and buried at great personal self-sacrifice by a traveller or itinerant merchant, whom the dead man's spirit, appearing in human form, afterwards delivered from mortal peril, bestowing on him a bride and rescuing him from death by drowning; the supernatural being only revealed his own identity at the end of the series of adventures to the surprise alike of the merchant and of the reader. Such legends might well be as widespread in antiquity as at the present day and would be speedily assimilated and conformed by the Jews to their own peculiar religious and aesthetic tendencies: finally only an artistic mind such as our author's would be required to transform one or more of these fables into the Apocryphal story of Tobit. Simrock in his collection of seventeen variants of the fable,[4] was the first to point out their importance in relation to *Tobit*. Mostly indigenous in their present form to Germany, they have parallels in Holland, France, and Italy. Andersen's *Reisercamarad* witnesses to the existence in Denmark of a recension closely akin to No. 10 in Simrock, while Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 27, proves that the kernel of the fable was already in existence in his day. Further parallels are given by Benfey in *Pantschatantra* and Pfeiffer's *Germania* xii. Considerably closer parallels to *Tobit* appear in the Armenian[5] and Russian[6] forms of the fable.

Though the parallels are numerous, there are a number of significant differences both in outline and detail. The pertinent question is therefore raised by Schurer[7] as to whether, quite apart from the uncertainty as to the antiquity of the fable, these differences are so vital as to make the hypothesis of our author's dependence on the fable improbable.

In the first place, however, it is likely that the primitive story from which all the modern forms of it are *ex hypothesi* derived, underwent considerable changes in outline as well as in detail between the date of our author's use of it and the moment when these modern variants branched off from the main stock. Fortunately Simrock's seventeen versions, though they all assumed their present literary form in one country and at the same time, themselves provide an excellent example of this peculiar adaptability of the fable to transformations and modifications.[8]

Secondly, not a few of the important traits peculiar to *Tobit* and contradictory of all the extant forms of the fable, are explicable as deliberate modifications by the author of *Tobit* in conscious deference to his own aesthetic tendencies, his Jewish prejudices, his readers' edification, or his desire at the moment to utilize some other source or copy some other pattern.[9]

[1] *Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 638 f.

[2] See Naville's description, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–58.

[3] e.g. Preiss, *ZWT*, 1885, pp. 24–51 (in reply to Linschmann); Geiger, *Katholik*, 1904, vol. i, pp. 367–77 (in reply to Plath), but accepted e.g. by Sepp., *Kirchliche Reformentwürfe*, 1870, pp. 27–45, and *Altbayerischer Sagenschatz*, 1876, pp. 678–89; Linschmann, *ZAT*, 1882, pp. 359–62; Cosquin, *Revue Biblique*, 1899, pp. 513–20; Plath, *Th. Stud. und Krit.*, 1901, pp. 402–14 (especially valuable); Joh. Müller, *Beihefte zur ZATW*, xiii, 1908, pp. 2–10.

[4] Published under the title *Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Toten*, Bonn, 1856.

[5] Printed in Haxthausen's *Transkaukasia*, 1856, i, pp. 333 f., reprinted in Pfeiffer's *Germania*. iii, 1858, pp. 202 f., by Köhler.

[6] Schiefner, *Orient und Occident*, ii, 1864, pp. 174 f.

[7] *GJV*[4], 1909, iii, p. 241.

[8] See Plath, *op. cit.*, pp. 404–6.

[9] The various differences are minutely traced to these causes by Plath, *op. cit.*, pp. 408–14.

iii. *The story and wisdom of Aḥiḳar.*[1]

A. *Antiquity of Aḥiḳar.*—G. Hoffmann[2] was the first scholar to point out the striking resemblances between this work and our book. To-day its value as a primary source of a portion at least of Tobit, as well as the multiplicity of problems it raises on its own account and in relation to the Jewish colony at Yeb, is generally recognized. Still read in the *Arabian Nights* and *Aesop's Fables*, it was widespread in the ancient world. Quite apart from the numerous versions which survive, it has left an indelible impression on the literature and thought of the past. It was well known to the Greeks and Romans, and it has been argued that this is proved apart from its appearance in *Aesop's Fables*, by numerous parallels in the fragments of Menander,[3] S. Clement of Alexandria's reference[4] to its alleged use by Democritus,[5] as well as by the statement of Diogenes Laertius (v. 30) that Theophrastes (371–264 B. C.) composed a work entitled Ἀκίχαρος, and the allusion of Strabo[6] to Ἀχαϊκαρος. The use of Aḥiḳar is unmistakable in the Qoran.[7] The Talmud[8] is not entirely free from its influence, and some Christian writers knew it at second hand.[9] At the beginning of the Christian era Aḥiḳar was still somewhat popular in Palestine: this much is clear from the New Testament.[10] It is consequently by no means surprising that certain of the latter parts of the Old Testament itself are to some extent dependent upon Aḥiḳar. Dr. Rendel Harris points out the parallels in thought and language between Aḥiḳar, e. g. in Ps. cxli. 4, 5, 10 (in both the Massoretic text and the LXX), in Dan. ii. 2, 11; iv. 10; v. 7, 16. In the case of Sirach, with which Tobit is intimately connected in sentiments and date (see iv. below), the dependence on Aḥiḳar is beyond dispute.[11] Thus before the beginning of the second century B. C.—how much earlier we cannot tell—Aḥiḳar must have been reverenced in Palestine, and even regarded there as sacred if not actually inspired, and its vogue had declined considerably before New Testament times on account of its partial incorporation in Tobit. In Egypt, however, we have contemporary evidence from the Elephantine papyri[12] that between the fifth and sixth centuries B. C. the Jewish community there read, in Aramaic, some portions at least both of the history (see p. 186, foot-note 9) and of the parables and fables. Consequently Hoffmann's supposition that an author later than Tobit wrote the legend to explain the references to Aḥiḳar in Tobit, and Mr. E. H. Dillon's that

[1] For the Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic texts, and an English translation of these, and of Jagić's German rendering of the Slavonic, with an Introduction (including an examination of the relation of *Tobit* to *Aḥiḳar*), see (in addition to vol. ii of this work) *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, Cambridge, 1898, by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewis. More recent works are: *Alter und Herkunft des Achikar-Romans und sein Verhältnis zu Aesop*, by Rudolph Smend, being the second part of *Beihefte zur ZATW*, xiii, 1908; and *Histoire et Sagesse d'Aḥiḳar l'Assyrien*, 1909, by F. Nau, containing a full history of the criticism of Aḥiḳar, an up-to-date bibliography (especially with regard to works on the Syriac, Ethiopic, Slavonic, Roumanian, and Greek versions), with indispensable concordances of the relative order of the sayings and proverbs in the various versions; Benfey, in *Ausland*, 1859, pp. 457 ff., 511 ff., demonstrated the existence of the legend among the Hindus. For further articles and works see below.

[2] *Abhandlungen für Kunde des Morgenlands*, vol. viii, 1880, p. 182 f. [3] Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–6.

[4] *Stromata*, i. 15, in *Migne*, p. 772; see H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, p. 439.

[5] Rendel Harris, in vol. ii *Story of Aḥiḳar*, Introd. § 3 *a*; Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–41. Sachau, however, confesses himself unable to find any connexion between the proverbs of Aḥiḳar and those of Democritus, whether Democritus or a pseudo-Democritus, and attaches but little importance to the evidence quoted above.

[6] XVI. ii. 39. The pertinence of this allusion remains unaffected whether παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Βοσπορηνοῖς is understood with Reinach (*Revue des Études juives*, xxxviii, 1899, pp. 1–13) as pointing to Borsippa in Babylonia, or with Halévy (*Revue Sémitique*, 1900, p. 44) to Bostra in Syria.

[7] Especially in the 31st Sura entitled *Loḳman*, Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, lxxii f. Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–70.

[8] Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f.; cf. L. Ginzburg, art. 'Aḥiḳar', in *Jewish Ency.*, vol. i, p. 289.

[9] e. g. S. Clement of Alexandria (referred to above). For Origen see Rendel Harris in *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, Cambridge, 1898, p. xliv.

[10] While Vetter, Ginzburg, and Nau, in opposition to Dr. Harris and Halévy, may possibly seek unduly to minimize Aḥiḳar's influence upon the New Testament, the extent of the latter's immediate dependence upon the former is certainly exaggerated if passages such as Matt. iii. 10 (Luke iii. 9); Luke vii. 39; 1 Cor. i. 27, v. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 17 be included. It may be presumptuous to inquire whether it was the History of Aḥiḳar or Tobit's reference to Aḥiḳar which was present to the mind of our Lord when he uttered the parable of the Wicked Servant recorded in Q (especially Matt. xxiv. 48–51; Luke xii. 14, 15), and whether the Wisdom of Aḥiḳar is the background of the parable of the Barren Fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6–9). The details, or at least the literary presentation, of the death of Judas may have been influenced quite as much by the book of Tobit as by the Story of Aḥiḳar. The latter certainly moulded the thought of 2 Pet. ii. 22. But, in view of the extent of the evidence—afforded especially by the papyri and Sirach—of the popularity of Aḥiḳar in early post-exilic days as compared with the paucity of definite evidence for its use the nearer the Christian era is approached, it may not be too bold to assume that Aḥiḳar's vogue had at least taken second place to Tobit before New Testament times (see p. 198 f.). This is not without importance in connexion with the questions of the date of the book, the integrity of the text, and the priority of R^S.

[11] Sir. iv. 7, 26, 32, 34; v. 17; vi. 7, 14, 24; vii. 25; viii. 1, 8; ix. 8 f., 14; xix. 26 f.; xxii. 26 f.; xxvii. 17, 28; xxx. 17; xli. 16, 27; xlii. 1, all demand careful examination in this connexion.

[12] See Eduard Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, 1911, Tafel, 40–50, and Arthur Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 1911, pp. 62–82.

Aḥiḳar, though earlier than Tobit, was only composed in the third century B. C., are *finally*[1] disproved. The interpolatory hypotheses (see § 9) are seen to be almost as unjustified as Ginzburg's scepticism as to the identity of the Aḥiḳar of Tobit with the Aḥiḳar of this legend or Plath's doubts (*op. cit.*, p. 391) as to whether our author had written or only oral acquaintance with Aḥiḳar.

The further problems of Aḥiḳar's exact date and place of composition concern us in so far as it is of interest to discover whether or not this source of Tobit was written in some non-Semitic language and by an author of non-Jewish nationality and religion.[2] The fact that the Assyrian kings are alluded to by name but in a somewhat impersonal and general manner, as well as the absence of all indications that the Assyrian empire was still in existence, points to a date of composition subsequent to 608 B. C. The proper names, on the other hand—even to some extent those in the latest forms of Aḥiḳar—preserve their genuine Assyrian form to a greater extent than the same and similar words have done within the Old Testament Canon. The author is acquainted with official titles (e. g. רביא, כותא), which might have been no longer understood if the Assyrian empire had long since passed away, while the Persian names, even in the later strata, are very few. Still it is probable that even if the name Aḥiḳar is a very ancient Babylonian one,[3] an author writing under Cyrus would borrow the name of a person famous for wisdom in the ancient days of Babylon. These considerations lead Sachau to suppose that it cannot have been composed earlier than the last decades of the Babylonian empire, and finally he decides that 'in its present form the book of Aḥiḳar may have been composed somewhere between 550–450 B. C.'.[4] Its author would therefore be a contemporary of Deutero-Isaiah and Jonah. Though Halévy and Dr. Rendel Harris have endeavoured to show that on internal grounds the hypothesis of a Babylonian and pagan original cannot be maintained, in Bousset's judgement 'there can scarcely be any doubt as to the legend being heathen in origin'.[5] Sachau finds nothing specifically *Hebrew* in the book of Aḥiḳar and surmises 'that such a work, possibly resting on a more ancient Babylonian pattern, might perhaps have arisen in the circle of the priests of Nebo', a cult which 'was one of the most extensive in those days' (*op. cit.*, p. xxiii). Reinach, too, urged that the original author was a pagan, and the work, which was polytheistic[6] with a mythological *motif*,[7] was translated and expurgated theologically and ethically by the Jews before our author's use of it. Nor is it quite improbable that a polytheistic work of this kind composed in Babylon would so quickly find its way to Egypt and having so quickly lost its polytheistic tendency, become a sacred book of the Jews at Yeb. Thus the papyri may fail both to favour and to disprove the hypothesis of a Jewish not a pagan author. The fact that they are written in Aramaic equally fails to solve the problem of the rival claims of Hebrew and Aramaic to be the language of the original work.

B. *Alleged divergence in detail.*—The Aramaic papyri of Aḥiḳar, in addition to the undeniably complete proof they afford of the use of Aḥiḳar among the Jews prior to the composition of Tobit, are equally useful in removing at least one of the alleged differences between the references to Aḥiḳar in Tobit and the history of Aḥiḳar as it was formerly known to us only from

[1] The weakness of Hoffmann's position was pointed out by G. Bickell in the *Athenaeum*, ii, 1890, p. 170. The priority of the composition of Aḥiḳar to that of Tobit has also been maintained by Bruno Meissner (so far only as the end of the history is concerned) in *Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xlviii, 1894, pp. 171–97; by M. Lidzbarski (in reply to certain statements by Meissner) in the same magazine, pp. 671–5; by E. J. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1898, pp. 362–86; by E. Cosquin, *Revue Biblique*, viii, 1899, p. 30 ff.; Th. Reinach, *Revue des Études juives*, xxxviii, 1899, pp. 1–13; J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, p. 23; by M. Plath in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Gotha, 1901, pp. 377–414, as well as by Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, and in 'The Double Text of Tobit' in the *American Journal of Theology*, ii, pp. 541–54.

[2] Nau (*op. cit.*, p. 35) stands practically alone in his belief in the genuineness and authenticity of *Aḥiḳar*, though he admits that the story has undergone several redactions.

[3] Ungnad and Ed. Meyer (*Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 109) regard it as an Assyrio-Babylonian name *Aḫû jaḳar*, 'the brother is dear', probably to be vocalized אַחִיקַר in ancient Aramaic. In Sachau's estimation, too, the name Aḥiḳar is Babylonian and belongs to a much more ancient period of Babylonian history than that of the later Babylonian or Persian empire (*op. cit.*, p. xxiii). If it was pronounced Aḥîḳâr, it would be interpreted in Syriac ܐܚܝܩܪ, 'brother of honour' (*op. cit.*, p. 148). It 'belongs to the numerous western Semitic names which the Amorites of the First Dynasty of Babylon brought to Babylonia, and at this time is quite frequent', Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 119.

[4] *op. cit.*, p. xxii; cf. Ed. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

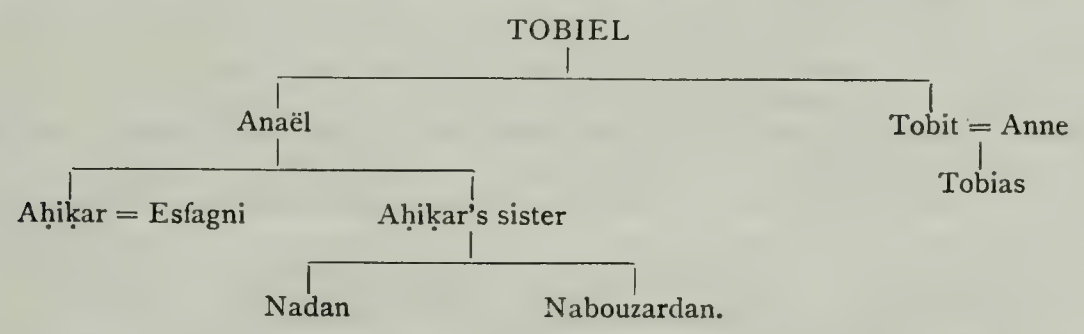
[5] *Die Religion des Judentums*, second edition, 1906, p. 565. Cf. the same writer in *Beiträge zur Achikarlegende* in *ZATW*, 1905, pp. 180–93.

[6] e. g. in the Armenian version Aḥiḳar's prayer is addressed to the gods Belšim, Šimil, and Samin. The various adaptations, versions, and MSS. naturally differ very considerably in details, and even in more important features of the legend. For example, the MS. B of the Syriac gives two invocations, one to the idols and one to the true God, whereas L and C record only the latter, and the Armenian version, with its usual retention of the earlier form of the legend, only the former.

[7] Aḥiḳar in the Armenian employs magic and astrology and has sixty wives and sixty palaces, corresponding to the sixty solar houses and the sixty degrees of the primitive division of the celestial phenomena.

the MSS. of the various versions. In the latter Aḥiḳar lives in the reign of Sennaḥerib, who is represented as the son and successor of Esarhaddon, whereas in Tobit the inverse and correct order appears and the accuracy of R^S is incidentally vindicated. Schürer[1] has already pointed out that in the papyri[2] we read 'the history of Aḥiḳar under Sennaḥerib and Esarhaddon in this correct sequence, not the reverse as in our MSS.' of Aḥiḳar. The papyri, moreover, present in general an earlier form of the text than even those versions and redactions of Aḥiḳar in which the hero is an idolater and only worships the true God when the idols fail to hear him. Still the presentation of Aḥiḳar in our book as a Jew and a nephew of Tobit, may be due to our author's desire to enhance the fame of Tobit by making so famous a man his relative (Smend, p. 63). The same motive probably dictated the description of Aḥiḳar as a friend and benefactor of Tobit, though in his own legend Aḥiḳar appears simply as a shrewd man. In Aḥiḳar the hero is delivered from prison because he is righteous; in Tobit because he has done alms (Tobit xiv. 10). Doubtless, even if Dr. Rendel Harris's arguments[3] with regard to the Syriac in this connexion do not entirely commend themselves to all scholars, the transition from the idea of righteousness to that of almsgiving was easy if not unconscious in view of the widespread expression of the two ideas by one Hebrew word (צדקה) at the time when Tobit was written.[4] For the true explanation of the transformation of Aḥiḳar's journey to Egypt into one to Elymais (Tobit ii. 10) see p. 186 and note *ad loc.*

C. *Extent of dependence.*—(1) He borrowed directly from the history of Aḥiḳar in i. 21 f.; ii. 10; xi. 18; xiv. 10. 15.[5] The principal textual divergences and corruptions in the tradition of the proper names are referred to elsewhere (see notes *ad loc*). Nau (*op. cit.* p. 11) gives the following table of consanguinity as that presupposed by these references.



In iv. 10 'suffereth not to come into darkness' is a pertinent reference to Aḥiḳar's unhappy plight in prison and Nadan's ultimate fate mentioned more clearly in xiv. 10; it is still more generalized in Sir. xxix. 12. Especially noteworthy is the *juxtaposition* of the terms *Assyria* and *Nineveh* in the earliest recension of Tobit in xiv. 4 as well as in xiv. 15, proving conclusively the immediate dependence of Tobit upon the legend of Aḥiḳar where this curious double description of the empire is used.[6] It would appear that the legend lay before him in a written form.

(2) The legend of Aḥiḳar seems to have supplied our author with several literary and structural models. With the title i. 1. cf. the Syriac C 'I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Aḥiḳar' and the Armenian 'the maxims and wisdom of Khikar'. As far as iii. 6[7] our author followed the example set him by Aḥiḳar of representing the hero as recounting his own history. Tobit, too, like Aḥiḳar, gives a brief summary of his previous fortunes (i. 3 ff.). Moreover, in addressing two series of exhortations to his son (iv. 3 ff., xiv. 3 ff.) and two prayers to God (iii. 2 ff., xiii) he is surely imitating the legend of Aḥiḳar, which, though the details are different, is constructed according to this plan.

(3) Our author has assimilated a not inconsiderable amount of Aḥiḳar's parenetic sections. The prologue (Tobit iv. 5) and the epilogue (iv. 19) to the 'teaching' of Tobit find their prototype in the prologue in the Syriac to Aḥiḳar's teaching: 'My son, listen to my speech, follow my opinion, and keep my words in remembrance', and in the Arabic, 'O my son, hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say', and in the epilogue to the same in the Armenian, 'Son, receive into thy mind my precepts, and forget them not'. As iv. 12 finds a place within *this*

[1] *GJV*, fourth edition, 1909, vol. iii, p. 253.
[2] e.g. Papyrus 49, Tafel 40, lines 3–5, 15; Papyrus 50, line 11, in Sachau, *op. cit.*
[3] Camb. ed., pp. xlviii–l, lxxxii–lxxxvi. Cf. Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 59, footnote 2.
[4] See Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, xlix f.; *A.J.Th.*, p. 548; cf. the various readings in Matt. vi. 1, and the modern *charity* as opposed to the original meaning of *caritas*.
[5] e.g. in Syriac text on pp. 58, 67 (*bis*), 69 (*bis*), &c., of the Camb. ed.
[6] e.g. in Syriac text on pp. 58, 67 (*bis*), 69 (*bis*), &c., of the Camb. ed.
[7] Where he was compelled to abandon the direct narration, see p. 195.

'teaching', so the *same* thought appears in the *same* discourse of Aḥiḳar.[1] With iv. 15 cf. *App.* ii. 198; with iv. 18 cf. Camb. ed., p. 61, No. 12 (iii. 16 in Nau). In the case of several other verses in ch. iv a less verbal dependence on Aḥiḳar can be established as the latter appears, for instance, on pp. 60–6 of the Cambridge Aḥikar. With 14b, 16, 18 cf. Nos. 9, 11, 12, 43, 73; with 15 cf. Nos. 20, 39, 60. Moreover, *unless immediate dependence on Aḥiḳar is presupposed, a few obscure passages cannot be elucidated.* Of this iv. 17 (see note *ad loc.*) is an excellent example. Its meaning and phrasing are clear when read in conjunction with Aḥiḳar's, 'My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, and drink it not with evil men'.[2] Again, in iv. 14b the precept to be πεπαιδευμένος[3] finds its original context in Sachau's Aramaic Papyrus 53 (Tafel 44) line 2. [הי] ברגלו ארחא ויתשים ויתסר[4] יתאלף זי ברא = 'the son who is trained and disciplined and at whose feet . . . is laid'. The importance Tobit attaches to the burial of the dead (e.g. i. 20, ii. 3–9, iv. 3, 5, xiv. 12) also finds a prototype in Aḥiḳar.[5] Finally, as Aḥiḳar orders his last discourses to Nadan to be written down, so Raphael bids Tobit write the record of his acts and maxims (xii. 20).

iv. *The Old Testament and Apocrypha.*

The author, as a devout Jew, was naturally well versed in the sacred writings of his own people and religion. They served as a source of the truest inspiration—historical, literary, and religious—and as a standard of orthodoxy by which he might test and repudiate all that was *essentially* alien to Judaism as he wrote this tractate, which, as shown above, was parallel but in opposition to that propagated by the priests of the god Khons, not uninfluenced by echoes of Zoroastrianism and dependent upon the pagan fable of *The Grateful Dead* and upon *Aḥiḳar*, which at the best was not *specifically* Jewish or deeply religious.

His style, phraseology, religious conceptions, and moral advice are fundamentally influenced by the Pentateuchal narratives and legislation in all their various strata.[6] The literary affinities with Genesis are of more than passing interest, for they illustrate the peculiar indebtedness of the author to that book. It was the source from which he derived not only his idea of writing a new patriarchal history, but also the materials with which he paints with consummate art the more important scenes.[7] Above all, the author was most deeply influenced by the fact that in Genesis 'there are more references to the duty of burial of the dead than in any other Scriptural book'.[8] Gen. xlvii. 49 is decisive, where Rashi, following the *Midrash Rabba*, annotates 'the kindness that a man shows the dead is *kindness of truth* for the doer has no hope of (receiving) a reward (from the corpse)'. Accordingly, the somewhat frequent references to the burial of the dead are properly and fully explained not only by the influence exerted upon the author by *The Grateful Dead* and the parallels in Aḥiḳar, but also by his close dependence upon Genesis, resulting in his belief that he could thus best inculcate disinterested charity such as Providence only can reward.

For his knowledge of the periods and scenery which he chose as the background of his story and his *vaticinium post eventum* he was dependent upon the historical books of the O.T.

[1] Camb. ed., p. 60, No. 6; in Nau's translation, iii. 9.

[2] Cf. Camb. ed., p. 61, No. 10; in Nau, iii. 13. The Arabic texts agree with the Syriac's retention of 'on the graves of the righteous', which is omitted by the Armenian.

[3] By Lévi wrongly supposed to prove dependence on Sirach; see p. 193, footnote 3, *infra.*

[4] Possibly to be punctuated יְהֹסַר (Sachau) or יְתֵסַר, instead of the more regular יִתְיַסַּר, for which it may be a scribal error or a passive with assimilated ת. Ungnad compares the Arabic *ittaṣala* for *iwtaṣala*, and the Assyrian *ittašab* for *iwtašab.* But in any case it is יסר in Hebrew.

[5] e.g. Camb. ed., pp. 69, 71; chs. ix. 6, xiv, in Nau.

[6] viz. (*a*) *JE* in i. 22 (Gen. xli. 40, 42); iii. 6 (Num. xi. 15); iii. 10 (Gen. xlii. 38; xliv. 31); v. 17 (16) (Gen. xxiv. 7); vi. 2 (1) (*Tigris*, Gen. ii. 14); vii. 4 (Gen. xliii. 27 f.); vii. 11, 12 (11, 12, 13) (Gen. xxiv. 33, 59; and v. 60 is more closely imitated in R^V in which a point of contact with Gen. xxix. 27 is also introduced in xii. 1 (xi. 19); viii. 6 (Gen. ii. 7, 18, 22); xi. 9 (Gen. xlvi. 29 f.); (Gen. xxix. 27); xiii. 12 (Gen. xii. 3, xxvii. 29); xiii. 12 (Num. xxiv. 9). (*b*) The Code of the Covenant in i. 6 (Exod. xxii. 29); and J.'s counterpart in ii. 1 (Exod. xxxiv. 22); while an approximation to the code itself (Exod. xx. 12) was introduced by R^V in iv. 3. (*c*) D.'s legislative kernel in i. 6–8 (Deut. xii. 6, xviii. 4, xvi. 16, xiv. 25–9); ii. 13 (Deut. xxii. 1); iv. 7 (Deut. xv. 7, 8); the parenetic prefixes in iv. 5 (Deut. viii. 11); xiv. 8 (9) (Deut. iv. 40); the hortatory additions in iii. 4 (Deut. xxviii. 37); xiii. 5 (Deut. xxx. 3); and the song of Moses in xiii. 2 (Deut. xxxii. 39). (*d*) H. in i. 3 (Lev. xxv. 35); iv. 14 (Lev. xix. 13). (*e*) P. in i. 7 (Num. xviii. 21); i. 9 (Num. xxxvi. 6, 7); i. 21 (Gen. viii. 4): ii. 9 (Num. xix. 11); v. 18 (17) (Num. xxvii. 17); vi. 13 (12) (Num. xxvii. 8, xxxvi. 8, xv. 30 f.); vii. 12 (13) (Num. xxxvi. 6); viii. 21 (Num. xxvii. 8); xii. 10 (Num. xvi. 38).

[7] e.g. Tobit calls Tobias to hear, as it seemed to him, his last injunctions in ch. iv, and his grandchildren in ch. xiv, just as Jacob had done (Gen. xlix); Raphael performs the part angels played in the lives of the Patriarchs, and like them returns to heaven when his work is accomplished. Again, the story of Joseph and his Egyptian wife encouraged a romantic treatment, lending colour and interest to the inculcation of purely Jewish marriage, and even, by way of antithesis, suggesting agnatic ones, such as non-canonical writings attributed to the earlier patriarchs; the journey culminating in the discovery of a wife for Tobias has its counterpart in the journey of Eliezer to find in Rebecca a wife for Isaac, as R^V recognized and therefore made the author's reference more explicit in vii. 1.

[8] I. Abrahams, *JQR*, 1898, vol. i, p. 348.

It would be, however, an injustice to our author if we were to suppose that, while he knew the historical books well in the uncritical manner of his age and knew the minutiae of the legal system, he did not study the non-legalistic and prophetic writings in existence in his time.[1]

With some of the latest books of the O.T. not yet in existence, e. g. Daniel, many Maccabean Psalms, late portions of Proverbs, and other books or sections only composed after his time, he was necessarily unacquainted.

The question of Tobit's dependence upon Sirach cannot be dismissed so summarily. If literary dependence upon the Greek of Sirach were properly and thoroughly substantiated, it might seriously complicate or facilitate the solution of the problem of the date of Tobit's composition. In Fuller's judgement 'the general impression will probably be that Tobit is more precise and definite than Ecclesiasticus; and this would indicate that of the two Ecclesiasticus is the older book', but he does not deduce from this that Tobit exhibits any literary dependence upon any form of the text of Sirach. Israël Lévi,[2] however, has endeavoured to produce evidence from the text not only of our author's similarity of expression, but also of his use and misunderstanding of the text of Sirach. Granted Lévi were correct—and well-authenticated misreadings of the text would be a strong confirmation—it would be possible to fix exactly the date of Tobit. The evidence in favour of the pre-Maccabean date would not be weakened, for his arguments are based on supposed misreadings, not of the Greek translation of Sirach (*c.* 132 B. C.), but of the *Hebrew* original (*c.* 190–180 B. C.); Tobit must, then, have been written between 190–170 B. C. Lévi, however, brings forward only two passages in confirmation of this theory of textual dependence and misunderstanding, and in neither case can his reasoning be pronounced sound or his conclusions be accepted.[3] Moreover, if the parallels appear 'more precise and definite' (Fuller) in Tobit than in Sirach, it is just because in the former they present themselves in more of the original freshness of their ultimate sources.

v. *Magian Influences.*

It cannot any longer be alleged either that the author was influenced by the Zoroastrian religious system, or that he necessarily borrowed, as has been argued by W. R. Smith[4] and Prof. J. H. Moulton, from *written* Iranian sources, and lived in Media to do so, as Prof. J. H. Moulton formerly[5] suggested.[6]

For a complete refutation of the supposition of his indebtedness to Zoroaster we are indebted to Professor J. H. Moulton's recent researches.[7] *It was non-Zoroastrian Magianism which influenced the author of Tobit.* There are numerous parallels between Tobit and 'the most important factors in Magianism as distinguished from the other strata in complete Avestan Parsaism'. Professor Moulton, for instance, points out the parallels in the use made of the fish's heart, the stress laid on burial, the consanguineous marriages, the unnecessary appearance of the dog, and the demon Asmodeus, whose name finds its exact counterpart in the later Avestan *Aēšma daēva.* On the other hand, the absence of any eschatology in Tobit would be inexplicable if the author had been acquainted with the system of Zarathushtra, who 'enlarged and enhanced' the eschatology of 'the earliest Iranian stratum', writes Professor Moulton, 'till it became the very centre of the Religion'. Again, the *seven angels* of Tobit xii. 15 need not point back to the Amesha Spenta, since the latter in Zoroaster's own system were *six.* The later substitution of *seven* was probably under Semitic influence; and of the two alternative additions, that of the Deity is expressly excluded by the text of Tobit *l.c.*, while that of Sraosha has no claim to antiquity.

[1] He quotes Amos viii. 10 in ii. 5. His text may be reminiscent of Amos v. 15 and Jonah iii. 9 in xiii. 6[b]; of Mic. iv. 2, Zech. viii. 22 in xiii. 11[a]; of Mic. ii. 3 in xiv. 4 (see note *ad loc.*); of Isa. ii. 18 (cf. Mic. v. 13) in xiv. 6; of the Trito-Isaiah in i. 16 (cf. Isa. lviii. 7), in xiii. 11 (cf. Isa. lx. 6–10), 14 (Isa. lxvi. 10), 16 (Isa. liv. 11). He appeals to Nahum for the verification of his *vaticinium post eventum* in xiv. 4 (cf. Nahum iii. 7 for its fulfilment in xiv. 15). He utilizes Hag. ii. 3 in xiv. 5. He bases his description of the glorious future on prophetic passages such as Jer. xxxi. 1–14; l. 4, 5.

[2] *Revue des Études juives*, vol. xliv, No. 88, April–June, 1902.

[3] In the case of Tobit iv. 3 and Sir. iii. 12, it is noteworthy that (1) עזב twice, but עצב never, in LXX is thus translated; (2) ὑπερίδῃς would not naturally represent either in this connexion; (3) R[v], which Lévi follows, is certainly inferior to R[s] here. In the case of Sir. xxxi. 19, (1) according to Strack נכון not נכון is correct, (2) πεπαιδευμένος in Tobit iv. 14 is a reminiscence of Aḥiḳar (cf. p. 192 *supra*).

[4] *Encyc. Brit.*[9], art. 'Tobit'.

[5] 'The Iranian Background of Tobit', published in the *Expos. Times*, vol. xi, pp. 257–60.

[6] Cf. *supra*, p. 186, footnote 3.

[7] *Hibbert Lectures* (New Series), 1912, delivered in Manchester College, Oxford, and in the University of London. His Excursus, *Magianism and the Book of Tobit*, attached to Lecture II, containing an interesting conjectural restoration of a supposed Magian archetype of our book, entirely supersedes his earlier essay in the *Expos. Times.* I am indebted to Professor Moulton for allowing me to read and make several quotations from this Excursus before its publication.

It was in Egypt, and practically in Egypt alone,[1] that an author such as ours could have made the use he has of those 'most important factors in Magianism'. The recent discoveries of papyri in Egypt [2] have thrown new light upon the conditions of the Jews there. The Jews in Egypt would look with the less suspicion upon Persian ideas and customs inasmuch as the Persian empire, under Cambyses, had spared their temple on the island of Elephantine. Many of the worshippers at that shrine had once been mercenaries in the employ of the Egyptian military authorities. In the course of time Persian officers had been appointed over them, Persian soldiers quartered in Syene, and, towards the end of the fifth century B.C., a Persian, by name Vidarna, had been in command of the entire garrison of the southern border. The descendants of these Jewish soldiers became military colonists, farmers, and ordinary burghers. But their environment for long remained partly Persian, for business was transacted with Persian weights and measures, and dates were reckoned according to the reigns of the various Persian kings. Thus we have a glimpse into the life of the Jew in Egypt, for the general conditions were probably much the same throughout the country. In some such environment the author of Tobit lived.[3] Possibly he knew but little of Magianism as a system of thought—in this book he is certainly not waging a polemic against it [4] or against Zoroastrianism—but was fairly well acquainted with the popular stories and legends Persians—soldiers and others—had introduced into the circles in which he moved. In our story, for instance, prefaced as it is by a reference to the careful burial of the dead, which is further inculcated in the body of the narrative, the surprising references [5] to the dog as the companion of the wayfarers (vi. 2 (1), xi. 5) may well be due to a confused recollection of fables originally of Magian tendency,[6] which emphasized, like the *Vendidad*, the importance of properly building 'the tower of silence' for the dead, and recorded Parsi funerals in which 'a dog (with certain spots) is brought in to look at the corpse and so exorcise the *Nasu*'. But the dog is no longer a companion of Tobit and a participant in the funeral rites; he simply accompanies the travellers. Similarly, the consanguineous marriages only form a subsidiary part of his argument and the particular form and motive of their introduction, as already shown, are determined by other considerations. So too the name Asmodeus comes ultimately from Media but the *meaning* of the name cannot be pressed.

§ 9. Integrity.

The integrity, unity and originality of the book as a whole have not remained unchallenged. As early as A.D. 1800 Ilgen endeavoured to prove that while i. 1–iii. 6 was written by Tobit himself (*c.* 689 B.C.) in Assyria, iii. 7–xii. 22 were not composed till *c.* 280 B.C. in Palestine, and xiii was only inserted *c.* 10 B.C. But the book is characterized throughout by a unity of purpose well conceived in its plan and natural and simple in its development, the work in short of a single author of more than average taste and ability. In spite, however, of Plath's unanswerable demonstration—with one possible exception—of the integrity of the book, the allusions to Aḥiḳar as well as the didactic sections (especially iv, xii), the superficial contradictions, the use of the first person in i. 1–iii. 6 and the supposed irrelevancy of portions of xiv have been utilized, in the most radical manner by Erbt, to prove that *Tobit* in its present form is the result of a lengthy process of accretion, elaboration and chance conglomeration, and that a number of interpolations must first be removed and certain further redactional features (inserted, according to Erbt, as late as the second century A.D.) must be discarded before it is possible to make a conjectural reconstruction of the original story such as he himself attempts. Others, less radical than Erbt, find difficulties in only one or two of the following problems.

Allusions to Aḥiḳar's history. Are these original? The discovery at Elephantine of *Aḥiḳar* papyri earlier than 400 B.C. has removed the *a priori* objection that *Aḥiḳar* is later than *Tobit*. On the contrary, if our author wrote in *Egypt* where *Aḥiḳar* was so popular, even supposing it was not elsewhere quite so well known a legend as R. Harris, Cosquin and others suppose, he might even

[1] See above, p. 186, footnote 3.

[2] See especially Eduard Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii–xxvii.

[3] With Professor J. H. Moulton's permission I quote the following extract from one of his letters to me on the subject: 'My earlier suggestion that the Jewish adaptation of a Median folk-story was actually made in Media by a Jew living there is not in the least necessary to my theory. Provided that a Jew in Egypt or elsewhere was able to get hold of this story, in oral or written form, all that I postulate is fully met. Indeed, your theory that Persian soldiers of Cambyses may have brought the story into Egypt suits admirably my argument that Zoroaster's Reform did not enter into the religion of the Achaemenian Kings before Darius, and it was a good deal later that it reached the people.'

[4] As Kohut, dating the work in the third century A.D., has argued.

[5] See p. 195 for their genuineness.

[6] Erbt (*EB*, col. 5128), however, traces the dog not to Zoroastrian influence, but to 'one of the variations of the tales of the spirit' of *The Grateful Dead* which occasionally appears in animal form. Rosenmann refers it to the influence of Greek customs and literature, e.g. the Homeric poems (*Odys.* xvii. 29 ff., where the dog plays a similar rôle), which he thinks were not unknown to the Jews.

be *expected* to introduce some references to the fortunes of that hero and sage, especially in view of the non-Jewish background and models of his work and of the great use he has made of Aḥiḳar's wisdom. But i. 21 f.; ii. 10; xi. 18; xiv. 10, are all rejected by Erbt, Riggs, Müller, Smend, Toy. xiv. 10, however, is certainly essential to the climax of the author's argument since it serves as a celebrated example of his dictum that divine justice always triumphs. That much is admitted by Reinach, who, unlike Ilgen, regards all the other allusions as spurious and supposes that the story of Aḥiḳar was originally a Babylonian solar myth of essentially polytheistic colouring. Moreover, Müller and Smend, who like Ilgen, and in opposition to Reinach, find most difficulty in xiv. 10, admit that all the passages, though interpolations, were *very* early accretions to the text, in fact pre-Christian. It is only the earliest versions and recensions which preserve the tradition, the later ones tending more and more to misunderstand, confuse or omit the names. Thus R^S is clearest (as Erbt acknowledges more than once); R^V has partly lost the point of the references, conjectured Haman and preserved a somewhat corrupt text; *Ar* M. omitted it altogether; 𝔖 has suffered textual corruption; F has conjectured *Aaron*. 𝔙, avowedly useless for textual criticism, so far supports the interpolatory theory (except in xi. 20 [1]) that Erbt yields to the temptation to gain support for his hypothesis by entering a special plea on behalf of Jerome's superiority to the uncials in this particular!

The Didactic Sections. Erbt and Riggs, consistently with their rejection of the allusions to the *history* of Aḥiḳar, endeavour to set aside also the allusions to the *wisdom* of Aḥikar, particularly iv. 6 b–19 a. Toy holds that both iv and xii are the insertions of the late editor. But ℵ's omission of iv. 6 b–19 a, to which Erbt appeals, does not support the interpolatory hypothesis (see note *ad loc.*). Moreover, the parenetic contents of these verses, to which Erbt demurs as unsuitable to and disturbing the context, are justified by the situation—Tobit believes himself to be dying and desires to communicate to his son the wisdom he himself has acquired that it may help Tobias on his journey to Media and throughout his life. Verses 12 and 13 have special reference to the immediate problems of that journey, and are therefore carefully marked off from the rest by a freer rhythm.

The Dog. That the references to this animal as the companion of the wayfarers were made by the author, not by an interpolator, is attested not simply by their presence in R^S, but also from their vicissitudes in the various recensions and versions. vi. 2 (1) is possibly the allusion to which suspicion might most easily attach itself, for R^V omitted it. He did so, however, simply because the sentence seemed tautologous. He introduces it without prejudice in v. 17 (16) and xi. 4. In the latter case an original $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ (= κύων) preserved in 𝔏's version of R^S has accidentally become $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ (= Κύριος) in ℵ, whereas Semitic prejudice and Jewish legalism reasserted itself in *Ar.* followed by M, though in F the ancient tradition returned. That R^V copied from R^S and not R^S from R^V is shown conclusively in xi. 4, where the former retained the συνῆλθεν, though he omitted its complement αὐτοῖς. R^C removed the clause back to 11^a (?), made the dog run *before* the party (cf. *et quasi nuntius adveniens* 𝔙), and reintroduced him, v. 9, where *blandimento suae caudae gaudebat* was added in 𝔙. Were Löhr [2] right in regarding τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς of ℵ as a corrupt anticipatory dittography from v. 5 and in reading αὐτῶν for αὐτοῦ καί, R^S would still be prior to R^V. But even if R^V were the earlier, the dog could only be the work of the author, not an interpolator.

Internal Contradictions and Signs of Non-unity. (1) In the Introduction (i. 3–iii. 17) and Conclusion certain difficulties of this nature have led to the denial of the originality or genuineness of these sections either as a whole or in part. The change, however, from the narration in the first person in i. 1–iii. 6 to that in the third in the subsequent chapters is not inexplicable. It was necessitated by the summary of Sarah's previous history (iii. 7–15) and the author's desire to paint in his own inimitable manner the contrast between the reader on the one hand, who has been initiated into the intentions of the merciful Providence (iii. 16 f.), and the heroes of the story on the other hand, who can only 'walk by faith'. The author has lessened the harshness of the transition by the insertion of Tobit's preparatory prayer (iii. 1–6). Moreover, Plath quite pertinently [3] points to similar alternations of third and first persons in the Aramaic *Aḥiḳar* and the Acts of the Apostles. Again, if i. 6 seems to contradict i. 14 it is only because 'the individual interest is stronger than the interest in the harmony of the parts' (Plath), while the contradictions between i. 20 and ii. 1 f. are merely superficial. Nor is there any internal contradiction in either R^S or R^V as to the duration of Tobit's blindness.[4] Finally, the style of xiv is in no way different from that of the preceding chapters, and its thought and contents (including *v.* 10) are sufficiently akin to the rest of the book to allow of its originality, unless indeed *a priori* presuppositions of the way in which the book should end are allowed undue weight. From the fact that two proper names of an Aramaic form (xiv. 10)

[1] Dr. Marshall regards this as an interpolation.
[2] *ZATW*, xx, p. 258.
[3] In spite of Erbt's strictures, *EB*, col. 5117.
[4] The two years of ii. 10 appearing in R^S not in R^V, and the eight years of xiv. 2 in R^V not R^S.

point to an *Aramaic* original, it cannot be logically argued, as is done in the *Ency. Brit.*[11], that the chapter is *later* than the rest of the book! True, *Ar.* and M betray no knowledge of it, but that is due to intentional and conscious omission in their common ancestor, the purpose of which is as clear as their dogmatic modifications of ch. xiii.

(2) In the central portion of the book. The inconsistency of vi. 17 (16) and v. 13 (12) is due to Raphael's increasing anxiety for the consummation of the marriage in reaction from Tobit's disinclination to espouse Sarah. Müller, who supposes that the exorcism of the demon by prayer (viii. 4–8) is a later feature of the story than that by magic, has examined the alleged contradictions involved in the various references to the fatal results of Sarah's previous espousals. If Raguel had acted illegally in giving his daughter successively to seven men on whom he had no right to bestow her, Raguel himself should have paid the penalty, vi. 13 (12), whereas Raguel himself survived, but the seven were slain in satisfaction not of Jahveh's just wrath but of a demon's lust. Raguel anticipated that the same fate awaited Tobias, though he was confessedly the preordained husband for Sarah. Raphael, like Tobias, foresaw danger only to Tobias, not to Raguel, since if the latter alone had been expected to suffer, Sarah and Tobias would have escaped and inherited Raguel's fortune at once. These inconsistencies after all are only superficial and result from the author's attempt—on the whole admirably carried out—to utilize demon-possession, like other ideas he had derived from his sources, in order to inculcate the importance of obeying the law and preserving the purity of Jewish marriages. It is in this connexion, however, that Müller[1] discusses another problem which has a more serious bearing upon the purpose and date of the book (see pp. 183 f.) as well as upon its integrity. In iii. 17 Sarah states that her father has no near relative whose offspring she is bound to marry, but in vii. 2–9 her parents have not forgotten Tobit's existence. Tobit has no premonition of the happy duty of marrying his relative Sarah in store for Tobias, contenting himself with the general statement of iv. 12, whereas in vi. 10 (9)–18 (17) Raphael is aware not only of the relationship but of Sarah's legal obligations to marry Tobias, and the latter shows no surprise, if he is not in fact already as well aware of it as Raphael, and only shrinks from the dangers it involves to his own person. There is the further difficulty that, in spite of vi. 13 (12), vii. 12 (13), Holy Writ nowhere commands 'agnatic' marriages, i. e. marriages within the particular family or tribe of the contracting parties as opposed to inter-tribal unions. The case is not covered by Num. xxvii. 1–11, xxxvi, which at the best was only theoretical and dealt only with the case of heiresses owning *landed* property in *Palestine.* Even Tobit's reference to the patriarch's action (iv. 12) rests not upon Genesis but on traditions in vogue in the earlier post-exilic period such as *Jubilees* has preserved. Müller therefore supposes—and it is an exceedingly happy supposition—that the *author sought to inculcate not tribal as opposed to inter-tribal, but Jewish as opposed to Jewish-pagan marriages.* Sarah's seven former husbands were slain because they were *pagans*, but Tobias had a right superior to that of any other possible suitor at the moment, because he was the only Jew in the neighbourhood. Thus ἀδελφός in this book properly means a brother Jew, ἀδελφή = a term of endearment for the only legal wife a Jew may have, i. e. a Jewess,[2] vii. 15 (16), viii. 4, γένος = kindred, not in the narrower sense of tribal relationship but with the wider connotation of the Jewish nation, e. g. in i. 17, τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους μου can only be intended as a synonym for, not as an antithesis to, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους μου in v. 16. The example of the patriarchs is quoted in iv. 12 not to inculcate their marriage with near relatives as such, but to exemplify by the fact that their wives were near relatives how careful to avoid marriage with non-Jewesses were these patriarchs, the 'fathers of old time' (iv. 12) of the whole Hebrew race. Attractive as Müller's theory is, and though successfully explaining the apparent contradictions of the story, it is not entirely supported by any version or recension. Müller falls back on an eclectic text, the result of the rejection of all readings of R^S, R^V, and R^C which militate against his theory. This procedure presupposes that each and all of these revisions embodies an attempt (only partially successful in each case) to transform a story, originally inculcating only Jewish marriages, into one advocating agnatic marriages. But could all these revisions possibly have shared this purpose in common? Certainly they could have done if—an impossible condition—they could *all* be proved to have been made *before* the irksome duty of agnatic marriage was annulled in the first century B. C. Whereas those revisions which were made *after* that date—i. e. at least two of them (irrespective of the rival merits of R^S and R^V)—if they made any alterations at all, would tend to obscure and remove the agnatic *motif*; Müller (p. 7, note 4) admits that R^C actually did so in vi. 16 in deference to R^S. Hence the agnatic interest must have figured to some extent in the original story, probably, however, only in the half-hearted way in which it appears in R^S. The author's advice might be summed up: At all costs marry Jewesses of the purest possible descent, like the patriarchs; marry your own sisters or cousins, if no other Jewesses are available.

[1] *op. cit.*, pp. 3–9.

[2] Cf. p. 186, footnote 7.

§ 10. Religious and Moral Teaching.

The theological, religious, and moral outlook of our author is far from unimportant. Unfortunately the comparatively lengthy treatment which the other problems of the book have claimed allows only of a very brief *résumé*.

A. The author's—as opposed to the later redactors'—*religious presuppositions* are those of the popular mind tinged with the point of view of the newest developments of the official and orthodox leaders of the post-exilic period, in its earlier rather than its later phases. This is amply justified by the following considerations:—

(1) *Doctrine of God.* The full Monotheism of the post-exilic period is presupposed.[1] The descriptions of Jahveh's qualities are manifold.[2] Since He is a transcendental Deity, He hears men's prayers through angelic mediation. The tendency to distinguish between Jahveh, the invisible and ineffable, and His personified self-manifestation and revelation also appears, but only in the two expressions, 'the Glory', iii. 16, xii. 12, 15, and 'the Name', iii. 11, viii. 5, xi. 14, xii. 6, xiii. 18.

(2) *Angelology.*[3]—The angelology of the author as compared with that of Jubilees, 1 Enoch and R^V, is at a somewhat embryonic stage of its evolution. As compared, on the other hand, with that of the Old Testament as a whole, it seems to stand well within the threshold of the subsequent period. It is especially noticeable that Raphael here represents in germ the ideas which afterwards crystallized in the fully developed doctrine of Michael, with whose functions Raphael's should therefore be carefully compared.[4]

Chapter xii is without parallel in the extant literature of Judaism. The whole story illustrates the free, untutored, and vigorous type of speculation existent a little before the rise of Pharisaic regulations of the dogma. This belief in the angel's intervention, moreover, always remained essentially characteristic of the people's religion as opposed to that of the learned and cultured.[5] With iii. 16 f., xii. 12, 15 (14), cf. Jub. xxx. 20, Testaments of Dan vi, of Asher vi, of Levi v.

(3) *Eschatology.* The author shows no advance upon the pre-exilic period in his conceptions of death and its consequences. The grave is external in its annihilating effects, iii. 6, 10, cf. iv. 10, xii. 9. In relation to the nation, however, he stands possibly almost on a threshold of the Apocalyptic tendency. He has worked out for himself a crude and simple, but yet unmistakable, philosophy of the future. Jerusalem at the end of a given period will be rebuilt and the Temple sumptuously restored, the scattered tribes reunited, and—to his credit—the heathen will worship the God of Israel, xiii. 7–18 a, xiv. 4–6. See further, Charles, *Eschatology*, 1899, pp. 165 f.

B. It is in the *practical sphere* that our author's religious and moral outlook find their fullest expression. His hero is a rare instance of an almost perfect combination and realization, in actual life, of the priestly and prophetic ideals.

(1) *The cultus*,[6] as practised at Jerusalem, the precepts of the *law* (tithes, marriage,[7] purity, &c.) and *Jerusalem* itself, are primary factors in the author's life, i. 3–13; ii. 1–9, and their future perfection is painted in glowing colours, xiii. 7–18 a, xiv. 4–7.

(2) The 'Three Pillars of Judaism', *prayer*, *almsgiving*, and *fasting* are inculcated. Fasting (ii. 4) has not reached the culmination of its development.[8] Almsgiving, however, as in Sirach,[9] ranks high among the non-sacrificial duties of Judaism, i. 3, 16, ii. 14, iv. 7 ff., 16, xii. 9 f., xiv. 9, is the *sine qua non* of a long and prosperous life, a virtue, to be practised by the richest, i. 16 f., ii. 10, and the poorest, ii. 14, and occupies a prominent position in the 'teaching' both of Tobit, iv. 3–19, and of Raphael, xii. 8. 'Righteousness' is thus already tending to take the lower level and become synonymous to some extent with almsgiving,[10] but devotion to the cultus and legalism do not result in this book in hypocrisy or externalism, since the whole is pervaded with a mysticism which finds its highest expression in heart-felt prayer as the immediate means of communion with God.[11]

This is evident not simply from the number and length of the prayers which are quoted, but from the care which has been devoted to their position, structural arrangement, and contents.[12]

[1] See iv. 14; xiii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 11; xiv. 6.
[2] See vii. 17 (18); viii. 5; xiii. 4, 7, 11, 15.
[3] The demonology and magical elements are relics of the author's sources and Jewish-Egyptian environment and do not belong to the circle of his own constructive ideas, and are therefore not dealt with here.
[4] See Wilhelm Lueken, *Michael*, 1898.
[5] Cf. W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, second edition, p. 379.
[6] See Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
[7] Cf. pp. 183 f., 196, *supra*.
[8] Note the addition in x. 7 in R^V.
[9] Cf. Sirach iv. 10 (Heb.); vii. 10, 32; xvi. 14 (Heb.); xvii. 22, &c.
[10] Cf. p. 191, *supra*.
[11] For the important place of prayer and its function in this connexion in Judaism, see *Communion with God*, 1911, pp. 106–13, by Dr. Darwell Stone and the present writer.
[12] Cf. Plath, *op. cit.*, pp. 382, 390, 401.

Tobit's (iii. 16 f.) and Sarah's (iii. 10–15) prayers, uttered with face turned to Jerusalem, and the immediate answer to them in iii. 16, 17, are the climax to the Introduction (i. 3–iii. 17). Both are probably typical of the form in which prayers were cast in the writer's day. Each contains an invocation,[1] followed by an act of adoration (iii. 2, 11), and the specific supplication with a lengthy retrospective explanation. Both are of almost equal length, in spite of Sarah's preliminary history (iii. 7–15) being otherwise much briefer than Tobit's (i. 3–iii. 6). Sarah's is the more concrete and individualistic, Tobit's the wider in its outlook and the more intercessory. The same structural arrangement characterizes viii. 5–7, 16 f. and the frequent thanksgivings. The liturgical *Amen* appears in viii. 8.[2] Finally, Raphael sets prayer in its rightful position in xii. 8 and asserts its efficacy in xii. 12, which is followed by the exile's prayer of exhortation and consolation, xiii. 1–6. In none of them, however, is there a single petition for the conversion of the non-Jewish world.

(3) *Morality* and *ethics* are inculcated in all departments of life, e. g. piety towards parents, the duty of Jewish marriage, the purity of wedlock,[3] and in matters of everyday life,[4] from a standpoint as high as, if not higher than, Aḥiḳar's. It was such moralizing precepts as these, rather than theological dogmas, which did most to regulate and direct contemporary life—both Jewish and pagan.

(4) A special plea seems to be entered in relation to contemporary *conduct towards the dead.* Though from a literary point of view our author is dependent upon Aḥiḳar directly for iv. 17, yet it is quite clear that he is inculcating an actual religious practice. In fact, at the time our author lived, it would appear to have been a subject of considerable dispute as to whether such offerings were right and proper and a matter of duty (cf. Sir. vii. 33; Job iv. 17) or whether they were definitely to be excluded by Judaism[5] and its adherents (Sir. xxx. 18, 19; Ep. Jer. 31, 32; Wisdom xiv. 15, xix. 3; Sibyl. Or. viii. 382–4).. At the time when Jubilees xxii. 17 was written they were apparently regarded as characteristic of the Gentiles. See, further, Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 23–31.

§ 11. Influence of the Book on Later Literature.

A. *Jewish.* There is considerable evidence to show that Tobit was held in high repute alike by early and by later Judaism. (*a*) There are possibly traces of its use in Daniel, in the later Psalms, in the book of Jubilees (*v.* note iv. 16, 18, 21 f.; x. 4–6), the Test. of Job, &c.[6] (*b*) While the references to it in New Testament (*v. infra*) exemplify its use by the Jews of our Lord's day, R^V is the best evidence of its extraordinary popularity between *c.* 200 B.C. and *c.* A.D. 150. (*c*) In M an example survives of its use among pious orthodox Jews. (*d*) The fact that the latter found a place in the *Midrash Rabba de Rabbah* together with the passage contained in the addition to the *Midrash Tanchuma*,[7] illustrates best of all how thoroughly our story permeated the thought of later Judaism. (*e*) Finally in F as also in Gaster's Hebrew, if not also in the London Hebrew, we have an unmistakable example of Jewish interest in the book in the Middle Ages.

B. *Christian.*[8] Interest in the question of the presence in the New Testament of allusions to Tobit and of passages tinged whether directly or indirectly with a recollection of Tobit's history or maxims, has been damped in the past by the credence which the theories of Graetz, Kohut and others once unfortunately gained. More lately the field has been occupied by the attempts of students of Aḥiḳar to find traces of the use of that legend in the New Testament, instead of admitting that the probabilities may point to the latter's comparative supersession by Tobit, into which, as already stated, its most permanent features had by now[9] been merged.

Christianity appealed, at least at the outset, to the very classes to whom Tobit would be especially dear with its simple but sympathetic narrative of the fortunes of Jews of previous days who had lived under the yoke of a foreign domination—classes, too, who would give an equally enthusiastic welcome to the most crudely painted Apocalyptic. The fact that our book, though never in the Jewish Canon, survived the shock of this religious revolution and found a still more honourable position in the Bible of the new community than it had ever done under the old Covenant,

[1] 'Lord' in Tobit's own, 'Lord my God' in Sarah's.
[2] Cf. Judith xiii. 20.
[3] See p. 196, *supra.*
[4] Cf. Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 406; André, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 490.
[5] See Deut. xxvi. 14; Jer. xvi. 7; Isa. viii. 19, xix. 3.
[6] See 'Tobit' in *HDB*, vol. iv, p. 789.
[7] Printed and translated by Neub., *op. cit.* See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
[8] Cf. J. Moffat, *Introd. to the Lit. of N. T.*, 1911, pp. 34 f.
[9] It should be remembered that this holds good even if the parallels to Aḥiḳar be regarded as interpolations, since, for example, Müller and Smend frankly admit Aḥiḳar's presence in the text of Tobit prior to the Christian era. See pp. 194 f.

speaks volumes for its intrinsic charm and adaptability for the spiritual requirements of the new religion.

(i) *In the New Testament.* It has already been hinted (p. 189, footnote 10) that, instead of Aḥiḳar directly, it might be right to see a reference to Aḥikar only as mediated through Tobit in the Parables of the Wicked Servant and the Barren Fig-tree. Thus Tobit would stand in the same relation to these parables as Isa. v. 1–7 to the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen. Again, to insist that Aḥikar itself, not Aḥikar as abridged in Tobit, influenced the diction of the Biblical as well as the non-Biblical stories of Judas' death is to come very near denying even the general historicity of the kernel of the story in order to find its kernel in Aḥiḳar. In the case of our Lord's words, which were uttered in Aramaic, verbal, as distinct from literary, coincidence with the Greek must be expected generally only in so far as the evangelists have modelled their Greek on that of the LXX. The following parallels, however, even if only accidental, are noteworthy: xi. 9[1] and Luke xv. 20; xii. 8 and Matt. vi. 1–18; a materialistic interpretation of iv. 9 condemned in Matt. vi. 20 f.; iv. 15 and Matt. vii. 12, Luke vi. 31;[2] iv. 7 and Luke xi. 41;[3] iv. 16 and Matt. xxv. 35 f. But do the remarkable parallels to the commission and Ascension of Raphael which are collected in the note to xii. 16–22 fall into the same category? Do their completeness and detail suggest that our book exercised a direct and important formative, if not creative, influence upon the expression of the truths of the Transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord? Or are we to suppose both only represent the popular vocabulary in which such events were wont to be related? True, angels ascended in the Old Testament; the *Ascension of Isaiah* and *Assumption of Moses* must once have related something similar, but nowhere is there so exact a coincidence of religious presupposition, literary expression and dramatic climax as in Tobit xii. 16–22.

S. Paul is possibly conscious of his indebtedness to Tobit, 'which must certainly have been a part of his library'.[4] With iv. 12 a cf. 1 Thess. iv. 3; xii. 10 cf. Rom. vi. 23; iv. 8 cf. 1 Cor. xvi 2 and 2 Cor. viii. 12; iv. 7, 16 cf. 2 Cor. ix 7 a[5]. R. Harris[6] has already pointed out the use S. Paul made of Tobit iv. 10 in Gal. vi. 10.

In the third group of Pauline Epistles, Eph. v. 18, though expressed in the language of Prov. xxiii. 31 in LXX, recalls the advice of Tobit iv. 15 b.

Still more important are the alleged parallels between Tobit and the Pastoral Epistles. The uncommon phrase *βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων* occurs in Tobit xiii. 6 and 1 Tim. i. 17, in both cases in an ascription of praise. With iv. 9 cf. 1 Tim. vi. 19; Tobit iv. 21 cf. 1 Tim. vi. 6. The form of address 'my child Timothy' reminds us of Tobit's recurring formula. Is it possible to go further? What abuses or heresies was the writer of the Pastorals combating? Are we quite sure that there is no alternative to the rival claims of Rabbinism and Gnosticism? Granted undue reverence for tractates of mythological, demonological and useless—non-religious, though moral—proverbial tendencies, such as we meet with in Tobit; granted, too, possibly the presence to some small extent of the numerous speculations and vicious by-products of a debased Apocalyptic—is it not probable that the writer of the Pastorals had ample justification for the remarks upon which the theories of Gnostic or Rabbinic polemics are based?

It only remains to mention two other points of contact between Tobit and the New Testament. The ethical and moral point of view and forms of literary self-expression in vogue among the circles which produced the early chapters of Acts were similar in some respects to Tobit's—on the positive and good side of the latter. With Tobit 1. 3 cf. Acts ix. 36 b; Tobit ii. 1 cf. Acts ii. 1 (Pentecost); Tobit iii. 16 with Acts ix. 18; xi. 12, 13 (13); and Tobit xii. 12 with Acts x. 4. Lastly—apart from the parallelism of demonological technicality in Tobit viii. 3 and Rev. xx. 2 independently borrowed from current formulae—Rev. xxi. 10–21 is as much dependent on Tobit xiii. 16 and Rev. xix. 1–7 on Tobit xiii. 18 as upon other Old Testament and Apocryphal literary models of this type.

(ii) *In post-Apostolic Christian Writers* Tobit is quite unmistakably placed on as high a pedestal as the other books of the Apocrypha not known at the time to have been written in Hebrew, and most often it was even venerated as highly as any other Scriptures—a fact well illustrated by Clem. Alex's. quotation[7] of iv. 16 as *ἡ γραφή*. For numerous other Patristic quotations, decisions of Church Councils, and use and influence in the Anglican Church, see Fuller *op. cit.* Marshall, *op. cit.*, and cf. p. 178, *supra*, footnote 7.

[1] A closer parallel at any rate, in thought and language, than Gen. xlvi. 29.

[2] The scriptural antiquity of which is vouched for by *οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.* Hillel, like Tobit, expressed himself only negatively, see Taylor, *Pirqe Aboth*, 37.

[3] *τὰ ἐνόντα* has been rendered more or less in conformity with Tobit by *quae sunt* (b d g), *ex his quae habetis* (f), *quod superest* (Vulg.), *ea quae penes vos sunt* (Beza), *quantum potestis* (Grotius); cf. Luther's *von dem, das da ist.* See Plummer, *S. Luke, Int. Crit. Comment., ad loc.*

[4] *A. J. Th.*, p. 546.

[5] Just as 7 b is a quotation from Prov. xxii. 8, LXX.

[6] *op. cit.*, p. 545.

[7] *Strom.* ii. 23, § 139.

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§ 13. Chief Abbreviations.

R^s = Sinaitic and most original form of text R^v = Recension best preserved in Cod. Vat. R^c = Third recension	See § 3.
Ox = Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, No. 1076 *Ar.* = Extant Aramaic text M = Münster Hebrew [M], II, Pr. = varieties of Münster Hebrew (see p. 179, footnotes 1, 2, 4, 5) 𝔏 = Old Latin, of which $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ are MSS. 𝔖 = Syriac Versions F = Fagius' Hebrew 𝔙 = Vulgate	See § 4.

κ., &c. = καί, &c.
ἀδελ., &c. = ἀδελφός, &c.
κ.[1°], κ.[2°], κ.[3°], &c. = first, second, third occurrence of καί, &c., in a verse.

TOBIT

PREFACE, i. 1, 2.

1 1 The book of the words of Tobit, the son of Tobiel, the son of Hananiel, the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael, the son of Raphael, the son of Raguel, of the seed of Asiel, of the tribe of Naphtali;
2 who in the days of Shalmaneser king of the Assyrians was carried away captive out of Thisbe, which is on the right hand of Kedesh Naphtali in upper Galilee above Asser, behind the < road > leading west, on the left of Phogor.

INTRODUCTION, i. 3–iii. 17.

A Tobit's Earlier History, i. 3–iii. 6.

i. Tobit's Previous Fortunes, i. 3–22.

3 I Tobit walked in the ways of truth and in acts of righteousness all the days of my life, and I did many almsdeeds to my brethren and my nation, who went with me in the captive band into
4 the land of the Assyrians, to Nineveh. And when I was in mine own country, in the land of Israel, and when I was young, all the tribe of Naphtali my father fell away from the house of David my father and from Jerusalem, the city which < was chosen > out of all the tribes of Israel for all the tribes of Israel to sacrifice *there*, and wherein the temple of the habitation of God was hallowed and

I. 1. B. λογ.] עובדא הוה *Ar* זה ספר M F Τωβειθ] -ειτ B ιτ A Thobis α β Tobis γ δ ܬܘܒܝܐ S טובי *Ar* טוביה F *pr.* בחד חסידא ושמיה *Ar* Τωβιηλ] ܬܘܒܝܐ S > F Ανανιηλ] > *Ar* Αδουηλ] Ναυη A ܢܘܝܐ S > 𝔏 *Ar* (אריאל) M Γαβαηλ] Γαμ. A > *Ar* גבריאל F τ. Ραφαηλ] > BA S 𝔏 *Ar* M F τ. Ραγουηλ] > BA S 𝔏 *Ar* M F εκ τ. σπ. Ασιηλ] filii Asihel (+f. Gadalel, f. Arabei) > *Ar* בן עשאל בן גנתיאל M φυλ.] *pr.* τ. BA 2. ος] *pr.* (אשר הגלה משומרון עם הגולה אשר הגלתה בימי הושע בן אלה) M ταις] > BA *post* Θισβης F Ενεμεσσαρου] ܐܠܡܢܨܪܘ S 𝔏 *Ar* M F τ. Ασσυριων] Ασσ. BA ܠܝܬܘܪ S דאתור *Ar* אשור M F εκ Θισβης] εκ Θιβης A ܒܝܚܠ S Bihel civitate 𝔏 והוא היה מתושבי *Ar* והוה יתיב בתשבי קרתא עיר M מתושבי F η ε. εκ δεξ.] > *Ar* M F Κυδιως] -ιων A ܩܕܝܫ S Edisse civitatis 𝔏 > *Ar* M F εν τη . . . Φογωρ] > *Ar* F ανω Γαλειλ.] Γαλιλ. B'A in superioribus G α β 𝔙 in superiore G γ super G . . . am δ דבגלילא *Ar* M עם כל יושב הגליל F υπερανω] υπερ|ανω B* υπερα|νω B^b υπερ (*sed vide annot.*) א' contra 𝔏 > M Ασσηρ] Ασηρ BA ܢܥܣܘܢ S Naasson 𝔏 > M οπ. δυσ. ηλι.] > BA S post viam quae ducit in occidentem α β γ 𝔙 quae est ad occidentem solem δ על גבול ימה M εξ αριστ. Φογ.] > BA S M Φογ.] Raphain 𝔏 3. Εγω Τ.] ויאמר ט' זכרה לי אלהי לטובה על ש M *tert. pers. ubique Ar* αληθ.] תמים M επορ.] + לפניך M εν δικαιοσυναις] -νη B -νης A S α β γ > δ *Ar* צדקות רבות M τ. ζω.] > *Ar* εποι.] שעשיתי M μου3°] > B πορευθ.] προπορ. B συνπορευομ. A דהוו *Ar* > M μετ' εμ.] > M εν τ. αιχμ.] > BA S την] > BA των] > BA 4. εν τ. χ. μου] > *Ar* M γη] *pr.* τη BA κ.2° . . . νεος] νεωτερου μου οντος BA S inter omnes iunior 𝔏 טליא *Ar* F בהיותי נער *Ar* η] > BA Νεφ.] *pr.* του BA τ. πατ. μου] > *Ar* M απεστησαν] -εστη BA מרדו *Ar* M > F απο τ. οικ.] במלכותא *Ar* Δ. τ. πατ. μ. κ. απο] > BA D. et ab α β γ δ דדויד *Ar* M F Ιερουσαλημ] Ιεροσολυμων BA ומנעו גרמיהון למיסק לירו' *Ar* M πολ. . . . αιωνος] > *Ar* πολεως της] τ. εκλεγεισης BA S + civitate quae est electa 𝔏 + אשר בחר יי MF *pr.* הקדש F εκ] απο BA φυλων] *pr.* των BA .εις τ. θυσ. . . . κ. ηγ. . . . κ. ῳκ. . . . εις πασ. τ. γεν. τ. αιωνος] ubi altare constitutum est . . . quod sanctificatum est in saecula. Tunc, cum . . . aedificatum esset . . . ut sacrificaret in ipso omnis progenies in aeternum et 𝔏 ושם מזבח יי המקודש לכל שבטי יש' והיכל יי בנוי בתוכה להעלות

I. 1. Ῥαγουήλ = רעואל as Φογώρ (*v.* 2) = פעור (*cf.* Γόμορρα = עמרה, and other transliterations of hard ע).

2. Ἐνεμεσ. Ball conjectures that שׁל' was misread ענ', but even if this was the ultimate cause of the form, Ἐνεμεσ. was well known as a recognized Greek equivalent of שׁל' since all the Vss, translating from the Greek, were able to substitute Shal. for it; therefore the mistake of ענ' for שׁל', if that be the correct explanation, had probably taken place before Tobit was written. Κυδιώς probably = Kadesh. Cod. 248 and the Complut. have κυριῶς, hence A.V. 'which is properly called N.' In the crit. appar. Swete has been followed. Nestle (*Septuag.* iii, p. 23), however, urges that Swete is wrong in his reference to the last three letters of ὑπεράνω; it was the ανω before Γαλ. which a secondary hand cancelled by placing dots above it. Ἀσσήρ = Hazor. After ὀπίσω insert ὁδοῦ in א with α β γ (conjectured by Reusch, accepted by Müller), cf. אחרי דרך מבוא השמש, Deut. xi. 30.

4. Restore in א τ. ἐκλεγ. (omitted through haplography of εκ) after πόλεως (which R^v in turn omitted) and in *v.* 5 insert καί before ἐπί.

5 built for all ages. All my brethren and the house of Nephtalim my father, they sacrificed to the
6 calf, which Jeroboam the king of Israel made, in Dan <and> on all the mountains of Galilee. And
I alone used often to journey to Jerusalem at the feasts, as it hath been ordained in all Israel by an
everlasting decree. I used to go to Jerusalem with the firstfruits and the firstlings and the tenths of
7 the cattle and the first shearings of the sheep, and give them to the priests, the sons of Aaron, for
(7) the altar, and the tenth of the corn and the wine and oil and pomegranates and the rest of the fruits
to the sons of Levi, who ministered at Jerusalem. And the second tenth I tithed in money for
8 the six years, and went and spent it each year at Jerusalem: and gave it unto the orphans
and the widows and the proselytes who attached themselves to the children of Israel; I brought it
and gave it unto them in the third year, and we did eat it according to the decree which was decreed
concerning it in the book of Moses and according to the commands which Deborah, the mother of
9 Hananiel our father commanded, because my father left me an orphan when he died. And when
I became a man, I took a wife of the seed of our own family, and of her I begat a son and called his
10 name Tobias. After the carrying away captive to Assyria when I was carried away captive, I came
to Nineveh, and all my brethren and those that were of my kindred did eat of the bread of the

עולות ושלמים ליי של' פעמ' ובשנה M (*cf.* F) *πασ. φυλαις*] *πασ. τ. -λας* BA omn. nationibus *γ* (o. tribubus *α β δ*) *Ισρ.*[3°]] > BA 𝔖 *κ. ηγ.*] > 𝔖 (*corrupt.*) *του θ.*] *τ. υψιστου* BA 𝔖 𝔏 *ῳκ.*] *οικ.* A *αυτῃ*] > BA Hierusalem 𝔏 5. *παν. οι αδελ. μου* (*ου* א* *μ superscr.* א a(vid))] *κ.* (> 𝔖) *πασ. αι φυλ.* (+ ܠܫܒܛܝ 𝔖) *συναποστασ.* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) > *Ar* *κ.*1° . . . *πατ. μ.*] *post δαμαλ.* א c a mg BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) > *Ar* מטה נפתלי M omnisque (et *γ*) domus *&c. α β γ δ* *Νεφ.*] *pr. του* A *εθυσιαζ.*] *εθυον* א c a mg BA + זבחים ועולות M ויעבדו F *εκεινοι τ. μοσχῳ*] *τη Βααλ τη δαμαλει* א c a mg BA 𝔖 vitulo aureo 𝔏 לעגליא *Ar* לעגלי הזהב M את הבעלים ואת הגעלים F *ον εποι. . . . Γαλειλ.*] > BA 𝔖 F *Ιεροβ.*] + בן נבט M. *εν Δαν*] *post εθυσιαζον* 𝔏 *pr.* אל בבית *Ar* M *επι . . . Γαλ.*] > *Ar* M et omnibus altissimis montibus G. *α β* cum omnibus superioribus partibus G. *γ* et in excelso omnium gentium. G. *δ* 6. *καγω*] *κ. εγω* A והוא (*et ubique*) *Ar* *μονωτατ.*] *μονος* BA 𝔖 > M + עובד יהוה F *πολλακις*] *πλεονακ.* BA aliquoties *α β γ* aliquotiens *δ* > *Ar* M F *εις Ιεροσολυμα*1° א B ab A] *εν -οις* B* *vid* *εν*1° א B ab A] > B* *vid* *εν*2°] > BA *εν π. Ισρ.*] > *Ar* M על יש' M *παντι*] + *τ.* BA *προστ. αι.*] בספר אוריתא דמשה *Ar* בתורת יי M (+) F *τ. πρωτογεν. κ.*] > BA *α β γ Spec.* 59 MF אפרשותא *Ar* *τ. δεκ.*] > *δ* *κτηνων*] *γενηματ.* BA 𝔖 armentorum (-ti *γ* argenti *Spec.*) et pecorum (-odum *γ*) *α β γ Spec.* pecorum *δ* > *Ar* M F *πρωτοκουρας*] *τ. προκουριας* B (*post τας seq ras in* B: *π* B? *mg sinistr*) *τ. πρωτοκυριας* A > *δ Ar* ובכורות M *τ. προβατων*] > BA *δ Ar* M F *εχων*] והוא מוביל *Ar* *απετρεχ. εις Ιερ.*] > BA 𝔏 M לתמן *Ar* *aliter* F 7. *κ. εδιδ.*] > M *αυτα*] *αυτας* B *ante εχων* 𝔏 > M *τ. υι.* A. . . . *Ιερουσ.*1°] וללויאי לכל חד וחד מאי דחזי ליה *Ar* *Ααρων*] *Αρ.* A *πρ. τ. θυσ.*] + *παντ. των γενημ.* א c a mg B ab A + *των γεν.* B* 𝔖 ad aram *δ* > *α β γ Spec.* M F *κ.*2° *τ. δεκατην*] *τ. δεκατην εδιδουν* BA 𝔖 et quod moris erat de tritico *α β γ* et decimam frumenti *δ* et secundum morem legis de trit. *Spec.* > M + ראשון F *τ. οιν. . . . ακροδ.*] > BA 𝔖 F *τ. οιν. κ. τ. σιτ.*] *τ. σιτ. κ. τ. οιν.* א c a de tritico vino *α β γ* *ελαιων* א*] *-ου* א c a *α β γ Spec.* *κ. ροων*] + *κ. τ. συκων* א c a mgg M et (de) ficu malorum granatorum *α β γ δ Spec.* *ακροδρ.* א c a] *κροδρ.* א* *τ. θεραπουσιν*] *τ. -ευου.* BA ܠܡܫܡܫ 𝔖 et servientibus Domino, qui praesto erant 𝔏 (*cf.* M) *plen.* F *εν*1°] *εις* B > A *δεκ. τ. δευτ. usque ad νομ.* Μωσ. (v. 8)] ומעשרא תניינא ומעשרא עניא הוה אכיל ויהיב ככל מה דכתו בספרא דמשה *Ar* כמצות יי M ומ' שני ומ' שלישי לגר ליתום ולאלמנה (והלכתי בכל שנה ושנה עם כל אלה לירו') *δεκ. τ. δευτ.*] *δευτ. δεκ.* BA *απεδεκ. αργυριω*] *απεπρατιζομην* BA 𝔖 commutans in pecunia (*vide Reusch*) *α β* *τ. εξ ετων*] > BA 𝔖 F *Ιερουσαλημ*2°] *Ιεροσολυμοις* BA (+ *α β*) in loco sancto *α β γ Spec.* > *δ* 8. *εδιδ. αυτα . . . εισεφερ. κ. εδιδ. αυτοις εν τ. τριτ. ετ.*] *τ. τριτην εδιδ.* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* M *supra*) F tertii ad decimationem ferebam . . . et dabam illis in tertio anno *α β* decimationem dabam . . . in Israel *γ* tertia autem decima dab. . . . et dabam *&c. δ* ita ut Tertii anni decemationem darem . . . in Isr. *Spec.* *τ. ορφαν. . . . υιοις Ισρ.*] *οις* (B b *vid* *τοις* B*) *καθηκει* BA 𝔖 proselytis et orph. et viduis (et v. > *δ*) *α β γ δ Spec.* לבדק הבית F *τοις προσκ. τ. υι. Ισρ.*] faciens omnia quae pracepta sunt (+ a Domino *Spec.*) in Isr. *α β γ Spec.* adpositis in Isr. *δ* *τ. υιοις*] *pr. εδιδουν* א c a *vid* *κ. ησθ. . . . Μωση κ.*] > BA 𝔖 F *ησθ.*] manducabam 𝔏 *κατα τ. εντολ. ας*] *καθως* BA 𝔖 > *Ar* F *ας ενετ. . . . απεθαν.*] והדין ט' אשתאר . . . ורבת . . . והיא אדרכתיה באורחא קשיטא *Ar* *Δεββ.*] *Δεμβ.* A *Αν. τ. πατ. ημ.*] *τ. πατ. μου* BA 𝔖 M F patris mei Thobihel matri meae et patri meo *α β* Danihel *δ* > *γ* *υτι*] *διοτι* BA *ορφανον . . . απεθ.*] *-νος κατελειφθην υπο τ. πατρος μου* (+ ומאמי M F) BA 𝔖 M 9. *εγεθην* א*] *εγενηθ.* א c a *εγενομην* BA *γυν.*] *pr.* Ανναν BA 𝔖 *δ* uxorem nomine Annam *α β* (A. > *γ*) *εκ τ. σπ. . . . ημων*] מזרעיתה *Ar* M + ושמה חנה *Ar* M *εγγεν. εξ αυτ.*] וילידת ליה *Ar* M F *υιον . . . ονομα αυτ.*] > BA 10. *μετα . . . ηχμαλωτισθην*] *κ. οτε ηχ . . . σθην* (*-ημεν* B F + מארץ נפ' M) BA 𝔖 *γ Ar* M F et postquam in captivitatem deveni ad Assyrios *α β*

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5. *τῇ βάαλ* (R^v) is an imitation of LXX, e.g. 4 Kings xxiii. 5 (cf. the papyrus fragment of the Ascension of Isaiah, ii. 12), not an andrygonous deity (Baudissen, Herzog's *R.E.* sub *Baal, Astarte*) or a corruption of Bethel (Graetz, Neub.); בבית אל in *Ar*, however, is a mistake, reproduced in M, for בבעל.

6. The non-classical word *γένημα*, common in LXX, is found in papyri, Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Pap. aus d. Ptol.-zeit*, p. 214. Deissm. *B.S.*, pp. 109 ff. *ἐν Ἱερ.* (Cod. Vat.) after a verb of motion belongs to the distinctly vernacular style of the R^v text, cf. v. 5, vi. 6, ix. 2, while the form *Ἱεροσόλυμα* (R^v *ἱερὸς Σόλυμοι*?) is Hellenistic.

7–9. See Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–48, for minute textual criticism of 𝔏.

11, 12 Gentiles. But I kept myself from eating of the bread of the Gentiles; and, when I remembered my
13 God with all my soul, the Most High gave me grace and favour in the sight of Shalmaneser and
14 I used to buy for him all things for his use, and go into Media and buy for him thence, until he died. And I left purses in trust with Gabael the brother of Gabri in the land of Media, ten talents of silver.

15 And when Shalmaneser was dead and Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead, the roads of
16 Media were unsafe, and I could no more go into Media. In the days of Shalmaneser I did
17 many almsdeeds to my brethren who were of my kindred: I used to give my bread to the hungry,
(17) and garments to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, and cast forth behind the wall of
18 Nineveh, I buried him. And whomsoever Sennacherib slew, when he had come fleeing from Judaea in the days of the judgement which the King of heaven wrought upon him for the blasphemies wherewith he had blasphemed, I buried. For in his wrath he slew many of the children of Israel, and I stole away their bodies and buried them. And Sennacherib sought them and found them not.

(*cum* δ *cf.* א) αιχμαλ. א*] +με א c a N.] +קרתא רבתא *Ar* M επορ.] > BA 𝔖 α β F morarer δ *Ar* M κ.2°] > BA 𝔖 μου2°] > B ησθ.] *pr.* הוו מסאבין נפשיהון *Ar* 11. והוא לא אכל דהוה דחיל מן אלהא *Ar* ואנכי לא נגאלתי בפתבגם מפני יראת יי M (*cf.* F) εκ τ. αρτ. τ. εθν.] > BA 𝔖 de escis (v. 10 panibus) illorum 𝔏 12. ורחים יתיה בכל לביה *Ar* (*cf.* F) κ. οτε] καθοτι BA et quoniam 𝔏 μου1°] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 +בכל לבי M F 13. κ1°.] > (*v. supra* κ. οτε) 𝔏 μοι] > BA ο υψιστ.] אלהא *Ar* M יהוה אל׳ F χαρ. κ. μορφ.] חנא וחסדא *Ar* M (*cf.* F) Εν.] (*vide* v. 2) +regem Assyriorum α β δ *Ar* M +regem γ *Ps.-Aug.* F ηγορ. . . . χρησιν] ημην αυτου αγοραστης BA 𝔖 ומני יתיה על כל מה דהוה ליה *Ar* M τα προς τ. χρησιν] quaecumque volebat in usu suo 𝔏 14. κ. επορ. . . . εκει.] > *Ar* M κ. επορ.] επορ. B iens 𝔏 Μηδιαν] -δειαν B ab *pr.* τ. BA *pr.* regionem 𝔏 *pr.* בכל מלכותו וגם F κ. ηγορ. αυτ. εκειθ.] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 F εως αυτ. αποθαν.] > BA 𝔖 F παρεθ.] *pr.* ובהיא זימנא *Ar* Γαβηλῳ א*] -αηλω א c a BA Gabelo 𝔏 גבאל *Ar* גביאל M עביאל F βαλλαντια] > BA 𝔖 α β γ *Ar* M F τ. αδ.] fratri meo α β M fratri δ > γ τῳ2°] > BA M filio α β γ F et δ Γαβρει] -ρια BA Gabahel α β Gabeli γ Gabin δ קברי *Ar* +קריביה *Ar* > M גבריאל F τη χωρᾳ] Ραγοις BA 𝔏 ܪܥܝ 𝔖 Μηδιας] -δειας B ab regionis Medorum α β civitate M γ in terra M. δ +בקורי רגש *Ar* ובמדינת רגאש M 15. Ενεμασσαρ] -μεσσαρ B -μέσσαρος A ܐܣܪܚܕܘܢ 𝔖 *Ar* M +מלכא דאתור *Ar* M המלך F κ.2°] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 Σενναχηρειμ] Αχηρειλ B Αχηρεια B b *vid* ܣܢܚܪܝܒ 𝔖 סנחריב *Ar* M κ.3°] +ובהלין יומיא סגיאו אנגרייתא *Ar* οδοι . . . απεστ.] דפסקו עברי אורחא מטול ביהלתא *Ar* והיה רע וקשה ודרכיו מקולקלים F της M.] αυτου BA terrae Medorum 𝔏 απεστησαν] ηκατασταθ. B κατεστ. A ܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ 𝔏 𝔖 constantes erant α β incon. er. γ recesserant δ (+(*cf.* *Ar*) ויסגרו מפני המלחמות אשר היו בארץ) M κ. ουκετι . . . Μηδ.] ולא נסב כספיה מידא דגב׳ *Ar* (*cf.* M *post* Μηδ.) κ. ουκετι ηδ.] et nemo poterat . . . postea 𝔏 *pr.* ומפחדו F πορευ.] לשוב F εις τ. M.] illuc *post* pot. 𝔏 16. εν] *pr.* κ. א c a BA 𝔖 𝔏 εν . . . Εν] (ואחריכן) M Ενιμεσσαρου] -σαρ BA ܐܣܪܚܕܘܢ 𝔖 F סנחריב *Ar* εποιησα] -οιουν (ουν sup ras 4 litt A a) BA τ. αδ. μου τ. εκ τ. γεν. μου] τ. αδ. μου BA 𝔖 omnibus de natione mea 𝔏 לחשיכיא *Ar* (*cf.* (*plen.*) M) לכל אחי F τ. αρτ. . . . γυμν.] > M πειν.] +ויתמין *Ar* 17. ιματ.] *pr.* τ. A +μου A > M κ.2°] +והיה גמיל חסדא סגי *Ar* τ. εκ τ. εθν. μ.] > *Ar* εθν.] γεν. BA 𝔖 τεθν.] חללי *ante* εκ τ. εθ. M (*cf.* F) κ.3°] > *Ar* M ερριμ.] ρεριμ. B ερριμ. A οπισω τ. τειχ. Νιν.] באורחא דיהודאי *Ar* οπισω] επι A מחוץ M Νιν.] *pr.* εις A εθαπ.] *pr.* לא שקטתי ולא נתתי עד אשר M 18. *multa verba apud M addita e Script. et aliis locis. simil.* F ει τ. απεκτ.] > *Ar* Σενναχηρειμ1°] Αχηρειλ B ܐܣܪܚܕܘܢ 𝔖 +ο βασιλευς א c a (*vid*) BA 𝔖 𝔏 סנחריב *Ar* M +מלך אשור M απηλθ.] ηλθ. BA 𝔖 φευγων] בביהות אפין *Ar* M +מיהודה אלנ׳ M εν ημ. . . . εβλασφ.] > BA 𝔖 אזל לנינ׳ בתקוף רגז על עשר שיבטיא דבארעא דאתור וקטל מנהון סגי והות ניבלתהון רמיין באורחה ולית קביר *Ar* (+*simil.* M) εν ημ. . . . κρισ.] propter defensionem 𝔏 εξ αυτ.] de illo 𝔏 ο βασ.] Dominus 𝔏 εθαψ. . . . Ισρ.] כד חמא טובי כדין סגי באיש עליה *Ar* εθαψ.] +αυτους κλεπτων BA 𝔖 𝔏 M εκ τ. υι. . . . κ. εθαπτ.] > BA 𝔖 κ.2°] ego 𝔏 *pr.* וקם בליליא *Ar* εκλ.] involvebam 𝔏 εζητ. . . . ευρ. αυτ.] -ηθη υπο τ. βασ. τα σωμ. κ. ουχ ευρεθη BA 𝔖 זימנא חדא תבע סנחריב פגרי

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14. ἠγόραζον (without the πάντα . . . χρῆσιν of *v.* 13) may refer to journeys to Media for the purchase of *slaves*, the sense in which ἀγοράζειν is used in the will of Attalus III, Dittenberger, *Orient. Graeci Inscript. Select.* No. 338, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23.

15. Ἀχηρείλ (Vat.) is the result of haplography εβαcιλεγcεν[cεν]αχηρειμ. The phonetic interchange of β and μ is frequent; consequently Marshall's hypothesis, that ב was misread מ in a supposed Aramaic original, is needless: see Introd., p. 182. ἠκαταστάτησαν (Vat.) exemplifies the tendency of new verbs to take an external augment.

16. In *Ar* Levi reads חשיכיא but חשיכיא is correct as ס appears elsewhere, e.g. vii. 16; xvi. 5, 9, 13; דעמי has dropped out after it, and a similar omission occurs in *v.* 18, where M shows that the common parent of *Ar* and M originally followed the tradition of R^s fairly closely.

17. In ῥεριμ. (Vat.) initial ρ is reduplicated contrary to the Attic rule.

18. 𝔏's *involvebam* is due to the influence of xii. 13, or the presence of περιστέλλειν in his MS. of R^s, not to independent translation of גנבת misread ענבת, a corruption ingeniously but quite unnecessarily invented by Marshall.

19 And a certain one of those of Nineveh went and informed the king concerning me, that it was I who
buried them, and that I was hid. And when I perceived that the king knew concerning me and
20 that I was sought for to be put to death, I was afraid and ran away. And all that I possessed was
seized, and there was nothing left unto me which was not taken to the royal treasury save my wife
21 Anna and my son Tobias. And there passed not forty days before two of his sons slew him. And
they fled into the mountains of Ararat, and Esarhaddon his son reigned after him. And he
appointed over all the accounts of his kingdom **Aḥiḳar**, my brother Anael's son, and he had authority
22 over all his affairs. Then **Aḥiḳar** made request for me, and I came down to Nineveh. For **Ahikar**
was chief cupbearer, and keeper of the signet, and steward, and overseer of the accounts in the days
of Sennacherib king of Assyria, and Esarhaddon appointed him a second time. And he was my
brother's son and of my kindred.

ii. The starting-point of the present story, ii. 1–14.

2 1 And when **Esarhaddon** was king I came home again, and my wife Anna was restored unto me,
and my son Tobias. And at our feast of the Pentecost, which is the holy Feast of the Weeks, there

קטיליא ולא אשכח יתהון. *Ar* Σ.2°] rex 𝔏 αυτα] > 𝔏 + וכדין עבד זימנין סגיאין *Ar* 19. κ. επορευθη] -θεις δε BA 𝔖 ואזלו *Ar* επορ. . . . εμου] renuntiatum est illi 𝔏 εις τις] אנשי *Ar* τις] > BA εκ της N.] εν N. B Νινευιτων A 𝔖 υπεδειξεν] -ξε B אכל קורציה *Ar* + *multa verba* M εγω] > BA θαπτω] εθαπτον A κ. εκρ.] > α β γ δ *Luc.* *Ar* F κ. οτε επεγνων] επιγνους δε BA 𝔖 οτε . . . αποθ.] quaerebat me occidere 𝔏 פקיד מלכא למקטליה כד שמע טובי *Ar* (*cf.* F) εγνω . . . οτι3°] > BA 𝔖 του] > BA εφοβηθην κ. απεδρασα] φοβηθεις ανεχωρησα BA 𝔖 ego autem fugi 𝔏 קם וערק *Ar* ברחתי מפניו M (*cf.* F) 20. ופקיד מלכא למישלל ית ביתיה *Ar* (*cf.* + *multa verba* M) *simil.* F ηρπαγη] δι- BA direpta est 𝔏 οσα υπηρχεν μοι] τ. υπαρχοντα μου BA 𝔖 substantia mea 𝔏 ο ουκ . . . βασιλικ.] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 Τωβια] -βειτ B -βιου A 21. ου διηλθ. ημ. + εως ου] contigit dum laterem post dies α β contigit (+ ut γ) post dies γ *Luc.* latui diebus δ ואיטמר מקמיה · · · יומין עד *Ar* F *plen. et aliter* M τεσσερακοντα] ν′ א ca mg πεντηκ. BA 𝔖 quadraginta quinque α β γ δ *Ar* > M תשעה עשר F απεκτ.] + בחרבא *Ar* οι δυο υι.] *pr.* אדרמלך ושראצר *Ar* M F εφυγον א c a] -γεν א* τ. ορη] montem 𝔏 לארע *Ar* M F Αραρατ] -αθ B 𝔏 קרדו *Ar* Σαχερδονος] -δαν A ܐܣܪܚܕܘܢ 𝔖 Archedonossar α β γ δ *Luc.* אסרחדון *Ar* M F υιος] *pr.* ο BA μετ' αυτον] αντ' αυτου BA 𝔏 *Ar* M F > 𝔖 εταξ.] + מלכא אסרחדון *Ar* Αχειχαρον] -ειαχαρον א c a -ιαχαρον BA ܐܚܝܩܪ 𝔖 Achicarum α β γ δ אקיקר *Ar* M אהרון F Αναηλ] חמאל *Ar* חננאל M F τ. του αδελ. μ. υιον] υι. (*pr.* τ. A) τ. αδ. μ. BA M אחי F εκλογιστιαν] -ειαν B curam α β γ δ כל דליה *Ar* M (*cf.* F) αυτος ειχ. τ. εξουσ.] > BA 𝔖 *aliter* F τ. διοικ.] ארעא דאתור *Ar* M 22. 𝔏 *vide apud Reusch* τοτε] κ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* ηξιωσ.] *pr.* ומליל אקיקר מלין טבין על טובי למלכא *Ar* (*cf.* M) Αχειχαρος1° 2°] Αχιαχαρος BA ܐܚܝܪܘܣ 𝔖 Achirarus α β γ δ אהרון F εμου] + erat enim consobrinus meus α β מיניה *Ar* κατηλθ.] ηλθ. BA 𝔖 ואתביניה *Ar* (*cf.* M) F την] > BA Αχειχ2°. . . δευτ.] > α β *Ar* M γαρ] δε BA 𝔖 αρχιοινοχοος] οιν. B 𝔖 F οινοδοχος A διοικητης] על המם F επι Σεν. βασιλεως (א* -εα א c a) Ασσυρ.] > BA 𝔖 F Σαχερ-δονος] *pr.* ο א c a BA -δονοσος A ܐܣܪܚܕܘܢ 𝔖 Acedonassar δ > F εκ δευτερας] *pr.* υιος BA ܬܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪܝܢ 𝔖 iterum δ > F ην] η א* > F δε] enim 𝔏 *Ar* εξαδ.] רחימיה *Ar* M > F κ. εκ τ. συγ. μ.] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 F

II. 1. κ.1°] οτε δε (δ. > A) BA 𝔖 > 𝔏 M επι Σ. Βασ.] > BA 𝔖 > 𝔏 M באנונה ההיא *Ar* וגדר המלך אם′ F κατηλθ.] > 𝔏 *Ar* M F εις τ. . . . μου3°] *post* Νιν. 1 22 𝔏 > *Ar* κ. απεδ.] אהדרו *Ar* M ונתן F η γυν.

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19. ἀπέδρασα, a form occurring elsewhere in LXX only in א Judith xi. 3.

20. βασιλικόν, cf. Dan. ii. 5 (LXX ἀναλημφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασ.), 1 Esdras i. 7.

21. R^v has 'graecized' the name of Esarhaddon; for א by its ἐπὶ Σαρχεδόνος βασ. ii. 1, shows that R^s had Σαχερδών (cf. Cod. Al. Σαχερδάν). For Aḥiḳar cf. note to xi. 18.

22. *a second time* (cf. Mark xiv. 72): so Ball, Rendel Harris, the fem. being employed on the analogy of שׁנית. R^v, however, preferred 'son by a second wife', unless it is right to accent and punctuate ὁ Σαχερδονὸς υἱός, ἐκ δευτ. = Sacherdonus' son appointed him a second time. Dr. Charles conjectures that υἱός is a dittograph of the last three letters of Σαχερ.

II. 1. In א the gen. was written for τῇ ἑορτῇ under the influence of the following genitive unless τῇ ἡμέρᾳ is to be understood. πεντ. (*sc.* ἡμέρα cf. 2 Macc. xii. 32; 1 Cor. xvi. 8; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6; cf. Philo, *De Septenar.* 21) = חג חמשים יום, a somewhat new and unusual name for the 'feast of weeks' at the time when our author wrote; hence he defined it as ἣ . . . ἑβδ. which is an integral part of R^s (not lacking in א as Hatch and Red. *Concord.*, p. 361, sub. ἑβδομάς, incorrectly state), and R^v undoubtedly witnesses to subsequent misunderstanding of his purpose.

With *vv.* 2–4, 5 (first letter) and 8 cf. *Ox. papyr.* No. 1076. Presenting the recension of R^c, it shows the usual deference of that recension for the ancient tradition of R^s against the less antique R^v in several respects, e.g. *v.* 2 βάδιζε (-ζον R^v) πτωχ. (against ἐνδ. of R^v though the latter's order is followed); *v.* 3 κ. ἐπορ. T., ἀναστρέψ. (= ἐπιστρέψ. R^s) against ἐλθών of R^v, ἰδού2° (> R^v), ἔθνους (γεν. R^v); in *v.* 4 ἦρα (ἀναιροῦμαι R^s) against ἀνειλόμην (R^v), ἐκ τ. πλατ. (> R^v), ἐν τῶν against τι of R^v, μέχρι and infin. against ἕως οὗ and indic. in R^v, retention of the clause 'in order to bury him'; see above for *Ox.*'s coincidence with R^v, and Introd., p. 176, for the emendation in *v.* 8.

2 was a good dinner prepared me; and I laid me down to dine. And the table was set for me, and
abundant victuals were set for me, and I said unto Tobias my son, Go, my boy, and what poor man
soever thou shalt find of our brethren of the Ninevite captives, who is mindful <of God> with his
whole heart, bring him and he shall eat together with me; and lo, I tarry for thee, my boy, until
3 thou come. And Tobias went to seek some poor man of our brethren and returned and said,
Father. And I said to him, Here am I, my child. And he answered and said, Father, behold, one
of our nation hath been murdered and cast out in the marketplace, and he hath but now been
4 strangled. And I sprang up and left my dinner before I had tasted it, and took him up from the
5 street and put him in one of the chambers until the sun was set, to bury him. Therefore I returned
6 and washed myself, and ate food with mourning, and remembered the word of the prophet which
Amos spake against Bethel, saying,

Your feasts shall be turned into mourning,
And all your ways into lamentation.

7, 8 And I wept. And when the sun was set, I went and digged a grave and buried him. And my

μ. Α.] Α. η γυν. μ. BA υι. μου] + כי צוה המלך אשור וג׳ M κ.4°] > BA 𝔏 τ. πεντ.] > *Ar* F ובשנה ההיא M
τ. εορτης] -ρτη (*pr.* τ. A) BA ημων] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* η . . . εβδ.] דשבועיא *Ar* M F εβδομ.] *pr.* επτα BA 𝔖
a septem annis α β ex (a γ de *Aug.*) septimanis γ *Luc. Aug.* septimanarum δ (*vide Reusch*) εγεν.]
הכינותי M F μοι αρ. καλ.] αρ. καλ. μοι BA κ.5°] > B ܟ 𝔖 ανεπεσα] ανεπαυσαμην A αριστησαι] φαγειν
(α *sup ras* A[a]) BA 𝔖 2. a [πλειο]να usque ad [επιστ.] υυν v. 5 *cf. Ox* κ.1°. . . τραπεζα > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F
παρ. μοι 2°] εθεασαμην BA 𝔖 α β γ *Luc.* > δ *Ar* M F οψαρια πλειονα] οψα πολλα BA 𝔖 > δ *Ar* M F πλειονα]
[πολ]λα *Ox* τ. Τ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ox* παιδ.1°] > BA *Ox* 𝔏 *Ar* M βαδιζε] -σον BA ον] *pr.* αγαγε BA *Ox*
𝔖 𝔏 αν] εαν BA *Ox* ευρης] υρης *Ox* πτωχ. τ. αδ. ημ.] τ. αδ. ημ. ενδεη B 𝔖 (*cf. Ar* M) τ. αδ. ημ. A F
εκ τ. αδ. ημ. πτωχων *Ox* εκ Ν. . . . μεχρι του *non exst. Ox* εκ Ν. αιχμ.] > BA *Ar* M F ος μεμν.] > A F
+ τ. κυριου BA 𝔖 Deum α β γ *Cypr. Luc.* dom. suum δ דחליא דאלהא *Ar* > M εν ολ. καρδ. αυτ.]
> BA 𝔖 *Ar* M αγαγε . . . εμου κ.] > (*v. supra*) BA (*cf. Ox*) 𝔖 κ. φαγ.] ut manducet 𝔏 κοιν. μετ' εμου]
panem nobiscum et prandium hoc γ pariter nobiscum prandium hoc α β עמנא *Ar* M F ιδε א*] ιδου א c a
BA 𝔖 > *Ar* M אל תאחר F προσμενω] μενω BA *pr.* וכל היושבים עמי M παιδ.2°. . . ελθειν] > BA 𝔖 F
παιδ.] > *Ar* M F σε ελθ.] [παραγενε]σθαι σε *Ox* 3. επορευ. . . . κ.2°] > BA 𝔖 ואזל *Ar* ζητ. . . .
ημ.1°] > *Ox* πτωχ.] + captivum 𝔏 τ. αδελ.] > M επιστρεψας] ελθων BA 𝔖 αναστρεψας *Ox* > *Ar*
+ מר נפש M λεγ. . . . εθνους ημων] ואשכח *Ar* λεγ. . . . αποκριθ.] > BA *Ox* 𝔖 M λεγει] dixit mihi 𝔏
αυτῳ] > 𝔏 αποκρ. ειπεν] ait 𝔏 πατερ] μοι *Ox* 𝔏 ιδου2°] > BA 𝔖 M εκ] των απο *Ox* εθνους] γεν.
BA 𝔖 ex fratribus nostris α β δ (γ *Luc.* = א) M מבני ישראל F πεφ. *usque ad* γευσ. μ. αυτ. (v. 4) *non*
exst. Ox πεφ. κ. ερρ. εν τ. αγ. κ. αυτ. ν. εστρ.] εστραγγαλωμενος (-λημενος B[ab] A > M) ερρ. εν τ. αγ. BA 𝔖 α β γ δ
+ גברא חד קטיל רמא באורחא וחוי לאבוהי *Ar* נפל בשדה F 4. κ.1°] καγω BA 𝔖 וכד שמע *Ar* M F
αναπηδ.] *post* με BA > *Ar* F נבהלתי ויצר לי מאד M αφηκα τ. αριστ. + κ.2°] > BA 𝔖 כן קם מן פתורא *Ar*
πρ. η γευσ. με] *ante* αναπηδ. BA (*cf.* F) ולא אכל *Ar* > M η] > A αυτου > BA αναιρουμαι] ανειλομην
BA 𝔏 ηρα *Ox* *pr.* ואזל *Ar* M εκ τ. πλατ.] > BA 𝔖 + דקרתא *Ar* κ.3°] > BA *Ox* 𝔖 𝔏 εν τ. οικιδιων]
τι οικημα BA εν τ. οικηματων *Ox* ܒܒܝܬܐ 𝔖 in domum apud me 𝔏 (*cf.* F) בחד ביתא *Ar* ברשותי M εθηκα]
> BA *Ox* 𝔖 𝔏 μεχρι τ. τ. ηλιον δυειν] εως ου εδυ ο ηλ. BA μεχρι δυειν τ. ηλιον *Ox* κ. θαψω αυτ.] > BA 𝔖 F
κ. θαπτω αυτ. *Ox* ut illum sepelirem 𝔏 5. επιστρ. ουν] κ. επιστρ. BA 𝔖 𝔏 M κ. (*reliqua non exst.*) *Ox*
+ לביתה *Ar* M > F ελουσ.] > *Ar* M + ידי F αρτον] + μου BA 𝔖 𝔏 μετα πενθ.] εν λυπη BA 𝔖
pr. באילוא *Ar* *pr.* ברמעה M + ואנחה F 6. εμνησ. . . . λεγων] דאיתקיים בנא *Ar* τ. ρηματος τ. προφητου]
τ. προφητειας (-ιας A) BA 𝔖 F sermonum prophetae 𝔏 הדבר M οσα . . . λεγων] καθως ειπεν BA 𝔖 עמום
הנביא F οσα] quod 𝔏 Α.] *post* προφ. BA 𝔖 𝔏 επι Βαιθηλ] in Bethleem 𝔏 στραφησ.] והפכתי *Ar* M
> F υμ. αι εορτ.] αι εορτ. υμ. BA omnes dies festi vestri 𝔏 > F κ. πασ. . . . θρην.] > *Ar* F וג׳ M
οδοι] ευφροσυναι BA 𝔖 cantica α β *Luc.* (viae γ semitae δ) θρηνος] -ον BA 7. εκλ.] + בכיה רבא לחדא
Ar M κ. οτε . . . ηλ.] בערב F ορυξ.] > *Ar* M 8. *simil* F οι] *pr.* omnes 𝔏 πλησ.] קריבוהי
Ar וקרובי ומשפחתי M μ.] > BA κατεγ.] επεγ. BA deridebant me 𝔏 *cum* ου φοβ. . . . ιδου *cf. Ox* ου

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2. R[s] had τοῦ θ. which α β γ have preserved; א omitted (or they have fallen out after αὐτοῦ) and R[v] varied to κυρίου.

3. On the surface the ἀναστρέψας of *Ox.* and the ἀποκριθείς of א might seem to suggest independent translation of a Heb. or an Aramaic word. This, however, apart from the general difficulties (see Introd., p. 182) of the independent translation hypothesis, is precluded by the fact that ἀναστρέψ. of *Ox.* corresponds to ἐλθών of R[v] (= ἐπιστρεψ. not ἀποκριθ. of R[s]), λέγει . . . ἀποκριθ. being omitted in conformity with R[v] and only κ. ἐπορ. Τ. retained in R[c]'s usual compromising tendency in the first clause of the verse.

4. κ. θάψω (-τω *Ox.* = R[c]) > R[v], an instance of the resolution of an infin. into a finite verb in Hebraistic style and of its rejection or modification in a subsequent recension.

6. R[s] (cf. γ δ in addition to א's αἱ ὁδοί read by Swete but διοδοί by Reusch) had 'ways' (used metaphorically like דרך and well paraphrased by R[v]). The emendation ὡδαί which was made as long ago as α β (and accepted even by Reusch) is preferred by the partisans of R[v] (e.g. Nöldeke, Löhr) as giving colour to the fiction that R[s] is merely a secondary revision undertaken in the interests of Biblical style and Semitic idiom.

neighbours mocked, saying, Is he no longer afraid?—for already I had been sought after to be put
to death for this matter—And yet he fled away <and lost all his possessions> and lo, again, he
9 burieth the dead! And the same night I washed myself and came into my courtyard and lay down
10 to sleep by the wall of the courtyard, and my face was uncovered because of the heat. And I knew
not that there were sparrows in the wall above me; and their dung settled warm into mine eyes and
brought up white films; and I used to go to the physicians to be healed; and the more they
anointed me with their medicaments, the more mine eyes were blinded by the films, until they were
totally blinded. And I was impotent in mine eyes four years. And all my brethren did grieve for
me, and **Aḥiḳar** nourished me two years until he went to Elymais.

11, 12 And at that time my wife Anna used to work for hire in the tasks of women, and would send
the tasks back to their owners: and they would pay her the wages. And on the seventh of Dystrus,
she cut off the web, and sent it home to the owners and they gave her all her wages, and gave her
13 **in addition to the wages** a kid of the goats. And when she came into my house, the kid began to
cry, and I called her and said, Whence is this kid? is it stolen? Render it to its owners; for we
14 have no right to eat anything that is stolen. And she said unto me, It hath indeed been given me

φοβ. ουκετι] ουκετι φοβ. BA εκινδυνευσεν *Ox* quomodo non &c. 𝔏 φοβ.] + hic homo 𝔏 + מן נפשה *Ar* M ηδη γαρ επεζητηθην] -θη א a b ? 𝔏 > BA *Ox* 𝔖 *Ar* M τ. φον. . . . απεδ.] > *Ar* M του[1]] > BA *Ox* φον.] αποθανειν *Ox* περι τ. πραγ. τουτ.] > *Ox* απεδ.] αποδ. A + κ. απωλεσεν παντα τα υπαρχοντα αυτου *Ox* + et perdidit substantiam suam α β κ. παλιν ιδου] κ. ιδου BA *Ox* iterum 𝔏 παλ. ιδ.] > *Ar* M θαπτ.] sepelire coepit 𝔏 νεκρ.] + ego autem intentus in mandatis Dei non timebam quid loqueretur homo *Spec.* 30 9. αυτ. τ. νυκτι ελουσ.] εν αυτ. τ. νυκτι ανελυσα (ανελυσ. *sup ras* B ab) θαψας BA 𝔖 iterum lavi ea hora postquam sepelivi α β illum sepelivi γ sepelivi δ אחרי קברי את המת M ελουσ.] לא טבל מן מיתא *Ar* עשיתי טבילה M κ.2°. . . αυλ. μ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* *plen. et aliter* M αυλ.] domum 𝔏 εκοιμ.] + μεμιαμμενος BA 𝔖 τ. τοιχ. της αυλ.] parietem 𝔏 על ערסיה סטר כותלא *Ar* אצל הקיר M αυλης] + μου BA ανακεκαλυμμεν.] ακαλυπτ. BA δια τ. καυμα] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M 10. στρουθια] דרור F επανω μ.] > BA εισιν] εστ. BA residebant 𝔏 (*cf. Ar*) κ.2°] + τ. οφθαλμων μ. ανεωγοτ. BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) εκαθ.] > 𝔏 εκαθ. τ. αφοδ. αυτ.] αφωδευσαν τ. στρουθια BA F εκαθ.] insiderunt γ residerunt δ > BA θερμ.] *ante* εις BA > *Ar* M κ.3°] > A επηγαγ.] εγενηθη B *Ar* M (*cf.* F) λευκ.] + εἰς τ. οφθαλμους (-οις B *edit*) μ. B 𝔖 *Ar* M (*cf.* δ F) εποροευομην] -θην BA + caecus 𝔏 *pr.* cotidie δ *pr.* כל צפר וצפר *Ar* *pr.* בבקר M τους] > BA θεραπευθ. . . . ετη τεσσερα] κ. ουκ ωφελησαν με BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) לאסאה עיינוי ולא איתסי אלא אסגי חיורא וג׳ *Ar* לרפאת אותי ולא יכלו M κ. παντ. . . περι εμ.] > BA 𝔖 F οι αδελφ.] + et amici mei 𝔏 *Ar* M περι εμ.] על עורות עיני M κ.8° Αχειαχαρος] Αχιαχαρος δε BA ܐܚܝܩܪ 𝔖 Achicarus autem 𝔏 אקיקר *Ar* M + קרובי M ואחי אהרון F ετη δυο] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M προ τ. αυτον βαδισαι] εως ου εποροευθην BA 𝔖 F priusquam iret 𝔏 > *Ar* M τ. Ελυμ.] τ. Ελλυμ. BA Limaidam 𝔏 > *Ar* M באלמנייא F 11. κ.] > 𝔏 εν τ. χρον. εκειν.] > BA 𝔖 ליומין סגיאין *Ar* הנה F Α. η γυνη μ.] ∽ BA ηριθευετο] ܡܫܟܪ 𝔖 deserviebat α β mercede serviebat γ operabatur δ εργοις τ.] > BA 𝔖 עבידתא *Ar* γυναικιοις] -ειοις B ܠܢܫܐ 𝔖 mulierum α β γ muliebribus (= mulieribus) δ + lanam faciens et telam ex mercedibus suis pascebat me α β l. f. et conducens telas texendas et ex &c. δ לנשייא חורנייתא *Ar* לנשים M F 12. απεστ. . . . παντα κ.] > *Ar* (*cf.* F) ואורגת יריעות לאחרים M mittebant et adducebant (duc. γ) illam ad texendum et dabant ei mercedem suam α β γ quae accipiebat et texebat et cum detexuisset (detexisset?) remittebat domino rerum et ille mercedem dabat ei δ αυτων . . . κυριοις2°] > BA 𝔖 εξετεμε τ. ιστον] consummavit texturam 𝔏 εδωκ. αυτ.] απεδωκ. αυτ. κ. αυτοι BA 𝔖 παντα] > BA 𝔖 κ.6° εδωκαν αυτῃ] προσδοντες κ. BA et insuper dederunt ei α β γ δ *pr.* ויהי היום M εφ' εστια] > BA δ pro detexto α β telaticum γ + ad manducandum α β δ בגין אגרה *Ar* M F εξ αιγων] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M 13. κ.1°. . . κραζ.] והוה שמע גדיא זעיק בביתא *Ar* (+ F *cf.* M) κ. οτε] οτε δε BA εισηλθ.] ηλθ. BA והביאתו F ο εριφ.] > BA 𝔖 F κραζειν] κρανα ζ. A εκαλ. αυτ. κ. ειπα] ειπα (-πον A) αυτη BA 𝔖 M F vocavi ad me uxorem et dixi illi 𝔏 ושאל יתה *Ar* τουτο] > BA 𝔖 + qui balat 𝔏 μηποτε . . . κλεψιμ.] השמרי בנפשך שלא יהיה גנוב M μηποτε] μη BA κυριοις] למריה *Ar* αυτου] > BA εξουσ. εχομεν ημεις] θεμιτον εστιν BA 𝔖 𝔏 ουδεν] > BA 𝔖 F κλεψιμ.2°] supra mercedem 𝔏 14. κ. λεγ. μ. αυτη] η δε ειπεν BA 𝔖 et respondit mihi et dixit 𝔏 (*cf. Ar*) F δοσει . . . μισθῳ] ליתוי מן גניבתא ברם באגר עובד

10. Müller finds in θερμόν of R[s], which he regards as the original Greek, an improbable epithet for ἀφόδευμα and conjectures that חורי (= dirt) has been mistranslated. ἀνεωγότων R[v] perf. act. in *late* passive sense. Dillon's conjecture (*Contemp. Rev.* 1898, p. 367) that Ἐλλυμ. (Cod. Vat., but elsewhere Ἐλυμ.) is a misunderstood transliteration of a Hebrew word = 'hiding-place' derived from עלם is favoured by Dr. Harris, *Story of Aḥiḳar*, p. lii, n. 1, but see Introd., p. 186.

12. ἐφ' ἑστίᾳ (Swete). Reusch conjectures ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐσθίειν (cf. δ) or ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ (telaticum γ = mercedem pro tela = ἵστιον? *v.* 11). α β presuppose the existence of both these conjectures. Dr. Charles suggests that of an original εστιατοριαι (=*for a meal*) the last five letters were lost before ἔριφον and the remaining six became εστιαι. For ἱστός see Deissm. *B.S.*, p. 135.

14. The presence of ποῦ εἰσίν in R[s] shows that δικαιοσύναι here keeps its old sense. At times however (as here in R[v]) it appears in R[s], e.g. xii. 9, beside ἐλεημ. as an early gloss or doublet translation and should be omitted.

over and above the wages. And I did not believe her, and I bade her render it to the owners; and I was abashed at her because of this. Then she answered and said unto me, And where are thine alms-deeds? Where is thy righteous course of life? Behold, this thy case is known.

iii. Tobit's Prefatory Prayer, iii. 1–6.

3 1, 2 And I was much grieved in my soul and groaned and wept. And I began to pray with groanings: O Lord, thou art righteous, and all thy works are righteous, and all thy ways are mercy and truth: thou
3 judgest the world. And now, O Lord, remember thou me, and look upon me; and take not vengeance
4 on me for my sins, both for mine ignorances and my fathers'. They sinned against thee and disobeyed thy commandments, and thou gavest us for spoil and captivity, and death, and for a proverb and
5 a by-word and a reproach among all the nations among whom thou didst disperse us. And now thy many judgments are true in exacting from me the penalty of my sins, because we did not keep
6 thy commandments and walked not truly before thee. And now deal with me according to thy pleasure, and command my spirit to be taken from me, that I may be released from off the earth and become earth: for it is more profitable for me to die than to live, because I have heard false reproaches, and there is much sorrow in me. Lord, command that I be released from this distress, let me go to the everlasting place, and turn not thy face, O Lord, away from me. For it is more profitable for me to die, than to see much distress in my life, and not to hear reproaches.

B. Sarah's Previous History, *vv.* 7–15.

7 On this day it happened unto Sarah the daughter of Raguel who was in Ecbatana of Media,

ידאי קבילתיה *Ar* > F δοσει] δωρον BA 𝔖 *pr.* לא כן הדבר כי M αυτῃ] למילתא *Ar* > F κ. ελεγ. . . . αποδουν.] sed magis dicebam illi Furtivis est redde illum 𝔏 > *Ar* וצעקתי עליה וג׳ M αποδουναι] -διδοναι BA + αυτο BA 𝔖 προσηρυθ.] -ηρυθ. BA ܐܬܚܪܝܬ 𝔖 contendebam et erubescebam 𝔏 ונצא עמיה *Ar* והיינו מתקוטטים יחד M > F χαριν τουτ.] > BA 𝔖 F על גדיא *Ar* M ειτα] η δε BA 𝔖 ענת חנה אנתתיה *Ar* > F λεγει] ειπεν κ.5° BA ܦܢܝ 𝔖 > F > B Ae κ. που . . . δικ. σου] ubi sunt iustitiae tuae αβ *Cypr. Aug.* (*bis*) ubi sunt eleemosynae tuae δ ubi sunt el. tuae quas faciebas γ *aliter* F που εισιν2°] κ. BA ιδε (א*) ταυτ. μετα σ. γνωστ. εστ.] ιδου (א c a) γν. παντα μ. σ. BA 𝔖 ecce quae pateris omnibus nota sunt 𝔏 (*cf.* F) וקלנך אתגלי לכולא *Ar* M *pr.* שלא יועילו לך בעת צרתך M

III. 1. κ.1°] + כד שמע *Ar* (*cf.* F) περιλ. γεν.] λυπηθεις BA ܐܬܬܪܥܝܬ 𝔖 contristatus 𝔏 מעי המו F τ. ψυχ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M עלי F κ. στεν. εκλ.] εκλ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* F ingemui lacrymans 𝔏 ונחלתי על שברי *Ar* ηρξ. προσευχεσθαι] προσευξαμην BA 𝔖 M *pr.* introivi (intravi γδ) in atrium meum (aulam meam δ) et αβγδ > F μετ. στεν.] μετ' οδυνης BA 𝔖 + animae meae 𝔏 *Ar* לפני יי M במר נפש F 2. δικ.] *pr.* λεγων BA 𝔖 (*cf. Ar* M F) Κυριε] אלהא רבא *Ar* יי M + וישר משפטך M F παν. τ. εργ.] > F δικαια] > BA 𝔖 F magna 𝔏 (*cf. Ar* M) ελ. κ. αλ.] misericordiae et verit. plenae 𝔏 -συνη] -ναι BA 𝔖 συ] σοι A *pr.* κ. κρισιν αληθινην κ. δικαιαν BA 𝔖 F *pr.* et iudicium verum αβγ (δ = א) του] *pr.* εις BA 𝔖 𝔏 *pr.* לכל באי F αιωνα] כל ארעא *Ar* הארץ M + ואתה צדיק . . . . . ואני הרשעתי M 3. *simil. sed plen.* M F κ.1°. . . επιβλ. κ.] > *Ar* κ. νυν σ. Κυρ.] > BA 𝔖 επιβλ.] + επ' εμε BA 𝔖 respice in me 𝔏 κ.3°] > BA 𝔏 με] > B εκδικησ.] εκδικ. B תזכר F ταις αμ.] de pecc. 𝔏 κ. εν τ. αγν. μ.] > *Ar* וכעוותי M εν] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* de 𝔏 ημαρτ.] *pr.* α. B *pr.* οι א c a A 𝔖 αβ *pr.* si quid γ quia δ ואנא ואבהתאי חבנא *Ar* (*cf.* δ F) εναντ.] ενωπ. BA 𝔏 *Ar* F 4. *simil. sed plen.* (*verba e Script.*) M κ. παρ.] παρ. γαρ BA 𝔖 𝔏 παρηκουσα א*] -σαν א c a BA 𝔖 αβγ contempsimus δ (*cf. Ar*) κ.2°] > B δ αρπαγ.] διαρπαγ. B *post* αιχμ. *Ar* > M αιχμ.] > M θαν.] > *Ar* M F εις2°] > BA κ. λαλ. κ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* ονειδισμον] -μου BA 𝔖 *ante* παρα B *Ar* > F εν1°] > BA εθν.] + הארץ F ημ. διεσκορπισας] εσκορπισμεθα BA 𝔖 אתגליתא יתנא *Ar* 5. *simil.* M *plen.* F νυν] + Domine 𝔏 אלהא *Ar* σου αι κρ.] αι κρ. σ. BA *pr.* רחמיך *Ar* υπαρχ.] εισιν BA αληθ.] + αι οδοι σου א c a + ܐܪܚܬܟ 𝔖 *pr.* et 𝔏 ποιησ. . . ενωπ. σ.] לא תגמול עמי בחובאי *Ar* ποι. εξ εμ.] εξ εμ. ποι. BA quae de me exigas 𝔏 μου] + κ. τ. πατερων (πρων א c a) μου א c a BA 𝔖 αβγ (> δ) κ. ουκ] ου γαρ BA 𝔖 non 𝔏 αληθινως] εν -θειᾳ BA 𝔖 6. *aliter et plen.* F κ. νυν . . . εμου] ברם כחסדך סגיא עביד עמי *Ar* σου1°] *pr.* ενωπιον A + הישר M κ.2°] > BA 𝔖 επιταξ. . . . γη] וקביל נפשי מן ידאי *Ar* (*cf.* M F) εξ εμ.] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 απ. . . . γης] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M שתאספני אל אבותי בית מועד לכל חי F κ. γενωμαι γη] > 𝔏 διο] διοτι BA αποθαν.] חסדך F μαλλον] > B κ.4°] > B οτι ονειδ. *usque ad v. fin.*] במסכנות רבתא ובחיסודא אלין ולא אשמע קלנא עוד *Ar* ולא אשמע חרפתי עוד M λυπ.] + εστιν BA μετ' εμ.] εν εμ. BA 𝔖 Κυρ.1°] > BA 𝔖 απολυθω] -θηναι με BA απο2°] > BA ταυτ.] > BA 𝔖 απολ. με] ηδη BA 𝔖 et da mihi refrigerium 𝔏 τοπ. τ. αιων.] αι. τοπ. BA κ.5°] > BA 𝔖 Κυρ.2°] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 διο2°. . . ονειδ.] > BA 𝔖 βλεπειν] vivere et pati 𝔏 7. *brev.* F ημ. ταυτ.] αυτ. ημ. BA 𝔖 𝔏 συνεβ.] > *Ar* Σ.] *post* Ραγ. BA τῃ2°] > A του] > BA Εκβ.] > F τ. Μ.] *pr.* מדינתא בארעא *Ar*

III. 7. Israël Lévi (*Revue des Études juives*, vol. xliv, April–June, 1902, pp. 289 ff.) points out the disproportion

8 that she also heard reproaches by one of her father's maidservants; because that she had been given
to seven husbands, and Asmodaeus the evil demon had slain them, before they had been with her as it
is appointed for women. And the maidservant said unto her, It is thou that slayest thy husbands;
behold thou hast already been given to seven husbands, and thou hast not been named of one of
9 them. Wherefore dost thou scourge us on account of thy husbands because they have died? Go thy
10 ways with them and let us see neither son nor daughter *of thine* for ever. In that day she was grieved
in her soul and wept; and she went up into her father's upper room, and desired to hang herself; and
again she considered and said, *Nay,* lest they reproach my father; and shall say unto him, Thou
hadst one beloved daughter, and she hath hanged herself because of her calamities! and I shall bring
down my father's old age with sorrow to Hades. It is fitter for me not to hang myself, but to
11 supplicate the Lord that I may die and no longer hear reproaches during my life. At the self-same
time she stretched forth her hands towards the window and prayed, and said, Blessed art thou,
12 O merciful God, and blessed is thy name for ever: and let all thy works bless thee for ever. And
13 now unto thee my face and mine eyes I lift up: command that I be released from the earth, and
14 that I no more hear reproaches. Thou knowest, Master, that I am pure from all uncleanness with
15 man, and that I never polluted my name, nor the name of my father either, in the land of my

(*cf.* M) *pr.* בארץ F *αυτ.*] *ταυτ* BA ipsa 𝔏 *ακουσ. ονειδισμ.*] *-δισθηναι* BA 𝔖 שמעת חיסודא רבתא *Ar* מחרפים אותה ומלעיגים בה M הרעו F (*sed* v. F v. 8) *υπο . . . εαυτης*] > *Ar* משפחות אביו M שפחותיה F ואומרים לה לא יש ראוי לקרא לך שרה אלא צרה + M *υπο*] *απο* A 𝔏 *μιας τ.*] > BA 𝔖 *του*2°] > B *εαυτ.*] *αυτ.* BA 8. *plen.* F *εκδεδ.*] *δεδ.* BA *επτα*] + ולא על עלה אינש באורח כל ארעא *Ar* (*cf.* M) *Ασμοδεος*] *-δαυς* B *-δαιος* A ܐܫܡܕܝܘܣ 𝔖 אשמדאי *Ar* F אשמדי M *δαιμ. τ. που.*] *που. δ.* BA מלכא דשידי *Ar* M *απεκτεννεν*] *-κτεινεν* BA *πριν . . . αυτ.*] ea hora qua ad illam introiebant ad concumbendum *α β* qua hora introibant ad illam *γ* M antequam fierent cum illa in coniugio *δ* *καθ. . . . ταις*] *ως εν* BA 𝔖 sicut solitum est mulier *α β* sicut traduntur mulieres *δ* > *γ* באורח כל ארעה *Ar* בדרך כל הארץ M > F *ειπεν*] *-αν* B 𝔖 *η παιδ.*] > BA 𝔖 + sua 𝔏 *Συ ει η*] *Ου συνιεις* BA 𝔖 למה את M *αποκτεννουσα*] *-πνιγουσα* BA 𝔖 F suffocas *α β γ* suffocasti *δ* *τ. ανδρ. σ.*] *σ. τ. ανδρ.* BA *ιδου ηδη*] *ηδη* BA מטול ד *Ar* > M *απεκδεδ. επτα ανδρ.*] *επτα εσχες* BA 𝔖 > M *κ.*3°. . . *ωνομασθης* א B a? b] *κ.*3°. . . *ωνασθης* BA 𝔖 et nullo eorum fruita es *α β γ* frunita es *δ* > M F וחד מנהון לא עאל עלך דאנת מקלה יתהון *Ar* 9. *τι ημας . . . ανδρ. σ.*] ותלקי אותנו על הדבר הרע הזה M (*cf.* F) *περι τ. ανδρ. σ.*] > BA *pr.* aut 𝔏 *οτι απεθ. . . . αυτων*] וטוב יהיה לאבותיך שתמותי M (*cf.* F) תחתם *οτι*] *ει* BA 𝔖 F qui L *απεθανον*] *-ναν* BA *-νε̄* B a? תמותי F *κ.*] > BA 𝔖 *ιδοιμεν*] יראו M *υιον* א*] *pr. σου* BA 𝔖 + *σου* א c a *pr.* ex te *ante* videamus 𝔏 *μηδε*] *η* BA 𝔖 10. *εν τ. ημερ. εκειν.*] *ταυτα ακουσασα* BA 𝔖 (*cf. Ar* (*cf.* M) F) eadem hora *α β* in illa hora *γ* in illa die *δ* *ελυπ.*] חרה M *εν τ. ψυχ.*] *σφοδρα* BA 𝔖 *Ar* M עד למות F *κ. εκλαυσ.*] > BA 𝔖 ותצר לה F *κ.*2° *ανἀβασ. . . . ηθελ.*] *ωστε* BA 𝔖 ובקש F *ηθελ. . . . ελογ.*] ותזעק לפני יי בקול מר M *ηθελ. . . . κακων*] *mult. aliter et plen.* M. *hab. supplicationem* *παλ. ελογ. κ. λεγ.*] *ειπεν* BA 𝔖 cogitavit 𝔏 *Μη . . . κακων*] *Μια μεν ειμι τ. πατρι μου εαν ποιησω τουτο ονειδος αυτῳ εσται* (*εστιν* A) BA 𝔖 *supplicationem et dissim. verba habet* M אם אעשה הדבר הזה F *αυτῳ*] > 𝔏 *απο τ. κακ.*] > 𝔏 *καταξω*] *post αυτου* BA 𝔖 ולאחתא *Ar* *τ. πατρος μ.*] *αυτου* BA 𝔖 + אמי F *λυπης*] *οδυν.* BA + animi 𝔏 *αδου* א c a BA] *αδους* א* *χρησ. . . . ζωη μ.*] > BA 𝔖 M F + neque ego neque pater meus *α β γ* + pater meus *δ* *χρησ. μοι*] *pr.* כן ליה *Ar* *αλλα*] ברם טב לי *Ar* *Κυρ.*] אלהא *Ar* *οπως αποθ.*] > *Ar* 11. > M *εν αυτ. τ. καιρ.*] *κ.* BA 𝔖 אן F *διαπ. τ. χειρ.*] > BA 𝔖 הלכה ונפלה *τ. θυριδα*] *τῃ -δι* BA 𝔖 קדם אלהא *Ar* *εδεηθη*] *ante προς* BA 𝔖 בצלו *Ar* + וכדין אמרת *Ar* *θεε ελ.*] *κυριε ο θεος μου* BA 𝔖 Domine Deus misericordiarum 𝔏 יי אלהים רחמנא וחננא *Ar* יהוה אלהינו F *σου*1°] + *τ. αγιον κ. εντιμον* BA 𝔖 𝔏 קדשך דמפרש בכל עלמיא *Ar* שמו הגדול הגבור והנורא F *κ.*3°] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* *ευλογησατωσαν*] *-γησαισαν* BA *σου*] ידך *Ar* *εις τ. αι.*] לעלם ולעלמי עלמין *Ar* *post* הנורא F + ולך משבחים כל בשר F 12. > M *νυν*] + *κυριε* BA 𝔖 *Ar* + יהוה אלהינו F *επι σε*] *εις σε* *post* *μου*2° BA 𝔖 *προσ.*] > F *τ. προσωπ. μ. τ. οφθ. μ.*] ⌒ BA *μου*1°] + levo *α β Ar* + verto *γ* *ανεβλεψα*] *δεδωκα* BA 𝔖 dirigo *α β γ* respiciunt *δ* תליין *Ar* *aliter* F 13. *plen. et aliter* M F *ειπον*] ܐܫܬܕܪ 𝔖 *απολυθηναι*] *-λυσαι* BA ܘܐܫܬܕܪ 𝔖 דאתיב *Ar* ותאבדני F *απο τ. γης*] לעפרי *Ar* מן העולם F *ακουειν*] *-σαι* BA *ονειδισμους*] *-μον* BA 𝔖 14. *plen.* F *δεσποτα*] *Κυρ.* BA *Ar* > F *ακαθαρσιας*] *αμαρτ.* BA *ανδρος*] *pr. και* B (*sed non* B ab A) 𝔖 15. *ουχι*] *ουκ* BA *μου τ. ον.*] *τ. ον. μου* BA corpus

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between the cause—*servant's* gibes—and the result—desire for death; the strangeness of 9b in the mouth of servants (but rightly used by parents, x. 11, Rs, 12, Rv), Sarah's anxiety for her *father's* sake; the *figurative* use elsewhere in Tobit of *μαστιγόω* (e.g. xi. 15, xiii. 2, 5, 9). He ingeniously conjectures that **her mother** (אִמָּהּ) not **a maid** (אָמָה) taunted her, that *πατρὸς αὐτῆς* was a gloss inserted afterwards, and *ἡμᾶς* (*v.* 9) = the parents. Even if Levi were right, Rs (a *single* maid) would be nearer to the intention of the author than Rv.

8. *ἀπόκτενν.* (+ vi. 14 f. א, xiv. 11 א), Th. *Gram.*, p. 225. *ὠνάσθ.* (Rv), Th. *Gram.*, p. 200.

captivity. I am the only daughter of my father, and he hath no other child to be his heir, nor has he kinsman near him, nor has he relation, that I should keep myself for a wife unto him. Seven husbands of mine are dead already; and why should it be mine to live on? And if it pleaseth thee not to slay me—O Lord, now hear my reproach.

C. The Union of Sarah's and Tobit's Destinies, *vv.* 16, 17.

16, 17 At the self-same time the prayer of both was heard before the glory of God. And Raphael was sent to heal them both: *in the case of* Tobit to remove the white films from his eyes, that he might see the light of God with his eyes; and *in the case of* Sarah the daughter of Raguel, to give her for a wife to Tobias the son of Tobit, and to unbind Asmodaeus the evil demon from her; because it belonged to Tobias that he should inherit her rather than all those which wished to take her. At that time did Tobit return from the courtyard into his house, and Sarah the daughter of Raguel herself also came down from the upper chamber.

THE JOURNEY OF TOBIAS, iv–xiii.

A. Its Cause and the Preparations, iv. 1–v. 17[a].

i. The Cause, *vv.* 1, 2.

4 1 In that day Tobit remembered the money which he had left in trust with Gabael in Rages of
2 Media, and he said in his heart, Behold, I have asked for death. Why do I not call my son Tobias and shew unto him concerning this money before I die?

meum *αβ* > *γ* κ.2°] > BA ουδε] + dehonestavi *αβ* πατρος μ.] אבותי F αιχμ. μ.] גלותינו F της] > A ετερον] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F τεκνον] παιδιον BA filium vel filiam 𝔏 בר *Ar* M יורש F ινα] ο BA 𝔖 qui 𝔏 . κληρονομησῃ] -σει BA αυτον] אחסנתיה *Ar* M αδελφ.] > *Ar* M αυτῳ2°] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* M εγγ. ουτε συγγ.] vel proximus aut propinquus 𝔏 ουτε] ουδ. BA συγγ. αυτ. υπαρχει] -χων αυτ. υιος (ι *sup ras* A[a]) BA 𝔖 קריב *Ar* M בן לאחיו F αυτω3° υπαρχει] *post* αδελφος 𝔏 *aliter* F συντηρ. εμ.] custodiat me 𝔏 *Ar* שיורשני M ואסברה F εμαυτην א ca BA] αυτην א* > M αυτῳ γυναικα] αυτ. γυ. *sup ras* א1 αυτῳ γυναι *sup ras* A[a] (*seq ras* 2 litt.) > M *aliter* F γυν.] > *Ar* ηδη] והרי *Ar* M επτα] *pr.* viri 𝔏 (*plen.* F) κ.4°] > BA εστιν ετι] > BA 𝔖 adhuc 𝔏 מה יתרון M > F ζην] חיי *Ar* לחיות M + בעולם M > F σοι δοκ.] ∽ BA Κυρ.] > BA *Ar ante* αποκτ. 𝔏 νυν] επιταξον BA 𝔏 > 𝔏 *Ar* εισακουσ. ονειδ. μ.] επιβλεψαι (*pr.* impera et δ) επ' εμε (ε. ε. > γ *Ar*) κ. ελεησαι με κ. μηκετι ακουσαι με ονειδ. BA 𝔖 *α β γ δ Ar* M *plen.* F 16. Εν αυτ. τ. καιρ.] κ. BA 𝔖 ביומא ההוא *Ar* ובאותה שעה F εισηκουσθη] -σεν $\overline{κς}$ A exauditae sunt 𝔏 עלת *Ar* F η] > B της A προσευχη א Ba] -χης B* A preces 𝔏 τ. δοξ. τ. θεου] τ. δ. τ. μεγαλου Ραφαηλ BA ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ 𝔖 *pr.* summi 𝔏 כורסי יקרא דאלהא רבא *Ar* כבוד יי + *verba pauca* M *et* Π) M אבינו בשמים F 17. απεστ.] ושלח *Ar* M וצוה (*pr. verba pauc.*) F P.] *ante* κ. BA (*v.* 16) *pr.* מלאכא *Ar* M + השר הממנה על הרפואות M Τωβειθ1° απολ. τ. λ. απο τ. οφθ. αυτου] του Τ. λεπισαι (λιπεισαι A* *ras* λι A² ܠܡܫܠܦ 𝔖) κ. τ. λ. BA 𝔖 id est T. curare a maculis oculorum *α β* sanare a mac. oc. *γ* desquama maris (= desquamare) *δ* לרפאתו מחלי עיניו M (*cf.* F) ινα . . . θεου] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F et reddere ei (ei > *γ*) aspectum luminis *α β γ* lumen coeli *δ* Σαρρα א*] -ραν א1 BA 𝔖 𝔏 τη א*] την א ca BA 𝔖 𝔏 Ραγ.] *pr.* του א ca BA αυτην] > BA 𝔏 Τωβειθ] *pr.* του A λυσαι] δησ. BA 𝔖 colligare *α β γ* alligare *δ* לאעדאה *Ar* M ולגעור ולהבריחו F Ασμοδεον] -δαυν B -δαιον A 𝔏 ܠܡܫܡܫܝܠܗ 𝔖 (*cf.* 38) אשמדאי *Ar* F אשמדי M δαιμ. τ. πον.] π. δ. BA מלכא דשידי *Ar* M > F διοτι . . . αυτην3°] > *Ar* M כי לט' משפט הגאולה F απ' αυτ.] > BA 𝔖 επιβ. κλ. αυτην2°] destinata erat haereditas eius 𝔏 παρα . . . αυτην3°] > BA 𝔖 εν εκ. τ. καιρ.] וכד שיצי ט' ית צלותיה *Ar* M (*cf.* F) εκεινῳ] αυτ. BA 𝔖 επεστρ. Τ. απο τ. αυλης] επιστρεψας Τ. εισηλθεν BA 𝔖 תב *Ar* M ונכנס F κ. αυτ.] > BA 𝔖 *post* κατεβη 𝔏 υπ.] + αυτης BA 𝔖 + כד שיציאת לצלאה *Ar* (*cf.* M F)

IV. 1. του] *pr.* περι BA 𝔖 αργυριου] *inter* ρ2° *et* ι *parva ras in* B *vid* ο] ου BA Γαβαηλῳ] -ηλ BA 𝔏 ܓܒܐܠ 𝔖 גבאל *Ar* גביאל M עביאל F εν Ραγοις] ܒܪܥܝܣ 𝔖 בקורי ריגש *Ar* במדינת רגאש M > F Μηδιας] -ειας B ab 2. τ. καρδ. αυτ.] εαυτῳ B αυτῳ A ܒܪܥܬܗ 𝔖 בדעתו F ιδου] > BA 𝔖 ουχι] ουχ BA *pr.* ܠܡܢܐ 𝔖 > *Ar* M למה אינני F Τ.] > A κ.2°] ινα αυτῳ BA 𝔖 υποδειξω] ואצונו F αυτῳ . . .

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12. ἀναβλ. causative as in Is. xl. 26 (= נשׂא).

17. λῦσαι (R[s]) and δῆσαι (R[v]) were both technical terms in contemporary magic, Deissm. *L.A.E.* 306–10. It is noteworthy that in Dan. iv. 12 these two words both correspond to the Aramaic שרא; cf. 1 Enoch viii. 3.

IV. 3. F's *immediately* may be due to his intimate acquaintance with some recension based on an Aramaic text in which בהדרא had been corrupted into בהדדה, but this particle is very characteristic of F's style (*e.g.* iv. 3 *et passim*) and but little weight therefore can be attached to its appearance here.

ii. The 'Teaching' of Tobit, *vv.* 3–21.

3 And he called Tobias his son and he came unto him and he said unto him, Bury me well, and
honour thy mother; and forsake her not all the days of her life, and do that which is pleasing before
4 her, and grieve not her spirit in any matter. Remember her, child, that she hath experienced many
5 dangers for thee in her womb; and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave. My child, be
mindful of the Lord all thy days, and let not thy will be set to sin and to transgress his command-
ments: do acts of righteousness all the days of thy life, and walk not in the ways of unrighteousness.
6 <For if thou doest the truth, success shall be in thy works, and *so it shall be* unto all that do
7 righteousness. Give alms of thy substance: turn not away thy face from any poor man, and the
8 face of God shall not be turned away from thee. As thy substance is, give alms of it according to
thine abundance: if thou have much, according to the abundance thereof, give alms; if thou have
9 little bestow it, and be not afraid to give alms according to that little: for thou layest up a good
10 treasure for thyself against the day of necessity: because alms delivereth from death, and suffereth

τουτου] > BA 𝔖 +quam commendavi 𝔏 ליה עסקא דכספא *Ar* (*cf.* M F) 3. *κ.*1°] מיד F *εκαλεσεν*] *καλεσας* BA 𝔖 *Τ. τ. υιον αυτ.*] *αυτον* BA 𝔖 filium suum 𝔏 F *κ. ηλθ. πρ. αυτ.*] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M F *κ.*] > BA 𝔖 *αυτῳ*] > BA 𝔖 +Fili: et (et > γ) ille respondit: Quid est pater et Thobis dixit (et dixi γ) α β *θαψ.*] *pr.* Παιδιον εαν αποθανω BA α β γ δ 𝔖 *Ar* M F *καλως*] > BA 𝔖 diligenter 𝔏 מיד F *τιμα*] *μη υπεριδῃς* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) *κ. μη εγκ.*] *τιμα* BA 𝔖 *αυτης*] *σου* BA 𝔖 F *κ. ποι . . . πραγμ.*] > 𝔖 *ενωπ. αυτ.*] *αυτῃ* BA illi . . . in conspectu eius 𝔏 *λυπησ.*] תסרב *Ar* תמרה M *τ. πνευ. αυτ.*] *αυτην* BA על מימר פומהא *Ar* את פיה M +ואל תמרר את חייה M > F *εν π. πραγ.*] > BA *Ar* M F 4. *αυτης*1° 2°] > BA α β γ δ *Spec.* *κινδ. πολ.*] ∽ BA quanta pericula 𝔏 > *Ar* כמה צרות M *pr.* הרבה הטרחות נטרחה עליך F *εωρακ.*] *εορ.* B passa sit 𝔏 אתעיקת *Ar* עברו עליה M *εν τ. κοιλ. αυτ.*] > *Ar* *pr.* בהיותך M F *κ.*] > BA 𝔖 *εν ενι ταφ.*] *pr.* בכבור M 5. *paene simil.* M *κ.*1°] > BA *π. τ. ημερ.*] *cum praeced. coniung.* A*vid* *σου*] > BA *του Κυρ.*] +*τ. θεου ημων* BA 𝔖 *Ar* Deum 𝔏 בוראך M יהוה אלהיך F *κ.*2°. . . *αδικιας*] *plen.* F *κ.*2°] > B *αμαρτειν κ.*] > B *-τανειν κ.* B ab *mg* A *δικαιοσυνας*] *-ην* BA α β δ *Cypr. Luc.* *pr. κ.* A 𝔖 > γ *ποιει*] *-ειν* A 𝔖 > γ *ταις οδ.*] in viam α β γ δ (in vias *Spec.* 24) עם גבר חטוף *Ar* 6. > M *οι ποιουντες*] *ποιουντος σου* BA α β γ δ *Luc. Cypr.* 𝔖 *αληθειαν*] *-ιαν* B* א A *pr. την* BA ex (in β) veritate α β γ *Luc. Cypr.* veritatem δ *ευοδωθησ.*] *ευοδιαι εσονται* BA 𝔖 erit respectus α β γ *Cypr.* -tio *Luc.* bene tibi erit δ תצליח F *εν τ. εργοις αυτων*] *εν τ. ε. σου* BA α β γ 𝔖 +omnibus (+in (ex *Cypr.*) substantia *e versu seq.* δ *Cypr.*) δ operibus tuis *Luc.* operum tuorum *Cypr.* בכל דלך *Ar* את דרכיך ואז תשכיל F *κ. π. τ. ποιουσιν δικ.*] *cum* v. 19 *coniung.* א (Swete) +טוביהון *Ar* > F *δικαιοσ.*] *pr. την* BA > F 7–19ᵃ. > א [7 *usque ad* 19ᵃ B:—] 7. *simil.* M *σοι*] *σου* A *κ. μη φθ. . . . ελεημοσυνην*] > 71 106 𝔖 α β γ δ *Spec.* 24 *Ar* M *σε*] > A *κ.*2°] > A *ου μη . . . θεου*] אלהא לא יכסה שכינתיה *Ar* לא יעלים ממך אל' F *προσωπον*] *cf.* עיניך M F *πτωχ.*] *cf.* מעניי ישראל M +ואביון F *του θεου*] > 𝔖 8. *simil.* M ברי עד דאית יוכלא בידך למעבד צדקתא עביד ואם מתרחק מינך עותרה עביד צדקתא *Ar* *υπαρχ.*] 𝔖 +fili 𝔏 *εξ αυτων ελεημ.*] +*εαν πολυ σοι υπαρχη κατα το πολυ εξ αυτων ποιησον ελεημοσυνην* 249 α β γ (> δ *et reliqua verba huius versus* > δ) *Cypr. Aug.* (*cf.* F?) *κατα το ολιγ.*] +communica et α β γ *Cypr. Spec.* 24 *Aug.* *ποιειν*] cum (quia β) facies (facis γ *Cypr.*) α β γ *Cypr.* (*cf. Spec.* 24) *φοβου ποιειν*] *ου ποι sup ras* B ab 9. *simil. et plen.* M ותקנה נכסין ואם תעביד צדקתא דרופתק טב תקנה ביום ריתחא *Ar* *γαρ*] > α β γ δ *Cypr. Caes.* 10. *ελεημοσυνη*] *-ην* (*ν ras* A') A* היא *Ar* צדקה M *και ουκ . . . σκοτος*] וכל המתעסק בצ' יחזה

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5. Cf. Test. Job xlv, 'Behold I die; only forget not the Lord.'

6ᵇ–19ᵃ, full of reminiscences of Aḥiḳar (see Introd. pp. 191 f.), certainly stood in Rˢ. Apart from the fact that their presence in 𝔏 cannot be attributed to later insertion from Rᵛ or Rᶜ, a comparison of *v.* 5 with *v.* 19° shows that some ethical instruction of the type found in 𝔏 and Rᵛ intervened in Rˢ between these two verses. The omission therefore is simply confined to א and is explicable on the supposition either of the loss of a page in a MS. or that the eye and mind of a scribe passed from the objective fact expressed in *ποιοῦσιν δικ.* *v.* 6 to the cause and subjective motive for such action stated in *δώσει . . . βουλ. ἀγαθ.* The gap has been filled in above from Rᵛ except in a few cases (v. *infra*) in which that recension has evidently and seriously departed from the more ancient Rˢ.

7. The words *and when . . . grudging* seem to be an interpolation in Rᵛ from *v.* 16. The combination of 71, 106, α β, *Spec.* 24, 𝔖, *Ar*, M is emphatically against their originality in Rˢ.

8. The parallelism demands the text of Rˢ preserved in 𝔏 and the Patristic quots.:—*ὡς σοὶ ὑπ. παιδίον οὕτως ποίει ἐὰν πλῆθός σοι ὑπάρχῃ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ποίησον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεημ.· ἐὰν ὀλίγ. σοι ὑπάρχῃ, κατὰ τὸ ὀλίγ. μεταδός* (*Communico* = *μεταδίδωμι* in Wisd. vii. 13, cf. Test. Issachar vii. 5; Test. of Zeb. vi. 4. 7).

9. Possibly *γάρ* should be omitted and the verse construed closely (cf. 𝔏. *Cypr. Caes.*) with the preceding:—*μὴ φοβοῦ· ὅτι ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν σε ἐλεημ. θέμα ἀγαθ. θησ.* *Ar*'s רופתק should be read *either* הופתק = *ὑποθήκη* (Neaub.) or הפתק = *ἀποθήκη* (Nöld.).

10. Cf. Prov. xi. 4 (generalized in Sir. xxix. 12) with its counterpart in Syriac Aḥiḳar (R. Harris, *Story of Aḥiḳar*, pp. xlvii f.).

11 not to come into darkness. Alms is a good offering in the sight of the Most High for all that give
12 it. Beware, my child, of all whoredom, and take first a wife of the seed of thy fathers, take not
a strange wife, which is not of thy father's tribe; for we are the sons of the prophets. Noah,
Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, our fathers of old time, remember, my child, that they all took wives of
13 their kinsmen, and were blessed in their children, and their seed shall inherit the land. And now,
my child, love thy brethren, and scorn not in thy heart thy brethren and the sons and the daughters
of thy people so as not to take one of them; for in scornfulness is destruction and much trouble,
14 and in idleness is decay and great want, for idleness is the mother of famine. Let not the wages of
any man, which shall work for thee, tarry with thee, but render it unto him out of hand: and if thou
serve God, recompense shall be made unto thee. Take heed to thyself, my child, in all thy works,
15 and be discreet in all thy behaviour. And what thou thyself hatest, do to no man. Drink not wine
16 unto drunkenness, and let not drunkenness go with thee on thy way. Give of thy bread to the
hungry, and of thy garments to them that are naked: of all thine abundance give alms; and let not
17 thine eye be grudging when thou givest alms. Pour out thy bread and thy wine on the tomb of the

פני אלהים ככתוב וגו׳ M ומגנת בעושיה ומצלת מדינה של גיהנם F εασει] -εις A 11. *Corrupt. et e Script. multa addita Ar* (+הם M) ועוסקים עמו מן השמים M ומתנה גדלה וטובה משלמים לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא לעושי צדקה F γαρ] > A δωρον] ܡܨܠܬܐ S πασι B] -σιν A 12. προσεχ.] +מכל עצת חטאין *Ar* מכל ממאה M γυν. πρωτον λαβε] accipe primum uxorem δ ux. primo acc. γ ux. proximam acc. α β ux. acc. *Cypr.* וסב לך אתתא מזרעיתך *Ar* (*cf.* M) וקח אשה ממשפחתי ומבית אבי F μη] *pr.* κ. A 𝔏 F εσμεν] +qui in veritate prophetaverunt priores α β et secundum veritatem ambulamus δ > F Νωε] +prophetavit prior α β +propheta fuit prior γ quia prophetavit primus δ > M *pr.* מטול דנביאי קדמאי *Ar* (*cf.* F) Αβρ.] *pr.* και 𝔏 *Ar* F Ισ.] *pr.* και A 𝔏 Ιακ.] *pr.* και A 𝔏 *Ar* M F αυτοι] ουτ. A 𝔏 των αδελφ.] genere patrum α β semine fratrum γ sem. patrum δ ממשפחותם M ευλογηθ.] ηυλογισθ. A *pr.* לא אבו להתחתן בבני נכר M σπερμ. αυτ.] semen filiorum 𝔏 זרעייהו *Ar* > M κληρονομ.] אחסינו *Ar* > M 13–16. *similiter* (?) *sed ord. confus. Ar* M νυν] tu α β γ (nunc δ) *Arm* propter quod et tu *Spec.* 13 *et* 34 τους αδελφ. σου] לריעך כמוך F απο τ. αδελφ. κ. τ. υιων κ. θυγατ.] filiabus filiorum α β γ filiis et filiabus δ S *Ar* filiabus filiarum *Spec.* 13 *et* 34 אחיך ובני עמיך F του λα. σου] > *Ar* λαβειν σεαυτῳ εξ αυτων γυν.] ut non accipias unam ex illis α β γ accipe unam ex illis δ (*cf. Spec.* 13 *et* 34) > *Ar* εν τ. υπερηφ. . . . πολ.] כי לפני בזדונא שגושיא אית *Ar* שבר גאון וג׳ F κ. εν τῃ . . . μεγαλη] > δ *Ar* τη αχρεοτ.] ܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ 𝔏 S חרפה F η γαρ . . . λιμου] > α β γ iugalitas est mater inopiae δ luxuria mater est famis *Ambr. multo plura sed confusa et corrupta exhibet Spec.* > *Ar* απωλια B] -εια B ab A 14. '*In nonnullis diversus fuisse videtur textus Sin. ab*' *Vat.* (*vide* α β γ δ *Ambr Spec.*) *apud Reusch sim.* M αλλα . . . παραυτικα] > *Ar* מן היום אשר תסתכם עמו M (*cf.* F) εαν . . . σοι] ופעולתך ישלם לך האל׳ M *aliter* F εαν2°] *pr.* κ. A προσεχε . . . σου2°] > M εν πασ. αναστρ. σ.] in omnibus sermonibus tuis α β (> γ) in univers. serm. tuis *Spec.* 91 in omn. cogitationibus tuis δ בכל־דרכיך F 15. και ο μισ. μηδενι ποι.] ο μισεις αλλῳ συ ποιησεις *Clem. Strom.* ο μισ. αλλῳ μη ποι. *Chrys.* ο συ μισ. αλλῳ μη ποι. *Did. de Trin.* et quod oderis alio (alii γ) ne feceris α β γ *cf. Const. Apost.* 3. 15. 7. 2 *Aug. Serm. Bened. Reg. Ether. c. Elep. Fastid. de v. Chr. Greg. Mor. Paulin. Ep. Valer. Cemel. hom.* (*apud Reusch*) ודסנאני לך לחורני לא תעביד (*post v.* 13) *Ar* ואשר תש׳ לנפשך לא תעשה לאחרים (*post v.* 13) M לא תקים ולא תטור F οινον . . . οδῳ σ.] > *Ar* ומנע את עצמך משכרון ולא יאנה לך כל און M εις μεθ.] in ebrietate 𝔏 μεθη] οινος 44. 106 nequitia (*pr.* ulla α β) α β γ שכור F τη οδ.] omni vita γ (δ *haec tantum habet*: ab ebrietate abstine) omni via α β 16. διδου] διαδιδ. A πεινωντι] -ωσι 58, 74, 76, 249 α β δ (-ντι γ *Spec.* 24) *Ambr. de Tob.* τοις γυμν.] τοις *sup ras* B ab nudos lege α β nudum veste γ da nudis δ lege nudis *Spec.* 24 παν . . . ελεημ.] > *Ar* M περισσευσῃ] -ευη A (בכל עניניך F) μη . . . οφθαλ.] ולא יקשה בעינך *Ar* M ולא ידע לבבך F σε] > A 17. εκχεον] funde α β frange (+funde) γ *Aug. Serm.* distribue δ effunde *Auct. imperf. in Mth. hom.* 26 אשור *Ar* שפוך M constitue 𝔙 שלח F τ. αρτ.] *pr.* vinum tuum et

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11. δῶρον = offering (cf. S), Lev. i. 2, Mark vii. 11. F's paraphrase is good.
12. See Test. Job xlv, Jub. iv. 33. See Introd., pp. 183 f., 186, and espec. 196.
13. Restore R^s from 𝔏:—τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν. On ἀχρεότης (R^v) see Th. *Gram.*, p. 82.
16. Restore in R^s τοὺς γυμνούς and *pr* περίβαλε (Is. lviii. 7) on basis of 𝔏.

17. The impossibility of *literally* 'pouring out bread' (R^v) and the alleged paganism of the funeral rite here inculcated have led to numerous emendations and suggestions as to how a hypothetical Hebrew or Aramaic original could have been misread. Graetz (cf. δ) suggested שלח לחמך בקרב הצדקים; Hilgenfeld conjectured לבר הצדיקים misread as לקבר הצ׳; Hitzig רחמיך misread לחמך; others שפע misread שפך. The difficulty, even if R^v were the true text, is not sufficiently great to warrant these hypotheses. But the zeugma in R^s (recovered from 𝔏 *Ar* M) is quite defensible and its claim to be the original text is now beyond controversy through the discovery of the Syriac and Arabic texts of Aḥiḳar (see Introd. p. 192, footnote 2, and Cambr. Aḥiḳar, pp. xlvii f.). It is, however, quite conceivable that 𝔙's *constitue* may be a mistranslation of an Aramaic imper. סך. For the custom of offering such sacrifices see Introd. p. 198.

18 just, and give not to sinners. Ask counsel of every man that is wise, and despise not any counsel
19 that is profitable. And bless the Lord thy God at all times, and ask of him that thy ways may be made straight, and that all thy paths and counsels may prosper: for every nation hath not >good counsel; <but> the Lord will give to them <all good things>; and whom he will the Lord humbleth unto the nethermost Hades. And now, child, remember these commandments, and let them
20 not be blotted out of thy heart. And now, child, I shew thee that I left ten talents of silver in
21 trust with Gabael the brother of Gabri at **Rages** of Media. And fear not, my child, because we have become poor: thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God and avoid every kind of sin and do the things which are good in the sight of the Lord thy God.

iii. **The Preparations,** v. 1–17.

1 Then answered Tobias and said unto Tobit his father, All things, whatsoever thou hast com-
2 manded me, I will do, father. But how shall I be able to fetch it from him, seeing he knoweth me not nor do I know him? What token shall I give him that he may recognize me and trust me
3 and give me the money? And the roads to Media I know not to journey there. Then answered Tobit and said unto Tobias his son, His note of hand he gave me and a note of hand I gave him and I parted it in two and we took to each of us *a part*, and I put it with the money, and now lo, it is twenty years since I left this money in trust. And now, child, seek thee a trusty man which shall

α β +funde vin. t. *γ Aug. Serm.* +vin. t. *δ* vin. t. *Auct.* *pr.* ברי +וחמרך *Ar* +ויינך M *επ. τ. ταφ.*] super sepulcra *α β γ* 𝔖 cum iustis *δ* *δικ.*] +לעולם F *και μη . . . αμαρτ.*] > *Ar* M אל תתן עצת עקשות לרש׳ F *δῳς*] +illud 𝔏 18. ושמע למלכא טבא בכל עדן *Ar* (*cf. plen.* M) *ζητησ.*] אל תנח F *καταφρονησῃς*] *μεταφρον.* A *επι . . . χρησ.*] quoniam omne consilium utile est 𝔏 19ᵃ. *plen. et multa e Script. addit.* F *και*¹° . . . *και*²°] > *Ar* M *και*¹°] > 𝔏 *Κυρ. τ. θ.*] Deo 𝔏 לבוראך F *παρ' αυτ.*] אלהך *Ar* *υπως . . . ευοδωθωσιν*] והוא יכשר אורחותך *Ar* (*cf.* M) *διοτι . . . αγαθα*] ארום לית לאינש מלך טב אלהין אלהא *Ar* (לבד) כי אין ביד אדם שום עצה אלא ביד הב"ה M *παν εθν.*] caeterae nationes *α β γ* omnes gentes *δ* *βουλην*] +bonam (-um *δ*) *α β γ δ* *αλλ' αυτος . . . αγαθα*] >*α β γ* Dominus dat nobis omnibus *δ* 19ᵇ *usque ad* 13: 6ᵃ א:— *δωσει Κυριος*] *αλλα αυτος ο Κυρ. διδωσιν* BA 𝔖 (*Ar* M *v. supra*) *βουλ. αγ.*] *παντα τ. αγαθα* BA 𝔖 (*v. Ar* M *supra*) *ον αν*] *ο εαν* B *ον εαν* A quem ergo *α β γ* quemcunque *δ* *Κυρ.*] > BA 𝔖 ipse *α β* Deus *γ* (Dom. *δ*) > *Ar* M *ταπεινοι*] *pr.* allevat et quem voluerit ipse *α β γ* *pr.* exaltat et quemc. vult *δ* *pr.* מרים וכל דצבי *Ar* (*cf.* M F) *εως ᾳδ. κατ.*] *καθως βουλονται* (-*εται* A 𝔖) BA 𝔖 usque ad inferos *γ* (deorsum *α β* sub terram *δ*) *α β γ δ* > *Ar* M *και νυν . . . σου*] > 𝔖 ברי טר אמרי פומי ופקודי ולא ילכון מעינך *Ar* (*cf.* M) *τ. εντολας ταυτ.*] *τ. -λων μου* BA 𝔏 +וחזק . . . . ובכל נפשך M 20. *παιδ.*] > BA 𝔖 *υποδεικνυω*] *επιδεικ.* B *οτι*] *τα* BA 𝔖 > *Ar* M *αργυρ.*] *pr. του* BA *pr.* עסק *Ar* (*cf.* M) *παρεθ.*] *pr. α* BA 𝔖 *Ar* M *Γαβαηλῳ*] *Γαμ.* A Gabelo 𝔏 ܓܒܝܠܐ 𝔖 גבאל *Ar* גביאל M עביאל F *Γαβρει*] *-ρεια* B *-ια* A Gabahel *α β* Gabrin *δ* Gabeli *γ* > 𝔖 *Ar* אחרי קרובי M גבריאל F *Αργοις*] *Ραγοις* BA 𝔏 ܒܟܘܪܝ ܪܝܓܫ 𝔖 בקורי ריגש *Ar* במדית רגאש M +ארום לא ידעית יום מותי *Ar* M > F 21. *και μη . . . επτωχ.*] > *Ar* M *και*] > 𝔖 *παιδ.*] *-διον absciss. est in* A *αγαθ.*¹°] > BA *θεον*] *κν.* A *φυγῃς*] *αποστ.* BA recesseris 𝔏 תיטר גרמך *Ar* *ποιησ. . . . θ. σου*] ובצנעה תהך עמיה *Ar* > M *τ. αγαθ.*] *τ. αρεστον* BA 𝔖 bene 𝔏 הישר F *ενωπ. . . . σου*] > 𝔏 *Κ. τ. θεου σου*] *αυτου* BA 𝔖 F +ולא תחסר כלום F

V. 1. *τοτε*] *κ.* BA M F ܐܦܝ 𝔖 > *Ar* *Τ. τ. πατ. αυτ.*] *αυτῳ* BA 𝔖 לאבוהי *Ar* M > F *ποι. πατ.*] *πατ. ποι. ante παντα* BA 𝔖 אעביד *Ar* 2. *πως δε*] *αλλα π.* BA 𝔖 *Ar* Quomodo autem 𝔏 *pr.* ועתה אבי תן לי עצה M *αυτο*] *το αργυριον* BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F hanc pecuniam *α β γ* pec. *δ* *παρ' αυτ.*] > BA מיד גבאל *Ar* M מן האיש F *αυτος . . . εγω*] > BA 𝔖 *τι σημ. . . . εκει*] > BA 𝔖 F *pr.* vel 𝔏 *δῳ*] אומר M *κ. επιγνῳ με*] > *Ar* M *κ. πιστευ. μ.*] > M *το*] hanc 𝔏 *τ. εις* M.] regionis illius 𝔏 *τ. πορ.*] > 𝔏 דיובילני (*ante εις* M.) *Ar* שילכו בהם M *εκει*] > 𝔏 *Ar* M 3. *τοτε . . . ειπεν*] > F *τοτε . . . τουτο εγω*] *κ. εδωκ. αυτῳ το χειρογρ.* BA 𝔖 *τ. υιῳ αυτ.*] ברי דין לך סימנא *Ar* M +אשר תאמר לו M > F *χειρογρ. εδωκα αυτῳ . . . μετα τ. αργυρ.*] et meum similiter accepit et divisit in duas partes unum accepi ego et alium posui cum ipsa pecunia *α β γ* et cyrographum meum accepit in quo posui pecuniam apud illum et alterum habeo *δ* טועניה יהב ביד הוציא כתב ידו ונתן מיד (ופ׳ > M) כמה דשויתי כספא ופקדתיניה (M קבל מידי) לי וטועני יהבית ליה *Ar* M היום ומן יומא ההוא עד יומא דין ע׳ ש׳ *Ar* *κ. νυν . . . τουτο εγω*] F לו ואמר הראה לו זה כתב ויתן לך הכסף עשרים שנה M > F *νυν παιδ.*] *ειπεν* BA 𝔖 ומהר בני F *πιστον*] > BA 𝔖 F *πορευσ. μ. σου*] *συμπ. σοι*

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19. Trans. presupposes Reusch's restoration of Rˢ. *κατωτάτω* (Rˢ), Th. *Gram.*, p. 183.

V. 3. Rᵛ, in abridging, has altered the story considerably, and *Ar* and M substitute *bag* for *bond*, possibly through a confused recollection of a debased form of the Heb. original, e.g. Perles proposed either חרט (= *a writing* Isa. viii. 1, and *a bag*, 2 Ki. v. 23), or the Talmudic דיסקא.

go with thee, and we will give him wages, until thou return: and fetch thou this money from him.
4 And Tobias went out to seek a man who would go with him into Media and knew the way well;
(5) and he went out and found Raphael, the angel, standing before him. And he knew not that he was
5 an angel of God, and said unto him, Whence art thou, young man? And he said unto him, Of the children of Israel thy brethren; and I am come hither to work. And he said unto him, Knowest
6 thou the way to go to Media? And he said unto him, Yea, I have often been there, and I know it well and I know all the ways; many times did I go unto Media and lodged with Gabael our kinsman, who dwelleth in **Rages** of Media; and it is two regular days' journey from Ecbatana to **Rages**;
7 for it lieth in the hill country, but Ecbatana in the middle of the plain. And he said unto him, Wait for me, young man, until I go in and shew my father; for I need that thou go with me and I will
8, 9 give thee thy hire. And he said unto him, Behold, I will wait, only tarry not. And Tobias went in and shewed Tobit his father and said unto him, Behold, I have found a man of our brethren the children of Israel. And he said unto him, Call me the man, that I may know what is his family and of what tribe he is, and whether he be a trusty man to go with thee, child.
10 (9) And Tobias went forth, and called him and said unto him, Young man, my father calleth thee. And he came in to him, and Tobit saluted him first. And he said unto him, Much cheer to thee! And Tobit answered and said unto him, What cheer have I any more, who am a man impotent in

BA eat tecum 𝔏 δωσομεν] -σω BA 𝔖 εως οτ. ελθ. κ. λαβε] εως ζω κ. λ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* M (בטרם אמות M) et dum adhuc vivo recipe *αβγ* vade fili dum vivo accipe *δ* ואולי תשובו בעודני חי מיד לקח בידו כספים F παρ' αυτ.] πορευθεις BA 𝔖 זל (*ante* εως) *Ar* M > F τουτο] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M F + ויי' אלהי יש' וג' M 4. εξηλθ. δ.] κ. επορευθη BA et exiit 𝔏 + לשוק F Τωβιας] > BA 𝔖 ος πορ. . . . εξηλθ.] > BA 𝔖 דיהך עמיה *Ar* M πορ. μετ. αυτ.] eum duceret 𝔏 Μηδ.] *pr.* regionem 𝔏 > F ος] *pr.* et 𝔏 οδ.] + regionis illius 𝔏 > F κ. εξηλθ.] > 𝔏 F κ. ευρεν . . . εστιν] ומלאך ר' נדמה בדמות אדם ועמד בשוק ראה אותו ט' F P.] *pr.* τον A 23, 64, 243, 248 τ. αγγελον] ος ην -λος BA 𝔖 + יו' M εστηκ.] > BA 𝔖 απεν. αυτ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* εγνω] ηδει BA + ט' M οτι . . . εστιν] > BA 𝔖 + (צבאות) M 5. κ. ειπ. αυτ.] שאליה *Ar* ויאמר המלאך אל ט' M Ποθεν . . . ειπεν αυτ.3°] > BA 𝔖 F *reliq. v.* 5 *et* 6ª *aliter* F νεαν.] > *Ar* κ. ειπ. αυτῳ2°] אתיביה *Ar* ויען טוביה ויאמר M τ. αδελφ.] *pr.* חד *Ar* [מבני ישראל אנכי] M κ. ελθ.] veni 𝔏 > *Ar* M ωδε εργατ.] > *Ar* M ειπ. αυτ.3°] + Thobias 𝔏 *Ar* M επιστ. τ. οδ. πορ.] ει δυναμαι πορ. μετα σου BA 𝔖 nosti viam quae ducit 𝔏 אדני התדע ללכת עמי M εις Μηδ.] εν Ραγοις τ. Μηδ. BA 𝔖 in regionem Mediam 𝔏 + κ. ει εμπειρος ει τ. τοπων BA 𝔖 6. αυτῳ] + ο αγγ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* M Ναι . . . εκει] πορευσομαι μετα σ. BA 𝔖 multa ego (cog- *γ*) novi *αβγ* multa sunt quae scio *δ* > *Ar* εμπ. κ. επιστ. τας οδ. πασ.] της οδ. εμπ. BA teneo vias omn. *αβγ* vias omnes novi *δ* ידענא אורחיה *Ar* M (+ כלם M) πλεονακ. . . . Μηδ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M aliquoties ivi in illam reg. 𝔏 ηυλιζ.] ηυλισθην *post* ημων BA במדי הוינא אושפיזא *Ar* M Γαβ. τῳ αδ.] Γαβαηλ τον αδ. BA 𝔖 עביאל F τ. οικουντι . . . πεδιῳ] > BA 𝔖 F εν Εκβ. τ. Μ.] in Rages civitate Medorum *αβγδ* באגבתנים *Ar* ברגיש מדינת המדי M κ. απεχει . . . τ. πεδιῳ] et est iter bidui ex Bathanis usque Rages civitatem Phagur quae posita est in monte et est Bathanu in medio campo *αβ* et est b. iter a Batanis usq. ad R., quae pos. est in m. et haec in m. c. *γ* et continet Ecbathnis dierum duo stadiorum R. pos. est in montem Ecbathana in m. c. *δ* עד ראגיש והיא בנויה בטורא ואגבתנים במישרא *Ar cf.* M (*v. Neub.*) εις Γαρρας . . . Εκβατανα] > א* *vid* (*hab.* א1 *mg*) 7. κ.1°] > *Ar* αυτ.] + Τωβιας BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M μενον με] υπομεινον με BA sustine 𝔏 הרף M νεαν.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 ציבחר *Ar* מעט בחסדך M ארוני מעט F μεχρ. οτ. εισελθ.] κ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* υποδειξω] ερω BA 𝔖 hoc ipsum . . . nunciem 𝔏 + את הדבר M μου] > B *Ar* χρειαν . . . μισθ. σ.] > BA 𝔖 F דרגיג . . . אגר אורחה *Ar* M 8. ειπ.] + Raph. ang. 𝔏 ιδου . . . προσκ.] πορευου BA 𝔖 + te 𝔏 *pr.* לך מהר כי M אל תאחר F ιδου] > *Ar* μον. μη χρ.] עד דתיתי *Ar* μονον] κ. BA M > 𝔖 F *pr.* עד שתשוב אלי M 9. Τωβειας . . . κ.2°] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* αυτῳ] τῳ πατρι BA 𝔖 *Ar* F ιδου] > *Ar* M F ανθρ.] > BA *γ* 𝔖 + טוב M בחור אחד F ευρον] -ηκα BA 𝔖 > *γ* τ. αδ. ημ.] > BA 𝔖 F ex (de *δ*) frat. nostr. *αβδ* > *γ* τ. υι. Ισρ.] ος συνπορευσεται (-μπ. B b A) μοι BA *αβδ* (> *γ*) 𝔖 *Ar* M מנוסה במקום ההוא F κ.3°] ο δε BA 𝔖 > F αυτ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 + Τωβ. *Ar* M אביו F καλεσ.] φωνησον BA roga 𝔏 *pr.* זל *Ar* μοι] προς με BA > *Ar* F τ. ανθρ.] αιτον BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F οπως] ινα BA 𝔖 τι . . . κ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M εκ] > BA 𝔖 φυλης] מקום M F εστιν2°] > B 𝔖 (*hab.* A 23, 64, 243, 248, 249) ινα πορ. μ. σου] του πορευθηναι μ. σ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F cui tu committaris 𝔏 παιδ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* F εξηλθ. Τωβ. κ.] > BA 𝔖 F κ. ειπ. . . . σε] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F Νεαν.] + intra 𝔏 πατηρ] + meus 𝔏 10. προς αυτ.] רפאל לט' *Ar* M εχαιρ. . . . πρωτ.] ησπασαντο αλληλους BA 𝔖 F > *Ar* M κ. ειπ. αυτ. Χαιρ. . . . γινωσκω] > BA 𝔖 F ειπ.] *pr.* ille 𝔏 αυτ.] > 𝔏 *Ar* χαιρ. . . . γενοιτο] gaudium tibi semper sit (frater *αβ*) *αβγ* pax super te *δ* + איש האלהים M τι . . . χαιρειν] ut quid mihi gaudium *αβγ* quis dixit

6. The tradition of R^s seems to have been handed down in slight confusion, but the mistakes are easily rectified. In א Ῥάγοις should be read with 𝔏 for Ἐκβατάνοις. Reusch emends καὶ Ῥάγαι for εἰς Γάρρας but εἰς Ῥάγας is simpler, and it is possibly an explanatory gloss. In *δ* Ecbatana has been dittographed, *stadiorum* written for *statutorum*; in *αβ quae* before *posita* is possibly a remnant of *Rages quae*.

the eyes, and I behold not the light of heaven, but lie in darkness like the dead which no more see
the light; while I live I am among the dead; the voice of men I hear, and themselves I behold not.
And he said unto him, Be of good cheer! it is nigh with God to heal thee; be of good cheer! And
Tobit said unto him, My son Tobias wisheth to go unto Media; canst thou go with him and direct
him? And I will give thee thy hire, brother. And he said unto him, I shall be able to go with
him, and I know all the ways, and often have I gone to Media and passed through all its plains
11 (10) and mountains, and all its ways I know. And he said unto him, Brother, of what family art thou,
12 (11) and out of what tribe? Shew me, brother. And he said, What need hast thou of a tribe? And he
13 (12) said unto him, I would know truly of what *tribe* thou art, brother, and what thy name. And he said
14 (13) unto him, I am Azarias, the son of Ananias the great, of thy kinsmen. And he said unto him, Welcome
and safety, brother; and be not bitter towards me, brother, because I wished to know the truth and
thy family. And thou chancest to be a kinsman, and thou art of a noble and good lineage: I knew
Ananias and Nathan, the two sons of Semelias the great, and they used to go with me to Jerusalem
and worship with me there and they went not astray. Thy brethren are good men; thou art of
15 (14) a good stock, and I bid thee welcome. And he said unto him, I give thee a drachma a day as

mihi pax δ ואית שלם עלי למה אירע לי כל דא *Ar* M κ. εγω . . . οφθαλ.] > *Ar* κ. ου . . . ουρ.] > M κειμαι] יושב עור M οι νεκρ. οι μηκ. θε. τ. φ.] > 𝔏 *Ar* M ζων εγω εν νεκρ.] mortuus inter vivos αβγ > δ *Ar* M φωνην . . . βλεπ.] > M ανθρωπων] מלין *Ar* αυτους א*] αυτος א c a ipsos 𝔏 וגברא *Ar* αυτῳ 3°] + Raph. ang. 𝔏 רפ' *Ar* המלאך M Θαρσ.1°] > δ *Ar* M εγγυς . . . ιασ. σε] יכיל אל' לאסאה עינך ארום מי שעור אותך ממאור עיניך הוא ירפאך כי צדיק אתה ויען טובי ויאמר כן (יאמר יי) גבר חסידא את *Ar* M θαρσ.2°] > αβγ *Ar* M ε. Μηδ.] in regionem Mediam 𝔏 κ. αγαγ. αυτ.] > *Ar* M κ. δωσ.] dabo 𝔏 וניתן *Ar* αδελ.] > *Ar* ειπ.5°] + Raph. ang. 𝔏 המלאך M αυτῳ 6°] > 𝔏 M Δυνησ. . . . μετ' αυτ.] יכילנא גברא שליחא אנא *Ar* כן אוכל M επιστ.] > *Ar* M κ.] quoniam 𝔏 Μηδ.] *pr.* regionem 𝔏 κ. πολλακ. . . . διηλθ. παντα] > *Ar* M παντα, πασ.] > *Ar* τ. ορη] תחומיא *Ar* כל הגבולים M πασ. τ. οδους] > M 11. ειπ.] + Tobis 𝔏 *Ar* M αυτῳ] > 𝔏 *Ar* M Αδελ.] > *Ar* M ποι. πατριας ει κ. εκ π. φ.;] εκ π. φ. κ. εκ π. πατριδος συ ει BA 𝔖 F מאיזה מקום אתה ומאיזה שבט אתה ומאי זה מאדין שבטא את ושום קרתא דאת דייר בה *Ar* עיר M αδελ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* F 12. ειπ.] + αυτῳ BA 𝔖 + Thobis 𝔏 רפ' *Ar* המל' M Τι χρ. εχ. φυλ.;] φυλην κ. πατριαν συ ζητεις η μισθιον ος συμπορευσεται μετα του (τ *sup ras* B ab) υιου σ. BA δ *Salv. Ep.* 9 𝔖 (*cf.* F) עוד תבקש ויש לך שכיר שילך עם בנך כרצונך *Ar* אם לית אנא כשר בעינך זיל ובליש גברא חורנא דיהך עם ברך M εχ. φυλ.] scire genus meum vel tribum meam mercenarium desideras genus et tribum meam cur quaeris (desid. aut tribum et patriam meam γ) sed si valde exigis αβγ κ. ειπ. αυτ. Βουλ. . . . σου] > αβγ (*hab.* δ) *Salv. Ep.* 9 αυτ.] + Τωβ. BA 𝔖 M γνων.] επιγν. BA *pr.* לא תכעום עלי ד *Ar* τα κατ' αλ.] > BA 𝔖 M F τινος ει] του γενος σου BA 𝔖 F + זרעיתא *Ar* > M αδελ.] *post* βουλομαι BA τι] > BA 𝔖 F ומאי זו M σου] > BA F + משפחה אתה M 13. κ. . . . αυτ.] > αβγ κ.] ος δε B ο δε 64, 71, 74, 76, 243, 248, 249 αυτ.] > BA 𝔖 + המל' M Εγω] > A + sum 𝔏 Αναριαν] *pr.* ממשפחת F τ. μεγαλου] *pr.* de domo Sellemmiae δ *pr.* מביתא דשלמיה *Ar* *pr.* מבית שלומית M *pr.* בן עזרריה F τ. αδελφ. σ.] > F 14. αυτ.] + Thobis 𝔏 ט' *Ar* M κ. σωζ.] > BA 𝔖 πικραν.] οργισ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* F irascaris 𝔏 αδελ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 F τ. αληθ. εβουλ. γνωναι κ. τ. πατριαν] εζητησα τ. φυλ. σ. κ. τ. πατριαν σ. (σ. > B ab A 23, 55, 58, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 108) επιγν. BA 𝔖 vere (-um γ) scire de genere tuo αβγ scire veritatem generis tui δ מבקש לדעת דבר אבות ממשפחתך M τ. αληθ.] > *Ar* F κ. σ. τυγχ.] והא *Ar* M עתה ידעתי F ων] μου BA 𝔖 ex fratr. meis 𝔏 > *Ar* M κ. εκ γεν. καλ. κ. αγ.] εκ τ. καλ. κ. α. γ. BA 𝔖 מזרעיתא טבא *Ar* ει συ] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 εγινωσκον] επεγιν. γαρ εγω B εγιγν. γ. ε. A Nosti αβγ Uno vero foderas δ אתה ידעת M Ναθαν] Ιαθ. BA Athanian γ Nathanian δ (Nathan αβ) ܝܘܬܢ 𝔖 יותם F δυο] > BA γ F υιους] > γ Σεμελιου] Σεμεου B -ειου A Semeiae αβ Sellemmiel δ (> γ) ܫܠܡܝܐ 𝔖 דשלמיה *Ar* שלומית M שלמון F τ. μεγαλ.] novi magni viri δ (magni viri αβ) > γ κ. α. συνεπ. μ.] ως εποπορευομεθα κοινως BA 𝔖 *pr.* et dixit ille angelus γ κ. προσεκυν.] -κυνειν BA 𝔖 *pr.* כד יתיבנא בארעא ישראל *Ar* M > F μετ' εμ. εκει] αναφεροντες τ. πρωτοτοκα κ. τ. δεκατας τ. γενηματων BA 𝔖 F επλαν.] + εν τῃ πλανῃ B 𝔖 τ. πλανῃ 64, 248, 249 την πλανην A 23, 55, 71, 74, 76, 236 + באנונא דטעו *Ar* + אחרי אלהי נכר הארץ כאשר תעו M לא עזבו · · · · · ולא טעו אחרי ההבל אשר טעו F οι αδ. σου] τ. αδελφων ημ. BA 𝔖 hi omn. fratr. nostri αβ > γδ אחינו M F ανθρωπ. αγαθ.] > BA γ δ 𝔖 optimi sunt αβ > *Ar* M בני ישראל F αγαθ.] καλ. B μεγαλ. A 55, 58, 64, 71, 74, 76, 236, 243, 248, 249 > M *pr.* מזרע קדושים F συ] αδελφε BA 𝔖 > MF κ. χαιρ. ελθ.] > BA 𝔖 M F salvus eas et salvus venias αβ salvus sis γ cum pace venias δ 15a *post* 15b M κ. ειπ. αυτ.] αλλ' (-λα A) ειπον μοι BA אם תרצה F Εγω . . . μισθ.] τινα σοι εσομαι μισθ. διδοναι BA διδωμι] dabo 𝔏 τ. ημεραν δραχ.] δρ. της ημερας (*in* της *parvam ras prae se fert* B) BA ܕܝܢܪܐ 𝔖 didragmam diurnam 𝔏 טרפעיקא כל יומא *Ar* זוז בכל יום M בכל יום בקע משקלו F τ. δεοντα] ומיכלך *Ar* M > F ομοιως] ως κ.

15. The periphrastic future ἔσομαι διδόναι is characteristic of R^V's strong vernacular style.

16 (15) wages, and those things that be necessary for thee, as unto my son; and go thou with my son, and
I will add something to thy wages. And he said unto him, I will go with him, and fear thou not;
17 (16) we shall go safe and return safe unto thee, because the way is secure. And he said unto him,
Blessing befall thee, brother! And he called his son, and said unto him, Child, prepare what is
needful for the journey and go forth with thy kinsman. And God which is in heaven preserve you
there and restore you to me in safety and his angel accompany you with deliverance, child.

B. The Departure, v. 17b–vi. 1.

And he went forth to go upon his journey; and he kissed his father and mother, and Tobit
18 (17) said unto him, Farewell. And his mother wept, and said unto Tobit, Why is it that thou hast sent
19 (18) away my child? Is he not the staff of our hand, and doth he not go in and out before us? Let
20 (19) not money be added to money: but let it be a ransom for our child. As the Lord hath given
21 (20) us to live, so doth it suffice us. And he said unto her, Trouble not; our child shall go in peace, and
in peace come unto us and thine eyes shall see *him* in the day when he shall come unto thee in peace.
22 (21) Trouble not: fear not for them, sister; for a good angel shall go with him, and his journey shall be
6 1 (22) prospered, and he shall return in peace. And she was silent from her weeping.

BA 𝔖 > F κ. πορ. . . . μου] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* + ובשלום תבואו בעזרת האל M עד אשר תלכו F 16. κ.1°] + ואם ישיבכם הק"בה בשלום עוד M (*cf.* F) επιπροσθ.] ετι προσθ. BA adiiciam 𝔏 τ. μισθῳ] επι τ. μισθον BA 𝔖 ad merc. tuam 𝔏 + εαν υγιαινοντες (τε *sup. ras.* A a ?) επιστρεψητε BA + כראוי F κ. ειπ. . . . ασφαλ.] > BA 𝔖 ענא רפ' לא תחדל דאנא אהך עם ברך וניתב בשלום *Ar* (*cf.* M) אמר לו כדבריך כן אעשה F αυτῳ] + Raph. ang. 𝔏 המל' M κ. μη] ne 𝔏 προς σε] > M 17. ειπ.1°] > BA *pr.* Thobis 𝔏 𝔖 > *Ar* F αυτ.1°] > BA 𝔏 *Ar* F Ευλογια σοι γεν.] ευδοκησαν (*pr.* κ. A) ουτως BA 𝔖 bene iter age frater et contingat tibi α β bene iter agere contingat tibi γ > δ *Ar* M F bene ambulatis 𝔙 κ. εκαλ.] > BA 𝔖 + ט' *Ar* M τ. υι. αυτ.] > BA 𝔖 *pr.* Thobiam 𝔏 *Ar* F αυτῳ] προς Τωβιαν BA Παιδ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M ετοιμ. τα] Ετοιμος γινου BA 𝔖 praepara te 𝔏 *Ar* πρ. τ. οδ.] + κ. ευοδωθειητε BA > 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* לאלתר F κ.4°] + ητοιμασεν ο υι. αυτ. τα προς τ. οδον BA et praeparavit (-erunt ea quae in itinere haberent δ) se ad viam Thobias (*post* σωτηριας) α β γ δ (*cf.* F) εξελθε] Πορευου *pr.* κ. ειπ. αυτῳ ο πατ. αυτου BA ובא לצאת לדרכו F αδελφου σου] ανθρωπ. BA 𝔖 והתחיל אבין מברכו כך F κ. ο θ. ο εν τ. ουρ.] ο δε εν τ. ουρ. οικων (κατοικ- A 58, 243, 248, 249) θ. BA 𝔖 Deus autem q. in caelo est 𝔏 אלהא דשמיא *Ar* אל שדי M יי אלהי השמים השכן בשמי מרים F διασ. υμ. εκ.] ευοδωσει τ. οδον υμων BA 𝔖 F perducat vos ibi cum pace 𝔏 *Ar* M κ. αποκ. υμ. πρ. εμ. υγ.] > BA 𝔖 κ. ο αγγ. . . . μετα σωτ.] וישלח מלאכיה עמכון ויצליח אורחכון *Ar* M F συνοδ.] συνπορευθητω (συμ- B b A) BA comitetur 𝔏 μ. σωτ.] > BA 𝔖 παιδ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M εξηλθεν πορ. τ. οδον αυτου] -θαν (-ον A 44, 58, 64, 71) αμφοτεροι απελθειν BA 𝔖 F exiit ut iret α β γ egressi sunt ut proficiscerentur δ *Ar* M κ.9°] + ο κυων τ. παιδαριου μετ' αυτων BA 𝔖 F εφιλ. τ. πατ. αυτ. κ. τ. μητ.] > BA 𝔖 F κ. ειπ. αυτ. T.] > BA 𝔖 F + pat. suus 𝔏 ואמרו ליה *Ar* M Πορ.] > BA 𝔖 F + fili 𝔏 F υγ.] > BA 𝔖 F + venias 𝔏 18. κ. εκλ.] εκλ. δε BA + Αννα B ותחל אמו לבכות M Τωβ.] patri eius 𝔏 אל בעלה M F οτι απεστειλ.] εξαπ. BA 𝔖 F לא דחילתא למשלח *Ar* M μου] ημων BA 𝔏 𝔖 > *Ar* M F ουχ' αυτος] η ουχι η BA ܐܪܘܡ 𝔖 ארום *Ar* ραβδ. τ. χειρ. ημων] בר יחידאי הוא לנא *Ar* (לנו) בן זקונים הוא M κ. αυτος . . . εκπορευεται] εν τ. εισ—εσθαι αυτον κ. εκ—εσθαι BA 𝔖 ενωπ. ημ.] > F 19. Nunquam esset pecunia illa sed purgamento sit (filio meo γ) α β γ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܟܣܦܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܠܡܬܩܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܡܫܚܬܐ 𝔖 19, 20. בלא כספא פרנסנא אלהא *Ar* ובלא אותו כסף יחיינו אלהינו M *plen. et aliter* F 20. > M ως א*] + γαρ א c a BA 𝔖 ικ. ημ.] + υπαρχει BA 𝔖 sufficiebat nobis 𝔏 21. αυτῃ] + T. BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M εχε] + αδελφη BA 𝔖 πορ. . . . υγιαιν.2°] > BA 𝔖 + 21c *et* 22a *Ar* *plen. et aliter* F προς ημ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* οψοντ.] + αυτον BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* εν τ. ημ. η αν ελθ.] > BA 𝔖 F דיתוב *Ar* > M πρ. σε υγ. μη λογ. εχ.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 M F בשלום *Ar* μη φοβ.] > BA 𝔖 F π. αυτων] > BA δ 𝔖 F de illo α β γ *Ar* M αδελ.] *supr.* BA *post* εχε > F 22. αγγ. . . . οδ. αυτου] ישלח מלאכו עמו ויצליח דרכו M (*v. supra v.* 21 *Ar*) συνελευσεται] συνπορευσεται B συμπ. Bb συνπορευεται A 23, 249 𝔖 𝔏 ευοδ.] bene disponet 𝔏

VI. 1. εσιγ.] επαυσατο BA 𝔖 cessavit 𝔏 ומנעי *Ar* F ותוסף M κλαιουσα] מלמבכי *Ar* F לבכות עוד M

16b. Cf. *quoniam in via recta est*, Jub. xxvii. 17.

18. ἔκλαυσεν. Cf. *flevit*, Jub. xxvii. 13.

19. φθάσαι. lit. *come*, φθάνω having almost entirely lost its anticipatory force in the LXX (Th. *Gram.*, p. 289); Müller can only understand the phrase as a translation from a Semitic original.

A ransom for: this translation can be justified by a comparison with Ignatius, *Ep. to Ephes.* viii. 1, while xviii. 1 of the same epistle suggests the alternative 'offscouring for our child'.

21 f. Rs more closely than Rv resembles the words 'et dixit Isaac ad Rebeccam, Soror, noli flere Iacob filium meum, quoniam in pace ibit et in pace rediet . . . dirigentur omnes viae eius . . . quousque revertatur ad nos in pace et videbimus eum cum pace. Noli ergo timere de illo, soror mea' in Jub. xxvii. 14–17.

C. The Events of the Journey, vi. 2–ix. 6.

i. Tobias' Adventure with the Fish, vi. 2–9.

2 (vi. 1) And the young man went forth, and the angel with him, and the dog went forth with him and journeyed with them; and they journeyed both of them together. And once night came upon
3 (2) them, and they lodged by the river Tigris, and the young man went down to wash his feet in the river Tigris. And a great fish leaped up out of the water, and would have swallowed the foot of the young
4 (3) man. And he cried out. And the angel said unto the young man, Grasp and take hold of the fish.
5 (4) And the young man caught hold of the fish, and hauled it up on to the land. And the angel said unto him, Open the fish, and take out its gall and the heart and liver and put them by thee, and cast
6 (5) away the inwards; for its gall and heart and liver are for an useful medicament. And the young man opened the fish and collected the gall and the heart and the liver, and he roasted part of the
7 (6) fish and did eat, and left part thereof salted. And they journeyed both of them together until they drew nigh to Media. And then the young man asked the angel and said unto him, Brother Azarias,
8 (7) what is the medicament in the heart and the liver of the fish and in the gall? And he said unto him, As regards the heart and the liver of the fish, make thou a smoke before a man or a woman who hath

2. κ. εξ. . . . αυτων] > BA 𝔖 F עמיה (*pr.* המלאך M) ורפאל (+ לדרכו M) אזל טליא *Ar* M παιδ.] + illorum 𝔏 εξ. μετ' αυτου κ.] > 𝔏 επορ. μετ' αυτων] secutus est eos 𝔏 κ. επορ. αμφ.] οι δε πορευομενοι τ. οδον BA 𝔖 F > *Ar* M עד הערב (*cum hac sententia*) F κ. ετ. αυτ. νυξ μια] ηλθον εσπερας BA 𝔖 *Ar* M et comprehendit illos proxima nox 𝔏 κ. ηυλισθ. επ. του Τιγρ. ποτ.] επ. τον Τιγριν ποταμον (בעיר לדיקיאה F) κ. ηυλιζοντο εκει BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F 3. κ. κατεβη τ. παιδιον] τ. δε παιδαριον κατ. BA 𝔖 et descendit Thobias 𝔏 M והלך הנ' ונכנס ורחט ט' *Ar* F περινιψ.] περικλυσ. BA לקרר גופו F τ. ποδ.] > BA 𝔖 ε. τ. Τιγριν ποτ.] > BA 𝔖 in flumine 𝔏 לנהרא (*ante* περινιψ.) *Ar* M F αναπηδησας] -επηδησεν (*seq. ras.* 2 *circ. litt. in* B) BA נפק *Ar* M F *pr.* ובשלו *Ar* M μεγας] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M εκ τ. υδ.] απο τ. ποταμου κ. BA 𝔖 *Ar* F εβουλ. . . . παιδ.] circumplexus est pedes eius pene puerum devoraverat (-ravit γ) α β γ ut puerum devoraret δ εβουλετο] -ηθη BA > *Ar* M καταπειν] -πιειν B ab A τ. ποδ. του παιδ.] τ. παιδαριον BA 𝔖 F לחמא דטליא *Ar* M κ. εκρ. א*] κ. απο τ. φοβου εκρ. א c a > BA 𝔖 et exclamavit puer α β γ δ + Domine, piscis invadit me (*cf.* 𝔙) δ + טליא *Ar* והיה המלאך רץ והיה צווח לנער אל תירא אלא F 4. κ. ο . . . ειπ.] > F κ. ο] ο δε BA 𝔖 רפ' *Ar* τ. παιδ. ειπ.] ειπ. αυτῳ BA 𝔖 *Ar* M κ. εγκρατ. γεν.] > BA 𝔖 ולא תשבקיניה *Ar* M כאיש חיל F τ. παιδ. του ιχθ.] τον ιχθ. τ. παιδ. BA 𝔖 + מיד F ανηνεγκ.] ανεβαλ. BA 𝔖 eduxit 𝔏 > M αυτ. . . . γην] > M מן־הנהר F 5. ο αγγ.] רפ' *Ar* + רפ' F Ανασχ.] Ανατεμε BA בזע נונא במציע *Ar* M εξελε] λαβων BA 𝔖 tolle 𝔏 χολ. . . . καρδ. . . . ηπ.] καρδ. . . . ηπ. . . . χολ. BA 𝔖 F ליביה *Ar* הלב ואת המרה M αυτου] > BA F κ. αποθες αυτα μετα σαυτου] θες ασφαλως BA 𝔖 F > *Ar* κ. τ. εγκ. εκβ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F *post* utilia 𝔏 ε. φαρμ. χρησ. . . . αυτ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* F necessaria haec ad medicamenta utilia 𝔏 כי טובים הם לרפאות M 6. *post v.* 9 *Ar* ανασχ. τ. παιδ. . . . ηπαρ.] εποιησεν τ. παιδ. ως ειπ. αυτω ο αγγ. BA 𝔖 F ויעש כן הנער *Ar* עבד כן ט' ונסב ליבא ומרתא דנונא M κ. ωπτ. του ιχθ. κ.] τ. δε ιχθυν οπτησαντες BA 𝔖 et partem piscis assaverunt et α β et partem pis. adsumptos γ piscem vero assavit δ assavit carnes eius 𝔙 ואת הדג תקנו F εφαγεν] -ον BA 𝔖 tulerunt in via α β sustulerunt in victu γ manducaverunt δ secum tulerunt 𝔙 κ. αφηκεν εξ αυτ. ηλισμ.] > BA 𝔖 caetera autem (> γ) salierunt α β reliquum autem eius in via reliquit δ caetera salierunt quae sufficerunt eis quosque etc. 𝔙 ומותרא שבק באורחה *Ar* והנותר הניח M > F επορ.] ωδευον BA 𝔖 ואזלו עד מדי *Ar* *pr.* ועמדו F αμφ.] > 𝔏 *Ar* M F κοιν.] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M εως . . . ηγγισ.] > *Ar* M εις M.] εν Εκβατανοις BA 𝔖 in regionem Mediorum 𝔏 > *Ar* אינקבטנים F 7. *A versu* 7 *in codicibus* 44, 106, 107 *incipit graec. textus* R^{o} > *Ar* τοτε] > BA 𝔏 𝔖 ηρωτ. τ. παιδ. τον αγγ. κ. ειπ. αυτῳ] ειπ. τ. παιδ. (ט' M) τῳ αγγ. BA 𝔖 M τι τ. φαρμ. εν] τι εστιν BA 𝔖 F quod remedium est 𝔏 מה רפואה תעשה M τ. καρδ. . . . τ. ηπ. του ιχθ. . . . τ. χολ.] το ηπαρ κ. η καρδ. κ. η χολ. του ιχθ. BA 𝔖 F hoc fel cor et iecur piscis 𝔏 מלב הדג והמרה M vv. 8, 9 *pr.* v. 6 *Ar* 8 *aliter* F ειπ.] *pr.* ang. 𝔏 > *Ar* αυτ.] > 𝔏 *Ar* η καρδ.] τ. -ιαν א c.i הוא טב *Ar* κ. τ. ηπ.] > *Ar* M τ. ιχθ.] αυτου ιχθ. א* > BA 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M καπν.] -σαι א c a ταυτα δε -σαι (τ. εδει -σαι A) *post* πονηρ.

VI. 2. Even *Ar* and M employ the Greek word *Tigris* to denote the river known in O.T. as חדקל and in most North Semitic lands as דקלת (so Syriac) or דגלת (Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic).

3. *Ar* would directly support the originality of R^{s} if his 'ate the bread of the young man' was written with a knowledge or indistinct recollection—Bickell believed *Ar* was a direct translation—of a Hebrew text in which ויאב ללחם had been changed into ויאכל לחם after the loss of רגל. Nöld.'s objections (p. 59) to the use of אבה would apply only to classical Hebrew (but even so, see Job xxxix. 9, Is. i. 9). ἔκραξεν (Th. *Gram.*, p. 234) of R^{s} is supported by F (which attributes the cry to Raphael) as well as *Ar* M.

8. ἀπάντημα = פגע only in 3 (1) Kings v. 4 (18), ואין פגע רע אין שטן, and in Eccles. ix. 11, and appears in Sym. Ec. ii. 14, and Hos. xiii. 14. It is not a medical term. R^{v} has evidently rewritten this verse with due regard to the technicalities

an attack of a demon or an evil spirit; and every attack will flee from him, and they shall nevermore
9 (8) find an abode with him. And as for the gall—anoint a man's eyes, upon which white films have come up, <or> blow into them on the white films, and they become well.

ii. Tobias at Raguel's Home and his Marriage with Sarah, vi. 10–viii. 20.

Raphael's plans for Tobias' marriage, vi. 10–18.

10 (9) 11 (10) And when he had entered into Media and was already drawing nigh to Ecbatana, Raphael saith unto the young man, Brother Tobias. And he said unto him, Here am I. And he said unto him, In the house of Raguel we must lodge this night, the man being thy kinsman; and he hath a daughter
12 (11) whose name is Sarah. And he hath no son nor daughter but Sarah alone, and thou art nearer kin to her than any man to inherit her, and what things are her father's it is right for thee to inherit;
(12) and the maid is wise and steadfast and exceeding honourable, and her father is an honourable man.
13 And he said, It is right for thee to take her; and hear me, brother, and I will speak this night unto her father concerning the maid, that we may take her to be thy bride. And when we return from **Rages** we will celebrate her marriage. And I know that Raguel can in no wise keep her back from thee or marry her to another—to incur liability to death according to the decree of the book of Moses—and because he knoweth that the inheritance appertaineth to thee to take his daughter before any man. And now, hear me, brother, and let us speak concerning the maid this night and we will betroth her to thee; and, when we return from Rages, we will take her and let us lead her

BA 𝔖 fumigatur 𝔏 לא קטרא מיניה *Ar* יועיל להקטיר ממנו M η γυν.] > *Ar* M η] et 𝔏 ῳ] > BA 𝔖 απαντ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M (*cf.* לנוזקים F) δαι. η πν. που.] εαν τινα οχλῃ δ–ιον η πν–α π–ρον BA (*cf.* 𝔖) רוח רעה או רוח השדים M φευξ. . . . αιωνα] ου μηκετι (ουκετι ου μη A) οχληθῃ BA 𝔖 ταυτα θυμιασεις εμπροσθεν αυτου κ. φευξεται απ αυτου 44, 106 ויערקון מיניה *Ar* M μειν. μετ' αυτ.] apparebit 𝔏 (*cf.* 6, 18) 9. κ. η] η δε BA ενχρ.] εγχρ. B[a?b] 44, 106 facit ad unguendos 𝔏 למימשח מיניה *Ar* תועיל למשח M אם ימשח F ανθρ. οφθ. ου λ. αν. επ. αυτ.] -ον ος εχει λ. (λ–μα A) εν τοις οφθ. BA 𝔖 οφθαλμους εν οις αν λευκωμα (-ατα 106) 44, 106 עינין דאית בהון חיורא *Ar* M בעיני כל בעלי שבלול בע' F εμφ. . . . λευκ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M η εμφ. εις αυτους 44, 106 *pr.* vel 𝔏 κ. υγ.] κ. ιαθησεται BA 𝔖 M -ουσιν 44, 106 *Ar* F ut ad sanitatem perveniat α β γ
10. κ. οτε] Ως δε BA F κ. 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M εισηλθ. . . . ηδη] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M F εισηλθεν] -ον α β γ *Ar* Μηδ.] *pr.* regionem 𝔏 κ. ηδη] > 𝔏 *Ar* M ηγγιζ.] προσηγγισαν BA 𝔖 α β γ F παραγινονται 44, 106, 107 ואתו *Ar* M εις Εκβατανων] τ. Ραγῃ BA εις Εκβατανα 44, 106, 107 civitati Bathanis α β civ. Exbathanis γ ܠܐܓܒܬܢܝܢ 𝔖 לאנ־בתנים M לעיר ריגו F 11. λεγει] ειπ. BA F κ. ειπ. 44, 106, 107 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar* M P.] ο αγγελ. BA 𝔖 44, 106, 107 F Raph. ang. α β γ τ. παιδ.] > 44, 106, 107 α β γ *Ar* M T.] > BA 𝔖 44, 106, 107 α β F לט' *Ar* M αδελ.] > 44, 106, 107 α β F κ. ειπ.[1°] . . . αυτῳ[2°]] > BA 44, 106, 107 α β 𝔖 *Ar* M F αυτῳ Ιδου εγω] quid est γ Εν τοις P.] παρα Ραγουηλῳ (-ηλ A) *post* αυλισθησ. BA 𝔖 τ. νυκ. ταυτ.] Σημερον (*post* αδελφε) BA 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M F δει ημ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M *ante* σημερον 44, 106, 107 אם תיצה F αυλισθη.] -σομεθα (*post* σημερον) BA 𝔖 M F תיתי *Ar* ο ανθρωπ.] αυτος BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F συγγεν. σ.] גבר סב *Ar* M +ממשפחת בית אביך F εστ. αυτ.] > 44, 106, 107 θυγ.] +μονογενης A 𝔖 +speciosam 𝔏 +μια υπαρχει αυτῳ κ. αυτ. καλ. τ. ειδει 44, 106, 107 M F שפירתא לחדא *Ar* η ον. Σ.] > 44, 106, 107 η ονομα] -ατι BA 12. κ.[1°]] > BA sed 𝔏 υι. . . . μον.] λαλησω περι αυτης του δοθηναι (דיתנינה *Ar* M) σοι αυτην εις γυναικα BA *Ar* M (*cf.* F) > 𝔖 κ.[2°]] οτι BA 𝔖 συ] σοι A 𝔖 εγγ. . . . δικ. κληρ.] επιβαλλει η κληρονομια αυτης κ. συ μονος ει εκ του γενους αυτης BA 𝔖 το δικαιωμα αυτης εστι κληρονομησαι πατερα αυτης κ. σοι δικαιωμα λαβειν αυτην σοι εγγιζει παρα παντας 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M κληρον. αυτην. . . . κορασιον] ut possideas (+eam et α β) haereditatem illius et omnem substantiam patris eius; accipe illam uxorem; etenim (est autem γ) puella haec α β γ (*cf.* F) > *Ar* M τ. κορ.] αυτη 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M φρον. κ. ανδρ. κ. καλ. λιαν] καλ. κ. φρον. εστιν BA 𝔖 ανδρεια κ. φρονιμη (+κ. καλ. 106, 107) 44, 106, 107 sapiens, fortis et bona valde et constabilita 𝔏 והיא יחידה לאביהא (*post* νυμφην v. 13) *Ar* טובת שכל M ואתה יחיד ואת יחידה F κ. ο π. αυτ. καλ.] > BA 𝔖 F καλ.] αγαπα αυτην 44, 106, 107 M diligit illam 𝔏 והוא רחים לה טובא והיא אתתא טבתא ודחלת שמיא *ante* κ. οταν επιστρεψ. v. 13 *Ar* M F 13. κ.[1°] . . . αυτην[1°]] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F (et α β) quaecunque possedit (-sidet γ) illi tradet (dabit ei γ); tibi ergo destinata est haereditas patris eius et te oportet accipere illam α β γ ακουσ.] *pr.* νυν BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 𝔖 M F > *Ar* αδελ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M בקולי F λαλησω] loquere α β γ M נדבר F τ. πατ.] +αυτης BA 𝔖 F > 44, 106, 107 α β γ M לית *Ar* π. τ. κορ. . . . νυμφ.] > BA 𝔖 F דיתנינה לך לאנתו *Ar* בעבורה M π. τ. κορ.] π. αυτης 44, 106, 107 α β γ

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of the magico-medical profession (cf. Nestle, *Septuag.* iii, p. 27), an interesting parallel to St. Luke's treatment of St. Mark (cf. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*). Moreover, ὀχλεῖν (R[v]) and its compounds are characteristically medical and Lucan (see Luke vi. 18; Acts v. 16, xv. 19). For a less speedy ophthalmic cure in papyri see Deissm. *L.A.E.*, p. 132.

13. R[s] had *Rages* in 13[a], as in 13[b], not *Raguel*, and ὀφειλήσειν not -σιν (א) or -σει (R[v]), leaving it indeterminate whether the subject is Raguel (α β) or the suitors (γ); see Introd., p. 196.

14 (13) back with us to thy home. Then Tobias answered and said unto Raphael, Brother Azarias,
I have heard that already the maid hath been given to seven men, and they have died in their
bridal-chambers; even in the night when they went in unto her they died. And I have heard them
15 (14) say that a demon slayeth them. And now for my part I fear—for her he harmeth not, but the
man who would come in unto her, him he slayeth, *and* I am my father's only child—lest I should
die and bring my father's and my mother's life to the grave with sorrow because of me: and they
16 (15) have no other son to bury them. And he saith unto him, Dost thou not remember the commands
of thy father, that he commanded thee to take a wife of thy father's house? And now hear me,
17 (16) brother; and make thou no reckoning of this demon, but take her. For I know that this night she

τ. νυκ. τ.] *σημερον* (*post αυτην*) 44, 106, 107 *ινα*] *κ.* 44, 106, 107 et *α β γ* *λημψ. σ. αυτ. νυμφ.*] *αρμωσωμεθα* (*-ομεθα* 106) *σ. αυτ.* 44, 106, 107 *επιστ.*] *υποστ.* BA *επαναστ.* 44, 106, 107 *Ραγουηλ*] *Ραγων* BA 44, 106, 107 *α β γ* 𝔖 *Ar* M F *ποιησ.*] *-ωμεν* B 44, 106, 107 *αυτης*] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M שמחתך F *κ.5°*] *διοτι* BA 𝔖 > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M F *επιστ.*] *οιδα* 44, 106, 107 > F *οτ. Ραγ.*] *Ραγ. οτ.* BA 𝔖 כי האיש M *ου μη*] *ου* 44, 106, 107 *δυνηθῃ* P. *κωλ. . . . : εγγ.*] *δῳ αυτην* BA 𝔖 *δυναται αντειπειν σοι οτι συ αρχεις αυτης παρα παν. τ. εθνη οτι γινωσκεις εαν* (*οτι -κει οτι* 106) *δωσῃ αυτην* 44, 106, 107 negabit illam tibi novit enim quia (certus sum autem quoniam *γ*) si dederit illam *α β γ* יסרב פומך ויתן יתה לך *Ar* ימרה את פיך ולא יתן אתה M נשבע שלא יתנה וג׳ F *ετερ.*] *pr. ανδρι* BA 44, 106, 107 *α β γ* ܕܢܬܢܗ 𝔖 M F > *Ar* *οφειλησιν*] *-λεσει* B *-λησει* A 44, 107 *-λει σοι* 106 periet *α β* perient *γ* ܢܬܠ 𝔖 > *Ar* M F *κ. τ. κρ. τ. βιβλ. Μω.*] *κ. τ. νομον Μωυση η* (*ante* *cφειλ.*) BA 𝔖 M > *Ar* *pr.* ותשאנה (P) M *κ. δια τ. γινωσκειν*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F *οτι σοι κληρονομια καθ. λαβ. την θυγ. αυτ. παρα παντα ανθρ.*] *οτι την κληρ. σοι κ. λ. η π. ανθρ.* BA 𝔖 > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M tibi maxime (m. t. *γ*) aptam esse haereditatem (+accepta filia *γ*) illius *α β γ* (*aliter* F) *την θυγ.* א 1 c.a] *αυτην θυγ.* א* *κ. νυν . . . οικον σου*] > BA 𝔖 F *κ. νυν . . . Ραγων*] > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M *τ. νυκ. ταυτ.*] > 𝔏 *λημψ. αυτ.*] *κ. λαβοντες απ.* 44, 106, 107 > 𝔏 *Ar* M *ημων*] *εαυτ.* 44, 106, 107 *εις τ. οικ. σου*] *προς τ. πατερα σ.* 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M 14. *τοτε*] *κ.* 44, 106, 107 > F *αποκριθ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M Τ. *ειπ.*] *ειπ. τ. παιδαριον* BA 𝔖 F *ειπ.* Τ. 44, 106, 107 Ρ.] *αγγελῳ* BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M Raph. ang. 𝔏 Αζαρια] > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M *αδελ.*] > *Ar* *ηκουσα1°*] *ακηκοα εγω* BA *ante αδ.* 44, 106, 107 +על הנערה F *οτ. επ. ηδη εδ. αν.*] *τ. κορασιον δεδοσθαι επ. αν.* BA 𝔖 *οτ. εδ.* (+iam 𝔏 M) *αν. επ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* M F *εδοθ.* א c a] *εδθ.* א* *κ. απ. εν τ. νυμφωσι αυτ.*] *κ. παντας εν τ. -ωνι απολωλοτας* BA > 𝔖 *Ar* M F *τ. νυκτα . . . αποκτ. αυτ.*] > BA *τ. νυκτα οποτε*] *νυκτος* 44, 106, 107 nocte ea hora qua 𝔏 ܒ 𝔖 עד לא *Ar* M בלילה הראשון F *εισεπ. προς αυτ.*] ܕܥܠܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܐ 𝔖 > F *κ. απεθν.*] > 44, 106, 107 *α β γ* *κ. ηκ.*] *κ. εγω ηκ.* 106 > 𝔖 F *λεγοντ. αυτ.*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F quosdam dicentes *α β γ* *δαιμ.*] דאשמדאי מלכא דשידי *Ar* M > 𝔖 F *αποκτεννει*] *-ειναι* 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 F 15. *φοβουμαι . . . πατρι μου*] *εγω μονος ειμι τ. πατρι κ. φοβ.* BA 𝔖 F *φοβ. εγω απο του πνευμ. τ. ακαθαρτου* (hoc daemonium *α β γ*) *οτι φιλει αυτην κ. ταυτην* (*αυτ.* 106) *ουκ αδικ. αλ. ος εαν* (*αν* 106) *θελ. εγ. αποκτενει αυτον* (+unicus sum patri meo *α β γ*) 44, 106, 107 *α β γ* אנא דחיל מן שידא *Ar* ירא אני מאד M *αποθανω*] *pr. εισελθων* BA 𝔖 *pr. ποτε* (*τε* 44) *ουν κ. εγω* 44, 106, 107 *pr.* forte *α β γ* יקטלינני *Ar* יהרגני אשמדי M *κ. καταξω*] *pr. καθως κ. οι προτ. οτι* (*διοτι* A) *δαιμ. φιλει αυτην ο ουκ αδικει ουδενα πλην των προσαγ. αυτην κ. νυν εγω φοβουμαι* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) *τ. ζωην*] *τ. γηρας* 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M F *επ' εμε*] > 44, 106, 107 *α β γ* *Ar* M F *κ. υιος*] *pr. οτι μονογενης ειμι* 44, 106, 107 *ετερος*] +*η θυγατηρ* 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M *ινα θαψῃ αυτ.*] *ος -ει αυτ.* BA 𝔖 *pr. οταν αποθανωσι* 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M qui sepeliat illos et possideat haereditatem illorum *α β* qui sit eis haeres *γ* 16. *κ. λεγ.*] *ειπεν δε* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) *κ. ειπ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔏 M אמר *Ar* *αυτῳ*] +*ο αγγ.* BA 𝔖 F *ο αγγ.* 44, 106, 107 Raph. ang. 𝔏 ר׳ *Ar* *ου μ.*] memor esto 𝔏 M *pr.* ירא את יי וזכר אותו M *τ. εντ.*] *τ. λογων* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) *pr. πασ.* 44, 106, 107 *τ. πατ. . . . ενετ. σοι*] *ων ενετ. σοι ο πατ. σου* (*ο πῆρ σου sup. ras. et in mg.* A a) BA 𝔖 F *τ. π. σου* 44, 106, 107 *λαβ. γυν.*] *υπερ του λαβειν σε γυναικα* BA 𝔖 *υπερ του λογου τουτου το λαβεῖ σε γυναι sup. ras. et mg.* A a ? > 44, 106, 107 *εκ τ. οικ. τ. πατ. σ.*] *ε. τ. γενους σ.* BA 𝔖 > 44, 106, 107 de domo patris tui *α β γ* de genere patris tui *Auct. de voc. gent.* מזרעיתא דא׳ *Ar* (*cf.* M F) *ακουσον . . . γυνη*] *μη φοβηθης οτι εγω οιδα οτι δοθησεται σοι κ. μη λογον εχε περι του εν αυτῃ πνευμ.* 44, 106, 107 קביל מני ולא תדחל מן שידא (כי+ M) ידענא דתסבינה ליליא הדין לאינתו *Ar* M *κ. μη λογ. . . . γιν. εγω*] *διοτι σοι εσται εις γυν. κ. του δαιμ. μηδενα λογ. εχε* BA 𝔖 *κ. λαβε*] postula illam *α β γ* (*cf. Auct. de Voc. Gent.*) *γυνη*] *αυτη* (> A) *εις -αικα* B 𝔖 17. *κ. οταν*] *κ. εαν* BA 𝔖 *οταν δε λαβῃς αυτην* 44, 106, 107 *εις τ. νυμ.*] *τον ν. sup. ras.* B ab *pr. προς αυτην* 44, 106, 107 +עמה M *λαβε . . . θυμιαμ.*] *λημψῃ τεφραν θυμ. κ. επιθησεις απο της καρδ. κ. του ηπ. του ιχθ.* BA 𝔖 *επιθησ. την καρδ. του ιχθ. κ. τ. ηπ. επι τ. θερμην τ. θυμ.* 44, 106, 107 סיב ליבא דנונא *Ar* M *επι τ. τ. τ. θυμ.*] super carbones

16. 𝔏's *postula* may possibly have arisen through the translator's (or a reviser's) knowledge of a Heb. MS. in which ל had been dittographed (שאל לה for שא לה) just as *Ar* (which M follows) in *v.* 17, though actually translated from the Greek, might have been influenced by a Hebrew text in which תחת לבונה had been corrupted into ת׳ לבושה, but *direct* translation from such a text is precluded by the phrasing of viii. 2 in *Ar* as well as by the fact that he chiefly used R^s (Nöld. *op. cit.*, p. 50, n. 1). More probably *Ar*'s 'under her garments' is an independent version of a baser process of exorcism (cf. a similar story in *The Arabian Nights*). F's affinities with *Ar* and M, especially in viii. 2, are noteworthy.

shall be given to thee to wife. And when thou comest into the bride-chamber, take of the liver of
18 (17) the fish with the heart and place them upon the ashes of the incense and the smell shall go forth, and the devil shall smell it, and flee away, and never appear any more to her. And when thou art about to be with her, rise up both of you first and pray and supplicate the Lord of heaven that mercy and deliverance may be extended to you. And fear not, for she was set apart for thee before the world was; and thou shalt save her, and she shall go with thee. And I suppose that thou shalt have children of her and they shall be as brothers unto thee. Take no reckoning. And when Tobias heard the words of Raphael, and that she was his sister of the seed of his father's house, he loved her exceedingly, and his heart clave unto her.

Arrival and welcome at Raguel's, vii. 1–9[a].

7 1 R[s] And when he came into Ecbatana, he saith unto him, Brother Azarias, lead me straight to Raguel our brother. And he led him to the house of Raguel, and they found him sitting by the door of the court; and they saluted him first, and he said unto them, Much cheer to you, brethren, and ye are well come in safety. And he brought them into his house.

And they came to Ecbatana, and arrived at R[v] the house of Raguel. But Sarah met them; and she saluted them, and they her; and she brought them into the house.

2, 3 And he said unto Edna his wife, How like is this young man to Tobias my kinsman! And Edna asked them and said unto them, Whence are ye, brethren? And they said unto her, We are of the
4 sons of Naphtali, which are captives in Nineveh. And she said unto them, Know ye Tobit our

α β *Auct. de Voc. Gent.* super carbonesi gnis ardentis γ עליה אש *Ar* κ. η οσμη πορευ.] κ. καπνισεις BA 𝔖 > 44, 106, 107 ואקטר מיניה תחות לבושה *Ar* M עד שיעשן F 18. κ. οσφρ. . . . μετ' αυτ.] > 44, 106, 107 ουκετι . . . αυτην[1°]] ουκ επανελευσεται (*post* επανε *ras. aliq.* B[1:a?b]) BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F τ. παν. αιωνα] (εις A) τ. αι. του αι. BA κ. οταν] οτ. δε BA μελλης . . . μετ' αυτ.] προσπορευη (-σῃ A) αυτῃ BA 𝔖 וכד תצבי למיעל לותה *Ar* M וכשתרצה לדבר עמה F εξεγερθητε] εγ. BA ποιεις αυτην εγερθηναι 44, 106, 107 +מן ערסא *Ar* M πρωτ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M F αμφ. κ. προσ. κ. δεηθ. τ. κυρ. τ. ουρ.] α. κ. βοησατε προς τ. ελεημονα θ. BA 𝔖 (*cf. Ar* M F) προσ. εκατεροι κ. δεηθ. τ. κυρ. 44, 106, 107 ambo et deprecamini dominum caeli 𝔏 *pr.* ואמרו כן F αμφ.] > *Ar* M ιν. ελ. γεν. κ. σωτ. εφ' υμ.] κ. σωσει υμ. (ημ. A) κ. ελεησει BA 𝔖 κ. δοθησεται αυτῃ ιασις κ. ελεον 44, 106, 107 (*cf. Ar* M) ut detur vobis misericordia et sanitas κ. μη φοβ. . . . σωσεις κ.] > 44, 106, 107 *pr.* ובכן תיעיל · · · בנין *Ar* M κ.[8°]] > BA 𝔏 ܘܐܫܬ 𝔖 σ. γαρ] οτι σοι BA εστ. μεμ.] αυτη ητοιμασμενη ην BA 𝔖 (𝔏 *cf.* 6, 12) προ του[1]] προ ου[*] απο του BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 מיומא דעל' *Ar* (*cf.* M) משׁשׁת ימי בראשית F σωσεις] +מן שידא *Ar* M > F μετ. σ. πορ.] πορ. μετ. σ. BA εισελευσῃ προς αυτην (*pr.* F) 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M υπολαμβ. οτι] > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M F εσονται σοι[1°]] σ. εσται BA γεννησεις 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* παιδια] τεκνον 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M κ. εσονται[2°] . . . λ. εχε] > BA *Ar* M ο τι σοι εστι τ. δικαιωμα λαβειν αυτην απο τ. αιωνος (*v. supra*) 44, 106, 107 בשמחה F κ. οτε ηκ. . . . εκολλ. εις αυτ.] > 44, 106, 107 M οτε] ως BA τ. λογ. P.] ταυτα BA 𝔖 *Ar* F +angeli 𝔏 κ. οτι . . . πατ. αυτ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* F κ.] *ante* εκ τ. σπερμ. 𝔏 λιαν ηγαπ.] εφιλ. BA 𝔖 > 𝔏 F עלת רח' דש' בלביה *Ar* αυτην] *in* η *ras. aliq.* B > 𝔏 κ. η καρδ. αυτ. εκολλ. εις αυτ.] κ. η ψυχ. αυτ. εκολλ. αυτῃ (κεκολλητο A) σφοδρα BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) haesit cordi eius 𝔏 > *Ar* +קודם שיראנא F

VII. 1. κ. οτε . . . P.[2°]] ועלו בבית רע' באגבתנים *Ar* M וכיון שנכנסו בעיר F οτε] > BA εισηλθεν] ηλθ. B ηλθον A 44, 106, 107 𝔖 α β γ Εκβ.] civitatem Ec. 𝔏 λεγει . . . ημων] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 αυτῳ] Th. angelo 𝔏 αδελ. ημ.] > 𝔏 απηγ. αυτον] παρεγενετο B παρ-οντο A 44, 106, 107 𝔏 τ. οικον] τ. -ιαν BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔏 P.] > 𝔏 κ. ευρ. αυτ. καθ. παρα τ. θυρ. τ. αυλ.] Σ. δε υπηντησεν αυτῳ (-οις A F) BA 𝔖 F ευ. αυτ. καθ. π. τ. αυλειαν θυραν 44, 106, 107 et inven. ill. sed. in atrio (> γ) circa ostium domus suae (d. s. > γ) α β γ ואשכחו יתיה סטר תרע ביתיה *Ar* M εχαιρετισαν] -εν BA ησπασατο 44, 106, 107. *pr.* ܘܫܠܡܘ 𝔖 αυτον] -τους A 44, 106, 107 > F πρωτοι] κ. αυτος αυτους B κ. -τοι -την A ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܫܠܡ ܘܫܠܡ 𝔖 > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* וישב להם שלום M הוא והיא F κ. ειπ. . . . υγιαιν.] > BA 𝔖 κ. ειπ. εν ειρηνη. αδελ. εισελθ. εις τ. οικ. τ. αδελ. υμων 44, 106, 107 א' ל' עולו בשלום לביתא *Ar* ואמר לו המלאך זאת הנערה F αυτοις] > 𝔏 καλ. ηλθ. υγ.] intrate salvi et sani 𝔏 ηγαγεν αυτους εις τ. οικον αυτ.] εισηγ. ε. τ. -ιαν BA 𝔖 εγενετο οτε εισηλθοσαν 44, 106, 107 אז נכנסו בבית ועלו לביתא *Ar* רע' אביה F 2. κ.] + Ραγ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F Εδ.] Annae (*et ubique*) 𝔏 ܥܕܢܐ 𝔖 ουτος] > BA Τωβειᾳ] -ειτ B 44, 106, 107 τῳ -ιτ A αδελ.] ανεψιῳ BA 𝔖 consobrini α β -no γ Εδ.] Ραγ. BA 𝔖 F Anna 𝔏 κ. ειπ. αυτ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F dicens 𝔏 Ποθ. εσ. αδελ.; κ.] > 44, 106, 107 αδελ.] > *Ar* F ειπαν] -εν A > 44, 106, 107 αυτῃ] -τῳ BA F > 44, 106, 107 εκ τ. υι. . . . εν N.] 44, 106, 107 ex f. N. sumus ex captivis N. 𝔏 מן שביתא דבנינ' משיבטא דנפ' *Ar* M מגלות נפ' אשר בנינ' F ημ.] > BA εν] εκ B *pr.* των A 4. κ.] tunc 𝔖 > *Ar* γινωσκετε] -εται A ημ.] μου 106 𝔖 κ.

kinsman? And they said unto her, We know him. And she said unto them, Is he in good health?
5, 6 And they said unto her, He is in good health and alive. And Tobias said, He is my father. And
7 Raguel sprang up, and kissed him, and wept; and he spake and said unto him, Blessing be unto thee, lad, who art the son of a noble and good father. Oh, dire calamity, that a man, righteous and almsdoing, should have become blind! And he fell on the neck of Tobias his kinsman and wept,
8, 9 and Edna his wife bewept him, and Sarah their daughter also wept. And he killed a ram of the flock and received them gladly.

The negotiations and the marriage, vv. 9ᵇ–14.

And when they had bathed, and washed their hands and laid them down to dine, Tobias said unto
10 (9) Raphael, Brother Azarias, speak unto Raguel that he give me Sarah my sister. And Raguel heard
(10) the word and said unto the young man, Eat and drink, and make merry this night: for there is no man unto whom it appertaineth to take Sarah my daughter except thee, brother; and likewise, further, I have not power to give her to another man than thee, because thou art my nearest kin. Yea,
11 verily, I will shew thee the truth, lad. I have given her to seven men of our brethren and all died

ειπαν αυτῃ] > B *οι δε ειπᾱ* A 𝔖 M *κ. ειπον αυτ.* 44 +*τ. εκ τ. υι.* N. *κ. ειπε ναι κ. απεκριναντο* 44, 106, 107 *γινωσκ.*] > B *γιγν.* A *ημ. αυτ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 F דשלם ליה *Ar* *κ. ειπ.*] > BA *Ar* *-αν* 106 *αυτοις*] > B 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* לו F *υγιαιν.*] > B *Ar* fortis est 𝔏 5. *κ.*1° . . . *κ. ζ.*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* *κ.*1°] *οι δε* BA 𝔏 *αυτῃ*] > BA 𝔏 M F *υγ. κ. ζ.*] *κ. ζ. κ. υγ.* BA שלום M F *κ. ειπ. . . . εστ.*] והנה ט׳ בנו זה F *ο*] > BA 44, 106, 107 *pr.* טובי אחיכם M *εστ.*] +de quo quaeris *αβ* d. q. interrogas *γ* 6. *ανεπ.*] *επηδ.* 44, 106, 107 רהט לקדמותיה *Ar* M *pr.* מיד F *κατεφ.*] *pr.* נפיף *Ar* M F *κ. εκλαυσεν*] *κ. -ε* BA > 𝔖 lacrymans 𝔏 ובכו *Ar* (*cf.* M) *ελαλ. κ.*] *ευλογ.* (*ηυ-* A) *αυτ. κ.* BA 𝔖 F > 44, 106, 107 *αβγ* אמר ר׳ *Ar* M *αυτῳ*] > 44, 106, 107 *αβγ Ar* M F *ευλογια σοι γενοιτο*] > BA 𝔖 *ευ. σ. -ηται* 44 בריך ט׳ *Ar* *παιδ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 *Ar* +ליי M F *ο του*] *υιε ανδρος* 44, 106, 107 *pr.* כי M *πατρ.*] *ανθρωπ.* BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *ω ταλ. . . . ελεημ.*] ורפיונא דידא חוא לנשי חיסדא על דאתעוור גבר עביד זכ׳ ומצו׳ סגיאן *Ar* > M *ω ταλ.*] > BA 𝔖 F *μεγαλ.* 44, 106, 107 O infelicitas 𝔏 *κακων*] *κ. ακουσας* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) *ετυφλ.*] T. *απωλεσεν τ. οφθαλμ. εαυτ.* (*ε.* > A) BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) *επηρ.* 106, 107 *ανηρ δικ.*] > BA 𝔖 F *κ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F *ποι. ελεημ.*] > BA 𝔖 F *π. δικαιοσ.* 44, 106, 107 *επιπεσ. . . . αδελ. αυτ.*] *ελυπηθη κ.* BA 𝔖 *περιελαβ. αυτον* (T. *τ. υιον τ. αδελ. αυτ.* 106 𝔏) *κ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* > M F *εκλαυσ.*] +*επι τ. τραχ. αυτ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* > M F 8. *κ.*] +*εφιλησεν αυτον* 44, 106, 107 ויוסיפו M התחילו F *αυτου*] P. 44, 106, 107 *εκλαυσ. αυτ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 *αβγ* M בכו עליו *Ar* לבכות עמו ר׳ M F *αυτων*] *-της* BA 44, 106, 107 (*cf.* F) *εκλαυσεν*] *-αν* BA (*-εν* B[a b]) 𝔏 > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F *κ. αυτη*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* M F 9. *κ.*1°] *pr. κ. υπεδεξαντο* (*-ατο* 106 𝔖 *εδ-αντο* 44, 107) *ωυτ. προθ.* BA 44, 106, 107 F *εθυσεν*] *-αν* BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *pr.* רע׳ *Ar* *εκ προβ.*] *προβ.* BA 106 𝔖 > 44, 107 𝔏 *Ar* M F+ובשלו F *υπεδεξατο αυτ. προθ.*] *παρεθηκαν* (ܦܪܣܘ 𝔖) *οψα πλειονα* BA 𝔖 ואתקינו להון שירו *Ar* M *κ. οτε . . . δειπν.*] > BA 𝔖 ואכלו ושתו עד לא אכלו *Ar* (*cf.* M) *plen.* F *κ. οτε*] *κ.* 44, 107 *κ. ενιψ.*] > 44, 106, 107 *αβγ* *κ.*5°] > 𝔏 *ανεπεσαν*] *-σον* 44 *δειπνησαι*] *εις τ. δειπνον* 44, 106, 107 *ειπ.*] +*δε* BA[a ?] 𝔖 *κ. ειπ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔏 +T. ad ang. 𝔏 P.] המלאך M F Aζ. *αδελ.*] > *Ar* *ειπον . . . αδελ. μου*] *λαλησον υπερ ων ελεγες εν τ. πορεια* (*-ια* A) *κ. τελεσθητω* (*-στητω* A) *τ. πραγμα* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* F) *λαλ.* (+*δη* 106) *προς* P. *περι της θυγ. αυτ. κ. δωσει μοι αυτ. εις γυν.* 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M 10. *ηκ.* P.] *μετεδωκεν* BA 𝔖 (*cf.* *Ar* F) > 44, 106, 107 *τ. λογ.*] +*τῳ* P. BA 𝔖 *Ar* F > 44, 106, 107 *κ.*2°] > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* *τ. παιδι*] P. *προς* T. (*-ιαν* B[b] A) BA 𝔖 *Ar* illi 𝔏 *φαγ. . . . ταυτ.*] > *Ar* M *κ.*3°] > B *τ. νυκτα ταυτ.*] > BA 𝔖 F *τ. νυκτι ταυτ.* 44, 106, 107 *ου γαρ . . . ῳ*] *σοι γαρ* BA 𝔖 *επισταμαι γ. οτι αλλῳ ου* 106, 107 *κ. ελαλ. ταυτα* Aζ. *προς* P. 44 > *Ar* M F *καθηκει . . . πλην σου*] *καθ. παιδιον μ. λαβ.* BA 𝔖 *καθ. λαβ. τ. θ. μ. ει μη σοι* 106, 107 > 44 *Ar* M F *αδελ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* M F *ωσαυτ. . . . εγγ. μου*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 טב דאתן יתה לך מדאתן וג׳ *Ar* M כי לך טוביה בני משפט הגאולה F *εγγισ. μου*] +et tibi Sarra *αβγ* *κ. μαλα τ. αλ. σοι υποδ. παιδ.*] *πλην υποδ.* (+*σοι* A *Ar*) *τ. αλ.* BA 𝔖 *Ar* F *κ. ερω τ. αλ. προς σε τεκνον* 106, 107 𝔏 M > 44 11. > 44. *εδωκ.*] *pr. ηδη* 106, 107 *Ar* *pr.* דע כי כבר M *αυτην*] *τ. παιδιον μ.* (*παιδαριον* A* *παιδειον* (*e sup. ras.*) A[a ?]) BA 𝔖 F ζ΄] *επτα* BA 106, 107 *τ. αδελ. ημ.*] > BA 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M *παντες . . . προς αυτ.*] *οποτε εαν* (*αν* A) *εισεπ. πρ. αυτ. απεθνησκον* (*-κοσαν* B[a]A) *υπο* (+*την* A) *νυκτα* BA 𝔖 *απεθ.* 106, 107 וכלהון מיתו עד לא עלו לותה *Ar* M (*cf.* F) *τ. νυκτ.*] > 𝔏 *κ. νυν . . . πιε*] *αλλα το νυν εχων* (*-ον* B[a b]A) *ηδεως* BA *κ. Κυρ. . . υμιν*] > BA 106, 107 *αβγ Ar* ܘܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝ 𝔖 והנה הדבר M ובבקר כטוב בעיניך עשה F *κ. ειπ.*] ܐܡܪ 𝔖 *ου μη . . . πιω*] *ου γευομαι* (*-σομαι* A) *ουδεν ωδε* BA *ου μη φ. ουδ' συ μη π.* 106, 107 לא אכול *Ar* F *εως αν*] *ε. ου* 106, 107 *εως διαστ.*

VII. 11. The precise and legalistic emendation of R^v seems to mean 'until ye make covenant with me and have your covenant ratified by me', Th. *Gram.*, p. 254, n. 1, *θυησκοσαν* (B^a A), Th. *Gram.*, p. 214. With this verse commences the second 𝔖 recension, with affinities to R^s and R^c instead of R^v.

in the night when they came in unto her. And now, child, eat and drink, and the Lord will deal mercifully with you. And Tobias said, I will taste nothing here nor will I drink until thou settle
(12) mine affairs. And Raguel said to him, I do so; she is given to thee according to the decree of the book of Moses, and from heaven it hath been decreed that she is given to thee; take thy sister. From henceforth thou art her brother, and she is thy sister; she hath been given to thee, from to-day even for ever. And the Lord of heaven give success to you, child, this night, even to do mercy and
12 (13) peace towards you. And Raguel called his daughter Sarah, and she came to him and he took her by the hand, and gave her to him, and said, Take her according to the law and according to the decree which is written in the book of Moses to give her unto thee to wife. Have her and
13 (14) lead her away to thy father in peace; and the God of heaven prosper you with peace. And he called her mother, and told her to bring a book, and he wrote an instrument of co-habitation, even
14 (15) that he gave her to him to wife according to the decree of the law of Moses. Then they began to eat and to drink.

Sarah's recovery and the consummation of the marriage, vii. 15–viii. 9[a].

15 (16) And Raguel called Edna, his wife, and said unto her, Sister, prepare the other chamber, and
16 (17) bring her in thither. And she went and spread the bed in the chamber as he bade her and
17 (18) brought her thither; and she wept for her and wiped away her tears, and said unto her, Be

προς εμε] *στησητε κ. σταθητε προς με* BA ܠܘܬ ܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ℒ (*cf.* F) דתיתנינה לי *Ar* M *ειπε*] *απεκριθη* 44 *αυτῳ*] > BA 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M *οτι Ποιω . . . σοι*] *κομιζου αυτην απο τ. νυν* BA (*cf. Ar* M) *τι δυναμαι ποιησαι κ. αυτη εστι δεδομ. υπο τ. νομου κατα αγχιστειαν ιδου αυτη σοι δεδοται* 106, 107 *ιδου διδωμι ταυτ. γυναικα* 44 ܗܘܝ ܡܨܝܐ ܠܟ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ℒ facio: tibi S. destinata est *etc.* γ ne dubites fili facio quod vis et his dictis adiecit dicens Thobi tibi *etc.* αβ הנה הנערה לפניך תהיה לך לאשה F *κ. τ. κρισιν τ. β. Μ.*] כתורה וכהלכה F *τ. βιβλ. Μ.*] > BA *τ. νομου εις γυν.* 44, 106, 107 (*cf.* ܗܘܝ ܡܨܝܐ ܠܟ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ℒ) אוריתא דמ' *Ar* M +וישראל M *κ. εκ . . . εις τ. αιωνα*] > 44, 106, 107 ℒ M *κ. εκ . . . τ. νυν*] > BA *Ar* M *συ*] +δε B (*hanc sent. ante* וכען יהיבה *hab. Ar* M) *αδελφη*] > BA *σου*] +εστιν BA *κ. ο κυρ. τ. ουρ.*] *ο δε ελεημ. θ.* BA *τ. ουρ. κυρ.* 44 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ℒ *Ar* M אל-שדי F *ευοδ.*] > F *υμας*] -ιν BA[a] 44 *ημιν* A* 106, 107 *παιδ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 ℒ *Ar* M F *τ. νυκτα ταυτ.*] *τ. καλλιστα* BA *τ. νυκτι τ.* 44 > F *κ. ποι. . . . ειρην.*] > BA 44 ܐܠܗ ܫܡܝܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܟܘܢ ℒ (*cf. Ar* M F) *υμας* 2°] *ημ.* 106, 107 12. > 44, 106, 107 ℒ *εκαλ.*] ודבר *Ar* P.] > BA *κ. ηλθεν προς αυτον*] > BA *Ar* M F *λαβομενος*] -βων BA > *Ar* M *παρεδ.*] > F *αυτῳ*] Τ. (*pr.* τῳ A) *γυναικα* BA *Ar* M > F *κ. ειπ. . . . ειρην.*] ויברכם M *Κομισαι*] *ιδου* BA ראה בני הרי זאת מקודשת לך F *κ. κατα . . . βιβλῳ*] > BA כהלכת אוריתא דמ' *Ar* כדת יהודה וישראל F *δουναι . . . γυναικα*] > BA *Ar* F *εχε*] *κομιζου αυτην* BA > *Ar* F *απαγαγε*] *απαγε* BA ולך F *υγιαινων . . . ειρηνην*] *κ. ευλογησεν* (*ηυλ.* A) *αυτους* BA *pr.* fili ℒ > *Ar* F 13. > ℒ ומיד קרא עדים וקדש אותה בפניהם וכתבו וחתמו שטר כתובתה ומיד ברכו שבע ברכות F (*cf. Ar* M *infra*) *εκαλ.*] ויאמר M *τ. μητερα αυτης*] Ε. (ܐܡܗ ℒ) *τ. γυναικα αυτου* BA *Ar* M matrem et puellam ℒ *ειπ.*] > BA *Ar* M *ενεγκειν*] *λαβων* BA -*γκαι* 107 *κ. ηνεγκε* 44 *βιβλιον*] chartam αβγ גיירא *Ar* גליון M *κ.*3° . . . *συνοικ.*] > M *κ.*3°] > BA ut αβγ *Ar* *συνγραφην*] *συγγ.* B[ab] 44, 106, 107 conscriptionem αβγ כתובתא *Ar* *βιβλιου συνοικησεως*] > BA *συνοικιουσαν* 44, 106, 107 coniugii αβγ לברתיה *Ar* *κ. ως διδ. . . . νομ.*] ויכתב עליו את הכתובה ויחתם אותה בעדים M (*cf.* F *supra*) ועבדת כן וכתבו כתובתא וחתמו יתה סהדיו *Ar* *κ. ως διδωσιν*] *κ. εσφραγισαντο* BA *ως διδοται κ. εδωκαν* (*εδοσαν* 44) 44, 106, 107 quemadmodum tradidit αβγ *αυτην . . . κρισιν του*] > BA *α. α. γ. κ. τ. συγκρισιν* 106 *Μ. νομου*] > BA *βιβλιου Μ. κ. ηνεγκαν η μητ. αυτ. κ. εγραψε κ. εσφραγισαντο* (*κ. εσ.* > 44) 44, 106, 107 αβγ 14. *απ' εκεινου*] *κ.* BA *Ar* M F *κ. τοτε* 44, 106, 107 ℒ ex illa hora αβγ *ηρξ. . . . πειν*] *εφαγον κ. επιον* 44, 106, 107 ℒ *Ar* M +וישמחו M *ηρξαντο*] -*ατο* B[ab] *φαγειν*] *εσθιειν* BA *κ. πειν*] > BA 15. *εκαλ. . . . γυν. αυτ. κ.*] > 44, 106, 107 ℒ *Ar* M P.] > A *αυτῃ*] P. E. (E. > 44) *τῃ γυν. αυτ.* 44, 106, 107 ℒ *Ar* M *Αδελ.*] > ℒ *Ar* M *τ. ταμι. τ. ετ.*] *τ. ε. ταμι.* (-*ει.* B[a]) BA *τ. ταμιειον* 44, 106, 107 אידרון בית משכבא *Ar* החדר M חדר הפנימי F *εισαγαγε*] *εισαγε* B *αυτην*] puellam ℒ F > *Ar* אותם M *εκει*] > BA 44 ܠܒܝܬܗ ℒ *Ar* 16. *βαδισασα . . . αυτῃ*] *εποιησεν ως ειπ.* BA ℒ *επ. ουτως* E. 106, 107 *Ar* abiit in cubiculum (secretum γ) et stravit sicut *etc.* αβγ > 44 M F *ηγαγεν*] *εισ-* B 44, 106, 107 ℒ ℒ *εισηγαγον* A > *Ar* M *αυτην*] filiam suam ℒ F > *Ar* M *εκει*] *εις τ. κοιτωνα* 44, 106, 107 +ܠܒܝܬܗ ℒ > *Ar* *εκλαυ.*] *pr. περιελαβεν αυτ.* (ℒ) *η μητ. αυτ. κ.* (> ℒ) 44, 106, 107 ℒ (*cf. Ar* M) וחתחילה הנערה לבכות F *περι αυτ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 *Ar* ܥܡܗ ℒ עמה M במרת נפשה F *κ. απεμ. τ. δ.*] > 44, 106, 107 ℒ *Ar* M וקבל הקדוש ברוך הוא דמעתה F *κ. απεμαξ.*] *κ. απεδεξ.* BA *τ. δακρυα*] +*της θυγ. αυτης* BA *αυτῃ*] > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* 17. *Θαρ.*] > *Ar* M *pr. verba e Script.* F

13. *συνγραφήν.* Cf. the Isis Inscription from Ios. *ἐγὼ συνγραφὰς γαμικὰ[ς] εὗρα* (i. 33 in reproduction in Deissm. *L.A.E.*, p. 136).

16. Some of the changes made by the later redactors and versions are pleasing, e.g. R[v]'s alterations (incorporated as usual in F) to make the daughter weep and the mother catch her tears, and F's 'the Holy One, Blessed be He, received her tears'; but R[c] lacks the poetic imagination.

of good comfort, daughter: the Lord of heaven give thee joy for thy sorrow: be of good
8 1 comfort, daughter. And she went forth. And when they had finished eating and drinking,
they desired to sleep, and they led the young man away and brought him into the chamber.
2 And Tobias remembered the words of Raphael, and took the liver of the fish and the heart
3 out of the bag which he had, and put them on the ashes of the incense. And the smell of the
fish baffled the demon, and he ran away into the upper parts of Egypt; and Raphael went and
4 fettered him there and bound him straightway. And they went forth and shut the door of the
chamber. And Tobias rose up from the bed, and said unto her, Sister, arise; let us pray and make
5 supplication to our Lord that he may work mercy and deliverance for us. And she arose, and they
began to pray and make supplication that deliverance might be wrought for them, and he began to
say, Blessed art thou, God of our fathers, and blessed is thy name for ever and ever; let the
6 heavens bless thee, and all thy creation to all the ages. Thou madest Adam, and madest Eve his

θυγ.] τεκν. BA κυρ.] θ. 44, 106, 107 *Ar* ουρ.] + κ. τ. γης BA 𝔖 *pr.* אלהי F + εν τ. νυκτι ταυτ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M δῳη σ.] δῳ σ. A *pr.* ελεος επιδῳ (-ωσῃ 106) επι σε (+ δωσει σοι 106) 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F χαραν] χαριν BA *Ar* M ששון ושמחה F της] > 44 σου] + ταυτ. BA (*cf.* F) + τ. εμπροσθεν 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* (*cf.* M) θαρ. θυγ.] > 𝔏 *Ar* κ. εξηλθ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M + inde 𝔏

VIII. 1. κ. οτε] οτε δε BA κ. εγενετο οταν (-ε 44) 44, 106, 107 והוה כר *Ar* M συνετ.] > 𝔖 עמדו F το φαγ. κ. π. א*] του φ. א ca δειπνουντες BA ευφρανθηναι (+ κ. 106) 44, 106, 107 ܐܬܥܒܕܘ ܣܥܕܘ 𝔖 coenam 𝔏 לאתקנא אידרונא וערסא *Ar* M מן חשולחן F ηθελ. . . . νεαν. κ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* F εισηγ. . . . ταμ.] ועלו לתמן ט׳ וש׳ אנתתיה *Ar* (*cf.* M) αυτ.] T. B 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F εις] προς BA F ταμειον] αυτην BA (*cf.* F) τ. κοιτωνα 44, 106, 107 ܒܝܬܐ 𝔖 2. κ.1°] ο δε πορευομ. BA וקודם שיכנס F εμνησθη . . . P.] צוה והביאו לו מחתה עם הגחלים F εμνησθη] -ημονευσε 44, 106, 107 T.] > BA 44, 107 P.] + ang. 𝔏 κ. ελαβ.] > F τ. ηπ. τ. ιχθ. κ. τ. καρδ.] τ. καρδ. τ. ιχθ. κ. τ. ηπ. (+ המרה F) *post* επεθηκ. BA (*cf.* F) τ. καρδ. τ. ιχθ. 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M εκ τ. βαλ. ου ειχ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F κ. επεθ.] > 44, 106, 107 επι τ. τεφρ. του θυμι.] τ. τεφρ. των θυμι. *post* ελαβ. BA > 44, 106, 107 ܒܩܛܪܐ ܕܒܘܪܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܕܐܫܬܐ ܕܩܛܪܐ 𝔖 super carbones vivos (ignis γ) αβγ (*cf.* F) על מחתה *Ar* M (*cf.* F) 3. κ. η οσμη τ. ιχθυος εκωλ.] κ. (> A) εκαπνισεν οτε δε ωσφρανθη τ. δαιμ. τ. οσμης BA > 44, 106, 107 וקטר תחות גלימת שרה ואשמדאי קביל ריחא *Ar* M ונכנס והעשין את נערה ואת עצמו וגם כל הבית וכשהריח אש׳ וג׳ F εκωλ.] ܐܦܩܗ 𝔖 prohibuit αβγ κ. απεδραμ.] εφυγ. BA κ. εξεβαλε 44, 106, 107 *pr.* [ויצא ממנה] M τ. δαιμ.] > (*v. supra*) BA 𝔏 *Ar* M F τ. ακαθαρτον πνευμα (+ κ. απεστη 106) 44, 106, 107 *ante* κ.2° 𝔏 ανω εις τα μερη] εις (*pr.* εως A) τα ανωτατα BA εις τα ανω μερη 44, 106, 107 ܠܠܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܢ 𝔖 in superiores partes αβγ בסייפי ארעה *Ar* (*cf.* M F) βαδ. . . . παραχ.] > F βαδ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* abiit . . . et 𝔏 P.] ο αγγελος *post* αυτ. BA + ang. 𝔏 M συνεποδ.] εδησ. BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 αυτον] -το BA 44, 106, 107 εκει] > BA *post* εποδ. *Ar* κ. εποδησ. παραχρ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M et reversus est continuo αβγ ואסריה *Ar* 4. κ. εξηλθ. . . . κλιν. κ.] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ.1° . . . ταμ.] ως δε συνεκλεισθησαν αμφοτεροι BA ואז יצאו משם האנשים וסגרו הבית F εξηλθ.] ויצא M + מן אידרונא *Ar* M τ. ταμ.] בדיל תרויהון *Ar* M κ. ηγερθ.] ανεστ. BA απ. τ. κλιν.] > F ειπ. αυτῃ Αδελ. αναστηθι] κ. ειπ. ανα. αδ. κ. BA κ. Τ. ειπ. προς Σ. αδ. αναστα κ. 44, 106, 107 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܪܝ ܐܚܬܝ 𝔖 dixit S. surge soror 𝔏 *Ar* M προσευξωμ.] ξ *sup. ras.* B ab -ομ. 106 κ. δεηθ.] > BA *Ar* M τ. κυριου ημ. οπως ποι. εφ. ημ. ελεος κ. σωτ.] ινα (*pr.* Deum 𝔏) ημ. ελεησῃ ο. κυρ. (> 𝔏) BA 𝔏 (*cf.* F) τ. προσωπου κυρ. οπως π. εφ. ημ. ελ. κ. σωτ. εν τ. νυκτι ταυτ. 44, 106, 107 ܩܡ ܐ׳ ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܩܡܘ ܠܡܨܠܝܬܗ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܥܡܗ ܪܚܡܐ 𝔖 דיפקיד עלנא חיסדיה וטיבותיה (המקום M) *Ar* (*cf.* M) 5. ανεστ. . . . σωτ. κ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M מיד עמדו יחד בתפלה F ανεστη] surrexerunt 𝔏 δεηθ.] + Dom. 𝔏 ηρξατο λεγ.] ηρξ. Τ. λεγ. BA ειπ. Τ. 44, 106, 107 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܬܝ ܐܦܩܝ 𝔖 dixerunt 𝔏 התחיל ט׳ מברך F וצלי ט׳ קדם א׳ ואמר *Ar* (*cf.* M) ευλογ. . . . αιωνας 2°] *aliter* M ει] κυριος 44, 106, 107 + ܡܪܝܐ 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* F τ. πατ. ημ.] דישראל *Ar* (*cf.* F) σου1°] + τ. αγιον κ. ενδοξ. BA (*cf.* F) παν. τ. αιωνας τ. γεν.] τ. αιωνας BA ܠܥܠܡ 𝔖 *Ar* τ. γενεας τ. αιωνων 44, 106, 107 in omnia saec. saeculorum αβγ *Aug.* ευλογ. . . . κτ. σου] > 𝔖 *aliter* F π. η κτισις] π. αι -εις BA εις π. τ. αιωνας] > BA 44, 106, 107 αβγ *Aug. Ar* 6. τον Αδαμ] Α. BA τ. ανθρωπ. 106 ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ 𝔖 + הראשון F εποι.] εδωκας BA 44, 106, 107 αβγ *Ar* M F βοηθ. στηρ. Ευ. τ. γ. αυτ.] β. Ευ. στ. τ. γ. αυτ. BA β. Ευ. τ. γ. 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M ܠܡܥܘܢܗ ܕܚܘܐ 𝔖 adiutorium Evam αβγ *Aug. Spec.* 56 חוה אשתו F κ. εξ . . . βοηθον2°] > M αμφοτ.] τουτ. BA 𝔏 *Ar* > γ *Aug. aliter* F εγεν.] multiplicasti αβ > γ *Aug.* *aliter* F τ. σπ. τ. ανθρ.] τ. ανθρ. σπ. BA τ. γενος τ. ανθρ. 44, 106, 107 > γ *Aug.* כל בני

VIII. 3. In R^s εἰς τὰ ἄνω μ. (cf. αβγ) was written, which was retained in R^c and paraphrased in R^v. In א (which Swete, *Expos. Tim.*, vol. xi, p. 39, appears to treat as the sole authority in this verse for R^s!) the ἄνω has been accidentally inserted before εἰς τά. The reference to Egypt is pertinent historically (see Introd. p. 186) and mythologically (Jeremias, *A.T.L.A.O.*, pp. 180, 432), and Kohut's emendation מצנדרן for מצרים is pointless, but see J. H. Moulton, *Hibbert Lectures*, excursus to lecture ii. 𝔏's *reversus est* may possibly have crept into the text from the mg. where it had been placed by a reader who had before him an Aramaic text in which חזר had taken the place of חבר.

wife for a helper *and* a stay for him: of them both came the seed of men: and thou didst say, It is
7 not good that the man should be alone; let us make him a helper like unto him. And now
I take not this my sister for lust, but in truth: command that I and she may find mercy and grow
8, 9 old together. And they said together, Amen. And they slept the night.

The parents' joy and the ensuing feast, vv. 9b–21.

10 And Raguel arose and called his servants with him and they went and digged a grave, for he
11 said, Lest he perish, and we become a derision and a reproach. And when they had finished
12 digging the grave Raguel came into the house, and called his wife, and said, Send one of the maid-
servants and let her go in and see if he be alive: and if he is dead that we may bury him, that no
13 man know it. And they sent the maidservant and lighted the lamp and opened the door, and she
14 went in and found them sleeping and slumbering together. And the maidservant came forth, and

אינשא *Ar* > γ *Aug.* *aliter* F κ. συ . . . βοηθ.2°] > 44, 107 αβγ *Aug.* κ. συ] συ BA οτι] > BA 106 τ. ανθρ.] ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ S *Ar* ποιησωμ.] ܢܥܒܕ S *Ar* F 7. νυν] + Κυριε BA S + Κυριε συ γινωσκ. οτι 44, 106, 107 αβγ *Aug.* (*in* 4 *loc.*) *Ar* M ουχι] ου BA δια πορνιαν] δ. -ειαν BA 44, 106, 107 luxuriae causa L τ. αδελ. μ. ταυτ.] uxorem sororem meam αβ αλλ' επ' αληθ.] αλλα ε. α. A αλλα κατα (τα 44) δικαιωμα (-ατα 44) τ. νομου συ (σ > 106 S) 44, 106, 107 S sed ipsa veritate L כהלכת אוריתא *Ar* בישר לבב כדת משה וישראל M לקיים דברך האמת F επιτ. . . . κοιν.] *plen.* F επιτ. ελεησ. με κ. αυτην] ε. ελ. μ. BA επι τῳ ελεηθηναι ημας κυριε (+ εμε τε κ. αυτην 106, 107) 44, 106, 107 ܕܢܬܪܚܡ ܥܠܢ ܘܥܠ ܫܘܠܡܟ S ut (> γ) miserearis nostri Domine αβγ *Aug.* חוס עלנא והב לנא חסדך *Ar* (*cf.* M) κ. συνκαταγηρασαι κοινως] κ. αυτη (ταυτ. A) συνκαταγηρασαι (συγ. B ab συνκαταγηρασομε (αγηρα *sup. ras.* Aa) A) BA κ. συγκαταργησαι (= συ καταρασαι?) τῳ ακαθαρτ. δαιμ. κ. δος ημιν κυριε τεκνα κ. ευλογιαν 106, 107 et (ut γ) consenescamus pariter sani cum pace αβγ ולאתחברא אך חדא *Ar* M +(+ ועוסקים תורתך M) ܕܢܬܚܒܪ ܟܠܗ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܫܠܘܡܐ S αβ *Ar* M 8. ειπαν μεθ' εαυτων] -εν μετ' αυτου BA -αν κοινως 44, 106, 107 ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܕܐ ܠܗܕܐ S (*cf.* F) dixerunt L ואמרת ש' ואתיבת *Ar* M 9. εκοιμ.] + αμφοτεροι BA (*cf.* F) ועל לוותה *Ar* M et receperunt se αβγ τ. νυκτα] εν τη ν. εκειν. 44, 106, 107 S F *post* ταφον αβγ αναστ. P. εκαλ. τους οικετ. μ. εαυ. κ.] αναστ. P. BA F ειπ. (*pr.* ויקם + לילה M) P. τοις οικ. αυτ. 44, 106, 107 S M והות בפילגות ליליא קם ר' ואמר לעבדוהי *Ar* ῳχοντο κ. ωρυξαν ταφ.] επορευθη κ. -εν τ. BA (*cf.* F) ορυξατε τ. νυκτι ταυτ. (+ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܗܢܘ S) 44, 106, 107 S + per noctem L לחפרא קברא בליליא *Ar* M 10. ειπ. γαρ] λεγων BA > 44, 106, 107 ואמר להון *Ar* Μη ποτε] μη κ. ουτος (αυτ. A) BA ινα εαν 44, 106, 107 אם *Ar* αποθανῃ] ῃ τεθνηκως (+ טליא *Ar*) θαψω (נקבריניה *Ar*) αυτον νυκτος κ. μηδεις γνῳ (*cf.* *v.* 12) 44, 106, 107 S *Ar simil.* (*pr.* אל קבורת) F κ. γεν. καταγ. κ. ονειδ.] > BA ινα μη γενωμαι (יהא לנא *Ar*) εις ονειδισμον κ. καταγελωτα 44, 106, 107 *Ar* (*cf.* F) ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܠܥܪܝܦܘܬܐ S et omnibus fiam derisio et opprob. L 11. οτε . . . οικον] > *Ar* M οτε . . . ταφον] > BA F εγενετο (> 44) οταν εξηλθοσαν οι οικετ. (+ ܕܢܚܦܪܘܢ ܠܩܒܪܐ S) 44, 106, 107 S οτε] > L ηλθ. P.] > 44, 106, 107 S τ. οικον] τ. -ιαν εαυτου BA F > 44, 106, 107 S εκαλ. την γυν. αυτ. κ.] > BA 44 F εκ. P. (P. > *Ar*) Εδ. (Εδ. > S) τ. γ. αυ. 106, 107 S *Ar* M 12. ειπ.] + Ε. (P. 44) τη γ. αυτ. BA F + αυτῃ 106, 107 S *Ar* M Αποστ.] + δη 44, 106, 107 κ. εισελθ.] > BA S F εις τ. κοιτωνα κ. 44, 106, 107 L *Ar* M + דבוצינא בידה *Ar* ιδετω] ειδετωσαν (ιδ. Bb) BA ζῃ] + εν ειρηνῃ 44, 106, 107 > F κ. ει . . . γνῳ] ει δε μη (an mortuus est L) ινα θαψ. αυτ. (+ טדם אור הבקר M) κ. μηδ. γνῳ (-ωτω A) BA L *Ar* M שמא נפטר גם הוא ואקברהו F > 44, 106, 107 S 13. απεστ. . . . λυχν. κ.] εισηλθ. η παιδισκη BA F απεστ. Εδνα τ. παιδ. κ. 106, 107 S *Ar* M απηλθ. η παιδ. κ. 44 + לאדרונא *Ar* M misit unam ex ancillis et αβγ ηνοιξαν] ανοιξασα BA ανεωξε 44, 106, 107 S αβγ > *Ar* M F θυρ.] + του κοιτ. 106, 107 S > *Ar* M F εισηλθ. κ.] > BA *Ar* M F ο λυχνος εν τη χειρι αυτης κ. 44, 106, 107 S κ. ευρ. αυτους καθευδ. κ. υπν. κοιν.] κ. ευρ. τ. δυω καθευδ. BA S κ. ιδου αυτοι καθευδ. κοιν. 44, 106, 107 et invenit illos pariter dorm. L (+ יחד בשלום M) וחזת והא שכבין תרויהון *Ar* M ומצאתם יושבים F 14. εξελθουσα] εξηλθε (+ Εδ. 44) κ. 44, 106, 107 S *Ar* M η παιδ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S L *Ar* M F υπεδ. αυτ.] ואמרת להון בריכו מרי עלמא *Ar* ואמר להם F υπεδειξ.] απηγγειλ. BA 44, 106, 107 αυτοις] Εδ. τ. ανδρι αυτης 106, 107 S > 44 + (ותאמר להם) M

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9. In the original story (R^{s}), along with his servants (who are omitted in R^{v}, accidentally or for brevity's sake, as Müller admits), Raguel digs the grave and returns from doing so before he addresses his wife (*v.* 11). R^{c}, however, denies Raguel's presence at the digging and his share in the manual labour, as it is inconceivable 'that a rich man should himself do such work' (Nöld., *op. cit.*, p. 48, who with singular inaccuracy attributes this alteration and motive to R^{s}!).

12. εἰδέτωσαν. B* A, misplaced augment, Th. *Gram.*, p. 209.

13. The three chief recensions, particularly R^{c}, have not retained their individuality in this verse, but both the later ones seem as usual to have been based on R^{s} either in the form it assumes in ℵ or in that of L.

15 told them that he was alive and that there was naught amiss. And he blessed the God of heaven
and said,
16 Blessed art thou, O God, with all pure blessing; let them bless thee for ever. And blessed
art thou, because thou hast made me glad: and it hath not befallen as I supposed, but thou hast
17 dealt with us according to thy great mercy. And blessed art thou, because thou hast had mercy on
two that are the only begotten children of their parents: shew them mercy and deliverance, O
Lord; and fulfil thou their life with gladness and mercy.
18, 19 Then he bade his servants fill the grave before the morning came. And he bade his wife
make many loaves. And he went to the herd, and fetched two oxen and four rams, and bade
20 prepare them; and they began to make ready. And he called Tobias and said unto him, For
fourteen days thou shalt not stir hence, but shalt stay here eating and drinking at my house, and
21 shalt gladden my daughter's sore afflicted soul. And all that is mine take thereof the half, and go
in safety to thy father; and the other half, when I and my wife die, is yours. Be of good cheer,
child! I am thy father, and Edna is thy mother; and thine now are we and thy sister's; from
henceforth we are for ever. Be of good cheer, child!

οτι . . . εστ.] ο. ζ. BA *Ar* > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 illum vivere et nihil mali passum 𝔏 חי הוא M (*cf.* F) 15. κ.1° . . . ειπαν] ואמר רעואל *Ar* ευλογησαν] -εν (ηυ- A) P. (P. > γ) BA αβγF τον] *pr.* יי M F τ. ουρ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F הגדול M κ. ειπ.] λεγων BA 𝔏 > *Ar* +ר' M θεε] συ ο θεος BA κυριε ο θεος (θ. > 𝔖) τ. ουρ κ. τ. γης 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* +את מחי ומסי *Ar* (*cf.* M *v.* 16) יי אלהי אבותינו M כל בשר F εν π. ευλ. καθαρᾳ] ε. π. ευ. B ε. π. ευ. καθ. κ. αγια B^a b *mg* A αβ ε. π. ευ. αγιε κ. καθαρε κ. αμιαντε 106, 107 αγιε καθαρε κ. αμιαντε 44 omni benedictione sancte et munde γ וברכתך קדישא ודכיא *Ar* > 𝔖 M *aliter* F ευλογειτωσαν σε] -ησατ. 106, 107 > 44 𝔖 *pr.* κ. ευλογ. σε οι αγιοι σου κ. πασ. αι κτισ. σου παντ. (*pr.* κ. A) οι αγγ. σου κ. οι εκλεκτ. σου (κ. οι ε. σ. > *Ar*) BA (*cf.* *Ar* F) + omnes sancti tui γ et benedicant tibi omnes electi tui et omnis creatura tua benedicat tibi αβ > M εις παντας τ. αιων.] εις τ. αι. B *Ar* παντες οι αιωνες σου (> 44) ο τυπτων κ. ιωμενος ευλογ. σε παντ. οι αγγ. σου ευλογ. σε (ε. σ. 44 κ.) παντ. οι εκλεκτ. σου 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 M in omnia saecula saeculorum αβ in saeculum s—li γ 16. ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡ 𝔖 (*cf.* M) *aliter* M *simil.* F κ.1°] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 ει] שום יקרך *Ar* ευφρ.] ηυ. (ευ. B^a) B* b A με] ημας 44, 106, 107 *Ar* εγενετο] +μοι BA 𝔏 +ημιν 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* υπενοουν] -ουμεν 44, 106, 107 *Ar* αλλα . . . ημων] בסגיאות טיבותך *ante* κ. ουκ *Ar* πολυ] > 44, 106, 107 17. *simil.* F κ.1°] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* ευλ. ει] > 𝔖 M +κυριε 44, 106, 107 +אלהא *Ar* ελεησ.] עצית הפלא הזה M δυο] תרויהון *Ar* שני אלה M μονογ.] +κ. τ. γονεις αυτων 106, 107 𝔖 > *Ar* M ποιησ. . . . ελεου] הב להון שלמא וחסדא וחדוה בחייהון לעלם *Ar* *aliter* M ελεος κ.] > 𝔖 κ. σωτ. κ.] > BA συντελ.] ܘܫܠܡ ܠܫܢܝܐ ܕܚܝܐ 𝔖 μετ' ευφ. κ. ελεου.] εν υγειᾳ (-ιειᾳ B^a b -ιᾳ A) μετα ευφ. κ. ελεους BA μετα ελεους κ. ευφ. 44, 106, 107 𝔏 > 𝔖 18. τοτε ειπ. τοις οικ. αυτου] (*pr.* ומיד F) εκελευσεν δε τ. οικ. BA F κ. ηλθοσαν οι οικ. κ. ειπ. αυτοις 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* +ר' M χωσαι] ܐܙܠܘ ܠܡܥܒܕ 𝔖 ומלאו F ταφ.] +quam fecerunt 𝔏 +עפר F προ τ. ορθρον γεν.] > BA F π. τ. ημερ. (ܡܛܠܬܐ 𝔖) γ 44, 106, 107 𝔖 עד לא ירגיש בנא בר נש *Ar* (+𝔖 M) 19. κ. εποιησεν αυτοις γαμον ημεραν δεκα τεσσ. BA (*cf.* F) τ. γυν.] E. (> 44 𝔖) τ. γ. αυτου *post* ειπεν 44, 106, 107 𝔖 > M ποιησ.] ετοιμασον 44, 106, 107 𝔖 +*pauc. verb.* M τ. βουκ.] τας (τους 44) βοας 44, 106, 107 βαδισ.] εδραμ. αυτου (αυ. > 44 𝔖) κ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M abiit ipse 𝔏 ורהוטי *Ar* ηγαγεν] וסיבי מתמן *Ar* δυο] > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M τεσσ.] > 44 *Ar* +ܐܝܠܐ 𝔖 M ειπ. συντελ.] εταξ. (+ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܡܐܟܠܐ 𝔖) ετοιμαζ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* ופקיד למעבד אריסטוון טב *Ar* κ. ηρξ. παρασκ.] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 M ועברת כן *Ar* 20. εκαλ. Τ. κ.] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* M +ωμοσεν αυτῳ κ. 44, 106, 107 𝔏 ור' נשבע F αυτῳ] -τοις A +P. πριν η συντελεσθηναι τ. ημερας τ. γαμου ενορκως BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔏 ܠܡܫܬܐ 𝔖 *Ar* M δεκα τεσ. ημερων] εαν μη πληρωθωσιν αι δ. τεσ. ημ. τ. γαμου *post* αυτον BA (*cf.* F) εως ημερων δεκατεσ. 44, 106, 107 *post* οικον σ. 44, 106, 107 ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܘܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܡܫܬܐ *post* μη κιν. 𝔖 ου μη κιν. εντευθ.] μη εξελθειν αυτον BA ου μη εξελθης εκ τ. οικου σ. 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M ܠܐ ܢܦܩ 𝔖 ולא אניחך וג' F αλλ' . . . κατωδ.] > BA F αλλ' . . . εμοι] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M κ. ευφρανεις] ινα -ης 44, 106, 107 𝔖 τ. ψυχ.] > *Ar* M κατωδυνωμενην] -οδ. 44 -ωδυνομ. 106 multis adflictam doloribus 𝔏 21. οσα μοι . . . το ημισυ κ.] τοτε λαβοντα τ. ημ. τ. υπαρχοντων αυτου BA τ. ημ. των υπαρχ. μοι λαβε παραχρημα 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* (*cf.* F) *pr.* ואחרי מלאת הימים F υπαγε υγιαιν.] πορευεσθαι μετα υγειας (-ιας B*A -ιειας B^a b) BA υπ. εν ειρηνῃ 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 *Ar* vade salvus et sanus cum pace 𝔏 ולך F ותלך בשמחה M πρ. τ. πατ.] > 𝔖 *Ar* σου] > BA 𝔖 *Ar* τ. αλλο ημ.] τ. λοιπα BA F τ. ημ. 44 תיסב כולא *Ar* M οταν] εως 44, 106, 107 εγω τε] > BA εγω 44, 106, 107 υμετ. . . . παιδ.2°] > BA M נתונים המה לך F υμετ.] σον 44 > *Ar* θαρσ.1°] > 𝔖 *Ar* παιδ.1°] τεκν. 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 את תהא לי לבר יקיר *Ar* σου ο] > 44, 106, 107 Εδ.] +אנתתי *Ar* η] > 44, 106, 107 κ. παρα σ. . . . παιδ.2°] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 עד עלם *Ar* θαρσ. παιδ.2°] > 𝔏

15. R^s wrote εὐλόγησεν . . . κ. εἶπεν which should be read in א. See Introd., p. 174, footnote 2, for the importance of liturgical and theological additions in R^v and R^c.

ii. **Raphael's journey to Gabael,** ix. 1–6.

9 1, 2 Then Tobias called Raphael, and said unto him, Brother Azarias, take along with thee four
servants, and two camels, and go to Rages and get thee to Gabael, and give him the bond ; receive the
4 money and bring him with thee to the wedding feast. For thou knowest that my father will count
3 the days, and if I tarry one day, I shall sorely grieve him ; and thou seest what Raguel hath sworn,
5 and I cannot break his oath. And Raphael went on his way with the four servants and the two
camels to Rages of Media and they lodged with Gabael, and Raphael gave him his bond ; and (he)
made known to him concerning Tobias, Tobit's son, that he had taken a wife and that he invited
him to the wedding-feast. And he arose and counted out to him the bags with their seals and placed
6 them together < on the camels >. And they rose up early in the morning together and came to
the wedding-feast. And they came into the house of Raguel, and found Tobias lying at meat.
And he sprang up and greeted him. And he wept and blessed him and said unto him, Honest and

IX. 1. *τοτε*] κ. BA P.] *pr. τον* BA 44, 106, 107 + ang. 𝔏 F 2. *παραλαβε*] *λαβε* BA 44, 106, 107 *μετα σ.*] *εντευθεν* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 + hinc 𝔏 *Ar* M *τεσσαρ. οικετ.*] *παιδα* BA > 44, 106, 107 κ.1°] > 44, 106, 107 *καμ. δυο*] *δυο καμ.* BA 44, 106, 107 *εις Ραγας*] *εν Ραγοις τ. Μηδειας* (*-ιας* A) BA ܠܪܥܐ 𝔖 in civitatem Rages 𝔏 > F κ. *ηκε*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* M F *παρα*] *προς* 44, 106, 107 *Γαβ.*] + בעל הפקדון F *δος*] > BA *αυτῳ*] > BA *αυτοις* 44, 106, 107 *τ. χειρ.*] > BA ܒܝܕܗ ܕܝܠܗ 𝔖 + suum 𝔏 מרצופיה *Ar* אמתחתו M *κομισαι*] + *μοι* BA *λαβε* 44, 106, 107 יתן *Ar* M F *pr.* κ. א¹ (> א*) 𝔖 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M F *παραλαβε αυτ.*] *αυτ. αγε μοι* (*μ.* > A) BA *αγαγε αυτον* (*-το* 44) 44, 106, 107 וזמין *Ar* M F *μετα σ.*] > BA 𝔏 *Ar* M *τους γαμ.*] *τον γ.* BA 4. *pr.* v. 3 BA *Ar* *συ . . . εσται*] κ. BA *Ar* *γαρ*] > 44 *αριθμων ο πατ.*] *ο π. μ. αριθμει* BA *ο π. μ. αριθμων* 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* ܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܚܕܝܢܐ 𝔖 + ואמי M *τ. ημερ.*] > 44, 106, 107 *χρονισω*] ܢܬܡܗܗ 𝔖 F יעבר עדנא *Ar* M *ημερ. μιαν*] *μεγα* (*γ sup. ras.* A[a]) BA *μιαν ημερ.* 44, 106, 107 una plus die 𝔏 . > F *λυπησω αυτ.*] *οδυνηθησεται* BA ܐܬܥܨܒ ܠܒܗ 𝔖 F contristabo animam eius 𝔏 (*cf. Ar* M) *λιαν*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* 3. κ. *θεωρ. τι*] *διοτι* BA κ. 44, 106, 107 ܡܕܡ 𝔖 Sed vides quomodo 𝔏 מטול דאנא לא יכילנא למיזל לתמן בדיל *Ar* M > F *ωμοσεν* P.] *ομωμοχεν* (*-κεν* B[a b]) P. BA 44, 106, 107 + *μη εξελθειν με* (+ מן ביתיה עד ארבסר יומיו *Ar* M F) BA *Ar* M F + *μεινai με* (*μοι* 44) *δεκατεσσαρες* (ܐܪܒܥܣܪ 𝔖) *ημερας* (*δ. η.* 44) *παρ' αυτῳ* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ. *ου. . . . ορκ. αυτ.*] > BA 106 *Ar* M *δυναμαι*] *-ησομαι* 44, 107 possumus 𝔏 *παραβηναι*] *αθετησαι* 44, 107 spernere 𝔏 5. *επορευθη*] ויקם M P.] + ang. 𝔏 κ. *οι τ. . . . οικ. κ. αι δ. καμ.*] > BA F κ. *οι οικ. αυτου* 44, 106, 107 *pr.* ויקח M *εις Ρ. τ. Μ.*] > BA *εις Ρ.* 44, 106, 107 M ܠܡܕܝܢ ܕܡܕܝܐ 𝔖 in civ. M. 𝔏 לקורי ראשיג *Ar* > F *ηυλισθησαν*] *-θη* BA 𝔏 *pr. ηλθον προς Γ.* κ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F > M + בלילה ההוא F *παρα Γ.*] *εκει* 44, 106, 107 ܬܡܢ 𝔖 *αυτῳ* 1°] + *Ραφ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *pr.* ובבקר F *τ. χειρ.*] ܒܝܕܗ ܕܝܠܗ 𝔖 *αυτου*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ. *υπεδ. αυτω*] > BA F ܠܡܫܟܒ ܠܗ 𝔖 *π. Τ. υι. Τ.*] > BA *π. τ. υι. Τωβια* 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 F *οτι ελαβ.*] > BA F + ܕ 𝔖 *γυν.*] > BA + *τ. θυγ.* P. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 ש׳ ב׳ ר׳ *Ar* M κ.7°] > BA . *οτι καλ.*] > BA *εστιν εκει καλων* (κ. > 44) 44, 106, 107 ܠܡܫܟܒ ܥܡ ܠܡܫܟܒ ܥܡ ܠܗ 𝔖 *pr.* ט׳ *Ar* + ר׳ M > F *εις τ. γαμον*] > BA 44 + ט׳ M > F κ. *αναστας*] *ος δε* BA κ. *ανεστη* T. 44, 106, 107 כד שמע גבאל כן *Ar* > M F *παρηριθμ.*] *προηνεγκεν* BA F *εξηνεγκε* 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M *αυτῳ* 3°] > BA 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M *συν τ. σφραγισιν*] *εν τ. σφ.* BA κ. *εδειξε τας σφ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 + suis 𝔏 > *Ar* M בחותמו של ט׳ F *συνεθηκαν αυτα*] *εδωκεν αυτω* BA *ηριθμησε τ. αργυριον κ. επεθηκεν επι τας καμ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 + supra camelos *α β γ* טען כספא על גמליא *Ar* M ולקח ר׳ הכסף ואת עביאל F 6. *ωρθρισαν*] *ωρθρευσαν* B > 44 *Ar* M vigilaverunt 𝔏 *κοιν. κ.*] > 44 *Ar* M F *εισηλθον* 1°] *ηλθοσαν* B* [b] 44, 106, 107 *α β γ* *ηλθον* B[a]A ואתא M *εις τ. γαμον*] > 44 + ܘܥܠܘ 𝔖 κ. *εισηλθ. . . . εκλαυσ. κ.*] > F κ. *εισηλθ.* 2°] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *α β γ Ar* M *εις τα* P.] > BA 𝔖 *α β γ Ar* M *προς* P. 44, 106, 107 κ. *ευρ.* T. *ανακειμ.*] > BA et invenit Gabelus Th. discumb. (accumb. *γ*) *α β γ* κ. *ανεπ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M κ. *ησπ.*] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *αυτον* 1°] > 44, 106, 107 ܢܫܩܗ 𝔖 *α β Ar* M κ. *εκλ.*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 + Gabelus *α β* + מסגיאות חדואתא *Ar* M κ. *ευλογ.*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *γ* *αυτον*] *Τωβειας τ. γυναικα αυτου* BA (*cf.* F) > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *γ* Deum *α β* κ. *ειπ. . . . ομοιον αυτῳ*] > BA F κ. *ειπ.*] + T. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 dicens 𝔏 *αυτῳ*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* M *Καλε . . . ελεημοπ.*] *ευλογητ. ο κυρ. ος εδωκε σοι ειρην.* (+ bone et optime vir *α β*) *οτι υιος ει* (*ευλ. . . . ει* > *γ*) *ανδρος καλ.* κ. (κ. κ. > 44 𝔖) *αγαθ.* κ. *ελεημοσυνας ποιουντος* 44, 106, 107 (+ et benedictus tu fili *α β*) 𝔖 *α β γ* אלהא דשמיא יברך גבר טב וקשיט עבד צדק׳ ובריך אל׳ ט׳ קריבי *Ar* ברוך יי אלהי ישראל אשר התבירך בשמחה עם האשה M *δωῃ . . . γυν. σ.*] *ευλογημενος ει κ. ευλογ.* (*ευ.* > 44) *ο πατ. σου κ. ευλογ.* (*ευ.* > 44 𝔖) *η γυν. σου κ. ο πατ. κ. η μητ.* (κ. η. μ. > 106) *αυτης* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 דיהב לך ולאבוך ולאמך אתתא טבתא הדא

IX. 3. *ὀμώμοχεν* (R[v]), Th. *Gram.*, p. 205.

5. *συνέθηκαν αὐτά* is possible alone, but probably *ἐπὶ τ. καμήλους* should be restored from *α β γ Ar* and M. On the other hand *α β γ Ar* M inadvertently wrote κ. *εἰσῆλθον* only once in the next verse and then omitted *εἰς τὰ* ʿP. R[c] clings at any rate to the mention of Raguel though its compromise has suffered in 44 and is lost in 𝔖. R[v] so radically abridged the verse that the second half was unintelligible to the copyists, but restore κ. *εὐλ.* ʿP. *τὸν* T. κ. *τὴν γυν. αὐτοῦ* in R[v].

good *lad*, son of a man honest and good, just and merciful! The Lord give thee the blessing of heaven, and unto thy wife and thy father and thy wife's mother! Blessed be God that I have seen Tobias my cousin like him.

D. The Home-coming, x. 1–xi. 17.

i. Tobias' sorrowing parents, x. 1–7[a].

10 1 Now day by day Tobit kept counting how many days he would spend in going and how many
2 return in. And when the days were expired, and his son was not come, he said, Is he perchance
3 detained there? or is Gabael perchance dead, and there is no man to give him the money? And
4 he began to grieve. And Anna his wife saith, My child hath perished, and is no longer among the
5 living; and she began to weep and bewail her son, and said, Woe is me, *my* child, that I let thee
6 go, the light of mine eyes. And Tobit kept saying unto her, Hold thy peace, trouble not, sister, he is in good health; doubtless some distracting business hath befallen them there; and the man who went
7 with him is trusty and one of our brethren; grieve not for him, sister, soon he will be here. And

Ar והוא ברחמיו יתן לך ממנה בנים זכרים ועוסקים בתורת יי M δωη σοι κυρ. ευλογ. ουρ.] det tibi benedictionem (ben. det tibi γ) Dom. coeli α β γ κ. τ. πατ. . . . γυν. σου] > γ ευλογ. . . . ομ. αυτ.] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M οτι ειδ. . . . ομοιον αυτῳ] quoniam video Thobi consobrini mei similem α β et benedicat Deus Thobi consobrinum meum γ.

X. 1. *brev.* M εκαστ. . . . επιστρ.] κ. Τ. ο πατ. αυτ. ελογισατο (-ζετο A) εκαστ. ημερ. BA (*cf.* F) κ. Τ. ηριθμει (-ησε 44) τ. ημ. αφ' ης εξηλθε Τ. ο υιος αυτ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 δε] et 𝔏 *Ar* ημερ.] +בריה *Ar* πορευσ.] יכיל למיזל לקבל כספא *Ar* εν ποσ.2°] > 𝔏 επιστ.] +filius eius 𝔏 οτε συνετελ.] ως επληρωθ. BA επλεονασαν 44, 106, 107 ημεραι] +τ. πορειας (-ιας A) BA F +חושבניה *Ar* ο υι. αυτ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 *pr.* ט' *Ar* κ. . . . ου παρην] ουκ ηρχετο (- οντο A F) BA κ. ελυπηθη Τωβιας (Τ. > 44) 106, 107 (+F) ܐܬܝܠܗ ܠܘܬ ܦܘܪܣܐ 𝔖 2. *brev.* M ειπ.] +Τ. A *pr.* κ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 +בנפשיה *Ar* (*cf.* F) Μη1° . . . η] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κατεσχεθη] κατησχυνται BA דלמא עכבוניה *Ar* קראהו אסון F εκει] > BA בדרך F απεθ.] τεθνηκε 44, 106, 107 ο] > BA 44, 106, 107 ουδεις] ου 44, 106, 107 *Ar* ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ 𝔖 et nemo 𝔏 αυτ. διδ.] διδ. αυτ. BA διδ. τ. υιῳ μου 44, 106, 107 𝔖 יהבו ליה *Ar* (*cf.* F) 3. κ. ηρξ. λυπ.] κ. ελυπειτο λιαν BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 ושרי לאתענאה *Ar* (*cf.* M) *ante v.* 2 F 4. *brev.* M κ. Α. η γ. αυτ. λεγ.] ειπ. δε αυτῳ η γυνη (+αυτου A) BA F κ. ειπ. Α. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 +ליה *Ar* τ. παιδ. μ.] τ. π. BA ο υι. μ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ. ουκ. . . . ζ.] (+ *Ar*) διοτι κεχρονικεν BA *Ar* κ. ουκετι ζη 44, 106, 107 𝔖 quare tardat (-tur γ) α β γ > F ηρξ. . . . υι. αυτ.] ηρξ. θρηνειν αυτον BA εθρηνει περι αυτ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ. ειπ.] εθρηνει λεγουσα 44 5. > M Ουαι μοι] ου μελει μοι (μ *sup. ras.* A[a]) BA οιμοι 44, 106, 107 𝔖 οτι] προς τι 44, 106, 107 𝔖 πορευθ.] > BA 𝔖 απελθειν απ' εμου 44, 106, 107 𝔖 +לארע רחיקתא *Ar* *aliter* F τ. φ. τ. υφθ. μ.] *ante* τεκν. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 +למה שבקתיה למיזל *Ar* +בני ט' F 6. *brev.* M F Τ. ελεγεν αυτῃ] Τ. λεγει αυτη BA παρεκαλει αυτην Τ. κ. ειπ. (κ. ε. 44 λεγων) 44, 106, 107 𝔖 σιγ. . . . υγ.] θαρσει αδελ. παρεσται ο υιος ημ. υγιαινων 44, 106, 107 𝔖 αδελ.] > BA *Ar* κ. μαλα . . . ηδη παρεστ.] > BA κ. μαλα] > 44, 106 107 𝔖 sed forsitan 𝔏 ברם *Ar* περισπασμ.] ܚܦܐ 𝔖 mora 𝔏 מורע *Ar* αυτ. εγ. εκει] detinet illos 𝔏 αυτοις . . . ο ανθρ.] τις αυτων (-τῳ 44 𝔖) γεγονε μη λυπου οτι κ. (κ. > 𝔖) 44, 106, 107 𝔖 αυτοις] ליה κ. εις] εκ 44, 107 et ex 𝔏 > 106 *Ar* τ. αδελ. ημ.] > 106 *Ar* μη λυπ. . . . παρεστ.] μη θῃς επι την καρδ. σ. κακον 106, 107 𝔖 > 44 περι αυτ. αδελ.] ארום *Ar* 7. κ. ειπ. . . . παιδ. μ.] ותמאן להתנחם M (*pr.* F) αυτῳ] Αννα 44, 106, 107 𝔖 > 𝔏 +חנה *Ar* Σιγ. . . . πλανα] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 Σιγ. απ' εμ. κ.] σιγ. BA *Ar* F tace molestus es mihi α β molestus es mihi esse noli γ μη με πλ.] μη πλ. με BA (+F) ולא תנחמינני *Ar* F απωλ.] > *Ar* παιδ.] τεκν. 44, 106, 107 על ברי *Ar* εκπηδ. περιεβλ. τ. οδ.] επορευετο καθ' ημερ. εις τ. οδ. BA F εκπηδ. επι τ. οδου περιεβλ. 44, 106, 107 ܐܬܝܠ ܠܘܬ ܦܘܪܣܐ ܕܐܪܚܐ 𝔖 והות נפקת לפרשת אורחיא *Ar* ותצא אל הדרכים M η ψχ. . . . ημεραν] εξω οιας απηλθ. (-αν A) ημερας τε (ημ. τε > 𝔏) BA 𝔏 (*cf.* F) ει ερχεται ο υι. αυτης (αυ. > 44) 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 ביממא ובליליא אתר דברה ייתי ביה *Ar* בכל יום לראות אם יבא בנה M κ. ουκ επειθ. ουδ.] αρτον ουκ ησθιεν

X. 2. κατῄσχυνται (R[v], an unlucky substitute for κατεσχέθη of R[s], which is supported by *Ar* and F) must be translated 'are they disappointed?' (cf. בוש). R[c] omitted the clause because of this difficult expression, and most moderns who uphold R[v] are here compelled to emend on the basis of R[s]. On -εσχεθη *v.* Th. *Gram.*, p. 238.

4–6. On the relation of these verses to Jub. ch. xxvii. *v.* R. Harris, *A.J.Th.* pp. 349 ff.

5. οὐ μέλει μόι (R[v]) is corrupt. It might be emended ὦ (cf. *Ar*) or ὡς or σὺ (Fri.) μέλει μοι or σὺ μέλει σοι (Tisch.).

6. περισπασμός (R[s]) = 'distracting business, distraction' (e.g. Polyb. iii. 87, 9; iv. 32, 5), represents ענין (occupation, task) six times in Eccles. The words ὁ ἄνθρ. . . . μὴ λυποῦ (R[s]) give the key to the difficult 'perfectus vir (et) verax . . . noli fiere' in Jub. ch. xxvii.

7. -λιμπ. -λιπ. (R[v]), Th. *Gram.*, p. 227. In *Ar* ארבסר (cf. viii. 20, ix. 3) may be original, but prob. it is a transformation by a late scribe of the numerical יד'.

she said unto him, Hold thy peace at me and deceive me not; my child hath perished. And hastening forth early she spent every day watching the road, by which her son had gone, and would hearken to no one; and when the sun went down she would enter in, and mourn and weep the whole night, and have no sleep.

ii. Tobias sets out for home, *vv.* 7ᵇ–13.

And when the fourteen days of the wedding feast were expired which Raguel had sworn to celebrate for his daughter, Tobias entered in to him and said, Send me away, for I know that my father and my mother believe not that they will see me again; and now I pray thee, father, that
8 thou send me away that I may go to my father; already I have told thee how I left him. And Raguel said unto Tobias, Abide, lad, abide with me, while I send messengers to Tobit thy father, and they
9 shall tell him concerning thee. And he said unto him, Nay, I pray thee that thou send me away to
10 my father. And Raguel arose, and handed over to Tobias Sarah his wife, and half of all his goods, men-servants and maid-servants, oxen and sheep, asses and camels, clothing and money and chattels;
11 and he sent them away in peace, and he embraced him and said to him, Farewell, child, depart in peace; may the Lord of heaven prosper you, and Sarah thy wife, and may I see children of you
12 before I die. And he said unto Sarah his daughter, Go unto thy father-in-law, because henceforth

(-ιε B[b]) BA αβγF > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* κ. οτε εδυ . . . υπνον] τ. δε νυκτας (+ολ A) ου διελιμπανεν (B[b (vid)] A -ιπ. B*) θρηνουσα T. τ. υι. αυτ. BA (*cf.* F) εως ου εδυ ο ηλ. κ. εισηλθ. εις τ. οικ. αυτ. (ܠܥܪܒܬܗ 𝔖) κ. ουκ εγευσατο ουδενος κ. ουκ ηδυνατο υπνωσαι (κ. ο. η. υ. > 44) 44, 106, 107 𝔖 ולא טעימת מדם אילהן דמעתא בליליא ולא נח לבה (ו׳ נ׳ ל׳ > M) *Ar* M κ. οτε 2°] εως ου BA F κ. εγενετο ως 106, 107 M κ. ως 44 τ. γαμ.] > 𝔖 ας ωμ. P.] > 44 *Ar* M F ας] καθως 106, 107 ποιησ. τ. θυγ. αυτ.] ποι. αυτον εκει BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* M F εισηλθ. . . . T. κ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F εισηλθ.] > 𝔏 ειπ.2°] +δε (> *Ar*) T. τω (τ. > B[ab]) P. (ܠܗ 𝔖) BA 𝔖 *Ar* M (*cf.* F) +T. 44, 106, 107 +illi 𝔏 Εξαπ. . . . γαρ εγω] εξαπ. με BA *Ar* M F πορευσομαι προς τ. πατ. μου 44, 106 (+F) 107 > 𝔖 *pr.* אדוני F ου πιστ. . . . με ετι] ουκετι ελπιζουσιν οψεσθαι με BA *Ar* αγωνιωσιν (-ιουσιν 106) ει ετι (ετι > 44) οψονται τ. προσωπ. μου 44, 106, 107 ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܝ ܐܢܐ ܡܬܐܒܠܝܢ ܥܡܝ 𝔖 מחשבים את הימים ואינם חושבים וג׳ M כי עד עתה נואשו ממני F ετι] > 𝔏 κ. νυν . . . αφηκ. αυτ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M F κ. νυν] nunc itaque 𝔏 πατ.] > *Ar* κ. πορευθ. . . . αυτ.] דלא יכילנא לאיתעכבא תוך *Ar* 8. κ. ειπ.] ειπ. δε BA P. τ. T.] αυτω ο πενθ. (+αυτου A) BA P. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M ליה ר׳ *Ar* Μειν.1°. . . μετ' εμου] μ. παρ' εμοι BA 𝔏 > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 Remane hic penes me 𝔏 M שב בני F κ. εγω αποστελλω] καγω εξαπ–λω (-λλω B[a]) B* *vid* A αβγ εγω εξ–λω (-λλ 106) 44, 106, 107 αγγ.] > BA *Ar* M F T.] > BA 𝔖 𝔏 *Ar* M F τ. π. σ.] > *Ar* M +ולאמן F υποδειξ.] δηλωσ. BA υποδ–ωσιν 44, 106, 107 αυτῳ] לאבוך *Ar* M περι σου] τα κατα σε BA ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܟ ܐܝܟ 𝔖 +συ δε μειν. ετι ολιγ. ημερας μετ' εμου (μ. ε. > 44) 44, 106, 107 𝔖 כל דעבדת *Ar* M הדבר F 9. ειπ. αυτ.] T. λεγει BA ειπ. T. 44, 106, 107 M F +T. 𝔖 ille dixit 𝔏 אתיב ליה ט׳ *Ar* Μηδαμως] > (ουχι B[ab]) B *Ar* ουχι αλλα A 23, 55, 64, 71 ܠܐ ܠܡܬܐܚܪ ܠܝ 𝔖 in totum 𝔏 +ω πατερ 44, 106, 107 𝔏 לא M אל תאחר אותי אדני אלא αξιω σε] > BA M F peto 𝔏 הב לי רשו *Ar* οπως] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F εξαποστειλης] -λον BA 44, 106, 107 למיתב *Ar* אלך F εντευθ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* F ואלכה M προς] ινα μη λυπησω 44, 106, 107 ܠܐ ܐܬܥܩܪ 𝔖 +ואל-אמי F 10. κ.1°] > BA et continuo 𝔏 αναστας] +δε BA -εστη 44, 106, 107 > M P.] +κ. ελαβε Σ. (Σ. > 𝔖) τ. θυγ. αυτ. κ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *post* παρ. M παρεδ.] εδ. BA +αυτην 44, 106, 107 +ר׳ T.] αυτω BA F Σ. τ. γυν. αυτ. κ.] > 44, 106, 107 S. filiam suam 𝔏 κ. το ημισυ (א A* *vid*) τα (α *sup. ras.*) ημ. BA? κ. εδωκ. αυτῳ 44, 106, 107 παντων] > BA 𝔏 *Ar* M F παντα 106 αυτῳ] > BA +το ημ. 106, 107 +παντων τα ημιση αυτου 44 παιδ. κ. παιδ.] σωματα BA *Ar* β. κ. πρ.] κ. κτηνη BA πρ. 44 oves et boves 𝔏 (*post* καμ. *Ar*) *Ar* M > F ον. κ. καμ.] > BA F κ. κ. ον. 106, 107 καμ. 44 *post* σκ. 𝔏 *Ar* ιματ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F *plen.* M κ. αργ.] αργ. BA et pecuniam κ. σκ.] > BA *plen.* M (*cf.* F) 11. εξαπ.] *pr.* ευλογησας αυτους BA +בשלוה ובהשקט *Ar* > F αυτους . . . ησπασατο αυτον] > BA αυτ. κ. ησπασαντο αυτον 44, 106, 107 𝔖 illum salv. san. et vale illi fecit 𝔏. וברכינון *Ar* M F κ. ειπ. αυτῳ] λεγων BA κ. ε. P. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 et dixit 𝔏 M F ואמר להון *Ar* υγ. . . . υπαγε] > BA *Ar* M F βαδιζετε τεκνα υγιαινοντες 44, 106, 107 𝔖 vade fili salvus sanus 𝔏 ο κυρ.] ο θ. (*post* τεκνα BA) BA 44, 107 *Ar* M F *pr.* κ. 44, 106, 107 ουρ.] +ܐܠܗܐ 𝔖 > *Ar* אבותינו M ישראל F ευοδωσαι] -σει B 44, 106, 107 -λογησει A ישוי שלמא *Ar* יברך M υμας] +τεκνα BA -ιν 106, 107 דרכיכם F κ. Σ. τ. γ. σ.] > *Ar* M F κ. Σ. . . . παιδια] > BA κ. ιδ. τεκνα υμ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ. ιδ.] ויחזי לי *Ar* M F παιδ.] בנים זכרים (ו)עוסקים בתורת יי M προ . . . με] > M με] *ante* αποθ. BA 12. κ.1°. . . απελ. αυτ.] > 44 κ.1°] +εφιλησε Σ. τ. θυγ. αυτ. κ. T. κ. 106, 107 𝔖

10. τὰ ἥμισυ (R[v]), Th. *Gram.*, p. 180. σώματα (R[v]) = *slaves* in classical Greek, e.g. Dem. (480. 10), Plut., but always with αἰχμάλωτα, οἰκετικά or some similar epithet, in the Ptolemaic papyri (cf. espec. Demophon's letter to Ptolemaeus *c.* 245 B.C. in *The Ḥibeh Papyri*, No. 54), in the LXX (e.g. Gen. xxxiv. 29, Bel and Drag. 32; 2 Mac. viii. 11), in Polybius and later writers, and in the N.T. See Deissm., *B.S.*, p. 160, *L.A.E.*, p. 151.

they are thy parents as they who begat thee; farewell, daughter. May I hear a good report of thee so long as I live. And he embraced them and let them go. And Edna saith unto Tobias, Child and brother beloved, may the Lord restore thee, and may I see children of thee while I live and of Sarah my daughter before I die. Before the Lord I commit my daughter unto thee in trust; vex her not all the days of thy life. Child, farewell; henceforth I am thy mother and Sarah thy sister. May we all be prospered in the same all the days in our life. And she kissed them both
13 (11, 1) and sent them away in peace. And Tobias departed from Raguel in peace and rejoicing and blessing the Lord of heaven and earth, the King of all, because he had prospered his journey. And *Raguel* said unto him, Mayst thou be prospered to honour them all the days of their life.

iii. Tobias' reunion with his parents and the return of Tobit's sight, xi. 1–17.

11 1, 2 And when they drew nigh to Caeserin which is over against Nineveh, Raphael said, Thou
3 knowest how we did leave thy father: let us run forward before thy wife, and prepare the house

+apprehendit illum et (+salutans *αβ*) osculatus est (+et *γ*) Sarram (+filiam suam *αβ*) et *αβγ* וגפיף להון ונשיק להון *Ar* M Σ.] > BA 106, 107 *αβγ* *τ. θυγ. αυτ.*] *αυτη θυγατερ* 106, 107 *αβ* illi *γ* > F Υπ. *προς*] *τιμα* BA 106, 107 𝔖 *αβγ Ar* M F +מאד M *τον πενθ. σ.*] *τους π. σου* (*ου sup. ras.* (*seq. ras.* 1 *lit.*) A[1]) BA +*κ. την π. σ.* 106, 107 𝔖 *αβγ Ar* M F *οτι απο . . . γονεις σ.*] *αυτ. νυν γον. σ. εισιν* BA *αβγ* *οτι αυτ. σ. γον. απο τ. ν. εισι* 106, 107 𝔖 > M *απ. τ. ν.*] תרויהון *Ar* *ως οι γενν. σε*] > BA *Ar* M F *καθως ημεθα ημ.* 106, 107 𝔖 *pr.* (*post ως*) pater tuus et mater tuus 𝔏 *βαδ. . . . θυγ.*] > BA F *β. υγιαινουσα* 106, 107 *Ar* M *ακ. σ. αγ. ακοην ε. ζω*] *ακ. σ. ακ. καλ.* BA > 106, 107 𝔖 +et gaudium 𝔏 בחיינו M ונשמע ' ' ' והק"בה ישמעינו ו׳ F *ε. ζω*] (+ M) וחדוא רבתא *Ar* M *cf.* F *κ. απασπ. απελ. αυτ.*] *κ. εφιλησεν αυτην* BA F et osculatus est eam et dimisit (+illam *γ*) *αβγ cf. Ar* *pr.* וישק להם M > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *κ.*[3°]] > 106 Ε. λεγ. Τ.] Ε. *ειπ. προς* Τ. AB *ειπ.* Ε. *πρ.* Τ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 ויאמר אל ט׳ M Τεκν. . . . *αποθ.*] *αδελ. αγαπητε* (ברי ואחי את *Ar* בני M) *αποκαταστησει* (-*αι* A) *σε* (salvum te perducat (ducet te *γ*) *αβγ Ar* M) *ο κυρ. τ. ουρ. κ. δωη μοι ιδειν σου* (*σ.* > *αβγ Ar*) *παιδια* (+ קשיטין *Ar* +טובים לפני יי M) *εκ Σ. τ. θυγ. μου* (+antequam moriar *αβγ* M) BA *αβγ Ar* M *simil.* F > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *ενωπ. τ. κυρ.*] קדמי *Ar* *ante εκ Σ.* M *ενωπ.*] *pr. ινα ευφρανθω* BA *αβγ* *του*] > 44 *κυρ.*] +coeli *αβγ* *παρατιθ.*] *pr. κ. ιδου* BA 𝔖 F *παραδιδ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F והא *Ar* M trado (-am *γ*) *αβγ* *τ. θυγ.*] *pr.* Sarram 𝔏 *Ar* M *εν*] *επι* 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 *παραθηκη*] *παρακαταθ.* (*κατα sup. ras.* A[1]) BA *παρ-ην* (+*ουτως* 106) 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 tanquam bonum depositum 𝔏 (+ F) בידך *Ar* M F *μη λυπησ.*] *μη σκυλ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 *pr.* et 𝔏 *πασ. τ. ημερ.*[1°] . . . *απεστ. υγιαιν.*] > BA *aliter* F *ημερ.*] ימיך M *τ. ζ. σου*[1°]] > 44, 106, 107 M חייה *Ar* *παιδ. εις ειρ.*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 vade f. salvus et sanus *αβγ* ולכו לשלום M *παιδ.*] > *Ar* *απο τ. νυν . . . ζωη ημ.*] ויברכם M *απο τ. νυν*] *κ. ιδου* 106, 107 𝔖 *κ.* 44 > *Ar* *σ. μητ. κ. Σ. αδ.*] *μητ. σ. κ. Σ. η αδ. σ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *αδελφη*] uxor 𝔏 *Ar* *ευοδ. . . . ζωη ημ.*] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 diligat (dirig. *γ*) te deus et illam ut sitis in loco sanctitatis omn. dieb. vit. vest. (diebus vestris *γ*) *αβγ* *αμφοτ.*] > *Ar* M אלהנא יצלח ארחיכון כל ימי חייכון *Ar* *κ. απεστ. υγ.*] *κ. εξηλθοσαν* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *υγ.*] > *Ar* M 13. *κ. απηλθ. . . . βασ. τ. παντ.*] *μετα ταυτα επορευετο κ.* Τ. *ευλογων τον θ.* BA *κ. επορ.* Τ. *χαιρ. κ.* (*κ.* > 44) *ευλ. τον θ. τ. ουρ. κ. τ. γης* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *aliter* M ואחרי כן הלכו משם וט׳ בירך את יי F *απο* P.] > *Ar* *υγ. κ.*] > *αβγ Ar* *κυρ.*] deum *αβγ Ar* *τ. βασ. . . . οτι*] דשלח מלאכיה ו *Ar* *οτι ευοδωκ. τ. οδ. αυτ.*] *οτι ευοδωσεν* (-*οδ.* B*A -*ωδ.* B[a b]) *τ. ο. α.* BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *aliter* M *κ. ειπ. . . . ζ. αυτ.*] *κ. κατευλογει* P. *κ.* E. *τ. γυναικα αυτ.* (+et dixit iniunctum est mihi a Domino (אלהא יסעדנני *Ar*) honorari (-are *γ*) vos omnibus die. vit. vestr. (meae *γ*) *αβγ Ar*) BA *αβγ Ar* *κ. προσηυξατο λεγων γενοιτο μοι τιμαν τον πενθ. μου ωσπερ τους εμαυτ. γον. π. τ. ημερ. τ. ζ. αυτ.* 106, 107 𝔖 > 44 M F

XI. 1. *plen.* M *ως ηγγισαν*] *επορευετο* (+ט׳ *Ar* הלכו F) *μεχρις ου εγγισαι αυτον* (-*τους* B[b? c?] F) *εις* BA *Ar* F *επορευθησαν τ. οδον αυτων κ. ηλθον* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 וילך ויבא M Καστρειν] > BA Καισαρειαν 44, 106, 107 ܟܪܢܝܢ (*v. l.* ܟܪܢܝܢ) 𝔖 Charam *αβ* Caracha *γ* Charan 𝔙 אַקְרִים *Ar* M > F *η εστιν*] > BA F *κατεναντι*] > BA F *απεν.* 44, 106, 107 in medio itinere contra 𝔙 N.] *pr. της* 44, 107 +undecimo die 𝔙 לנינוה F 2. *ειπεν*] *pr. κ.* BA 44, 106, 107 +*προς* Τ. BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* P.] +המלאן F *Συ*] *ου* BA F *γινωσκ.*] +*αδελφε* BA *Ar* +Thobias frater 𝔏 M *πως*] > 𝔖 *αφηκαμεν*] -*κες* B -*καν* (*ν absciss.*) A 44, 107 *Ar* M F -*κα* 106 > 𝔖 reliqueris 𝔏 *τ. πατερα*] ܘܐܒܘܟ (? *l.* ܠܒܝܬܟ *vel* ܠܒܝܬܗ) ܠܒܝܬܗ 𝔖 *σου*] +ואת אמך M 3. *προδρ.*] +*ουν* 106, 107 ܠܒܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܢܬ 𝔖 *τ. γυναικος σ.*] *pr. εμπροσθεν* BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M F +et eamus 𝔏 *ετοιμ.*] ܘܢܐ 𝔖 > M *εν ῳ ερχονται*] > BA F *η δε γυν. σ. παρεσται* (-*εστι* 106) *κατα σχολην* (ܒܡܫܟܘܟ ܕܢܐܬܐ 𝔖) *οπισω ημ.* 44, 106, 107 𝔖 dum prosequitur nos (+puella *αβ*)

XI. 1. R[v] followed by certain Vss. omits purposely to avoid the difficulty as to the precise name of the locality. R[s] on the contrary, though possibly not absolutely original (Reusch conjectures Χαλάχ, cf. *γ* and Gen. x. 11), was the most ancient tradition and is presupposed by the majority of the variants.

4 while they are coming. And they went both together; and he said unto him, Take in thy hands the
5 gall. And the dog went with them, behind him and her son. And Anna sat watching the road by
6 which her son would come. And she espied him coming, and said unto his father, Behold, thy son
7 cometh, and the man that went with him. And Raphael said unto Tobias before he drew nigh to his
8 father, I know that his eyes will be opened; stuff the gall of the fish into his eyes and the medicament
will draw up and scale off the white films from his eyes, and thy father will see again and behold
9 the light. And she ran, and fell upon the neck of her son, and said unto him, I have seen thee, my
10 child; hereafter I can die. And she wept. And Tobit rose and stumbled with his feet and went forth
11 toward the door of the porch. And Tobias went towards him with the gall of the fish in his hand;

αβγ +עם גובריא דילן (*pr.* עם־העבדים M) *Ar* M 4. κ.1° . . . αυτῳ] > BA F κοινως] κ. ο κυων προετρεχεν εμπροσθεν αυτων 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ. ειπ. αυτῳ] > BA P. προς T. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M +angelus 𝔏 Λαβε] +δε BA > *Ar* μετα χειρας] παρα χειρα BA > 44, 106, 107 tecum 𝔏 M > *Ar* χολην] +τ. ιχθυος (+מיד לקח ט׳ את המר׳ של דג בידו F) κ. επορευθησαν ([+וילחה] M) BA F M +τ. ιχθ. εν τ. χειρι σου 44, 106, 107 𝔖 de felle illo, et habe 𝔏 > *Ar* κ. συνηλ.] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M et abiit 𝔏 αυτοις] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 ο κυριος] ο κυων BA *αβγ* F > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M εκ τ. οπισω αυτου κ. τ. υιου αυτης] οπισθεν αυτων BA F εμπροσθεν αυτ. 58, 71, 74, 76, 236, 249 > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* M cum illis 𝔏 5. > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 Αννα] ואשכחו אמיה *Ar* והנה אמו M εκαθητο] +invia et 𝔏 +בפרשת אורחיא *Ar* +על הדרך M περιβλεπ.] > F την οδον] *pr.* εις BA > *Ar* F τ. οδον] adventum 𝔏 > *Ar* F אם יבא M τ. υιου] παιδα BA *Ar* M filii 𝔏 6. > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 ερχομενον] מרחוק ותכירהו M מיד הכירם F κ. ειπ . . . μετ' αυτου] > *Ar* κ. ειπ.] ותרין F κ2°.] > BA τ. πατρι αυτου] אישה M F *pr.* לט׳ M ιδου] +ארני F σου] μου B M > F 7. > *Ar* P. ειπ.] 44, 106, 107 Τωβειᾳ] > B Τωβια *post* εγω A προς T. 44, 106, 107 לנער F προ τ. εγγ. . . . τ. πατ.] > BA M λαβε τ. χολην τ. ιχθ. εν τῃ χειρι σ. κ. εσται εν τ. εγγ. τ. πατρι σ. προσελευσεται σοι (πρ. σ. > 44 ܩܪܝܒ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܟ 𝔖) 44, 106, 107 𝔖 antequam adpropinquemus patri tuo 𝔏 אחי שמע בקולי ובשתכנם בבית F Επιστ.] +εγω B +εγω T. A > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 οτι] *bis scr.* A +ανοιξει B ανοιγει A κ. 106, 107 > 44 enim quia 𝔏 ܐܬ 𝔖 οι οφθ.] τους οφθ. BA F ܥܘܪ 𝔖 עור M αυτου] ο πατηρ σου. BA M F > 𝔖 ανεῳχθησονται] > BA M -ωγμενοι 44, 106, 107 𝔖 ויחבקך F 8. *cf.* סב מרתא דנונא ושוי בעינוי (*post* v. 10) *Ar* ובמרירה הזאת יפתחו עיניו וירפא M ενπλασον] συ εγχρισον B F συ ουν ενχ. A 23, 55, 58, 64, 71 εμπασον] 44, 106, 107 ܡܫܚ 𝔖 +ergo 𝔏 τ. ιχθ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 F ܐܦܝܐ 𝔖 αποστυψει τ. φαρμακον] δηχθεις διατριψει BA ܡܫܚ ܠܗ 𝔖 insidet medicamentum 𝔏 > F απολεπισει] αποβαλειται B βαλει A 23, 58, 71 *pr.* ܡܫܚ ܠܗ ܐܦܝܐ 𝔖 decoriabis 𝔏 ומיד יתרפא ויביט F απο τ. οφθ. αυτ.] > BA F αναβλεψει . . . κ.] > BA 𝔖 F τ. φως] σε BA +ܠܒܨܪ 𝔖 > F 9. *sim.* M 9a. *sim. Ar* κ.1°] והנה F ανεδρ.] προσδραμουσα BA Αννα ειστηκει επιβλεπουσα επι τ. οδον κ. ειδε τ. κυνα προτρεχοντα (περιτρ. 44 ܡܛܠ ܟܠܒܐ 𝔖) κ. εδραμε (κ. ε. > 44) κ. ειπεν (+ ܠܒܪܗ 𝔖) ιδου T. (> 𝔖) ο υι. σου (μου 44) ερχεται. κ. (+ ܥܡܗ 𝔖) ανεστρεψεν A. εις απαντησιν του υι. αυτης (τ. υ. α. 44 αυτου) κ. περιελαβεν αυτον (κ. π. α. > 44) 44, 106, 107 κ.2°] Αννα BA mater sua *αβ* F επεπεσεν] επεσ. A 44 επι] εις 44 τ. υιου αυτης] αυτου 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F +ותבך F αυτῳ] ιδου 44, 106, 107 > 𝔖 F Ειδον κτλ.] בריך אלהא דאתיבך בשלם . . . . מה אוחרת למיתי אמותה הפעם אחרי ראיתי *Ar* וחוי ליה כל עובדיא וחדיאת סגיא ואמרת לה זיל את לאביך ואנא קאימנא עד יתיתי אנתתך (אותך F) את פניך M F Ειδον] ιδον A vides 𝔏 παιδιον] τεκν. 44, 106, 107 fili 𝔏 απο τ. νυν] ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܫܐ 𝔖 amodo 𝔏 αποθ.] +ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ 𝔖 κ.4°] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 εκλαυσεν] -σαν BA +ἀμφότεροι BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *Ar* F +Thobias etiam lacrymatus est *αβ* et Th. lacr. est *γ* +על צוארין עוד M 10. *cf.* ואזל ט׳ ורפאל עמיה וכד שמע טובי . . . ואמר תב לותי . . . דאנא לא יכילנא למיזל לותך *Ar* ανεστη Τωβεις . . . αυλης] τ. εξηρχετο προς τ. θυραν κ. προσεκοπτεν BA *cf.* M (+כי לא ראהו) M ηλθε προς τ. (+ ܠܒܝܬ 𝔖) κ. συτος ειστηκει επι (προ 44) τ. θυρας κ. οτε ηκουσε τ. φωνης τ. υιου αυτ. ηλθεν (ܐܬܐ ܠܒܝܬ 𝔖) απαντησαι αυτῳ κ. αυτος προσεκοπτε (ܢܦܠ ܠܦܘܡܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܛܠ ܟܠܒܐ 𝔖) 44, 106, 107 𝔖 וטוביה עמד כנגד בנו לחבקו F κ. εβαδ. T. προς αυτ.] ο δε υιος (ט׳ M) προσεδραμεν αυτῳ κ. επελαβ. (κ. επ. > M) τ. πατρος αυτ. BA M κ. προσεδραμ. T. τ. πατρι αυτ. κ. ηρε T. φιλησαι αυτ. (τ. υιον αυτ. 106) κ. αμφοτερ. οι οφθ. αυτ. ηνεωγμενοι 44, 106, 107 ܡܫܚ ܠܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܪܓܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܩܡ ܠܡܫܬܚܘܬܗ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪܝ 𝔖 וירץ ט׳ ויפל על רגלי אביו ויקם F 11. *cf.* ואסי אלהא ית עינוהי כיד מן אוולא *Ar* η χολη . . . αυτου κ.2°] > BA 44, 106, 107 ενεφυσησεν] προσεπασεν (α *sup. ras.* Aa) τ. χολην BA F επασε 44, 106, 107 ܢܦܚ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ 𝔖 insufflavit 𝔏 וישם M εις] επι B 44, 107 > 106 αυτου2°] *pr.* τ. πατρος BA 𝔖 𝔏 +τ. χολ. τ. ιχθ. 44, 106, 107 κ.3° . . . αυτου3°] > BA M F εκκαμμυσε (ܥܨܪ 𝔖) τους οφθ. αυτου 44, 106, 107 𝔖 κ. ειπεν] λεγων BA +illi 𝔏 > M Θαρσει, πατερ] τι τουτο εποιησας τεκνον κ. ειπε Τωβιας (+ ܠܡܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܢ 𝔖) φαρμακον ιασεως εστιν πατερ (> 𝔖 +ܐܦܝܢ ܠܥܝܢܝ

5. dog, see Introd., p. 195.
8. ἀναβλέψει (א Rc), Th. *Gram.*, pp. 232, 262.
9. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 29 f. for thought and language. 𝔖 with true Oriental instinct adds the detail of Anna's veiling herself.

(11, 12) and he blew into his eyes, and took hold of him and said, Courage, father! And *Tobias* threw the
12,13(13) medicament upon him, and gave it him; and he peeled off <the white films> with both his hands
14 from the corners of his eyes. And he fell upon his neck, and wept, and said unto him, I see thee, child, the light of mine eyes. And he said, Blessed is God, and blessed is his great name, and blessed
15 are all his holy angels. May his great name [ ] be blessed [ ] to all ages; for he did chastise me, and behold, I see my son Tobias. And Tobias went in rejoicing and blessing God in his whole body, and Tobias shewed his father that his journey had prospered and that he had brought the money, and how he had taken Sarah the daughter of Raguel to wife; and, Behold, she is at hand and
16 is nigh the gate of Nineveh. And *Tobit* went out to the gate of Nineveh to meet his daughter-in-law, rejoicing and blessing God. And when the men of Nineveh saw him go and pass on with all
17 his strength and not led by the hand by anyone, they marvelled. And Tobit gave thanks before

ܟܡ S) 44, 106, 107 S > M κ. επεβ. . . . επεδωκ.] ως δε συνεδηχθησαν διετριψε (-ψεν A) τους οφθ. αυτ. BA >44, 106, 107 ܐܫܬܚܠܗ ܠܥܝܢܘܗܝ S et iniecit (introivit γ) medicamentum in oculis eius et morsum illi praebebat (et momordit eum γ) αβγ >F 12, 13. >*Ar* απελεπισεν . . . οφθ. αυτου] ελεπισθη απο τ. κανθ. τ. οφθ. αυτου τ. λευκωμ. BA απελ. τ. φαρμ. τ. λευκ. 44, 106, 107 ܡܟܝ ܘܡ ܐܫܝ ܠܗ ܡܠܦ ܘܡ ܫܩܠ ܘܡܟܝ ܫܩܝܦܬܐ S +albugines (-em γ) αβγ ומיד נתפזרו התבלולים ופתח את עיניו M ויתבררו עיניו ויפול חלובן מעיניו ונתרפא וראה את בנו F κ.2°] +ιδων τ. υιον αυτ. BA αβγ +ειδε (+Τ. S) τ. φως 44, 106, 107 επεσεν (επεπ. B) . . . τραχ. αυτ.] ηυλογησε τον θ. κ. αναβλεψε εις τ. υιον αυτου (ܚܕܝܬܗ S) κ. εφιλησεν αυτ. (ܢܫܩܗ S) 44, 106, 107 S 14. *aliter Ar* εκλαυσ.] > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M +et benedixit Deum αβ αυτῳ] > BA 44, 106, 107 αβγ *Ar* M F Ειδον σε τεκν.] >BA *Ar* M F τ. φως . . . μου] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* M F κ. ειπ.] >BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 *Ar* MF ο] *pr.* ει BA > 44, 106, 107 𝔏 θ.] κυριος 44, 106, 107 κ.2°] οτι ιδου βλεπω τον υιον μου 44, 106, 107 τ. μεγα] >BA 44, 106, 107 M כבוד מלכותו F αυτου1°] σου BA F Κυριου 44, 106, 107 +εις τ. αιωνας BA M +του θαυμαστα ποιουντος 44, 106, 107 κ.3° . . . αυτ.2°] > 44, 106, 107 וברוכים כל משרתיך F αυτου2°] σου BA γενοιτο τ. ονομα] > BA 44, 106, 107 *Ar* (*aliter* M) F τ. μεγα αυτου] > BA 44, 106, 107 F illius sanctum αβγ *Spec.* εφ ημ. κ. ευλογ. παντ. οι αγγ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 αβ *Ar* F benedictum γ et bened. *Spec. aliter* M εις παντ. τ. αιωνας] >BA 44, 106, 107 *Ar* F 15ª. *plen. et aliter Ar* M οτι . . . μου] > 44, 106, 107 αυτος] > BA γ *Spec.* 28 εμαστιγωσεν] -σας BA +in redargutione mea *Spec.* 28 με] *pr.* κ. ελεησας BA +ipse misertus est mei αβγ *Spec.* 28 +ורופא *Ar* M (*cf.* F) κ. ιδου . . . μου] > *Ar* M et reddidit lumen oculis meis ut viderem filium meum *Spec.* κ.1°] >BA 𝔏 15ᵇ. *brev. Ar* > M Τωβειας1°] ο υιος αυτ. BA Τωβιτ κ. Αννα η γυνη αυτ. εις τ. οικον 44, 106, 107 αβ (γ=א) > F χαιρων] κ. αυτοι εχαιρον 44, 106, 107 gaudentes αβ (γ = א) > F ευλογ. . . . κ.4°] > BA F ευλογων] -ουν 44, 106, 107 benedicentes 𝔏 εν . . . τ. σωματι] περι παντων τ. γεγενημενων αυτοις 44, 106, 107 toto ore suo pro omnibus quae sibi evenerant 𝔏 επεδειξεν] απηγγειλεν BA υπεδειξε 44, 106, 107 והגיד לי בני F Τωβειας2°] > BA οτι1° . . . Νινευη] τα μεγαλεια τα γενομενα αυτῳ [שעשה הקדש ברוך הוא F] εν τῃ Μηδειᾳ BA F >*Ar* ευοδωθη] +a Domino Deo 𝔏 οτι2°] > 44, 106, 107 ενηνοχεν] ανηνεγκε 44, 106, 107 ως] οτι 44, 106, 107 γυναικα] *pr.* εαυτω 44, 106, 107 οτι3°] > 44, 106, 107 παραγινεται κ.] > 44, 106, 107 συννεγγυς] εγγυς 44, 106, 107 Νινευη] εισερχομενη 44, 106, 107 16. κ.] *pr.* κ. εχαρη Τωβιτ κ. Αννα 44, 106, 107 αβ (> γ) *pr.* ופניו ביתא *Ar* εξηλθεν] -οσαν 44, 106, 107 αβ > γ +Τωβειας B F Τωβειτ Bᵃᵇ Τωβιτ Aᵛᵢᵈ απαντησιν τ. νυμφης] συναντ. τῃ -φῃ BA > γ +ורפאל עמהון *Ar* αυτου] -των 44, 106, 107 αβ > γ χαιρων . . . Νινευη] > 44, 106, 107 αβγ πυλην] τῃ -λῃ B >*Ar* M Νιν.] > αβγ *Ar* M ιδοντες] εθαυμαζον οι εθεωρουντες BA (*cf.* M F) ειδον 44, 106, 107 αβγ > *Ar* οι εν Νινευη] > BA 44, 106, 107 qui erant in porta Ninive αβγ κ.2° . . . εθαυμασαν] οτι εβλεψεν BA (*cf.* M F) οι γειτονες αυτων κ. παν. οι συναντωντες κ. εθαυμαζον οτι διεβαινε Τ. ταχυ πασ. τ. ισχυι αυτ. κ. ουδεις οδηγει αυτον 44, 106, 107 venientem et ambulantem cum omni virtute sua nemine dante ei manum et mirabantur αβγ > *Ar* 17. 17ª. *brev. Ar* > M Τ.] > 44, 106, 107 εξωμ.] εξομ. A ευλογει Τ. 44, 106, 107 מספר F εναντιον αυτων] ενωπιον αυτου (-των A) BA *pr.* μεγαλῃ τῃ φωνῃ 44, 106, 107 > F αυτων] -του B τον Θεον 44, 106, 107 הלם F εναντ. αυτ.] coram omnibus 𝔏 *pr.* et benedicebat magna voce Deum et ambulabat cum gaudio 𝔏 αυτον] -τους B ο Θεος] > 44, 106, 107 הקדוש ברוך הוא (*et saepe*) F οτι . . . κ.3°] > BA F ηγγισεν] *pr.* ως BA 𝔏 *pr.* οτι 44, 106, 107 כד חזאה *Ar* F > M Σαρρα] adducens Sarram 𝔏 τῃ γυν. Τ. τ. υιου αυτου] τη νυμφη αυτ. BA 44, 106, 107 F uxorem suam 𝔏 κ. ευλογ.] κατευλογ. BA ευλογ. 44, 106, 107 αυτην] +Thobis 𝔏 κ. ειπ. αυτη] λεγων BA 𝔏 ואמר *Ar* F Εισελθ.1° . . . θυγ.3°] יתן אלהא לך מן אנתתא הדא בנין קשיטין ועיני ועיני אמך חמן *Ar brev. et aliter* M Εισελθ.] ελθ. BA δευρο ελ. 44, 106, 107. intra 𝔏 > F θυγατερ] +προς με 44, 106, 107 *pr.* Sarra 𝔏 > F κ.6° . . . κ.7°] > 44, 106, 107 κ.6°] > BA 𝔏 M F σου] > BA αβγ M F θυγατερ2°] > BA 𝔏 M F ευλογημενος1°] > BA M והנה ביתך F ο πατ. σου] +κ. μητηρ σου אᶜᵃ BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 > M κ. ευλ. Τ. . . . θυγατερ4°] > BA M F τ. ο υιος μου] ο υ. μ. Τ. 44, 106, 107 > M F κ. εν τ. ημερ. . . . Νιν.] > *Ar*

12, 13. τὰ λευκώματα is to be restored after χερσὶν αὐτοῦ (from αβγ). 𝔙 alone states that Tobit held his father *quasi dimidiam fere horam* and that the peelings were *quasi membrana ovi.*

14. The second reference to the angels (which occasioned the insertion of ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κ.) in א is a mere repetition from the preceding clause, being unknown to αβγ as well as to Rᵛ Rᶜ *Ar* M F.

them, because God had shewed mercy on him, and because he had opened his eyes. And Tobit came near to Sarah the wife of Tobias his son, and he blessed her, and said unto her, Welcome,
18 daughter; and blessed is thy God which hath brought thee unto us, daughter, and blessed is thy father and blessed is Tobias my son and blessed art thou, daughter; welcome, daughter, to thy home, with blessing and joy, welcome, daughter. On this day there was joy to all the Jews which were at Nineveh. And **Aḥiḳar** and **Nadab** his cousin [ ] came rejoicing unto Tobit.

E. The Self-revelation and Ascension of Raphaël, xii. 1–22.

i. The Offer of Wages, *vv.* 1–5.

12 1 And when the wedding feast was ended Tobit called his son Tobias, and said unto him, Child, see that thou give the wages to the man which went with thee, so that thou give him more for his
2 wages. And he said unto him, Father, How much shall I give him as his wages? It is no harm
3 to me to give him the half of the possessions which he has brought with me. He hath led me in safety, and he cured my wife, and brought the money with me, and cured thee; how much shall I
4 give him further as wages? And Tobit said unto him, It is due unto him, child, to take the half of
5 all which thou hadst when thou camest. And he called him and said, Take the half of all that thou hadst when thou camest for thy wages, and go in peace.

κ. 9°] > 44, 106, 107 εν τ. ημερᾳ ταυτ.] κ. BA 44, 106, 107 F (*cf.* M) χαρα] + εν τ. ημερᾳ εκεινῃ 44, 106, 107 + גדולה F Ιουδαιοις] εν Νινευη αδελφοις αυτου BA > F τοις . . . Νινευη] > BA τ. κατοικουσιν 44, 106, 107 F 18. > *Ar* Αχεικαρ ℵ*] Αχειαχαρος ℵ c a Αχιαχαρος BA Αχιαχαρ 44 ܐܚܝܩܪ 𝔖 Achicarus αβ Achiacar γ Achior 𝔈 > M F Ναβαδ] Νασβας BA Ναβας 44, 106, 107 ܢܒܠ 𝔖 Nabal αβ in navis γ Nabath 𝔈 > M F οι εξαδελφοι ℵ*] ο -φος ℵ c b BA ܒܪܢܫܗ 𝔖 avunculus αβ consobrini 𝔈 > γ M F αυτου] ܛܒܝܐ 𝔏 Tobiae 𝔈 > M F χαιροντες προς Τ.] (+ αβγ) κ. ηχθη ο γαμος Τωβεια μετ' ευφροσυνης επτα ημερας BA αβγ (*cf.* F) π. τ. χ. 44, 106, 107 + et data sunt ויתנו M illi munera multa (+ ויקרות M) αβγ M χαιροντες] > (*postea restituit*) ℵ c b gaudens γ

XII. *aliter Ar* 1. οτε (ℵ¹ (*vid*) > οτε ℵ*) επετ. ο γαμ.] > BA M F εκαλ. . . . αυτῳ] ειπ. Τ. Τ. τ. υιω αυτ. 44, 106, 107 𝔖 M παιδ. ορα] ο. τεκν. BA τεκν. 44, 106, 107 > 𝔏 ορα] > M δουναι τον] > BA αποδωμεν 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 נתן M והשלים F πορευθ. μετ. σ.] συνελθοντι σοι BA qui tecum fuit 𝔏 προσθειναι] *pr.* κ. BA 𝔖 κ. (> 𝔏 M) -θωμεν 44, 106, 107 𝔏 M > F αυτῳ] > 44, 106, 107 F εις τ. μισθ.] δει BA + αυτου 44, 106, 107 𝔖 > F 2. αυτῳ] > B 𝔏 Τωβιας 44, 106, 107 𝔖 *pr.* ענה ט' F ποσ. . . . μισθ.] > BA M F αυτ. δωσῳ] δῳ αυτ. 44, 106, 107 τον] > 44, 106, 107 𝔖 𝔏 μισθ.] > 𝔖 𝔏 ου βλαπτ.] ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ 𝔏 𝔖 non enim satis est 𝔏 > M ראוי לנו F διδους] δους BA γαρ (> 44) εαν δω 44, 106, 107 τ. υπαρχ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 הכסף M F ενηνοχεν] -χα BA 𝔖 αβγ M F ηνεγκε 106, 107 μετ' εμ.] > BA משם M 3. εμε] οτι με με BA 𝔖 𝔏 *pr.* διοτι 44, 106, 107 *pr.* כי הרבה עשה לנו F αγιοχεν] -ηοχε B b + σοι BA ετηρησεν 44, 106, 107 𝔖 duxit et reduxit 𝔏 הציל מן־הדג F υγιαινοντα] -ιη BA εν τ. οδῳ 44, 106, 107 𝔖 + והביאני בשלום M αργυρ.] + μου BA μετ' εμου] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔖 F מיד גביאל M κ. σ. εθερ.] > 𝔖 σε] + ομοιως BA את עיניך M ποσον . . . μισθον] > BA F ου βλαπτομαι οσον αν (εαν 106 > 44) δω αυτῳ 44, 106, 107 ומה ראוי לתת לו M ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗ 𝔏 𝔖 ετι] > 𝔏 F על כל זאת M 4. > 𝔖 M κ.1°] *pr.* ענה ט' F αυτῳ] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 Τ.] ο πρεσβυτης BA Δικαιουται] Δικαιον δουναι 44, 106, 107 מן הדין ומן הצדק ראוי לו F παιδιον . . . ηλθεν] > BA F παιδιον] > 44, 106, 107 F λαβειν] > 44, 106, 107 F παντων] horum 𝔏 חצי הכסף F εχων ηλθες] ηλθεν (-θες 44) εχ. μετα σου 44, 106, 107 tecum attulit 𝔏 5. εκαλ.] + טוביה M *pr.* מיד F αυτον] τ. αγγ. BA *pr.* Τ. 𝔏 אל־ר' M למלאך רפאל F ειπ.] + αυτῳ BA 𝔖 𝔏 (M) F + עז' בני M עזריה אחי [בא ו]+ F παντων] horum 𝔏 הכסף M F εχων ηλθες] ενηνοχατε B ενηνοχας A εχω 44 ܠܗ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗ 𝔖 משם [י]שהבאת M > F εις τ. μισθον σ.] > BA 𝔖 haec erit merces tua 𝔏 [כי הוא שכרך] M בשכר טורחך F

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18. R^s (except γ) and R^c reproduce fairly faithfully the original form of the name Aḥiḳar, which R^v has by no means entirely lost. 𝔈 has Achior, an instance of 𝔈's affinities with some Syriac version (ܐܚܝܘܪ = ܐܚܝܩܪ). Nasbas in R^v (with which R^c is a compromise) may be meant for the younger brother of Nadan, but *Nadab* is the original, the second and third conss. having suffered metathesis in ℵ, characteristic transcriptional changes in αβ𝔖 (ܢܒܠ into ܢܕܒ), vocalic confusion in 𝔈, and more serious textual corruption in γ. Cf. the variations in the Aḥiḳar story and Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 106, footnote 2. αβ (cf. 𝔈) contain the original statement of R^s, from which ℵ only departed by mistaking the sing. for the plur. Granted this slight change, R^s is quite in conformity with the Aḥiḳar story.

XII. 3. ἀγίοχεν, Th. *Gram.*, p. 204.

ii. **Raphael's Wisdom and Self-revelation,** *vv.* 6–15.

His maxims of life, vv. 6–10.

6 Then he called them both privily, and said unto them, Bless God, and give him thanks in the
sight of all that live, for the good things which he hath done unto you, to bless and praise his name.
7 The words of God show forth to all men with honour and be not slack to give him thanks. It is
good to keep close the secret of a king, but to confess and reveal the works of God. And confess ye
8 them with honour. Do the good, and evil shall not find you. Better is prayer with truth, and alms
with righteousness than riches with unrighteousness; it is better to give alms than to lay up gold:
9 almsgiving doth deliver from death, and it purges away all sin. They that do alms shall be fed
10 with life; they that commit sin and unrighteousness are enemies to their own life.

His revelation of his own being and office, vv. 11–15.

11 I will show you all the truth and will keep close nothing from you. Already I have shown you
and have said, It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but the works of God to reveal gloriously.

κ.] > BA υπαγε] > BA βαδιζε 44, 106, 107 υγιαιν.] > BA 6. τοτε] κ. B > M F εκαλ.] καλεσας BA *pr.* Raph. 𝔏 ויאמר ר׳ M אמר F τ. δυο] *pr.* P. ομου 44, 106, 107 אל ט׳ ואל ט׳ M ܠܗܘܢ ܬܪܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ר׳ F κρυπτ.] > 44, 106, 107 M *plen.* F κ. ειπ. . . . εξομ. αυτ.] *aliter* M κ.1°] > BA αυτοις] ܠܗܘܢ ܠܬܪܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ S τον θ.] *post* ευλογ. BA αυτῳ] -τον 44, 106, 107 εξομ.] + μεγαλωσυνην διδοτε αυτῳ κ. εξομ. αυτῳ B μεγαλυνατε 44, 106, 107 + et ipsius maiestati date honorem et confitemini illi *α β γ* τ. ζωντ.] ανθρωπ. 44, 106, 107 S בקהל עם F α . . . εξομ. αυτ.] > γ α] περι ων BA quia *α β* > F υμ.] ημ. 106 > F αγαθα] -θον BA -θον γαρ 106, 107 > 44 ܢܦܠܐܘܬܝܘ S נפלאותיו F του . . . αυτου] > 44 ευλογ.] + τον θ. BA 106, 107 *α β* S *pr.* טוב F υμν.] υψουν (-οιν B) BA 106, 107 S τ. λογ.] + τ. εργων BA *pr.* κ. 44 et sermones de operibus *α β* του θ.] αυτου 44 *α β* υποδεικ.] -κνυοντες (-γν. A) BA *post* εντιμ. απαγγειλ. 44, 106, 107 ܠܡܬܝܡ S πασιν ανθρ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 > *α β* ܟܠܗ ܐܢܫ S εντιμ.] > S κ. μη . . . αυτῳ] > 44, 106, 107 S et confitemini illi *α β* 7–12. > γ 7. *aliter* M *simil.* F μυστηριον] -ια 44, 106, 107 *pr.* quoniam *α β* βασιλεως] ܡܠܟܐ S κρυπτ. . . . εντιμ.] > S κρυπτ. καλ.] καλ. -ψαι B καλ. -πτειν A 44, 106, 107 εργα] + κυριου 44, 106, 107 εξ—θαι κ. ανακ. κ. εξ—θε εντιμ.] ανακ. ενδοξως BA αναγγελλειν εντιμως 44, 106, 107 revelare et confitere honorificum est *α β et mult. patr.* το αγ. . . . υμας] > A 44, 106, 107 *α β* το αγ. ποιειτε] αγ. -ησατε B ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܣܬܪܐ S ευρ. υμ.] ܢܫܟܚܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ S 8. *similiter* M ܡܛܠ ܕܛܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܨܠܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܡܓܠܝܐ ܪܙܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܛܪ ܠܟܘܢ S αληθειας] νηστει. (-τιας A) BA 44, 106, 107 *α β Spec.* 24 *Cypr. Aug. Ps.-Aug.* F ελεημοσυνη] -ης BA > F μετα 2°] κ. BA *Cypr. Aug. Ps.-Aug.* (*α β Spec.* 24 = א) > F δικαιοσ.] + αγαθον το ολιγον μετα δικαιοσυνης BA μαλλον 1° . . . αδικιας] super utrumque autem melius est modicum cum iustitia quam plurimum cum iniquitate *α β* et in his omnibus etiam modicum cum iust. melius est quam plur. cum iniq. *Spec.* 24 > F μαλλον (*bis*)] > BA 44, 106, 107 η] υπερ 44, 106, 107 πλουτος] πολυ BA αμφοτερα 44, 106, 107 μετα αδικιας] > 44, 106, 107 καλον] κρεισσον 44, 106, 107 ποιησαι] *pr.* το A ποιειν 44, 106, 107 θησαυρισαι] -ζειν 44, 106, 107 9. ελεημ.1°] + γαρ A 44, 106, 107 *α β* αυτη] > 44, 106, 107 S αποκαθαιρει] -αριει BA καθαριζει 44, 106, 107 *α β* > S M πασ. αμαρτιαν] απο π. αμαρτιας 44, 106, 107 > S M peccata *α β* עון F ελεημ.2°] + κ. δικαιοσυνας BA + et miserationem et iustitiam *α β* > M χορτασθ.] πλησθ. BA *α β* εμπλ. 44, 106, 107 ܢܬܟܠܘܢ S ישביעהו הק״בה F > M 10. > S M *simil.* F οι] + δε BA ποιουντες αμ. κ. αδικ.] αμαρτανοντες BA ψυχης] ζωης BA 44, 106, 107 11. πασ. . . . υποδειξω κ.] > BA M F κ. νυν αναγγελω υμιν πασ. τ. αληθ. 44, 106, 107 πασ.] > S κρυψ.] αποκρ. 106, 107 παν] > 44, 106, 107 S ρημα] > S ηδη . . . υπεδειξα κ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S M F ειπον. . . . ενδοξως] > 44, 106, 107 S M *simil.* F ειπον] ειρηκα δη (δε A) BA καλον κρυψαι] κρ. καλ. BA κ. τα] τα δε BA autem *α β Aug.* > *Cypr.* ανακαλυπτειν] + et confiteri *α β Cypr.* > *Aug.* 12. *simil.* M F κ. νυν] > 44, 106, 107 S et tunc *α β* οτε] ουτω 44 κ. Σ.] συ (+ Τ. S) κ. η νυμφη σου Σ. BA 44, 106, 107 S M F tu *α β Cypr. Aug. Spec.* εγω . . . υμων] εισηκουσθη (*pr.* κ. 44) η φωνη (ܩܠܗ S) αμφοτερων 44, 106, 107 S הכנסתי את דמעתכם F τ. δοξ. Κυρ.] τ. αγιου BA του θ. 44, 106, 107 S in clar. Dei et legi *α β* כסא הכבוד M לפני הק״בה F κ. οτε εθαπτ.] κ. εισηκουσθη (ܐܬܬܟܝ S) σου τ. εργα κ. ελεημοσυναι (*pr.* αι 44) σου (σ > 44) ας εποιησας επι 44, 106, 107 S ωσαυτως] + συμπαρημην (συνπ. A μην *sup. ras.* A[a?]) σοι BA M (*cf.* F) > 44, 106, 107 S similiter *α β Aug.* simpliciter *Cypr.*

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6. Cod. Vat.'s ὑψοῖν is the only infin. in -οιν in LXX; among the papyri the earliest example of it belongs to the year 18 A.D., Moult., *Prol.* 53, n. 2.

τῶν ἔργων after λόγους probably once stood in R[s] (as 𝔏 suggests), but was either a gloss or a doublet translation, which is rightly omitted in א and R[c] but retained in R[v], exactly as in *v.* 9 R[v] has retained the doublet δικαιοσύνην and inserted the copula before it. Müller's supposition that τ. ἔργων here points back to דברו (אמרו) מעשי אלהים misread as דברי (אמרי) מ׳ א׳ is untenable since the verse is already more than sufficiently well supplied with verbs.

12 And now, when thou didst pray and Sarah, I did bring the memorial of your prayer before the
13 glory of the Lord: and when thou didst bury the dead, likewise. And when thou didst not delay
14 to rise up, and leave thy dinner, but didst go and cover the dead, then I was sent unto thee to try
(14), 15 thee; and at the same time God did send me also to heal Sarah thy daughter-in-law. I am Raphael,
one of the seven angels, which stand and enter before the glory of the Lord.

iii. Raphael's Commission and Ascension, *vv.* 16–22.

16, 17 And they were both troubled, and fell upon their faces; and they were afraid. And he said
18 unto them, Be not afraid, peace be unto you; bless God to all eternity. I when I was with you,
was not with you of any favour of mine, but by the will of God; him bless ye day by day, him
praise.

19 R^S And ye behold me that I have eaten nothing,
20 but a vision hath appeared to you. And now
bless the Lord on the earth and give God thanks:
Behold I ascend to him that sent me: write down
all these things which have been happened to you.
21 And he ascended. And they rose up and could

All these days did I appear unto you; and I R
did neither eat nor drink, but it was a vision ye
yourselves saw. And now give God thanks
because I ascend to him that sent me: and write
in a book all the things which have been done.
And they rose up and saw him no more. And

13. *plen.* M κ. οτε] et quia αβγ *Cypr. Aug.* ουκ ωκν.] > 44, 106, 107 M F ܡܛܠܗ ܕܢܚܡܐ S αναστηναι] -στας > 44, 106, 107 S > M F κ.2° . . . κ.4°] 44, 106, 107 S καταλιπειν] -λειπιν A σου] *post* αριστ. BA κ.] οπως BA ωχου κ.] απελθων BA περιεστειλες] -στειλης BA -εστειλας 44, 106, 107 ܡܩܒܪܬ S sepelisti 𝔏 M F +ובלילה F τοτε . . . πειρ. σε] ουκ ελαθες με (ς με *sup. ras.* A^a) αγαθοποιων (αγαθον ποιων A) αλλα συν σοι ημην BA κ. ηλθεν επι σε πειρασμος 44, 106, 107 (αβγ *Cypr. Aug.*=א) +et S. nurum tuam (*ex v.* 14) αβ *plen.* M 14. > αβ *simil.* M κ.] > S iterum *Cypr. Aug.* αμα] νυν BA F ο θ. 44, 106, 107 S ובעת צרתך M απεσταλκεν] -ειλεν BA 44, 106, 107 με] +ܕܫܕܪܢܝ S ο θ.] > 44, 106, 107 S κ.2°] *pr.* σε BA 44, 106, 107 S γ *Cypr. Aug.* Σ.] *post* σου BA > 44, 106, 107 S 15. εγω] *pr.* ܐܢܐ S P.] +המלאך M εις] +εκ BA επτα] > 44, 106, 107 M αγγελ.] *pr.* αγιων BA αβγ *Cypr. Ps-Aug.* (> *in altero loc. Ps-Aug.*) > 44, 106, 107 +iustis *Cypr. Aug. in alt. loc.* השרים M οι] > 44, 106, 107 S παρεστηκασιν] προσαναφερουσιν τ. προσευχας τ. αγιων BA τ. παρεστωτων 44, 106, 107 S κ. εισπορ.] > 44, 106, 107 S M τ. δοξ.] > 44, 106, 107 S F *pr.* כסא M Κυρ.] τ. αγιου BA του θ. 44, 106, 107 S Dei 𝔏 > M הק"בה F 16. εταραχθ.] ܐܫܬܬܪܘ S οι δυο] αμφοτεροι 44, 106, 107 ויהי כשמעם את כל הדברים M (*cf.*) F επεσαν] -ον B 44 +αμφοτεροι 44 αυτων] > BA +επι τ. γην 44, 106, 107 S κ.3°] οτι BA 106, 107 > 44 S εφοβηθ.] > 44 S M 17. ειπ.] +R. 𝔏 M ειρηνη] *pr.* οτι A *ante* μ. φοβ. M υμιν] +εσται BA 44, 106, 107 τον] +δε BA τον θ.] *post* ευλογ. 44, 106, 107 εις] 44, 106, 107 S παντα] > BA 44, 106, 107 S τ. αιωνα] > 44, 106, 107 S *aliter* M (*cf.* F) 18. > M *aliter* F εγω . . . υμων 1°] > BA 44, 106, 107 S ουχι] οτι ου BA 44, 106, 107 S εμη] εμαυτου BA χαριτι] ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ S ημην μεθ' υμ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S 𝔏 θελησει] ܒܨܒܝܢܐ S θεου] +υμων B +υ. ηλθον A +εγω ηλθον 44, 106, 107 +ܒܫܠܡ ܐܠܗܐ S αυτον . . . υμνειτε] > 44, 106, 107 S αυτ. ευλ.] οθεν ευλ. αυτ. BA 𝔏 κατα . . . ημερ.] εις τ. αιωνα BA *pr.* et αβγ αυτῳ υμν.] > BA 19. et videbatis me αβ videbatis enim me quia manducabam sed visu vestro videbatis γ videbatis me manducare sed visu vestro videbatis *Aug.* 13122 vidistis me &c. *Aug.* *simil.* M F κ. θεωρειτε με] πασ. τ. ημερας ωπτανομην υμιν BA > 44, 106, 107 S οτι] κ. BA 44, 106, 107 S ουθεν] ουδε επιον BA 44, 106, 107 S ορασις . . . εθεωρειτο] ܚܙܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܟܠܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ S ορασις] -σιν BA -σεις 44, 106, 107 υμιν] -εις BA > 44, 106, 107 εθεωρειτο] -ρειτε BA 44, 106, 107 20. וכהשלים את הדברים מיד נעלם מעיניהם F ευλογ. . . . Κυρ. κ.] > BA M αναστητε εκ τ. γης 44, 106, 107 S et nunc benedicite in terra γ et nunc surgite a terra αβ εξομολ. . . . αποστ. με] > 44, 106, 107 S M ιδου εγω] διοτι BA γραψ.] *pr.* κ. BA 44, 106, 107 S *pr.* ergo 𝔏 παντα] *pr.* ταυτα 44, 106, 107 ܟܠܗ ܐܬܟܬܒ S ταυτ. τ. συμβαντα υμ.] τ. συντελεσθεντα BA > 44, 106, 107 S κ. ανεβη] εις βιβλιον BA 44, 106, 107 S (+*mult. verb.*) M +κ. τον θ. ευλογειτε εγω γαρ αναβαινω προς τ. αποστειλαντα με θ. (θ. > S) 44, 106, 107 S (*cf.* M) +וישלחוהו M 21. > (*cf. v.* 20) F κ. ανεστησαν] ויעל מלאך

16–22. The linguistic affinities with the records of the Transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ are remarkable. With the whole of *v.* 16 cf. Matt. xvii. 6, Luke xxiv. 5. With μὴ φοβεῖσθε in 17 cf. Matt. xxviii. 5, 10. εἰρήνη ὑμῖν cf. Luke xxiv. 36 (>D+ἐγώ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε G old Lat.), John xx. 19, xxi. 26. (With *v.* 18 cf. John i. 13.) With ἐθεωρεῖτε (19) cf. Luke xxiv. 37, 39; οὐκ ἔφαγον contrast Luke xxiv. 43; with ὠπτανόμην (in LXX 3 (1) Kings viii. 8 and in papyri, e.g. ὀπτάεται in *Paris* No. 49. 33. *c.* 160 B.C., and ὀπτανομένων *Tebtunis* No. 245. 117 B.C.) cf. Acts i. 3 and the 'Great magical papyrus' of *c.* 300 A.D. (No. 574 of the *Supplément grec* in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, reproduced in part by Deissm. in *L.A.E.*, pp. 250–60), in the Jewish text of which occur the words ὁρκίζω σε τὸν ὀπτανθέντα τῷ Ὀσραηλ. In *v.* 20 with ἀναβαίνω πρός cf. John xx. 17; πρὸς τὸν ἀποστ. με cf. John xvi. 5, xx. 21. With γράψατε and εἰς βιβλίον (R^V) cf. John xx. 30, xxi. 25, Rev. i. 11; ἀνέβη (R^S) cf. Ephes. iv. 9. With *v.* 21 cf. Acts xxi. 9, 10. With ηὐλόγουν in *v.* 22 (R^S) cf. Luke xxiv. 53; ὤφθη αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος cf. 1 Tim. iii. 16 ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις.

22 no longer see him. And they blessed and praised God and they gave him thanks for these his great works, how the angel of God had appeared unto them.

they confessed the great and wonderful works of God, and how the angel of the Lord had appeared unto them.

iv. **Tobit's Prayer of Joy**, xiii. 1–18.

The Exile's prayer of exhortation and consolation, vv. 1–6.

13 1 And he said
Blessed is God that liveth for ever, and his kingdom,

2 For he chastiseth, and showeth mercy.
He leadeth down to Hades below the earth,
And he bringeth up from the great destruction;
And there is nothing that shall escape his hand.

3 Give thanks unto him before the Gentiles, ye children of Israel,
For he hath scattered you among them,
4 And there he hath shown you his greatness;
And extol ye him before all the living.

Because he is our Lord, and he our God, and he our Father,
Yea, he is God to all the ages:
5 He will chastise you for your iniquities,
And will show mercy unto you all.

6 When ye turn unto him out of all the nations
Whithersoever ye shall be scattered,

יי השמימה M ουκετι ηδυν. ιδειν] ουκ ειδον BA 44 ουκ ειδοσαν 106, 107 ܐܝܟ ܕܚܙܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ S לא יסף להראות M
αυτον] + ουκετι 106, 107 + ܠܐ ܢܘܟܪܝ S 22. ηυλογ. . . . αυτου] *ante* וישלחוה M *brev.* F ηυλογ. . . .
θεον κ.] > BA ηυλογουν τ. θ. κ. 44, 107 S -ουντο τ. κυριον 106 αυτῳ] > BA 44, 106, 107 S επι] > BA
αυτου] > BA τ. μεγαλα] > 44, 106, 107 S ταυτα] κ. θαυμαστα αυτου (του θ. A) BA > 44, 106, 107 S
omnibus 𝔏 ως . . . θεου] α εποιησεν αυτοις 44, 106, 107 S > M ως] *pr.* κ. A αγγελος] *pr.* ο A
θεου] Κυρ. BA

XIII. > *Ar* 1. κ.1°] *pr.* κ. Τ. εγραψεν προσευχην (την πρ. (ܠܐܚܕܘܬܐ S) ταυτ. 44, 106, 107 S) εις αγαλλιασιν BA 44, 106, 107 S M וט׳ תקן תפלה והתחיל להתפלל F Tunc locutus est T. et scripsit orationem in laetitiam (-ia α) αβγ ειπ.] + ܐܡܪ S M Ευλογ. ο θ.] Benedictus es (S *passim in vv.* 1–18) deus 𝔏 S ο ζων] quia magnus es et vivis 𝔏 פלאיו לעמו ועבדיו (Π *solum*) הגדול המפליא לעשות M εις τ. αιωνα] εις τ. -νας BA 44, 106, 107 > S M κ.2°] οτι εις παντ. τ. αιωνας 44, 106, 107 𝔏 + ܠܥܠܡ S η βασ. αυτ.] + est 𝔏 שם כבוד מלכותו F 2. *pr.* הוא טרף וירפאני F ελεα] -εει B ab ורופא M F וממית ומחיה M εως αδου] εις αδην BA κατωτ. τ. γης] > BA 44 S M F κατω 106, 107 𝔏 [κ. αυτ. αναγ. *usque ad cap. fin. aliter* M] αυτ.2°] > BA 44 S 𝔏 εκ τ. απωλ.] > BA 44 S F τ. μεγ.] > BA S F εν τ. μεγαλωσυνη αυτου 44, 106, 107 𝔏 ουδ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S 𝔏 F ο] ος BA 44, 106, 107 S 𝔏 F εκφευξ.] effugiat 𝔏 τ. χ. αυτ.] ܒܝܕܗ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ S > F 3. εξομολογεισθε] εξωμολογεισθαι A οι] > 44 Ισρ.] θεου 44, 106, 107 ενωπ. τ. εθνων] *pr.* שירו · · · בקשו פניו תמיד F υμας] ημ. BA 44, 106, 107 S 4. *simil.* F κ.1°] > BA 44, 106, 107 S εκει] > 44, 106, 107 S υπεδειξεν . . . ζωντος] ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ S υπεδειξεν υμιν] υποδειξατε BA 44, 106, 107 αβ μεγαλωσ.] misericordiam 𝔏 κ.2°] > BA 44 καθοτι] διοτι 44, 106, 107 quoniam 𝔏 ημ.1° κυρ. εστιν κ.3° αυτ.2° θ.1° ημ.2°] κυρ. ημ. κ. θ. αυτ. (ο θς ο A) BA κυρ. κ. θ. ημ. 106, 107 κυρ. θ. 44 est Dominus Deus noster 𝔏 κ.4° αυτ.3°] > BA κ. 106, 107 ο 44 κ.5° αυτ.4° θ.2°] > BA S et deus 𝔏 5. μαστ.] *pr.* κ. BA flagellavit 𝔏 F μαστιγ. . . . υμων κ.] ܡܬܚܢܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ S υμας] ημ. BA 44, 106, 107 επι] εν BA 44, 106, 107 ob 𝔏 υμων] ημ. BA 44, 106, 107 παντ. υμ.] παλιν BA 44, 106, 107 S > F ελεησ.] + באחרית הימים ולהושיעכם F κ. συναξει ημας BA 44, 106, 107 S αβ
οπου αν] ου εαν BA ου 44, 106, 107 ubicumque 𝔏 διασκορπισθητε] σκορπ. B εσκορπισθητε A διεσκορπισθημεν 44, 106, 107 S dispersi fueritis 𝔏 6. *aliter* F οταν] εαν BA 44, 106, 107 κ.1° . . . υμων 2°] > 𝔏

22. ἐξομολ. (Cod. Vat.) cf. Th. *Gram.*, p. 199.

XIII. 3. ὅτι may be an error for οὗ or, as it is common to all recensions, a mistranslation of אשר (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 1).

6ᵇ–10ᵃ. ℵ's lacuna is due to that very common cause of such omissions, homoeoteleuton, and is not a proof of more than average frailty on the part of its scribe. After he had transcribed τ. βασ. τ. αιων, of 6¹, his eye returning to the MS. he was copying, lighted on τ. βασ. τ. αιων. in *v.* 10¹ and he proceeded to transcribe 10ᵇ.

With your whole heart and with your whole soul, to do truth before him,
Then he will turn unto you, and will no longer hide his face from you.

And now see what he hath wrought with you,
And give him thanks with your whole mouth,
And bless the Lord of righteousness,
And exalt the everlasting King.

< I, in the land of my captivity, give him thanks,
And show his strength and majesty unto nations of sinners.
Turn, ye sinners, and do righteousness before him.
Who can tell if he will accept you and have mercy on you?

The New Jerusalem, vv. 7–18[a].

7 I exalt my God, and my soul [ ] shall rejoice in the King of heaven;
8 Of his greatness let all men tell,
And let them give him thanks in Jerusalem.

9 O Jerusalem, thou holy city! he will chastise thee for the works of thy hands,
And will again have mercy on the sons of the righteous.
10 Give thanks to the Lord with goodness, and bless the everlasting King, >

That thy tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy,
And that he may make glad in thee all that are captives,
And love in thee all that are miserable and all the generations of eternity.

τῃ 1°] > B εν ολη. . . ψυχῃ] > S υμων 2°] > B ενωπιον] εμπροσθεν 44, 106, 107 αληθ.] +ܒܫܪܪܐ S τοτε . . . αφ. υμων] > S επιστρεψει] ε *sup. ras.* A? ουκετι] > BA 44, 106, 107 κ. νυν . . . δικαιοσυνης κ.] > 44 νυν] > BA 106, 107 εποιησεν] ποιησει BA 106, 107 μεθ'] με *sup. ras.* B ab στοματι] σωματι B ܒܟܠܒܐ S corde 𝔏 ευλογησατε] -γειτε A 106, 107 υμων 5°] + ut faciatis coram illo veritatem 𝔏 κυριον] ܠܡܪܝܐ S שמו F τ. δικαιοσυν.] > F in iustitia 𝔏 τ. αιωνων] אשר מלכותו עומדת לעולם ועד F εγω—10[a] > א [*usque ad* 10[a] B:—] εγω . . . αμαρτωλων] > S ואספר נפלאותיו וכחו וגבורתו לעיני כל חי F μου] > 44, 106, 107 εξομολογουμαι] -γησομαι 44, 106, 107 ισχυν] +ipsius 𝔏 εθνη αμαρτωλων B.] -νει -λῳ 248, 249 coram [in *Cypr.*] natione peccatrice α β *Cypr.* αμαρτωλοι] > 44, 106, 107 *pr.* המורדים F κ. ποιησατε . . . αυτου] > F τις γιν. . . . υμιν;] > 44 τις γιν. (γιγν. A)] > S F η B*] ει A > B b ο S אולי F θελησει] > F υμας] ημας 106, 107 > α β (vos *Spec.* 5) κ. ποιησει] ut faciat 𝔏 υμιν] εις υμας A ημιν 106, 107 +כי אל רחום ' ' ' ורב חסד ואמת F 7. τον] *pr.* εγω 44, 106, 107 F *pr.* ܐܝܟܡܐ S τ. θεον μ.] > α β υψω] אקרא F. ego (*vide sub* τ. ουρ.) α β τ. βασιλει] τ. βασιλεα A 44, 106, 107 ܫܒܚܘ S τ. ουρ. (*v.* υψω)] > S caeli laetationem (-orum -titiam *Fac. Herm. Def.*) dicimus α β κ.2°] +anima mea (*iterum*) α β κ.2° αγαλλιασεται] αγαλλιασομαι 44, 106 > S הוד והדר לפניו F +omnibus diebus vitae meae α β τ. μεγ. αυτ.] > S עוז ותפארת במקדשו F maiestatem eius *post* laudate (*v.* 8) α β 8. λεγετ. παντες] Benedicite domino omnes electi, et omnes laudate α β λεγετ.] > S F παντες] *post* Ιεροσ. 44 > S +העמים F κ. εξομ.] ܘܐܘܕܘܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ S +נפלאותיו F et confitemini 𝔏 εν Ιεροσολ.] *seq. ras.* 2 *vel* 3 *litt. in* A +παντες 44 agite dies laetitiae *ante* κ.3° 𝔏 9. Ιεροσ.] > S F [αγιου *usque ad cap. fin.* > S] αγιου] αγια A 𝔏 αγιασματος 44, 106, 107 μαστιγωσει] flagellavit 𝔏 μαστιγ. . . . δικ.] הוא שלם לך עונות בניך ועוד יושיעם ויש תקוה לאחריתך נאם יהוה ושבו בנים לגבולם F επι τ. εργ.] in operibus 𝔏 εργα] עונת F υιων] οικετων 44, 106, 107 manuum α β κ. παλιν . . . δικαιων] > α β 10. > 44 *plen. et aliter* F κυρ. αγαθως] αγαθω A in bono 𝔏 [κ.1° *usque ad libri caput* א:—] κ.] ινα BA 106, 107 𝔏 η σκηνη αυτ. οικοδ.] *cf.* לשכן שמו בתוכך F η] > A σκηνη] σπουδη 106 σου] αυτου BA 106, 107 οικοδομηθησεται] -θῃ BA 106, 107 σοι 1°] *pr.* εν A 44, 106, 107 𝔏 ευφραναι] -ρανη A -ροσυνης 106, 107 παντας] > BA 106, 107 (*bis*) αιχμαλωτ.] *pr.* εκει A κ.3°] > 106,

7, 8. A line seems to be lacking and λεγέτ. is awkward without an object. Metre, parallelism, and grammar are alike improved if καί in *v.* 7 is omitted, ψυχή taken as subject of ἀγαλλ., and τ. μεγ. as object of λεγετ. on the analogy of אמר and דבר with direct accus., Ps. cxlv. 6, 11, Sir. xxxiii. 10, John viii. 27.

9. *works of thy hands*, i.e. idols (with reference to Is. xxxi. 7), restored by Reusch from α β in place of the colourless *sons* (derived from 9[b]) of R[v] and R[c].

10. The connexion of 10[b] with the earlier portion of the poem being lost after the omission of 6[b]–10[a], the scribe of א substituted καί for ἵνα, which must therefore be restored. The Semitic construction of the infin. (εὐφράναι) carrying on the finite verb was first altered in R[c].

11 A bright light shall shine unto all the ends of the earth ;
Many nations < shall > come from afar,
And **the inhabitants** of the utmost ends of the earth unto thy holy name ;

With their gifts also in their hands unto the King of heaven,
Generations of generations shall utter rejoicing in thee,
And thy name that is elect unto the generations of eternity.

12 Cursed shall be all they that shall speak a hard word ;
Cursed shall be all they that demolish thee,
And throw down thy walls ;

And all they that overthrow thy towers,
And set on fire thy habitations ;
But blessed shall be all they that fear thee for ever.

13 Then go and be exceeding glad for the sons of the righteous :
For they all shall be gathered together,
And bless the everlasting Lord.

14 Blessed *shall* they *be* that love thee ;
And blessed *shall* they *be*
That shall rejoice for thy peace :

And blessed *shall be* all the men
That shall sorrow for thee
For all thy chastisements :

Because they shall rejoice in thee
And shall see all thy joy for ever.

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107 εν 2° σοι 3°] κ. 106, 107 > 𝔏 κ. 4°] εις BA 106, 107 αβ τ. αιωνος] υμων 106, 107 11. φως . . . γης] > BA 44, 106, 107 F φως λαμπ. λαμψει] luce splendida fulgebunt αβ luce clara fulgebis *Brev. Moz. Vig. Epiph.* ישאלו בשלומך ויבקשו F κ. κατοικ.] ηξει BA 44, 106, 107 venient tibi habitare (-tatores *Brev. Prosp.*) αβ *Brev. Ps.-Prosp.* παντ. . . . γης] > BA 44, 106, 107 παντ. τ. εσχ.] a novissimis partibus αβ τ. αγι. σου] κυρ. του θ. BA 44, 106, 107 *Brev. Ps.-Prosp.* dei mei αβ (*cf.* יהוה עליון מלכי תרשיש ואיום F) κ.3°] > BA 44, 106, 107 τα δ. αυτων 1°] δ. BA 44, 106, 107 ταις χ. αυτων 2°] χ. BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 εχ.] +κ. B 44, 106, 107 τῳ βασ.] *pr.* δωρα *iterum* BA 44, 106, 107 του ουρ.] caeli (-orum *Prosp.*) et terrae 𝔏 γενεαι γεν.] -εα γεν. A > F > (*sed v.* εις τας γ.) 𝔏 δωσουσιν] *pr.* αινεσουσιν σοι κ. A *post* in laet. offerentes αβ *post* terrae offerent *Prosp.* -runt *Brev.* (*cf.* מלכי שבא וסבא אשכר יקריבו F) εν σοι αγαλλιαμα] σοι αγ. B 44, 106, 107 -λιασιν A in laetitia *post* terrae αβ cum laet. *post* off. *Prosp.* κ.3 ον. . . . αιωνος] > BA 44, 106, 107 F ον. της εκλ.] nomen magnum (*pr.* domini *Brev.*) erit αβ εις τας γεν. τ. αιωνος] in saecula saeculorum αβ *Prosp.* in omnibus -lis *Brev.* 12. επικατ.] *cf.* יבושו ויסוגו אחור F παντες] +qui spernunt (+in *Brev.*) te et omnes q. blasphemant te: maledicti erunt omn. q. odiunt (-erunt *Brev.*) te et αβ *Brev.* ερουσιν . . . οικησεις σου] μισουντες σε BA 44, 106, 107 επικατ.2° εσοντ. παντ.] *ante* q. odiunt αβ *Brev.* κατασπωντ.] *pr.* omn. q. *Brev.* εμπυριζ.] *pr.* omn. q. 𝔏 κ.4° . . . σε] > F κ.4°] > BA 44, 106, 107 ευλογητ.] -γημεν. BA 44, 106, 107 εις τ. αιωνα] *post* σε BA αβ *Brev.* οι φοβ. σε] οι αγαπωντες BA 44, 106, 107 qui aedificant te αβ *Brev.* 13. τοτε] > BA 44, 106, 107 πορευθητι] χαρητι B* A 44, 106, 107 αβ *Brev.* χαρηθι B^ab +ירושלם F προς τους υι.] επι τοις υι. BA 44, 106, 107 in filiis αβ *Brev.* τ. υι. τ. δικ.] על קבוץ בניך השבים בקרבך F παντες] > BA 44, 106, 107 F επισυναχθ.] συναχθ. BA 44, 106, 107 ושם יודו F κυριον] שם יהוה F τ. αιωνος] δικαιων BA 44, 106, 107 > F 14. μακ. . . . σε] > 44 F μακ.2°] *pr.* ω BA ως 106, 107 κ. μακ. οι] > BA F ευλογημενοι εσονται παντες 44, 106, 107 et qui 𝔏 χαρ. επι τ. ειρ. σου] οι αγαπωντες σε εις τ. αιωνα 44, 106, 107 > F χαρ.] gaudent 𝔏 κ.2°] > BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 F παντ. οι ανθρ.1°] οσοι B 44, 106, 107 οι A επι σοι λυπηθησ.] ελυπηθησαν BA 44, 106, 107 contristabuntur 𝔏 πασαις] > B (*exc.* B^a?b) 44, 106, 107 εν] επι BA 106, 107 κ. οψονται] θεασαμενοι BA 44, 106, 107 יתמהו F χαρ.] δοξ. BA 44, 106, 107 F σου 3°] +κ. ευφρανθησεται

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11. The fine metaphor of R^s in 11^a finds support in αβ *Brev. Moz. Vig. Epiph.* The prosaic R^v omitted it along with the universalistic κ. κάτοικοι . . . γῆς which has been handed down by the scribe of ℵ in a corrupt form. Reusch emends κάτοικοι ἀπὸ πάντ. and inserts ἥξει after μακρόθεν from 𝔏.

13. χάρητι B*A, cf. Sir. iv. 25 ἐντράπητι B*AC for -ηθι B^b. The emendation χαρ. for πορευ. (R^s) was so obvious that it was adopted not only in R^v and R^c but in 𝔏.

15 My soul doth bless the Lord the great King;
16 For Jerusalem shall be builded **again** as his house unto all the ages.

Happy shall I be if the remnant of my seed come to see thy glory
And give thanks unto the King of heaven.

And the gates of Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphire and emerald,
And all thy walls with precious stone.

The towers of Jerusalem shall be builded with gold,
And their battlements with pure gold.

17 The streets of Jerusalem shall be paved
With carbuncle and stones of Ophir.

18 And the gates of Jerusalem shall utter hymns of gladness
And all her houses shall say, Halleluiah.

Final benediction, v. 18[b].

Blessed is the God of Israel.
And the blessed shall bless the name
That is holy for ever and ever.

CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY, xiv. 1–15.

i. **Tobit's Age**, xiv. 1, 2.

14 1 And the words of Tobit's thanksgiving were ended, and he died in peace being an hundred and
2 twelve years old, and was buried magnificently in Nineveh. And he was threescore and two years old when he became maimed in his eyes; and after he recovered his sight he lived in prosperity and gave alms, and he still continued to bless God, and to give thanks for the greatness of God.

B κ. ευφρανθησονται A 44, 106, 107 F 15. ευλογει] -γειτω A 44, 106, 107 benedic 𝔏 F κυριον] θ. BA 44, 106, 107 16. Ιερουσ.1°] > BA 44, 106, 107 liberavit Hierus. et 𝔏 οικοδομηθησεται] ι *sup. ras.* (*seq. ras.* 1 *lit.*) A[a] aedificabit αβ -ur *Brev.* כי הוא יבנה F τῃ πολει . . . αι θυρ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 F τῃ πολει] iterum 𝔏 τῳ βασ.] nomini regis 𝔏 κ.2°] > 𝔏 σαπφειρ.] σαππειρ. B σαπφιρ A οικοδομηθ.1°] > BA 44, 106, 107 F λιθ. τιμι.] λιθ. εντιμῳ B 44, 106, 107 λιθ. επιτιμῳ A וברכת F παντα] > BA 44, 106, 107 +אבני אקדח F οι πυργ.] *pr.* κ. BA 44, 106, 107 Ιερουσ. χρυσ. οικοδομηθ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 F προμαχωνες] -μαχοι 44, 106, 107 αυτων] > BA 44, 106, 107 eius 𝔏 F χρυσιῳ2°] *pr.* εν A 44, 106, 107 17. *pr.* κ. BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 αι] > 44, 106, 107 πλατειαι] -ιαι A *pr.* כל F ανθρ.] *pr.* βηρυλλῳ κ. BA 44, 106, 107 נופך ואבני יקדה F ανθρ. . . . Σουφειρ] carbunculo lapide sternentur 𝔏 ψηφολογηθ.] *post* Σουφ. BA -λογησ. *post* Σουφ. 44, 106, 107 Σουφ.] *pr.* εκ BA 44, 106, 107 מאופור F 18. αι θυρ. . . . αγαλλ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 F Ιερουσ.] illius 𝔏 F κ.2° *et* ερουσιν2°] λεγοντες (γον *sup. ras.* A[a]) *post* αινεσ. BA 44, 106, 107 οικι.] ρυμ. BA 44, 106, 107 𝔏 F Αλληλ.] +κ. αινεσιν BA +κ. αινεσουσιν (σουσιν *sup. ras.* A[a]) A[a] 44, 106, 107 > 𝔏 τ. Ισρ.] ος υψωσεν (-σε σε 44, 106, 107) παντας (*pr.* εις A 44, 106, 107) τ. αιωνας BA Dominus qui exaltat te et benedictus in omnia saec. (-nibus -lis *Brev.*) saeculorum αβ *Brev.* יהוה אשר הרים קרן מלכותך לעולם ועד F κ. ευλογ. . . . κ. ετι] > BA 44, 106, 107 F quoniam in te benedicet (-cent? -etur *Brev.*) nomen (omne *Brev.*) sanctum (suum αβ) in aeternum αβ *Brev.*

XIV. > *Ar* M 1. συνετελ. . . . εξομολογησεως] επαυσατε εξομολογουμενος BA ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܝܕܝܬ ܠܡܪܝܐ 𝔖 עוד כאן תפלה F συνετ.] *pr. ut* κ. απεθ. . . . εν N.] > BA F *pr.* ܗܘܐ ܕܡܨܠܐ 𝔖 δωδεκα] ܬܪܬܝܢ 𝔖 ενδοξ.] +ܒܫܘܒܚܐ 𝔖 2. ξβ' ετων ην] ην ετ. πεντηκοντα οκτω B 𝔖 𝔏 F ην ετ. ογδοηκοντα οκτω A εγεν. . . . οφθ.] απωλεσεν τ. οψεις BA F τ. αναβλ. . . . αγαθ.] ετη οκτω ανεβλεψεν BA F ܘܡܐܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܕܚܝܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܒܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܫܥ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܡܐܬ 𝔖 et quinquaginta quattuor annis postquam lucem recepit vixit in omnibus 𝔏 ελ. εποιησ.] εποιει ελ. BA F ετι] > BA 𝔖 προσεθ.] *bis scr.* κ. προς A* (*ras.* 1° A1) proposuit 𝔏 > 𝔖 ευλογ.] φοβεισθαι BA F colare 𝔏 > 𝔖 τον θ.] *pr.* κυριον BA שמו של הקדש ברוך הוא F εξομολογεισθαι] -ωμολογειτο (-εισθαι A) αυτω BA 44, 106 𝔖 F την μεγ. τ. θ.] μεγαλως (*cum* δε *v.* 3) BA μεγαλως 44, 106 ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ 𝔖

16. As 𝔏 testifies πάλιν stood in R[s]. א has τῇ πόλει, τῇ being an incorrect repetition of the last three letters of the previous word, and πόλει a later scribal blunder for πάλιν under the influence of the τῇ. For the complete disappearance of the aspirate in σαππ. (Vat). see Th. *Gram.*, p. 121. For thought and language cf. Is. liv. 11, 12, Rev. xxi. 10–21.

XIV. 1. 𝔖 supports R[s], the difference resulting from the Syriac copyist's omission of *ten*, as in viii. 20 he omitted *four*.

2. ἀνάπειρ. not -πηρ., cf. 2 Macc. viii. 24 A.V.; Luke xiv. 13, 21; Th. *Gram.*, p. 83.

ii. Tobit's last words and hopes for the Messianic Age, *vv.* 3–11[a].

The future of Jerusalem, Israel, and the heathen, vv. 3–7.

3 And when he was dying he called Tobias his son, and charged him, saying, Child take thy
4 children; and go into Media, for I believe the word of God upon Nineveh, which Nahum spake, that all those things will be, and will befall Assyria and Nineveh. And all the things which the prophets of Israel spake, whom God sent, shall befall; and nothing shall be minished of all the words; and all things shall come to pass in their seasons. And in Media shall be deliverance more than among the Assyrians and in Babylon; wherefore I know and believe that all the things which God hath spoken will be accomplished and will be, and there will not fall to the ground a word of the prophecies. And as for our brethren which dwell in the land of Israel, **against all of them will God devise evils**, and they will be carried captive from the goodly land, and all the land of Israel will be desolate, and Samaria and
5 Jerusalem will be desolate, and the house of God will be in grief and be burned up for a time; and God will again have mercy on them, and God will bring them back into the land of Israel, and they will again build the house, but not like the first, until the time when the time of the seasons be fulfilled; and afterward they will return, all of them, from their captivity, and build up Jerusalem with honour, and the house of God shall be builded in her, even as the prophets of Israel spake con-

+בכל עת F magnitudinem eius 𝔏 3. κ. οτε] δε (*pr.* μεγαλως *e v.* 2) BA ως δε 44, 106 απεθν.] εγηρασεν κ. BA +Thobis 𝔏 τ.] > BA αυτου] +κ. τ. υιους (εξ υιους *nisi potius* εξυιους A) αυτου BA et septem filios eius 𝔏 ششה בני ט׳ F ενετ. αυτ. λεγων] ειπεν αυτ. BA 𝔖 precep. illis dicens 𝔏 Παιδιον . . . παιδια] τεκν. λαβε τ. υιους BA *pr.* ܗܘܝܠܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܙܠ 𝔖 > F απαγ.] dilige 𝔏 σου] +ιδου γεγηρακα κ. προς τ. αποτρεχειν εκ (απο A) τ. ζην ειμι BA (*cf.* F) 4. *plen. et aliter* F κ. αποτρ.] απελθε BA recurre 𝔏 Μηδειαν] -ιαν B* A *pr.* την BA +τεκνον BA regionem Medorum 𝔏 πιστ. εγω τ. ρ. τ. θ.] πεπεισμαι BA ܕܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܠܘ ܥܠ ܢܝܢܘܐ 𝔖 επι N.] περι N. *post.* προφ. BA > 𝔖 *post* ελαλ. 𝔏 α] οσα BA quod 𝔏 Ναουμ] Ιωνας ο προφητ. BA > 𝔏 ܕܢܗܘܢ ܕܢܬܝܐ 𝔖 οτι παντα . . . απαντ.2°] > 𝔖 παντα εσται . . . καιροις αυτων] καταστραφησεται B κατασκαφ. A κ. οσα . . . απαντ.] > 𝔖 κ. οσα] quae 𝔏 κ. ου μηθ. . . . ρηματ.] ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܠܬܐ 𝔖 μηθεν ℵ* μη ουθεν ℵ^c a κ. παντα . . . καιρ. αυτ] > 𝔖 κ. εν1°] εν δε BA Μηδειᾳ] -ιᾳ A +παλιν 44, 106 σωτηρια] ειρηνη BA ܫܠܡܐ 𝔖 ηπερ . . . λογων] εως καιρου BA εν Ασσ.] *pr.* ܕܐܬܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ 𝔖 διο . . . λογων] > 𝔖 ο θ.] dominus 𝔏 διαπεσ.] excedet 𝔏 λογων] +dei 𝔏 κ. οι] κ. οτι οι BA οι κατοικ.] > BA εν τ. γῃ] > 𝔖 Ισρ. παντ. λογισθ. κ.] > BA Ισρ.] ܕܐܬܪܥܡ 𝔖 παντων] omnes 𝔏 ܡܦܙܪܝܢ 𝔖 λογισθ.] dispergentur 𝔏 αιχμαλωτ.] σκορπ. BA 𝔖 *pr.* ex illis 𝔏 εκ τ. γης τ. αγ.] απο τ. αγ. γ. BA ܕܐܬܪ ܛܒܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ 𝔖 ad terram optimam 𝔏 κ. εστι πασ. . . . ερημος 2°] ܕܐܬܪ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܫܡܝܐ 𝔖 εσται πασ. . . . Σαμ. κ.] > BA 𝔏 Σαμ. . . . ερημ.2°] > 𝔏 εν λυπῃ] εν αυτ. BA ܕܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ 𝔖 quae in illa est 𝔏 κ. καυθησ.] κατακαησ. BA 𝔏 > 𝔖 μεχρι χρον.] *pr.* κ. ερημος εσται BA 𝔏 > 𝔖 5. *plen.* F ελεησ.] יזכר F αυτ.1°] > 𝔖 κ. επιστρ. . . . θ.2°] > 𝔏 ο θ.2°] > BA 𝔖 αυτ.2°] ܥܠ 𝔖 κ. επιστ. αυτ.] > 𝔏 εις τ. γην] > 𝔖 in terra 𝔏 τ. Ισρ.1°] > BA παλιν2°] > BA 𝔖 κ. ουχ . . . πρωτ.] ουχ οιος ο προτερος BA > 𝔖 εως . . . καιρων] εως (ως A) πληρωθωσιν καιροι τ. αιωνος BA > 𝔖 quoad usque repleatur tempus maledictionum 𝔏 κ. μετα ταυτα . . . οικοδ.3°] ܕܢܬܒܢܐ ܒܗ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܬܪܝܢ ܙܒܢܝܢ 𝔖 μετα ταυτα] > 𝔖 *cf.* לפי מלאות עולם אחד ועוד F της αιχμαλ. αυτ. παντες] των αιχμαλ. BA παντες] *post* κ. 𝔏 τ. θ. εν αυτ.] > 𝔖 του θ.] > 𝔖 οικοδομηθ.] +ενδοξως (ενδοξω B^b *pr.* εις πασ. τ. γε|νεας τ. αιωνος οικοδομη (*seq. ras.*) B^ab mg 𝔖) B 𝔖 +εις|πασ. τ. γεν. τ. αιων.|οικοδομη ενδοξω A (*cf.* F) +et in omnia saecula saeculorum aedificabitur 𝔏 ελαλ.] ܐܬܪܗ 𝔖 οι προφ.] *pr.* omnes 𝔏 τ. Ισρ.2°] > BA

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3. The κ. ὅτε of R^s was changed in R^v into ὡς δέ, his favourite construction, e. g. vi. 10 (where R^s also has καὶ ὅτε); viii. 4 (R^s simply καί); xi. 12 (where the whole verse is edited by R^v). R^c has preserved this ὡς δέ of R^s, but it has fallen out of BA by haplography. μεγάλως therefore in R^v originally belonged to *v.* 2 and appears to have been a conjectural abridgement (earlier than R^c) of μεγαλωσύνην (R^s) necessitated by a scribe's insertion of αὐτῷ before it and the consequent omission of τ. θ. after it.

4. Before the discovery of ℵ Grotius had correctly conjectured that Jonah had been inserted in place of Nahum under the influence of Jonah iii. 4. κατακαήσ. (R^v) Th. *Gram.*, p. 237. Dr. Charles conjectures that λογισθ. (R^s) is a translation of יתחשבון, which was a dittography of ישתבון, and regards πάντων as a solecism for πάντες. Marshall suggests that σκορπ. (R^v) = יתפרשון, λογισθ. (R^s) = יתפרעון, but this does not account for the difficult πάντων. Further σκορπ. in R^v (followed by 𝔖) is a variation of αἰχμαλ. (to suit the circumstances of the Diaspora of that time), not of πάντων λογισθ. which was omitted on account of its difficulty and which is paraphrased in 𝔏 just as *ex illis* is inserted in the next clause with a definite motive. πάντων λογισθ. is an intentional corruption of ἐπὶ πάντας λογίζεται ὁ θεὸς κακά. οἱ ἀδελ. . . . Ἰσρ. was thus a *casus pendens*, and ἐπὶ πάντας (cf. the resumptive πάντες in 5^b) was only corrupted into πάντων after λογίζεται ὁ θεός had been changed on dogmatic grounds into λογισθήσονται and κακά omitted. Cf. Mic. ii. 3 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ λογίζομαι ἐπὶ τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην κακά, Ps. xxxiv. (xxxv.) 4, xl. (xli.) 7.

5. πρῶτον (R^s) and πρότερος (R^v) v. Th. *Gram.*, p. 183. For ܙܒܢܝܢ Ilgen would read ܙܒܢܗ.

6 cerning her. And all the nations which are in the whole earth, all shall turn and fear God truly, and
7 all shall leave their idols, who err after their false error. And they shall bless the everlasting God in righteousness. All the children of Israel that are delivered in those days, remembering God in truth, shall be gathered together and come to Jerusalem and shall dwell for ever in the land of Abraham with security, and it shall be given over to them; and they that love God in truth shall rejoice, and they that do sin and unrighteousness shall cease from all the earth.

Special injunctions to his descendants, vv. 9–11[a].

9 And now, children, I charge you, serve God in truth and do what is pleasing in his sight; and upon your children it shall be enjoined to do [ ] alms, and that they be mindful of God and bless
8 his name at every season in truth and with all their strength. And now, child, depart thou from
10 Nineveh, and abide not here. In what day soever thou buriest thy mother with me, in the self-same day abide not in the borders thereof; for I see that there is much unrighteousness therein, and much guile is wrought therein, and they are not ashamed. See, child, what things Nadab did unto **Aḥiḳar** that brought him up! Was he not brought down alive into the earth? and God recompensed the shame upon his face, and **Aḥiḳar** came forth into the light, and Nadab went into the eternal darkness, because he had sought to slay Aḥiḳar. Because I did alms, he came forth from the snare of death which Nadab had set for nim, and Nadab fell into the snare of death,

pr. ܐܠܗܝܟ ܘܐܡܘܪ ܕܥܒܕ ܛܒܬܐ ܘܥܒܕ ܛܒ ܠܐܠܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܘܡܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ 𝔖 6. *simil.* F τα εν . . . παντες] > BA 𝔖 terrae *α β* ההם F επιστ.] +ܕܢܬܠܘܢ ܘܢܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ 𝔖 κ. φοβηθ.] φοβεισθαι BA *α β* לעבד F τον θ.] *pr.* κυριον BA ܠܗ 𝔖 יהוה F αληθ.] *post* επιστρεψ. BA ܒܚܕܘܬܐ 𝔖 > F κ. αφησ. . . . πλαν. αυτ.] κατορυξουσιν (*pr.* κ. A) τ. ειδωλα αυτ. BA > 𝔖 τ. πλανωντ. . . . αυτ.] quae seducunt illos falso errore *α β* 7. > 𝔖 *plen.* F ευλογ.] +παντα τ. εθνη BA *pr.* omnes *α β* τον θ. . . . εν δικ.] κυριον (*pr.* τον A) BA dominum in aeternum et in iustitia *α β* παντες . . . ημερ. εκειν.] κ. ο λαος αυτου BA *pr.* et *α β* οι σωζομ.] qui liberabuntur *α β* μνημ. . . . αληθ.] εξομολογησεται τω θ. BA μνημ.] memores erunt *α β* επισυναχθ. . . . παραδοθ. αυτ.] κ. υψωσει κυριος τ. λαον αυτου BA επισυναχθ.] *pr.* et *α β* τ. αιωνα] *pr.* in *α β* εν τ. γη . . . παραδοθ. αυτ.] in die illa cum diligentia et omnis iustitia in illis erit *α β* οι αγ.] *pr.* παντες BA τον θ.] *pr.* Κυριον BA επ' αληθ.] εν αληθ. κ. δικαιοσυνη BA κ. οι ποιουντ. . . . τ. γης] ποιουντες ελεος τοις αδελ. ημων BA πασ. τ. γης] terris omnibus *α β* 9, 8. *simil.* F 9. κ. νυν] 𝔖 παιδ. . . . αληθ.1°] > 𝔖 παιδια] τεκν. BA εγω υμιν . . . δικαι. κ. ελεημ.] συ δε τηρησον τ. νομον κ. τ. προσταγματα κ. γενου (γιν. A) φιλελημων κ. δικαιος *post* προφ. Ιωνας BA τῳ θ.] domino 𝔏 ενυποταγ.] ܥܒܕ 𝔖 *α β Spec. Cypr.* κ. ινα . . . ισχ. αυτων] ινα σοι καλως ην (η B^bA) BA του θ.] ܛܒܬܐ 𝔖 > 𝔏 εν αληθ. κ.] ܒܟܠ ܠܒܐ 𝔖 +in toto corde suo et 𝔏 8. κ. νυν συ παιδ.] > BA nunc vero fili 𝔏 εξελθε εκ N. κ. μη μειν. ωδε] απελθε απο N. οτι πα|τως (παντως A) εσται α ελαλ. ο προφ. Ιωνας *ante* συ δε τηρ. BA . ܐܙܠ ܡܢ ܢܢܘܐ 𝔖 10. > F εν η αν ημ. θαψης] κ. θαψον με καλως κ. BA ܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܚܒܝ ܠܝ ܠܐܠܗ *ante* εξελθε *v.* 8 𝔖 *pr.* sed 𝔏 αυτ. τη ημ. . . . οριοις αυτ.] μηκετι αυλισθητε εις (εν A) N. BA > 𝔖 ορω γαρ . . . αισχυν.] > BA ܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܚܒܝ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܛܒ 𝔖 εν αυτ.2°] > 𝔏 ιδε . . . Ναδαβ εποι.] τεκνον ιδε τι εποι. Αδαμ (Αμαν A) BA ܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܚܒܝ ܗܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܥܡܢ 𝔖 ecce filius Nabad quid fecit *α β* Αχεικαρῳ] Αχιαχαρω BA ܐܚܝܩܪ 𝔖 Achicaro *α β* τ. εκθρεψ. αυτ.] τ. θρεψ. αυτ. BA ܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܠܬܚܬܐ 𝔖 ουχι ζων . . . γην;] ως εκ τ. φωτος ηγαγεν αυτον εις τ. σκοτος BA ܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܚܒܝ ܠܬܚܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ 𝔖 quem vivum deduxit in terram deorsum *α β* απεδωκ. . . . προσωπ. αυτ.] κ. οσα απεδωκεν αυτω BA > 𝔖 τ. ατιμι.] malitiam illius *α β* εξηλθ. . . . Αχικαρος] Αχιαχαρον (-ος A) μεν εσωσεν (-θη A) BA > (*vide infra*) 𝔖 κ. Ναδαβ . . . αιωνος] εκεινω δε τ. ανταποδομα απεδοθη κ. αυτος κατεβη εις τ. (τ. > A) σκοτος BA ܐܙܠ ܠܥܡܩܐ ܕܥܒܕ 𝔖 οτι εζητ. αποκτ. Αχεικαρων] > BA 𝔖 εζητ.] +Nabad *α β* εν τ. ποιησ. . . . απωλ. αυτ.] > *α β* εν τ. ποιησαι με ελεημ.] Μανασσης εποιησεν ελεημ. BA > 𝔖 εξηλθ. . . . Ναδαβ] κ. εσωθη εκ παγ. τ. θαν. ης επηξεν αυτω BA ܐܙܠ ܠܒܝܪ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܥܡ ܦܡ ܕܒܝܪ ܡܘܬܐ 𝔖 πακ.] παγ. ℵ^c a (*bis*) κ. Ναδαβ

6. τοὺς πλ. κτλ. in loose apposition to εἴδωλα, the gender of the original Hebrew or Aramaic probably being left unchanged, cf. Ezek. xlviii. 11.

9, 8. R^v by no means placed *v.* 8 entire before *v.* 9, as Swete's verse-numbering (which is retained for convenience' sake) suggests.

10. Ἀδάμ in Vat. has arisen from Ναδάμ (= Nadab) by the attachment of its initial ν to the end of ἐποίησε while Cod. Al.'s Ἀμάν is an attempt to identify Aḥiḳar's nephew with the villain of the book of Esther. Μανασσῆς in R^v is the result of textual confusion in that recension, possibly for Νασβᾶς (xi. 18 R.V.), possibly through a misreading of an anticipatory and partial excised με ἐλεημ. before ἐποι. In 𝔖 the order is disturbed and the text possibly corrupt. ܠܬܚܬܐ after ܘܐܬܝܗܒ may be a gloss from ii. 10 (Ilgen) or a corruption of ܠܬܚܬܐ (Frit.). ܐܚܐܒ is not = Ahab (Fuller) but a corruption of ܢܒ and ܐܚܝܩܪ is a variation of ܐܣܪ.

11 and it destroyed him. And now, children, consider what alms-giving doeth, and what unrighteousness doeth, that it slayeth. And behold my soul fainteth.

iii. Tobias' piety towards his parents and his long life, *vv.* 11ᵇ–14.

11ᵇ, 12 And they laid him upon his bed and he died; and he was buried magnificently. And when his mother died, Tobias buried her with his father, and he and his wife departed to Media and
13 dwelt in Ecbatana with Raguel his father-in-law. And he sustained their old age in honour and buried them in Ecbatana of Media, and he inherited the house of Raguel and of Tobit his father.
14 And he died, being an hundred and seventeen years old, full of renown.

iv. The Dawn of the Messianic Age, *v.* 15.

15 And before he died he saw and heard of the destruction of Nineveh, and saw her captivity led into Media which **Nebuchadnezzar** the king of Media took captive. And he blessed God for all he did unto the children of Nineveh and Assyria; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh, and blessed the Lord God for ever and ever. Amen.

επεσ. . . . απωλ. αυτον] Αδαμ (Αμαν A) δε ενεπεσεν εις τ. παγιδα κ. απωλετο BA ܐܘܕܥ ܠܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܐܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܐ ܘܐܬܝܠܝܦ ܠܗ ܠܬܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܬܒܝܬ ܐܡܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܐ ܘܐܬܝܠܝܦ ܠܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܪܥܘܐܝܠ ܚܡܘܗܝ ܘܠܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠ

THE BOOK OF JUDITH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The *Book of Judith* falls naturally into two parts: (1) The Introduction (caps. 1–7). War was proclaimed by Nebuchadnezzar against Media, and a summons was sent to Persia, Syria, and Egypt to join in the expedition. The remoter parts of the Empire, however, treated the order with contempt (i. 11), whereupon Nebuchadnezzar determined, after conquering Media (i. 13, 15), to take vengeance on Syria and Egypt. This task was entrusted to Holofernes, the commander-in-chief (ii. 4), with 120,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry (mounted archers, ii. 15). He marched three days' journey from Nineveh and encamped 'at the left hand of upper Cilicia', thence devastated 'the hill country', crossed the (upper) Euphrates as far as the coast, then turned south, 'compassing' the Midianites, to the plain of Damascus (ii. 27). After receiving the submission of Tyre and Sidon, Azotus and Ascalon, he went south to Esdraelon (iii. 9). The Jews, who were lately returned from the exile (iv. 3), resolved to resist, and Joakim the High Priest at Jerusalem sent instructions to Bethulia, which was near Esdraelon, to stop the passes leading to the capital (iv. 7). All Israel then fasted and prayed (iv. 9). Holofernes, hearing of the intended opposition, called a council of officers, when Achior the Ammonite gave a long account of Israelitish history (v. 5), pointing out that they could only be conquered if they had offended against their God (v. 20) and advising Holofernes to leave them alone. The advice was rejected, and Achior was handed over to the people of Bethulia (vi. 10), who received him in a friendly manner (vi. 20). Holofernes then moved his camp towards Bethulia, his army being now 170,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, besides accessories (vii. 2). It was decided to get possession of the water-supply at the foot of the mountain (vii. 7, 12) on which Bethulia stood, and thus to force the city to surrender, instead of risking a pitched battle. After thirty-four days, the stores of water within the city being exhausted (vii. 21), the people compelled Ozias and the leading men to agree to surrender in five days if no help came in the meantime (vii. 30).

(2) The story of Judith (caps. 8–16). This decision came to the ears of Judith (viii. 1, 9), the widow of Manasses, who lived in austere retirement (viii. 5, 6). She sent for the chief men (viii. 10), expostulated with them on their want of trust in God, and promised that she would herself effect their deliverance within the five days (viii. 33). They agreed to her project, without hearing the details, and departed (viii. 36). Judith then prepared for her plan by prayer (ix. 2). She put on her adornments, which had been laid aside since her husband's death (x. 3), took with her a single maid-servant with a bag of 'clean' food (x. 5), and went towards the Assyrian camp (x. 11). In an audience with Holofernes she informed him that what Achior had said was true (xi. 10), but that now the people had sinned by using first-fruits and tithes (xi. 13), and therefore God would deliver them up to their enemies (xi. 15). She would herself advise him when this was to take place (xi. 17). Holofernes, attracted by her appearance, invited her to his table (xii. 1), but she refused. She was allowed to go out of the camp every day to pray and bathe (xii. 6, 7). On the fourth day she consented to go to Holofernes' feast (xii. 10, 14), but partook only of her own provisions (xii. 19). The critical moment arrived when the guests departed (xiii. 1) leaving Judith alone with Holofernes. His excitement had caused him to drink immoderately, and he now lay on his couch helpless (xiii. 2). Judith, calling on God for strength (xiii. 4), took his sword and with two blows cut off his head (xiii. 8), which she put in the bag (xiii. 10) carried by the servant who was waiting outside. The two went out of the camp as if to pray, as usual, and escaped to Bethulia (xiii. 10). They were received with enthusiasm by the citizens (xiii. 17), and Achior became a convert to Judaism (xiv. 10). A sortie was made (xiv. 11), and the Assyrians, thus surprised, tried to rouse their general (xiv. 13), but found him dead (xiv. 15). They fled in a panic (xv. 2), pursued northward past Damascus (xv. 5), while their deserted camp was sacked (xv. 6, 7). The High Priest Joakim came in person from Jerusalem to bless Judith (xv. 8).

Chapter 16 contains a hymn of praise by Judith. The book ends by relating that Judith dedicated to God her share of the plunder (xvi. 19), that she remained a widow till her death at the age of 105 years (xvi. 23), and that the land was at peace all her lifetime and for long after.

The book is thus almost equally divided between the introduction and the story proper. The

former is no doubt somewhat out of proportion, and the author dwells at rather unnecessary length on the military details. In spite, however, of these defects of composition, the literary excellence of the work is universally recognized even through the uncomely disguise of the Greek translation. It was originally written in Hebrew (now lost) for Jewish readers, with the object of encouraging and edifying the people in a time of trial or persecution. In order to carry conviction the more, it aims at the appearance of being historical, in its use of well-known names and of precise details, but this historical character is only apparent. The author is concerned with theology rather than with history, of which perhaps he had a not very exact knowledge, although he adopted this form as the most suitable for his purpose. He seems to have had in mind the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, with whose campaign in Syria many of the incidents agree, but it would be unsafe to assume that he is consciously depicting an episode in that campaign. The name and date of the author are alike unknown. He must have written at a time of oppression, such as the Jewish race often suffered, and various indications point to the second century B. C. as the most probable date. It is, however, possible that the author adopted an existing story or popular tradition, purposely confusing his historical allusions in order to disguise it.

§ 2. Title of the Book.

The title of the book in Greek is simply *Ἰουδείθ* (or *Ἰουδήθ*, or *Ἰουδίθ*). In Hebrew it would have been מגלת יהודית, like מגלת אסתר and מגלת אנטיוכוס, or מעשה יהודית, derived from the name of the principal character. The name, of course, simply means 'Jewess', and hence Grotius, explaining the story allegorically, makes it represent the Jewish people. But apart from the fact that this method of interpretation is forced and unconvincing, there is no need to suppose that the name suggested this meaning. It is used personally in Gen. xxvi. 34 as belonging to the Hittite wife of Esau, where at any rate it cannot mean 'Jewess'.

§ 3. MSS.

The Hebrew original (see § 5) being lost, the earliest form in which we have the book is that of the Greek translation, the only primary version existing. Of this there are three recensions: (1) the usual and no doubt the most original form, represented by the MSS. א, A and B (Swete's text); (2) that contained in codd. 19, 108; (3) that of cod. 58, with which the Old Latin version (VL) and the Syriac (Syr) agree in a remarkable manner. All three recensions, however, represent the same version and go back to the same original. Their differences are due to corrections made not on a fresh comparison with the Hebrew, but subjectively by editors of the version, and though considerable, they concern the form rather than the matter. Such 'corrections' are most evident in the second and third classes of MSS., and vary even within the same class.

In the notes here added to the English (R.V.) variants are only mentioned where they materially affect the sense.

§ 4. The Ancient Versions.

The Greek version, at least as contained in א A B, is as a rule easily intelligible and probably a correct rendering of the original, but it is very hebraistic. From it were made the Syriac and the Old Latin, both of them fairly close and agreeing in general with cod. 58, as will be seen from the notes. VL is rough, often merely latinized hebraistic Greek, and sometimes misunderstands the Greek which it translates. The MSS., of which Sabatier used five for his text, have been much corrected, perhaps from different Greek MSS., so that they vary considerably in minor details, though all derived from one text.

The Syriac version was first printed in Walton's *Polyglot*. It was derived from two late MSS., now in the Bodleian Library, of which one, dated 1614, belonged to Pococke (MS. Poc. 391), and the other was copied for Ussher in 1627 (MS. Bodl. or. 141). With these a Cambridge MS. was collated and the variants are given (by Thorndyke) in vol. vi of the *Polyglot*. The version has been edited by Lagarde, in his *Libri V. T. apocryphi Syriace* (Lipsiae, 1861), from a tenth-century MS. in the British Museum (from the Nitrian collection) with a full apparatus criticus. The Museum possesses two other MSS., of the twelfth and seventeenth century respectively.

A third version, the Vulgate, is of less value for textual purposes. Jerome's own account of it, in his preface, is not altogether clear. He says that he found great variations in the MSS. ('multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi') and implies that he endeavoured to produce a consistent text by embodying in his work only what he found in the 'Chaldee'. The questions which naturally present themselves are, What were these divergent MSS. and what was the 'Chaldee' text? The MSS. cannot have been Greek, because the Vulgate differs from that version in important particulars:

e. g. xiv. 5–7 comes at the end of xiii; i. 12ᵇ–16 and iv. 3 are omitted; iv. 13–15 is altered; additions are made after xiv. 12 and elsewhere; names and numbers often differ. In fact, if compared with the Greek, the Vulgate presents the appearance of a paraphrastic recension. On the other hand, apart from these material differences, it often follows VL closely even in diction (cf. cap. 16), and the resemblance throughout is sufficient to show that Jerome used MSS. of the VL, which he merely adapted and corrected, as he considered, by the help of his 'Chaldee' text. It is evident from his own remarks ('huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi, magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens') that he spent very little time or trouble on it, and for this reason its style is less like Jerome's than the rest of the Vulgate.

As to the 'Chaldee' text, we have no other evidence. It will be remembered that he speaks in the same way of a Chaldee-text of Tobit, and that an Aramaic recension of that book was actually found and published by Neubauer (Oxford, 1878). No such text of Judith is now known, but as Jerome's statement is explicit with regard to both books, we have to inquire what the text was. Probably the answer is to be found in a sentence in the preface to Judith, 'Chaldaeo tamen sermone conscriptus inter historias computatur.' If *historias* represents מעשיות, he means that the story of Judith was regarded as a מעשה, such as we find embodied in midrashim, or even composed separately for use on special occasions. Later forms of the story, in Hebrew (see § 8), were composed and so used, and in Neubauer's midrashic MS. the story of Tobit is called as a matter of course מעשה טוביה. We may therefore conclude that Jerome, finding no Hebrew text of the book, used an Aramaic מעשה (*historia*) containing a free treatment, not a translation, of the story, derived probably from the Greek. He evidently attached more importance to it than to VL, since he included in his own work only what he found in the Chaldee, but in language he was naturally influenced by VL where the two coincide. Thus the Vulgate of Judith is a hurried version of an Aramaic midrash containing a free presentation of the story, rather than a translation of any given text. It omits about one-fifth of the book.

§ 5. Date of the Original, and of the Versions.

(*a*) The existing versions thus all go back, through the existing Greek, to the same original, their differences being due to alterations within the versions. It is now generally agreed (against earlier scholars such as Fabricius, Jahn, and Eichhorn) that this original was Semitic, and Hebrew rather than Aramaic. Indeed there can be no possibility of doubt if we consider the style of the Greek and the nature of some of the mistakes in it. The language is not merely that popular Greek which we now know from papyri of the early centuries A. D. to have been identical with the *κοινὴ διάλεκτος* of the New Testament, even when independent of any Semitic idiom. The translation is so literal that it can be put back into Hebrew with ease, and in some cases becomes fully intelligible only when so re-translated. Moreover, the unusual lack of particles shows that the writer was under the influence of a foreign idiom, while the constant recurrence of phrases uncommon in late Greek but frequent in Hebrew shows incontestably the language of the original. Such are e. g. *ἀπὸ προσώπου* = מפני, *εἰς πρόσωπον* = לפני, the frequent use of *σφόδρα* = מאד, *ἐν* = בְּ, and many more: see the notes on iv. 2, v. 12, 19, vii. 10, 28, xii. 4, xiii. 4, 8, 13, 16, xiv. 2, 6, 11. The same conclusion is indicated by the confusion in the geographical names, due to uncertainty in the mind of the translator as well as to mistakes of copyists, so far as it is not intentional on the part of the author (see § 6). So also in other names, e. g. Achior no doubt = אחיהור, chosen as meaning 'friend of the Jews', with the common confusion of ד and ר.

Against this comparative certainty we have the express statement of Origen (*ad Afric.* 13), *οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰουδὴθ (χρῶνται) οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἑβραιστί, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν*, as well as the fact that Jerome did not use a Hebrew text, which he certainly would have done if he had found one. It is possible that in the statement which Origen received from his Jewish informants, stress should be laid on *χρῶνται* rather than *ἔχουσιν*, and that it had fallen out of use and was not even included among the apocryphal books at the beginning of the third century. This must have been only temporary, since in 398 Jerome says 'Apud Hebraeos liber Judith inter apocrypha legitur'. Jerome's preface is all rather obscure, and it may be that he really means here to indicate a Hebrew text which he knew to exist but did not possess. In the very next sentence he speaks of the Chaldee which 'inter historias computatur', a degree lower than apocrypha, and seems to draw a distinction between them. No trace of the Hebrew original now survives.

The story is represented as taking place just after the return from the exile (iv. 3). The author does not, however, represent himself (as e. g. Daniel) as contemporary with the events recorded. In fact, he must have written much later. The return is far enough away to have become a sort of golden age, a time of simple happiness granted by God in consequence of the piety of the people. In this, as in its details, the description is wholly at variance with history (see § 6), either because the

author did not know the facts, or because he was intentionally disguising them. He cannot have written as late as the first century A. D., for the book is quoted by Clement of Rome (1 *Cor.* 55). Moreover, there is no allusion to the final destruction of the temple, nor even to the Roman occupation of Palestine. Jewish tradition connects the story with the time of the Maccabees, making Judith the daughter of Johanan or Mattathia (Zunz, *Gottesd. Vorträge*, 2nd ed., p. 131), and this date agrees on the whole best with the author's point of view (see § 9). We must, however, be careful to distinguish between the date of composition and the real or supposed date of the events related (see § 6). The author evidently puts back into his post-exilic story the state of things under which he himself lived. There was no king, but the whole people is united under the High Priest (Joakim) governing with the γερουσία or Sanhedrim. The object of the book, too, is clearly to encourage the nation to resist the enemies of their religion and country even under the most desperate circumstances, and presupposes a time of great political or religious emergency. These several points, as well as the definitely Pharisaic theology, most naturally indicate an author living towards the middle of the second century B. C. Such is the view of Schürer, Hilgenfeld, and Nöldeke. (Cf. also Chajes in *Festschrift . . . Harkavy*, p. 105 Heb., who finds a number of parallels with the books of the Maccabees.) Ball proposes a date about 79–70 B. C., and argues with great ingenuity that Judith is modelled on Salome, successively wife of Aristobulus and Jannai, but this seems less probable than the earlier date.

The fact that the book is not mentioned by Josephus or Philo or in the New Testament proves nothing. Josephus does not refer to Job, besides other books, and Philo does not notice any of the Apocrypha.

(*b*) The versions can only be approximately dated. The earliest reference to the book, and no doubt to the Greek version of it, is by Clement of Rome (1 *Cor.* 55. 4 and 5) about 90 A. D. He alludes to the story as if it were well known to his Greek readers, very much in the same way as he goes on to speak of Esther. Allowing some time for the original book to become established before it was translated, and some time for the translation to become known, we should probably date the Greek not later than the beginning of the first century A. D.

The VL was made from the Greek, and as in Jerome's time (see § 4) it was already very corrupt, it must have been a long time in existence. The Syriac, which agrees closely with it, was possibly made about the same time from the same Greek text, for the use of oriental Christians. Fritzsche surmises vaguely that both were made between the first and third centuries A. D., and we have no means of dating them more precisely.

§ 6. Integrity of the Text; its Historical Framework.

It has been suggested that the story is founded on a popular tradition, true or imaginary. Reuss thought that the Song in cap. 16 was an early composition, like the song of Deborah, and that the story was built upon it. It is certainly remarkable that in xvi. 10 Persians and Medes, not Assyrians, are mentioned. There can be no doubt that Judith belongs to the family of Jael, Esther, and Joan of Arc. Such a theme appeals strongly to popular imagination, and even if based on fact, easily tends to be overlaid with fiction. Whatever may be the truth, the work, as we have it, is a consistent whole, and, with the possible exception of the song, shows no signs of being by more than one hand.

What then is the period which the author is proposing to describe, and how far is it in agreement with history? The question has been very variously answered. Attempts have been made to identify the Nebuchadnezzar of the story with Assurbanipal, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes Ochus, Antiochus Epiphanes: Arphaxad with Deioces or Phraortes. Without discussing these theories in detail, it may be said at once that none of them is consistent without a good deal of forcing. The historical Nebuchadnezzar did not reign at Nineveh (i. 1): he died in 562, and the return from the exile was not till about 536. He did not make war on Media (i. 7) nor capture Ecbatana. Nor do the annals of Assurbanipal, though they are very full, record anything of the kind, while Media had ceased to be a power before the time of the other kings whom it has been proposed to identify with Nebuchadnezzar. At the time of the Return, the Babylonian empire had passed to the Persians. They were not likely to send a punitive expedition against the Jews, who were not then in a position to offer any resistance. Moreover, Arphaxad is not the name of any Median king mentioned by Herodotus, and the fortifications of Ecbatana were not built by him but by Deioces (Hdt. i. 98): (H)olofernes (= Orofernes) and Bagoas, if they are historical names, are Persian, and belong to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus (see below). Again, there was no king in Israel, but the people was ruled by the High Priest Joakim (iv. 6, 8, 14, xv. 8) and a Sanhedrim (iv. 8, xv. 8). It has been suggested that this points to the reign of Manasseh when he was a prisoner in Babylon, or to the minority of Josiah. Either explanation is improbable. If a High Priest was acting for the king, so

unusual a situation would have to be explained, whereas it is taken for granted, and also it is inconsistent with the references to the exile (iv. 3, v. 18). The suggestion that Joakim (Eliachim in the Vulgate) is the same as the Eliakim of 2 Kings xviii. 18, and that he may have survived as High Priest under Manasseh, is not supported by the list of High Priests. In fact the author clearly intends to put his story at the time of the Return, but makes no attempt to fill in the picture consistently. If it is to be made consistent, this can only be done by explaining the names as pseudonyms disguising really historical persons. This is the view taken by Ball, and it must be admitted that he finds some remarkable coincidences, on the assumption that Nebuchadnezzar is Antiochus Epiphanes, the Assyrians are Syrians, Nineveh is Antioch, and Arphaxad is Arsaces of Persia (= Media), against whom Antiochus made an expedition. But if the book is historical *fiction*, as it seems to be, we need not expect to explain all its statements. The writer selected such incidents as suited his purpose, without troubling about historical accuracy. The framework of the story was most probably suggested (so Schürer and others) by the campaign of Artaxerxes Ochus against Phoenicia and Egypt (about 350 B.C.). One of his generals was Holofernes, brother of the king of Cappadocia (Diod. Sic. xxxi. 19), who was sent against Egypt, though it is expressly stated that he died in his own country, and a certain Bagoas was his most trusted servant (Diod. Sic. xvi. 47). Sidon surrendered to the Persians (cf. Judith ii. 28 seq.), and the army then marched south towards Egypt, passing, no doubt, through Esdraelon (iii. 9). If any incident occurred in the campaign similar to that related here, we have no other record of it. The details are not meant to be historical. Nebuchadnezzar is introduced as the typical arch-enemy of Judaea: the time of the Return is chosen as being far away and little known, and the author is guilty of a further anachronism by describing his characters under the conditions of his own day. In the song (xvi. 10), if that is by the author of the rest, the mention of Persians seems to show that he was really thinking of the campaign of Artaxerxes Ochus. He also affects archaic names and allusions: hence with Nebuchadnezzar's army he includes princes of Moab and captains of Ammon (v. 2), the traditional enemies of Israel, who were in place, e.g. in 2 Kings xxiv. 2, but can surely not have been important in 150 or even 350 B.C. Similarly Midian (ii. 26) and Esau (vii. 8) are archaistic for Arabs and Idumaeans.

Such being the method of the book, we need not expect to identify all the geographical any more than the personal names. Bethulia, the scene of the story, is very like Shechem, and, if the author was thinking of Shechem, that may account for his using the name Βετυλούα = בית אלוה, since the Samaritans call Mt. Gerizim בית אל. It also fits the story, as a place of first-rate strategic importance, far better than Safed or Bait Ilfa, which have also been proposed. With regard to the other place-names, there is evidently a good deal of corruption either in the original or in the versions, or both. Many of them are too much distorted to be recognizable, but they may conceal actual sites, known or unknown. They can hardly be purely imaginary. Torrey (*JAOS*, 1899, pp. 160 sqq. and *Florilegium . . . de Vogüé*, p. 599) shows that, taking Bethulia to be Shechem, the other places agree, so far as they can be identified. See further on iv. 6.

§ 7. The Author of the Book.

As to the anonymous author there is no tradition. From his writing in Hebrew and from his detailed references to the geography of the Holy Land, it may be inferred that he was a Palestinian Jew. From his theological views (§ 9) it seems that he belonged to the Pharisaic party. He was a man of some literary skill. The story is well told, and apart from a certain tendency to exaggerate the magnitude of the military operations, the style is restrained and straightforward, without unnecessary elaboration. He was also well acquainted with the literature of his people, for, while his descriptions have vigour and originality, the book is full of reminiscences of the Old Testament, e.g. with the story of Achior in caps. 5, 6, cf. that of Micaiah in 1 Kings 22; with viii. 3 cf. 2 Kings iv. 18 seq.; viii. 16 is a quotation from Num. xxiii. 19; ix. 7, xvi. 3 from Exod. xv. 3; xiii. 18 from Gen. xiv. 19, 20. The fact that the quotations agree with the LXX rather than with the Hebrew text may be merely due to the translator. The author apparently knew some of the latest of the O. T. books (Esther and Daniel), and in v. 6–8 draws upon some midrashic source for the story of Abraham.

§ 8. Later Use of the Book.

(*a*) Although the Book of Judith was not received by the Jews, the story was well known to them, at least in the middle ages. It is mentioned in the liturgy for Ḥanukka (the feast of the Dedication of the temple, instituted by Judas Maccabaeus on Chisleu 25), and appears in various Hebrew forms among the minor midrashim (see Zunz, *Gottesd. Vorträge*, ed. 2, p. 131). A short recension of it is edited by Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrasch*, i, p. 130, a longer text, *ibid.* p. 132, and another, *ibid.* ii, p. 12. Three more forms of the story are found in MSS. of the Bodleian Library. See also

Gaster in *PSBA*, xvi, p. 156. A text translated from the Vulgate, and agreeing with that of two Bodleian MSS. (Heb. d. 11 f. 259 and MS. Opp. 712 f. 164), was published at Venice about 1651, under the title of מעשה יהודית. None of these is in any sense a translation of the Greek, still less the original form of the book. They are free sketches of a well-known story, set down from memory, like other מעשיות, in more or less detail according to the taste of the writer. They are usually short, and of no great antiquity. In the MSS. they are generally headed 'for Hanukka'. Hebrew translations of the Greek were published by Meir b. Ascher at Berlin in 1766, by Benseb at Vienna in 1819, and by Fränkel at Leipzig in 1830 (with other apocrypha). A Judaeo-German translation by S. Landau appeared at Frankfurt a. M. in 1715. A Persian version exists in a Bodleian MS. (Hyde 19). It is anonymous, but is made from the Vulgate, and the MS. was probably written about 1600.

(*b*) In the Church it was well known from the Greek (and Latin) translations, and was often quoted, not as canonical but as edifying, e.g. by Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine (see Fritzsche, *Einleitung*, § 9), thus gradually acquiring a quasi-canonical recognition. On the use of the book in mediaeval times, see Pentin, *Judith*, London, 1908.

After the Council of Trent, the Protestants, though rejecting it from the canon, maintained the early view that it was good for edifying, and used it largely in preaching. It was never admitted to the English Church lectionary.

§ 9. Theology of the Book.

The theology of the book is strongly Pharisaic. The story is clearly intended for edification, to encourage the people in some time of trial, and to point out the true way to deliverance by showing that Israel's troubles are due to sin (v. 17, 18, xi. 10), that salvation comes through trust in God and obedience to Him, and that God uses the weak things to confound the strong (ix. 10 and frequently). But obedience to God, which is righteousness, consists in the strict observance of the Law. Judith is strong because of her consciousness of keeping the Law (xvi. 16). She observes not only the pentateuchal feasts of the Sabbath and New Moon, but also the eves of them (viii. 6), as required by the later teaching. She not only abstained from forbidden food, but she fasted continually, and underwent further mortification (viii. 5, 6) although she was rich. She is thus a perfect type of Pharisaic righteousness. She even dilates on these doctrines to Holofernes (cap. 11), laying stress on the sureness of punishment which would follow on such sins as the eating of forbidden things and the using of tithes and first-fruits by the citizens of Bethulia in their extremity. For even in the most desperate case God will find a means of deliverance for His faithful people and will punish the oppressor. This punishment is inflicted not only in the present life. There will be a day of judgement (apparently after death) when the wicked will be condemned to torment by fire and worms for ever (xvi. 17).

The objection which has been made to Judith's deceit (xi. 5) and approval of violence scarcely deserves notice. It could only be made in complete ignorance of the spirit of the time, and shows an utter inability to appreciate the position of a people struggling against overwhelming odds for their religion and their very existence.

THE BOOK OF JUDITH

1 1 In the twelfth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned over the Assyrians in Nineveh,
2 the great city; in the days of Arphaxad, who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana, and built at
Ecbatana and round about it walls of hewn stones three cubits broad and six cubits long, and made
3 the height of the wall seventy cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits; and set the towers thereof
at the gates thereof, a hundred cubits *high*, and the breadth thereof in the foundation threescore
4 cubits; and made the gates thereof, even gates that were raised to the height of seventy cubits, and
the breadth of them forty cubits, for the going forth of his mighty hosts, and the setting in array of
5 his footmen: even in those days king Nebuchadnezzar made war with king Arphaxad in the great
6 plain: this plain is in the borders of Ragau. And there came to meet him all that dwelt in the hill
country, and all that dwelt by Euphrates, and Tigris, and Hydaspes, and in the plain of Arioch the
king of the Elymæans; and many nations of the sons of Chelod assembled themselves to the battle.
7 And Nebuchadnezzar king of the Assyrians sent unto all that dwelt in Persia, and to all that dwelt
westward, to those that dwelt in Cilicia and Damascus and Libanus and Antilibanus, and to all that
8 dwelt over against the sea coast, and to those among the nations that were of Carmel and Gilead,
9 and to the higher Galilee and the great plain of Esdraelon, and to all that were in Samaria and the
cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chellus, and Kadesh, and the
10 river of Egypt, and Tahpanhes, and Rameses, and all the land of Goshen, until thou comest above
Tanis and Memphis, and to all that dwelt in Egypt, until thou comest to the borders of Ethiopia.
11 And all they that dwelt in all the land made light of the commandment of Nebuchadnezzar king of
the Assyrians, and went not with him to the war; for they were not afraid of him, but he was before
them as one man; and they turned away his messengers from their presence without effect, and with
disgrace.
12 And Nebuchadnezzar was exceeding wroth with all this land, and he sware by his throne and
kingdom, that he would surely be avenged upon all the coasts of Cilicia and Damascus and Syria,
that he would slay with his sword all the inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the children of
Ammon, and all Judæa, and all that were in Egypt, until thou comest to the borders of the two
13 seas. And he set the battle in array with his host against king Arphaxad in the seventeenth year;
and he prevailed in his battle, and turned to flight all the host of Arphaxad, and all his horse, and
14 all his chariots; and he became master of his cities, and he came even unto Ecbatana, and took the
15 towers, and spoiled the streets thereof, and turned the beauty thereof into shame. And he took
Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him through with his darts, and destroyed him

I. 1. On the history see Introduction, § 6. **Nebuchadnezzar** reigned from 604 to 562 B.C. at Babylon. **Nineveh** and the Assyrian empire were destroyed about 607. **Arphaxad** is not known as a king of Media. It was Deioces (according to Herodotus i. 98) who fortified **Ecbatana**, about 700 B.C., and Cyrus who destroyed it in 550.

5. The apodosis begins here, with *καὶ* 'then'. **Ragau** = Ragae, the plain which begins about 100 miles north-east of Ecbatana.

6. **Hydaspes.** There is no river of this name in the region. Perhaps the Choaspes is meant. Syr. has Ulai.

and in the plain of Arioch the king, *καὶ πεδίῳ Ἀριὼχ ὁ βασιλεύς* (א* *-εως*). The nominative cannot be translated as in R.V. The sentence may originally have run 'they that inhabited the hills . . . and in the plain, and Arioch . . . and . . . Chelod assembled . . .' The plain is the plain of Elam. The name Arioch is borrowed from Gen. xiv. 1, in accordance with the author's love of archaism.

of the sons of Chelod . . . to the battle, *εἰς παρόταξιν υἱῶν* X. properly 'many nations assembled to the army ('battle', 'camp', as below, xvi. 12) of the sons of Ch.' The name (otherwise unknown) may be a corruption of 'Chaldaeans'.

8. **those among the nations** (גוים), probably the non-Jewish inhabitants are meant. The Jews are mentioned later.

9. **beyond Jordan,** i.e. from the Babylonian point of view, though this should have come earlier in the verse.

Ball thinks that **Betane** is Beth-anoth (Jos. xv. 59), that **Chellus** is Allus in Idumaea, and that **Kadesh** is Kedesh in Judah (Joshua xv. 23) or Kadesh-Barnea. The **river of Egypt** is the Wadi-al-Arish, the boundary of Palestine and Egypt.

11. **as one man,** *ὡς ἀνὴρ εἷς*, א A and Fritzsche. The ordinary reading is *ὡς ἀνὴρ ἴσος*. If this is the original (and *εἷς* a correction of א A) it may represent כאיש שוה, a misreading of שוא 'a man of naught'.

12. **the two seas,** the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, or possibly two parts of the Mediterranean.

14. **beauty . . . into shame,** a play on words in the Hebrew יפי ברפי.

15. **destroyed him,** i.e. him and his kingdom.

16 utterly, unto this day. And he returned with them to Nineveh, he and all his company of sundry nations, an exceeding great multitude of men of war, and there he took his ease and banqueted, he and his host, a hundred and twenty days.

2 1 And in the eighteenth year, the two and twentieth day of the first month, there was talk in the house of Nebuchadnezzar king of the Assyrians, that he should be avenged on all the land, even as 2 he spake. And he called together all his servants, and all his great men, and communicated with 3 them his secret counsel, and concluded the afflicting of all the land out of his own mouth. And 4 they decreed to destroy all flesh which followed not the word of his mouth. And it came to pass, when he had ended his counsel, Nebuchadnezzar king of the Assyrians called Holofernes the chief captain of his host, which was next after himself, and said unto him,

5 Thus saith the great king, the lord of all the earth, Behold, thou shalt go forth from my presence, and take with thee men that trust in their strength, unto a hundred and twenty thousand footmen; 6 and the number of horses with their riders twelve thousand: and thou shalt go forth against all the 7 west country, because they disobeyed the commandment of my mouth. And thou shalt declare unto them, that they prepare earth and water; because I will go forth in my wrath against them, and will cover the whole face of the earth with the feet of my host, and I will give them for a spoil 8 unto them: and their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks, and the river shall be filled with their 9, 10 dead, till it overflow: and I will lead them captives to the utmost parts of all the earth. But thou shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me all their coasts; and if they shall yield themselves unto 11 thee, then shalt thou reserve them for me till the day of their reproof. But as for them that are disobedient, thine eye shall not spare; but thou shalt give them up to be slain and to be spoiled in 12 all thy land. For as I live, and by the power of my kingdom, I have spoken, and I will do this with 13 my hand. And thou, moreover, shalt not transgress aught of the commandments of thy lord, but thou shalt surely accomplish them, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt not defer to do them.

14 And Holofernes went forth from the presence of his lord, and called all the governors and the 15 captains and officers of the host of Asshur; and he numbered chosen men for the battle, as his lord had commanded him, unto a hundred and twenty thousand, and twelve thousand archers on horse-16, 17 back; and he ranged them, as a great multitude is ordered for the war. And he took camels and asses and mules for their baggage, an exceeding great multitude; and sheep and oxen and goats 18 without number for their provision; and great store of victual for every man, and exceeding much 19 gold and silver out of the king's house. And he went forth, he and all his host, on their journey, to go before king Nebuchadnezzar, and to cover all the face of the earth westward with their chariots 20 and horsemen and chosen footmen. And a great company of sundry nations went forth with them like locusts, and like the sand of the earth: for they could not be numbered by reason of their multitude.

21 And they departed out of Nineveh three days' journey toward the plain of Bectileth, and encamped from Bectileth near the mountain which is at the left hand of the upper Cilicia. And he

16. B has 'and he returned with them (i. e. the spoils, &c.), he and his host, for 120 days'.

company is *συμμικτος*, used here as a noun, 'a mixed multitude'; cf. *ἐπίμικτος* ii. 20 and Exod. xii. 38. Herodotus (vii. 55) uses *σύμμικτος* (adj.) of the army of Xerxes.

II. 1. **the twenty-second day of the first month** evidently ended the 120 days' rest, so that the return to 'Nineveh' took place just before the end of the ninth month of the seventeenth year of Neb. The precise date is meant to give the appearance of real history.

2. **communicated,** *ἔθετο*, lit. placed. The Greek of this verse is strange.

concluded, *συνετέλεσεν*. Fritzsche suggests that this translates ויכלה a misreading of ויגלה 'revealed (his purpose to destroy)'. If so, 'ended' in verse 4 is also for 'revealed'. Cf. the decree in Esth. iii. 13.

3. **all flesh,** a common Hebraism, כל בשר.

4. **(H)olofernes** (always with the smooth breathing in Greek) is usually taken to be for Orophernes, a Persian name borne by the kings of Cappadocia. It is quite out of place in the time of Neb.

6. **the west country** is Egypt and Syria, which were the objects of the campaign of Artaxerxes Ochus; cf. Introd. § 6.

7. **earth and water** as a sign of submission. The formula is Persian, not Assyrian or Babylonian (Ball, referring to Hdt. vi. 48, 49).

I will go, i. e. my power will go.

8. **river . . . overflow.** Rather 'even a strong, rushing river shall be choked up and filled . . .' *ποταμὸς ἐπικλύζων* translates נחל שוטף in Isa. lxvi. 12.

10. Rather 'and they shall yield . . . and thou shalt reserve . . .'. Resistance is not regarded as conceivable.

reproof. *ἐλεγμοῦ* is תוכחה, implying conviction with consequent punishment.

11. **thy land.** 58 VL Syr 19 108 omit 'thy'.

20. **company,** *ἐπίμικτος*, cf. *σύμμικτος* in i. 16. Note the exaggeration.

21. **Bectileth,** *Βαικτειλαίθ*. None of the proposed identifications is at all convincing. Apparently it was near N. Cilicia, about 300 miles from Nineveh—an impossible journey to perform in three days.

took all his host, his footmen and horsemen and chariots, and went away from thence into the hill
23 country, and destroyed Put and Lud, and spoiled all the children of Rasses, and the children of
24 Ishmael, which were over against the wilderness to the south of the land of the Chellians. And he
went over Euphrates, and went through Mesopotamia, and brake down all the high cities that were
25 upon the river Arbonai, until thou comest to the sea. And he took possession of the borders of
Cilicia, and slew all that resisted him, and came unto the borders of Japheth, which were toward the
26 south, over against Arabia. And he compassed about all the children of Midian, and set on fire
27 their tents, and spoiled their sheepcotes. And he went down into the plain of Damascus in the days
of wheat harvest, and set on fire all their fields, and utterly destroyed their flocks and herds, and
spoiled their cities, and laid their plains waste, and smote all their young men with the edge of the
sword.

28 And the fear and the dread of him fell upon them that dwelt on the sea coast, upon them that
were in Sidon and Tyre, and them that dwelt in Sur and Ocina, and all that dwelt in Jemnaan; and
they that dwelt in Azotus and Ascalon feared him exceedingly.

3 1, 2 And they sent unto him messengers with words of peace, saying, Behold, we the servants of
3 Nebuchadnezzar the great king lie before thee: use us as it is pleasing in thy sight. Behold, our
dwellings, and all our country, and all our fields of wheat, and our flocks and herds, and all the
4 sheepcotes of our tents, lie before thy face: use them as it may please thee. Behold, even our cities
and they that dwell in them are thy servants: come and deal with them as it is good in thine eyes.
5 And the men came to Holofernes, and declared unto him according to these words.

6 And he came down toward the sea coast, he and his host, and set garrisons in the high cities, and
7 took out of them chosen men for allies. And they received him, they and all the country round
8 about them, with garlands and dances and timbrels. And he cast down all their borders, and cut
down their groves: and it had been given unto him to destroy all the gods of the land, that all the
nations should worship Nebuchadnezzar only, and that all their tongues and their tribes should call
9 upon him as god. And he came towards Esdraelon nigh unto Dotæa, which is over against the
10 great ridge of Judæa. And he encamped between Geba and Scythopolis, and he was there a whole
month, that he might gather together all the baggage of his host.

encamped = נסעו (for which LXX three times has *στρατοπεδεύειν*, as here), 'they went a day's journey to their next camp at B.'

the left hand in Hebr. is the north, cf. Gen. xiv. 15.

23. **Put** (Pontus?) and **Lud** (Lydia?) are often found together in O.T. Probably Put (Phut) does not always represent the same country, but in any case neither name can be identified with any region bordering on Cilicia.

Rasses is also unknown. Vulg. has Tharsis (= Tarsus in Cilicia), VL Thiras et Rasis, Syr Tiras and Ra'amses.

Chellians, א A, are unknown. B 58 Syr 19 108 read Chaldeans, which cannot be right.

24. As it stands, this verse can only mean that he left Cilicia, re-crossed the Euphrates, and then returned to Cilicia —a most unlikely proceeding. Or the verse is out of place, since he must have crossed the Euphrates to get to Cilicia. Evidently the writer had very vague ideas as to the relative positions of Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and the (Mediterranean) sea.

Arbonai is unknown. א *Χεβρών*, B *Ἀβρωνά*, Syr Jabbok, VL Beccon, Vulg. Mambre.

25. He now turned south, towards Damascus, and, roughly speaking, in the direction of Arabia, but the meaning of the 'borders of Japheth' is obscure.

26. **Midian**, again an archaism for Arabs in general.

27. **wheat harvest** would be about the beginning of June. As the expedition started in the first month, the author has allowed far too little time (Ball), since there is no suggestion that this was the harvest of the next (nineteenth) year.

28. **Sur** looks like a dittography of *Τύρῳ* (צור); 19 108 have *Σούδ* (צור) a misreading of the Hebrew; א has *Τούρ*; B has *Ἀσσούρ*, which is clearly out of place. Fritzsche proposes to read Dor, a port near Carmel.

Ocina, unknown. א has *Ἀμμάν* (= Hamath?). Ball suggests Accho-Ptolemaïs, a haven north of Dor; Judges i. 31.

Jemnaan = Jamnia, Jabne, a well-known city on the south coast of Syria. The author evidently means to give a list of important towns going from north to south. His geography is more intelligible when he is dealing with Palestine, which he knew.

III. 1. **they**, i. e. the inhabitants of the non-Jewish towns just mentioned.

8. **borders**, *τὰ ὅρια*, is strange. Fritzsche and Ball think it is a mistranslation of הבמות, 'the high places.' Holofernes is represented as doing what a Jewish conqueror or reformer would have done, cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 14 (of Josiah).

as god, hardly an allusion to the title of *Θεός* assumed by Antiochus, &c. It is more probably imitated from the story in Dan. iii.

9. **Dotæa**, a Greek form of Dothan (= Dothayim). The plain of Jezreel was a suitable place for assembling a large army.

The **ridge**, *πρίων*, lit. 'saw' = sierra, must be the high ground on which Jerusalem stands. **over against**, *ἀπέναντι*, is a vague expression, which may only mean that you can see the ridge from Dothan. Fritzsche (following Reland) suggests that מישור, 'plain,' has been misread as משור, 'saw.'

10. **Geba**, about six miles due south of Dothan (Ball).

Scythopolis (= Bethshan) is the only purely Greek name occurring in the book. Elsewhere the translator uses Hebrew or Graecized Hebrew forms.

4 1 And the children of Israel that dwelt in Judæa heard all that Holofernes the chief captain of
Nebuchadnezzar king of the Assyrians had done to the nations, and after what manner he had
2 spoiled all their temples, and destroyed them utterly. And they were exceedingly afraid before
3 him, and were troubled for Jerusalem, and for the temple of the Lord their God: because they were
newly come up from the captivity, and all the people of Judæa were lately gathered together; and
the vessels, and the altar, and the house, were sanctified after the profanation.
4 And they sent into every coast of Samaria, and to Konæ, and to Bethhoron, and Belmaim, and
5 Jericho, and to Choba, and Æsora, and to the valley of Salem; and they possessed themselves
beforehand of all the tops of the high mountains, and fortified the villages that were in them, and
6 laid up victual for the provision of war: for their fields were newly reaped. And Joakim the high
priest, which was in those days at Jerusalem, wrote to them that dwelt in Bethulia, and Betomesthaim,
7 which is over against Esdraelon toward the plain that is nigh unto Dothaim, charging them to seize
upon the ascents of the hill country; because by them was the entrance into Judæa, and it was easy
to stop them from approaching, inasmuch as the approach was narrow, *with space* for two men at
8 the most. And the children of Israel did as Joakim the high priest had commanded them, and the
senate of all the people of Israel, which dwelt at Jerusalem.
9 And every man of Israel cried to God with great earnestness, and with great earnestness did they
10 humble their souls. They, and their wives, and their babes, and their cattle, and every sojourner
11 and hireling and servant bought with their money, put sackcloth upon their loins. And every man
and woman of Israel, and the little children, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, fell before the temple,
and cast ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the Lord; and they put
12 sackcloth about the altar: and they cried to the God of Israel earnestly with one consent, that he
would not give their babes for a prey, and their wives for a spoil, and the cities of their inheritance
13 to destruction, and the sanctuary to profanation and reproach, for the nations to rejoice at. And
the Lord heard their voice, and looked upon their affliction: and the people continued fasting many
14 days in all Judæa and Jerusalem before the sanctuary of the Lord Almighty. And Joakim the high
priest, and all the priests that stood before the Lord, and they that ministered unto the Lord, had
their loins girt about with sackcloth, and offered the continual burnt offering, and the vows and the

IV. 2. **exceedingly**, *σφόδρα σφόδρα* = מאד מאד, a favourite expression with the author.

3. The sanctification after profanation might refer to what is narrated in 1 Macc. iv. 36, but for the definite statement that the people had just returned from the captivity. In v. 18, too, the temple had been actually destroyed. If the description here is suggested by the action of Judas Maccabaeus, the author purposely puts it back to the earlier period (soon after 516 B.C.).

4. **Samaria** in 516 was bitterly hostile to Judaea, and would not have been consulted. The political situation represented is imaginary.

Konæ. A reads *κωμαις*, 'villages', and so VL.

Belmaim (א Abelmain) is unknown. Syr Abelmeholah.

Choba and **Æsora** are also unknown, and **the valley of Salem.**

5. **newly reaped**, cf. ii. 27. It was still the month of June.

6. The name of the high priest **Joakim** is no doubt derived from Neh. xii. 26. VL in this chapter and Vulg. throughout read Eliachim, El- being substituted for Jeho-.

Bethulia, *Βαιτουλούα*. A *Βετυλούα*. א here *Βαιτουλία*. The question of the historical value of the book turns largely on this name. As the town is the scene of the main action of the story, many details of its situation are incidentally mentioned. It can hardly be doubted that the author had in his mind some well-known and important site, although he may not have described it accurately in all points. No place of the name is known, however, and we can only suppose that a fictitious name has been adopted for some actual town. *Βαιτ(ο)υλούα* is now generally explained as בית אלוה = בית אל = Bethel = House of God, a name which might suitably be applied to any town which is to be represented as true to its faith in God, cf. e.g. viii. 20. It cannot, of course, be the historical Bethel, which was never of sufficient importance. The whole fate of the nation depended upon Bethulia, cf. viii. 21, 24. What place then is hidden under this assumed name? It would be natural to think of Jerusalem (בתולת בת ציון), but this is out of the question, since in this verse Joakim wrote from Jerusalem to Bethulia. On the whole, Torrey's view (see Introd. § 6) is most probable, that the author is describing Shechem, even if every detail is not exact. Supposing the story to be a romance, such exactitude is unnecessary. The importance of the position of Shechem is just what is wanted, while the antipathy to everything Samaritan affords a sufficient reason for not using the name, cf. on v. 16. For a description of the site see vi. 11, x. 10.

Betomesthaim is unknown. Apparently near Bethulia and Dothan. Torrey suggests that it is a pseudonym for Samaria, and that it is a corruption of בית מצפה, House of outlook, as שומרון from שמר, to watch.

8. **senate**, *γερουσία* = סנהדרין. Its constitution (seventy members and the president, נשיא) no doubt was modelled on the seventy elders of Exod. xxiv. 1, &c., but as an official body it probably is not older than the time of the Maccabees. It certainly did not exist in 516 B.C.

dwelt, *ἐκάθηντο*, rather 'sat' as a court or deliberative assembly.

13. **Jerusalem**, &c. א reads 'and those in Jerusalem fell down before . . .'

14. **continual burnt offering**, the תמיד, Num. xxviii. 3.

vows and **free gifts**, נדרים ונדבות, as in Num. xxix. 39 and often.

15 free gifts of the people; and they had ashes on their mitres: and they cried unto the Lord with all their power, that he would look upon all the house of Israel for good.

5 1 And it was told Holofernes, the chief captain of the host of Asshur, that the children of Israel had prepared for war, and had shut up the passages of the hill country, and had fortified all the tops of 2 the high hills, and had laid impediments in the plains: and he was exceeding wroth, and he called all the princes of Moab, and the captains of Ammon, and all the governors of the sea coast, and he 3 said unto them, Tell me now, ye sons of Canaan, who is this people, that dwelleth in the hill country, and what are the cities that they inhabit, and what is the multitude of their host, and wherein is 4 their power and their strength, and what king is set over them, to be the leader of their army; and why have they turned their backs, that they should not come and meet me, more than all that dwell in the west.

5 And Achior, the leader of all the children of Ammon, said unto him,

Let my lord now hear a word from the mouth of thy servant, and I will tell thee the truth concerning this people, which dwelleth in this hill country, nigh unto the place where thou dwellest: 6 and there shall no lie come out of the mouth of thy servant. This people are descended of the 7 Chaldeans: and they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they were not minded to follow 8 the gods of their fathers, which were in the land of the Chaldeans. And they departed from the way of their parents, and worshipped the God of heaven, the God whom they knew: and they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into Mesopotamia, and sojourned there many 9 days. And their God commanded them to depart from the place where they sojourned, and to go into the land of Canaan: and they dwelt there, and were increased with gold and silver, and with 10 exceeding much cattle. And they went down into Egypt, for a famine covered all the land of Canaan; and there they sojourned, until they were grown up; and they became there a great 11 multitude, so that one could not number their nation. And the king of Egypt rose up against them, and dealt subtilly with them, and brought them low, making them to labour in brick, and made 12 them slaves. And they cried unto their God, and he smote all the land of Egypt with incurable 13 plagues: and the Egyptians cast them out of their sight. And God dried up the Red sea before 14 them, and brought them into the way of Sinai, and Kadesh-Barnea, and they cast out all that dwelt 15 in the wilderness. And they dwelt in the land of the Amorites, and they destroyed by their strength 16 all them of Heshbon, and passing over Jordan they possessed all the hill country. And they cast out before them the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Jebusite, and the Shechemite, and all the 17 Girgashites, and they dwelt in that country many days. And whilst they sinned not before their

15. **mitres**, Exod. xxviii. 40 (A.V. bonnets).

V. 2. Moabites and Ammonites were employed against Judaea by the historical Nebuchadnezzar, see 2 Kings xxiv. 2.

and all the governors of the sea coast, omitted by ℵ. The word for 'governors' is σατράπας, a Persian, not Babylonian, term.

3. A rhetorical question expressing scorn, cf. vi. 2.

Canaan is merely used archaistically for Syria, not (as Ball says) in its correct sense of Phoenicia and the coast. The name is rarely found in the later O.T. literature, and then only in reference to the early history of Israel (e.g. Neh. ix. 24). Holofernes, whether he was a Babylonian or a Persian, would not have used it.

5. **Achior** probably = Ahihud, by confusion of ר and ד as in LXX of Num. xxxiv. 27.

this people . . . thou dwellest. τοῦ λαοῦ . . . πλησίον σοῦ οἰκοῦντος probably go together, 'the people dwelling near thee.' The sentence is very awkward, and one of the two clauses would be better omitted. R.V. seems to me impossible.

6–8. This is rather the later midrashic development of the story of Abraham (refusing to worship the gods of Terah, incurring the wrath of Nimrod, and banished) than that contained in Gen. xi. 31–xii. 5, which is followed, e.g. in Neh. ix. 7–8, Acts vii. 2 f.

6. **descended of the Chaldeans**, i.e. Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees.

7. **in Mesopotamia**, i.e. at Haran.

which were, ἐγένοντο, would naturally refer to 'fathers'. 58 VL Syr add ἔνδοξοι, 'which were worshipped,' making it refer to the gods.

8. **God of heaven**, cf. Dan. ii. 28, iv. 37, &c., and Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus aus . . . Elephantine*, i. 2, &c. The expression was common in Persian times.

knew, ἐπέγνωσαν, perhaps 'whom they had come to know' or recognized as the only true God in consequence of a revelation, cf. Acts vii. 2.

9. See Gen. xii. 1.

10. **grown up**, μέχρις οὗ διετράφησαν. A.V. 'while they were nourished', which is correct. R.V. seems to mean 'until they increased in number', but that is said in the next clause. Possibly the Hebrew was עד שחיו 'as long as they lived (or were fed)'. Cf. Gen. l. 20.

11. B reads 'they dealt subtilly with them in (or with) labour (clay ℵ, cf. Exod. i. 14) and brick, and they humbled them and made . . .'

12. The speech of Achior is part of the scheme of the book, to encourage the people in time of trouble by showing how God has given deliverance formerly when His people were worthy of it. Achior is represented as tending to a belief in the God of Israel, so that his sudden conversion later on is the less surprising.

out of their sight, ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν is merely the Hebrew מלפניהם, 'from them.'

16. Shechem is not named in the list in Joshua xii. It is introduced here out of hostility to the Samaritans.

18 God, they prospered, because God that hateth iniquity was with them. But when they departed
from the way which he appointed them, they were destroyed in many battles very sore, and were
led captives into a land that was not theirs, and the temple of their God was cast to the ground, and
19 their cities were taken by their adversaries. And now they are returned to their God, and are come
up from the dispersion where they were dispersed, and have possessed Jerusalem, where their
20 sanctuary is, and are seated in the hill country: for it was desolate. And now, my lord and master,
if there is any error in this people, and they sin against their God, we will consider what this thing
21 is wherein they stumble, and we will go up and overcome them. But if there is no lawlessness in
their nation, let my lord now pass by, lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them, and
we shall be a reproach before all the earth.
22 And it came to pass, when Achior had finished speaking these words, all the people that
compassed the tent and stood round about it murmured; and the great men of Holofernes, and all
23 that dwelt by the sea side, and in Moab, spake that he should kill him. For, *said they*, we will not
be afraid of the children of Israel: for, lo, it is a people that hath no power nor might to make the
24 battle strong. Wherefore now we will go up, and they shall be a prey to be devoured of all thine
army, lord Holofernes.
6 1 And when the tumult of the men that were about the council was ceased, Holofernes the chief
captain of the host of Asshur said unto Achior and to all the children of Moab before all the people
of the aliens,
2 And who art thou, Achior, and the hirelings of Ephraim, that thou hast prophesied among us
as to-day, and hast said, that we should not make war with the race of Israel, because their God
3 will defend them? And who is God but Nebuchadnezzar? He shall send forth his might, and
shall destroy them from the face of the earth, and their God shall not deliver them: but we his
4 servants shall smite them as one man; and they shall not sustain the might of our horses. For with
them we shall burn them up, and their mountains shall be drunken with their blood, and their plains
shall be filled with their dead bodies, and their footsteps shall not stand before us, but they shall
surely perish, saith king Nebuchadnezzar, lord of all the earth: for he said, The words that I have
5 spoken shall not be in vain. But thou, Achior, hireling of Ammon, which hast spoken these words
in the day of thine iniquity, shalt see my face no more from this day, until I shall be avenged of the
6 race of those that came out of Egypt. And then shall the sword of mine army, and the multitude
of them that serve me, pass through thy sides, and thou shalt fall among their slain, when I shall
7 return. And my servants shall bring thee back into the hill country, and shall set thee in one of

18. **led captives,** by (the historical) Nebuchadnezzar in 588. Achior is telling this to a representative of Nebuchadnezzar seventy years later!

temple . . . cast to the ground. It was not merely desecrated as e.g. by Antiochus.

19. **are come up** (עלו), i.e. about 516.

the dispersion. *διασπορά* is the common word in Hellenistic times for the Jews scattered in various lands, not exiles in one place, as here.

20. Rather, 'if there is any fault due to ignorance (שגגה) . . . and we see that this offence (*σκάνδαλον*) is in them, then (*καί*) we will go up . . .'

21. **lawlessness,** *ἀνομία*, a breach of the Law, = *ἀγνόημα* in verse 20.

lest . . . for them, rather 'lest their Lord and their God defend (be a shield over) them'; *ὑπερασπίσῃ . . . ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν* = יגן עליהם.

and we shall be. *ἐσόμεθα* is not dependent (incorrectly) on *μή ποτε*, but means 'for then (*καί*) we shall be . . .'

VI. 1. **about the council,** i.e. were round about forming the council.

and to all the children of Moab is omitted by B, and transferred to the next verse by homoioteleuton, where it is evidently out of place. For 'Moab' 19 108, read 'Ammon', more appropriately, as Achior was an Ammonite.

aliens, *ἀλλόφυλοι* in LXX means Philistines, but here only 'non-Jews'.

2. **hirelings,** meaning that they were mercenaries in the 'Assyrian' army (Ephraim being then incorrectly used for 'Syrian'), or perhaps that they were bought over by Ephraim, i.e. Israel.

For **Ephraim** 19 108 read Ammon, and similarly 58 VL Syr.

as to-day. *καθὼς σήμερον* is no doubt כַּיּוֹם 'to-day', 'now'.

3. Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 32–5.

4. **burn them up,** *κατακαύσομεν* (בער), an unsuitable word. The variants *κατακλύσομεν* and *καταπατήσομεν* (בעט) are evident corrections.

for he said . . ., better 'for he hath spoken (it). The words of his sayings (א 19 108 "of his mouth") shall not be in vain'; cf. verse 9.

6. **the multitude of them that serve.** *Λαὸς τῶν θεραπόντων* passing through his sides is a strange expression. Fritzsche emends *χαλκός*, comparing VL and Syr. But it may mean 'cut him in two and march between the parts'; or, more probably, it is a mistranslation of חרב חילי וחיל עבדי (for *τοῦ λαοῦ*), 'the sword of my army and of my servants.' So above, i. 6 *βασιλεύς*.

I shall return, B 'they'.

7. **bring thee back,** *ἀποκαταστήσουσί σε* used loosely for 'take thee away' (so Fritzsche), cf. Hos. xi. 12, LXX (not bring back).

8, 9 the cities of the ascents: and thou shalt not perish, till thou be destroyed with them. And if thou hopest in thy heart that they shall not be taken, let not thy countenance fall. I have spoken it, and none of my words shall fall to the ground.

10 And Holofernes commanded his servants, that waited in his tent, to take Achior, and bring him 11 back to Bethulia, and deliver him into the hands of the children of Israel. And his servants took him, and brought him out of the camp into the plain, and they removed from the midst of the plain 12 country into the hill country, and came unto the fountains that were under Bethulia. And when the men of the city saw them on the top of the hill, they took up their weapons, and went out of the city against them to the top of the hill: and every man that used a sling kept them from coming up, and 13 cast stones against them. And they gat them privily under the hill, and bound Achior, and cast him 14 down, and left him at the foot of the hill, and went away unto their lord. But the children of Israel descended from their city, and came upon him, and loosed him, and led him away into Bethulia, and 15 presented him to the rulers of their city; which were in those days Ozias the son of Micah, of the 16 tribe of Simeon, and Chabris the son of Gothoniel, and Charmis the son of Melchiel. And they called together all the elders of the city; and all their young men ran together, and their women, to the assembly; and they set Achior in the midst of all their people. And Ozias asked him of that 17 which had happened: and he answered and declared unto them the words of the council of Holofernes, and all the words that he had spoken in the midst of the princes of the children of Asshur, and all 18 the great words that Holofernes had spoken against the house of Israel. And the people fell down 19 and worshipped God, and cried, saying, O Lord God of heaven, behold their arrogance, and pity the 20 low estate of our race, and look upon the face of those that are sanctified unto thee this day. And 21 they comforted Achior, and praised him exceedingly. And Ozias took him out of the assembly into his house, and made a feast to the elders; and they called on the God of Israel for help all that night.

7 1 But the next day Holofernes gave command to all his army, and to all his people which were come to be his allies, that they should remove their camp toward Bethulia, and take aforehand the 2 ascents of the hill country, and make war against the children of Israel. And every mighty man of them removed that day, and the host of their men of war was a hundred and seventy thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen, beside the baggage, and the men that were afoot among 3 them, an exceeding great multitude. And they encamped in the valley near unto Bethulia, by the fountain, and they spread themselves in breadth over Dothaim even to Belmaim, and in length from Bethulia unto Cyamon, which is over against Esdraelon.

4 But the children of Israel, when they saw the multitude of them, were troubled exceedingly, and said every one to his neighbour, Now shall these men lick up the face of all the earth; and neither 5 the high mountains, nor the valleys, nor the hills, shall be able to bear their weight. And every man took up his weapons of war, and when they had kindled fires upon their towers, they remained and watched all that night.

6 But on the second day Holofernes led out all his horse in the sight of the children of Israel which 7 were in Bethulia, and viewed the ascents to their city, and searched out the fountains of the waters,

ascents, i. e. the hill-country of the enemy.

8. **with them**, i. e. the cities.

9. Meaning 'if you really believe what you have just said, you need not look dismayed as you do'.

10. **bring him back**, see verse 7.

Bethulia, Βετυλουά B, Βαιτουλουά ℵ. Note that it was on a hill, and there were springs just below it (*v.* 11 and vii. 12).

12. **on the top of the hill**, though read by the chief MSS., is due to homoioteleuton from the line below. It is omitted by 58 VL Syr.

13. **cast . . . and left**, better 'left him lying'.

15. The forms of the names vary very much in the MSS.

Micah, Χειμά A: **of the tribe of Simeon**, as Judith was, ix. 2.

Charmis, Χαλμείς A.

Melchiel, Σελλήμ ℵ*.

19. **those that are sanctified . . .** i. e. 'thy holy nation', מְקֻדְשֵׁיךָ, which Syr seems to have taken as מִקְדָּשֶׁךָ, 'thy sanctuary.'

20. VL adds, 'saying, As it shall please God (to do) concerning us, (so) shall it be also with thee.'

21. **feast**, πότον = משתה.

VII. 2. **the host . . .** properly 'their host of warriors'.

170,000. ℵ* has 8,000, corrected to 120,000.

baggage and, B has 'baggage of'.

3. **The fountain** was below the city, cf. vi. 11.

Belmaim, ℵ Abelmaim, cf. iv. 4.

Cyamon, Syr Kadmûn, VL Chelmona, is unknown.

5. **when . . . towers**, omitted by ℵ* and added by the corrector.

and seized upon them, and set garrisons of men of war over them, and himself departed to his people.

8 And there came unto him all the rulers of the children of Esau, and all the leaders of the people
9 of Moab, and the captains of the sea coast, and said, Let our lord now hear a word, that there be not
10 an overthrow in thy host. For this people of the children of Israel do not trust in their spears, but in the height of the mountains wherein they dwell, for it is not easy to come up to the tops of their
11 mountains. And now, my lord, fight not against them as men fight who join battle, and there shall
12 not so much as one man of thy people perish. Remain in thy camp, and keep safe every man of thy host, and let thy servants get possession of the fountain of water, which issueth forth of the foot of
13 the mountain: because all the inhabitants of Bethulia have their water thence; and thirst shall kill them, and they shall give up their city: and we and our people will go up to the tops of the mountains that are near, and will encamp upon them, to watch that not one man go out of the city.
14 And they shall be consumed with famine, they and their wives and their children, and before the
15 sword come against them they shall be laid low in the streets where they dwell. And thou shalt render them an evil reward; because they rebelled, and met not thy face in peace.

16 And their words were pleasing in the sight of Holofernes and in the sight of all his servants; and
17 he appointed to do as they had spoken. And the army of the children of Ammon removed, and with them five thousand of the children of Asshur, and they encamped in the valley, and seized upon the
18 waters and the fountains of the waters of the children of Israel. And the children of Esau went up with the children of Ammon, and encamped in the hill country over against Dothaim: and they sent some of them toward the south, and toward the east, over against Ekrebel, which is near unto Chusi, that is upon the brook Mochmur; and the rest of the army of the Assyrians encamped in the plain, and covered all the face of the land; and their tents and baggage were pitched upon it in a great crowd, and they were an exceeding great multitude.

19 And the children of Israel cried unto the Lord their God, for their spirit fainted; for all their enemies had compassed them round about, and there was no way to escape out from among them.
20 And all the army of Asshur remained about them, their footmen and their chariots and their horse-
21 men, four and thirty days; and all their vessels of water failed all the inhabitants of Bethulia. And the cisterns were emptied, and they had not water to drink their fill for one day: for they gave them
22 drink by measure. And their young children were out of heart, and the women and the young men fainted for thirst, and they fell down in the streets of the city, and in the passages of the gates, and
23 there was no longer any strength in them. And all the people were gathered together against Ozias, and against the rulers of the city, the young men and the women and the children, and they cried with a loud voice, and said before all the elders,

24 God be judge between you and us: because ye have done us great wrong, in that ye have not
25 spoken words of peace with the children of Asshur. And now we have no helper: but God hath sold us into their hands, that we should be laid low before them with thirst and great destruction.
26 And now call them unto you, and deliver up the whole city for a prey to the people of Holofernes,
27 and to all his host. For it is better for us to be made a spoil unto them: for we shall be servants, and our souls shall live, and we shall not see the death of our babes before our eyes, and our wives
28 and our children fainting in death. We take to witness against you the heaven and the earth, and our God and the Lord of our fathers, which punisheth us according to our sins and the sins of our fathers, that he do not according as we have said this day.

7. **to his people**, i. e. went back to the main body of his army.
8. **Esau**, archaistic.
10. **wherein they dwell**, *ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, a Hebraism.
11. **as . . . battle.** *παράταξις* is battle-array; 'as a war is conducted in the field.'
13. **to watch . . .**, properly 'as an outpost, so that no one shall . . .'
17. **Ammon**, 19 108 VL Syr Moab. The same variant in vi. 1.
waters (i. e. reservoirs) and springs.
18. **Ekrebel** in A: the rest have Egrebel: probably Akraba, about ten miles south-east of Nablus or Shechem Ball and Torrey.
Chusi in A: the rest and VL, Chus: mod. Quzeh, five or six miles south of Nablus (Torrey).
Mochmur, omitted by A: mod. Makhueh, south of Nablus (Torrey).
in a great crowd, perhaps 'among a great throng of camp-followers' (Ball).
20. **four and thirty days.** 19 108 have fourteen days and a month; VL Syr four days and two months; Vulg. twenty days. The long siege by this large army is meant to emphasize the importance of Bethulia.
vessels, *ἀγγεῖα*, in which water was stored in private houses.
28. **witness**, cf. Deut. iv. 26.
Lord of our fathers is only used to vary the phrase, which is a translation of אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו.
that he do not . . . ought to mean 'we urge you (to take steps) that he do not . . .' If the text is correct, the subject of *ποιήσῃ* must be either God or Holofernes. The former is better, since they recommend surrendering to

29 And there was great weeping of all with one consent in the midst of the assembly; and they cried
30 unto the Lord God with a loud voice. And Ozias said to them, Brethren, be of good courage, let
us yet endure five days, in the which space the Lord our God shall turn his mercy toward us; for
31 he will not forsake us utterly. But if these days pass, and there come no help unto us, I will do
32 according to your words. And he dispersed the people, every man to his own camp; and they went
away unto the walls and towers of their city; and he sent the women and children into their houses:
and they were brought very low in the city.

8 1 And in those days Judith heard thereof, the daughter of Merari, the son of Ox, the son of Joseph,
the son of Oziel, the son of Elkiah, the son of Ananias, the son of Gideon, the son of Raphaim, the
son of Ahitub, the son of Elihu, the son of Eliab, the son of Nathanael, the son of Salamiel, the son
2 of Salasadai, the son of Israel. And her husband was Manasses, of her tribe and of her family, and
3 he died in the days of barley harvest. For he stood over them that bound sheaves in the field, and
the heat came upon his head, and he fell on his bed, and died in his city Bethulia: and they buried
4 him with his fathers in the field which is between Dothaim and Balamon. And Judith was a widow
5 in her house three years and four months. And she made her a tent upon the roof of her house,
6 and put on sackcloth upon her loins; and the garments of her widowhood were upon her. And she
fasted all the days of her widowhood, save the eves of the sabbaths, and the sabbaths, and the eves
7 of the new moons, and the new moons, and the feasts and joyful days of the house of Israel. And
she was of a goodly countenance, and exceeding beautiful to behold: and her husband Manasses
had left her gold, and silver, and menservants, and maidservants, and cattle, and lands; and she
8 remained upon them. And there was none that gave her an evil word; for she feared God
exceedingly.

9 And she heard the evil words of the people against the governor, because they fainted for lack of
water; and Judith heard all the words that Ozias spake unto them, how he sware to them that he
10 would deliver the city unto the Assyrians after five days. And she sent her maid, that was over all
11 things that she had, to call Ozias and Chabris and Charmis, the elders of her city. And they came
unto her, and she said unto them,

Hear me now, O ye rulers of the inhabitants of Bethulia: for your word that ye have spoken before the people this day is not right, and ye have set the oath which ye have pronounced between God and you, and have promised to deliver the city to our enemies, unless within these days the

Holofernes and in verse 31 Ozias promises to do so. 'That he do not . . .' then means 'that he let us not die of thirst'. But א omits *μή*, and VL reads *ut faciatis* (Vulg. 'ut tradatis civitatem,' &c.), which suggests a reading *ἵνα ποιήσητε*, 'that *ye* do as we say,' i.e. surrender, cf. verse 31.

32. **every man.** The Greek requires *ἕκαστον*, as in 58 VL Syr.

camp. *παρεμβολήν* is rather 'station' or 'post' of duty in guarding the walls, as shown by the next clause; cf. vii. 7 (garrisons).

he sent, 'they sent,' *ἀπέστειλαν*, is the common reading.

VIII. 1. **heard.** 58 VL Syr have 'was living in the city'.

If the genealogy is fictitious, it is strangely elaborate. The names are corrupt, and we have no means of checking them.

Ox, which is not a Hebrew name, may be for Uz (19 Oz) or Uzzi (VL Ozi).

son of Ananias . . . Ahitub, omitted by B.

Raphaim (cf. Gen. xiv. 5) cannot be right. Ball suggests Raphaiah or Raphael.

For **Ahitub** (א 19 108 VL Syr) A has Akitho.

After **Elihu** א B add *υἱοῦ Χελκ(ε)ίου*.

Eliab, א ENAB, VL Enar.

Salamiel, א Samamiel.

Salasadai, א Sarisadai (שרישדי?), B Sarasadai.

3. Cf. 2 Kings iv. 18 f.

4. i.e. she had been a widow three years and four months up to the date of the siege.

6. **save the eves of the sabbaths,** VL 'praeter cenam puram'.

The observance of eves as well as the festivals was in accordance with the later Talmudic rule.

joyful days, *χαρμοσυνῶν*. We should expect a word answering to מועדים, the general term for festivals, since *ἑορταί* are חגים, the three great feasts. 58 adds *καὶ μνημοσυνῶν*, VL 'et memoriae', and so Syr.

7. 58 VL Syr have '. . . countenance and wise in heart and good in understanding (cf. xi. 23), and she was (exceedingly) rich, for her husband . . .'

After **Manasses** VL adds his genealogy, copied from verse 1.

remained, ישבה עליהם, she made her home on the property. Cf. Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* C 5, 6 ארקא זך . . . תב בגו עם אנתתך.

8. **gave her an evil word,** i.e. slandered her.

9. **how he sware.** 58 Syr 'how he hearkened (i.e. gave way) and sware'. So VL.

10. **maid,** *ἅβραν*, said to be a foreign word: possibly from the root חבר, and so 'companion': but she was a slave (xvi. 23). Ozias is omitted by א A B.

12 Lord turn to help you. And now who are ye that have tempted God this day, and stand instead of
13 God among the children of men? And now try the Lord Almighty, and ye shall never know
14 anything. For ye shall not find the depth of the heart of man, and ye shall not perceive the things that he thinketh: and how shall ye search out God, which hath made all these things, and know his mind, and comprehend his purpose? Nay, my brethren, provoke not the Lord our God to anger.
15 For if he be not minded to help us within these five days, he hath power to defend us in such time
16 as he will, or to destroy us before the face of our enemies. But do not ye pledge the counsels of the Lord our God: for God is not as man, that he should be threatened; neither as the son of man,
17 that he should be turned by intreaty. Wherefore let us wait for the salvation that cometh from
18 him, and call upon him to help us, and he will hear our voice, if it please him. For there arose none in our age, neither is there any of us to-day, tribe, or kindred, or family, or city, which worship gods
19 made with hands, as it was in the former days; for the which cause our fathers were given to the
20 sword, and for a spoil, and fell with a great fall before our enemies. But we know none other god
21 beside him, wherefore we hope that he will not despise us, nor any of our race. For if we be taken so, all Judæa shall sit upon the ground, and our sanctuary shall be spoiled; and of our blood shall
22 he require the profanation thereof. And the slaughter of our brethren, and the captivity of the land, and the desolation of our inheritance, shall he turn upon our heads among the Gentiles, wheresoever we shall be in bondage; and we shall be an offence and a reproach before them that take us for
23 a possession. For our bondage shall not be ordered to favour: but the Lord our God shall turn it
24 to dishonour. And now, brethren, let us shew an example to our brethren, because their soul
25 hangeth upon us, and the sanctuary and the house and the altar rest upon us. Besides all this let
26 us give thanks to the Lord our God, which trieth us, even as he did our fathers also. Remember all the things which he did to Abraham, and all the things in which he tried Isaac, and all the things which happened to Jacob in Mesopotamia of Syria, when he kept the sheep of Laban his mother's
27 brother. For he hath not tried us in the fire, as he did them, to search out their hearts, neither hath he taken vengeance on us; but the Lord doth scourge them that come near unto him, to admonish them.

28 And Ozias said to her, All that thou hast spoken hast thou spoken with a good heart, and there
29 is none that shall gainsay thy words. For this is not the first day wherein thy wisdom is manifested; but from the beginning of thy days all the people have known thine understanding, because the
30 disposition of thy heart is good. But the people were exceeding thirsty, and compelled us to do as
31 we spake to them, and to bring an oath upon ourselves, which we will not break. And now pray thou for us, because thou art a godly woman, and the Lord shall send us rain to fill our cisterns, and
32 we shall faint no more. And Judith said unto them, Hear me, and I will do a thing, which shall go
33 down to all generations among the children of our race. Ye shall stand at the gate this night, and I will go forth with my maid: and, within the days after which ye said that ye would deliver the

12. **instead of God.** ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ. Ball renders 'above God', but the meaning is probably as in R.V. VL has *pro Deo*, 'as God', and similarly Syr.

13. 58 VL Syr have καὶ νοῦν κυρίου . . . καὶ οὐθεὶς γνώσεται. Probably ἐξετάζετε is indicative 'ye are trying' (or tempting). Cf. Job xi. 7, and 1 Cor. ii. 11, 16, which is not a quotation.

14. 58 VL Syr have 'the depth . . . shall not be found', and διαλογισμούς for λόγους.

15. **For . . . days,** omitted by 58.
Syr has 'and to destroy our enemies before us'.

16. Cf. Num. xxiii. 19 (LXX), where διαρτηθῆναι (to be undecided) is used, as here by 19 23 44 55 al. R.V. 'turned by intreaty' is διαιτηθῆναι, the common reading.

17. **voice.** 19 23 44 55 al. δεήσεως, 'petition', as in ix. 12.

18. **age.** ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς ἡμῶν = בדורותינו, i. e. within living memory, which might be true of the time after the exile.

18–20. This is the chief lesson of the book.

20. **we know . . .** ἡμεῖς . . . οὐκ ἐπεγνῶμεν, 'we (emphatic) have never recognized any . . .' 58 VL insert (οὐδ') ἀποστήσει τὸ σωτήριον ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, 'nec auferet salvationem *et* misericordiam suam a nobis et a . . .'

21. **all Judæa shall sit . . .** καθήσεται. 19 23 44 64 al. κλιθήσεται, others κληθήσεται. 58 VL Syr ληφθήσεται. Fritzsche conjectures καυθήσεται and Thilo παυθήσεται. But probably 'sit' is right, and some word for 'solitary' has dropped out. Cf. ישבה בדד, Lam. i. 1.
of our blood is the reading of the MSS., but the expression is unusual, and seems to be due to a mistranslation. Fritzsche reads στόματος (without MS. authority) which is no better. The meaning is 'he will punish us for its profanation'.

22. **turn upon our heads,** i. e. punish us for it, cf. Judges ix. 57 (Ball).

23. **to favour,** as in the case of Jehoiachin, 2 Kings xxv. 27 ff. (Ball).

24. **rest upon us.** Note the importance of Bethulia. It was the key of the whole situation.

27. **scourge,** cf. Heb. xii. 6. This verse is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* ii. 447.

31. 58 VL Syr have 'for us and God shall speedily hear us, because'.
godly, εὐσεβής; 58 Syr θεοσεβής (as in xi. 17), VL *sancta.*

32. 58 VL Syr 'a thing of wisdom'.

33. 58 VL Syr add 'as I trust' at the end.

34 city to our enemies, the Lord shall visit Israel by my hand. But ye shall not inquire of mine act:
35 for I will not declare it unto you, till the things be finished that I do. And Ozias and the rulers
said unto her, Go in peace, and the Lord God be before thee, to take vengeance on our enemies.
36 And they returned from the tent, and went to their stations.

9 1 But Judith fell upon her face, and put ashes upon her head, and uncovered the sackcloth where-
with she was clothed; and the incense of that evening was now being offered at Jerusalem in the
house of God, and Judith cried unto the Lord with a loud voice, and said,
2 O Lord God of my father Simeon, into whose hand thou gavest a sword to take vengeance of the
strangers, who loosened the girdle of a virgin to defile her, and uncovered the thigh to her shame,
3 and profaned the womb to her reproach; for thou saidst, It shall not be so; and they did so:
wherefore thou gavest their rulers to be slain, and their bed, which was ashamed for her that was
deceived, to be dyed in blood, and smotest the servants with their lords, and the lords upon their
4 thrones; and gavest their wives for a prey, and their daughters to be captives, and all their spoils
to be divided among thy dear children; which were moved with zeal for thee, and abhorred the
pollution of their blood, and called upon thee for aid: O God, O my God, hear me also that am a
5 widow. For thou wroughtest the things that were before those things, and those things, and such
as ensued after; and thou didst devise the things which are now, and the things which are to come:
6 and the things which thou didst devise came to pass; yea, the things which thou didst determine
stood before thee, and said, Lo, we are here: for all thy ways are prepared, and thy judgement is
7 with foreknowledge. For, behold, the Assyrians are multiplied in their power; they are exalted
with horse and rider; they have gloried in the strength of their footmen; they have trusted in
shield and spear and bow and sling; and they know not that thou art the Lord that breaketh the
8 battles: the Lord is thy name. Dash thou down their strength in thy power, and bring down their
force in thy wrath: for they have purposed to profane thy sanctuary, and to defile the tabernacle
9 where thy glorious name resteth, and to cast down with the sword the horn of thine altar. Look
upon their pride, and send thy wrath upon their heads: give into my hand, which am a widow, the
10 might that I have conceived. Smite by the deceit of my lips the servant with the prince, and the
11 prince with his servant: break down their stateliness by the hand of a woman. For thy power
standeth not in multitude, nor thy might in strong men: but thou art a God of the afflicted, thou

36. 58 VL 'returned and went down from the tent', which was on the roof of her house (viii. 5).

IX. 1. **uncovered**, i.e. rent the mantle which she wore over it, so 58 VL Syr, or took off her mantle.

2. Referring to Gen. xxxiv. 25.

girdle, *μίτραν*, is Grotius's emendation for *μήτραν* (as all MSS.). But 'to loose the girdle' is not a Hebrew expression in this sense, and *μίτρα* is used elsewhere in this book for head-dress, not girdle. *λύειν μήτραν*, if it is for פתח רחם, is quite unsuitable here. The verse is evidently corrupt, as the second *μήτραν* shows (which 248 has changed to *παρθενίαν*). We should expect in Hebrew גִּלָּה ערות בתולה. Can ערות have been misread עטרת and translated *μίτρα*? The result would be sufficiently unintelligible to lead to corrections in the Greek.

It shall not be so, as LXX in Gen. xxxiv. 7.

3. **bed . . . blood.** The text is difficult, and must be corrupt. B has *ἡ ᾐδέσατο τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν ἀπατηθεῖσαν*, apparently meaning 'which was ashamed of their deceit (wherewith they had deceived)'. A and א* omit *ἀπάτην*, and so R.V. Fritzsche omits *ἀπατηθεῖσαν*. 58 has *ἐδέξατο τὴν ἀγαπηθεῖσαν* (and similarly VL Syr) which must be a conjectural emendation. For *ᾐδέσατο* Fritzsche conjectures *ἠδύνατο*, Ball *ἠδήσατο*, 248 has *ἠρδεύσατο*, others *ἠδεύσατο*, &c. None of these is an improvement on the ordinary reading, and some are impossible. The parallelism requires the whole relative clause to be omitted. Read 'thou gavest their rulers to slaughter and their bed to blood'.

with. *ἐπί* = על, and so the second *ἐπί* perhaps = 'with their thrones', cf. verse 10.

5. **those things, and.** *ἐκεῖνα καί* is very clumsy. א omits *καί*. A omits *τά*. Syr has 'the middle things'. We should expect the Hebrew to be עשיתָ קדמוניות ואחרניות, for which there may have been a variant ע' הק' ואלה האח' giving rise to the existing Greek. The present things are mentioned in the next sentence.

devise (1) is *διενοήθης*, 'intend'.

devise (2) is *ἐνενοήθης*, חשבתָ, 'thou hadst in mind'. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 30 and Midrash *Ber. R.* § 3, where creation is said to originate במחשבה.

6. **judgement.** A has 'judgements'. 58 VL Syr *αἱ κτίσεις*.

7. **breaketh . . . name,** from Exod. xv. 3 LXX.

8. **in thy power,** rather 'by', *ἐν* = בְּ as frequently.

58 VL Syr have 'dash down their strength, oh Eternal (*αἰώνιε*), break their multitude by thy power, smite (*πάταξον* for *κάταξον*) their force . . .' א has *σύνραξον*, which may be the original reading for *σὺ ῥάξον*.

tabernacle . . . Cf. Deut. xii. 11 and frequently.

9. **the might . . .** i.e. strength to do what I have conceived.

10. **deceit.** Vulg. read *ἀγάπης* for *ἀπάτης*, as in ix. 3. 'Lips of deceit' is a Hebraism שפתֵי שקר, cf. Ps. cxx. 2. With this clause cf. ix. 3.

stateliness, *ἀνάστεμα*, a form also found in xii. 8 in some MSS. A has *ἀνάστημα*.

by the hand of a woman. She was thinking of Jael, cf. Judges ix. 54.

11. **might.** 58 VL Syr have *δόσις* 'gift', א *δεξιά*.

art a helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak, a protector of the forlorn, a saviour of them
12 that are without hope. Yea, yea, God of my father, and God of the inheritance of Israel, Lord of
the heavens and of the earth, Creator of the waters, King of every creature, hear thou my prayer:
13 and make my speech and deceit to be their wound and stripe, who have purposed hard things against
thy covenant, and thy hallowed house, and the top of Sion, and the house of the possession of thy
14 children. And make every nation and tribe of thine to know that thou art God, the God of all
power and might, and that there is none other that protecteth the race of Israel but thou.

10 1 And it came to pass, when she had ceased to cry unto the God of Israel, and had made an end of
2 all these words, that she rose up where she had fallen down, and called her maid, and went down
3 into the house, in the which she was wont to abide on the sabbath days and on her feast days, and
pulled off the sackcloth which she had put on, and put off the garments of her widowhood, and
washed her body all over with water, and anointed herself with rich ointment, and braided the hair
of her head, and put a tire upon it, and put on her garments of gladness, wherewith she was wont
4 to be clad in the days of the life of Manasses her husband. And she took sandals for her feet, and
put her chains about her, and her bracelets, and her rings, and her earrings, and all her ornaments,
5 and decked herself bravely, to beguile the eyes of all men that should see her. And she gave her
maid a leathern bottle of wine, and a cruse of oil, and filled a bag with parched corn and lumps of
figs and fine bread; and she packed all her vessels together, and laid them upon her.
6 And they went forth to the gate of the city of Bethulia, and found standing thereby Ozias, and
7 the elders of the city, Chabris and Charmis. But when they saw her, that her countenance was
altered, and her apparel was changed, they wondered at her beauty very exceedingly, and said unto
8 her, The God of our fathers give thee favour, and accomplish thy purposes to the glory of the
9 children of Israel, and to the exaltation of Jerusalem. And she worshipped God, and said unto
them, Command that they open unto me the gate of the city, and I will go forth to accomplish the
10 things whereof ye spake with me. And they commanded the young men to open unto her, as she
had spoken: and they did so.
And Judith went out, she, and her handmaid with her; and the men of the city looked after her,
until she was gone down the mountain, until she had passed the valley, and they could see her no
11, 12 more. And they went straight onward in the valley: and the watch of the Assyrians met her; and
they took her, and asked her, Of what people art thou? and whence comest thou? and whither goest
thou? And she said, I am a daughter of the Hebrews, and I flee away from their presence; because
13 they are about to be given you to be consumed: and I am coming into the presence of Holofernes
the chief captain of your host, to declare words of truth; and I will shew before him a way, whereby
he shall go, and win all the hill country, and there shall not be lacking of his men one person, nor

oppressed, ἐλαττόνων, is right (not as R.V. margin) = those who are inferior to others, i.e. overcome by them. 58 VL Syr have 'saviour of the forlorn', omitting σκεπαστὴς ἀπηλπισμένων.

12. **of every creature**, πάσης κτίσεώς σου = כל בריאתך 'all (thy) creation', a common expression in late Hebrew.

13. **against thy covenant.** Ball cft. Dan. xi. 28, and suggests that this is an indication of Maccabean times, but the indication is too slight to be pressed.

top, i.e. mount, unusual with Sion.

14. **every nation . . . of thine**, א B ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος σου, A ἐπὶ παντὸς ἔθνους σου. 58 'every nation of every tribe to know thee'. VL also omits σου. The meaning is (as Syr) 'make thy whole nation (Israel) and every (foreign) tribe to know', not as R.V.

X. Ball rightly points out that x. 1–xi. 5 is modelled on the Greek Esther v. 1–15.

2. **maid**, ἄβραν, as in viii. 10 and in the parallel passage in Esther.

house. She lived usually in a tent on the roof, but went down into the house for festivals.

3. **braided**, διέταξε, properly 'arranged'. Syr 'anointed'. VL (cod. Corb.) and Vulg. *discriminavit*, 'she parted it.' א διέξανε. 19 108 διεξήνατο = VL *pectinavit*, 'she combed it out.'

tire is μίτρα, cf. above on ix. 2.

4. **sandals** would not have been worn during her mourning.

chains, χλίδωνας, following sandals, are probably 'anklets', as VL.

decked herself. Vulg. adds that her beauty was miraculously increased because of her virtuous object.

to beguile, εἰς ἀπάτησιν. A B ἀπάντησιν, to meet.

5. **lumps of figs**, παλάθης. א om. Syr has plural.

After **bread** 19 108 add 'cheese', and so 58 VL Syr.

It is in accordance with Judith's pious observance of the Law that she should make these careful preparations to ensure having clean (*kosher*) food while away from home. The vessels were for such cooking as might be necessary. Gentile vessels would be or might be unclean.

8. **give thee favour**, δῴη σε εἰς χάριν. A Hebrew expression = make thee to be favoured. 58 VL Syr have δῴη σοι χάριν.

10. Bethulia was on a mountain and was approached by a valley. The outposts (προφυλακή) of the enemy were at the other end of the valley.

12. **Hebrews.** Correctly used to distinguish them from foreigners, to whom she was speaking.

13. **lacking**, διαφωνήσει, a late Greek use of the word. In 1 Sam. xxx. 19 it renders נעדר. The end of the verse would be strange, even in Hebrew. It means 'no one shall be taken prisoner or killed'.

14 one life. Now when the men heard her words, and considered her countenance, the beauty thereof
15 was exceeding marvellous in their eyes, and they said unto her, Thou hast saved thy life, in that thou hast hasted to come down to the presence of our lord: and now come to his tent, and some of
16 us shall conduct thee, until they shall deliver thee into his hands. But when thou standest before him, be not afraid in thine heart, but declare unto him according to thy words; and he shall entreat
17 thee well. And they chose out of them a hundred men, and appointed them to accompany her and her maid; and they brought them to the tent of Holofernes.
18 And there was a concourse throughout all the camp, for her coming was noised among the tents; and they came and compassed her about, as she stood without the tent of Holofernes, until they told
19 him of her. And they marvelled at her beauty, and marvelled at the children of Israel because of her, and each one said to his neighbour, Who shall despise this people, that have among them such women? for it is not good that one man of them be left, seeing that, if they are let go, they shall be
20 able to deceive the whole earth. And they that lay near Holofernes, and all his servants, went forth
21 and brought her into the tent. And Holofernes was resting upon his bed under the canopy, which
22 was woven with purple and gold and emeralds and precious stones. And they told him of her; and
23 he came forth into the space before his tent, with silver lamps going before him. But when Judith was come before him and his servants, they all marvelled at the beauty of her countenance; and she fell down upon her face, and did reverence unto him: and his servants raised her up.

11 1 And Holofernes said unto her, Woman, be of good comfort, fear not in thy heart: for I never
2 hurt any that hath chosen to serve Nebuchadnezzar, the king of all the earth. And now, if thy people that dwelleth in the hill country had not set light by me, I would not have lifted up my spear
3 against them: but they have done these things to themselves. And now tell me wherefore thou didst flee from them, and camest unto us: for thou art come to save thyself; be of good comfort,
4 thou shalt live this night, and hereafter: for there is none that shall wrong thee, but all shall entreat
5 thee well, as is done unto the servants of king Nebuchadnezzar my lord. And Judith said unto him, Receive the words of thy servant, and let thy handmaid speak in thy presence, and I will declare
6 no lie unto my lord this night. And if thou shalt follow the words of thy handmaid, God shall bring
7 the thing to pass perfectly with thee; and my lord shall not fail of his purposes. As Nebuchadnezzar king of all the earth liveth, and as his power liveth, who hath sent thee for the preservation of every living thing, not only do men serve him by thee, but also the beasts of the field and the cattle and the birds of the heaven shall live through thy strength, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar and of all his
8 house. For we have heard of thy wisdom and the subtil devices of thy soul, and it hath been reported in all the earth, that thou only art brave in all the kingdom, and mighty in knowledge, and
9 wonderful in feats of war. And now as concerning the matter, which Achior did speak in thy council, we have heard his words: for the men of Bethulia saved him, and he declared unto them
10 all that he had spoken before thee. Wherefore, O lord and master, neglect not his word; but lay it up in thy heart, for it is true: for our race shall not be punished, neither shall the sword prevail

14. The two halves of the verse are connected by *καί*. Perhaps the Hebrew original should be translated 'and noted her countenance, that (*or* for) it was very wonderful in beauty to look at (לעיניהם), then they said . . .'

16. **when**, properly 'if', i. e. if you are fortunate enough to be admitted.

17. **appointed them to accompany**, *παρέζευξαν*, lit. 'they yoked (them) alongside'.

18. Better 'until they had told him', i. e. she stood outside while some one went in and told him. The whole account is very vivid.

19. **because of her**, *ἀπ' αὐτῆς*, properly '(judging) from her'. 58 VL Syr 'they wondered at her beauty and received her words because they were very good, and marvelled . . .'

deceive, *κατασοφίσασθαι*, i. e. beguile with the beauty of their women.

20. **that lay near.** 58 *παρεδρεύοντες*, 'that were in attendance,' and so VL Syr.

21. **under** (prop. 'in') **the canopy**, which probably means the mosquito net.

22. 58 VL Syr 'very many silver lamps going before him, and they brought her in to him'.

23. **was come.** 58 VL Syr 'stood' more probably represents the Hebrew.

XI. 4. The construction is awkward. Lit. 'there is none who shall harm thee but shall entreat . . .' i. e. we (*or* all) will entreat. 19 44 al. VL Syr *ποιήσω*.

6. Ball suggests that the phrase 'God shall bring the thing to pass' is intentionally ambiguous, but the concluding words are against this. On the morality of Judith's device see Introduction.

7. Not very clear. At the end B has *ζήσονται Ναβ. καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ*, which will not translate. The other MSS. have *ἐπὶ* N. *καὶ πάντα* . . . , of which the meaning is not evident. R.V. follows Fritzsche's emendation *παντός*, &c., which may be the sense but has no MS. authority. VL has 'per virtutem tuam sciet N. et omnis domus eius'. Syr 'shall know (acknowledge) N. through thy strength'. Cf. Jer. xxvii. 6.

8. **brave**, *ἀγαθός*, rather 'a good general'. He was *ἀρχιστράτηγος*, ii. 4.

feats, *στρατεύμασι*, perhaps 'campaigns'.

9. **as . . . matter**, *λόγος* is a *nominativus pendens*. 58 VL Syr 'and now, my lord, the word which A. spake' (*ὃν ἐλάλησε λόγον* A.). At the end 19 108 add 'and all thy words'. 58 omits 'before thee', and 'lord and master' in verse 10.

11 against them, except they sin against their God. And now, that my lord be not defeated and
frustrate of his purpose, and that death may fall upon them, their sin hath overtaken them, where-
12 with they shall provoke their God to anger, whensoever they shall do wickedness. Since their
victuals failed them, and all their water was scant, they took counsel to lay hands upon their cattle,
and determined to consume all those things, which God charged them by his laws that they should
13 not eat: and they are resolved to spend the firstfruits of the corn, and the tenths of the wine and
the oil, which they had sanctified, and reserved for the priests that stand before the face of our God
in Jerusalem; the which things it is not fitting for any of the people so much as to touch with their
14 hands. And they have sent some to Jerusalem, because they also that dwell there have done this
15 thing, to bring them a licence from the senate. And it shall be, when one shall bring them word,
16 and they shall do it, they shall be given thee to be destroyed the same day. Wherefore I thy
servant, knowing all this, fled away from their presence; and God sent me to work things with thee,
17 whereat all the earth shall be astonished, even as many as shall hear it. For thy servant is religious,
and serveth the God of heaven day and night: and now, my lord, I will abide with thee, and thy
servant will go forth by night into the valley, and I will pray unto God, and he shall tell me when
18 they have committed their sins: and I will come and shew it also unto thee; and thou shalt go forth
19 with all thy host, and there shall be none of them that shall resist thee. And I will lead thee
through the midst of Judæa, until thou comest over against Jerusalem; and I will set thy seat in
the midst thereof; and thou shalt drive them as sheep that have no shepherd, and a dog shall not
so much as open his mouth before thee: for these things were told me according to my fore-
knowledge, and were declared unto me, and I was sent to tell thee.
20 And her words were pleasing in the sight of Holofernes and of all his servants; and they
21 marvelled at her wisdom, and said, There is not such a woman from one end of the earth to the
22 other, for beauty of face, and wisdom of words. And Holofernes said unto her, God did well to
send thee before the people, that might should be in our hands, and destruction among them that
23 lightly regarded my lord. And now thou art beautiful in thy countenance, and witty in thy words:
for if thou shalt do as thou hast spoken, thy God shall be my God, and thou shalt dwell in the house
of king Nebuchadnezzar, and shalt be renowned through the whole earth.
12 1 And he commanded to bring her in where his silver vessels were set, and bade that they should
2 prepare for her of his own meats, and that she should drink of his own wine. And Judith said, I
will not eat thereof, lest there be an occasion of stumbling: but provision shall be made for me of
3 the things that are come with me. And Holofernes said unto her, But if the things that be with
thee should fail, whence shall we be able to give thee the like? for there is none of thy race with us.
4 And Judith said unto him, As thy soul liveth, my lord, thy servant shall not spend those things that
5 be with me, until the Lord work by my hand the things that he hath determined. And the servants

11. Translate . . . 'purpose, death shall fall upon them, and (= for) their sin, wherewith they will provoke their God, has (already) got a hold on them, whensoever they may (actually) commit folly' (58 VL Syr 'commit it'). There are many small variants, but this (Swete's text) seems to give a suitable sense. They were already in the power of their sin by intending to commit it (see verse 12), although she does not know when the actual commission will occur.

13. **which . . . it is not fitting for any of the people** (but only for the priests) . . . **to touch** (much less to eat). The author feels so strongly on the point that he makes his heroine select this as her proof of wickedness even when speaking to an unbeliever.

14. **have done,** *ἐποίησαν*, i.e. did it on some former occasion.

to bring is Fritzsche's *μετακομίσοντας*. The ordinary reading *μετοικίσαντας* gives no sense.

Note their dependence on the Sanhedrin.

17. **religious,** *θεοσεβής*, rather 'god-fearing' (cf. Gen. xlii. 18), as the reason for her receiving a divine communication.

18. Properly 'there is none of them that shall . . .'

19. **a dog** . . . Cf. Exod. xi. 7. Here literally 'growl with his tongue'. **according to my foreknowledge,** *κατὰ πρόγνωσίν* (*μου* om. 19 108), probably means 'by way of revelation' (Ball).

20. 58 VL Syr 'at her beauty and wisdom'.

21. **for beauty of face.** *ἐν* (*καλῷ προσώπῳ*) is again the Heb. בְּ־.

22. **that might should be** . . ., *τοῦ γενηθῆναι* . . ., rather 'send thee to be made a strength to us and a destruction to them' (להיות בידינו לחיל וכ׳).

23. **beautiful,** *ἀστεία*, 'pretty.'

witty, i.e. wise, *ἀγαθή*, 'acceptable.' The text may be right considering what follows, but it is tempting to suggest that after 'beautiful of countenance' (יפת מראה) the Hebrew had וטובת תאר 'and goodly in form' (cf. Esther ii. 7) which was misread וטוב תאמר 'and thou speakest well'. 19 108 have 'if thy God do as thou sayest', which would then be original and have been altered to agree with *ἀγαθὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου*. It is her *beauty* which should entitle her (as Esther) to dwell in the house of the king, not her intellectual qualities or her services to Assyria.

XII. 1. **prepare,** *καταστρῶσαι*, should no doubt mean 'spread a couch', &c., but here it must be 'set on the table'. Then *πίνειν* is simply epexegetical (לשתות) 'set before her of his own viands and of his own wine to drink'.

2. As before, stress is laid on the duty of using only clean food.

4. B omits 'the Lord' wrongly.

of Holofernes brought her into the tent, and she slept till midnight, and she rose up toward the
6 morning watch, and sent to Holofernes, saying, Let my lord now command that they suffer thy
7 servant to go forth unto prayer. And Holofernes commanded his guards that they should not stay
her: and she abode in the camp three days, and went out every night into the valley of Bethulia,
8 and washed herself at the fountain of water in the camp. And when she came up, she besought
9 the Lord God of Israel to direct her way to the raising up of the children of his people. And she
came in clean, and remained in the tent, until she took her meat toward evening.
10 And it came to pass on the fourth day, Holofernes made a feast to his own servants only, and
11 called none of the officers to the banquet. And he said to Bagoas the eunuch, who had charge over
all that he had, Go now, and persuade this Hebrew woman which is with thee, that she come unto
12 us, and eat and drink with us. For, lo, it is a shame for our person, if we shall let such a woman
13 go, not having had her company; for if we draw her not unto us, she shall laugh us to scorn. And
Bagoas went from the presence of Holofernes, and came in to her, and said, Let not this fair damsel
fear to come to my lord, and to be honoured in his presence, and to drink wine and be merry with
us, and to be made this day as one of the daughters of the children of Asshur, which wait in the
14 house of Nebuchadnezzar. And Judith said unto him, And who am I, that I should gainsay my
lord? for whatsoever shall be pleasing in his eyes I will do speedily, and this shall be my joy unto
15 the day of my death. And she arose, and decked herself with her apparel and all her woman's
attire; and her servant went and laid fleeces on the ground for her over against Holofernes, which
16 she had received of Bagoas for her daily use, that she might sit and eat upon them. And Judith
came in and sat down, and Holofernes' heart was ravished with her, and his soul was moved, and
he desired exceedingly her company: and he was watching for a time to deceive her, from the day
17, 18 that he had seen her. And Holofernes said unto her, Drink now, and be merry with us. And
Judith said, I will drink now, my lord, because my life is magnified in me this day more than all the
19 days since I was born. And she took and ate and drank before him what her servant had prepared.
20 And Holofernes took great delight in her, and drank exceeding much wine, more than he had drunk
at any time in one day since he was born.

13 1 But when the evening was come, his servants made haste to depart, and Bagoas shut the tent
without, and dismissed them that waited from the presence of his lord; and they went away to their
2 beds: for they were all weary, because the feast had been long. But Judith was left alone in the
3 tent, and Holofernes lying along upon his bed: for he was overflown with wine. And Judith had
said to her servant that she should stand without her bedchamber, and wait for her coming forth, as
she did daily: for she said she would go forth to her prayer; and she spake to Bagoas according to
4 the same words. And all went away from her presence, and none was left in the bedchamber, neither
small nor great. And Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart, O Lord God of all power, look

7. Properly 'she used to go out (of her tent, cf. verse 9) by night . . . and bathe in the camp at the spring'. This is awkward, but Movers' suggestion (quoted by Ball) that the Hebrew was מהנדה, which was misread במחנה, is impossible. 58 VL Syr omit 'in the camp'. It may be due to dittography from the line above. If it stands, it must mean that she was not allowed outside the limits of the camp, but went out of her tent and did her (merely ceremonial) washing (טבילה) at the spring, which was within the camp (cf. vii. 3).

8. **came up**, i.e. from the water, עלה, as e.g. in Mishna Yoma vii. 3.

direct, *κατευθῦναι*, to make it straight by removing the difficulties, cf. הישר דרך, Ps. v. 9.

10. **feast**, *πότον* = משתה.

called . . . banquet, *εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν* (*al.* *κλῆσιν*) *οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις* is difficult. *χρῆσιν* may be 'the enjoyment of it'. *κλῆσιν* (which is well supported), 'invited to the invitation,' is no better. *τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις* are the officers on duty. He only invited his personal friends.

11. **Bagoas**, a Persian name, בִּגְוַי, Ezra ii. 2, spelt בגוהי in the Elephantine papyri of 407 B.C. It is derived from O. Pers. Baga = god, as if Theodorus, &c. He was in charge of Judith.

15. **sit**, *κατακλινομένην*, prop. 'recline' (and so *ἀνέπεσεν* in ver. 16), according to the later practice. The earlier custom was to sit, cf. 1 Sam. xx. 24 with Amos vi. 4 (Ball).

16. **was watching**, *ἐτήρει*, a proper use of the imperfect: 'he had been waiting for an opportunity to seduce her.'

19. Again it is carefully noted that she ate only clean food.

20. **delight**, *ηὐφράνθη ἀπ' αὐτῆς*, 'was merry because of her.'

XIII. 1. **dismissed**, *ἀπέκλεισεν*, prop. 'shut out' those who had been in attendance on his lord, העומדים לפני אדונו, lit. *ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ*, which has been corrupted in the Greek to *ἐκ προσώπου*.

2. **lying along**, *προπεπτωκώς*, fallen forward.

overflown, lit. the wine was poured all over him.

3. **had said**, i.e. before starting out. **Spake**, i.e. had spoken.

4. **And** (= 'so') **all went**: resuming what was said in verse 1.

from her presence. The common reading is *ἐκ προσώπου*, as if = *ἐκποδών*, 'out of the way.' A adds *αὐτῆς*, others *αὐτοῦ*, &c. The Hebrew would naturally be מלפניו referring back to verse 1.

bed. 58 VL Syr *κεφαλήν*.

5 in this hour upon the works of my hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem. For now is the time to
help thine inheritance, and to do the thing that I have purposed to the destruction of the enemies
6 which are risen up against us. And she came to the rail of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head,
7 and took down his scimitar from thence; and she drew near unto the bed, and took hold of the hair
8 of his head, and said, Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this day. And she smote twice upon
9 his neck with all her might, and took away his head from him, and tumbled his body down from the
bed, and took down the canopy from the pillars; and after a little while she went forth, and gave
10 Holofernes' head to her maid; and she put it in her bag of victuals: and they twain went forth
together unto prayer, according to their custom: and they passed through the camp, and compassed
that valley, and went up to the mountain of Bethulia, and came to the gates thereof.
11 And Judith said afar off to the watchmen at the gates, Open, open now the gate: God is with us,
even our God, to shew his power yet in Israel, and his might against the enemy, as he hath done
12 even this day. And it came to pass, when the men of her city heard her voice, they made haste to
13 go down to the gate of their city, and they called together the elders of the city. And they ran all
together, both small and great, for it was strange unto them that she was come: and they opened
14 the gate, and received them, making a fire to give light, and compassed them round about. And
she said to them with a loud voice, Praise God, praise him: praise God, who hath not taken away
15 his mercy from the house of Israel, but hath destroyed our enemies by my hand this night. And
she took forth the head out of the bag, and shewed it, and said unto them, Behold, the head of
Holofernes, the chief captain of the host of Asshur, and behold, the canopy, wherein he did lie in his
16 drunkenness; and the Lord smote him by the hand of a woman. And as the Lord liveth, who
preserved me in my way that I went, my countenance deceived him to his destruction, and he did
17 not commit sin with me, to defile and shame me. And all the people were exceedingly amazed,
and bowed themselves, and worshipped God, and said with one accord, Blessed art thou, O our God,
18 which hast this day brought to nought the enemies of thy people. And Ozias said unto her, Blessed
art thou, daughter, in the sight of the Most High God, above all the women upon the earth; and
blessed is the Lord God, who created the heavens and the earth, who directed thee to the smiting
19 of the head of the prince of our enemies. For thy hope shall not depart from the heart of men that
20 remember the strength of God for ever. And God turn these things to thee for a perpetual praise,
to visit thee with good things, because thou didst not spare thy life by reason of the affliction of our
race, but didst avenge our fall, walking a straight way before our God. And all the people said, So
be it, so be it.

14 1 And Judith said unto them, Hear me now, my brethren, and take this head, and hang it upon the
2 battlement of your wall. And it shall be, so soon as the morning shall appear, and the sun shall
come forth upon the earth, ye shall take up every one his weapons of war, and go forth every valiant
man of you out of the city, and ye shall set a captain over them, as though ye would go down to the

5. **now is the time**, sc. which thou didst appoint.
destruction, *θραῦμα* (B), *τραῦμα* (58), *θραῦσμα* (A), *θραῦσιν* (19, 44). The last would best express the Hebrew לְשִׁבֹּר קְמִינוּ.

6. **rail**, *κανών*, a bar at the head of the bed.
scimitar, *ἀκινάκης*, a Persian sword.
9. **took down** (*or* off) **the canopy**, cf. x. 21. She took it away as a trophy, verse 15.
10. **unto prayer**, omitted by B. 'As if to prayer,' 58 VL Syr. It would be past midnight, 'toward the morning watch' (xii. 5). This time they went out of the camp. **Compassed**, *ἐκύκλωσαν*, perhaps means 'took a circuitous route' along the side of the valley, so as not to be seen. **Went up . . .**, rather 'went up the mountain to B.' (which was on the top). For *τὸ ὄρος* א* has *πρός*.
11. **now**, *δή* (one of the few particles used in the book) = נא.
12. **her city.** א 44 106 58 VL Syr omit *αὐτῆς*, rightly.
13. **strange**, *παράδοξον*, i. e. unexpected.
14. **destroyed**, *ἔθραυσε*, 'broke,' the same stem as in verse 5.
16. **deceived**, *ἠπάτησεν*, 'beguiled.'
17. **Blessed . . .** ברוך אתה אדני אלהינו, the usual formula in later Hebrew.
18. A reminiscence of Gen. xiv. 19, 20, LXX.
directed thee to the smiting of the head . . . is a strange expression. 58 alters it to 'directed thee to the head'. The Hebrew must have been להכות ראש אויבינו, 'directed or inspired thee to smite the head (i. e. chief) of our enemies.' The incident of the head has caused ראש to be translated twice.
19. **thy hope.** 58 VL Syr have 'the praise of thee'. Hope, &c., may mean 'thy trust in God shall always be remembered when men recall (*or* talk of) the mighty works of God'.
20. **avenge**, *ἐπεξῆλθες*, 'you went to meet (and avert) our fall.'

XIV. 1. The account of Achior (*vv.* 5–10) precedes this in the Vulgate, certainly a better arrangement.
2. **a captain over them**, apparently over those who go out, but the change of person is strange.

3 plain toward the watch of the children of Asshur; and ye shall not go down. And these shall take
up their panoplies, and shall go into their camp, and rouse up the captains of the host of Asshur, and
they shall run together to the tent of Holofernes, and they shall not find him: and fear shall fall upon
4 them, and they shall flee before your face. And ye, and all that inhabit every coast of Israel, shall
5 pursue them, and overthrow them as they go. But before ye do these things, call me Achior the
Ammonite, that he may see and know him that despised the house of Israel, and that sent him to us,
as it were to death.
6 And they called Achior out of the house of Ozias; but when he came, and saw the head of
Holofernes in a man's hand in the assembly of the people, he fell upon his face, and his spirit failed.
7 But when they had recovered him, he fell at Judith's feet, and did reverence unto her, and said,
Blessed art thou in every tent of Judah, and in every nation, which hearing thy name shall be
8 troubled. And now tell me all the things that thou hast done in these days. And Judith declared
unto him in the midst of the people all the things that she had done, from the day that she went forth
9 until the time that she spake unto them. But when she left off speaking, the people shouted with
10 a loud voice, and made a joyful noise in their city. But when Achior saw all the things that the
God of Israel had done, he believed in God exceedingly, and circumcised the flesh of his foreskin,
and was joined unto the house of Israel, unto this day.
11 But as soon as the morning arose, they hanged the head of Holofernes upon the wall, and every
12 man took up his weapons, and they went forth by bands unto the ascents of the mountain. But
when the children of Asshur saw them, they sent hither and thither to their leaders; but they went
13 to their captains and tribunes, and to every one of their rulers. And they came to Holofernes' tent,
and said to him that was over all that he had, Waken now our lord: for the slaves have been bold
14 to come down against us to battle, that they may be utterly destroyed. And Bagoas went in, and
15 knocked at the outer door of the tent; for he supposed that he was sleeping with Judith. But when
none hearkened to him, he opened it, and went into the bedchamber, and found him cast upon the
16 threshold dead, and his head had been taken from him. And he cried with a loud voice, with
17 weeping and groaning and a mighty cry, and rent his garments. And he entered into the tent where
18 Judith lodged: and he found her not, and he leaped out to the people, and cried aloud, The slaves
have dealt treacherously: one woman of the Hebrews hath brought shame upon the house of king
19 Nebuchadnezzar; for, behold, Holofernes *lieth* upon the ground, and his head is not on him. But
when the rulers of the host of Asshur heard the words, they rent their coats, and their soul was
troubled exceedingly, and there was a cry and an exceeding great noise in the midst of the camp.
15 1 And when they that were in the tents heard, they were amazed at the thing that was come to
2 pass. And trembling and fear fell upon them, and no man durst abide any more in the sight of his
neighbour, but rushing out with one accord, they fled into every way of the plain and of the hill
3 country. And they that had encamped in the hill country round about Bethulia fled away. And
4 then the children of Israel, every one that was a warrior among them, rushed out upon them. And

3. **these**, i. e. the Assyrian outposts.
panoplies, *πανοπλίας*. 'Arms' would be less pedantic. Outposts when not expecting an attack would lay down some of their equipment. They would take this up again and so become *πανόπλοι* before going into camp.
4. **as they go.** Rather 'leave them lying in the paths by which they flee'.
5. Looks as if it had been put in to introduce an episode which had somehow got misplaced; see on verse 1.
7. **recovered**, *ἀνέλαβον αὐτόν* (א B) = 'had lifted him up'. *ἀνέλαβεν αὐτόν* (A, &c.) = 'he had recovered himself'.
tent. A reminiscence of Judges vi. 24?
troubled, i. e. alarmed at such things being possible.
9. **made a joyful noise**, *ἔδωκαν* (58, &c., *-κεν* א A B) *φωνὴν εὐφροσύνης* (A 58 VL, *-νον* א B) = ויתנו קול שמחה (Ball).
10. **God of Israel.** 58 VL Syr 'God had done for Israel'.
exceedingly, *σφόδρα*. The author's favourite word is not very suitable here. It must mean 'with all his heart'.
unto this day is really meaningless. The Vulgate applies it to his descendants.
Achior became a proselyte at once. The author overlooks the law of Deut. xxiii. 3.
12. **leaders**, i. e. subordinate officers, and they (the subordinates) went to their superiors, who eventually came to Holofernes' tent.
tribunes, *χιλιάρχους*, 'captains of thousands'. **Rulers**, *πάντα ἄρχοντα*, should be 'commanders'.
13. **to him.** 58 VL Syr 'to Bagoas'.
the slaves, העבדים, for which Movers suggests ('plausibly,' Ball) העברים, 'the Hebrews' (cf. VL), but this is unnecessary, cf. verse 18. Ball seems to prefer העכברים, 'the mice,' as Vulg.
14. **door** is necessary after 'knock', but *αὐλαίαν* is prop. 'curtain' (cf. verse 15). 19 108 *ἐκρότησε τῇ χειρὶ ἐν τῇ αὐλαίᾳ*, and similarly Vulg. 'stetit ante cortinam et plausum fecit manibus suis'.
15. **opened**, *διαστείλας*, 'drew aside the curtain.'
threshold, *ἐπὶ τῆς χελωνίδος*, more probably the step at the side of the bed (Ball).
18. **dealt treacherously**, *ἠθέτησαν*, alluding primarily to Judith's promises. The verb ought to have an object.

XV. 3. These were the Edomites and Ammonites, cf. vii. 18 (Ball).

Ozias sent to Betomasthaim, and Bebai, and Chobai, and Chola, and to every coast of Israel, such as
should tell concerning the things that had been accomplished, and that all should rush forth upon
5 their enemies to destroy them. But when the children of Israel heard, they all fell upon them with
one accord, and smote them unto Chobai: yea, and in like manner also they of Jerusalem and of all
the hill country came (for men had told them what things were come to pass in the camp of their
enemies), and they that were in Gilead and in Galilee fell upon their flank with a great slaughter,
6 until they were past Damascus and the borders thereof. But the residue, that dwelt at Bethulia, fell
7 upon the camp of Asshur, and spoiled them, and were enriched exceedingly. But the children of
Israel returned from the slaughter, and gat possession of that which remained; and the villages and
the cities, that were in the hill country and in the plain country, took many spoils: for there was an
exceeding great store.

8 And Joakim the high priest, and the senate of the children of Israel that dwelt in Jerusalem, came
to behold the good things which the Lord had shewed to Israel, and to see Judith, and to salute her.
9 But when they came unto her, they all blessed her with one accord, and said unto her, Thou art the
exaltation of Jerusalem, thou art the great glory of Israel, thou art the great rejoicing of our race:
10 thou hast done all these things by thy hand: thou hast done with Israel the things that are good,
and God is pleased therewith: blessed be thou with the Almighty Lord for evermore. And all the
11 people said, So be it. And the people spoiled the camp for the space of thirty days: and they gave
unto Judith Holofernes' tent, and all his silver cups, and his beds, and his vessels, and all his
furniture: and she took them, and placed them on her mule, and made ready her wagons, and
heaped them thereon.

12 And all the women of Israel ran together to see her; and they blessed her, and made a dance
among them for her; and she took branches in her hand, and gave to the women that were with
13 her. And they made themselves garlands of olive, she and they that were with her, and she went
before all the people in the dance, leading all the women: and all the men of Israel followed in their
16 1 armour with garlands, and with songs in their mouths. And Judith began to sing this thanksgiving
2 in all Israel, and all the people sang with loud voices this song of praise. And Judith said,

Begin unto my God with timbrels,
Sing unto my Lord with cymbals:
Tune unto him psalm and praise:
Exalt him, and call upon his name.
3 For the Lord is the God that breaketh the battles:
For in his armies in the midst of the people
He delivered me out of the hand of them that persecuted me.
4 Asshur came out of the mountains from the north,
He came with ten thousands of his host,
The multitude whereof stopped the torrents,
And their horsemen covered the hills.

4. **Betomesthaim**, see iv. 6. **Bebai** only in A. For **Chobai** א* has Choba, cf. iv. 4. For **Chola** A has Kola, א* Abelmaim, א c.a Keïla. The sites are unknown.

5. **past Damascus.** This was the way they had come, cf. ii. 27.

6. **dwelt**, *κατοικοῦντες* = יושבים, 'remained (behind).'

7. **cities**, *αἱ πόλεις*, א A; *ἐπαύλεις*, 'farmsteads,' B.

9. **they came.** 58 VL Syr 19 108 'when she went out to meet them', a correction in the interest of the high priest's dignity.

rejoicing, *καύχημα*, 'the boast.'

12. **for her**, i.e. 'in her honour'.

branches, *θύρσους*, a strange word to choose. It properly means the wands of the Bacchants. In the LXX only here and in 2 Macc. x. 7.

13. Lit. 'they crowned themselves with olive', a Greek, not a Jewish, custom, indicating a late date for the book (Ball).

XVI. 1. **sang with loud voices**, *ὑπερεφώνει*, so א A B. The common reading is *ὑπεφώνει*, '(J. began and) they were singing in answer.'

2. **Begin**, *ἐξάρχετε* = ענו in Ps. cxlvii. 7.

and praise, *καὶ αἶνον*. A has *καινόν*, 'new' (cf. xvi. 13), as in Ps. xxxiii. 3, &c.

3. **breaketh the battles**, cf. Exod. xv. 3 LXX, as above, ix. 7.

The rest of the verse is corrupt. **in his armies**, *εἰς τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ* is properly 'into his camps'. For *ἐξείλατο*, א has *ἐξελείσεσθαι*, &c.; for *ἐκ χειρός* א* has *ἕως χειρός*. Perhaps the Hebrew was אֵל בחנותו בתוך העם, 'God, when he encamped among . . .,' which was misread as אֶל-מחנותיו, *εἰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ*.

4. **from the north.** They came by way of Damascus.

stopped, i.e. blocked up.

5 He said that he would burn up my borders,
And kill my young men with the sword,
And throw my sucking children to the ground,
And give mine infants for a prey,
And make my virgins a spoil.
6 The Almighty Lord brought them to nought by the hand of a woman.
7 For their mighty one did not fall by young men,
Neither did sons of the Titans smite him,
Nor did high giants set upon him:
But Judith the daughter of Merari made him weak with the beauty of her countenance.
8 For she put off the apparel of her widowhood
For the exaltation of those that were distressed in Israel,
She anointed her face with ointment,
And bound her hair in a tire,
And took a linen garment to deceive him.
9 Her sandal ravished his eye,
And her beauty took his soul prisoner:
The scimitar passed through his neck.
10 The Persians quaked at her daring,
And the Medes were daunted at her boldness.
11 Then my lowly ones shouted aloud,
And my weak ones were terrified and crouched for fear:
They lifted up their voice, and they were turned to flight.
12 The sons of damsels pierced them through,
And wounded them as runagates' children;
They perished by the battle of my Lord.
13 I will sing unto my God a new song:
O Lord, thou art great and glorious,
Marvellous in strength, invincible.
14 Let all thy creation serve thee:
For thou spakest, and they were made,
Thou didst send forth thy spirit, and it builded them,
And there is none that shall resist thy voice.

6. **brought them to nought,** ἠθέτησεν as in xiv. 18, but here with a personal object. 58 19 108 add κατῄσχυνεν αὐτούς:—

'The Lord Almighty set them at nought,
By the hand of a woman he brought them to shame.'

7. **their mighty one,** גבורם = their champion, as 1 Sam. xvii. 51 (Ball). The next two lines look like alternative renderings of the same Hebrew. **Sons of the Titans** may be בני רפאים. Cf. 2 Sam. v. 18, LXX.

high giants, perhaps בני ענק.

9. For sandals as an adornment, cf. Cant. vii. 1. Chajes suggests that נעלה (her sandal) is a mistake for נעמה (her beauty).

10. **quaked,** ἔφριξαν, shuddered at it.

daunted, ἐρράχθησαν א B, ἐταράχθησαν א c.a A. Neither word could be construed with an accusative. VL and Vulg. omit the verb, thus making 'boldness' depend on ἔφριξαν. The mention of Persians here suggests that the author was really thinking of the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, and forgot for the moment that his invading army was Assyrian. Medes are naturally parallel to Persians, although, according to i. 13–16, Media had been devastated in the previous year.

11. **my lowly ones** must be Israelites. So also 'my weak ones' (VL 'aegrotantes in siti'), but ἐφοβήθησαν, 'were terrified,' is unsuitable as a parallel to ἠλάλαξαν, 'shouted in triumph.' Several cursives and VL Syr have ἐβόησαν, 'cried aloud.'

crouched. Apparently the subject changes to the enemy and the next three verbs form a climax, 'they crouched, they cried out, they fled,' as often in Hebrew poetry. 19 108 read ἠττήθησαν for ἐπτοή(θη)σαν, and add οἱ ἐχθροί μου at the end.

12. **sons of damsels,** i. e. of young wives, whose sons would be mere children. But κοράσιον in LXX often means 'maidservant', so that it may be contemptuous, 'the very slave-boys.'

runagates' children, properly 'sons of runaway slaves'. 19 108 VL Syr have παῖδας αὐτομολοῦντας, 'runaway slaves.'

by the battle, i. e. by means of the army . . . παράταξις (cf. i. 6) prop. 'an army in fighting order'.

13. Cf. Exod. xv. 11.

invincible, ἀνυπέρβλητος, prop. unsurpassed. Perhaps a loose rendering of עשה פלא.

14. **send forth,** ἀπέστειλας. א ἐπέστρεψας.

it builded is harsh. א has 'they were builded'. Probably the Hebrew was ונבראו (were created), not ונבנו (were built). Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6–9, civ. 30 (Ball).

15 For the mountains shall be moved from their foundations with the waters,
And the rocks shall melt as wax at thy presence:
But thou art yet merciful to them that fear thee.
16 For all sacrifice is little for a sweet savour,
And all the fat is very little for a whole burnt offering to thee:
But he that feareth the Lord is great continually.
17 Woe to the nations that rise up against my race:
The Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgement,
To put fire and worms in their flesh;
And they shall weep and feel their pain for ever.
18 Now when they came to Jerusalem, they worshipped God; and when the people were purified,
19 they offered their whole burnt offerings, and their freewill offerings, and their gifts. And Judith
dedicated all the stuff of Holofernes, which the people had given her, and gave the canopy, which
20 she had taken for herself out of his bedchamber, for a gift unto the Lord. And the people continued
feasting in Jerusalem before the sanctuary for the space of three months, and Judith remained with
21 them. But after these days every one departed to his own inheritance, and Judith went away to
22 Bethulia, and remained in her own possession, and was honourable in her time in all the land. And
many desired her, and no man knew her all the days of her life, from the day that Manasses her
23 husband died and was gathered to his people. And she increased in greatness exceedingly; and
she waxed old in her husband's house, unto a hundred and five years, and let her maid go free:
24 and she died in Bethulia; and they buried her in the cave of her husband Manasses. And the
house of Israel mourned for her seven days: and she distributed her goods before she died to all
them that were nearest of kin to Manasses her husband, and to them that were nearest of her own
25 kindred. And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith,
nor a long time after her death.

15. **For the mountains . . . waters.** *ὄρη γὰρ ἐκ θεμελίων σὺν ὕδασιν σαλευθήσεται* is obscure. Perhaps it means 'the mountains (or cliffs) shall be swayed down to their foundations, together with (i.e. just as much as) the waters which roll up against them'.

melt as wax, cf. Ps. xcvii. 5.

16. i.e. Any sacrifice is unworthy of God's acceptance as a sweet savour, but, while sacrifices are obligatory, it is the spirit which underlies them, namely the fear of the Lord, which is really important. Cf. Ps. li. 16–19.

17. Cf. the end of Deborah's song, Judges v. 31.

It is evident that the writer looks forward to a judgement after death, יום הדין, a later and more definite doctrine than the יום יהוה of Mal. iv. 5. The belief is indicated in Ecclus. vii. 17 (Ball), and developed in the Book of Enoch, thus corroborating the date assigned to the composition of Judith.

fire and worms are no doubt suggested by Isa. lxvi. 24, but applied to hell as in the N.T.

weep and feel, lit. weep at (or 'with') feeling, i.e. without losing consciousness of their pain.

18. Note again the insistence on purification (after contact with the dead) and sacrifice.

19. **stuff,** *σκεύη* = כלי, his silver plate.

gift, *ἀνάθημα* (or *ἀνάθεμα*) = חרם (Ball) as a thing devoted.

20. **three months.** Another instance of the author's love of exaggeration. Three days would be more likely.

21. **inheritance.** 58 VL Syr 'tents'.

to Bethulia. ℵ 'to her house at B'.

23. **increased in greatness,** *ἦν προβαίνουσα μεγάλη,* is not clear. Prob. VL (and Vulg.) is right, 'she increased in reputation.'

24. She bequeathed her property according to the Law in Num. xxvii. 11.

25. Cf. again Judges v. 31. If Judith was twenty-five or thirty years old at the time of her exploit the land must have had peace for at least eighty years. Such a period can only have occurred 'under the Persian kings, and according to Jewish ideas under the Hasmoneans' (Ball).

The Vulgate adds that a festival was instituted to commemorate the deed of Judith, probably in imitation of Esther ix. 27, 28. No such festival is known, it is not mentioned in any other version, and cannot have been recorded in the original book. The statement may be founded on the fact that the story was read at the feast of Hanukka, see Introd. § 8 *a*.

THE BOOK OF SIRACH

INTRODUCTION[1]

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

Ben-Sira's Book of Wisdom belongs, together with the Book of Job, a number of the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Wisdom of Solomon (so-called), to the *Ḥokmah* or Wisdom Literature of the Hebrews. This literature represents the development of the crude philosophy of more ancient times, a philosophy which sought by means of proverbs and fables to express the results of reflections concerning the general questions of life. Such proverbs and fables were not necessarily of a religious character; see, e. g., Judg. ix. 8–15 (Jotham's parable), 2 Sam. v. 8, xx. 18; but they tended to become so more and more (cp. Jer. xxxi. 29, Ezek. xviii. 2); this is well exemplified by such parables as those contained in 2 Sam. xii. 1–4 (Nathan's parable of the ewe lamb), and Isa. v. 1–4 (the parable of the vineyard); and ultimately all wise sayings, upon whatsoever subjects they were uttered, came to have a religious content inasmuch as it was taught that all wisdom emanated from God. Ben-Sira, therefore, as a constructor of wise sayings, belonged to the class of Sages or *Ḥakamim* ('wise men') who already in the days of Jeremiah occupied a recognized position alongside of the priests and the prophets: 'For the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise (*ḥakam*), nor the word from the prophet' (Jer. xviii. 18). So that in presenting his book to his people he is making a justifiable claim when he says:

I, indeed, came last of all,
As one that gleaneth after the grape-gatherers:
I advanced by the blessing of God,
And filled my winepress as a grape-gatherer.
(xxxiii. 16–18 [= 𝔊 xxxvi. 16ᵃ and xxx. 25–27]).

The claim is modestly urged; but Ben-Sira, while whole-heartedly admitting his indebtedness to earlier sages, clearly reckons himself as one of the 'grape-gatherers', i.e. as one of the *Ḥakamim*, like the authors of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, though the last in the succession.

A notable feature in our book is that it offers many examples of expanded proverbs; a little essay, as it were, is constructed on the basis of a proverb. A good example of this is xxxviii. 24–xxxix. 11; here the proverb, or text of the essay, is:

The wisdom of the scribe increaseth wisdom,
And he that hath little business can become wise.

Then Ben-Sira proceeds to expatiate upon these words by giving a number of illustrations showing that those who are occupied with ordinary trades and professions cannot possibly find the requisite leisure which must be possessed by those who would acquire wisdom (xxxviii. 25–35); and the essay concludes with an eloquent description of the ideal seeker after wisdom, thus presenting the positive side of his thesis.

Although Ben-Sira exhibits no great signs of originality there is plenty of individuality in his book; this is shown chiefly (in addition to what has just been said about the expansion of the proverb into the essay) by the use he makes of the Old Testament Scriptures. He does not merely quote from the Old Testament, but he utilizes the words and teaching of the inspired writers as the authority for what he has to say, and then proceeds to set forth his own ideas upon a given subject. An instructive example of this may be adduced. Ben-Sira's teaching on death and the hereafter is identical with that of the Old Testament, but in xli. 1–4 he offers some thoughts upon the subject of death which are evidently quite his own. He shows that two views concerning death exist among

[1] The two editors who are responsible for Sirach as a whole, apart from the Prologue and ch. xlix (the notes on which were written in consultation), shared the rest of the book between them as follows:

Mr. Box is primarily responsible for §§ 3, 6, 7, and 10 of the Introduction, and for the commentary on chs. ix. 1–xiii. 23, xxx–xl, xlii–xlv: Dr. Oesterley is primarily responsible for §§ 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, and 9 of the Introduction, and for the commentary on chs. i–viii, xiii. 24–xxix, xli, xlvi–xlviii, l, li.

men; to those who are living at ease and prosperity the thought of death is bitter, but it is welcome to such as are in sickness and adversity, who are broken and have lost hope. Then he goes on to utter a word of comfort to those to whom the thought of death is painful, by saying that it is the destiny of all men, and that it is the decree of the Most High; he concludes by reminding them also that:

In Sheol there are no reproaches concerning life.

For the rest, the book contains a large collection of moral maxims and sage counsels regarding almost every conceivable emergency in life; if the majority of these appear to be merely moral, it has to be remembered, as already pointed out, that to Ben-Sira the apparently most secular forms of wisdom partake of something religious fundamentally, because all wisdom is in its multifarious and varied expressions so many offshoots of the one primeval Wisdom which emanates from God. These maxims and counsels are applicable to people in every condition of life; a large proportion of them deals with the ordinary, every-day relationships between man and man, whether in regard to the rich or the poor, the oppressed, the mourners, &c., &c.; rules of courtesy, behaviour at table, politeness, respect for one's betters, and many other similar topics, abound. Ben-Sira's intimate knowledge of human nature meets one at every turn, and is certainly one of the most instructive features of the book. It was clearly Ben-Sira's object, in writing his book, to present to the Jewish public of his day an authoritative work of reference to which recourse could be had for guidance and instruction in every circumstance of life. In doing so, however, Ben-Sira makes it his great aim to set forth the superiority of Judaism over Hellenism. For some time previously the Hellenistic spirit had been affecting the Jews both in Palestine and in the Dispersion, and though there was immense good in the wider mental horizon fostered by this spirit, yet there can be no doubt that Hellenism had assumed a debased form in Palestine,[1] and a true Jew, such as Ben-Sira was, rightly felt bound to oppose its extension in the best way he could, namely, by offering something better in its place. Nevertheless, Ben-Sira was himself not unaffected by the Hellenic genius, probably unconsciously; and his admiration for Judaism of the orthodox, traditional type is unable to conceal altogether the newer tendencies of thought brought into existence through that Greek culture by which he, too, had become possessed. The results of the past and the beginnings of a future development were still in juxtaposition—not amalgamated, but as yet not separated, nor were their further sequences in view. Alike the close of the old and the beginnings of the new are side by side in *Ecclesiasticus*. The former reaches back to the early times of Israel's glory; the latter points forward to that direction which was to find its home and centre, not in Palestine, but in Alexandria.'[2] The traces of the influence of Greek modes of thought to be found in our book are not seen in definite form, but, as one would expect where the influence was at work unconsciously, they are to be discerned rather in the general outlook and conception; what is perhaps the most striking example of this is the way in which virtue and knowledge are identified; this is a distinct Hellenic trait, and is treated in the book as axiomatic. In the past, human and divine wisdom had been regarded as opposed, whereas, owing to Greek influence, both in our book and in the Wisdom Literature generally, it is taught that wisdom is the one thing of all others which is indispensable to him who would lead a godly life. The evil of wickedness is represented as lying in the fact that wickedness is foolishness, and therefore essentially opposed to wisdom. On the other hand, the Jews were faithful to the Law, the ordinances of which were binding because it was the revealed will of God; and, therefore, in order to reconcile this old teaching with the new teaching that wisdom was the chief requirement of the man of religion, wisdom became identified with the Law: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom'; by the 'fear of the Lord' is meant, of course, obedience to His commands, i.e. the observance of the Law. These words express what is, in truth, the foundation-stone of the Wisdom Literature, and this identification between wisdom and the Law formed the reconciling link between Judaism and Hellenism in this domain. Nowhere is this identification more clearly brought out than in the Book of Wisdom and in Sirach. This fully explains why Ben-Sira, following herein, without doubt, many sages before him, divides mankind into two categories, the wise and the foolish, which correspond respectively to the righteous and the wicked.

But while there is no sort of doubt that traces of Hellenic influence are to be discerned in the book, there is a danger which must be guarded against of seeing them where they do not exist.

[1] 'We have reason to believe that it was just in Syria that Hellenism took a baser form. The ascetic element which saved its liberty from rankness tended here more than anywhere else to be forgotten. The games, the shows, the abandonment of a life which ran riot in a gratification of the senses, grosser or more refined, these made up too much of the Hellenism which changed the face of Syria in the last centuries before Christ' (Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High-priests*, p. 41).

[2] Edersheim in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

Ben-Sira has here and there thoughts which at first sight look like traces of Hellenic influence, but are not so in reality; they are independent parallels, but have not otherwise anything to do with Greek culture. For example, the following might well appear at first sight to be an echo of Epicurean philosophy:

Give not thy soul to sorrow,
And let not thyself become unsteadied with care.
Heart-joy is life for a man,
And human gladness prolongeth days.
Entice thyself and soothe thine heart,
And banish vexation from thee:
For sorrow hath slain many,
And there is no profit in vexation.
Envy and anger shorten days,
And anxiety maketh old untimely.
The sleep of a cheerful heart is like dainties,
And his food is agreeable unto him (xxx. 21–25).

But quite similar thoughts are found in a fragment of the Gilgamesh epic found on a tablet written in the script of the Ḥammurabi dynasty (2000 B.C.), and published by Meissner in the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, Heft i. On p. 8, col. iii, line 3, we read:

. . . Thou, O Gilgamesh, fill indeed thy belly;
Day and night be thou joyful,
Daily ordain gladness,
Day and night rage and make merry;
Let thy garments be bright,
Thy head purify, wash with water,
Desire thy children which thy hand possesses . . .[1]

There are other passages which might likewise seem to manifest the influence of Greek philosophy; in some of these it may well be that this is actually the case;[2] but it is well to be on one's guard, lest what appears to be a Hellenistic note is in reality nothing more than a parallel. While the Judaic elements in the book preponderate to an overwhelming degree, tinges of Hellenic influence are to be discovered here and there.

§ 2. The Title of the Book.

As the fragments of the Hebrew text of our book which are extant only begin with the concluding words of chap. iii. 6,[3] we do not know how the title ran, but the third line of the subscription reads: 'The Wisdom of Simeon, the son of Jeshua, the son of Eleazar, the son of Sira'; and the last line of the subscription in most of the Syriac manuscripts has: 'The writing or the Wisdom of Bar Sira is ended.' Jerome, however, says in his *Praef. in Libr. Sal.*, 'Fertur et *πανάρετος* Iesu filii Sirach liber, et alius *ψευδεπίγραφος* qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur; quorum priorem Hebraicum reperi, nec Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos sed *Parabolas* praenotatum'; this title = מִשְׁלֵי,[4] i.e. the Hebrew title for the Book of Proverbs, but that this was a title, in the ordinary sense, of our book is very improbable; it is more likely to have been a general title, descriptive of the contents, which was applied to the three books Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, for Jerome (in the context of the passage quoted above) says that these two latter were joined to Ecclesiasticus. In the Syriac Version the title is 'Wisdom of Bar Sira', while in most manuscripts of the Septuagint it runs: *Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ*, or abbreviated in Cod. B, *Σοφία Σειράχ*.[5] The probability is that the original title of the book was חכמת ישוע בן־סירא ('The Wisdom of Jesus Ben-Sira').[6] The title 'Ecclesiasticus' of the English Versions comes from the Vulgate, though it is one which has been in use in the Western Church ever since the time of Cyprian (d. A.D. 258). It meant the 'Church Book' *par*

[1] Quoted by Barton, *Ecclesiastes* (Intern. Crit. Com.), p. 39.
[2] e.g. when Ben-Sira controverts the fatalistic philosophy of the Stoics.
[3] According to Smend, a clause = ii. 18 *d* is placed after vi. 17.
[4] In later Jewish literature quotations from Sirach are sometimes prefaced with the words, 'the Parabolist said' (המשל אמר); see Cowley-Neubauer, p. xxiv. n. v. liv, and xx. n. x.
[5] In Cod. 248 *Ἐκκλησιαστικός* is placed before the ordinary title.
[6] In some Latin manuscripts the title is 'Liber Iesu filii Sirach'.

excellence among the 'Libri Ecclesiastici'. Among the early Greek Fathers the book is referred to as Πανάρετος Σοφία; see, e.g., Eusebius (*Chronicon*, ed. Scheone, ii. 122); and Jerome (*Comm. in Dan.* ix) speaks of it as ἡ Πανάρετος; Clement of Alexandria calls it Παιδαγωγός (*Paed.* ii. 10. 99, &c.), and sometimes quotes from it with the words ἡ σοφία λέγει.[1] In the Talmud it is called 'The Book of Ben-Sira' (*Ḥagigah* 13 *a*, *Niddah* 16 *b*, *Berakhoth* 11 *b*);[2] and Saʿadya speaks of it as ספר מוסר, 'The Book of Instruction,' while other Rabbis call it מוסר בן־סירא, 'The Instruction of Ben-Sira.' Schechter (*JQR*, xii. 460 f., 1900) quotes the words of a Rabbi Joseph that the 'Proverbs of Ben-Sira' (משלי בן־סירא) must be read because they contain useful matter.

§ 3. The Original Hebrew Text.

Apart from a few scattered citations in the Talmudic and post-Talmudic Jewish literature the Book of Ben-Sira was, until recent years, known only in the two principal ancient translations of it, viz. the Greek and Syriac versions, and the secondary versions based thereon. The disappearance of the Hebrew MSS. of the book may be explained as due, ultimately, to its exclusion from the Canon, for which early rabbinical evidence exists.[3] In spite of such exclusion, however, the book long retained its popularity in Jewish circles,[4] and in Jerome's time apparently MSS. of the Hebrew text were still accessible in Palestine. In his preface to the Books of Solomon, Jerome expressly mentions one of these which he had in his possession: 'Quorum priorem—sc. Iesu filii Sirach librum—Hebraicum reperi.' In the succeeding centuries, down to the eleventh, the book was still freely quoted in a Hebrew (and also an Aramaic) form. One of the most interesting references to the existence of copies of the Hebrew text is made by Saʿadya, Gaon of Bagdad (A.D. 920), who states that vowel-points and accents—usually reserved only for canonical writings—were to be found in copies of Ben-Sira.[5] Saʿadya also cites some seven (or eight) genuine sayings of Ben-Sira in classical Hebrew. Of the existence of the book in Spain, Provence, or among the Rabbis of France, the Rhineland, and Germany, there is no direct trace. The Hebrew text was apparently unknown (or at least inaccessible) to Rashi, the Tosafists, and even to Maimonides,[6] and seems to have completely vanished from knowledge in the eleventh century. The recovery of large portions of it has been one of the most striking discoveries of recent years.

(a) *The recovery of portions of the lost Hebrew original.*

It was in 1896 that the first portion of the lost Hebrew text came to light—a single leaf containing the text of ch. xxxix. 15–xl. 7, among some manuscript fragments brought from the East by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, together with the famous palimpsest of the Syriac Gospels. This leaf was examined by Dr. Schechter, then Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge, who recognized its contents and published it, with an English translation, introduction and notes, in *The Expositor* for July, 1896. Almost simultaneously Professor Sayce presented to the Bodleian a box of Hebrew and Arabic fragments, among which Messrs. Cowley and Neubauer 'recognized another portion of the same text of Sirach, consisting of nine leaves, and forming the continuation of Mrs. Lewis's leaf from chapter xl. 9 to xlix. 11'.[7] Both fragments proved to be furnished with marginal notes 'giving the variants of another copy of Sirach, or more probably of two other copies. . . . In the Bodleian fragment there are also at least two Persian glosses (ff. 1 and 5[b]), which point to its having been written in Bagdad or Persia, possibly transcribed from Saʿadya's copy'.[8]

These fragments had come from the Genizah at Cairo. In consequence Schechter at once proceeded thither, and, having obtained the necessary authority, made an examination of the manuscript material there deposited, with the result that a considerable amount of the collection was brought to Cambridge. In this collection other fragments of Sirach were discovered by Schechter, all from the same MS. (denoted B by Schechter), covering parts of chapters xxx–xxxviii, as well as the final portion, covering chapters l–li. Two additional fragments of the same MS., containing xxxi. 12–31 and xxxvi. 24–xxxvii. 26, were secured for the British Museum, and edited by the Rev. G. Margoliouth (*JQR*, xii. 1–33). Meanwhile Schechter had discovered in the Genizah collection at Cambridge fragments of a second MS. of the Hebrew text (= MS. A), containing

[1] Cp. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus in Greek*, p. 333.
[2] *JE*, xi. 388 *a*.
[3] Cp. *Tosefta*, *Yadayim* ii. 13 (ed. Zuckermandel 683), which runs: 'The gilyōnîm and the books of the heretics (*mînîm*) do not defile the hands [i.e. are not canonical]; the books of Ben-Sira and all books written after the prophetic period do not defile the hands': cp. also T. J. *Sanh.* 28 *a*.
[4] For its influence on early Jewish and Christian literature cp. § 7 below.
[5] *Sefer ha-galuy*, p. 162 (cp. Cowley-Neub. *O. H.* p. x f.).
[6] Cowley-Neub. *op. cit.*, ibid.
[7] Ibid., p. xii.
[8] Ibid., p. xiii, where see a full description of the MS. and its peculiarities.

ch. iii. 6–xvi. 6, with a hiatus from vii. 29 to xi. 34, which was afterwards made good by some leaves that came into the possession of Mr. Elkan Adler. When the remaining contents of the Genizah were sold Israel Lévi discovered a fragment of a fresh MS. (= MS. D) in a single leaf covering ch. xxxvi. 24–xxxviii. 1 (thus providing a second text against that of MS. B for this portion of the book). Finally, Schechter, Gaster, and Lévi found in material derived from the same Genizah fragments of an anthology of the Book of Ben-Sira (= MS. C) embracing the following: iv. 23 *b*, 30, 31; v. 4–8, 9–13; vi. 18–19, 28, 35; vii. 1, 4, 6, 17, 20–21, 23–25; xviii. 30–31; xix. 1–2; xx. 4–6, 12 (?); xxv. 7 *c*, 8 *c*, 8 *a*, 12, 16–23; xxvi. 1–2; xxxvi. 16; xxxvii. 19, 22, 24, 26. The MSS. may be classified as follows:—

(*a*) MANUSCRIPT A, containing ch. iii. 6–xvi. 26; this consists of six leaves, and may be of the eleventh century. There are 28–29 lines to the page; in some places vowels are added, and, in one or two cases, accents. The size of the page is 11 x 11 cm.

(*b*) MANUSCRIPT B, containing xxx. 11–xxxiii. 3, xxxv. 11–xxxviii. 27, xxxix. 15–li. 30; this consists of 19 leaves, and may be of the twelfth century. 'The MS. is written on oriental paper, and is arranged in lines, 18 to the page, and the lines are divided into hemistichs.'[1] There are many marginal notes, containing, apparently, variant readings from two other codices, one of which is closely related to MS. D. 'As a rule, the body of the text corresponds to the Greek version, and the glosses in the margin to the Syriac; but occasionally the reverse is the case.'[2] The size of the page is 19·1 x 17 cm.

(*c*) MANUSCRIPT C (= Lévi's D), containing an anthology from chapters iv–vii, xviii–xx, xxv, xxvi, xxxvii (as specified above). This MS. consists of four leaves, and, according to Gaster, is older than the other MSS. It contains 12 lines to the page, the size of which is 14·6 x 10 cm. 'The text is often preferable to that of A, and offers variants agreeing with the Greek version, while the readings of A correspond to the Syriac.'[3]

(*d*) MANUSCRIPT D (= Lévi's C), containing xxxvi. 29–xxxviii. 1. This MS. consists of a single leaf; there are 20 lines to the page, which measures 16 x 12 cm. Words, and in some cases entire verses, are provided with vowels and accents.

It will thus be seen that the MSS. so far recovered yield a Hebrew text for something like two-thirds of the entire book. In some cases two MSS., and for four verses three, are available for the restoration of the text.

The following list shows the extent of the Hebrew MS. authority for different parts of the text:

(*a*) The portions of the text for which one manuscript authority only is available are: From MS. A, iii. 6–iv. 23 *a*, iv. 24–29, v. 1–3, 8, 14–15, vi. 1–17, 18 (C), 20–25, 27, 29–33, 36–37, vii. 3, 5, 7–16, 18–19, 22, 26, 29–36, viii. 1–xvi. 26: from MS. C, xviii. 30–31 [32–33], xix. 1–2, xx. 4–6 [5–7], 12 [13], xxv. 7 *c*, 8 *c*, 8 *a*, 12 [13], 16–23 [17–24]; xxvi. 1–2: from MS. B, xxx. 11–xxxiii. 3, xxxv. 11–xxxvi. 15, xxxvi. 17–28, xxxviii. 2–27; xxxix. 15–li. 30.

(*b*) The portions of the text for which two MSS. are available are: iv. 23 *b*, 30–31; v. 4–7, 9–13; vi. 19, 28, 35; vii. 1, 2, 4, 6, 17, 20–21, 23–25; xxxvi. 16; xxxvi. 29–xxxviii. 1.

(*c*) The portions of the text for which three MSS. are available are: xxxviii. 19, 22, 24, 26.

(*d*) The portions of the text for which no Hebr. MS. is yet available are: i. 1–iii. 5; xvi. 27–xviii. 3; xix. 3–xx. 4, 8–12; xx. 14–xxv. 6, xxv. 9–12, 14–16, 25–26; xxvi. 3–xxx. 10; xxxiii. 4–xxxv. 8 (10); xxxviii. 28–xxxix. 14.

(b) *The value and authenticity of the recovered fragments.*

The questions touched upon in this section have given rise to much controversy which it will be impossible to review here in detail. All that will be attempted will be to indicate the main lines and directions of the best critical opinion.

The problems raised by the Hebrew fragments are of an exceedingly complex character. The first point to determine, in a general way, is the relation of the MSS. to each other. The manuscript material that has been recovered, fortunately, is sufficiently extensive—overlapping as it does for certain parts of the text of the book—to make it possible to establish certain relations.

(i) *The relation of the Hebrew MSS. to each other.*

The most important point of relation between the MSS. is the frequent agreement of the marginal variants of B with D against the text of B in the section where comparison is possible, i.e. where the two MSS. overlap (xxxvi. 29–xxxviii. 1). A good example of this is to be seen in xxxvii. 16:

[1] Cowley-Neub., *op. cit.*, p. xiii. [2] I. Lévi in *JE*, xi. 393 *a*. [3] Lévi, *op. cit.*, xi. 392 *b*.

Here B marg. and D have

ראש כל מעשה מאמר
לפני כל פועל (פעל D) היא מחשבת

The beginning of every action is speech,
And before every work is the thought.

For this B text has

ראש כל מעשה דבר
וראש כל פעל היא מחשבת

Another good example is afforded by xxxvii. 25, where B marg. and D read ישרון against עם ישראל of B text. According to Peters[1], about 75 per cent. of the variants conform to this rule; in the other cases where D has a variant not attested in B marg. some are explicable as scribal errors in D, or as corruptions produced under the influence of the text of B. In several cases B marg. and D agree in purely orthographic variants, and even in reproducing identical scribal errors. The important conclusion deducible from these phenomena is that the marginal variants of B are not the emendations of the scribe, but represent readings derived from another MS. which has close affinities with D. Probably the marginal variants of the rest of B are derived from an identical or related source. Regarding the relation of C to B and D the material for comparison is too slight to enable any certain conclusions to be drawn. In one striking case, however, C = B text in reading גואל against B marg. and D which read נואל. Hence Peters concludes that C is to be ranked with the B type of text (against D + B marg.). The other important area of contact is iv. 23–vii. 25, where C and A partly overlap and comparison is possible. Here the divergence is occasionally considerable, as in iv. 30, 31 (see next subsection). But this must not be unduly exaggerated. The similarity of whole verses is so marked as to make it clear that we are confronted with different recensions of the same archetypal text, and not with independent types of text.[2]

(ii) *The general character of the Hebrew fragments and their relation to the Versions.*

The relation of the Hebrew fragments to the Versions presents many difficult textual problems which cannot be said yet to have been fully solved.[3] In the case of MSS. A and B, which may conveniently be considered first, the Hebrew sometimes agrees with the Greek version against the Syriac, sometimes differs from both, and occasionally explains one or the other, or both. The cases in which the Hebrew seems to follow the Syriac and to be dependent on it are, perhaps, the most crucial. In this connexion the doublets, which are particularly numerous in B, are most important. These have been indicated in the critical notes of the commentary. The following example will illustrate many others. In xxxi. 13 𝔅B has:

(1) זכור (דע *marg.*) כי רעה עין רעה
(2) רע עין שונא אל
(3) ורע ממנו לא ברא:
(4) כי זה מפני כל דבר תזוע (תזיע *marg.*) עין
(5) ומפנים דמעה תדמע (תזיע *marg.*?)
(6) רע מעין לא חלק אל
(7) על כן (על כל *marg.*) מפני (מלפני) כל נם לחה:

(1) *Remember that an evil eye is an evil thing;*
(2) *The man of evil eye God hateth,*
(3) *And He hath created nothing more evil than him.*
(4) *For this—by reason of everything the eye quivereth,*
(5) *And from the face it maketh tears.*
(6) *God hath created nothing more evil than the eye,*
(7) *Therefore by reason of everything its freshness is abated.*

[1] *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (1902), p. 23*.

[2] Schechter (*JQR*, xii. 458) pertinently remarks: 'Had we here to deal with different translations, it is impossible that they should agree as closely as they [MSS. C and A] do. Those who are inclined to doubt this obvious fact should take the trouble to compare these same fourteen verses [covering iv. 23–v. 13 + xxxvi. 24] in the three Hebrew versions we possess of Ben-Sira, viz. by Ben Zeeb, Fränkel, and Joshua Duklo, and he will see at once the difference between independent translations and families of MSS. differing but descendant from the same common origin. In the first case he will, before a closer reading, hardly be aware that they represent the same work, whilst in the latter it will take him some time before he detects their differences.'

[3] The most elaborate and detailed reconstruction of the text, taking the fullest account of all relevant data, is that of Smend (as cited in § 10).

Here (1) (6) (7) substantially = 𝔊: and (2) (3) and (4) = 𝔖 (see crit. note on xxxi. 23 in the following commentary): (5) is a doublet of (4) and (7). It is noticeable that 𝔐 does not, as it stands, yield an exactly corresponding text either to 𝔊 or 𝔖, while it provides one doublet (5) and (7) which corresponds to neither. The simplest explanation is that 𝔐 embodies variants from different recensions of the original text that lie behind 𝔊 and 𝔖.[1] Not improbably 𝔐 itself has been glossed and emended by scribes. The variant in (7) above ('its freshness is abated') may, perhaps, be explained in this way (from Deut. xxxiv. 7). As another example of a gloss in 𝔐 to which nothing corresponds in 𝔊 or 𝔖 xxxi. 2 may be cited. Here 𝔐 adds the following two lines:

רע נאמן תניד חרפה
ומסתיר סוד אוהב כנפש

Reproach putteth to flight the faithful friend,
But he that hideth a secret loveth (a friend) as his own soul.

As this couplet does not harmonize with the context it is probably a gloss (? from the margin of a MS.). In general 𝔐^{B} has many scribal errors and corruptions in its text, which is also marked by the occasional presence of strong Syriasms[2] and late Rabbinical expressions.[3]

In the case of 𝔐^{A} the number of marginal variants is comparatively small. There are a certain number of doublets which exhibit features on the whole similar to those of 𝔐^{B} illustrated above. But 𝔐^{A} diverges more from the text of 𝔊 than is the case with 𝔐^{B}—it very rarely sides with 𝔊 against 𝔖. It has certain orthographical peculiarities of its own, and is marked by a number of errors due to the carelessness of the copyist.[4] In the case of 𝔐^{D}, which covers xxxvi. 29–xxxviii. 1, and provides (with 𝔐^{B}) a duplicate text for this section of the book, we have, on the whole, a text superior to that of 𝔐^{B}, though there are numerous cases of corruption. In two instances it yields a text which agrees with 𝔏 against the common text of 𝔊, viz. in xxxvii. 26[5], where it reads כבוד (= δόξαν 248 and 𝔏) against πίστιν of the ordinary text of 𝔊; and in xxxvii. 28 *b* where, against 𝔐^{B} which = 𝔊, it reads:

ולא לכל נפש כל זן חבחר

which = 𝔏 (*et non omni animae omne genus placet*). In this MS. late Hebrew expressions are of frequent occurrence. In the three fragments of selections which make up 𝔐^{C} a type of text is preserved which is, on the whole, remarkably free from the corruptions and blemishes which disfigure the other MSS. It agrees sometimes with 𝔊, sometimes with 𝔖, and occasionally with neither (e.g. v. 11). In those parts of the book where it coincides with 𝔐^{A} it often agrees with the text of 𝔊 against 𝔖.

The relation of the Hebrew fragments to the citations of Sirach that occur in the Talmudic and Rabbinic literature[6] is not easy to determine owing to the uncertain state of the Talmudic and Rabbinic texts, and also to the loose way in which such citations are often made. It would appear that in some cases the two Talmuds had different texts of Ben-Sira before them. Thus iii. 21 is cited in one form in T.J. *Ḥag.* 77 *c* (agreeing with 𝔐^{A} in first and last word), and in another (doublet) form in T.B. *Ḥag.* 13 *a* (also in *Midr. rabba* Gen. viii). In the latter the first couplet agrees with 𝔖 and 𝔊 (and partly with 𝔐^{A}); the second diverges considerably from all the other forms of the text (though agreeing in one word with 𝔐^{A}, and in another with T.J. *Ḥag.*). The most natural inference to draw from these phenomena is that two divergent types of text of Sirach were current in the fifth century A.D. The citations from Sirach in Saʿadya (*Sefer ha-galuy*) are of a different character. They agree much more closely with the text of 𝔐, give the impression of being more exact citations, and are apparently derived from substantially the same text as that represented in the Hebrew fragments.

It is important to note, in this connexion, that collections of detached sayings derived from Sirach were apparently in existence in the Talmudic period. The only long continuous quotation from Ben-Sira given in the Talmud (T.B. *Sanhedrin* 100 *b*) is apparently made from such a *florilegium.* It consists of the following passages in the following order: xxvi. 1–4; ix. 8, 9; xi. 29–34, and vi. 10. Another such collection is represented in the fragments denoted 𝔐^{C}. Such collections

[1] See further the discussion in the next subsection.

[2] e.g. ממחיו xlii. 5, which apparently = inf. Pael (Syr. *mĕmaḥāyu*); הִסְתַּוֵּיד xlii. 12, 'converse' = Syr. *'estawwed* = ὁμιλεῖν: בֵּית xlii. 12 = perhaps 'among' (Syr. *bêth*).

[3] e.g. כיוצא בו xxxviii. 17, 'such as befits him' (in 𝔐^{B}; also in 𝔐^{A} x. 28); בבית מדרשי li. 23.

[4] Of differences of diction the following is the most notable: 𝔐^{A} writes ניסיון where 𝔐^{B} has ניסוי. See further Taylor-Schechter, *WBS*, pp. 7–12.

[5] This verse is wanting in 𝔐^{B}.

[6] For a collection of the citations conveniently grouped together see Cowley-Neub., pp. xix–xxx; also Schechter in *JQR*, iii. 682–706 (with full critical notes).

seem to have superseded the original Hebrew text of the entire book after it fell under the ban and was reckoned among 'the books of the heretics'. The 'good things' profitable for reading were excerpted; the rest consigned to neglect.[1] It is worth noting that some of the sayings of Ben-Sira are cited in an Aramaic form, which implies that an Aramaic translation of parts of the book was at some time or other made. This factor must be allowed for as a possible source of corruption in the diction of the fragments.

(iii) *The authenticity of the Hebrew fragments.*

The authenticity of the Hebrew fragments was early called in question by Professor D. S. Margoliouth,[2] who, noting the decadent nature of the diction, coloured as it is by the frequent presence of Syriasms and Arabisms, as well as of neo-Hebraisms, and struck by the presence of Persian glosses in 𝔥^{B}, propounded the theory that 𝔥 is itself a retranslation of a Persian version, which was based partly on the Greek and partly on the Syriac versions of the book. The hypothesis is that a Syriac version, which had been revised by the Greek, was used as the basis of a Persian rendering, and that this Persian translation was rendered by an unintelligent Persian Jew, who knew neither Syriac nor Greek, into Hebrew. 'The theory is incompatible with the known facts; the agreements (often literal) and the disagreements of the Hebrew with the primary versions make it practically inconceivable that it could have arisen in the way described.'[3] The obscurities in the Hebrew text alleged to be due to a misunderstanding of Persian expressions are all susceptible of a different—and more probable—explanation.[4] Consequently the hypothesis of a Persian basis for the text of 𝔥 may be ruled out. But in a modified form the hypothesis of retranslation may be made much more defensible, viz. on the basis of the Syriac—and Greek—versions. It is not, indeed, alleged that the whole of the recovered Hebrew text can be explained in this way, but the dependence of parts of the text on 𝔊 or 𝔖 is seriously maintained by some scholars. It will, therefore, be necessary to subject some of the crucial cases adduced to examination. Nestle[5] brings forward a number of cases from 𝔥^{C} in which he concludes that the Hebrew text of these passages 'cannot be explained in any other way than by the supposition that' it rests 'on a corrupt and glossed text, sometimes of 𝔊, sometimes of 𝔖'. He, however, does not allege of 𝔥^{C} as a whole that it is a *simple retranslation* of 𝔊, 'for even in 𝔥^{C} there are passages which are at variance with 𝔊.' The passages in question are iv. 30, 31, v. 9 *b*, 13 *b*, vii. 25, xxv. 17. The first and last of these may be taken as crucial examples.

In iv. 30 𝔊 has:

μὴ ἴσθι ὡς λέων ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ (v. l. τῇ οἰκίᾳ) σου
καὶ φαντασιοκοπῶν ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις σου.

𝔏 noli esse sicut leo in domo tua;
evertens domesticos tuos et opprimens subiectos tibi.

Be not a *dog* (כלב) in thy house,
And rebuking and fearful in thy works.

𝔥^{A} אל תהי ככלב בביתך
ומוזר ומתירא במלאכתך

𝔥^{B} אל תהי כאריה בביתך
ומתפחז בעבודתך:

Here 𝔥^{A} 'like a dog' (ככלב) = 𝔖; and 𝔥^{C} 'like a lion' (כאריה) = 𝔊. 'Can there be any doubt,' says Nestle, 'that A (𝔥^{A}) agrees with 𝔖 and C (𝔥^{C}) with 𝔊?' The mistake in 𝔖 (כלב) may be due to a misreading of כלבי (= כלביא) 'like a lion'. He, however, admits that the couplets as they stand cannot be explained entirely as retranslations. In particular, 'how would a late Jewish translator hit upon מתפחז to render so obscure a word as *φαντασιοκοπῶν*?' But if the two couplets are not retranslations the obvious inference is that they represent two recensions of the original Hebrew text, one of which lies behind 𝔖 and the other behind 𝔊. In 𝔥^{A} ככלב is a corruption of כלב = כְּלָבִי (כלביא), which may be explained as a variant on the true reading (preserved in 𝔥^{C}) כאריה: ומוזר may be a gloss: במלאכתך has come in by mistake from the previous verse; the correct reading is preserved

[1] Cf. Schechter in *JQR*, xii. 461.
[2] *The Origin of the 'Original' Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus* (1899).
[3] Toy in *EB*, ii, col. 1168.
[4] For a detailed criticism of these alleged cases see Taylor-Schechter, *WBS*.
[5] Art. 'Sirach' in Hastings's *DB*, iv. 547 f.

in 𝔅ᶜ בעבודתך (cf. 𝔊 and 𝔖); ומתירא is probably original, and ומתפחז in 𝔅ᶜ a corruption of ומתפחד a variant on ומתירא. Thus the original Hebrew of the couplet may be restored:

אל תהי כאריה בביתך
ומתירא בעבודתך:

Be not like a lion in thy family,
And timid among thy slaves.

[Smend, however, keeps ומוזר in line 2: then render

And shy and timid among thy slaves.]

In the text so read מתירא affords an excellent word-play (suggested by Amos iii. 8) on אריה in line 1 —quite in the style of Ben-Sira.[1]

Again, in xxv. 17:

The wickedness of a woman . . . darkeneth her countenance like sackcloth (A.V. marg. 'or like a bear'): R.V. *as a bear doth.*

𝔊ᴮ &c. ὡς σάκκον: 𝔊ᴺᴬᵛ 55, 106, 155, 157, 248, 253, Syro-Hex. ὡς ἄρκος: 𝔏 (combining both readings) *tanquam ursus et quasi saccum.*

𝔖 *. . . maketh pale the face of her husband, and*
Maketh it black like the colour of a sack.

𝔅ᶜ רע אשה ישחיר מראה איש
ויקדיר פניו לדוב:

From these *data* Nestle concludes that 'all rules of textual criticism . . . must be naught, or C (𝔅ᶜ) is here *the retranslation of a corrupt Greek text.*' The assumption is that ἄρκος is an inner (Greek) corruption of σάκκον, and that 𝔅ᶜ here has followed a Greek text which had the corruption. But it should be noted that 𝔅ᶜ *for the rest of the verse diverges strongly from* 𝔊, *and agrees with* 𝔖 *against* 𝔊 (1) in adding איש, and (2) in making the following word (פניו) refer to the husband (*his face*). We are, therefore, driven to suppose that 𝔅 has here followed 𝔊 *in one word only*, viz. in reading 'bear' for 'sack'; in the rest of the verse it is independent of 𝔊, and approximates to (though it does not coincide with) 𝔖. The phenomena point in the same direction as in the other case examined, viz. to the existence of divergent recensions of the text of 𝔅, one of which has been followed by 𝔊 and another by 𝔖, 𝔅ᶜ partly agreeing with both. At least two alternatives are possible to Nestle's hypothesis, either of which is to be preferred to his solution; either (1) σάκκον is an inner (Greek) corruption of ἄρκος which has affected 𝔖, or (2) the readings שק and דוב existed in different recensions of 𝔅. In either case דוב is probably the true reading of the original Hebrew, which may be restored from 𝔅ᶜ thus:

רע אשה ישחיר מראה
ויקדיר פניה כדוב:

The wickedness of a woman maketh black her look,
And darkeneth her countenance like a bear's.

The meaning of the couplet appears to be that wickedness makes a woman sinister of aspect and fierce; the alternative reading 'like sackcloth' would introduce the idea of sadness and mourning, which does not harmonize so well with the context. As the previous couplet[2] suggests the comparison of the wicked woman to a lion or dragon, the further comparison of her aspect to a bear's is in keeping. What is referred to, apparently, is the hardening effect of a course of wickedness, which makes a woman brazen. The context, therefore, does not really favour the idea that a woman's wickedness makes her sad of countenance ('darkeneth her countenance like sackcloth'). Schechter[3] aptly cites in illustration a passage from the *Midrash* (*Gen. rabba*, § 87. 4) where Potiphar's wife is compared to a bear ('I will incite against thee the bear'). The bear is proverbially associated with fierceness in the O. T.; cp. Prov. xvii. 12, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, Hos. xiii. 8.

The hypothesis of partial retranslation of 𝔖 in 𝔅 has been urged by Prof. I. Lévi with much force. It may be stated in his own words:[4] 'Certain details indicate that both A (𝔅ᴬ) and B (𝔅ᴮ) are derived from a copy characterized by interpolations due to a retranslation from Syriac into Hebrew. In a number of passages the same verse is given in two distinct renderings, one of which usually corre-

[1] So Taylor in *JQR*, xv. 611.
[2] *I would rather dwell with a lion and a dragon than keep house with a wicked woman.*
[3] *JQR*, xv. 464.
[4] *JE*, xi. 393 (art. 'Sirach').

sponds to the Syriac, even when this text represents merely a faulty or biased translation of the original. These verses, moreover, in their conformity to the Syriac, become at times so meaningless that they can be explained only as incorrect translations from that language. Such suspicious passages are characterized by a comparatively modern style and language, by a commonplace phraseology, and by a break in the parallelism which is affected by Ecclesiasticus. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that these doublets are merely additions made to render the Syriac version more intelligible. The same statement holds true of certain textual emendations made by the glossarist. In this, however, there is nothing strange, since it is a well-known fact that the Jews of certain sections were familiar with Syriac, as is shown by the quotations made by Naḥmanides from the Wisdom of Solomon, from Judith, and from Bel and the Dragon, and also by the introduction of the Peshiṭta of Proverbs into the Targum of the Hagiographa.' The alleged cases in the doublets of 𝔅 in which retranslation from 𝔖 is assumed by Lévi have been subjected to close examination by A. Fuchs,[1] who has shown good grounds for rejecting the hypothesis. The alternative view that these doublets represent variant readings derived from different recensions of 𝔅 is strongly upheld by Fuchs, and may be said to hold the field. With regard to the final acrostic hymn (li. 13–30), of which the version in 𝔅^{B} is, according to Lévi, a retranslation from 𝔖,[2] Levi's hypothesis is again rejected by Fuchs, and also by Dr. C. Taylor, who, after a careful discussion,[3] concludes as follows: 'Further study of 𝔅 has now brought out much positive evidence for its independence of 𝔖, and seemingly none to the contrary.' A word must be said in conclusion regarding the canticle which follows li. 12, and does not appear in any of the Versions. Is this a genuine part of the original Hebrew text of Ben-Sira? In favour of its authenticity may be urged the presence of the sentence:

Give thanks unto Him that chooseth the sons of Zadok to be priests,

which apparently contains an allusion to the pre-Maccabean high-priests who were descended from Zadok. The absence, too, of any reference to specifically Pharisaic ideas, such as the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, may also be cited in favour of its genuineness. Its omission in the Greek translation of Ben-Sira's grandson may be explained by the reference to the 'sons of Zadok' —which might have proved a source of offence at a time when the high-priesthood was no longer held by descendants of that line. On the other hand, the sentiment expressed in the line:

Give thanks unto Him that maketh the horn of the House of David to bud

is directly opposed to that expressed in ch. xxxvi, and in the entire 'Hymn of the Fathers' (ch. xliv–xlviii). Perhaps the solution reached by Fuchs[4] is least open to objection. Fuchs concludes that the Psalm, which is not a genuine part of the original Book of Ben-Sira, is old and originally existed in an independent form; it was inserted in the Hebrew text of Ben-Sira before the year 153 B.C. by a reader who thought the context, which already contained psalm-pieces, a suitable one. It may have emanated from the circles of the *Ḥasidîm* ('the Assideans'), who had already taken a stand against Hellenism before the Maccabean revolt.

Enough has been said to show that the text of 𝔅, though it is disfigured by scribal errors and corruptions, and—in some places—by the presence of glosses, is yet essentially independent of 𝔊 and 𝔖; the hypothesis of retranslation breaks down, at best a plausible case for the influence of such a factor can only be made out for an insignificant number of verses, where, however, an alternative—and, on the whole, more probable—explanation is possible.

On the other hand, it is all-important to remember that 𝔅 constantly explains the variations in the Versions. This is one of the surest indications of its essential genuineness. One or two examples will illustrate many others. In vi. 30 *a* 𝔅 reads: עלי זהב עולה and 𝔊 has *κόσμος γὰρ χρύσεός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς*. Here the first word in 𝔅 can be corrected by 𝔊 to עדי ('ornament'), thus yielding the line:

An ornament of gold is her yoke.

At the same time the third word in 𝔅 explains 𝔊's *ἐπ' αὐτῆς*, which is obviously due to עולה being misread עָלֶיהָ.

The following is an example of a different kind. In xiii. 1 *b* 𝔅 has:

וחובר אל לץ ילמד דרכו

And he that associateth with a scorner will learn his way. 𝔊 has *καὶ ὁ κοινωνῶν ὑπερηφάνῳ ὁμοιωθήσεται αὐτῷ.* 𝔖 *He that associateth with a godless man is clothed with his way.*

Here 𝔖 reads ילבש דרכו for 𝔅's ילמד דרכו; 𝔊 has apparently corrected the expression (cf. 𝔄);

[1] *Textkritische Untersuchungen zum hebräischen Ekklesiastikus* (Freiburg i. B., 1907).

[2] 'The hymn, which follows the Syriac version closely throughout, is evidently a retranslation from the latter' (*JE*, xi. 393). For Lévi's detailed arguments see his *L'Ecclésiastique*, ii, pp. xxi–xxvii.

[3] *Journal of Philology*, xxx, pp. 95–132.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 102–110.

ילמד and ילבש may have arisen by confusion; or ילמד may be a correction of an original ילבש. In any case 𝔅 independently throws light on the text; even its corruptions are illuminating. Another indication of originality in 𝔅 is the frequent word-plays. A good example of such is viii. 18: לפני זר עק תעש רז. Here זר and רז provide an excellent instance, and will serve to illustrate numerous others.

If any further confirmation be needed as to the value and genuineness of the Hebrew fragments as a whole it may be furnished from the words of Prof. Lévi, who, as has been pointed out above, feels constrained to adopt the hypothesis of retranslation in the case of a restricted number of verses (mostly doublets). Yet, despite these assumed 'corrections and interpolations', he declares that 'the originality of the text in these fragments of Ben-Sira cannot be denied. Besides the fact that many scholars deny the existence of any interpolations, there are portions in which it is easy to recognize the author's hand, for he has a characteristic technique, style, vocabulary, and syntax which are evident in all the Versions. It may safely be said that in the main the work of Ben-Sira has been preserved just as it left his hands, while the chief variant marginal readings recorded in the fragments and confirmed by the translations may be regarded as evidences of the existence of two separate editions written by Ben-Sira himself. It is self-evident, moreover, that Ecclesiasticus has undergone some alterations at the hands of scribes, and it would have been strange indeed if this book alone should have wholly escaped the common lot of such writings. No more conclusive proof could be found, were any necessary, of the fidelity of the Hebrew version than its frequent agreement, in citations from the Bible, with the text on which the Septuagint is based rather than with the Massorah, as in the case of 1 Sam. xii. 3 as compared with Sirach xlvi. 19, or Isa. xxxviii. 17 with Sirach l. 2.'[1]

(c) *The secondary Hebrew recension.*

The indications that point to the existence of a secondary Greek version of Sirach are discussed and set forth in the next section (§ 4). It is there shown that this secondary and amplified recension—undertaken clearly in order to make the teaching of the book more acceptable to later orthodox (Pharisaic) circles—is not fully represented in any group of Greek MSS.; it has affected most extensively the 248 group, and is largely in evidence in the Old Latin and also in the Syriac versions.[2] Originally, however, it seems probable that it existed in a complete and independent form, of which the readings mentioned above are traces. In other words, the secondary Greek recension has affected in varying degrees certain groups of the Greek MSS. of the book, and also the Versions. The question arises: was this secondary Greek version due to a purely Greek revision of the book, or does it depend upon a revised Hebrew text—in other words, upon a secondary Hebrew recension? The phenomena of the text point unmistakably to the latter alternative; *the secondary Greek text depends essentially upon, and is a translation of, a younger Hebrew recension of the book.*

Traces of this younger recension remain in the MSS. of 𝔅, though there are only traces; it has in fact affected these MSS. only partially, and its influence can also be seen in the Rabbinic citations. The following from among the examples cited by Smend[3] will illustrate what has just been said. In xvi. 3 *c* the ordinary Greek text (B, &c.), which represents the original Ben-Sira, has:

κρείσσων γὰρ εἷς ἢ χίλιοι.

For this 𝔅^A has an expanded text, viz.:

כי טוב אחד עשה רצון מאלף (so 𝔖 exactly).

Chrysostom, in citing the verse, has the doublet:

καὶ κρείσσων εἷς ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα κυρίου ἢ μύριοι παράνομοι.

א^c.a has the doublet:

κρείσσων γὰρ εἷς δίκαιος ποιῶν θέλημα κυρίου ἢ μύριοι παράνομοι.

𝔊 70 248 have for 3 *c*:

κρείσσων γὰρ εἷς δίκαιος ἢ χίλιοι (70 + *ἁμαρτωλοί*).

𝔏 *Melior est enim unus timens deum quam mille filii impii.*

What Ben-Sira wrote was:

כי טוב אחד מאלף

The addition עשה רצון belongs to the secondary Hebrew recension which underlies the revised Greek

[1] *JE*, xi. 394.

[2] The Syriac version, though made directly from the Hebrew, has apparently been influenced often by Greek MSS., which contained secondary readings; see § 5 below and cp. Smend, § 12 (p. cxxxix f.).

[3] *Op. cit.*, xcii f.

text. Another example shows the same verse as it appeared in the original Hebrew text and in the secondary recension. Ch. v. 11 is preserved in two forms in 𝔅^A and 𝔅^C. In 𝔅^A it runs:

היה ממהר להאזין
ובארך רוח השב פתגם:

Be swift to give ear,
And with patience of spirit return answer.

In 𝔅^C it runs:

היה נכון בשמועה טובה
ובארך ענה תענה נכונה:

𝔖 = 𝔅^A.
𝔊 has:

γίνου ταχὺς ἐν ἀκροάσει σου (248 + *ἀγαθῇ*)]
καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ φθέγγου ἀπόκρισιν (248 &c. + *ὀρθήν*).

Here clearly the Greek MSS. 248 &c. have corrected the older text of 𝔊 according to the later Hebrew recension represented in 𝔅^C; the ordinary text of 𝔊 and 𝔖 = 𝔅^A (except that 𝔊 appears to have read בשמועה for להאזין, the latter being a variant of the former perhaps).

In some cases the doublets in 𝔅, to which reference has been made in the former part of this section, are to be explained in this way, one couplet reproducing the older Hebrew text, another the younger.[1] It might be argued that these additions in the text of 𝔊 are merely glosses and independent amplifications made in the Greek MSS. which have affected the Hebrew fragments. But Smend, after a very close and exhaustive investigation, has made it probable (*a*) that the additions as a whole—though a certain small amount of inner Greek amplification, perhaps under Christian influence, must be allowed for—possess a number of striking and peculiar features which point to a common origin and their being part of a comprehensive and deliberate revision; in other words, they belong to a special recension: and (*b*) that this recension depends upon a Hebrew basis: many of the expressions and phrases used are fundamentally Hebrew, and are clearly translations of Hebrew originals.[2] The difficulties of the hypothesis which would account for the presence of such elements in the Hebrew MSS. as due to retranslation have already been discussed.

(d) *The reconstruction of the original Hebrew text.*

It has already been shown that the Hebrew fragments contain the genuine original text, though with many corruptions and with a certain amount of text-mixture due to the existence of different recensions. The first task of criticism, therefore, is to free the text, as it has been handed down in the MSS., from corruptions, glosses, and scribal errors. For this purpose the Hebrew text itself offers, in the first place, the most valuable aid. Ben-Sira's language constantly echoes that of the Old Testament, and it is remarkable how clearly and frequently these reminiscences display themselves in the text of 𝔅.[3] Then, again, the form of the text in couplets of short lines of a certain approximately equal length and defined rhythm is of material assistance. It is often possible to reduce the lines to the normal length and rhythm by the removal of a superfluous word or words. The use of the ancient Versions—especially of 𝔊 and 𝔖—is often of great value for reconstructing the original Hebrew, though it must not be forgotten that these Versions are themselves beset with many drawbacks. Both have suffered much from textual deterioration; both are often free and not literal renderings; even the original form of 𝔊, as it was made by the author's grandson, does not, it would seem, depend upon the Hebrew text of Ben-Sira's autograph, but upon a later transcript. Yet, when all possible reservations have been made, the ancient Versions constantly afford aid of inestimable value for the work of reconstruction. Finally, the data derived from 𝔅 is often of the greatest possible value for criticizing those parts of the book for which no portions of the Hebrew text have been recovered. These points receive ample illustration in the text and textual notes which are printed in the following commentary. We are unable to subscribe to the verdict of Prof. Toy when he says:[4] 'In general the text of Ben-Sira remains nearly as it was before the discovery of the fragments.' On the contrary, a careful study of 𝔅, and the use of it for the purpose of constructing

[1] Cp. xxxiv. 20 *a b*, xxxv. 22 in 𝔅; xi. 15, 16, which appears in 𝔅^A, apparently belongs also to the secondary recension, and so xvi. 15, 16.

[2] Such expressions as *ἐντολαὶ αἰώνιοι* (i. 5), *γνῶσις ἐντολῶν* (xix. 19), *μακρότης ἡμερῶν* are of this kind: *δένδρον ἀθανασίας* (xix. 19) = עץ חיים: in some cases the renderings amount to mistranslations, e.g. *φωτισμὸς ὑγιείας* (xvii. 26) = אור החיים: see further Smend, p. cxv f.

[3] See e.g. the elaborate list of parallel passages given in Taylor-Schechter, *WBS*, pp. 13–32.

[4] *EB*, iv, col. 4651.

a critical text of the book, has confirmed to us the verdict of the distinguished scholars who first made it available for the scientific world. How far-reaching and transforming its effect on the old currently-received Greek Sirach really has been will be apparent to any careful reader who will take the trouble to compare the critical version of the text, as it appears in the following commentary, with that printed in the Authorized and Revised English versions.[1]

§ 4. The Greek Version and the Secondary Greek Text.

Among the versions of Sirach this is the most important as being the earliest. As the Prologue tells us, the Greek translation was made from the original Hebrew by the author's grandson; there was, therefore, not a long period of time between the original writing and its Greek translation. The Greek form of the book was that in which it was first officially received by the Church. Another fact which enhances the importance of this version is that in a number of instances the text represents a purer form of the original Hebrew than that contained in the manuscripts of the Hebrew text recently discovered. This fact makes the use of the Greek version extremely valuable, and indeed indispensable, for the reconstruction of the Hebrew text.

The text of this version, as the critical notes in the commentary will amply show, has come down to us in a bad condition; not infrequently it defies emendation. But in connexion with this two points must be taken into account when using the Greek text for the purpose of reconstructing the Hebrew. In the first place, there is in many cases of an apparently bad condition of the text the possibility that it was always so; that is to say, that it may be due to the initial inability of Ben-Sira's grandson to give a proper translation, so that what appears now as a bad text was so from the beginning. 'Ye are entreated, therefore,' says the translator in his Prologue, 'to make your perusal with favour and attention, and to be indulgent if in any parts of what we have laboured to interpret we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue.' And, secondly, Ben-Sira's grandson clearly does not consider it the duty of a translator to give anything in the shape of a literal translation of his original; he seeks, rightly, to present as far as possible a well-constructed Greek interpretation rather than a slavish reproduction of what he translates; and when, as in the present case, it is poetry which is in question, the translator's freedom is of course increased. These two points must, therefore, not be lost sight of. But when all allowance is made for this, the fact still remains that the Greek text is in a far from satisfactory state; it has suffered greatly from corruptions made in transmission, it has often been inflated by the addition of glosses, inserted sometimes for explanatory, at other times for doctrinal purposes, and further, marginal notes, not originally intended to be additions, have been later on incorporated into the text. Before proceeding, mention may here be made of the great displacement in the Greek text; we quote from Dr. Swete:[2] 'A remarkable divergence in the arrangement of the Septuagint and Old Latin versions of Ecclesiasticus xxx–xxxvi calls for notice. In these chapters the Greek order fails to yield a natural sequence, whereas the Latin arrangement, which is also that of the Syriac and Armenian versions, makes excellent sense. Two sections, xxx. 25–xxxiii. 13*a* (*ὡς καλαμώμενος . . . φυλὰς Ἰακώβ*) and xxxiii. 13*b*–xxxvi. 16*a* (*λαμπρὰ καρδία . . . ἔσχατος ἠγρύπνησα*), have exchanged places in the Latin, and the change is justified by the result. On examination it appears that these sections are nearly equal, containing in B 154 and 159 *στίχοι* respectively, whilst ℵ exhibits 160 in each.' There can be little doubt that in the *exemplar* from which, so far as is certainly known, all our Greek MSS. of this book 'are ultimately derived the pairs of leaves on which these sections were severally written had been transposed, whereas the Latin translator, working from a MS. in which the transposition had not taken place, has preserved the true order.'[3]

When the various MSS. of the Greek version are examined it is seen that they exhibit great divergences,[4] and these divergences are further increased when the other versions and the patristic quotations are taken into consideration. For English readers the most instructive way of being brought face to face with these variations found in the Greek MSS. is to compare the Revised and Authorized versions together, for in the margin of the Revised version the following note occurs again and again: 'Verse . . . is omitted by the best authorities'; by these 'best authorities' are meant the great Greek uncials of the fourth century A.D. (B ℵ A). In the Authorized version, on the other hand, all the verses or parts of verses omitted by the Revised version find a place, the

[1] It should be noted that the displacement in chapter xxxi. 25 f., which has affected all extant Greek MSS., does not appear in 𝔓, which has the true order. See further on this point next section.

[2] *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. p. vi.

[3] The solution is due to O. F. Fritzsche, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, v, pp. 169, 170.

[4] For examples recourse must be had to the *apparatus criticus* in the commentary.

reason for this being that the Greek text of which the Authorized version is a translation is that represented by a number of cursives belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a text which is also to a large extent represented in the Old Latin version, and in the quotations from Sirach in the writings of some of the Church Fathers. These great divergences, then, in the Greek MSS., all of which, as we have just seen, go back to one copy in which the great displacement was already present, occasion a difficult problem. Two points, however, emerge clearly; in the face of the striking and numerous divergences and additions it is evident that all the MSS. cannot ultimately all go back to one original form of text; and, again, since all the extant Greek MSS. are descended from one copy in which the displacement was already found, the divergences and additions must have been in existence at a very early period. The matter can be put in another way; Cod. B, for example, represents one type of Greek text, Codd. 248, 253 represent another type, that, namely, which contains the additions: both have the great displacement, and therefore both, presumably, must ultimately go back to one and the same copy, although in the actual dates of these two manuscripts there is a difference of, roughly speaking, a thousand years. But how can it be possible that these two manuscripts should go back to one original copy when one of them has so many variations and additions as compared with the other? Here let us note another factor which is of real assistance in helping to arrive at a solution of the problem—the Old Latin version, which is a translation of the Greek, has the additions, but has *not* got the displacement. Now the Old Latin version represents a condition of affairs which is older than either the great uncial codices or the cursives as we now have them; this, therefore, proves that the type of text represented by Codd. 248, 253 was extant in some MSS. before the existence of the archetypal MS. which contained the displacement.

It seems clear that there existed at a very early period, probably as early as the last century B.C., two types of the Greek text, a *primary* text, which lies at the back of *all* the Greek MSS., and which represents the original translation of Ben-Sira's grandson, and a *secondary* text. The former of these, the *primary* text, is represented by the great uncials B ℵ A and the group of cursives 68, 155, 157, 296, 307, 308, as well as in the Aldine and Sixtine editions. The *secondary* text is represented in varying degrees by the group of cursives 55, 70, 106, 248, 253, 254, and in the MS. used by the seventh-century corrector of Cod. Siniaticus, ℵ$^{c.a.}$; of these the foremost representative is 248; this type of text is also reflected in the Old Latin and the Syriac versions, as well as in the Syro-Hexaplar (in this latter many of the passages belonging to the secondary text are marked with the asterisk), and in the Complutensian text; it also has the support of Clement of Alexandria and Chrysostom in their quotations from our book. This secondary Greek text was, like the primary one, translated from the Hebrew.[1] In the Talmud, and in some other Jewish writings, there are Rabbinical Hebrew quotations from Sirach which vary from the text of the great uncials (the primary text), but which are represented in the secondary Greek text. Again, in some cases the secondary Hebrew text, remnants of which are preserved in the recently-found Hebrew MSS., is represented in the '248 group', but not in the uncials and their followers. And there is this further fact that many of the additions found in the '248 group' can, on account of their form, only be explained on the supposition of their having been translated direct from a Hebrew original. These points go to show that the additions which belong to the secondary Greek text are not interpolations, but are based in the main upon a secondary Hebrew original.

To come back again, then, to the question with which we started; how are the two (apparently contradictory) following facts to be explained? There are great divergences in our Greek MSS., and yet all go back to one archetype, because all have the same great displacement. The most probable hypothesis would seem to be that the archetype responsible for the displacement was a Greek MS. which contained the primary text represented by the uncials. From this MS. the uncials were directly derived, but at the same time other Greek MSS. were in existence which contained the secondary text and were without the displacement.[2] As copies were multiplied of the former group the distorted order was adhered to, while in some cases the variant text of the MSS. representing the secondary recension was adopted and embodied; hence two varieties of text, both of which contain the displacement, come into existence. The purest extant form of the text of the secondary recension is represented apparently by the Old Latin version; the text of Cod. 248 only partially embodies the variants and additions of the Greek MSS. behind the Old Latin.

But although there are some half-dozen Greek MSS., in addition to the Syriac and Old Latin versions and the Syro-Hexaplar, in which the secondary Greek text is represented, it is certain that no one of these actually contains that text as such; all that can be said is that these authorities

[1] On the primary and secondary *Hebrew* texts see the preceding section, § 3 (esp. (*c*)).
[2] It should be noted that 𝔐 agrees with 𝔏, &c., in having the true order; it has not the displacement.

have to a greater or less extent been influenced by it. Thus, apart from a great many minor additions, the '248 group' of MSS. (including ℵ[c.a] and the Syro-Hexaplar), taken altogether, have about a hundred and fifty *stichoi* which are not found in the MSS. representing the primary Greek text;[1] of these additions thirty-two are found in the Syriac version, which has, besides these, thirty-seven more of its own; the Old Latin version has a much larger number of its own, together with thirty-three of those found in the '248 group'.[2] The other group of cursive MSS., mentioned above, which with the uncials represent the primary Greek text, were originally based on the secondary text, for they still contain traces of this latter, and must therefore be regarded as the descendants of manuscripts representing the secondary text which were corrected on the basis of the uncials.

Although the fragments of the secondary Greek text now extant are considerable, they are but fragments, and, as the sequel will show, it is reasonable to assume that at one time the divergences between the two types of text must have been considerably greater. The question, therefore, naturally arises why it was that a secondary type of text (in the first instance, as we have seen, existing in Hebrew) should ever have come into existence? The additions found in the '248 group' and other authorities are so considerable that they cannot be accounted for by the assumption that they are merely arbitrary expansions of the text or explanatory glosses; they must have some more specific purpose. We believe that Mr. Hart is right in saying that these additions are 'Fragments of the Wisdom of a Scribe of the Pharisees, and contain tentative Greek renderings of many of the technical terms and watchwords of the sect. As Jesus ben Sira dealt with the earlier Scriptures, so some unknown disciple dealt with his master's composition. He received the deposit and added to it;' the additions are 'traditional accretions, which—so far as external evidence testifies—descended from an immemorial antiquity', though 'they do not necessarily proceed from the hand of one individual'.[3] In fact, the secondary Greek text represents a Pharisaic recension of the original work of Ben-Sira. But before we deal more fully with the subject of this Pharisaic recension, it is important as well as instructive to indicate the standpoint represented by Ben-Sira himself in his work; this will help to explain and justify the existence of the later recension.

Dr. Taylor, in his edition of *Pirqe Aboth* (1897), p. 115, says in reference to the books of the Sadducees: 'We have no authentic remains of Sadducee literature, but it has been suggested with a certain plausibility that the book Ecclesiasticus approximates to the standpoint of the primitive Çaduqin as regards its theology, its sacerdotalism, and its want of sympathy with the *modern* Soferim.' The name of Ezra is significantly omitted from its catalogue of worthies. 'It remains singular', remarks Kuenen, 'that the man whom a later generation compared, nay, made almost equal, to Moses, is passed over in silence. . . . Is it not really most natural that a Jesus ben Sirach did not feel sympathy enough for the first of the Scribes to give him a place of honour in the series of Israel's great men?' The modern *Scribe* was to Ben-Sirach an unworthy descendant of the primitive *Wise*, in accordance with Eli'ezer ha-Gadol's lament over the degeneracy of a later age:

מיום שחרב בית המקדש שרו חכימיא למהוי כספריא כו׳:

'Ex quo Templum devastatum est,[4] coepere *Sapientes* similes esse *Scribis*; Scribae aedituis; Aeditui, vulgo hominum; Vulgus vero hominum in peius indies ruit, nec quis rogans, aut quaerens, superest. Cui ergo innitendum? Patri nostro coelesti?' Dr. Taylor points out, further, the important fact that in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 100 *b*) the *Books of the Sadducees* and the *Book of Ben-Sira* are placed side by side on the 'Index expurgatorius':

תנא בספרי צדוקים רב יוסף אמר בספר בן סירא נמי אסיר למיקרי:

What Dr. Taylor says receives confirmation from the Hebrew text of the Canticle following l. 12, which was discovered subsequently to the publication of his book: 'Give thanks unto Him that chooseth the sons of Zadok to be priests; for His mercy endureth for ever.'[5] It is also in accordance with the Sadducean theology contained in the book. There is no mention of the existence of angels, and only the scantiest reference to demons (and even this is not certain), the central idea being that of a personified Wisdom.[6] Then, again, special prominence is given to the Law; here we may be permitted to quote again from Dr. Taylor's book, especially as in connexion with what he says a further Sadducean tenet, the denial of a resurrection, is included (in Sirach belief in a hereafter is restricted to the Sheol-conception): 'The Sadducees said, μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν (Matt. xxii. 23), and our Lord answers by an indirect argument from the Pentateuch, instead of bringing

[1] Cod. 248 alone has a hundred and twenty-three.
[2] See Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, pp. xciv.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 274.
[4] Mishnah, *Sotah* ix. 5 (Surenhusius, vol. iii, p. 308).
[5] These words do not occur in either the Greek or the Syriac versions.
[6] See further § 9, iii.

proofs of a more obvious and direct kind from other parts of Holy Scripture. Hence it has been inferred that they accepted the Pentateuch only, and rejected the Nebiim and Kethubim. On the other side, it is asserted that this inference is wholly inaccurate; that they accepted the three divisions of the Old Testament, and rejected only the extra-scriptural 'Tradition' and scribe-law. The truth, perhaps, lies *in medio*. The Jews in general esteemed, and still esteem, the Pentateuch more highly than the Prophets and the Hagiographa:

ולכך אני אומ׳ שנקראו נביאים וכתובים דברי קבלה שהיו מקובלין [בהן] [1] ובאין מימות משה ומכל מקום אינן שוין לחמשה ספרים שכולן מצות וחוקים כו׳:

'And therefore I say that the *Prophets* and *Hagiographa* are called words of *Qabbalah*, because they were received by διαδοχή, and they came from the days of Moses; *and by no means are they equal to the Five Books*, which are all precepts and ordinances, &c.' If the Sadducees were of the number of those who insisted most strongly upon the superior authority of the Pentateuch, it might in certain cases be nearer to the truth to say that they rejected the Prophets and Hagiographa than to say that they accepted them. If a prophet were quoted in opposition to Moses they would have questioned the authority of the prophet.'[2] The antagonism between the Sadducees and the Pharisees on this point is clearly indicated by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 6), where he says: 'The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession [cp. Dr. Taylor's quotation above] from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and it is for this reason that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem as obligatory (only) those observances that are in the written word, but are not to observe those things that are derived from the traditions of our forefathers.' The prominence given to the Law in Sirach may, therefore, well indicate the Sadducean attitude. Again, the very meagre reference to the Messianic hope, which is also characteristic of our book, likewise points to its emanating from a Sadducean *milieu*, for the Sadducees did not share the Messianic hopes of the Pharisees; the latter, following the teaching of the Prophets, looked to God to guide the destinies of the nation, while the Sadducees disbelieved in such divine guidance; they 'take away fate, affirming that there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they hold that all our actions are in our own power' (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 5. 9; cp. *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 14). Further, Ben-Sira shows himself to be a Sadducee by his comparatively favourable attitude towards the heathen world; it is true that one of the main objects of his book is to show the superiority of Jewish wisdom over that of the Greeks, but he does not show that contempt for non-Jews which was so characteristic of the Pharisees.

What has been said is sufficient to show that our book, in its original form, represented the Sadducean standpoint; and this fact offers a *prima facie* presumption that with the growth of Pharisaic influence a book which enjoyed so much popularity as Sirach should have been later on moulded, as far as possible, into a form more in accordance with the ideas of the dominant party, and that therefore the additions which constitute the main feature of the secondary Greek text should reflect specifically Pharisaic teaching. As an active movement Pharisaism emerges from the Maccabean conflict with surrounding heathenism and only becomes quiescent after the annihilation of the Jewish national life in the reign of Hadrian (from about 150 B.C.–A.D. 130). The work which the teachers of the Law had begun—viz. the application of the Torah to the practical affairs of everyday life—was continued and made effective by the Pharisees. Elbogen, in his *Religious Views of the Pharisees*, p. 2, says: 'The Pharisees are usually described as the party of narrow legalistic tendencies, and it is forgotten how strenuously they laboured, against the Hellenizing movement, for the maintenance of *Monotheism*; it is forgotten that they built up *religious individualism* and purely *spiritual worship*; that it was through them more especially that *belief in a future life* was deepened; and that they carried on a powerful mission propaganda. They are represented as merely the guardians of the Pentateuch, and the fact is overlooked that they no less esteemed the Prophets and the Hagiographa, and were not less careful to make it their duty, in the weekly expositions of the Scriptures, to preach to the people the truths and hopes of religion out of these books.' Fully in accordance with these religious views of the Pharisees are the three great watchwords in reference to practical religion to be found in Pharisaic literature, viz. תשובה ותפלה וצדקה, i.e. repentance, prayer, and almsgiving (lit. 'righteousness'); these three are mentioned together as the three things which 'avert the evil doom'.[3] In illustration of these Pharisaic religious views we

[1] [Read ואין for בהן ו. Then we get the right sense: 'though they came not' instead of 'and they came.'—Gen. Editor.]

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

[3] With what is said here regarding the Pharisees cp. Box's 'Survey of Recent Literature on the Pharisees and Sadducees', in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, vol. iv, No. 3, pp. 133 ff.

will take a few examples from the additions found in the secondary Greek text in order to show the high probability of their having been put in by a Pharisaic scribe or scribes for the purpose of bringing the book more into harmony with the views of what had become the dominant religious party in Palestine.

We have seen that in contra-distinction to Sadducean teaching the Pharisees believed strongly in the divine governance of the world and in a close relationship between God's children and their heavenly Father; in illustration of this we may turn first to xvi. 10, where the Hebrew text has:

Thus (did it happen) to the six hundred thousand footmen,
Who were destroyed in the arrogancy of their heart.

To this 55 70 248 add:

Chastising, showing mercy, smiting, beating,
The Lord guarded them in mercy and in discipline.

This addition is quite inappropriate where it stands, and has evidently got out of place, but it must evidently have been inserted for the purpose of emphasizing God's activity among His people. A similar emphasis is found in the addition to xvii. 17, where 70 248 insert:

Whom (i.e. *Israel*) *He brought up as His firstborn with severity,*
Yet loving them, imparting to them the light of love, and He forsook them not.

Further, in order to assert more strongly the divine guidance in the world, which, as we have seen from the words of Josephus above, the Sadducees denied, the Pharisaic scribe inserts in the middle of xvi. 19 (as preserved in 248), *The whole world was made, and existeth, by His will*; the fine passage in which Ben-Sira describes the transcendent might of Jahveh scarcely seems to require this insertion, but, as a matter of fact, it does afford a better answer to the words of the supposed sceptic which Ben-Sira uses; the point cannot be grasped unless the passage is quoted; in xvi. 17 it is said:

Say not: 'I am hidden from God,
And in the height who will remember me?
I shall not be noticed among so illustrious a people;
And what is my soul among the mass of the spirits of all the children of men?'

These are the words which a sceptic is supposed to utter, and Ben-Sira answers the objector thus, xvi. 18, 19:

Behold the heavens and the heavens of the heavens,
And the deep, and the earth;
When He treadeth upon them they stand firm,
And when He visiteth them they tremble;
Yea, the bottoms of the mountains, and the foundations of the world,
When He looketh upon them they tremble greatly.

Ben-Sira's reply is a fine one; it is probably true to say that he was a better Scribe than Sadducee in spite of the main tendency of his book (see the exegetical notes in the commentary for the Biblical references echoed in the lines above), but his answer was not sufficiently to the point for the practical Pharisee, whose added words offer in reality a more direct and pointed argument against the erroneous view expressed. Again, for practical purposes, as Hart well points out, 'it was necessary to guard against the tendency towards the Sadducean position, and to assert against them the fact that God governed the world'; and so the Pharisaic glossator adds after xviii. 29 (248):

Better is trust (lit. '*boldness*') *in a single Master* (i.e. *God*),
Than with a dead heart to cling to dead things (i.e. *idols*).[1]

With a similar object the following addition is made after xviii. 2 (70 248): Ben-Sira says, *The Lord alone shall be justified*; then comes the addition:

And there is none other beside Him,
Who guideth the world in the hollow of His hand,
And all things are obedient unto His will;
For He is king of all things, and they are in His power;
He separateth among them the holy things from the common.

[1] κρείσσων παρρησία ἐν δεσπότῃ μόνῳ
ἢ νεκρὰ καρδία νεκρῶν ἀντέχεσθαι (xviii. 29 Cod. 248).

And with the same purpose these striking words are added after xx. 31 (248):

Better is persistent endurance (ὑπομονή) *in seeking the Lord*
Than a driver (τροχηλάτης, 'charioteer') *of his own life without a master.*

Hart (*op. cit.*, p. 280) has some interesting remarks on these passages. 'The description of the typical Sadducee', he says, '*as clinging with dead heart to dead things* goes little beyond the account of Josephus. It is true he never identifies the sect formally with the Epicureans, but he describes them both in similar terms, and indicates his conviction that their denial of Providence leads to virtual atheism. A God who has no oversight of the universe is equivalent to a dead idol. Epicureans and Sadducees might acknowledge the distant existence of the gods of their respective nations,[1] but this formal acknowledgement could not save them from the lash of the orthodox. The Rabbis employ the word Epicurus to denote the fool who said in his heart, There is no God. And such were dead even in their lifetime, as the righteous live on even in death.[2] The picture of the charioteer, who drives his life, which is his chariot, at random, directed by no master, corresponds closely enough with one of the metaphors employed by Josephus: "The Epicureans", he says, "expel Providence from life, and do not admit that God oversees events, nor yet that the universe is guided by the blessed and incorruptible Essence for the permanence of the whole; they say that the world is borne along *lacking a charioteer* and uncared for."'[3]

The divine unity, together with the belief in God as the unique Saviour, is brought out by the addition in 70 248 (with slight variations) to xxiv. 23:

Faint not, but be strong in the Lord,
And cleave unto Him that He may strengthen you.
Cleave unto Him; the Lord, the Almighty, is the one and only God;
And beside Him there is no Saviour.

This passage offers one of the most striking instances of the Pharisaic doctrine of God, both as regards the Divine personality as well as the relationship between Him and His true worshippers. This double aspect of Pharisaic doctrine, which has not always been adequately recognized, has been insisted upon with some emphasis by a recent writer. 'It is well', he says, 'to lay stress upon the Pharisaic belief in the nearness of God and the directness of access to Him; also to make clear the fact that emphatic resistance was offered by the Pharisees to any idea of a plurality of Divine persons. . . . Of course it was never denied that God was the Almighty, the Lord of all worlds, supreme over everything. Indeed, that was affirmed over and over again, and is one of the axioms of Pharisaic belief. But, whatever other Jews may have done under the influence of Hellenism, the Pharisees never doubted for a moment that God Himself, the one supreme God, was actually near to every one of His people; "near in every kind of nearness," as it was said (*Jer. Berak.* 13 *a*).'[4]

The cleaving unto the Lord so strongly emphasized in the last-quoted addition leads us on to illustrate the Pharisaic characteristic of pietism; personal religion, that religious individualism which did so much to foster spiritual worship, is brought out in a number of the additions found in the secondary Greek text. Not that Ben-Sira was himself wanting in deep piety, but as compared with the Pharisaic ideal it is not surprising to find that the book was considered in some respects wanting, and that it seemed to the more ardent religious temperament of the Pharisees as not sufficiently expressive of the close relationship between God and His pious ones. For example, Ben-Sira says in i. 12:

The fear of the Lord delighteth the heart,
And giveth gladness, and joy, and length of days;

but the Pharisee deepens the sentiment by adding (70 253):

The fear of the Lord is a gift from the Lord,
For it setteth [*men*] *upon paths of love.*

In the same way, a few verses further on (16 f.), Ben-Sira's words:

To fear the Lord is the fullness of wisdom,
And she satiateth men with her fruits;

[1] Cp. xvii. 17.

[2] *Jer. Berakh.* ii. 3 (4 D): 'For the living know that they shall die; these are the righteous, who even in their death are called living. But the dead know not anything; these are the wicked, who though living are called dead, for it is said, For I have no pleasure in the death of המת.'

[3] *Antiq.* x. 11. 7. The word which Josephus uses for 'charioteer' is, however, not the same one which occurs in our book.

[4] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 259 f., and see also the pages that follow.

are supplemented by the similar thought (70 248):

And both are gifts of God unto peace.

Few better examples could be given illustrative of the trust which a pious Pharisee had in the mercy of God than the words added to xvii. 20. Ben-Sira says:

Their iniquities are not hid from Him,
And all their sins are [inscribed] before the Lord.

To this the Pharisaic glossator adds (70 248):

But the Lord, being merciful, knowing also (that they are made in) His own image,
Spared them, and forsook them not, nor cast them off.

The closeness of God to those who love Him—a characteristic Pharisaic doctrine, as we have seen—receives illustration from the following addition in 70 248 to xvii. 26*a*:

For He Himself will lead (thee) out of darkness unto the light of salvation.

The religious individualism of the Pharisee is brought out again in the addition of these words to xxiii. 5 in 248:

And Him that desireth to serve Thee
Do Thou ever hold up.

This is added in spite of the fact that the passage xxiii. 1–6 is one of the most striking ones expressive of personal religion in the whole book. One more example of this characteristic *trait* of the best Pharisaic spirit may be given; Ben-Sira says in xxv. 11:

The fear of the Lord surpasseth all things,
He that holdeth it, to whom shall he be likened?

The addition in 70, 248 breathes a deeper personal religion:

The beginning of the fear of the Lord is to love Him;
And the beginning of faith is to cleave unto Him.

Among the characteristic watchwords of the Pharisees few, if any, occupied a more prominent position than 'repentance' (תשובה); 'in their efforts to confirm the faith of their own people and to effect the conversion of those without, the Pharisees, like the Prophets and the Rabbis, were concerned to insist upon the paramount importanee of repentance. For the latter it was the condition of reception, and for the former it was the means of restoration. It was the function of the Pharisee to *convict* all men everywhere of their need of repentance.'[1] A good illustration of this occurs in the Pharisaic addition to xx. 2; Ben-Sira (according to the Syriac version, which has preserved the best text here,—the Hebrew is wanting) says:

He that reproveth a sinner getteth no thanks;
But let him that maketh confession be spared humiliation.

To this is added in 70 248 (the Old Latin version also has the words, but in a wrong place):

How good it is when he who is reproved manifesteth repentance,
For thus wilt thou escape wilful sin.[2]

The phrase φανερῶσαι μετάνοιαν certainly connotes more fullness of meaning than the one Ben-Sira uses in this connexion, δεῖξον ἐπιστροφήν (xviii. 21); the former, as Hart well puts it, 'includes all forms of outward manifestation of the inner change of mind.' Again, in xvii. 22, Ben-Sira says:

The righteousness of men is to Him as a signet,
And the mercy of man He preserveth as the apple of an eye;

but according to the Pharisaic glossator the real preciousness of man in God's sight lies in the fact that repentance, divinely accorded, is manifested; therefore he adds:

Granting repentance to His sons and daughters (70 248).

[1] Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 305. For instructive quotations from Rabbinical literature on the Pharisaic doctrine of repentance, see Herford, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–15.

[2] An almost identical addition occurs in 70 248 after xx. 8.

There are at least two of the additions in the secondary Greek text which contain a reference to the future life, a doctrine the development of which the Pharisees did much to foster. In xvi. 22, where Ben-Sira puts the following words into the mouth of a supposed sceptic:

My righteous dealing, who declareth it?
And what hope (is there), for the decree is distant?

The Pharisaic glossator adds what is evidently intended to be a reference to future judgement in saying:

And the trying of all things is not until the end (70 106 248).[1]

But more pointed is the longer addition found in 70 248 after xix. 17:

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of acceptance (by Him),
And wisdom will gain love from Him.
The knowledge of the Lord is life-giving instruction;
And they who do the things that are pleasing unto Him shall pluck the fruit of the tree of immortality.

There are also, as Hart points out (*op. cit.*, p. 312), one or two references among the additions to the Future Life under the term 'Holy Age', but as the references occur only in the Old Latin version 'they are perhaps to be relegated to a lower place in the succession of scribes who followed Ben-Sira . . . but their contexts contain nothing that is demonstrably Christian'. Thus in xviii. 27 the Old Latin has this addition:

Go to the lot of the Holy Age
With the living and them that offer thanksgiving to God.

And in xxiv. 32:

I will leave it to them that seek wisdom,
And I will not leave their progeny until the Holy Age.

'Speaking generally, there does not appear to be any definite demarcation of the future from the present in these fragments. The mercy which rewards the faithful here differs in degree perhaps, but not in kind, from that which awaits them hereafter.'

We have dealt only with some examples of the additions found in Greek MSS. which represent to a greater or lesser degree the secondary Greek text; the character of this text could be still further illustrated by taking the Old Latin version into consideration, for this version has retained a number of the additions belonging to the secondary Greek text which have disappeared from all extant Greek MSS.;[2] but enough has been said to show that this text, translated originally from the Hebrew, has with every justification been called the Pharisaic recension of Sirach. For illustrations from the Old Latin version reference may be made to Hart's book, pp. 289 ff., 313, in connexion with which should be read Herford's *Pharisaism*, pp. 267–281.

Turning now once more to the original translation of Ben-Sira's grandson, there are some special points to be noticed. His knowledge of the Septuagint is very considerable; as Smend has pointed out, he frequently utilized this for the purposes of a lexicon. But his use of the Septuagint varies with the different divisions of the Old Testament; thus, he appears to be most familiar with the Greek text of the Pentateuch, of which he makes a far greater use than of the two other divisions; for example, the words in xx. 29 δῶρα ἀποτυφλοῖ ὀφθαλμοὺς σοφῶν are a verbal quotation from the Septuagint of Deut. xvi. 19; the same is the case in xxiv. 23, which contains an exact quotation from Septuagint of Deut. xxxiii. 4; cp. also xxiv. 15 with the Septuagint of Exod. xxx. 23 f., 34; xlix. 1 with the Septuagint of Exod. xxxv. 28, &c. His use of the Greek version of the prophetical books is considerably less, though in a variety of instances he shows his knowledge of this (e.g. with xlviii. 10 cp. Mal. iii. 24, and xlix. 7 with Jer. i. 10). But he does not seem to have had any acquaintance with a Greek translation of the *Hagiographa*.

It is very probable that in his desire to attain a more than ordinary knowledge of Greek Ben-Sira's grandson was to some extent versed in the general literature of the Greeks; he uses over two hundred words which do not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint;[3] he is fond of using compound

[1] These words are also preserved in the Old Latin version.

[2] See further § 5, ii.

[3] Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, p. lxiv.

verbs instead of the simple forms, and he shows his liking for variety by rendering the same Hebrew word by different Greek ones. Not infrequently he expands his translation of the Hebrew by adding an explanatory word or two (see e.g. the Hebrew and Greek of viii. 12, xl. 19, xli. 9); he also often renders concrete words and expressions by abstract ones. The difference between the Greek of the Prologue and that of the book itself is so marked that Smend is justified in believing that Ben-Sira's grandson was helped in composing the former.[1]

§ 5. Other Ancient Versions.

i. *The Syriac Version.*

It is impossible to fix the date of the Syriac version of our book with any certainty; the earliest known MS. (Cod. Mus. Brit. 12142) belongs to the sixth century, but this MS. contains already a very large number of scribal errors, which points to a long previous history; it seems, however, to be the parent of all other extant Syriac MSS. of Sirach, for its corruptions occur in all of them. Wright, in speaking of the Syriac translations of the Old Testament Apocrypha, the dates of which are quite unknown, says that 'it seems tolerably certain that alterations were made from time to time with a view to harmonizing the Syriac text with that of the Septuagint',[2] a process which Burkitt thinks 'may have begun as early as the episcopate of Palut (about A.D. 200)', which would imply the existence of a Syriac version some time previous to this date.

Although some scholars long ago sought to show that the Syriac version of Sirach was a translation from the Hebrew, their contention was combated by Syriac scholars, who maintained that it was translated from the Greek.[3] The discovery of the Hebrew text has, however, definitely settled the matter; if there was reason to believe, as was certainly the case, that the Syriac text itself presented indications of its having been translated from Hebrew and not from Greek, there is absolutely no doubt about this now that we can compare the Syriac with the Hebrew. Nevertheless, the Syriac translation was not made from the *original* form of the Hebrew, though from a form which seems to have been in many respects nearer to the original form than that represented in the recently found Hebrew MSS. This fact makes the Syriac version valuable for correcting, where necessary, the Hebrew text in the form in which we now have it; and for those large portions of the book of which the Hebrew text has not been found the Syriac is, of course, indispensable. Another fact which makes the Syriac version valuable is that it contains a number of verses and parts of verses which are only found elsewhere either in the Hebrew alone, or in isolated Greek MSS., in some few cases also in the Old Latin version.[4] 'In some instances the Syriac has retained the correct text where both the Hebrew and the Greek agree in having gone astray. But in a considerable number of passages the Syriac is not a translation of the Hebrew, but of the Greek;[5] it is possible that the reason of this was that in such cases the Greek version represented what the original Syriac translator believed to be the reflection of a more original form of the Hebrew than that which he had before him; or else, and this is more probable, it may be that the Syriac, as we now have it, has been corrected on the basis of the Greek; this would have been a very natural proceeding (even if a comparatively speaking pure Hebrew text had been available) at a time when the Greek Bible was regarded in the Christian Church as more authoritative than the Hebrew. That the Syriac translator of Sirach was a Christian seems more than probable. The Greek MS. or MSS. which the Syriac translator made use of contained elements representing the secondary Greek text, and it was a text which had undergone deterioration in other respects.'[6] In any case, the Syriac version is one which has a distinct value; nevertheless it must be used with caution, for, in spite of what has been said about its usefulness and importance, it has some grave blemishes which must be taken into consideration when utilizing it. Smend says it is the worst piece of translation in the whole Syriac Bible, though in many cases it is uncertain in what proportion its mistakes are due to the translator himself, or to the Hebrew text which he had before him, or to some deteriorated Greek text which he utilized, or to textual corruptions which crept in during the process of transmission. But, however this may be, the fact remains that the work of translation has been done carelessly and without much trouble having been expended upon it; paraphrases abound; sometimes they are of a purely arbitrary character, at other times they

[1] For many examples illustrating what has been said about the Greek translation, see Smend, *op. cit.*, pp. lxii–lxvii.

[2] *Syriac Literature*, p. 4, quoted by Burkitt in *EB*, iv. 5026.

[3] Smend, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxvi.

[4] See e.g. ii. 18 *d*, xxv. 8 *b*, xlvii. 23 *e*, xlviii. 12 *c*, *d*, li. 11 *d*, 19 *d*, 26 *d*.

[5] See e.g. xxvi. 19–27, xliii. 1–10.

[6] Oesterley, *Ecclesiasticus*, in the Cambridge Bible, p. ci.

apparently represent what the translator believed to be the general meaning of the original, which he did not understand in all its details; in yet other cases these paraphrases were evidently due to the desire to give a Christian sense to a passage. But perhaps the most serious blemish in this version is the large number of omissions; Smend says that these amount to 370 *stichoi*, or one-ninth of the whole book. In many cases it is evident that the Syriac translator had what seemed to him good reasons for omitting certain passages; thus, as a Christian he felt justified in omitting such words as these:

Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead as from one that is not,
(But) he that liveth and is in health praiseth the Lord (xvii. 28).

It was probably owing to an anti-Jewish tendency that he omitted xxxvii. 25:

The life of a man (numbers) days but few,
But the life of Jeshurun days innumerable.

A similar reason would account for the omission of xxxviii. 11, xlv. 8–14, parts of l. 18–21, and the litany after li. 12, though this last is also omitted in the Greek version. Quite comprehensible are the omissions of xxxiii. 26 (𝔊 xxx. 35) and xxxvi. 21, 23 (𝔊 26, 28); but why such passages, e.g., as xli. 14—xlii. 2, and most of xliii. 11–33 should have been passed over it is impossible to say, excepting on the supposition that they are difficult ones to translate, and the Syriac translator did not feel inclined to undertake the task.

It will thus be seen that while the Syriac version has a distinct value of its own and can certainly not be neglected, it must nevertheless be used with great caution; indeed, the student will be wise never to utilize it without at the same time referring to the Greek. It should be added that in this version the right order of the chapters is preserved.

ii. *The Old Latin Version.*

This is the oldest[1] and most important of the daughter-versions of the Greek. Like the Syriac version, while in some respects it is valuable for correcting the Greek, in other respects it presents grave drawbacks. As we shall see later on (§ 8), Jerome left the Latin text of Sirach as he found it—a matter for congratulation, since as the version now stands it contains many really ancient elements which would probably have been lost altogether if Jerome had undertaken a translation of his own. That it contains, as we have already seen (p. 281), the chapters in the right order is also a fact of importance. But the text of the Old Latin version has come down to us in a deplorable condition, added to which it has the further disadvantage of having been made from a Greek text which was in a worse condition than that represented by any extant Greek MS. Moreover, the Old Latin text is full of scribal errors, and many arbitrary alterations have been introduced; quotations from this version in the writings of the Latin Fathers are of little use for emending its text. Emendation is made the more difficult in that the original translation was apparently subjected to constant correction on the basis of different Greek texts; one example out of a great many may be given: in xiii. 8 the Greek text runs:

πρόσεχε μὴ ἀποπλανηθῇς (V 106 248 253 Syro-Hex add τῇ διανοίᾳ σου),
καὶ μὴ ταπεινωθῇς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ (248, &c. add καρδίας) σου.

For this the Latin has:

Attende ne seductus
In stultitiam humilieris.
Noli esse humilis in sapientia tua,
Ne humiliatus in stultitiam seducaris (= *vv.* 10, 11 in Latin).

In cases like this the question arises as to whether the additions have been inserted from other Latin texts, or whether they are doublets due to the incorporation of marginal notes into the text; in other words, do they represent different Greek texts from which Latin translations were made, or are they merely Latin variations of one and the same Greek text? It is by no means always possible to decide which, a fact which materially increases one's difficulties when utilizing the Latin version.

[1] Of its date nothing further can be said, but the earliest known citations are found in Cyprian.

The question as to whether the Old Latin version was made from a MS. representing the primary or secondary Greek text is one of extreme complexity; at first sight one would feel impelled to postulate the secondary Greek text as the basis of the Latin version, but the fact that many of the additions belonging to the secondary Greek text are preserved in the Syro-Hexaplar but not in the Old Latin goes to show that the latter cannot have been made *directly* from the secondary Greek text. And yet, as Smend has shown, the copy from which the Old Latin was made was more influenced by the secondary Greek text than any other known Greek MS., though that copy did not in itself represent the secondary Greek text; for, as Smend says, 'trotz aller sekundären Elemente, die die Vorlage enthielt, und trotz aller Bearbeitung, von der der ursprüngliche Text des Lateiners betroffen sein mag, — durch Massenbeobachtung lässt sich nachweisen, dass die Vorlage des Lateiners im Wesentlichen der griechische Vulgärtext war, den der Lateiner nicht nur in alten guten Lesarten, die freilich auch aus Gr. II' (i.e. the secondary Greek text) 'stammen könnten, sondern auch in höchst sekundärer Entartung vor sich hatte' (*op. cit.*, p. cxxiv). The proof of this is minutely worked out by him. The conclusion which Smend draws from this complicated state of affairs is that the foundation of the text from which the Old Latin Version was made was the primary Greek one, but that in that text was incorporated a later recension of the secondary Greek text, the offspring, perhaps, of a Hebrew original.[1] And it must be confessed that only on this hypothesis can all the phenomena of the Old Latin version be explained.

iii. *The Syro-Hexaplar.*

This is the Syriac version made by Paul of Tella from the Greek (*c.* A.D. 616). 'If we retain the designation Syro-Hexaplar,' says Nestle, 'we must bear in mind that Sirach had no place in Origen's Hexapla; but in one particular respect this Syriac version reminds us of the Hexapla; one of the critical marks of Origen, the asteriscus, appears also in Sirach, at least in its first part up to chap. xiii.'[2] Hart, on the other hand, remarks: 'Origen valued the Book of Jesus Ben-Sira, and its text required a settlement. It seems reasonable to accept the evidence—direct and indirect—as it stands, and to conclude that he attempted to purge the current Greek version of its accretions, and that his disciples removed them bodily, and sometimes parts of the true text with them' (*op. cit.*, p. 359). It is true we are nowhere told that Origen incorporated the books of the Apocrypha in his Hexapla, but the way in which he quotes from them, speaking of them as 'Holy Scripture' (see below, § 8), would naturally lead to the supposition that he did so incorporate them. There is also the fact that in the Syro-Hexaplar the Book of Baruch undergoes much the same treatment with regard to the Hexaplaric signs as the canonical books. As Smend says: 'The excellence of Syro-Hexaplaric Sirach text would not be unworthy of Origen.' In general the text of this version follows very closely a MS. with which Cod. 253 was intimately related, but the translator also utilized the Peshiṭta when for one reason or another he found it convenient to do so. The translation is in parts very free. There are a number of marginal notes which were presumably taken from the Greek MS. which the translator had before him; these not infrequently present the better reading.

iv. *The Sahidic Version.*

The MS. containing this version, which is based on a Greek text closely related to the Greek uncials, has suffered a good deal of mutilation; the Prologue is almost entirely wanting through this cause; in addition to this a good many *stichoi* are omitted. Other Coptic versions of more or less value are the Bohairic and Akmimic; only fragmentary remnants of these are extant. For the published texts of them see Smend, *op. cit.*, p. cxxx f.

v. *The Ethiopic Version.*

This version is rendered from the Greek, of which it is often a literal translation, but in his desire to make the meaning of the original before him clear the translator often interprets, i.e. he gives a paraphrastic rendering. Smend (*op. cit.*, p. cxxxii) gives as an example of this xxiv. 21, where for the Greek:

οἱ ἐσθίοντές με ἔτι πεινάσουσιν, καὶ οἱ πίνοντές με ἔτι διψήσουσιν,

[1] Cp. the words of Herkenne (*De Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici capitibus i–xliii* [1899]): 'Nititur Vetus Latina textu vulgari Graeco ad textum Hebraicum alius recensionis Graece castigato'; quoted by Nestle in Hastings's *DB*, iv. 545.

[2] In Hastings's *DB*, iv. 544. There are altogether forty-five asterisks, about twenty of which are placed against words and sentences belonging to the secondary Greek text.

the Ethiopic has:

They that eat me, eat me and are not satisfied,
And they that drink me, drink me and are not satisfied.

The value of this version is not infrequently marred by the fact that its renderings only partially represent the Greek, the reason being presumably that the Ethiopic translator did not really understand what was before him and made a guess at the meaning. Smend quotes Dillmann (who has edited this version, *V.T. Aethiopici*, tom. v, Berol. 1894) to the effect that the Ethiopic has been subjected to revision in later times on the basis of the Greek text; he does not believe it possible to restore the Ethiopic text to its original form from the MSS. which are now extant. Upon the whole the Ethiopic follows the text of Cod. B; the MS. from which the version was made, however, represented in some cases a purer, in others a more corrupt, form of text than that of Cod. B. Here and there the Ethiopic is of value for correcting the Greek.

vi. *The Armenian Version.*

This version exists in two forms, one translated from the Old Latin, and the other from the Greek; the former is but of small value for text-critical purposes. The latter is of more use, but a good deal of the text is wanting, viz. xxxvi. 1–xxxviii. 14, xliii–li, besides a number of isolated passages. On the other hand, it has some additions which are singular to it; see Herkenne, *Armenischer Sirach*, p. 30 ff.

vii. *The Slavonic Version.*

One point of importance regarding this version is that it sometimes agrees with the Old Latin against all extant Greek authorities; moreover, in agreement with the Old Latin and against all known Greek MSS. (with the exception of Cod. 248) it has xxx. 25–xxxiii. 13 *a* in the right place. According to Margoliouth it 'follows a text similar to that of the Complutensian edition, but with only a portion of the additions'.[1] It has been revised from the Syro-Hexaplar.

viii. *The Arabic Version.*

This is a translation of the Peshiṭta (Syriac Vulgate). 'The translator', says Smend, 'was not concerned to offer a careful translation of his copy; he desired rather to present an elegantly-written Arabic book.' His translation is, therefore, throughout a free one, and he inserts additions of his own. The text, or that of the MS. from which it was made, has been influenced by the Greek. But the manifold *lacunae* of the Syriac version recur in the Arabic. The version is of but small value.

§ 6. Authorship and Date.

i. *The name and personality of the author.* In the MSS. of the Greek Bible the author of our book is called Ἰησοῦς Σειράχ, or more briefly Σειράχ[2]; among the later Jews בן סירא, and so in the MSS. of the Syriac Bible בר סירא (or in a less authentic form בר אסירא, i.e. *Son of the Captive*).

The full name of the author is given in the body of the book, in l. 27, which in 𝔅 appears as *Simeon the son of Jeshua (Jesus) the son of Eleazar the son of Sira* (in Hebrew שמעון בן ישוע בן אלעזר בן סירא).[3] For this 𝔊 has: Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σειρὰχ Ἐλεαζάρου ὁ Ἱεροσολυμείτης (but 248 Complut. Sixtine > Ἐλεαζάρου). In 𝔖 this passage is omitted altogether; the Syro-Hexaplar has: *Jesus the son of Sirach of Eliezer.* The usual designation of the author in the Syriac MSS. of the Bible is: *Jesus the son of Simeon.*[4]

Now as the author's grandson states explicitly in the Greek Prologue to his version of the book that his grandfather's name was *Jesus* (Ἰησοῦς), it is likely that the name *Simeon* is an intrusion in the text of 𝔅; this is made exceedingly probable when it is seen that the clause l. 27, as it appears in 𝔅, is overloaded; by the removal of שמעון בן symmetry is restored, and the line may be read with Smend:

לישוע בן אלעזר בן סירא:

Of Jesus ben Eleazar ben Sira.

[1] Quoted by Nestle in Hastings's *DB*, iv. 544.

[2] Σειράχ (Sirach) is the Greek form of Sira (סירא), the final χ being added in the Greek form of the word to indicate that it is indeclinable; so Ἀκελδαμάχ Acts i. 19, in some MSS., for Ἀκελδαμά: cp. Dalman, *Grammatik d. jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*², pp. 137, 202.

[3] This form of the name reappears twice in the Hebrew subscription of the book, which follows li. 30.

[4] Nestle (*HDB*, iv. 541 *b*) remarks that the name Simeon 'is firmly attached to the author of this book in the Syriac Church'.

Thus the name of the author was *Jesus*, and his grandfather's name *Sira*; the use of a grandfather's (or earlier ancestor's) name as a patronymic (with *Ben* prefixed) was not uncommon, especially when a father's name was not sufficiently distinctive. The intruding *Simeon* may have been derived from l. 1 (the name of the High-Priest), and in this way may have come erroneously to be attached to the name of the author of the book.[1]

From the *data* supplied by the book itself it may be inferred that Ben-Sira was a professed student and teacher of 'wisdom'. As a 'scribe' (he is described in the Prologue as ἀναγινώσκων = סופר)—for by this time 'scribe' and 'wise' had become amalgamated—he imparted instruction to young members of the Jerusalem aristocracy, who assembled in his 'house of instruction' (בית מדרש li. 23); and there, doubtless, he lectured on matters of jurisprudence, as well as ethics, in the manner congenial to the Teachers of the Law (cp. xxiii. 11, 23). Ben-Sira, however, belonged to the earlier *Sōferîm* in whom the spirit pervading the Wisdom-Literature was still strong. Though possessed with a deep sense of Israel's unique position among the nations, the class of teachers to which Ben-Sira belonged was animated by a broad and tolerant spirit that could take a genial view of life as a whole. This spirit pervades the book. It is marked by sound piety mixed with a thorough knowledge of human nature, and a sympathetic and cultivated appreciation of the amenities of the social side of life. Both the follies and the heroism of the fanatic are carefully avoided by Ben-Sira. When he sings the praise of the ideal scribe (xxxix. 1–11) we doubtless have in the description a piece of self-revelation of the author:

Not so he that applieth himself to the fear of God,
And to set his mind upon the Law of the Most High;
Who searcheth out the wisdom of all the ancients,
And is occupied with the prophets of old;
Who heedeth the discourses of men of renown,
And entereth into the deep things of parables;
Searcheth out the hidden meaning of proverbs,
And is conversant with the dark sayings of parables.

Court life and foreign travel are part of his experience:

Who serveth among great men,
And appeareth before princes;
Who travelleth through the lands of the peoples,
Testeth good and evil among men.

It has been suggested that our author may have travelled as a young man, and at one time have been in the service of one of the Greek kings (successors of Alexander the Great), perhaps Ptolemy IV (220–204 B.C.). During these experiences, it would seem, he encountered much personal danger:

In my journeying I have seen much,
And many things have befallen me:
Often was I in danger even unto death,
But was preserved . . . (xxxiv. 11–12).

The opening verses of chap. li refer, in a tone of unusually deep feeling, to deliverance from a grievous danger which seriously threatened the author's life. This may have been, as has been suggested, some peril of a political kind, possibly connected with his life at court or with his responsible public life. He alludes in this passage more than once to 'cunning lips' and 'framers of lies', the result of whose machinations was that his

Soul drew nigh unto death . . . . . .
And I turned about on every side, yet there was none to help me.

The author's relation to contemporary Jewish life, as revealed in his book, could not be better summed up than in the words of Edersheim. 'The book of Ben-Sira', he says, 'represents an orthodox, but moderate and cold, Judaism—before there were either Pharisees or Sadducees; before these two directions assumed separate form under the combined influence of political circumstances and theological controversies. In short, it contains, as yet undistinguished and mostly in

[1] Schechter, however, thinks that the author's name may have been *Simeon* (or *Simon*): 'Probably he was so called after the High-Priest Simeon whose younger contemporary he was—a custom usual enough among the Jews at a very early period' (*WBS*, p. 65).

germ, all the elements developed in the later history of Jewish religious thinking. But beyond all this the book throws welcome light on the period in which it was written. If we would know what a cultured, liberal, and yet genuine Jew had thought and felt in view of the great questions of the day; if we would gain insight into the state of public opinion, morals, society, and even of manners at that period—we find the materials for it in the book Ecclesiasticus.'[1]

ii. *The date of composition of the Book.* The two crucial factors for determining the date of the book's composition are (*a*) the identity of the High-Priest Simon, who is the subject of the eulogium in ch. l; and (*b*) what is meant by 'the thirty-eighth year' in the Prologue of the Greek translation?

(*a*) *Simon I or Simon II?* With whom is the Simon son of Jochanan (so 𝔓: but 𝔊 Onias), mentioned in l. 1 f., to be identified? From the glowing description which is given by Ben-Sira of this High-Priest it has been surmised, with considerable plausibility, that our author wrote of one whom he had actually seen officiating in the sanctuary. The Simon referred to has been identified with 'Simon the Just' (שמעון הצדיק), who, again, is identified by some scholars with Simon I, son of Onias I, and grandson of Jaddua (he flourished 310–291 or 300–270 B.C.), according to others with Simon II (219–199 B.C.) son of Onias II. As far as Ben-Sira's description is concerned it would fit either of these identifications. The question of date must be determined on other grounds.

Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2. 5) relates of Simon I that, on account of his piety, he was surnamed 'the Just'. Reference to Simon II is made in *Ant.* xii. 4. 10 f. Herzfeld identifies the 'Simon the Just' (שמעון הצדיק) of *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 1 with Simon II, and fixes the date of his high-priesthood as 226–198 B.C. (Zunz 221–201 B.C.); see Dr. C. Taylor's note on *Aboth* ii. 1. Derenbourg also (*Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, p. 46 f.) argues strongly in favour of the identification of Simon the Just, whose memory is preserved in Rabbinic tradition, with Simon II. It is this Simon, according to Derenbourg, who is the subject of Sirach l. Josephus' application of the epithet ('the Just') to Simon I is a mistake.

(*b*) *The date in the Prologue.* An explicit indication of date is given in the Greek Prologue written by the translator as a preface to his Greek translation of the book. In this the translator says he came to Egypt 'in the thirty-eighth year ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου Βασιλέως'. This, it is true, has been taken by some scholars to mean in the thirty-eighth year of the translator's age 'under king Euergetes'. If this were right it would be impossible to say what date is meant, as we have no other means for determining when the translator was born, or which king Euergetes is referred to. As there is no particular reason why the translator should have stated his age in this context, it is natural to interpret 'the thirty-eighth under king Euergetes' as referring to the thirty-eighth regnal year of the king so named. This limits the reference to the two Ptolemies, among the Egyptian kings, who were called Euergetes: of these Euergetes I reigned only twenty-five years (247–222 B.C.), and is thus excluded; Euergetes II, surnamed Physcon, reigned in all fifty-four years, partly as joint king (170–145) and partly as sole king (145–116). Reckoning from this king's accession his thirty-eighth regnal year would be 132 B.C. It may be concluded, therefore, that the translator reached Egypt in this year, and completed his translation of the book some few years later (between 132 and 116; see the note on line 15 of the Prologue in the following commentary).

The translator calls the author of the original book his πάππος, a term which may be interpreted in its usual sense of 'grandfather'.[2] The composition of the original book of Ben-Sira may, therefore, be assigned to the first quarter of the second century B.C. (200–175 B.C.). The author would thus have been a younger contemporary of the High-Priest Simon II, and could have witnessed a service on the Day of Atonement in the temple in which Simon took part. The tone of the references to Simon in ch. l suggests that when Ben-Sira wrote Simon had been dead for some time. This rather suggests a date about 180–175 B.C. for the actual composition of the book. As there is no allusion in the book to the events that led up to the Maccabean conflict the date cannot well be placed later than 175 B.C.

The internal evidence of the book itself favours the suggested date—especially the traces of Greek influence on the thought; notably the personification of Wisdom (cp. esp. ch. xxiv), and the acquaintance shown with Greek customs, such as the use of music at feasts (xxxv. 3–6).

Recently, however, a much earlier reckoning for the date in the Prologue has been proposed on new grounds and maintained by Mr. J. H. A. Hart.[3] Hart thinks it incredible that a Jew from the outside world should have visited and stayed for any length of time to work in Egypt in the reign of Euergetes II, who was notoriously hostile to Jews, and, in fact, to all foreigners. He

[1] In Wace's *Apocrypha* ii. 2 (Introduction to Ecclesiasticus).

[2] 'It sometimes means "ancestor"; but in such cases the connexion usually indicates the wider sense' (Seligmann, *EB*, ii, col. 1171, note 3).

[3] *Ecclesiasticus in Greek*, pp. 249 ff.

accordingly proposes to interpret the date in the Prologue as follows: the preposition ἐπί—though he allows that it is sometimes used in Greek translations of Hebrew date-specifications in a pleonastic sense = *of*, and that this usage can be paralleled from the papyri and inscriptions (e.g. the Rosetta stone)—is not, as it is used in the Prologue, without definite significance, and merely a meaningless part of an established formula. While admitting that the words might conceivably mean the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes II, yet the number 'may equally well belong to some familiar and therefore unspecified era', and that this is the common Egyptian era which begins with the accession of each king and ends with his death. Ptolemy Philadelphus (284–247 B.C.) was succeeded by Euergetes I in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the former, i.e. Euergetes I ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Philadelphus (247 B.C.). The formula in the Prologue therefore means that the grandson of Ben-Sira came to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of the era of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but after Euergetes I had come to the throne. Thus, according to Hart, the younger Ben-Sira came to Egypt in the year 247 B.C., and stayed there during the whole reign of Euergetes, till his death in 222 B.C.[1] These results would necessitate placing the composition of the original book of Ben-Sira at least a century before the commonly received date (i.e. 300–275 B.C.).

Hart's arguments are unconvincing. In particular he seems to exaggerate the hostility of Ptolemy Physcon to the Jews in Alexandria. The Jews were persecuted for a time by this king, not on account of their religion, but for political reasons. 'With the establishment of order, peace was doubtless restored to the Jews also.'[2] Willrich, indeed, has given good reasons[3] for believing that this Ptolemy was far from being hostile to the Jews in general. It has been shown that he possessed many Jewish officials, and that the Jews prospered and increased in Egypt under his rule exceedingly. The proposed explanation of the date is also anything but convincing. If the translator wished to say that he arrived in Egypt in the year which concluded the reign of Philadelphus and was marked by the accession of Euergetes (I) he might have written 'in the thirty-eighth year of Philadelphus ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως'. But it is difficult to imagine him writing at least twenty-five years after the era of Philadelphus had come to an end:[4] 'in the thirty-eighth year ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως'. On Hart's own showing a new era had intervened (that of Euergetes I); why then should not the first year of this era have been specified distinctly, if it was meant? Further, Hart's criticism of the very strong examples adduced by Deissmann[5] of the independent use of ἐπί in such date-specifications cannot be said to impair their cogency. The internal evidence of the book, as well as the character of the diction of the original Hebrew, also points to a later date than 300–275 B.C.

§ 7. The Influence of Sirach on Later Literature.

The influence of our book on the later literature of the Christian Church may be measured, in a general way, by the history of its relation to the Canon, which is summarized in the next section.[6] Restrictions of space will only allow of citations here to illustrate the influence of the book on (*a*) the New Testament, and (*b*) later Jewish literature.

(*a*) *The relation of Sirach to the New Testament.* When it is remembered that the New Testament writers, as a rule, use the Greek Bible in their citations of Scripture it is somewhat surprising to find so few direct quotations from the books which find no recognition in the Palestinian Canon. Not even all the books included in the latter are cited—no quotation occurring from Canticles, Qoheleth, Esther, or Ezra-Nehemiah. On the other hand, a rich use is made of the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Psalms, while the historical books are referred to more rarely. Still some quotations from deutero-canonical and extra-canonical books do occur, such as the citation from the Book of Enoch in the Epistle of Jude. In view of the important place occupied by Sirach in the Wisdom-Literature, and the popularity enjoyed by this literature, especially among the Jews of the Greek Dispersion, it would be surprising not to find any traces of its influence on those books of the New Testament which markedly reflect the Alexandrine spirit. If there are no actual citations of Sirach in the Epistle to the Hebrews, there are at least some possible indications of acquaintance with it (in its Greek form). Thus in Heb. xii. 12 a citation is made of Isa. xxxv. 3 (τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα) in a form which exactly agrees with that of Sirach xxv. 23, against the LXX (which has χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι). Such examples are not, it must be confessed, decisive. On the other hand, in the Epistle of St. James indications of direct acquaintance with our book are abundant and clear. The more important may be given here.

[1] συγχρονίσας, 'I stayed in Egypt as long as king Euergetes reigned.' But see our note on this word in the Prologue, line 15.

[2] Krauss in *JE*, x. 265 *a*.

[3] *Iudaica* (Göttingen, 1900), p. 11 f.

[4] This is involved in συνχρονίσας, according to Hart's explanation.

[5] *Bible Studies* (E.T.), pp. 339 ff.

[6] And also by the number of secondary versions based on the Greek text (see § 5 above).

Ep. of St. James.	*Sirach* (𝔊).
i. v: *But if any of you lacketh wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all liberally and upbraideth not* (καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος).	xviii. 18: *A fool will upbraid* (ὀνειδιεῖ) *ungraciously*, &c. xx. 15: *He [the fool] will give little and upbraid* (ὀνειδιεῖ) *much.* xli. 22: *After thou hast given upbraid not* (μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι μὴ ὀνείδιζε).
i. 6, 8: *But let him ask in faith, nothing doubting; for he that doubteth is like the surge of the sea driven by the wind and tossed . . . a doubleminded man* (ἀνὴρ δίψυχος), *unstable in all his ways* (ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ).	i. 28: *Disobey not the Lord; and come not unto Him with a double heart* (ἐν καρδίᾳ δισσῇ). ii. 12 f.: *Woe unto fearful hearts, and to faint hands, and to the sinner that goeth two ways; woe unto the faint heart, for it believeth not*, &c.; cp. v. 9 (ὁ δίγλωσσος), vii. 10 (*Be not faint-hearted in thy prayer*).
i. 2–4: *Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold temptations*, &c. (cf. *v.* 12).	ii. 1 f.: *My son, if thou comest to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation*, &c. (cp. i. 23).
i. 13–15: *Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, and He Himself tempteth no man*, &c.	xv. 11–20: *Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away. . . . Say not thou, It is He that caused me to err, For He hath no need of a sinful man*, &c.
i. 19: *Let every man be swift to hear* (ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι), *slow to speak.*	v. 11: *Be swift to hear* (γίνου ταχὺς ἐν ἀκροάσει σου): cp. iv. 29.
i. 23: *For if any one is a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a mirror* (ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ).	xii. 11: *And thou shalt be unto him as one that hath wiped a mirror* (ὡς ἐκμεμαχὼς ἔσοπτρον).
v. 5: *Ye have lived delicately on the earth, and taken your pleasure* (ἐσπαταλήσατε).	xxvii. 13: *The discourse of fools is an offence, and their laughter is in the wantonness of sin* (ἐν σπατάλῃ ἁμαρτίας).
v. 14: *Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.*	xxxviii. 9–15: *My son, in thy sickness be not negligent, but pray unto the Lord and He shall heal thee*, &c.

There are also many resemblances in thought and theme throughout the two books: cf. e.g. the treatment of humility (Jas. i. 9, Sirach iii. 18), pride (Jas. iv. 6, Sirach x. 7), of poor and rich (Jas. ii. 1–6, Sirach x. 19–24; cp. xiii. 9), of stumbling (Jas. iii. 2, Sirach xix. 16), and of true wisdom (Jas. iii. 13–17, Sirach xix. 18–22); and other parallels are to be noticed in the use of figure, such as that of the crown of life (Jas. i. 12, cp. Sirach xv. 6), and of rust (Jas. v. 2, 3, cp. Sirach xxix. 10, xii. 10).[1]

If these examples are not sufficient to establish a relation of direct dependence, they are sufficient to justify the inference—which is confirmed by the general character of the Epistle and its relation to other books of the Wisdom-Literature—that the author of St. James was well acquainted with, and was influenced by, Sirach.

It is difficult to believe that a book that enjoyed in the early centuries of the Christian era such popularity both among the Jews of Palestine and the Dispersion could have been entirely unknown to the writers of the other New Testament books. And, in fact, possible signs of acquaintance with it are not wanting. In this connexion the following parallels have been noted:[2]

Matt. vi. 14 *ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος.*	*Sirach* xxviii. 2 *ἄφες ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ τότε δεηθέντος σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου λυθησόνται.*
Matt. vi. 19 f. *μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σὴς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσι καὶ κλέπτουσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ κτλ.*	*Sirach* xxix. 12 *σύνκλεισον ἐλεημοσύνην ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις σου, καὶ αὕτη ἐξελεῖται σε ἐκ πάσης κακώσεως.*
Matt. xvi. 27 *καὶ τότε ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ.*	*Sirach* xxxii. 24 *ἕως ἀνταποδῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ κτλ.*
Luke i. 17 *ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα κτλ.* (of Elijah).	*Sirach* xlviii. 10 *ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν κτλ.* (of Elijah).

These parallels are, it must be confessed, not very convincing. On the other hand, the Parable of the Rich Fool (Luke xii. 15 f.) may have been suggested by more than one passage in Ben-Sira. The theme of the parable finds an exact parallel in Sirach xxxi. 3 *ἐκοπίασε πλούσιος ἐν συναγωγῇ χρημάτων, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύσει ἐμπίπλαται τῶν τρυφημάτων αὐτοῦ.* St. Luke has parallels to some of the phrases used here (*συνάξω, ἀναπαύου*). There is also the remarkable parallel to the same passage, presenting similar features, in Sirach xi. 18–19:

[1] See, further, Mayor, *Ep. of St. James*[3], pp. cxvi–cxviii; Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. 87.
[2] Cp. Nestle in *HDB*, iv. 550 *b*.

There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching,
And this is the portion of his reward:
When he saith, I have found rest,
And now will I eat of my goods;
Yet he knoweth not what time shall pass,
And he shall leave them to others, and die (R.V.).

It will be convenient in concluding this paragraph to note a passage from the *Didache*, which looks like a real quotation either from Ben-Sira or a common source.

Sirach iv. 31 runs:

Let not thy hand be stretched out to take,
And closed in the midst of giving (so 𝔅ᴬ).

This is apparently quoted in the *Didache* iv. 5:

Be not one that stretches out his hands to receive,
But draws them in when he should give.

It is difficult to believe that our book did not exercise a considerable influence on the formation of the *Didache* as a whole. There are many parallels both in thought and sentiment.

(*b*) *Sirach and later Jewish Literature.* In this connexion it will be convenient to note some of the more striking parallels between our book and (i) Aḥiqar, (ii) Tobit, (iii) other non-Rabbinical Jewish literature, and then (iv) to estimate and illustrate its influence on the Rabbinical literature.

It is difficult to determine priority of date in the case of Ben-Sira's relation to Aḥiqar and Tobit. The parallels may merely imply the presence of common matter from older sources. A strong case, however, can be made out for the priority of Aḥiqar. Thus the famous dictum, which is repeated over and over again in different forms in later literature, and appears in Tobit as

Alms delivereth from death,
And suffereth not to come into darkness (iv. 10, cp. xii. 9),

already implies the legend of Aḥiqar, and is only explicable by it.[1] In Sirach we meet with the same maxim, but in a form modified from that of Tobit:

Store up almsgiving in thy treasuries,
And it shall deliver thee from all evil;
Better than a mighty shield and a heavy spear
Shall (this) fight for thee against an enemy.[2]

i. *Parallels with Aḥiqar.* Of matter common to Sirach and Aḥiqar the following are striking examples:

Sirach iv. 26: *Stand not against the stream.*
Aḥiqar ii. 65: *Stand not against a river in its flood.*

Again,

Sirach xxii. 14, 15: *What is heavier than lead?*
And what is its name but 'Fool'?
Sand and salt and a weight of iron
(Are) easier to bear than a senseless man.

A close parallel occurs in Prov. xxvii. 3; but Aḥiqar (Syriac version) ii. 45 contains one even nearer:

My son, I have carried salt and removed lead: and I have not seen anything heavier than that a man should pay back a debt that he did not borrow.

My son, I have carried iron and removed stones, and they were not heavier on me than a man who settles in the house of his father-in-law.[3]

ii. *Parallels with Tobit.* The following may be cited to illustrate the parallels that occur in Tobit:

Sirach iv. 4: *Despise not the supplication of the poor,*
And turn not away from the afflicted soul.

Tobit iv. 7: *Turn not away thy face from any poor man,*
And the face of God shall not be turned away from thee.

[1] See the discussion in *The Story of Aḥikar*, ed. by Rendel Harris, p. xlviii. f. [2] xxix. 12, 13; cp. vii. 32, xii. 2.
[3] Cited by Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, p. liv: see also Nau, *Histoire et sagesse d'Aḥikar*, pp. 60–63.

Sirach xxxviii. 16: *My son, let tears fall over the dead;*

. . . . . .

In accordance with what is due to him bury his body.

Compare with this the passages in Tobit which commend the pious duty of burying the dead; esp. xii. 13:

And when thou didst not delay to rise up . . . that thou mightest go and cover the dead, thy good deed was not hid from me, &c.

iii. *Parallels with other non-Rabbinical Jewish Literature.* Sirach has apparently influenced two other important books, viz. 2 Enoch (the Slavonic Enoch) and the Psalter of Solomon.

In 2 Enoch passages of Sirach are sometimes cited verbally; thus xlvii. 5 (*Who has numbered the dust of the earth, and the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain*, &c.) is cited from Sirach i. 2; in 2 Enoch li. 1–3 parallels occur with Sirach vii. 32, xiv. 13, xxix. 20, xxix. 10, and ii. 4.

The following further parallels are noted by Charles (*Secrets of Enoch*, p. 96): 2 Enoch xxx. 15 = Sirach xv. 14, 15; 2 Enoch xlii. 11 = Sirach vii. 3; 2 Enoch xliii. 2, 3 = Sirach x. 20, 22, 24; 2 Enoch lii. 5 = Sirach xxxix. 14; 2 Enoch lii. 8 = Sirach xxxi. 26; 2 Enoch lii. 12 = Sirach xxviii. 9; 2 Enoch lxi. 2 = Sirach xxxix. 25; 2 Enoch lxi. 4 = Sirach xxxi. 21–24, 28; 2 Enoch lxv. 2 = Sirach xvii. 3, 5; 2 Enoch lxv. 11 = Sirach xiv. 19.

In the case of the Psalms of Solomon there are many parallels, but dependence cannot be shown conclusively to exist. 'The language and thought of Sirach often illustrate' these Psalms; 'actual correspondences of expression are found, but the agreement is generally to be explained by some passage of Scripture from which both writers have borrowed' (Ryle and James).

The following passages are cited by Ryle and James in their ed. of the Psalms of Solomon (p. lxiii f.): Ps. S. ii. 19, cp. Sirach xxxii. 12; Ps. S. iii. 7, 12, cp. Sirach iii. 25, v. 5, xxi. 1; Ps. S. v. 15–17, cp. Sirach xviii. 12; Ps. S. v. 14, cp. Sirach xl. 14; Ps. S. ix. 16–18, cp. Sirach xxxvi. 17; Ps. S. xiii. 2, 3, cp. Sirach xxxix. 29, 30; Ps. S. xiv. 3, cp. Sirach xvii. 14; Ps. S. xvi. 2, cp. Sirach li. 6; Ps. S. xvi. 7, 8, cp. Sirach ix. 8; Ps. S. xvii. 6, cp. Sirach xlv. 18.

iv. *The influence of Ben-Sira on Rabbinical Literature.* That Ben-Sira's book has exercised a considerable influence on Rabbinic literature hardly needs any further demonstration. Allusion has been already made more than once, in the course of this Introduction, to the large number of quotations from the book that occur in the Talmuds, the Midrashim, and the works of some great Jewish scholars and poets like Sa'adya and Ibn Gebirol.[1] Even after the work had been banned by distinguished Rabbinical authority, and so became suspect to the orthodox, collections of extracts from it were still circulated and read (in the original Hebrew) among the Jews.[2] Apparently, also, it was at some time or other translated, either in whole or in part, into Aramaic for Jewish use. It was only in the Middle Ages that the original work entirely vanished from knowledge in Jewry. The extent of its influence in the earlier period can be measured by recalling one or two important facts. It apparently exercised a formative influence on such important Jewish works as the tractates *Pirqe Aboth* and *Derek 'ereṣ* (*rabba* and, perhaps, *zuta*). Not only is Ben-Sira actually cited in *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 7 (= Sirach vii. 17; see note), but a whole series of parallels can be traced throughout the tractate,[3] which shows that the book was, in the earlier period, closely studied and much esteemed in Rabbinical circles. For parallels in the tractate *Derek 'ereṣ rabba* reference must be made to the notes in the commentary. A good illustration is to be seen in the section concerning behaviour at banquets (xxxi. 12–24 and notes).[4] This tractate is mainly concerned with rules about behaviour in social intercourse. Ben-Sira's book also influenced the liturgy. At any rate, in the prayer contained in xxxvi. 1–17 there are some remarkable parallels to parts of the *Shĕmōnēh 'Esrēh* ('Eighteen Blessings'), which occupies so important a position in all the synagogue services.[5] Of course, it is possible that an earlier form of this liturgical prayer was already in existence in the time of Ben-Sira, and that he is quoting from or alluding to it. This is, on the whole, the most probable explanation. Ben-Sira's prayer has a liturgical ring about it which suggests that it is not his own individual composition. The following citations will illustrate the parallelism referred to:

[1] Ben-Sira's vogue among the Rabbis of the period before the Middle Ages is well brought out (in detailed references) by Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 100–105.

[2] 𝔅ᶜ is an example of one such *florilegium*.

[3] Cp. e. g. the notes in the commentary on the following passages, where the parallels are cited: vii. 36, xi. 9, 28, xiii. 4, 9–13, xiv. 10, xxxi. 12, xxxviii. 24, &c.

[4] Cp. also xxxii. 1–10.

[5] The full form for week-days can be seen in Singer's *Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, pp. 44–54.

Sirach xxxvi. 4: *As Thou hast sanctified Thyself* (נקדשת) *before them*
So glorify Thyself in them before us.

Compare paragraph 3 of the *Shĕmōnēh 'Esrēh* ('the sanctification of the Name'):

Thou art holy and Thy name is holy . . .
Blessed art Thou the holy God.

The key-note here is 'holy' (sanctification).

Again, Sirach xxxvi. 11 *a* runs:

Gather all the tribes of Jacob,
That they may receive their inheritance as in the days of old.

The tenth paragraph of the *Shĕmōnēh 'Esrēh* is:

Sound the great horn for our freedom . . . and collect us from the four corners of the earth.

Possible parallels or allusions exist in this section to all except the sixth, eighth, and ninth paragraphs of the prayer, which it must be remembered in its present form contains nineteen sections. There is, however, at least one important part of the Jewish liturgy which is unquestionably dependent on Sirach. This is the rapturous description of the beautiful appearance of the High-Priest as he officiated in the temple on the Day of Atonement, which is still recited in the services of the day. It is largely based upon, and imitated from, the description of the High-Priest Simon the Just, given in Sirach l. It begins:

In truth, how glorious was the High-Priest as he came forth from the Holy of Holies in perfect peace.[1]

§ 8. Canonicity of the Book and its Use in the Early Church.

As is well known, Sirach owed its place and use in the Christian Church to the fact that it was included in the Alexandrine Canon; before coming to speak, therefore, of the early patristic evidence concerning our book, it will be well to draw attention to the ecclesiastical lists of the biblical books. 'Our earliest Christian list', says Prof. Swete (*Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 1900, p. 221), 'was obtained from Palestine,[2] and probably represents the contents of the Palestinian Greek Bible. It is an attempt to answer the question, What is the true number and order of the books of the Old Testament? Both the titles and the grouping are obviously Greek, but the books are exclusively those of the Hebrew Canon.' Sirach, therefore, together with the rest of the books of the Apocrypha, is excluded. Origen, in his Commentary on Ps. i, gives the second list that we know of, which belongs to a time not later than A.D. 231; he reckons as belonging to the Canon the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Old Testament.[3] But, strange to say, Origen includes in his list the First Book of Esdras (he treats 1, 2 Esdras as one book) and the Epistle of Jeremiah, neither of which had ever been regarded as canonical by the Jews. Origen's list is adopted by Athanasius, Cyril, and Epiphanius,[4] as well as in the Laodicean Canon, in each case with the addition of Baruch. Furthermore, as Dr. Swete goes on to say (*op. cit.*, p. 222), 'Amphilochius mentions two books of Esdras, and it is at least possible that the Esdras of Gregory of Nazianzus is intended to include both books, and that the Epistle, or Baruch and the Epistle, are to be understood as forming part of Jeremiah in the lists both of Gregory and Amphilochius.' The point of importance which these facts reveal is that 'an expansion of the Hebrew Canon, which involved no addition to the number of the books, was predominant in the East during the fourth century'. Dr. Swete gives two other lists: one mentioned by Lagarde (*Septuagintastudien*, ii. 60 ff.), Σύνοψις ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ, in which the Wisdom of Jesus (the son) of Sirach is mentioned among the canonical Scriptures (so, too, Tobit and Judith); and the other is anonymous; in it Sirach is, together with Tobit and the Wisdom of Solomon, placed under Apocrypha, though Judith is reckoned among the canonical books.

[1] This composition is the work of the Jewish mediaeval poet Meshullam bar-Kalonymus. It forms part of the *Musaf*, or Additional' Prayer for the Day of 'Atonement, and can be seen in any of the Collections of Jewish Festival Prayers (in Routledge's edition, vol. ii of Day of Atonement Festival Prayers, p. 166 f.). See also *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (Oesterley and Box), ed. 2, p. 428.

[2] Melito (*c.* A.D. 180) *ap.* Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 26 ἐπειδὴ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθης ἀκρίβειαν, πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὁποῖα τὴν τάξιν εἶεν . . . ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη . . . ἔπεμψά σοι.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 25 εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βίβλοι καθ' Ἑβραίους αἵδε . . .

[4] On the evidence of these Fathers see further below.

The following evidence of a more official kind may be added. It is conceivable that there is in the *Muratorian Fragment*[1] (which, as Westcott says, 'expresses with fair distinctness the first known judgement of the Catholic Church on the sum of the Christian Scriptures') a reference to the Wisdom of Sirach in the words: 'Et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta;'[2] it has to be remembered in this connexion that, as we shall see presently, the book of the Wisdom of Sirach, together with other books of the Apocrypha, seems from the beginning to have enjoyed greater esteem in the Western than in the Eastern Church. Next, the eighty-fifth of the Apostolical Canons gives a list[3] of the books of the Hebrew Canon, and adds the three first books of the Maccabees and the Wisdom of Sirach; these last four are not, however, included in the Canon, though the Wisdom of Sirach is specially recommended for the instruction of the young. Again, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, vi. 14, 15 (≐ *Didascalia*), quotations from Sirach are given with the same formula as those from the books of the Hebrew Canon,[4] but in the list given in ii. 57 of the same work there is no mention of any of the books of the Apocrypha.[5] On the other hand, at the Council of Hippo (A.D. 393) Sirach was specially mentioned as being one of the canonical books, while at the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) the 'five books of Solomon', i.e. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, and Sirach, are reckoned among the canonical Scriptures.[6] This was also confirmed by the Council of Carthage in A.D. 419.

Coming now to speak in some detail of what the Church Fathers[7] say as to the canonicity or otherwise of the book, we turn first to the Eastern Church.

In the *Didache* iv. 6 (*c.* 120) Sirach iv. 31 is quoted thus: Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν, which is sufficiently near the wording of Sirach iv. 31 to show that it is intended to be a quotation, viz. Μὴ ἔστω ἡ χείρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδόναι συνεσταλμένη. The same text is quoted in the Epistle of Barnabas, xix. 9 (*c.* 120). Eusebius, as we have already seen, quotes *Melito of Sardis* (d. *c.* 180), however, to the effect that the books of the Hebrew Bible are the only canonical ones; he excludes, therefore, Sirach.[8] The evidence of Clement of Alexandria (d. 220) is conflicting; in his *Paedagogus* he quotes very often from Sirach, and speaks of it as ἡ γραφή and θεία γραφή (e.g. II, chap. xxxiv. 4, xlviii. 4, lix. 4; III, chap. xviii, xxiii. 4, lxxxiii. 3), from which it would evidently appear that he regarded it as canonical Scripture; but, according to Eusebius, Clement reckoned Sirach among the 'Antilegomena', for in speaking of Clement's works he mentions the *Stromateis*, or 'Medleys', and says: 'He quotes in them passages from the disputed Scriptures, the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, for example, and (that) of Jesus the son of Sirach, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of Barnabas, Clement, and Jude.'[9] Origen, too, gives conflicting evidence; we

[1] Published by Muratori in 1740 from a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, though belonging originally to the great Irish monastery of Bobbio. 'It was found in a volume of Latin fragments and translations which dates apparently from the eighth century. But the fragment itself was evidently copied from a manuscript of much higher antiquity; for it was mutilated both at the beginning and end before it was transcribed. The writer claims to be a contemporary of Pius, who was bishop of Rome in the middle of the second century; so that its date may be fixed with tolerable certainty between A.D. 160 and 170' (Westcott, *The Bible in the Church* (2nd ed.), p. 112).

[2] See further on this G. Kuhn, *Das muratorische Fragment*, pp. 94, 112.

[3] Westcott says in reference to this: 'The list of the books of the Bible in the eighty-fifth of the *Apostolical Canons* was introduced into its present place at a much later date. Yet the list itself is remarkable, and probably Alexandrine in origin. . . . This canon, together with the canon of Carthage, was ratified at the Quinisextine Council [of Constantinople, A.D. 553], and had a powerful influence on many of the Eastern Churches' (*op. cit.*, p. 176).

[4] Cp. Herbst, *Hist.-krit. Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften*, ii. pp. 1 f.

[5] Μέσος δ' ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἑστὼς ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν Κριτῶν καὶ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν Παραλειπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἐπανόδου· πρὸς τούτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰὼβ καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα προφητῶν. Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γινομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἕτερός τις τοὺς τοῦ Δαυὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.

[6] The thirty-ninth canon reads as follows: 'Item placuit ut praeter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum; sunt autem Canonicae Scripturae hae': then follow the books of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Chronicles, Job, the Psalter, after which it continues: 'Salomonis libri quinque, libri duodecim prophetarum, Jesaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdrae libri duo, Machabaeorum libri duo': and then the books of the New Testament are enumerated. After this the following words occur: 'Let this be made known also to our brother and fellow-priest Boniface, or to other bishops of those parts, for the purpose of confirming that canon, because we have received from our fathers that those books must be read in the Church' (quoted by Westcott, *Canon*, pp. 439 f., 541 f.). As Westcott says further: 'Between the years A.D. 390 and 419 no less than six councils were held in Africa, and four of these at Carthage. For a time, under the inspiration of Aurelius and Augustine, the Church of Tertullian and Cyprian was filled with a new life before its fatal desolation.'

[7] Among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers there is only one citation from Sirach, viz. iv. 31, which is quoted in *Ep. Barn.* xix. 9.

[8] Eusebius, *H.E.* iv. 26. In *Strom.* II. chap. xiv. 5 (ed. Stählin), however, Sirach vi. 33 is referred to as Solomon's. And such a passage as the following suggests that Clement regarded Sirach as canonical Scripture: *Strom.* V. chap. ii. 1 "Μακάριος ὁ λέγων εἰς ὦτα ἀκουόντων·" (Sirach xxv. 9) πίστις δὲ ὦτα ψυχῆς, καὶ ταύτην αἰνίσσεται τὴν πίστιν ὁ Κύριος λέγων "ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω" (Matt. xi. 15).

[9] Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 13.

have seen above that in the list of canonical Scriptures which he gives he only regards the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon as the genuine Scriptures of the Old Testament, but elsewhere he speaks of Sirach, the Book of Wisdom, and other books of the Apocrypha as 'authoritative Scripture', or as 'the Divine Word', or as 'Holy Scripture' (see e.g. Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, ii. 95, ed. Migne; *Contra Cels.* vi. 7, vii. 12); in these works he quotes Sirach vi. 4 and xxi. 18 as 'Holy Scripture'. As Westcott says, in speaking of Origen: 'In his other writings he uses apocryphal books as divine and authoritative, yet not without noticing the difference of opinion on the subject. But even in his case the familiar use of the Greek Bible practically overpowered his knowledge of the original Hebrew Canon, and in his famous "Letter to Africanus" he expressly defends the reception among Christians of the additions found in the Alexandrine Septuagint.'[1] Not that Origen was ignorant of the Hebrew Bible, for Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 16) tells us that 'so accurate an examination was Origen undertaking with the Holy Scriptures that he even learned the Hebrew language, and acquired as his private possession original copies of the Scriptures in Hebrew characters, which were current among the Jews themselves'.[2] The evidence of Eusebius (d. 340) has been admirably summarized by Westcott as follows: 'Eusebius has left no express judgement on the contents of the Old Testament. In three places he quotes from Josephus, Melito, and Origen, lists of the books (slightly differing) according to the Hebrew Canon. These he calls in the first place "the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament (lit. 'Scriptures in the Testament'), undisputed among the Hebrews"; and, again, "the acknowledged Scriptures of the Old Testament"; and, lastly, "the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament." In his *Chronicle* he distinctly separates the Book of Maccabees from the "Divine Scriptures", and elsewhere mentions Sirach and Wisdom as "controverted" books. On the other hand, like the older Fathers, he quotes in the same manner as the contents of the Hebrew Canon passages from Baruch and Wisdom. On the whole, it may be concluded that he regarded the Apocrypha of the Old Testament in the same light as the books of the New Testament, which were "controverted and yet familiarly used by many". The books of the Hebrew Canon alone were, in his technical language, "acknowledged." One general characteristic of his judgement must not be neglected. It is based expressly on the collective testimony of antiquity expressed in the works of the chief ecclesiastical writers. There was no combined decision of any number of churches to which he could appeal. . . . According to Eusebius the only method by which the contents of the Bible could be determined was that of a simple historical inquiry into the belief and practice of earlier generations, and this did not appear to him to lead to a certain conclusion in every case.'[3] The evidence of Athanasius (d. 373) is likewise very important, both on account of his high ecclesiastical position as metropolitan of Egypt, as well as on account of his dominating personality. In the thirty-ninth of his *Festal Letters*[4] he writes as follows: 'As I am about to speak (of the divine Scriptures), I shall use for the support of my boldness the model of the Evangelist Luke, and say as he does, *Forasmuch as* some *have taken in hand to set forth in order* for themselves the so-called Apocrypha, and to mix these with the inspired Scripture *which* we *most surely believe, even as they delivered* it to our fathers *which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also*, having been urged by true brethren, and having learned the truth *from the first*, to publish the books which are admitted in the Canon, and have been *delivered* to us, and are believed to be divine, that if any one has been deceived he may condemn those who led him astray, and he that has remained pure from error may rejoice in being again reminded (of the truth). All the books therefore of the Old Testament are in number twenty-two.' He then enumerates the books of the Hebrew Canon; these are followed by a list of the New Testament books, after which he continues: 'But for the sake of greater accuracy I add this also, writing of necessity, that there are also other books excluded from among these (ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν), not canonical, which have been framed by the Fathers to be read

[1] *The Bible in the Church*, p. 136; and cp. Eusebius's words (*H. E.* vi. 31): 'At this time Africanus also, the compiler of the *Cesti* [i. e. "Mystic Girdles"] as they are called, came into note. A letter of his, written to Origen, is extant, in which he intimates doubts about the Story of Susannah, in Daniel, as being ungenuine and fictitious, to which Origen wrote a very full answer.' It is true that Sirach is not mentioned by Origen in his letter to Africanus, but since he defends Susannah, much more would he have defended Sirach if the authority of this book had been specifically called in question; moreover, the objection urged by Africanus against the reception of Susannah, viz. that it did not exist in Hebrew, did not apply to Sirach, the Prologue of which was sufficient to prove its Hebrew origin even if Africanus did not know of any existing Hebrew copies.

[2] Cp. also the words of Jerome (*De viris illustr.* liv), who tells us that Origen had so much holy zeal for the Scriptures 'ut etiam hebraeam linguam contra aetatis gentisque suae naturam edisceret' (quoted by Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 348 note).

[3] *The Bible in the Church*, pp. 153 ff.

[4] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxvi, col. 1347. These Paschal, or Festal Letters, were pastorals issued by the bishops of Alexandria; they were originally written for the purpose of announcing the date of Easter, but gradually assumed the character of an annual metropolitan pronouncement in which topics of prominent interest were dealt with.

by those who are just approaching [entry into the Church], and who desire to be instructed in the word of godliness: the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobias, and the so-called Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. And, nevertheless, beloved, neither among those books which are canonical, nor among those that are read [i.e. those just enumerated], is there anywhere mention made of the apocryphal (books).' It is worth noticing here that Athanasius uses the word 'apocryphal' in an entirely different sense from that in which the word is now used in reference to the books of our Apocrypha; indeed, he goes on to say in this passage that such apocryphal books are 'a device of heretics', words which in view of the passage before us he could not possibly have ever applied to the books of what we now understand by the Apocrypha. One example, at least, exists of Athanasius quoting from Sirach, and speaking of it as 'Holy Scripture' (*Contra Arianos*, xii), but it is evident that, upon the whole, Athanasius did not regard Ecclesiasticus as belonging to the canonical Scriptures, for among these he included only the books of the Hebrew Canon.[1] Amphilochius (*c.* 380) enumerates the books of the Old Testament, but includes only the books of the Hebrew Canon, and makes no mention of the books of the Apocrypha.[2] Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) in his *Catechetical Lectures* (iv. 35) quotes the books of the Hebrew Canon (among which he, too, includes Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah as belonging to the Book of Jeremiah) as the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, after which he says: Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. He, however, quotes Sirach in his *Catechetical Lectures*, vi. 3. Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389) divides the books of the Hebrew Canon, which alone he acknowledges as canonical Scripture, into three groups—historical,[3] poetical, and prophetical; in the second, besides Job and 'David', he includes three of 'Solomon', Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Proverbs; no mention at all is made of any books outside the Hebrew Canon, there is only a reference to 'strange books', against which the reader is warned.[4] In the Preface to the *Synopsis Sacr. Script.* (pseudo-Chrysostom)[5] there is a threefold division of Scripture: τὸ ἱστορικόν, τὸ συμβουλευτικόν, and τὸ προφητικόν, in the second of which are included Proverbs, the Wisdom of Sirach, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. Chrysostom himself quotes passages from Baruch, Sirach, and Wisdom as 'divine Scripture'. We come next to the evidence of Epiphanius (d. 404); in three places[6] he enumerates the canonical books, holding these to be only those of the Hebrew Canon; but he is not altogether consistent, for in one place he includes the 'letters of Jeremiah and Baruch' in Jeremiah, while in another he remarks that 'the letters of Baruch' are not found in the Hebrew Bible. 'He is equally inconsistent or uncertain', says Westcott, 'with regard to Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. These', he says, 'occupy a doubtful place. They are useful, and still they are not reckoned among the acknowledged books, nor were they ever placed in the Ark of the Covenant,'[7] i.e. regarded as Scripture by the Jews. Yet again, after enumerating summarily all the books of the Old and New Testaments, he adds, 'and the books of Wisdom, that of Solomon, and of the son of Sirach, and generally all divine writings.' It is evident that he wishes to combine the practice of the early Fathers with their direct teaching. He will sacrifice nothing which had even the appearance of authority, and this characteristic of the man gives weight to his repeated statement that the books of the Old Testament 'were twenty-seven, counted as twenty-two'. The Hebrew Canon was that which he, like all the other Greek Fathers, wished to mark as definitely authoritative, though he admitted to a second place the books which had been sanctioned in some measure by Christian usage.[8] In the list given by Leontius (*De Sectis*, ii) and in the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus no mention is made of Sirach, though in the latter Baruch is mentioned among the canonical books.[9] Finally, John of Damascus (d. 750) in his *De fide orthod.* iv. 17 speaks of Wisdom and Sirach, after enumerating the books of the Hebrew Canon, in the following way: Ἡ δὲ Πανάρετος, τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ μὲν τοῦ Σιρὰχ ἐξέθετο Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ τούτου μὲν ἔγγονος Ἰησοῦς τοῦ δὲ Σιρὰχ υἱός· ἐνάρετοι μὲν καὶ καλαὶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀριθμοῦνται οὐδὲ ἔκειντο ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ.[10] In his *De Imag.* i he speaks of Baruch as 'divine Scripture'.

[1] At the same time it is worth noting that Athanasius clearly did not feel himself bound by the Hebrew Canon, for he includes Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah among the canonical Scriptures, and excludes Esther from the Canon.

[2] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxxvii, p. 1593.

[3] Ruth is treated as a separate book, and Esther is omitted altogether; Nehemiah is not mentioned, but included under Esdras among the historical books.

[4] *Haer.* I. i. 5; *De mens. et pond.*, §§ 4, 23.

[5] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* iii. 473 f.

[6] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lvi. 513 ff. Westcott regards this as 'certainly a Syrian catalogue of Chrysostom's time' (*The Bible in the Church*, p. 174).

[7] i.e. the 'ark' in the Synagogue; the rolls of the canonical Scriptures read in the Synagogue service were kept there; κιβωτός = תֵּיבָה ('chest').

[8] *The Bible in the Church*, pp. 172 f.

[9] Cp. Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

[10] Cp. Westcott, *The Canon of the New Testament* (5th ed.), p. 546.

We turn next to the Western Church. The earliest evidence is that of Irenaeus (d. 202); although he nowhere quotes from Sirach,[1] he has in his *Adv. Haeres.* iv. 26, v. 35, quotations from Baruch, which he cites as 'Jeremiah the prophet', and from the *Additions to Daniel*, which he cites as 'Daniel the prophet', and also from Wisdom;[2] presumably, therefore, he would have regarded the books of the Apocrypha as canonical. Tertullian (d. 220), in quoting from our book (e.g. *Contra Gnostic.* viii, *De Exhort. Castit.* ii, *De Hab. Mul.* iii), uses the same formula as that with which he introduces the quotations from the books of the Hebrew Canon, viz. *sicut scriptum est.* Cyprian (d. 258), in his *Testimonia* (e.g. iii. 95, 96)[3] and in his letters (e.g. *Ep.* lix. 20),[3] has many quotations from Sirach, and, like Tertullian, introduces them with the formula *sicut scriptum est*, or with the even more definite words *Scriptura divina dicit.* Methodius[4] (*c.* 311), who was bishop of Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, quotes without reserve from Sirach, Wisdom, and Baruch, treating them all as 'Scripture'. Hilary of Poitiers (d. 368) has a list of the books of the Old Testament in his *Prol. in libr. Psalm.*[5] in which only the Epistle of Jeremiah among the books of the Apocrypha is included, but at the end of this list he adds the words: 'Quibusdam autem visum est additis Tobia et Judith xxiv libros secundum numerum Graecorum literarum connumerare'; nevertheless, he cites Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom as 'prophets', an expression which seems to imply his belief in their canonicity. Philastrius of Brescia (d. 397) gives an account of the Scriptures in his *De Haeres.* lx, lxi, in which he says that only the canonical books, meaning thereby the books of the Hebrew Canon, should be read in church; in the same work (lxxxviii) he says that the 'book of the Wisdom of Sirach' is used by a heretical sect, but he quotes Wisdom as the work of a 'prophet'. Rufinus (*c.* 410), in his *Comm. in Symbol. Apostol.*, §§ 36–38, gives a list of the Old Testament Scriptures comprised in the Hebrew Canon as those which 'the Fathers included in the Canon' (§ 37); he then continues, in the next section: 'Nevertheless, it should be known that there are also other books which by men of old were called not "canonical" but "ecclesiastical", namely, Wisdom, which is called Solomon's, and the other Wisdom, that of the son of Sirach'; he also includes other books in this category.[6] The important evidence of Jerome (d. 420) requires a little more detailed consideration. He was the first to make any thoroughgoing and successful attempt to differentiate between the canonical books of the Hebrew Bible and the books of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church; his intercourse with Rabbis and his knowledge of the Bible in Hebrew were the means of equipping him in a special way for his biblical studies. Jerome was, moreover, the first to use the term 'Apocrypha', in its present technical sense, in reference to the uncanonical books. In the *Prologus Galeatus* (the 'Helmed Prologue', with which he prefaces his translation of the books of Samuel and Kings), after enumerating the books of the Hebrew Canon, he says that every other book (referring, of course, to the Alexandrine Canon) is to be reckoned among the Apocrypha ('quidquid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha esse ponendum'); and he goes on: 'Therefore Wisdom, commonly entitled (The Wisdom) of Solomon, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobit, and the Shepherd are not in the Canon.' To the same effect are his words in the preface to his Commentary on the Salomonic books: 'Porro in eo libro qui a plerisque *Sapienta Salomonis* inscribitur, et in Ecclesiastico, quam esse Iesu filii Sirach nullus ignorat, calamo temperavi, tantummodo canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans et studium meum certis magis quam dubiis commendare'; and, again, in the same preface he says: 'Sicut ergo Judith et Tobi et Macchabaeorum libros quidem legit Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit, sic et haec duo volumina (i. e. Sirach and Wisdom) legat ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.' But in spite of what Jerome says here, he not infrequently quotes from the books of the Apocrypha with the same introductory formula which he uses when quoting from the books of the Hebrew Canon; thus in his Commentary on Isaiah (ii. 3) he prefaces quotations from Sirach and Wisdom with 'sicut scriptum est'.[7]

Our next authority is Augustine (d. 430), whose authority over the Western Church was almost as great as that of Jerome. The following, from his *De Doctr. Christiana*, ii. 8, will show that he regarded the books of the Apocrypha generally as more authoritative than Jerome did. After enumerating the Old Testament books in the order—Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–4 Kings,

[1] This silence does not of itself necessarily mean that Irenaeus did not regard Sirach as Scripture; it is worth noting that some books of the Hebrew Canon are never quoted or even alluded to in the New Testament, viz. Esther, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.

[2] He also mentions this book in a work of his which is now lost; see Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 26.

[3] Hartel's edition.

[4] Not to be confounded with the Methodius who, in conjunction with his brother Cyril, translated the Greek Bible into Slavonic in the ninth century, and preached the faith to the Slavs.

[5] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* i. 241.

[6] Ed. Migne, pp. 373 ff.

[7] It is worth noting that the books of Tobit and Judith were translated by Jerome from the Aramaic and incorporated in the Vulgate, but Wisdom, Sirach, the two books of the Maccabees, and Baruch as found in the Vulgate are not the work of Jerome, but are all ante-Hieronymian (cp. Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

1, 2 Chronicles, he goes on: 'Haec est historia quae sibimet annexa tempora continet atque ordinem rerum: sunt aliae tanquam ex diverso ordine quae neque huic ordini neque inter se connectuntur, sicut est Job et Tobias et Esther et Judith et Machabaeorum libri duo et Esdrae duo, qui magis subsequi videntur ordinatam illam historiam usque ad Regnorum vel Paralipomenon terminatam: deinde Prophetae in quibus David unus liber Psalmorum, et Salomonis tres, Proverbiorum, Cantica Canticorum, et Ecclesiastes. Nam illi duo libri unus qui Sapientia et alius qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur, nam Iesus Sirach eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt inter propheticos numerandi sunt.' Though he thus speaks with some reserve respecting Wisdom and Sirach he regards them as canonical, for at the end of his enumeration of the books of the Old and New Testaments he says: 'In his omnibus libris timentes Deum et pietate mansueti quaerunt voluntatem Dei.' In the *Speculum*[1] Augustine deals in the same way with Sirach as with the canonical books. John Cassian (*c.* 450) cites Sirach ii. 1 as Scripture in his *De Inst. Caen.* iv. 38.[2] Innocent II, in a list of the Scriptural books in his *Ep. ad Exsuperium*,[3] reckons five books of Solomon (i.e. he includes Sirach and Wisdom); the *pseudo-Gelasian* list[4] includes Sirach and Wisdom, as well as Tobit, Judith, and 1, 2 Maccabees, among the canonical books. And, lastly, Cassiodorus (d. 570), in his enumeration of the books of the Bible (*De inst. Div. litt.* 14)[5] also includes Sirach and Wisdom among the books of Solomon, and therefore regards them as canonical; so also Tobit, Judith, 1, 2 Esdras, 1, 2 Maccabees.

It is unnecessary to give further evidence, for from this time onwards all the books of the Apocrypha are usually found in the Old Testament undistinguished from the other books. So that the evidence of the early Church, taken as a whole, is in the direction of looking favourably upon Sirach as being, at the very least, a book which was both edifying and instructive; nevertheless, it is regarded as less authoritative than the books of the Hebrew Canon.

§ 9. The Theology of the Book.

i. *The Doctrine of God.* Ben-Sira's conception and teaching of the Almighty is very full; not only his orthodox belief, but still more his religious mind which so often expresses itself in his book, impelled him in the most natural way to refer very frequently to the Divine Personality, His attributes, and His relationship to men. First and foremost comes, of course, his teaching concerning the *Unity of God*, e.g. xlii. 21:

From everlasting He is the same;

and again in xxxvi. 5 (𝔊 xxxiii. 5):

That they may know, as we also know,
That there is none other God but Thee.

In the long section xliii. 1–26 Ben-Sira describes the divine activity in Nature, and he concludes (*v.* 27) with the words:

The conclusion of the matter is: He is all.[6]

The Greek (τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός) might be thought to point to a pantheistic tendency, but the context makes it clear that all that Ben-Sira wishes to show is that God is to be discovered in all His works; the very definite personality which he always imputes to God amply proves that he was entirely free from all pantheistic tendencies. This teaching of God as the All-God leads on naturally to that of God as the *Creator of all*; here Ben-Sira gets his main inspiration from the Psalms, see the fine passage xlii. 15–xliii. 33, and cp. also xxxix. 16 and xlii. 21. In this last passage it is said that all created things are the products of the divine wisdom; this is further emphasized by the description of the *all-knowledge* of God in xlii. 18–25, see especially *vv.* 18, 19:

For Jahveh possesseth all knowledge,[7]
And seeth what cometh unto eternity.[7]
He declareth what is past and what is future,
And revealeth the profoundest secrets.

The *eternity* of God also frequently finds expression, e.g. xviii. 1 ff.:

He that liveth for ever created all things together . . .

[1] Chap. xxiii (ed. Weihrich). In the *pseudo-Speculum* almost every chapter of Sirach is quoted from.
[2] Ed. Petschenig. [3] Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 211. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.
[6] Cp. also xxxvi. 1: 'Save us, O God of all.' [7] These two lines are wanting in the Hebrew.

and xxxvi. 17 (𝔊 22):

. . . That all the ends of the earth may know
That Thou art the eternal God.

Belonging to this cycle of conceptions is also the *Holiness* of God; this is taught, e.g. in xxiii. 9:

Accustom not thy mouth to an oath,
Nor make a habit of the naming of the Holy One.

See further iv. 14, xliii. 10, xlvii. 8, xlviii. 20.

Another side to Ben-Sira's doctrine of God is that in which he deals with the relationship of God towards Israel on the one hand, and towards the Gentiles on the other. The more usual Jewish view that God is the God of Israel only is taught, e.g. in xvii. 17:

For every nation He appointed a ruler,[1]
But Israel is the Lord's portion;[1]

and the fact that the Wisdom of God belongs to Israel in a pre-eminent degree shows them to be in a special sense His people; see the whole passage xxiv. 8 ff., especially *v.* 12:

And I [i.e. Wisdom] *took root among an honoured people,*[1]
In the portion of the Lord (and) of His inheritance.[1]

Moreover, the whole section on the praise of Israel's heroes of old (xliv–xlix) reveals the belief that Israel is a particularly favoured nation in the sight of God. On the other hand, Ben-Sira is not wholly particularistic; he realizes that God is the God of all the world, and therefore he sometimes strikes a universalistic note, e.g. in xviii. 13, 14:

The mercy of man is (exercised upon) his own kin,
But the mercy of God is (extended) to all flesh,
Reproving, and chastening, and teaching,
And bringing them back as a shepherd his flock.
He hath mercy on them that accept (His) chastening,
And that diligently seek after His judgements.[2]

The attributes of mercy and forgiveness here portrayed find very frequent utterance, and of course the same is true of the converse; God's wrath strikes the wicked whether they be Jews or Gentiles. The doctrine of the divine *Fatherhood* also finds expression in our book. As Toy says, referring to the older view: 'The old Israelitish idea of the divine love was, so far as we can gather from the literature, a purely national one. Jahveh was the father (Hos. xi. 1) or the husband (Jer. ii. 1, iii. 4; Isa. lxii. 5) of Israel. In the later psalms more individual relation is expressed; Jahveh is said to pity them that fear Him as a father pities his children (Ps. ciii. 13). Gradually the paternal relation as expressing most completely the combination of guidance and tenderness came to be employed as the representative of God's relation to man';[3] and he quotes several passages from the Apocrypha, among them xxiii. 1 of our book:

O Lord, Father, and God of my life,[1]

which certainly witnesses to a real belief in the Fatherhood of God in regard to the individual.

ii. *The Law.* 'About half the passages in which the Law is mentioned in this book are wanting in the Hebrew; in those which are extant in Hebrew the usual word rendered *νόμος* in Greek is תורה, but in ix. 15 the Hebrew is certainly corrupt,[1] in xliv. 20 the word is מצוה ("commandment"), and in xlv. 17 it is משפט ("judgement"). With three exceptions (ii. 16, xv. 1, xlix. 4) *νόμος* is used without the article. In the Prologue it is used with the article three times, but in each case it is in reference to the threefold division of the Canon (*ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*). On the other hand, the concluding words in the Prologue are: . . . *ἐν νόμῳ βιωτεύειν.* In xxxvi. (EV xxxiii.) 3 the article is almost necessary grammatically.'[4] Ben-Sira gives great prominence to the Law both in its ethical and ritual aspects, differing in this markedly from Proverbs, to which he is in other respects so much indebted; and the stress which he lays on the importance of the Law, and legal observances generally, marks his book out as perhaps the most striking link we have between the older and the newer Judaism, that is to say, the Judaism of post-

[1] Wanting in Hebrew. [2] The whole passage is wanting in Hebrew. [3] *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 83.
[4] But we should probably read בתורת יי. [5] Oesterley, *Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge Bible), p. liii.

exilic times and Rabbinical Judaism. But he uses the word 'Law' in a wide sense; and herein, too, we are able to recognize the way in which the teaching of this book leads over in so many respects to the later Rabbinism, for what Schechter says regarding the meaning of the term 'Law' in Rabbinic literature applies also to its meaning in Sirach: 'The term Law or *Nomos* is not a correct rendering of the Hebrew word "Torah". The legalistic element, which might rightly be called the Law, represents only one side of the Torah. To the Jew the word Torah means a teaching or instruction of any kind. It may be either a general principle or a specific injunction, whether it be found in the Pentateuch or in the other parts of the Scriptures, or even outside the Canon. The juxtaposition in which Torah and Mitzvôth, "teaching" and "commandments", are to be found in the Rabbinic literature implies already that the former means something more than merely the Law. . . . To use the modern phraseology, to the Rabbinic Jew Torah was both an institution and a faith.'[1] Torah is, therefore, to be understood in both an extended and in a restricted sense according to the general purport of the passage in which the term occurs.

We may note, then, first of all the general emphasis which Ben-Sira lays on the observance of the Law as being the prime duty of the people to whom Jahveh has given the Law; he says, for example, in ix. 15:

With the intelligent let thy communing be,
And all thy converse in the Law of the Most High.

He teaches that there can be no honour for those who do not observe the Law:

A despicable race is that which transgresseth the commandment (x. 19).

The duty of seeking the Law, of believing it, and of meditating upon its precepts is insisted on in xxxii. 15–24:

He that seeketh out the Law shall gain her,
But the hypocrite shall be snared thereby. . . .
In all thy works guard thyself,
For he that so doeth keepeth the commandment.
He that observeth the Law guardeth himself,
And he that trusteth in Jahveh shall not be brought to shame;

and see also xxxix. 1 ff. Ben-Sira urges men not to be ashamed of the Law (xlii. 2), and recalls how the nation's great heroes in the past observed it and were enlightened by it, and taught it to others (see xliv. 20, xlv. 5, 17, xlvi. 14). The observance of the commandments of the Law is the one thing to be thought of at the approach of death (xxviii. 6).

Since the Law was given by God it is, like Him, eternal, and this brings us to what is perhaps the most interesting part of Ben-Sira's doctrine concerning the Law, namely, his identification of it with Wisdom; for this implies the pre-existence of the Law, as well as its divine character (see further the section on Wisdom). This conception of the Law, which, as far as is known, is found here for the first time in Jewish literature, became later on, with one exception (viz. the doctrine of the unity of God), the most important dogma of Rabbinical Judaism.[2] But the way in which the identification of Wisdom with the Law is taken for granted in Sirach makes it clear that Ben-Sira was not expressing a new truth, but one which had already received general acceptance. He says, for example, in xv. 1:

For he that feareth the Lord doeth this

[i.e. seeks Wisdom, which is the subject of the preceding verses],

And he that taketh hold of the Law findeth her [i.e. Wisdom].

Again, the Law and Wisdom are used synonymously in xxxiv. (𝔊 xxxi.) 8:

Without deceit shall the Law be fulfilled,
And Wisdom is perfect in a mouth that is faithful.

So also in xxi. 11:

He that keepeth the Law controlleth his natural tendency,[3]
And the fear of the Lord is the consummation of Wisdom.

[1] *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 117 f.
[2] See the authors' book *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (2nd ed.), pp. 161–177.
[3] See the note on this in the commentary.

This identification is further implied by 'the fear of the Lord' being both the true observance of the Law as well as the 'beginning' of Wisdom; both thoughts occur a number of times in the book. But the most direct assertion of the identity of the two is found in xxiv. 23, where it is said:

All these things [i.e. things concerning Wisdom which are mentioned in the preceding verses] *are the book of the covenant of God Most High,*
The Law which Moses commanded (*as*) *an heritage for the assemblies of Jacob.*

The same is taught in xix. 20:

All wisdom is the fear of the Lord,
And all wisdom is the fulfilling of the Law.

Ben-Sira taught, as we have seen, that the Law was eternal, a doctrine which is further illustrated by the way in which he identifies the Law with Wisdom, which is also eternal (see next section); the special point of interest in this connexion is that the doctrine of the existence of the Law before the Creation—a thoroughly Rabbinical doctrine—is seen to have been taught long before Christian times. As an example of the Rabbinical teaching reference may be made to the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* viii, where it is said that the Torah is two thousand years older than the Creation; and in the first chapter (in the comment on Gen. i. 1) of the same Midrash it is said: 'Six things preceded the creation of the world; among them were such as were themselves truly created, and such as were decided upon before the Creation; the Torah and the throne of glory were truly created.'

Another important point concerning the Law is Ben-Sira's teaching on the spirit in which legal ordinances should be observed. 'It might seem doubtful', says Toy, 'whether the introduction of the finished Law was an unmixed good from the ethical point of view. The code was largely ritualistic; it fixed men's minds on ceremonial details which it in some cases put into the same category and on the same level with moral duties. Would there not hence result a dimming of the moral sense and a confusion of moral distinctions? The ethical attitude of a man who could regard a failure in the routine of sacrifice as not less blameworthy than an act of theft cannot be called a lofty one. If such had been the general effect of the ritual law we should have to pronounce it an evil. But in point of fact the result was different. What may be called the natural debasing tendency of a ritual was counteracted by other influences, by the ethical elements of the Law itself, and by the general moral progress of the community. The great legal schools which grew up in the second century, if we may judge by the sayings of the teachers which have come down to us, did not fail to discriminate between the outward and the inward, the ceremonial and the moral; and the conception of sin corresponded to the idea of the ethical standard.'[1] Now the teaching of Ben-Sira on the spirit in which the sacrifices prescribed in the Law are to be observed is a striking illustration of what is here so truly said: in xxxiv. 18, 19 (𝔊 xxxi. 21–23) he urges:

The sacrifice of the unrighteous man is a mocking offering,
And unacceptable are the oblations of the godless.
The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the ungodly,
Neither doth He forgive sins for a multitude of sacrifices.

And again, a few verses later on, he says:

He who washeth after (*contact with*) *a dead body and toucheth it again,*
What hath he gained by his bathing?
So a man fasting for his sins
And again doing the same—
Who will listen to his prayer?
And what hath he gained by his humiliation?

Such words offer an eloquent proof of Ben-Sira's spiritual conception concerning the observance of the Law.

iii. *The Teaching on Wisdom.*

The divine character of Wisdom is graphically brought out in xxiv. 3–5:

I came forth from the mouth of the Most High (cp. i. 1),
And as a mist I covered the earth;

[1] *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 186.

In the high places did I fix my abode,
And my throne was in the pillar of cloud.
Alone I compassed the circuit of heaven,
And in the depth of the abyss I walked.

That Wisdom took her part in the creation of the world comes out clearly in the two following passages:

Before them all [i.e. the heavens and the earth] *was Wisdom created* (i. 4);

from the words which follow a little later on Ben-Sira evidently conceived of Wisdom having been created in preparation for the work of Creation which was to come, for he continues in verse 9:

He Himself created her, and saw, and numbered her;
And poured her out upon all His works . . .[1]

The existence of Wisdom before the creation of the world is again, and more definitely, stated in xxiv. 9 *a*:

He created me from the beginning, before the world.

This vivid personification of Wisdom is based on Proverbs, where the same thought finds expression in viii. 22, 23:

The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way,
Before His works of old.
I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning,
Or ever the earth was. (See the whole passage, Prov. viii. 22–31.)

The intimate relationship between Wisdom and the Almighty naturally involves the eternity of Wisdom, a truth set forth in the opening words of our book:

All Wisdom cometh from the Lord,
And is with Him for ever.

The same is implied in xxiv. 9 *b*:

The memorial of me shall never cease.[2]

The personification of Wisdom is illustrated in another way when it is said that she takes up her abode among men, and invites them to come and dwell with her:

With faithful men is she, and she hath been established from eternity,[3]
And with their seed shall she continue (i. 15).
Come unto me, ye that desire me,
And be ye filled with my produce;
For my memorial is sweeter than honey,
And the possession of me than the honey-comb (xxiv. 19, 20).

It is characteristic of Ben-Sira's attitude in desiring to show the superiority of the wisdom of Israel over that of the Greeks that he should represent Wisdom as having sought a resting-place among the nations of the world, but that Israel alone was worthy of her, and that among them, therefore, God bids her abide;[4] he says in xxiv. 7, 8 f., 12:

With all these [i.e. every people and nation] *I sought a resting-place,*
And (said): In whose inheritance shall I lodge?
Then the Creator of all things gave me commandment,
And He that created me fixed my dwelling-place (for me);
And He said: Let thy dwelling-place be in Jacob,
And in Israel take up thine inheritance. . . .
And I took root among an honoured people,
In the portion of the Lord (and) of His inheritance.

[1] Cp. Ps. civ. 24: *O Lord, how manifold are Thy works!*
In wisdom hast Thou made them all.
Prov. iii. 19: *The Lord by wisdom founded the earth;*
By understanding He established the heavens.

[2] So the Syriac; the Greek and Latin read, 'Unto eternity I shall not fail.'

[3] So the Syriac; the Greek text is probably corrupt.

[4] Cp. with this the somewhat similar case of the Law, which, according to the later teaching of the Rabbis, was originally intended by God to be a revelation of Himself and of His will to all nations, but that Israel was the only nation that accepted it (see Oesterley and Box, *op. cit.*, p. 164).

The thought of Wisdom dwelling among men is already taught in Proverbs (e.g. viii. 31, 34 ff.), but Ben-Sira elaborates it, and in such a passage as that just quoted treats it with great poetical beauty.

Further, it is characteristic, not only of the Wisdom of Ben-Sira, but also of the Wisdom-Literature generally, that the term Wisdom is never used in the sense of pure knowledge; in its essence it connoted originally the faculty of distinguishing between what is good and what is bad, or, perhaps more accurately (in so far as earlier times are concerned), between what is advantageous and what is harmful. But in any case, regarding the nature of Wisdom, it is true to say that in the Jewish conception it had primarily a *religious* content from the beginning; that is to say, that it was in its origin essentially a divine attribute, the possession of which made man in some measure like God. In comparatively early times it must have come to this, that to be able to differentiate between good and evil, i.e. the exercise of the moral consciousness, enabled man to stand in a closer relationship to God than the mere external observance, however assiduously carried out, of a ceremonial law; this, at any rate, would have been the essence of the teaching of the prophets. It is in following such teaching that Ben-Sira inculcates the truth that the way to lead a wise life is to live according to the divine commandments; in contemplating the wisdom of God, as set forth in the commandments of God, and acting accordingly, man makes his human wisdom approximate to the divine, and worldly, practical wisdom, in its many and various forms, is thus of the same kind, only less in degree, as divine wisdom. It is thus easy to see, one may remark in passing, that the identification between the Law and Wisdom, referred to in the previous section, was inevitable. 'Human wisdom comes from the communion between the mind of man and the mind of God. The unity of the divine and the human attributes (implicitly contained in the book) appears to involve the conception that the divine wisdom fills and controls all things, including man's mind, and thus manifests itself in human thought;'[1] this is true, but it needs to be emphasized that Ben-Sira's strong insistence on human free-will makes it a matter of man's choice whether his mind is filled with divine wisdom or something else.

Wisdom is, therefore, in the first place, of a religious nature. How essential an element this was in Ben-Sira's conception of Wisdom will have been seen by what was said above as to the origin of Wisdom, namely, that it was an emanation from the Deity. This truth is further emphasized by the *dictum*, common to all the books of the Wisdom-Literature in one form or another, that:

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom (i. 14).

Though Ben-Sira takes this thought over from earlier sages, he nevertheless makes it thoroughly his own, and elaborates it in such sayings as:

The crown of Wisdom is the fear of the Lord (i. 18);
To fear the Lord is the root of Wisdom (i. 20).

But besides this specifically religious content, Wisdom has, according to Ben-Sira, another element in its nature. While the knowledge of God may be said to describe its most exalted characteristic, it has also a less exalted, but extremely useful, further characteristic in that it connotes knowledge of the world; not that this would imply a non-religious element in Wisdom, for the man with knowledge of the world has acquired this lower form of Wisdom, too, by his observance of the divine commandments; so that it need cause no surprise to find that it is this latter element in the nature of Wisdom to which Ben-Sira devotes most attention in his book. Nor is this an unnatural thing when it is remembered that the writer, having none but the vaguest ideas about a life hereafter, is mainly concerned with the affairs of this life. So he says of Wisdom that:

They that love her love life (iv. 12);

and again:

The wisdom of the poor man lifteth up his head,
And causeth him to sit among princes (xi. 1).

The large number of precepts which Ben-Sira offers as to general conduct of life are the utterances of a sage whose whole life has been spent in the acquisition of Wisdom; they form part, at least, of the result of his labours in her service; and the contribution which he has to offer his fellow-creatures is to teach them what in very large measure is worldly wisdom. These moral precepts differ widely, of course, from divine wisdom, but, as we have seen, both emanate from the same source, and both are ultimately to be traced back to the Giver of all good things.

[1] Toy, in *EB*, ii. 1175.

It is owing to this practical nature of Wisdom that Ben-Sira insists on its being not only possessed, but also exhibited among men, so he says:

Hidden wisdom and concealed treasure,
What profit is there in either?
Better is the man that hideth his folly
Than a man that hideth his wisdom (xx. 30, 31).

To those who are desirous of acquiring Wisdom, Ben-Sira gives a piece of advice which well illustrates what has already been said above as to the religious element in every form of Wisdom:

If thou desire Wisdom, keep the commandments,
And the Lord will give her freely unto thee (i. 26).

That Wisdom is the gift of God is again declared to be the case in i. 10:

Without measure doth He grant her to them that love Him.

Wisdom is thus the free gift of God; but this does not mean to say that man has not his part to play in order to enjoy this free gift; he has a discipline to go through which is irksome, and which will test the sincerity of the seeker:

But I will walk with him in disguise,
And at first I will try him with temptations.
Fear and dread will I bring upon him,
And I will torment him with chastisements (iv. 17).

Wisdom will also make great demands upon those that would be her servants; it is a hard course of instruction through which they must go:

. . . Bring thy feet into her fetters,
And thy neck into her chain;
Bow down thy shoulder, and bear her,
And chafe not under her bonds (vi. 24, 25).

But if Wisdom can only be acquired by earnest and sustained effort, if to possess her requires concentrated zeal and self-denial, the reward of those who persist is great in proportion. In a beautiful passage Ben-Sira describes this great reward:

For at length thou wilt find her rest,
And she shall be turned for thee into gladness.
And her fetters shall become a stay of strength for thee,
And her bonds for robes of glory.
An ornament of gold is her yoke,
And her fetters a cord of blue.
Thou shalt array thee with her (as with) robes of glory,
And crown thee with her (as with) a crown of beauty (vi. 28–31).

Clearly such a reward cannot be for the many; only the best types of men are able to obtain her; so Ben-Sira says:

For Wisdom is according to her name,
And to most men she is not manifest (vi. 22).

Indeed, Ben-Sira holds that humanity is divided into two categories, the wise and the foolish, or the good and the evil—to him the two terms are respectively synonymous; Wisdom's attitude to each is thus expressed:

As a prison-house is Wisdom to a fool,
And the knowledge of the wise as coals of fire.
As chains on (their) feet is instruction to the foolish,
And as manacles on their right hand.
As a golden ornament is instruction to the wise,
And as a bracelet upon their right arm (xxi. 18–21).

So lasting is the power of Wisdom among those who truly possess her, that the possession is regarded as hereditary:

If he trust me, he shall possess me,
And his posterity shall hold me fast (iv. 16, see also i. 15).

Yet even he who possesses Wisdom may lose his treasure by sinning, so it is said:

If he turn away (from me), I will forsake him,
And will deliver him over to the spoilers (iv. 19).

The only truly blessed are they who persistently follow after Wisdom (xiv. 20–27); yet for this leisure is required; the ordinary occupations and callings of men are all good and necessary, but none are to be compared to that in which a man devotes himself wholly to the seeking out of the Wisdom of the ancients, which is none other than the fear of God and the Law of the Most High (see the whole of xxxviii. 24–xxxix. 11).

iv. *The Doctrine of Sin.* The great problem of the existence of sin had, of course, exercised the minds of men for ages before the time of Ben-Sira. How was one to reconcile the facts of daily experience with the belief in an all-righteous, all-powerful God, who governed the world? 'The ancient mythical religion had certainly connected physical evil with Adam's sin; but when, after the Exile, the individual, as contrasted with the nation, became more prominently an object of consideration, difficulties doubtless began to appear to which the answer of the old theology was felt to be incomplete.'[1] A suggested explanation of the difficulty is expressed in Ps. xxxvii, where it is said that the destruction of the wicked comes suddenly, while he is in the midst of his prosperity (*vv.* 35, 36); and again, in the same psalm the Psalmist seeks to explain the difficulty by contrasting the 'latter end' of the righteous and the wicked respectively:

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright:
For the latter end of that man is peace.
As for transgressors, they shall be destroyed together;
The latter end of the wicked shall be cut off (*vv.* 37, 38).

In neither case was there any real solution of the problem. Later thinkers were impelled to offer another explanation; so, for example, the writer who explained that everything had been made for its own purpose:

The Lord hath made everything for its own end:
Yea, even the wicked for the day of evil (Prov. xvi. 4).

Ben-Sira was on safer ground when, in re-echoing earlier teaching, he said:

He that seeketh God will receive discipline (xxxii.[xxxv.]14),

i.e. any misfortune which befalls the righteous is looked upon as a discipline, and is, therefore, in reality for his benefit. None of these attempted solutions could, however, have been regarded as satisfactory, for they did not account for the divine acquiescence in the prosperity of the wicked, however much they might satisfy men as to the necessity of adversity for the righteous. In one passage Ben-Sira does strike out a somewhat original line of thought in seeking a solution of the mystery, though within the limits of the present life; a wicked man may, he says in effect, enjoy prosperity all his life, but so terrible may God cause his last hours to be that all his former enjoyment of life becomes wholly obliterated, and thus the apparent contradiction between the facts of life and the divine justice is harmonized; his words are:

For it is easy in Jahveh's sight
At the end to requite a man according to his deeds.
An evil time causeth forgetfulness of delights,
And the last end of a man will tell of him.
Pronounce no man happy before his death;
For by his latter end a man shall be known (xi. 26–28).

This attempted solution, if it does nothing else, witnesses at any rate to the very earnest desire to try and explain a grave difficulty; and if, as a matter of fact, no advance is made in our book towards a satisfactory solution of what must have constituted a cruel mystery to the God-fearing of

[1] Tennant, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, ii, p. 209.

those days, it cannot cause surprise; with their lack of knowledge concerning the general laws upon which society is based and by which it exists, with their absolute ignorance concerning the laws of nature, with their very hazy conceptions concerning a fuller spiritual life hereafter, it was wholly impossible for the ancient Hebrew thinkers to frame any really satisfactory working theory whereby to harmonize the seeming contradiction between belief in the existence of an almighty, just God and the facts of human experience. Nevertheless, Ben-Sira had very definite ideas upon the existence of sin and its universal prevalence among men; he had also clearly thought and taught much about the nature and essence of sin, and the special importance of his book in connexion with this subject is that it is the only non-apocalyptic writing which unquestionably reflects light upon the Palestinian thought of its time concerning the introduction of sin and death into the world. 'It is a unique link', says Dr. Tennant, 'between the Old Testament and the ancient Rabbinism. It is also important as a guide to the views of the time from the fact that its author, though perhaps conscious of the inadequacy of his inherited theology to solve all the problems and difficulties which presented themselves to an educated mind, allows himself but little liberty of thought.'[1]

With regard to the origin of sin, Ben-Sira's treatment is highly instructive, for it reveals the difficulty in which he found himself involved as soon as he began to grapple with the subject. He mentions altogether three theories regarding the origin of sin; one of these he combats as erroneous. The first is that the existence of sin is due to God; this is the theory which he combats, though he does not seem to realize the difficulty in which he involves himself in doing so. The passage in which this is dealt with is xv. 11–20, where Ben-Sira replies to those who trace back the origin of sin to God; he says:

Say not: 'From God is my transgression,'
For that which He hateth made He not.
Say not: '(It is) He that made me to stumble,'
For there is no need of evil men.
Evil and abomination doth the Lord hate,
And He doth not let it come nigh to them that fear Him (xv. 11–13).

He says further in the course of his argument (and here his teaching on human free-will comes strongly to the fore):

God created man from the beginning,
And placed him in the hand of his Yeṣer.
If thou (so) desirest, thou canst keep the commandment,
And (it is) wisdom to do His good pleasure.
Poured out before thee (are) fire and water,
Stretch forth thine hand unto that which thou desirest.
Life and death (are) before man,
That which he desireth shall be given to him. . . .
He commanded no man to sin,
Nor gave strength to men of lies (xv. 14–20).

With regard to the word *Yeṣer* it may be noted in passing that in its primary meaning it denotes 'form' or 'framing', hence what is formed or framed in the mind, and it therefore comes to mean 'imagination' or 'purpose'. It is used in a good sense in Isa. xxvi. 3, 1 Chron. xxix. 18; on the other hand, in Gen. vi. 5, viii. 21 it is used of the evil imagination. In later times there arose the doctrine of a 'good' *Yeṣer* as opposed to the 'evil' *Yeṣer*, two opposing tendencies which, it was taught, were constituent elements in man's spiritual nature. Prof. Schechter says: 'The more conspicuous figure of the two *Yeṣers* is that of the evil *Yeṣer*. Indeed, it is not impossible that the expression good *Yeṣer*, as the antithesis of the evil *Yeṣer*, is a creation of later date.'[2] It is, therefore, probable that Ben-Sira, when making use of the expression in the passage just quoted, had the evil *Yeṣer*, or 'tendency', in mind; at any rate, the context shows that even if the word was used in a neutral sense it was at least *potentially* the evil *Yeṣer* to which he referred; but as this tendency or inclination to evil was part of man's nature it was created by God, so that Ben-Sira shows himself to have been in danger of falling, by implication, into the very error which he combats in the previously quoted passage (xv. 11–13); indeed, further on in his book he comes perilously near to a direct assertion that God created evil; see xxxiii. (𝔊 xxxvi.) 13–15, xxxvii. 3.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

[2] *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 243.

So that, at least by implication, Ben-Sira might well be convicted of imputing the origin of evil to God, though he refrains from doing so explicitly.[1]

A second theory which Ben-Sira brings forward is expressed in xxv. 24:

From a woman did sin originate [lit. is the beginning of sin],
And because of her we all must die.

Dr. Tennant, in writing on this verse, says: 'It has to be borne in mind that when, in the second clause of the verse, the writer passes to the thought of death, to the relation of Eve's sin to our universal mortality, a causal connexion is distinctly asserted. The use of *teḥillah* ['beginning'] in the former clause does not perhaps in itself preclude the thought of such connexion, in the case of sin, having presented itself to Ben-Sira's mind, but it certainly does not suggest any such connexion. . . . If Ben-Sira intended to imply that Eve's transgression was the cause or origin of human sinfulness he was venturing further than was his wont beyond the letter of the Scriptural narrative which he had in mind, and was already in possession of a much deeper view of the first transgression than is to be met with in Jewish literature until we come to St. Paul's Epistles, the Slavonic book of Enoch, and 4 (2) Esdras.'[2] In any case, this second theory of Ben-Sira's only traces the history of sin from the time that it existed in humanity without following it further back.[3]

Finally, a third theory, though not expressed in definite form, can with much probability be shown to have been in the mind of Ben-Sira. In xxi. 27, 28 it is said:

When the fool curseth his adversary [lit. Satan],
He curseth his own soul;
The whisperer defileth his own soul,
And is hated wheresoever he sojourneth.[4]

This is a difficult passage, but it seems clear that by the words 'The whisperer defileth his own soul' Ben-Sira meant to express the truth that the evil in man is of his own making; it is also evident that the words are intended to be an illustration of the truth enunciated in the preceding couplet. Whatever is meant by 'adversary'—whether 'Satan' in the sense of the devil, or an adversary in its ordinary meaning—the words which follow ('He curseth his own soul') show that what Ben-Sira intends to teach is that the 'adversary' is synonymous with the ungodly man's own self; or, as Hart explains it, 'not Satan, but the man himself is responsible for his sin.'[5] The verse, as Cheyne has pointed out, can be illustrated by Ps. xxxvi. 1 (R.V. marg.): 'Transgression saith to the wicked within his heart . . .'[6] To explain the words by saying that when a man curses somebody else who is his enemy he curses himself, i.e. that the curse recoils upon his own head, would not only be contrary to the ideas of the times, but would also be out of harmony with the words which follow. The Syriac translator evidently saw the difficulty of making 'the adversary' refer to somebody other than 'the fool', but not perceiving the point of the words he put in a negative, thus giving a different turn to the whole, and rendered: 'When the fool curseth him who sinned *not* against him, he curseth his own soul.' The gist of the passage may then be taken to be that man is his own 'Satan'; in other words, that the origin of sin is to be sought in man himself. This may be illustrated by another passage:

What is brighter than the sun? Yet this faileth;
And (how much more) man who (hath) the inclination of flesh and blood![7] (xvii. 31).

Dr. Tennant paraphrases the Greek thus: 'Even the sun darkens itself—the brightest thing in the world; how much more, then, frail man!' He says, further, in connexion with this verse, that if

[1] Some later Rabbis had no hesitation in directly asserting what Ben-Sira here implies; in the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* xxvii it is definitely stated that God created the evil *Yeṣer*; and in *Qiddushin* 30 *b* (T. B.) the following words are put into the mouth of the Almighty: 'I created the evil *Yeṣer*; I created for him [i.e. for man, in order to overcome the evil *Yeṣer*] the Law as a means of healing. If ye occupy yourselves with the Law, ye will not fall into the power of it.'

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 210, 211.

[3] It is interesting to note that in a later, but pre-Christian, book the writer believes in the existence of sin before the creation of the human race; in the 'Book of the Parables' (1 Enoch lxix. 6), in reference to the evil angels, it is said: 'And the third was named Gadreel; he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve . . .'

[4] The Hebrew of these verses is not extant.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

[6] *The Expositor*, series xi, p. 346.

[7] The Hebrew is not extant; the first clause of the above represents both the Syriac and the Greek; the second is based upon the Greek and the Syriac; the Greek runs: 'And an evil man will think on flesh and blood.' See the critical and exegetical notes in the commentary on this verse.

Ben-Sira offers any excuse for man's depravity 'it is that of his natural and essential frailty, referred to in such passages as xvii. 30–32, but never traced to an external cause'.[1] Difficult as the verse is, it may be concluded that its meaning illustrated Ben-Sira's teaching in the previously considered passage that the origin of sin is to be sought in man.[2] That this belief was held in certain Jewish circles may be gathered from the following words which occur in 1 Enoch xcviii. 4: 'I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave, And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman, Even so sin hath not been sent upon the earth, But man of himself hath created it, And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.'[3]

The three passages discussed suggest, therefore, a belief that sin originates within man, and is of his own making, irrespective of any external agency; but there are other passages which point distinctly to a belief that sin *is* external to man; see, for example, xxi. 2, xxvii. 10.

So that Ben-Sira's teaching on the origin of sin may be summed up in the following way: He implies, though he does not definitely assert it, that the creation of sin is due to God; yet in one passage of considerable importance he strongly combats this theory. He teaches, further, that so far as the human race is concerned the origin of sin is to be sought in the fall of Eve; but he does not attempt to trace its history further back; this, however, was from his point of view unnecessary if, in accordance with his third theory, sin originates in each individual; nevertheless, he involves himself in a contradiction here in saying that because of Eve's sin all men must die. In addition to this, however, there is the further inconsistency regarding his third theory, for while teaching that sin originates within man, he speaks of sin as something external to man. These contradictory thoughts bring into clear relief Ben-Sira's inability to formulate a consistent and logical doctrine as to the origin of sin; and in this he but shows himself to be a forerunner of the Rabbis, from whose writings it can be seen that later thinkers were involved in precisely the same inconsistencies as soon as they attempted to construct a working theory on the subject.

But the theoretical difficulties in which Ben-Sira was involved did not in any way detract from his deep realization of the existence and universal prevalence of sin; he witnesses to this in many passages, as may be seen by a reference to the following passages among many others: iv. 26, vii. 8, viii. 5, xxiii. 4–6.

v. *The Doctrine of the Future Life.* In the main Ben-Sira's belief concerning the Hereafter was that of the normal teaching of the Psalms; such passages, for example, as Ps. vi. 5 ('For in death there is no remembrance of Thee: In Sheol who shall give Thee thanks?'), and cxx. 17, 18, cvi. 2, cp. Isa. xxxviii. 18, 19, are clearly the pattern on which he bases his teaching in xvii. 27, 28:

For what pleasure hath God in all that perish in Hades,
In place of those who live and give Him praise?
Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead as from one that is not,
(But) he that liveth and is in health praiseth the Lord.

Although death, as a rule, marks the end of all things and is usually connected with corruption (x. 11, xvii. 32, xxviii. 6), yet Ben-Sira does not speak of it as necessarily a cause of terror; indeed, under certain circumstances, it is preferable to life; he says, e.g., in xli. 2:

Hail! Death, how welcome is thy decree
To the luckless man, and that lacketh strength,
That stumbleth and trippeth at everything,
That is broken, and hath lost hope.

See also xxxii. 11, xxx. 17, xl. 28. On the other hand, death is terrible to him who is in prosperity and in the enjoyment of health (xl. 1). Sometimes death is spoken of as a punishment (vii. 17, xl. 9, 10); but there is nowhere any mention of punishment after death. The only sense in which, according to Ben-Sira, a man can be said to 'live' after death was by means of his wisdom which he had acquired in his lifetime:

His understanding many do praise,
And never shall his name be blotted out:
His memory shall not cease,
And his name shall live from generation to generation (xxxix. 9).

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

[2] On the question as to whether the evil *Yeṣer* is external to man or not there is much division in Rabbinical writings; see Schechter's very instructive chapters xiv, xv, xvi in *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*. Further useful information on the Jewish doctrine of sin will be found in chap. viii ('The Doctrine of Divine Retribution in Rabbinical Literature') of the same writer's *Studies in Judaism* (First Series).

[3] Charles, 1 *Enoch*², p. 242.

Or, again, in the following fine passage (xli. 11–13):

Vanity is man (concerning) his body,
But the name of the pious shall not be cut off.
Be in fear for thy name, for that abideth longer for thee
Than thousands of precious treasures.
Life's goods last for limited days,
But the reward of a name for days without number.

In some few instances there seem to be the beginnings of what might naturally have developed into a somewhat fuller conception of life hereafter, the adumbration of a belief in something more than a mere shadowy existence beyond the grave. The instances are those in which the dead are said to 'rest', an idea very different from that of death being corruption and the end of all things, which is the more usual one in our book. The conception of the dead 'resting' must involve some sort of a belief beyond that of the bare existence of the spirit in the future state; thus, in xxii. 11 Ben-Sira says:

Weep gently for the dead, for he hath found rest (cp. also xxix. 17, xxxviii. 23).

It is of particular interest to note, in view of the development of ideas concerning the future life which took place during the second century B.C., that in at least two instances the Greek shows an advance upon the corresponding Hebrew conception; in vii. 17 the Hebrew has:

Humble (thy) pride greatly,
For the expectation of man is worms.

For this the Greek has:

Humble thy soul greatly,
For the punishment of the ungodly man is fire and the worm.[1]

The other passage is xlviii. 11, but for the details of this recourse must be had to the notes in the commentary.

§ 10. Bibliography.

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[1] See the references to 'fire' and 'worm' given in the exegetical notes on this verse.

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

𝔐 = The Hebrew text.
- 𝔐^A 𝔐^B 𝔐^C 𝔐^D = The respective MSS. of the Hebrew text.
- 𝔐¹ 𝔐² = These symbols are used occasionally to distinguish doublets in the text.

𝔊 = The Greek Version.
- A = Codex Alexandrinus.
- ℵ = Codex Sinaiticus.
- ℵ* = The uncorrected text of Cod. Sinaiticus.
- ℵ^c.a = The first seventh-century corrector of ℵ.
- B = Cod. Vaticanus.
- B^a.b = The second and third *instaurator* of B.[1]
- B^b = The third *instaurator* of B.[1]
- C = Cod. Ephraemi Rescriptus.
- V = Cod. Venetus Gr. 1.
- 55 = Cod. Vat. Reg. Gr. 1.[2]
- 68 = Cod. Venetus Gr. v.
- 70 = Cod. Monac. Gr. 551.
- 106 = Cod. Ferrarensis 187.
- 155 = Cod. Hagensis Meerman II (Bodleian).
- 157 = Cod. Basiliensis B vi. 23.
- 248 = Cod. Vat. 346.
- 253 = Cod. Vat. 336.
- 254 = Cod. Vat. 337.
- 296 = Cod. Vat. Palatino-Heidelbergensis 337.
- 307 = Cod. Monac. Gr. 129.
- 308 = Unknown; quoted by Holmes and Parsons.

𝔏 = The Old Latin Version.
- Cod. Am. = Cod. Amiatinus.
- Cod. Sang. = Cod. Sangermanensis.

𝔊^B = Cod. B. of the Greek Version.

𝔖 = The Syriac Version.
- 𝔖¹ and 𝔖² = doublets in 𝔖 are sometimes so indicated.

Eth = The Ethiopic Version.
Ar = The Arabic Version.
Arm = The Armenian Version.
Boh = The Bohairic Version.
Sah = The Sahidic Version.
Slav = The Slavonic Version.
Syro-Hex = The Syro-Hexaplar.

A. V. = Authorized Version.
B. H. = Biblical Hebrew.
EB = Encyclopaedia Biblica.
E.T. = English Translation.
EV = English Version.
GJV = Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi (Schürer).
HDB = Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible.
HJP = History of the Jewish People in time of Christ (Schürer) E.T.
IJA = International Journal of Apocrypha.
JE = Jewish Encyclopaedia.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
RÉJ = Revue des Études Juives.
NH = Neo-Hebrew.
PBH = Post-Biblical Hebrew.
PEFQ = Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement.
R. V. = Revised Version.
T. B. = Talmud Babli.
T. J. = Talmud Jerushalmi.
WBS = The Wisdom of Ben-Sira (ed. by Schechter and Taylor).
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

[1] Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, i, p. xix.

[2] Swete, *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 158 (1900).

SIRACH

PROLOGUE [a]

SINCE many things and great have been delivered unto us through the Law and the Prophets and the others who followed after them—for which things' sake we must give Israel the praise of instruction and wisdom—and as not only must the readers themselves become adept, but also the lovers of learning must be able to profit them which are without both by speaking and writing; my grandfather Jesus, having given himself much to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and the other books of our fathers, and having acquired considerable familiarity therein, was induced also himself to take a part in writing somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom, in order that those who are lovers of learning and instructed in[b] these things [c]might make so much the more progress[c] by a manner of life (lived) [d]in accordance with the Law[d]. Ye are entreated, therefore, to make your perusal with favour and attention, and to be indulgent, if in any parts of what we have laboured to interpret we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things

[a] *For the spurious Prologue found in cod.* 248, *in the Complutensian text and in the 'Synopsis of Holy Scripture', falsely attributed to St. Athanasius, see Edersheim (in Wace), p.* 25; *an English translation of it is given in the A. V. before that of the genuine Prologue.* Προλογος B A: πρ. σιραχ C: om. ℵ [*The whole is omitted in* 𝔖 *Eth and in* 157 248, *which have the spurious Prologue*] [b] *Reading* ενηχοι: Syro-Hex ℵ[c.a] A V 254 &c. *for* ενοχοι B C [c–c] *Reading with* B πολλῳ μαλλον επιπροσθωσιν: ℵ ετι (= Syro-Hex) προσθησουσιν [d–d] *Reading*

1. **the Law . . . after them.** The threefold division of the Hebrew Canon is here explicitly mentioned for the first time; it is noticeable, however, that the third division is referred to in a somewhat vague way (as again below), namely, as 'those that followed after them', 'the other books of our fathers', and 'the rest of the books'. It is clear that a third division was already in existence by the side of the Law and the Prophets; but the indefinite way in which it is referred to suggests that this third collection had not yet been delimited, and that it may still have been incomplete. The tripartite division of the Canon is also clearly indicated in Luke xxiv. 44, 'all things . . . which are written in the Law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms concerning Me'; but this is the only passage in the N. T. which makes explicit mention of it. See further Ryle, *The Canon of the O. T.*, passim; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.*; and Box, *Short Introduction to the Lit. of the O. T.*, p. 4. The expression 'followed after them' may imply chronological succession.

3. **instruction and wisdom.** Perhaps the order of cod. 253 'wisdom and instruction' (= חכמה ומוסר) may be more original; the foundation and first principle of true life is the moral culture implied by the term 'wisdom' (= the fear of the Lord), of which instruction, or discipline, is the specific application. Israel is worthy of praise because it has made the Law, which was graciously bestowed upon it by God, a means of imparting wisdom, and a means of discipline, to itself.

readers . . . lovers of learning. Both terms refer to one and the same class; perhaps, as Smend suggests, primarily teachers of the Law (i. e. Scribes) are meant; for 'reader' = scribe (ἀναγνώστης = סופר) cf. 1 Esdras (3 Ezra) viii. 8, 9, 19, ix. 39, 42, 49 (these correspond to Ezra vii. 11, xii. 21, Neh. viii. 1, 4, 9).

4. **them which are without.** i. e. either those that are 'in the land of their sojourning' (see below), or the laity; the latter, perhaps, suits the context better, as the original writer, Ben-Sira, wrote for the Palestinians, not for the Diaspora (so Smend).

by speaking and writing. Oral instruction was, of course, one of the most important departments of the Scribes' activity; the reference to writing in this connexion is interesting; doubtless other works besides Sirach were produced by members of the scribal class which were not embodied in the Canon; a specimen of such has recently come to light in the Aramaic version of the 'Sayings of Aḥikar' from the papyri of Elephantiné,—a work which reminds one of the Wisdom Literature; the Book of Tobit may also be thought of in this connexion. The literary activity of the earlier scribes, as well as the later, is also implied in a number of references in the Rabbinical literature; see Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud* (4th ed.), pp. 12 ff.

8. **instructed in these things.** For the reading see critical note.

9. **a manner of life (lived) in accordance with the Law.** This expresses the practical aim which governed all the activities of the teachers of the Law; a good comment on this point may be read in Josephus (*Contra Apion.* ii. § 8): 'But, as for our people, if any do but ask one of them concerning our laws, he will tell all more readily than his own name, and this because of our learning them at once, as soon as we could understand anything, and because they were, as it were, graven upon our souls'; cp. also Philo ap. Eusebius, *Praep. Evangel.* viii. 7 (Migne); the expression ἔννομος βίωσις may be illustrated by βίος νόμιμος, which occurs in 4 Macc. vii. 15.

11. **to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken . . .** The younger Sirach is acutely con-

originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue: and not only these, but the Law itself, and the Prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no small difference when they are spoken in their original form. Now[e], in the
15 eight and thirtieth year under king Euergetes, having come into Egypt and continued there, I found opportunity[f] for no small instruction. I, therefore, deemed it most necessary myself to devote some zeal and 'love-labour' to (the task of) interpreting this book; devoting, indeed, much sleepless care and skill in the interval in order, having brought[g] the book to an end, to publish it for them also who in the land of their sojourning desire to be lovers of learning, being
20 already prepared in respect of their moral culture to live [h]by the Law[h].

(*a*) I. 1–10. *The Origin of Wisdom* (= 4 + 4 distichs).

𝔊 **1** 1 All wisdom cometh from the Lord,
And is with Him for ever.
2 The sand of the seas, and the drops of rain,
And the days of eternity,—who can number (them)?

with B εννομου: *but* ℵ*V εκ νομου: 70 253 εν νομῳ [e] *So* ℵ*V: γαρ B A C [f] *Reading* αφορμην *with* 254 *and two other cursives:* αφομοιον B ℵ A C [g] *Reading* αγαγοντα *with* ℵ^c.a A C (ℵ* αγαγοντας) *and some cursives:* αγοντα B [h-h] εν νομῳ ℵ B: εννομως A C*V 253 Syro-Hex

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scious of the difficulties which beset the translation of one language into another; he is thinking not so much of the original sense and meaning as of the wording of the Hebrew text, which he feels that he renders inadequately. The reference to the Greek translation of the Bible which follows is interesting; the Siracide wrote at a time when the work of translating the Scriptures into Greek was still unfinished, and he feels at perfect liberty to criticise it freely. The expression 'in Hebrew' (Ἑβραϊστί) occurs here for the first time.

12. **when they are translated.** The Greek word here used (μετάγω) occurs nowhere else in this sense, according to Smend.

13. **not only these.** 'These' refers to the present work. For the character of the Greek translation of Ben-Sira see Introd. § 4 (end).

14. **in the eight and thirtieth year.** The rest of the Prologue states the translator's reasons for undertaking his work. The date refers to the year in which the younger Sirach actually came into Egypt, probably the thirty-eighth regnal year of Euergetes II, viz. 132 B.C.; for a different view see Introd. § 6, ii b.

and continued there. The Greek word used (συγχρονίσας) seems to imply that he continued there till the end of the reign of Euergetes ('synchronize'), i.e. 117–116 B.C.; the Prologue was, therefore, in all probability written between the years 132–116 B.C. For a full discussion of the question of date see Introd. § 6, ii b.

16. **I found opportunity for no small instruction.** The alternative reading ἀφόμοιον (see critical note), which has the weight of manuscript evidence in its favour, is difficult to interpret. The word means 'unlikeness', 'difference', and, if read, the sentence would run: 'I found no small difference of culture,' namely, between the Palestinian and Egyptian Jews, with a depreciatory reference to the latter; but the context negatives such a meaning. The Latin understands ἀφόμοιον as equivalent to ἀφομοίωμα, 'copy' or 'book', cp. A.V. 'a book of no small learning', R.V. 'a copy affording no small instruction'; but it is best to adopt, with Smend, the reading ἀφορμήν, in spite of inferior attestation. This affords an excellent sense which harmonizes admirably with the context; the younger Sirach found large opportunities in Egypt for instruction in the wisdom of the Scribes. As in later times, the synagogues of the Egyptian Diaspora were the centres where such instruction was given, cp. Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 168: 'For what are the Jewish prayer-houses in the cities other than places of instruction, and wisdom, caution, moderation, and righteousness, in piety and holiness, in short, in every virtue which recognizes and accepts both human and divine goodness?' In another passage Philo (*De Septen.* ii. 282) says: 'The listeners sit in perfect order and absolute stillness, eagerly drinking in most excellent doctrines. For here one of the most experienced puts forth the most perfect and most useful teaching by which human life can be adorned in the most beautiful way.'

17. **love-labour.** φιλοπονίαν, R.V. 'travail'.

18. **sleepless care.** ἀγρυπνία, cp. xxxi. 1 (𝔊 xxxiv. 1), xxxviii. 26 ff.

in the interval. i.e., as suggested above, in the interval between the years 132–116 B.C.

19. **for them also . . . sojourning.** i.e. for those abroad in the Dispersion. The word παροικία is used of a sojourn in a strange land, as in Acts xiii. 17, 1 Pet. i. 17; so also the verb and adjective, e.g. Luke xxiv. 18, Acts vii. 6, 1 Pet. ii. 11, &c., and frequently in the Septuagint and in Philo.

I. 1—IV. 10. The general theme of this section is Wisdom regarded as the fear of God in its various relations. The subsections are indicated by (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), &c.

(*a*) I. 1–10.

I. 1. **wisdom.** See Introd. § 9, iii.

cometh from the Lord. Cp. Jas. i. 5.

And is with Him for ever. 𝔏 'et cum illo fuit semper et est ante aevum'. Cp. Job xii. 13, Prov. viii. 22, 23, 30, Wisd. vii. 26, John i. 1. 2.

2. **The sand of the seas.** Cp. Gen. xxxii. 12, 1 Sam. xiii. 5, Ps. lxxviii. 27.

the drops of rain. Cp. Job xxxvi. 27 (Sept.).

the days of eternity. יְמֵי עוֹלָם in the O.T. = 'the days of old' (cp. e.g. Isa. lxiii. 9), but according to the later

𝔊 3 The height of the heaven, and the breadth of the earth,
And the deep[a],—who can trace (them) out?
4 Before them all was Wisdom created,
And prudent insight from everlasting.[b]
6 The root of Wisdom, to whom hath it been revealed?
[c]And her subtle thoughts, who hath known them?[cd]
8 [e]One there is[f], greatly to be feared[e],
The Lord[g] sitting upon His throne;
9 He himself created her, and saw, and numbered her,
And poured her out upon all His works;
10 Upon all flesh [h]in measure[h],
But without measure doth He grant her to them that love Him.[i]

[a] + 'and wisdom' 𝔊, > 𝔖 𝔏 [b] 248 Syro-Hex 𝔏 Sah + *v.* 5: 'The source of Wisdom is the word of God in the heights, and her ways are eternal commandments' [c–c] > Arm [d] *Several cursives* (*not* 248) Syro-Hex 𝔏 Sah *add the following doublet* (= *v.* 7): 'To whom hath the understanding of Wisdom been manifested, and who hath realized the wealth of her experience?' [e–e] 'One (there is) who hath dominion over all her treasures' 𝔖 Ar [f] + 'who is wise' 𝔊 [g] 𝔊 (*exc.* B) *places this in the following clause* [h–h] *Lit.* 'according to His gift' [i] *Two cursives* (*not* 248) Syro-Hex* + 'The love of the Lord is glorious wisdom; He imparts it to those

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usage the expression means (cp. xxiv. 9) the time eternal to come. In Rabbinical literature עוֹלָם (עלמא) is generally used of this world or the next, cp. e.g. *Chullin* 44 *b* (T. B.): עולם הזה עולם הבא ('this world and the world to come'); though this is not always so; in *Berakhoth* ix. 5 (Mishnah), for example, the word is used in reference to the eternal past.

who can number. Cp. *v.* 9.

3. **The height of the heaven.** Cp. Ps. ciii. 11.

the breadth of the earth. Cp. Ps. xix. 4.

the deep. ἄβυσσος = תְּהוֹם, the subterranean waters; cp. the phrase, 'the waters under the earth' (Deut. v. 8). 'It must be remembered that to the Hebrews the earth was not a large globe, revolving through space round the sun, but a relatively small flat surface, in shape approximately round, supported partly, as it seemed, by the encircling sea out of which it rose, but resting more particularly upon a huge abyss of waters underneath . . .' (Driver, *Genesis*, p. 8). Cf. the Greek Ὠκεανός.

who can trace (them) out. Cp. xviii. 8, Rom. xi. 33.

4. **Before them all . . .** Wisdom is identified with the Law both by Ben-Sira (see i. 26, xv. 1, xxi. 11, xxiv. 23, xxxiv. 8), and by the Rabbis; cp., in view of this, the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, § 8, where among the comments on Gen. i. 26 it is said: 'According to R. Simeon ben Laqish the Torah was in existence 2000 years before the creation of the world'; the same is said in the Midrash *Pesiqta* 109 *a*. Cp. Prov. viii. 22–30.

prudent insight. σύνεσις φρονήσεως; in Job xxviii. 20 σύνεσις (= בינה) is also used as a synonym for Wisdom. The addition of φρονήσεως here seems unnecessary (but cp. Prov. viii. 12); 𝔖 'And firm faithfulness from of old', reading perhaps אמונה ('faithfulness'), for which 𝔊 apparently read תבונה ('understanding'). After this *v.* a number of cursives, including 248, add *v.* 5, see crit. note; with it cp. Wisd. ix. 17, Bar. iii. 11, 12. The verse is a later insertion, added probably to explain how it was that Wisdom existed before all things; Hart (p. 285, note) thinks it is a Pharisaic doublet to *v.* 4.

6. **root.** The source, not the origin, of Wisdom, cp. *v.* 20 and Job xix. 28.

her subtle thoughts. The Greek word occurs again in xlii. 18, where the corresponding Hebrew is מערומים in reference to hidden thoughts of the heart; the exact form is not used in the O.T., but ערומים occurs in Prov. xiv. 18 of 'prudent men'. This clause is wanting in Arm. On the doublet to this verse (= *v.* 7) see critical note.

8. **One there is.** Cp. xliii. 29; the words 'To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (*v.* 14, Prov. ix. 10, xxviii. 28, Ps. cxi. 10) must be understood in the light of this *v.*; wisdom and awe-inspiring might are correlative ideas (cp. Smend *in loc.*).

The Lord. See critical note.

sitting upon . . . Cp. Ps. xlvii. 8 (9 in Hebr.), Is. vi. 1.

9. **saw.** Cp. Prov. viii. 22, 1 Cor. ii. 7.

numbered. Cp. *v.* 2, Job xxviii 27. 𝔏 adds 'et mensus est'.

poured her out . . . ἐξέχεεν, cp. Acts ii. 17 ff. (Joel ii. 28 ff.), where the same word is used of the pouring-out of the Spirit upon all flesh. In *Berakhoth* 58 *b* (T. B.) occur the words: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast imparted of Thy wisdom to flesh and blood.' In Wisd. i. 4–7 the Holy Spirit is identified with Wisdom; this is also the case in Rabbinical literature, e. g. in the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* (§ lxxxv, to Gen. xxxviii. 26) it is said that the Holy Spirit was present in the judgement-hall of Solomon when he displayed his wisdom; the reference given is to 1 Kings iii. 27.

10. **Upon all flesh . . .** That Gentile rulers were believed to have some share of Wisdom is seen from Prov. viii. 15, 16.

in measure. κατὰ τὴν δόσιν αὐτοῦ, cp. xxxii. 10 (= 𝔊 xxxv. 12), =כמתנתו; and with the whole *v.* cp. Prov. iii. 13–17, as illustrating the richness and pleasantness of the gift of Wisdom.

to them that love Him. i.e. the Jewish people; a particularistic note, characteristic of the book generally; in the later Rabbinical literature this is, of course, still more emphasized; see e. g. *Qiddushin* 49 *b* (T. B.), where it is said: 'Ten measures of Wisdom came down from heaven, and nine of them fell to the lot of the Holy Land' (quoted

(*b*) I. 11–20. *The Fear of the Lord is the true Wisdom* (= 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

𝔊 11 The fear of the Lord is glory and exultation,
And [k]gladness, and a crown of rejoicing[k].
12 The fear of the Lord delighteth the heart,
[kk]And giveth gladness[kk], and joy, and [l]length of days[l].
13 Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last,
And in the day of his death he shall [m]be blessed[m].
14 [n]To fear[n] the Lord[o] is the beginning of Wisdom,
And with the faithful [p]was she created[p] in the womb[q].
𝔖 15 [s]With faithful men is she, and she hath been established from eternity[s];
𝔅 [t]And with their seed shall she continue[t].
𝔊 16 To fear the Lord is the fullness[u] of Wisdom,
And she satiateth men with [v]her fruits.
17 She filleth all her house with [w]pleasant things[w],
And her garners with her produce[x].

to whom He appears, in order that they may behold Him'; 𝔏 *adds this after v.* 11. [k-k] C 'giveth gladness, and joy, and length of days', *added from v.* 12[b] [kk-kk] > 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex [l-l] 'eternal life'; *two cursives* (*not* 248) Syro-Hex* + 'The fear of the Lord is a gift from the Lord, for it sets [men] upon paths of love' [m-m] 'find grace' B [n-n] 'The fear of' C 𝔖 𝔏 [o] God B [p-p] > 𝔖 [q] + 'of their mother' 𝔖 [s-s] *So* 𝔖; *the text of* 𝔊 *is probably corrupt*; 𝔅, *conjecturally emended, according to Smend*, 'Among faithful men hath she been established (𝔊 "nested herself") from eternity' [t-t] *So probably* 𝔅; *the rendering of* 𝔊, 'shall she be had in trust,' *is due to a misunderstanding of the force of* תאמן, *which was most likely the word used in the Hebrew.* 𝔏 *adds another verse which is a combination of vv.* 11, 12 [u] 'beginning' 𝔖 [v] + 'the multitude of' 𝔖 [w-w] 'wisdom' 𝔖, 'from generations (of old)' 𝔏 [x] 'treasures' 𝔏; + 'And both [i.e. *the fear of the Lord and*

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in *JE*, xii. 538 *a*). For the addition to this *v.* see critical note. The first clause of this addition (ἀγάπησις κυρίου ἔνδοξος σοφία) is quoted in the anthology of Antonius and Maximus (see Hart, p. 364).

(*b*) I. 11–20.

11. **The fear of the Lord.** As frequently in the O. T., this connotes in the Wisdom of Ben-Sira true piety; the Law has for its object the instilling of fear in the hearts of the Israelites (cp. Deut. iv. 10, 'Assemble Me the people, and I will make them hear My words, that they may learn to fear Me all the days that they live upon the earth'), and therefore the observance of the Law, which is the manifestation of divine Wisdom, is the visible proof that the fear of the Lord is in the heart of a man (cp. Ps. cxi. 10).

is. i.e. brings with it.

exultation. καύχημα, cp. x. 22 (Grk.).

a crown of rejoicing. Cp. *v.* 18, vi. 31, xv. 6, Prov. iv. 9.

12. **delighteth the heart.** Cp. Prov. xxvii. 9 (Sept.).

length of days. Cp. Deut. vi. 2; it is characteristic of the book (the same holds good of Prov., see e.g. iii. 2, 16, iv. 10, x. 27, 30) that attention is concentrated on this life; the rendering of 𝔖, 'eternal life,' shows Christian influence. For the addition to this *v.* see critical note.

13. **at the last.** ἐπ' ἐσχάτων; the reference is to the end of life in this world, cp. 𝔖 'at the last of his days'; in iii. 26, where the same expression occurs, the Hebr. equivalent is אחרית; see also xxxviii. 20, Prov. v. 11, Wisd. iii. 17.

he shall be blessed. Cp. 1 Chron. xix. 28, 'And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour'; the reading of B, 'he shall find grace,' is due apparently to Christian influence.

14. **To fear the Lord.** Cp. Ps. cxi. 10, Prov. i. 7, ix. 10, xxviii. 28.

the beginning. ἀρχή (= ראש) means either the starting-point of a thing, as e.g. in xv. 14, or the most important part of something, as e.g. in xxix. 21, xxxix. 26, or the essence of a thing, i.e. its best part, as in xi. 3; in the passage before us the meaning is that the fear of the Lord is the starting-point as well as the essence of true Wisdom.

the faithful. הנאמנים (cp. נאמני ארץ Ps. ci. 6) = הצדיקים, 'the righteous' (cp. Job xvii. 9).

was she created in the womb. The later Jewish doctrine of the *Yeṣer tob* ('the bias towards good') was based on passages like this, cp. Gen. viii. 21. An interesting passage occurs in *Nedarim* 32 *b* (T. B.), where, in discussing the parable in Eccles. ix. 14, 15, it is said that the poor wise man who by his wisdom delivered the city means the *Yeṣer tob*, 'for he delivered the city through his wisdom, namely, repentance and good works' (see Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 217); Wisdom is thus identified with the *Yeṣer tob*, which is implanted in man when he is created (see the Midrash, *Bemidbar Rabba*, § 22).

15. See critical note. For this *v.* and its addition, as found in 𝔏, see Herkenne, pp. 46–49.

With faithful men . . . Smend, on the basis of 𝔖, supposes with much probability that the original Hebrew ran: עם אנשי אמת היא מעולם תִּקָּנָה ('Among men of truth hath she been established for ever,' i.e. from of old).

shall she continue. So critical note. Cp. iv. 16, xxiv. 7–49.

16. **satiateth.** μεθύσκει, lit. 'intoxicates', cp. xxxii. 13 (= 𝔊 xxxv. 13), Ps. xvi. 11. xxii. 7 (Sept.).

her fruits. Cp. Prov. viii. 19, xi. 30.

17. **She filleth all her house . . .** Cp. Prov. ix. 1–6. For the addition to this *v.* see critical note.

𝔊 18 The crown[y] of Wisdom is the fear of the Lord,
𝔖 [z]And increaseth peace and [a]life and health[az].
19 [b]She is a strong staff and a glorious stay[b],
𝔊 And [c]everlasting honour to[c] them that hold her fast.
20 To fear the Lord is [d]the root of Wisdom[d],
And her branches are length of days[e].

(*c*) I. 22–30. *Wisdom is shown forth by the exercise of patience, self-control, and humility* (= 3 + 3 + 3 + 2 distichs).

22 [ab]Unrighteous wrath[b] cannot be justified,
For the wrath[c] of his anger (will prove) his ruin.
23 He that is patient [d]controlleth himself[d] until the (proper) time,
And afterwards joy springeth up for him.
24 He suppresseth his words until the (proper) time,
And (then) shall the lips of many[e] tell forth his understanding.
25 In the treasures of Wisdom (there are) wise proverbs[f];
But godliness is an abomination to sinners[g].

Wisdom] are gifts of God unto peace' 70 248 [y] 'beginning' 𝔖 [z-z] *So* 𝔖; 𝔊 *lit.* 'Making peace and health of cure to flourish'; + 'He increaseth glorying to them that love him' 248 [a-a] ℵ[c.a] 'life eternal' (αιωνιος *for* ιασεως) [b-b] *So* 𝔖; B ℵ A C *read:* 'He both saw and numbered her (> 248 253 Syro-Hex Sah); he rained down skill and knowledge of understanding' [c-c] 𝔊 *lit.* 'exalted the honour of' [d-d] 'eternal life' 𝔖 [e] 70 248 253 Syro-Hex* *add with slight variations v.* 21: 'The fear of the Lord driveth away sins; and he who abideth therein will avert all wrath'; + 'In the treasures of Wisdom is understanding and reverence of knowledge; but Wisdom is a curse to sinners' 𝔖

[a] 𝔖 *has in place of vv.* 22–27 *twelve distichs which differ almost entirely from* 𝔊; *if they were translated from Hebrew, which is probable, they belong to a later recension of* 𝔐 *and not to the original form; they run as follows:—*

Blessed is the man who meditateth therein,
For Wisdom is better to him than all treasures.

Blessed is the man who draweth nigh thereto,
And who occupieth himself with her commandments.

She prepareth (for) him an eternal crown,
And eternal righteousness among the holy ones.

He rejoiceth over her, and she rejoiceth over him,
And she rejecteth him not to all eternity.

The angels of God rejoice over him,
And tell forth all the glory of the Lord.

This whole book is full of life,
Blessed is the man who hearkeneth thereunto and doeth according unto it!

Hear me, ye who fear God,
Hearken unto, and mark, my words!

He who will inherit life,
As an eternal heritage and a great joy—

Hearken unto all my words and do them,
And thou shalt be inscribed in the book of life.

Love the fear of the Lord,
And stablish thine heart therein, so shalt thou have naught to fear.

Draw nigh unto her, and be not weary,
So shalt thou find life for thy spirit;

And when thou drawest nigh,
Do it as a hero and as a mighty one.

The text of 𝔏 *in these vv. is largely corrupt all other Gk. MSS. including* ℵ[c.a] *read* 'sway' *the sense is much the same in either case* [b-b] 'A wrathful man' 70 248 253 Syro-Hex [c] *So* ℵ* 𝔏; [d-d] *So* V 248 253 ανεξεται (=𝔏); 𝔊 ανθεξεται, 'endures'; [e] 'of faithful (men)' B C [f] *plur. in* ℵ 70 248 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex;

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18. **The crown of wisdom.** Cp. xxv. 6, Prov. xii. 4, xvi. 31, xvii. 6. For the addition to this *v.* see critical note.
19. See critical note. The rendering of 𝔊 is a partial repetition of *v.* 9, and is evidently out of place here.
20. Just as the fear of the Lord is the root, i.e. the very essence of Wisdom, so does it also bring forth the most desirable fruit, viz. prolonged life. Again the thought of reward hereafter for a godly life is quite absent. For the addition to this *v.* (= *v.* 21) see critical note.

(*c*) I. 22–30.

22. The abruptness with which this and the following *vv.* are introduced suggests that possibly something has fallen out between this and the preceding section. This appears the more probable on account of the form of 𝔖 and the state of the text of 𝔏 (see critical note, and cp. further Herkenne *in loc.*). Further, the later addition of *v.* 21 points to the desire of a glossator to smooth over the roughness of the passage.
wrath. Reading ὀργή with ℵ* (= 𝔏 iracundia), cp. xlv. 19, instead of ῥοπή of all other MSS. of 𝔊.
23. **until the (proper) time.** i.e. until the time is past during which the exercise of self-control was called forth.
springeth up. ἀναδώσει, a word used in the Bible elsewhere only in Acts xxiii. 33, of a letter being delivered to a ruler.
24. **the lips of many . . .** Cp. xxxix. 9.
25. **godliness.** Θεοσέβεια, 'the fear of God' = Wisdom. The word does not occur elsewhere in this book. In Job xxviii. 28 יִרְאַת אֲדֹנָי is translated Θεοσέβεια in the Sept., cp. Prov. i. 29. For the identification between the fear of God and Wisdom cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 26: 'No wisdom, no fear (of God); no fear (of God), no wisdom.'

𝔊 26 If thou desire Wisdom, keep the commandments[h],
And the Lord will give her freely unto thee.
27 For the fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction,
And faith and meekness are [i]well-pleasing unto Him[ik].
28 My son[l], disobey not[m] the fear of the Lord[n],
And approach it not with a double heart.
29 Be not a hypocrite in [o]the sight of [o]men,
And take good heed to thy lips.
30 Exalt not thyself lest thou fall,
And bring disgrace upon thyself[p],
And the Lord reveal[q] thy hidden (thoughts),
And cast thee down in the midst of the assembly,
Because thou camest not[r] unto the fear of the Lord,
And thy heart was full of deceit[s].

(*d*) II. 1–6. *On Faithfulness to God and Resignation to His Will* (= 3 + 3 distichs).

2 1 [a]My son, when thou comest [b]to serve[b] the Lord,
Prepare[c] thy soul for temptation.
2 [e d]Set thy heart aright[d] and endure firmly,
And [f]be not fearful[f] in time of calamity[e].
3 Cleave unto Him[g], and [h]let Him[i] not go[h],
𝔖 [k]That thou mayst be wise in thy ways[k].

in 𝔏 *v.* 25 *follows v.* 20 [g] *Plur. in* 70 253 Syro-Hex 𝔏, *otherwise sing.* [h] 'justice' 𝔏 [i–i] *Lit.* 'His good pleasure' [k] + 'and He filleth His treasures (therewith)' 𝔏 [l] *So* 𝔖 [m] 'be not unbelieving (in)' ℵ 𝔏 [n] + 'when thou art in need' 70 248 253 Syro-Hex [o–o] *So* 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex 𝔏; 𝔊 'in the mouths of' (*reading* בפי *instead of* בפני) [p] *Lit.* 'thy soul' [q] + 'all' 70 248 253 Syro-Hex [r] + 'in truth' 248 253 Syro-Hex; '[Because thou didst draw nigh] unto the Lord with evil intent' (maligne) 𝔏 [s] 'guile and deceit' 𝔏 [a] 248 *inserts the title:* 'Concerning endurance' [b–b] '*to the fear of*' 𝔖; ad servitutem dei 𝔏 [c] 'Thou wilt deliver' 𝔖 [d–d] 'Humble thy heart' 𝔏 [e–e] > 𝔖 [f–f] 𝔊 *lit.* 'haste not' [g] 'God' 𝔏 [h–h] *So* 𝔖; 'depart not (from Him)' 𝔊 [i] 'her' 𝔖; *in* 𝔖 *the reference is to Wisdom* [k–k] *So* 𝔖; 'That thou mayst be increased' (ℵ* 'and it shall be increased') 'at thy latter end' 𝔊; 'That thy life may increase at the last' 𝔏

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26. **If thou desire . . .** Cp. Jas. i. 5; also *Berakhoth* 58 *b* (T. B.): 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast imparted of Thy Wisdom to flesh and blood.' The *v.* before us offers a good example of the combination of grace and free-will.

27. **. . . is wisdom and instruction.** Cp. Prov. xv. 33, which must have been in the mind of Ben-Sira here.

faith and meekness. Cp. xlv. 4, where the same words occur together, and the Hebr. is אֱמוּנָה וַעֲנָוָה. On the meaning of 'faith' see Lightfoot's admirable note in his *Galatians*, pp. 154 ff.

28. **a double heart.** Cp. Ps. xii. 3, לֵב וָלֵב, and Jas. i. 8, iv. 8, *ἀνὴρ δίψυχος*; see also 1 Enoch xci. 4 (ed. Charles): 'Draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart, and associate not with those of a double heart.'

29. **Be not a hypocrite.** Cp. xxxii. (𝔊 xxxv.) 15, xxxiii. (𝔊 xxxvi.) 2.

30. **Exalt not thyself . . .** Cp. *Erubin* 13 *a* (T. B.): 'He who humbles himself, him will God exalt; he who exalts himself, him will God humble.'

in the midst of the assembly. Cp. iv. 7, vii. 7, xxiii. 24, xli. 18, xlii. 11; Prov. v. 14.

full of deceit. Cp. xix. 26.

(*d*) II. 1–6.

II. 1. 248 has as title to this section *Περὶ πομονῆς.*

My son. In the Wisdom-Literature this is the regular mode of address to pupils; cp. vii. 3; Prov. ii. 1, iii. 1, &c., &c. The plural is also used at times; cp. xxxix. 13; Prov. iv. 1.

Prepare thy soul . . . Cp. xliv. 20 *d*; Prov. iii. 11, 12; Heb. xii. 7, 13; and especially Jas. i. 2–4, 12–15.

2. **Set thy heart aright.** Cp. xxxvii. 15; Ps. lxxiii. (Sept. lxxvii.) 8 = Hebr. לֵב (some MSS. הבין) הכין.

endure firmly. *καρτέρησον*, cp. Job ii. 9 *μέχρι τίνος καρτερήσεις*, where the Hebr. has עֹדְךָ מַחֲזִיק בְּתֻמָּתֶךָ ('Dost thou still hold fast thine integrity?'); cp. Heb. xi. 27.

be not fearful. *μὴ σπεύσῃς*; cp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 21 *καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι ἔσπευσεν σφόδρα*, where the Hebr. has וַתֵּרָא כִּי־נִבְהַל מְאֹד ('and she saw that he was greatly afraid'); cp. Prov. xxviii. 20. The meaning, therefore, is not: 'Haste not (i. e. to forsake the Lord) in the time of calamity.' (Ryssel), but that he is not to be afraid however much outward circumstances may be against him as a result of serving the Lord.

calamity. *ἐπαγωγή*, lit. 'that which is brought upon' a man by God; the word is often used in the book (𝔊), iii. 28, v. 8, x. 13, xxiii. 11, &c. This is one form of temptation, or 'trying', for which a man must prepare his soul.

3. **Cleave unto Him.** Cp. Deut. x. 20 *πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ*, Hebr. בּוֹ תִּדְבָּק.

let Him not go. Cp. Prov. iv. 13; Cant. iii. 4.

That thou mayst . . . It is probable that both 𝔊 and 𝔖 have retained parts of the original, which was very likely a quotation from Prov. xix. 20 *b*, 'That thou mayest be wise in thy latter end.'

𝔊 4 Accept[l] whatsoever is brought upon thee,
𝔖 [m]And be patient in disease and poverty[m].
𝔊 5 For gold is proved in the fire,
And men acceptable [to God] in [n]the furnace of[n] affliction[o].
6 Put thy trust in God[p], and He will help thee,
[q]And hope in Him, and He will make straight thy ways[q].

(*e*) II. 7–11. *The Blessedness of those who fear the Lord* (= 3 + 3 distichs).

7 [qq]Ye that fear the Lord, wait for His mercy;
And turn not aside, lest ye fall.
8 Ye that fear the Lord, put your trust in Him,
𝔖 [r]He will not withhold your reward[r].
𝔊 9 Ye that fear the Lord, hope for [s]His benefits[s],
And for eternal gladness and mercy[t].
10 Look at the generations of old and see,
Who ever trusted in the Lord, and was put to shame?
Or who did abide in His fear, and was forsaken?
Or who did call upon Him, and [u]He did not hear him[u]?
11 For compassionate and merciful is the Lord[w],
[x]And He forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction[x].

(*f*) II. 12–14. *A threefold woe against the faithless* (= 3 distichs)

12 Woe unto fearful[y] hearts and unto [z]faint hands[z],
And unto the sinner that goeth two ways.

[l] + 'readily' 70 248 253 Syro-Hex [m–m] So 𝔖; 𝔊 *lit.* 'And in the changes of thy humiliation be enduring'; 𝔏 'Be enduring in pain and be patient in humiliation' [n–n] > C [o] *Lit.* 'humiliation'; + 'in sickness and in poverty put thy trust in Him' ℵ[c.a] 253 Syro-Hex [p] *So* 𝔖 𝔏; 'Him' 𝔊, 'the Lord' 253 [q–q] *So* 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex; + 'Observe the fear of Him, and grow old therein' 𝔏 [qq] 248 *has the order of this and the two following vv. thus:* 8, 9, 7 [r–r] *So* 𝔖; 'And your reward shall not fail' 𝔊 [s–s] *So* 𝔖; 'good things' 𝔊; 'Him' 𝔏 [t] + 'for an eternal gift with joy is His recompense' ℵ[c.a] 253 Syro-Hex; + 'Ye that fear the Lord, love Him, and your hearts shall be enlightened' 𝔏 [u–u] *So* 𝔖; 'He despised him' 𝔊 𝔏 [w] + 'longsuffering and of great pity' ℵ[c.a] 70 248 253 Syro-Hex [x–x] 'And heareth in time of affliction, and heareth all them that do His will' 𝔖; 'And forgiveth in time of affliction the sins of all them that seek Him in truth' 𝔏 [y] 'double' Syro-Hex 𝔏 [z–z] 'abominable

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4. **Accept . . .** The reference is to adversity of any kind which Providence sees well to send, cp. Job ii. 10, Jas. i. 2.
be patient . . . Cp. v. 11; Job vi. 11; Jas. v. 7, 8. 𝔊 (see critical note) lit. 'in the changes of thy humiliation'.
5. **gold is proved.** Cp. Is. xlviii. 10; Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; Wisd. iii. 6; Jas. i. 12; 1 Pet. i. 7.
men acceptable. i.e. because they have been tried and purified, cp. Prov. iii. 10.
6. The *v.* is an adaptation of Ps. xxxvii. 3, 5, cp. Prov. iii. 5, 6.
He will help thee. Cp. Ps. xl. 17, xlvi. 1.
hope in Him. Cp. Ps. lxxi. 5.
He will make straight . . . Cp. Prov. iii. 6.

(*e*) II. 7–11.
7. **wait for . . .** Cp. Judith viii. 17.
And turn not . . . Cp. iv. 19.
8. **He will not withhold . . .** Cp. Lev. xix. 13; Tob. iv. 14.
9. **eternal gladness.** Cp. Is. xxxv. 10, li. 11, lxi. 7.
10. **. . . the generations of old.** Cp. Ps. xxii. 4, 5; it is, of course, to the Scriptures that Ben-Sira is referring his pupils.
. . . and was put to shame. Cp. Ps. xxxvii. 25. Apparently Ben-Sira recognized that the Book of Job did not record history.
and He did not hear him. The rendering of 𝔖 seems to correspond better with the first part of this clause, see crit. note.
11. **compassionate and merciful.** Cp. Exod. xxxiv. 6 (Sept.); Ps. ciii. 8, cxlv. 8.
forgiveth sins. Cp. Ps. ciii. 3, 4.
and saveth . . . The compassion and mercy of God saves them from the result of sin.

(*f*) II. 12–14.
12. **fearful hearts.** Cp. xxii. 18; Deut. xx. 8; 2 Chron. xiii. 7.
faint hands. Cp. xxv. 23; Job iv. 3; Is. xxxv. 3.
that goeth two ways. Cp. 1 Kings xviii. 21; Prov. xxiii. 6, 18; Jas. i. 8, iv. 8; see note on i. 25.

𝔊 13 [a]Woe unto the faint heart, for it believeth not[a],
Therefore shall it not be sheltered.
14 Woe unto you that have lost your endurance[b],
And what will ye do when the Lord visiteth you?

(*g*) II. 15–18. *The Characteristics of those who fear the Lord* (= 3 + 2 distichs).

15 [c]They that fear the Lord [d]will not [e]be disobedient to[e] His words[d],
And they that love Him will keep His ways[f c].
16 They that fear the Lord will seek His good pleasure,
And they that love Him [g]will be filled with[g] (His)[h] Law.
17 They that fear the Lord will make ready their hearts,
[i]And will humble[k] their souls before Him[i]:
18 [l]['Let us fall into the hands of the Lord[m],
And not into the hands of men;']
For as is His majesty, so also is His mercy,
𝔖 [n]And as is His name, so also are His works[n].

(*h*) III. 1–16. *On Filial Duty and its Reward* (= 7 × 2 + 1 distichs).

3 1 [a]Hearken, ye children, to the judgement of your father[a],
𝔊 And do thereafter, [b]that ye may be saved[b].

lips and harmful hands' 𝔏 [a–a] 'Woe unto the heart that believeth not' 𝔖; + 'in God' 𝔏 [b] + 'who have left the right ways and have turned unto evil ways' 𝔏 [c–c] > 253 [d–d] 'will seek His good pleasure' A; 'will not be unfaithful to God' 𝔏 [e–e] 'hate' 𝔖 [f] 'commandments' ℵ[c.a] [g–g] 'will learn' 𝔖 [h] *expressed in* 𝔖 𝔏 [i–i] 'But he that forsaketh Him destroyeth his own soul' 𝔖; + 'They that fear the Lord will keep His commandments, and will be patient until His visitation' 𝔏; + 'saying' 253; 'sanctify' 𝔏 [l–l] > 𝔖 [m] 'God' 248 𝔏 [n–n] *So* 𝔖 *only*, > 𝔊 𝔏; + 'He that feareth God will increase possessions, and his seed shall be blessed after him' 𝔖. *That the words in the text are original is probable, for they occur in* 𝔅, *though they have got misplaced in the extant form of the Hebrew, coming there after* vi. 17

[a–a] *So* 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex 𝔏; 'Hear me your father, O my children' 𝔊; *the Aldine text reads* κριμα *for* εμου, *and* 70 *adds* κρισιν *after* τεκνα, *to this* 𝔏 *prefixes:* 'The children of Wisdom are assemblies of the just; their race is obedience and love' [b–b] 𝔖 'that ye may live the life which is eternal'

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13. **the faint heart.** Cp. iii. 26.
for it believeth not . . . Cp. Is. vii. 9.
14. **endurance.** If the equivalent Hebr. was תקוה, as in xvii. 24, xli. 2*d*, the word should be, rather, 'hope' or 'expectation'; cp. also xvi. 13, 22.
visiteth. ἐπισκέπτηται, a play on σκεπασθήσεται in the preceding *v*.

(*g*) II. 15–18.
15. **will not be disobedient . . .** Cp. xvi. 21; Ps. cv. 28, cvii. 11. כִּי־הִמְרוּ אִמְרֵי־אֵל, cp. xxxix. 31 (Hebr.).
His ways. Cp. Ps. xviii. 21, xxv. 4.
16. **will be filled with (His) Law.** Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 14: 'Have little business, and be busied in the Law (Torah), and be lowly in spirit unto every man; and if thou idlest from the Law, thou wilt have idlers many against thee; and if thou labourest in the Law, He [i.e. God] hath much reward to give unto thee.' Taylor, in his edition of *Pirqe Aboth*, p. 69, quotes from *Sanhedrin* 103*a* (T. B.): 'Whosoever starves himself for the sake of words of Torah in this world, the Holy One, blessed be He, will satiate him in the world to come.'
17. **will humble.** Cp. iii. 18, vii. 17, xviii. 21.
18. The first two lines of this *v*. are probably not part of the original; their contents have no connexion either with what precedes or follows; its omission by 𝔖 is significant. Cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 14, of which it is an inexact quotation.
For as is His majesty . . . These words must be read in connexion with 17*b*.
And as is . . . See critical note.

(*h*) III. 1–16.
III. 1. The words prefixed by 𝔏 (see critical note) are, as can be seen by their Latin form, of Hebrew origin (Breitschneider, Herkenne, Smend), though they probably do not represent part of the original Hebrew book, but belong rather to the secondary recension of this, see Introd. § 3 (*c*); the words in 𝔏 run: 'Filii sapientiae ecclesia iustorum, et natio illorum oboedientia et dilectio.'
Hearken, ye children . . . 𝔖 𝔏 have evidently retained the more correct reading here, see critical note.
judgement. = מִשְׁפָּט (not דִּין), the right, or that which is due, cp. Deut. xviii. 3, xxi. 17; Jer. xxxii. 7.
that ye may be saved. ἵνα σωθῆτε, not in the Christian sense (as paraphrased by 𝔖, see critical note), but in reference to prosperity in this world (cp. Deut. v. 16); σώζεσθαι is often used in the Sept. as the equivalent of the Hebr. חָיָה (הֶחֱיָה), e.g. Gen. xlvii. 25; Ps. xxix. 4; Prov. xv. 28; Ezek. xxxiii. 12 (see Sept. in each case).

𝔊 2 For the Lord hath given the father glory as touching the children,
And hath established the judgement of the mother as touching the sons[c].
3 [d]He that honoureth his father [e]maketh atonement for sins[ed],
4 And as one that layeth up treasure is he that honoureth his mother.
5 He that honoureth his father shall have joy of his children[f],
And what time he prayeth he shall be heard.
6 He that giveth glory to his father shall have length of days,
𝔖 [g]And he that [h]giveth rest to[h] his mother[i] shall receive reward from God[g].
70 248 253 7 [k]He that feareth the Lord honoureth his father[k],
[l]And serveth his parents as masters[l].
𝔥[A] 8 My son[ll], in word and in deed honour thy father[m],
That [n]every blessing[n] may overtake thee.
9 The blessing of a father establisheth [o](his) seed[o],
But the curse of a mother rooteth up the [oo]young plant[oo].
10 Glorify not thyself in the dishonour of thy father,
For that is no glory to thee[p].
11 A man's glory is the glory of his father,
[pp]And he that dishonoureth[q] his mother [r]multiplieth sin[rpp].
𝔊 12 My son[s], [t]help thy father in his old age[t],
𝔥[A] And [tt]grieve him[tt] not [u]all the days of his[uu] life[u];

[c] 'her children' 𝔖 [d-d] 'He that loveth God obtaineth (forgiveness) for sins, and will keep himself from them; in the day of prayer he will be heard' 𝔏 [e-e] 'his sins are forgiven' 𝔖 [f] B *repeats v.* 4 *here* [g-g] *So* 𝔖; 'He that obeyeth the Lord giveth rest to his mother' 𝔊 [h-h] *So* 𝔥; 'honoureth' 𝔖 [i] + 'from anguish' 70 253 Syro-Hex [k-k] *So* 70 248 253 Syro-Hex 𝔏; > 𝔥 𝔊 𝔖 [l-l] > 𝔖 [ll] > 𝔊 [m] + 'and mother' 70 248 [n-n] *Lit.* 'all blessings'; + 'from him' (*i.e. the father*) 𝔊, + 'from them' (*i.e. the parents*) 248 253 [o-o] 𝔥 *lit.* 'a root'; 'habitations' 𝔖; 'the houses of children' 𝔊 [oo-oo] 'foundations' 𝔊 [p] + προς ατιμιαν (*doublet to* εν ατιμια *in the first clause, cp.* 248) 𝔊 [pp-pp] 'And a mother in dishonour is a reproach to her children' 𝔊 [q] *Reading* מַקְלָה *instead of* מקלל (= 𝔊 𝔖) [r-r] *Lit.* '(it is) increasing sin' [s] > 𝔊 [t-t] *So* 𝔊, *which, as the context shows, is preferable here to* 𝔥 𝔖 ('Be strong in the honour of thy father') [tt-tt] *Reading* תעצבהו (= 𝔊) *for* תעזבהו (= 𝔖; 'forsake him') [u-u] 'as long as he liveth' 𝔊 [uu] 'thy' 𝔥 𝔖 V 70 248

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2. **hath given the father glory . . .** i.e. He has commanded the children to honour their parents, cp. Exod. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16; Matt. xv. 4; Mark vii. 10; Eph. vi. 2. Cp. the explanatory paraphrase of Sah: 'For the Lord gave the father more honour than the sons' (Smend).

the judgement of the mother. The mother's 'right', or 'due', must be equally respected with that of the father, cp. Prov. i. 8, vi. 20.

3. **maketh atonement for sins.** We are met here with the beginnings of the development (especially in one direction) of the Jewish doctrines of atonement and mediation, which assumed great prominence in later times. The honouring of father and mother was the fulfilling of a *mitzvah*, or 'commandment', of the Law, which being a meritorious act, effected atonement. The observance of the Torah, or Law, became, as time went on, to an ever-increasing extent the main basis of practical religion among the Jews; cp. *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 8: 'He who has gotten to himself words of Torah has gotten to himself the life of the world to come'; vi. 1: 'It clothes him with meekness and fear, and fits him to become righteous, pious, upright, and faithful; and removes him from sin, and brings him towards the side of merit'; vi. 7: 'Great is Torah, which gives life to those who practise it in this world and in the world to come'; and see the whole of vi (Pereq R. Meir). One of the most striking expressions of this honouring of the father is to be seen in the custom of a son praying publicly in the synagogue on the anniversary ('Jahrzeit') of a father's death; see further Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (2nd ed.), pp. 369, 434.

4. **as one that layeth up treasure.** ὡς ὁ ἀποθησαυρίζων; this form only occurs in the Bible elsewhere in 1 Tim. vi. 19, where it is used of making provision for the life to come.

5. **shall have joy.** Cp. Prov. xxiii. 24, 25 (Sept.).

6. **he that giveth rest to his mother.** Cp. v. 1; מניח אמו is all that is left of this *v.* in 𝔥.

7. **And serveth . . .** δουλεύσει implies the service of a slave; some Rabbis interpreted the Law to mean that the son was in the position of a slave to his father; cp. Exod. xxi. 7; Neh. v. 5. It was even taught by some Rabbis that a father had the right to exercise the power of life and death over a son, on the basis of such passages as Gen. xxii; Judg. xi. 39; 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

his parents. ἐν τοῖς γεννήσασιν αὐτοῦ; as Smend points out, the ἐν may represent ל. Cp. Hebr. of x. 18, xxiv. 22, and 1 Sam. iv. 9 עבד ל.

8. **in word and in deed . . .** Cp. Matt. xxi. 28–31; Luke xxiv. 9.

9. **The blessing of a father.** Cp. Deut. xxxiii. 1; Prov. xi. 11; *Test. Twelve Patr., Issachar* v. 6: 'Our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of first-fruits.'

the curse of a mother. Cp. Jer. vi. 5; Zeph. ii. 4.

the young plant. נֶטַע in this particular sense occurs elsewhere only in Job xiv. 9.

10. **in the dishonour of thy father.** i.e. when a son does not honour his father.

11. **And he that dishonoureth . . .** Cp. Prov. xv. 20, xxiii. 22, xxx. 17.

12. **all the days of his life.** See crit. note on next *v.*

𝔅^ 13 And even if his understanding fail, be considerate with him,
And dishonour him not [v]all the days of his life[v].
14 Benevolence to a father shall not be blotted out,
And as a substitute for sins it shall be firmly planted[w].
15 In the day of affliction it shall be remembered 'to thy credit',
It shall obliterate thine iniquities as heat (disperseth) hoar-frost.
16 [x]As one that acteth presumptuously[x] is he that despiseth his father,
And as one that provoketh his Creator is he that curseth[y] his mother.

(*i*) III. 17–25. *On the Need of Humility in all things* (= 3 + 3 + 1 + 1 distichs).

17 My son, when thou art in prosperity walk humbly,
And thou wilt be loved more than him that giveth gifts.
18 Humble thyself [z]in all greatness[z],
And thou wilt find mercy in the sight of God[a].
20 For many are the mercies of God,
And to the humble He revealeth His secret.

[v–v] *So* 𝔅 𝔖; '(when thou art) in all thy strength' 𝔊 [w] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* 𝔖; 'it shall be added to build thee up' 𝔊
[x–x] *Reading* כמזיד *for* כי מזיד [y] *Reading* מְקַלֵּל [z–z] *Reading* בכל גדולה (*Smend*) *for* מכל גדולות עולם
[a] א^c.a 248 𝔖 Syro-Hex *add, with slight variations:* 'Many are exalted and esteemed; but the mysteries (of God)

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13. **all the days of his life.** The rendering of 𝔊, ἐν πάσῃ ἰσχύι σου, suggests in 𝔅 בכל חילך, which is perhaps more satisfactory than the repetition of 'all the days of his life', see *v.* 12.

14. **Benevolence to a father.** Lit. 'righteousness (צדקה) (shown) to a father'; as is clear from the rendering of 𝔊 (ἐλεημοσύνη) צדקה has here the technical sense of 'almsgiving', i.e. righteousness *par excellence*; it is interesting to note that the word is used in this specific sense as early as the time of Ben-Sira. In Matt. vi. 12 'righteousness' and 'alms' are used synonymously. Cp. further *Sukkah* 59 *b* (T. B.): 'Greater is he that giveth alms (עשה צדקה, lit. "that doeth righteousness") than (he who offers) all sacrifices' (quoted by Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 285).

shall not be blotted out. 𝔅 is stronger than 𝔊 ('shall not be forgotten'). This *v.* offers another instance of the teaching of the efficacy of works, for the fulfilling of this *mitzvah* is reckoned as merit. The good deed is written down in God's book and therefore cannot be blotted out.

as a substitute for sins. The son's righteous act in succouring his aged father is written down to his credit, and thus counterbalances his sins; cp. *Qiddushin* 40 *b* (T. B.), where it is said that a man is judged 'according to that which balances', i.e. according as to whether the weight of sins or of good deeds weighs heavier; cp. also *Baba bathra* 10 *a* (T. B.): 'Almsgiving is a powerful mediator between the Israelites and their Father in heaven; it brings the time of redemption nigh.'

shall be firmly planted. i.e. set fast, cf. Eccles. xii. 11. With 𝔊 (see critical note) cp. Jer. i. 10, 'to build and to plant.'

15. **In the day of . . .** 𝔊 'In the day of thy affliction it shall remember thee', which obscures the sense of the *v.*, viz. that when affliction comes, as the result of sin, it will be mitigated, because his good deeds will be remembered to his benefit; *mitzvoth* are meritorious.

to thy credit. Lit. 'to thee'.

It shall obliterate . . . 'It' refers to the benevolence shown to the father; 𝔊 inexactly, 'As fair weather (acts) upon ice, so shall thy sins melt away.'

16. **As one that acteth presumptuously.** 𝔊 'is as a blasphemer' suggests מגדף (= 𝔖) in 𝔅; the verb גדף (pi'el) is used of blaspheming God, cp. Num. xv. 30, 2 Kings xix. 6 = Is. xxxvii. 6; so, too, in Rabbinical literature, e. g. in *Shabbath* 75 *a* גדופי = 'one who blasphemes God' (Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s. v.).

he that despiseth. בוזה (= 𝔖); 𝔊 'he that forsaketh', reading עוזב, cp. *v.* 12 above (crit. note).

And as one that provoketh . . . 𝔊 (so also 𝔖) has interchanged the verbs: 'And he that provoketh his mother is cursed of the Lord'; cp. Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxvii. 16.

(*i*) III. 17–25.

17. **when thou art in prosperity.** Lit. 'in thy wealth' (בעשרך), which 𝔊 read as מעשיך 'thy works', or 'business'.

walk humbly. 𝔅 has התהלך, which 𝔊 ('go on with') misinterpreted owing to the mistake referred to in the last note.

more than him that giveth gifts. 𝔊 'of an acceptable man' is explanatory but misses the point of the comparison (מן) in 𝔅 (= 𝔖); cp. 𝔏 'super hominum gloriam'. The meaning of the *v.* is that the rich man who is humble in spite of his wealth is loved more than the rich man who is proud, even though he dispenses charity.

18. **Humble thyself in . . .** Cp. Matt. xx. 26, 27; Phil. ii. 3; 1 Pet. v. 5. 𝔊 paraphrases: 'The greater thou art, humble thyself the more.' 𝔖 'Make thyself small (= 𝔅 lit.) in (the face of) all that is great in this world'; this agrees with the unamended text of 𝔅, which Smend rightly regards as a later form. The pi'el of מעט ('make thyself small', i. e. 'humble thyself') occurs elsewhere only in xxxii. (𝔊 xxxv.) 8 and Eccles. xii. 3.

mercy. 𝔊 'grace'; cp. Prov. iii. 34.

God. 𝔊 'the Lord'.

For *v.* 19 see critical note.

20. **For many are . . .** 𝔊 'For great is the potency of the Lord'; it is certainly possible that 𝔊 represents here a more original text than 𝔅, for it corresponds better with the second clause of the *v.* whether we follow 𝔊 or 𝔅 there.

He revealeth His secret. Cp. critical note on *v.* 18. 𝔊 'he is glorified'. With 𝔅 cp. Amos iii. 7; Ps. xxv. 14; Prov. iii. 32.

𝔅^ 21 [b]Seek not (to understand) what is too wonderful[c] for thee,
And search not out that which is hid from thee.
22 Meditate upon that which thou must grasp,
And be not occupied with that which is hid[b].
23 Have naught to do with that which is beyond thee,
For more hath been shown to thee than thou canst understand.
24 For many are the conceits of the sons of men,
And evil imaginations lead astray.
25 [d]Where (there is) no apple of the eye, light is lacking,
And where (there is) no knowledge wisdom is wanting[d].

(*j*) III. 26–28. *Retribution on the Sinner* (= 3 distichs).

26 [e]A stubborn heart shall fare ill at its latter end,
But he that loveth good things shall be led by them[ef].
27 (As for) the stubborn heart, its griefs shall be increased,
And the profane[g] man heapeth iniquity upon iniquity.

are revealed to the lowly' (= *v.* 19), cp. *v.* 20 𝔅 [b–b] *Quoted in Ḥagigah* 77 *c* (II) (T. J.): 'that which is too difficult for thee why shouldst thou know? That which is deeper than Sheol why shouldst thou search out?' Cp. also *Ḥagigah* 13 a (T. B.) [c] *Reading* נפלא *for* מלאות (*Smend*) 'too hard' 𝔊 [d–d] 𝔊 𝔏 *omit this v., but it is preserved, with slight variations, by* 70 248 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex*; *in* 𝔅 *it is placed after v.* 27 [e–e] 𝔊 *with the exception of* א[c,a] 248 253 *transposes the order of these clauses*; 𝔖 𝔏 = 𝔅 [f] + 'a stubborn heart shall be grieved at the last' 𝔊[B] [g] *Reading* מתהולל *for* מתחולל [h–h] *Following Smend's emendation of the text based*

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21. **that which is hid from thee.** 𝔊 'the things which are above thy strength'. This and the following *v.* are quoted freely in *Ḥagigah* 13 *a* (T. B.) thus: 'For so it is written in the book of Ben-Sira, Inquire not concerning that which is too high for thee, and seek not out that which is hidden from thee; but meditate upon that which thou canst grasp, and be not occupied with that which is hid.' So, too, in *Ḥagigah* 77 *c* (T. J.): 'Rabbi Lezer (said) in the name of Bar-Sira, Why wilt thou know what is too high for thee, and why wilt thou search out what is deeper than Sheol? Meditate upon that which thou canst grasp, and be not occupied with that which is hid.' In the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, § viii (on Gen. i. 26), it is said in reference to Job xx. 4, 5 that the Torah alone knows what happened before the creation of the world when man was placed upon the earth, so that it is not for us to inquire about these things; then it continues: 'Rabbi Eleazar said in the name of Ben-Sira, Inquire not concerning that which is too great for thee, and search not out that which is beyond thy strength, seek not to understand what is too high for thee, nor (desire) to know what is hidden from thee. Meditate upon that which thou canst grasp, and be not occupied with that which is hid.' For the thought cf. 2 Esdras iv.

22. **that which thou canst grasp.** 𝔊 'the things that have been commanded thee'; the reference is to the commandments of the Law, cp. *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 18: 'Be diligent to learn the Law.'

And be not occupied with. 𝔊 'for thou hast no need of', a bad rendering of 𝔅 which means lit. 'and have no business (עֶסֶק) with'; for the Hebr. word cp. xi. 10, xxxviii. 24.

that which is hid. Cp. Deut. xxix. 29. For the 𝔅 בנסתרות cp. xlii. 19, xlviii. 25.

23. **Have naught to do with.** 𝔊 'Be not over busy' (μὴ περιεργάζου, cp. 2 Thess. iii. 11), cp. xli. 22.

that which is beyond thee. 𝔊, quite mistaking the point of 𝔅, 'in thy superfluous works.'

For more hath been . . . Cp. 1 Cor. ii. 9, quoted from Is. lxiv. 4, lxv. 16 *a*.

24. **For many are . . .** 𝔊 'For the conceit of many hath led them astray'; the reference is no doubt to the philosophic speculations of the Greeks. The Hebr. word for 'conceit' (עֲשִׁתּוֹנָה) here is a late one, and occurs elsewhere only in Ps. cxlvi. 4, where it means 'purposes'. The corresponding Aramaic word, which is frequently used in the Targums, always has a bad sense, e.g. Targ. Is. xli. 29; Jer. xviii. 12. Here the meaning seems to be 'speculation', in a bad sense; cp. 248 which adds 'vain', and possibly represents, as Hart suggests, an original רע ('evil'), read רק ('vain'); cp. 𝔏 of next clause.

And evil imaginations . . . 𝔊 'And evil surmising hath caused their judgement to slip'; 𝔏 'Et in vanitate detinuit sensus illorum'. The words in 𝔊 refer to the teaching of Greek philosophers which led away from the Law.

25. See critical note.

Where (there is) no . . . i.e. just as a blind man cannot see, so a fool cannot acquire knowledge.

(*j*) III. 26–28.

26. **A stubborn heart.** לֵב כָּבֵד, lit. 'a heavy heart'; the same expression occurs in Exod. vii. 14, of Pharaoh.

But he that loveth . . . 𝔊 'And he that loveth danger shall perish therein'. 𝔏 adds: 'Cor ingrediens duas vias non habebit successus, et pravus corde (*or* pravicordius) in illis scandalizabitur.'

27. **shall be increased.** 𝔊 'shall be laden', a free rendering of 𝔅.

the profane man. 𝔊 'the sinner.' The meaning of the *v.* is that just as troubles accumulate for one who is obstinate and will not understand, so do the sins of the ungodly man accumulate.

𝔅^A 28 (As for) [h]the wound of the scorner, there is no healing for it[i],
For an evil growth[k] is his plant[h l].

(*k*) III. 29–31. *Reward for the Righteous* (= 1 + 2 distichs).

29 A wise heart understandeth the proverbs of the wise,
And the ear that listeneth to wisdom rejoiceth[m].
30 A flaming fire doth water quench,
So doth almsgiving atone for sin.
31 He that doeth good, it shall meet him on his ways,
And when he tottereth he shall find a stay.

(*l*) IV. 1–10. *On right behaviour towards the Poor and the Oppressed* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 distichs).

4 1 [a]My son, [b]defraud not[b] the poor of his sustenance[c],
And grieve not [d]the eyes of him that is bitter in (his) soul[d].
2 [e]Despise not[f] the needy soul,
And vex[g] not the heart[h] of the oppressed.
3 Hurt not the feelings[i] of the afflicted,
And withhold not a gift [k]from the poor[k].

on 𝔊; 𝔅 *as it stands reads:* 'Run not to heal the wound of the scorner, for there is no healing for him' [i] + 'his ways shall be rooted out' 𝔊 (C 70 248 253) Syro-Hex [k] *Lit.* 'plant' [l] + 'and he shall not be known' 𝔊 (248) 𝔏 Syro-Hex [m] + 'Sapiens cor et intelligibile abstinebit se a peccatis, et in operibus iustitiae successus habebit' 𝔏

[a] 𝔏 *inserts the title:* 'Concerning almsgiving and the poor' [b–b] *So* 𝔊 𝔏; 𝔅 𝔖 'mock not'; *possibly for* חלעג *should be read* תגרע (= 𝔊), *cp.* Ezek. xvi. 27 [c] *Lit.* 'life'; 'alms' 𝔏 [d–d] *Reading* עיני מר נפש *instead of* נפש עני ומר נפש [e] *In* 𝔅 *the clauses of vv.* 2–4 *have got misplaced* [f] Cp. 𝔏 ne despexeris (𝔊 μη λυπησης) [g] *Reading* תכעס, *the text is mutilated* [h] *Lit.* 'bowels' (מעי) [i] *Lit.* 'inward parts' (קרב) [k–k] *Reading*

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28. See critical note. 𝔊 '(For) the calamity of the proud there is no healing, for a plant of wickedness hath taken root in him.'

(*k*) III. 29–31.

29. **A wise heart.** Spoken of in reference to God in Job ix. 4 (חכם לבב); cp. Prov. x. 8, xvi. 21. 𝔊 'The heart of the prudent' (cp. Eccles. viii. 5) is due to a misunderstanding. The expression is used in a different sense in Job xxxvii. 24.

the proverbs of the wise. 𝔊 'a parable'. מָשָׁל is used in the sense of 'parable' in Ezek. xvii. 2, xxi. 5, xxiv. 3.

And the ear that . . . Cp. Prov. ii. 2, xv. 31, xx. 12. 𝔊 'And the ear of a listener is the desire of a wise man'; cp. Prov. xxiii. 15.

30. **A flaming fire . . .** With the general thought of the *v.* cp. Prov. xvi. 6; Dan. iv. 27; and see notes on *v.* 14 above.

So doth almsgiving atone . . . Cp. *Baba Bathra* 10 *a* (T. B.), where a saying is preserved of Rabbi Aqiba to the effect that benevolence (= almsgiving) saves from the torments of hell (quoted by Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, i, p. 295).

31. **He that doeth good . . .** i.e. he that shows kindness in its manifold expression will be rewarded. 𝔊 'He that requiteth good turns is mindful of the things (that come) after'; this paraphrase in so far gives the sense of 𝔅 that it refers to 'the things that come after', i. e. the reward for doing good.

And when he tottereth. Lit. 'And in the time of his shaking'; 𝔊 'in the time of his falling' gives the sense of 𝔅.

(*l*) IV. 1–10.

IV. 1. **defraud not.** See critical note. With 𝔊 (μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς) cp. Mark x. 19; 1 Cor. vi. 8; Jas. v. 4.

his sustenance. Cp. xxix. 21; Prov. xxvii. 27; Luke xii. 16.

grieve not. 𝔊 μὴ παρελκύσῃς, lit. 'defer not', cp. *v.* 3, xxix. 8; the word does not occur in the Bible elsewhere excepting in Ps. cxix. 5 (Symmachus), though ἕλκω, ἑλκύω often occur in the Sept.; cp. John vi. 44, &c. for ἑλκύω, and Acts xxi. 30, Jas. ii. 6 for ἕλκω. For the Hebr. אל־תדאיב cp. Ps. lxxxviii. 10.

the eyes of . . . 𝔊 'the needy eyes'.

2. See critical note.

Despise not. 𝔊 μὴ λυπήσῃς, cp. Job xxxi. 39. The Hebr. root פוח means lit. 'to puff at', cf. Ps. x. 5, implying contempt. In later usage it comes to connote the state brought about by being despised; cp. *Shabbath* 127 *b* (T. B.) הלך לביתו בפחי נפש 'He went to his house with downcast soul.'

the needy soul. 𝔊 'a hungry soul', which is explanatory.

vex not. 𝔊 'provoke not' (μὴ παροργίσῃς); cp. Gen. xxvi. 35 (Sept.). 𝔏 'non exasperes pauperem'.

the heart of the oppressed. 𝔊 'a man in his distress'. With 𝔅 מעים (lit. 'bowels') cp. Lam. i. 20, ii. 11.

3. **Hurt not . . .** 𝔊 'To a heart that is provoked add not more trouble'. The root כאב is used of causing both physical (e.g. Ezek. xxviii. 24) and mental (e. g. Ezek. xiii. 22) pain.

the feelings. The two words used here and in *v.* 2 for the inner emotions (מעי only used in the construct. plur. with suffixes, and קרב) occur together in Is. xvi. 11.

𝔅^A 4 [l]Despise not the supplication of the poor[l],
[ll]And turn not away from the afflicted soul[ll].
𝔊 5 [m]From him that asketh turn not thine eye away[mn],
𝔅^A And give him none occasion[o] to curse thee;
6 When in anguish of soul the broken-hearted[p] crieth[q],
[r]He that created him[r] heareth his plaint.
7 [s]Make thyself beloved in the assembly[st],
And to the ruler[u] [uu]of the city[uu] bow thy head.
8 Incline thine ear to the afflicted[vw],
And return his salutation[x] in meekness.
9 Deliver the oppressed from his oppressors,
[y]And let not thy spirit hate[y] [z]just judgement[z].
10 Be as a father to orphans,
And in place of a husband [a]to widows[a];
Then God will call thee 'son',
And [aa]will be gracious to thee[aa], [b]and deliver thee from the Pit[b].

ממסכין *for* ממסכינך [l-l] *Reading* אל תבזה שְׁאִילוּת דל (*Smend*) [ll-ll] > Sah [m-m] > 𝔅 𝔖 [n] + 'because of wrath' 𝔏 253 Syro-Hex* [o] *Lit.* 'place' [p] *Lit.* 'bitter of spirit' [q] 'curseth' 𝔊 𝔖 [r-r] *Reading* יוצרו (=𝔊 𝔖) *for* צורו ('his Rock') [s-s] 248 𝔏 *follow* 𝔅 𝔖 *here* [t] + 'of the poor' 𝔏 [u] 'elder' א[c.a] 𝔏 [uu-uu] > 𝔊 [v] + 'without causing (him) pain' 70 248 253 𝔏 Syro-Hex [w] + et redde debitum tuum 𝔏, *cp. next clause* [x] *Lit.* 'peace' [y-y] Hebr. . . . אל תקוץ; 𝔊, *which is more logical,* μη ολιγοψυχησης (=אל תקצר). [z-z] 'when thou judgest' 𝔊 (*cp.* 𝔏 in iudicando) [a-a] 'unto their mother' 𝔊 [aa-aa] 'will love thee' 𝔊 [b-b] 'more

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4. **Despise not . . .** 𝔊 'Reject not a suppliant in his affliction', a free rendering.

And turn not away . . . 𝔊 'And turn not away thy face from a poor man,' cp. Ps. xxii. 25 (Hebr.), Prov. xxviii. 25; Tob. iv. 7; in *Pirqe Aboth* i. 2 'the bestowal of kindnesses' (גמילות חסדים) is called one of the three things on which the world is stayed.

5. **From him . . .** Cp. Prov. xxviii. 27[b]; a saying of Rabbi Aqiba, preserved in *Baba Bathra* 10 *a* (T. B.), runs: 'By charity wealth is to be made a means of salvation; God, the Father of both the rich and the poor, wants the one to help the other, and thus to make the world a household of love' (quoted in *JE*, iii. 668 *a*); and cp. *Test. Twelve Patr.*, *Issachar* iii. 8: 'For on all the poor and oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart' (ed. Charles).

And give him . . . Cp. Prov. xxviii. 27. That such a curse was believed to entail evil consequences is seen from the words of the next verse, 'He that created him . . .' 'Talmudic literature betrays a belief amounting to downright superstition, in the mere power of the word (*Berakhoth* 19 *a*, 56 *a*; cp. *ZDMG*, xlii. 588). Not only is a curse uttered by a scholar unfailing in its effect, even if undeserved (*Makkoth* 11 *a*), but one should not regard lightly even the curse uttered by an ignorant man (*Megillah* 15 *a*)' (*JE*, iv. 390 *a*).

6. **When in anguish . . .** 𝔊 'For if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul', a free rendering.

He that created him. See critical note. In Deut. xxxii. 37 צור ('Rock') is used as a divine name, and rendered Θεός in the Sept.; cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3; Ps. xviii. (xvii.) 3, 32, 47; in many of the Psalms, especially the later ones, צור is used for 'God' as One who is a refuge of His people. The rendering of 𝔊 here, however (ὁ ποιήσας αὐτόν), makes it probable that it read יוצרו; 𝔖 has בריה ('his Creator').

7. **Make thyself beloved.** i. e. by giving alms to those in need; for the phrase cp. xx. 13.

the ruler of the city. The 'ruler' in 𝔅 in שִׁלְטוֹן = 'Sultan'. 𝔖 reads 'rulers . . .'; there was no single ruler in Jerusalem, but a *Gerousia*, or assembly of great ones, which became known later on as the Sanhedrin.

8. **Incline thine ear.** Cp. Ps. xvii. 6; Jer. xi. 8.

And return . . . Cp. Gen. xli. 16. 𝔊, 'And answer him with peaceable words,' is a misunderstanding of the Hebrew form of salutation: 'Peace' (שלום).

9. **Deliver the oppressed . . .** Cp. Ps. lxxxii. 3, 4.

And let not . . . See critical note. 𝔊 'And be not faint-hearted in giving judgement', cp. Jas. ii. 9, and see Amos v. 10, 15.

10. **Be as a father . . .** Cp. Job xxix. 16, xxxi. 18; Ps. lxviii. 5; Is. i. 17.

to widows. Cp. Deut. xxiv. 17–21; Jas. i. 27.

Then God will call . . . Cp. Job xxxi. 18.

And will be gracious . . . 𝔊 'And He shall love thee more than thy mother doth'; Smend explains the words 'more than thy mother doth' in 𝔊 as due to a desire to beautify the text on the basis of such passages as Is. xlix. 15, lxvi. 13. For 𝔅 cp. li. 2; Job xxxiii. 18, 24, 30; Ps. ciii. 4; Is. xxxviii. 17.

The care of the fatherless and widows was reckoned by the Rabbis among the גמילות חסדים, lit. 'practice of kindnesses', which is constantly urged upon men in Rabbinical writings, e. g. in the T. B. *Nedarim* 39 *b*, 40 *a*, *Kethuboth* 50 *a*, *Sanhedrin* 19 *b*; cp. also the following words in the Apocalypse of Peter, § 15: . . . οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεποιθότες καὶ μὴ ἐλεήσαντες ὀρφανοὺς καὶ χήρας, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, and cp. Apocalypse of Paul, § 35.

(*a*) IV. 11–19. *The Reward of those who seek Wisdom* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

𝔅 11 Wisdom instructeth her sons,
And enlighteneth[a] all who give heed to her.
12 They that love her love life,
And they that seek her [b]shall obtain grace from the Lord[b].
13 They that take hold of her shall find glory [bb]from the Lord[bb],
And they shall abide in the blessing of the Lord.
14 They that serve her serve the Holy One,
[c]And God loveth them that love her[c].
15 He that hearkeneth unto me shall judge[d] (in) truth[e],
And he that giveth ear unto me shall dwell in my innermost chamber[f].
𝔊 16 [g]If he trust[h] me[i], he shall possess[k] me[l],
And his posterity[m] [n]shall hold me[o] fast[ng].
𝔅^A 17 But I will walk with him in disguise[p],
And at first [q]I[r] will try him with temptations[q].
𝔊 [s]Fear and dread will I[t] bring upon him[us],
𝔅^A And I will torment him with chastisements,

than thy mother doth' 𝔊; >𝔖 [a] *So* 𝔖; 𝔅=𝔊 'taketh hold of' [b–b] *Cp.* 𝔏 complectebuntur placorem eius (complebuntur placore illius); 'shall be filled with joy' 𝔊 [bb–bb] >𝔊 [c–c] *Reading* ואל אוהב מאהביה (=𝔊) [d] ישפט; *Smend suggests* ישכן = 'shall abide', *which forms a better parallel to the next clause* [e] אמת; 𝔊 *apparently read* אמות = 'peoples', *as in Num.* xxv. 15 [f] *Reading* בחדרי בחדר; *cp.* 1 Kings xx. 30 [g–g] >𝔅 [h] *Reading with* א A C εμπιστευση [i] *So* 𝔖 *only*; 'her' 𝔊 𝔏 [k] *Lit.* 'he shall inherit', *reading with* א A C κατακληρονομησει [l] *So* 𝔖 *only*; 'her' 𝔊 Syro-Hex [m] *Lit.* 'generations'; 𝔖 'on behalf of all the generations of the world' [n–n] *Lit.* 'shall be (*plur.*) in possession'; 𝔖 'he shall receive' [o] *So* 𝔖 *only*; 'her' 𝔊𝔏 [p] *Lit.* 'in making myself a stranger', *cp.* 𝔊 διεστραμμενως = 'tortuously'; 253 Syro-Hex 𝔏 'with (in) temptation' [q–q] >𝔊; eligit eum 𝔏 [r] *So* 𝔖; 𝔅 *erroneously* 'he' [s–s] >𝔅 [t] *So* 𝔖 *only*; 'her' 𝔊𝔏 [u] +ad proba-

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IV. 11—VI. 17. This division falls into seven subsections. It further develops the general theme of Wisdom, but the subject-matter is somewhat miscellaneous.

(*a*) IV. 11–19.

11. **instructeth.** 𝔊 'exalteth'; cp. Prov. iv. 8, and *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 1, where it is said of the Law: 'It magnifieth him and exalteth him over all things.' 𝔏 'vitam inspirat', Clement of Alex. ἐνεφυσίωσε; perhaps 𝔊 had originally ἐνεψύχωσε (Ryssel).

her sons. Cp. Luke vii. 35 and Matt. xi. 19 (R. V. marg.); i.e. those whom Wisdom has begotten spiritually, cp. Gal. iv. 19.

enlighteneth. 𝔊 𝔅 'taketh hold of'; 𝔅 may have originally read תאיר (= 𝔖) instead of תעיד (Smend); cp. Ps. xix. 9, cxix. 130.

who give heed to her. Cp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 6; Ezra viii. 15; Neh. xiii. 7; Dan. ix. 23; 𝔊 'who seek her'. 𝔏 adds: 'Et praeibit in via iustitiae'.

12. **They that love . . .** 𝔊 'He that loveth . . .'; cp. Prov. viii. 17, from which this verse is taken, and see Prov. iii. 18, viii. 35; Wisd. vii. 11 ff., viii. 16; Jas. iii. 17.

they that seek her. Cp. Prov. xi. 27. 𝔅 מבקשיה, but 𝔊 οἱ ὀρθρίζοντες πρὸς αὐτήν suggests משחריה. Cp. xxxii. 14, Eccles. vi. 36.

shall obtain grace. See critical note. Cp. Prov. xviii. 22, where the Sept. renders רצון ('grace') ἱλαρότης (synonym for εὐφροσύνη).

13. **They that take hold of her . . .** Cp. Prov. iii. 18.

shall find glory. 𝔏 'shall inherit life', cp. *v.* 12.

they shall abide . . . 𝔊 'And where he (*or* she) entereth, the Lord will bless'. The Hebr. חנה has the meaning 'to enter in', as well as 'to abide', in Neo-Hebrew. For the thought of this clause cp. Gen. xxxix. 5 (Peters).

14. **serve the Holy One.** Lit. 'the servers of the Holy One' (משרתי קדש); the term משרתי יהוה is used of the Levitical priests, cp. Deut. x. 8, xvii. 12, xxi. 5; Job vi. 10; Jer. xxxiii. 21; see also Joshua i. 9, 13, ii. 17. For 'the Holy One' cp. xxiii. 9, xliii. 10, xlvii. 8, xlviii. 20; Bar. iv. 22, v. 5; in later Jewish literature this term is that most frequently used when speaking of God; it is, as a rule, followed by the words ברוך הוא ('Blessed be He'); cp. Mark xiv. 61, where ὁ εὐλογητός is used as a name of God.

And God loveth . . . See critical note.

15. **unto me.** 𝔊 'unto her', so also in the next clause, oblique instead of direct narration.

shall judge (in) truth. See critical notes. Cp. Is. xlii. 3 (Hebr.). Smend understands אמת ('truth') in the sense of 'safety', and refers to 2 Kings xx. 19, which offers a good parallel to the next clause.

shall dwell in my . . . Cp. Prov. viii. 3ff., ix. 1. 𝔊 'shall dwell securely', cp. xiv. 24 ff., li. 19; Deut. xxxiii. 14; Prov. i. 33; Is. xxxii. 18.

16. The omission of this verse in 𝔅 is probably an oversight. See the critical notes.

And his posterity . . . Cp. i. 15.

17. See critical notes.

I will walk . . . Cp. vi. 24, 25, 28; Prov. viii. 34.

Fear and dread . . This is an interpolation in 𝔊; the oblique narration of 𝔊 is altered above in order to agree with the rest of the verse.

Until his heart is filled[uu] with me,
𝔊 [v]And I try him with my ordinances[v].
𝔓^A 18 (Then) will I lead him on again[vv],
And will reveal to him my secrets.
19 [w]If he turn away (from me), I will forsake[x] him[w],
And will deliver him over to the spoilers.

(*b*) IV. 20–28. *Practical Precepts on Right-doing* (= 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

20 My son, observe [y]times and seasons[y], and beware of[z] evil,
And be not ashamed[a] concerning thy soul.
21 For there is a shame[b] that bringeth sin,
And there is a shame (that bringeth) honour and favour.
22 [c]Respect no man to thine own detriment[c],
And be not ashamed[d], to thine own stumbling[e].
23 Withhold not speech[f] in due season[g],
𝔓^A 𝔓^C [h]And hide not[i] thy wisdom[h].
𝔓^A 24 For Wisdom is known [k]through utterance[k],
And understanding by the word of the tongue.
25 Speak not against the truth[l],
[m]And be humble towards God[m].

tionem 𝔏 [uu] 𝔊 ενπιστευση, 'he trust', *is perhaps to be preferred* (= יאמן *for* ימלא) [v–v] >𝔓 𝔖 (*it is a gloss on* 17 d), *cp.* 𝔏 donec temtet illum in cogitationibus illius et credat animae illius [vv] 𝔊 + 'and she will gladden him'; 𝔖 𝔏 > *with* 𝔓 [w–w] 𝔓 *has a variant to this clause*: 'If he turn away from (following) after me, I will cast him off' (= 𝔖) [x] *Reading, following* 𝔊, ונטשתיהו *for* ונטותיהו (*Smend*) [y–y] *Reading, with Schechter,* עת וזמון (*cp.* Eccles. iii. 1) *for* עת המון [z] *Lit.* 'be afraid of' [a] + 'to speak the truth' 𝔏; *see v.* 25 [b] *Reading* בשת (= 𝔊) *for* בשאת *due to the following* משאת [c–c] *Lit.* 'Lift not up thy face (*technical term for showing consideration*) against thy soul' [d] *Reading* אל תבוש (= 𝔊) *for* אל תכשל = 'stumble not', *due to the following* למכשוליך [e] *Lit. plur.* [f] *Lit.* 'a word' [g] *Reading* בעתו = 'in its time', *for* בעולם = 'in eternity', i.e. 'constantly' [h–h] >𝔊, *but preserved in* 70 248 253 Syro-Hex 𝔏, *which add* εν καλλονη; + in decore eius 𝔏 [i] 𝔓^C 'shut not up' [k–k] *Lit.* 'by word'; Syro-Hex 𝔏 'by the mouth' [l] *So* 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏; 'God' 𝔓; אמת, 'truth', *should probably be read instead of* האל = 'God', *cp. the next clause* [m–m] 'And be ashamed of thine

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And I try him . . . See crit. note; 𝔊 has oblique narration as in the rest of the verse.
With the whole verse cp. Matt. vii. 14; Heb. xii. 11.

18. **(Then) will I lead . . .** 𝔏 'Et firmabit illum'; the Hebr. word (אשר) has the meaning of 'strengthen' in xxv. 23.
And will reveal . . . Cp. xxxix. 3, 7; Job xi. 6; Dan. ii. 21, 22. 𝔏 adds: 'Et thesaurizabit super illum scientiam et intellectum iustitiae.'

19. **. . . to the spoilers.** 𝔊 lit. 'into the hands of his falls', cp. Ps. lxiii. 11 (Sept.); 𝔏 'in manus inimici sui'.

(*b*) IV. 20–28.

20. **times and seasons.** 𝔊 'the opportunity', cp. xxvii. 12.
And be not ashamed . . . i.e. Do nothing, by becoming entangled in anything evil, which will cause you to be ashamed of yourself. 'Soul' here = 'thyself', according to the frequent use of נפש in the O.T.

21. This verse is added to Prov. xxvi. 11 in the Septuagint.
a shame that bringeth sin . . . Cp. xx. 22 f., xli. 16.
a shame (that bringeth) honour . . . Cp. xxix. 14, xli. 17 ff.; 2 Cor. vii. 10.

22. See critical notes.
Respect no man . . . An instance of the wrong kind of shame (cp. *v.* 9); a man must not be ashamed to offend others if a right course of action necessitates it; in such a case it is to his own detriment if he spares the feelings of others.
And be not ashamed . . . If the precept given in the last clause be neglected, the result will be 'thine own stumbling', i.e. it will lead to sin.

23. **Withhold not speech . . .** To do so would be another example of false shame.
in due season. 𝔊 ἐν καιρῷ σωτηρίας; cp. viii. 9 . . . ἐν καιρῷ χρείας δοῦναι ἀπόκρισιν. Perhaps in the verse before us (in 𝔊) χρείας should be read instead of σωτηρίας. Smend ingeniously suggests that a copyist misread XPIAC instead of C̄PIAC̄, the usual abbreviation for σωτηρίας. Cp. Eccles. iii. 7, '. . . a time to keep silence, a time to speak'; cp. Prov. xv. 23.
And hide not . . . See critical note. Cp. xx. 31, xli. 15.

24. **Wisdom is known . . .** For Wisdom from another point of view cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 20: 'A fence to Wisdom is silence,' a saying of Rabbi Aqiba.
And understanding by . . . Cp. Prov. xvi. 1^b. 𝔏 adds: 'Et firmamentum in operibus iustitiae.'

25. **the truth.** Cp. *Sanhedrin* i. 18 *a* (T. J.), where it is said that 'Emeth' ('Truth') is the name of God; and cp. John xiv. 6, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.'
And be humble . . . See critical note.

𝔅^A 26 Be not ashamed to confess[n] (thy) sins,
And stand not against the stream.
27 Prostrate not thy soul in the sight of a fool,
[nn]And accept not the person of one that is mighty[nn o].
28 Strive for the right[p] until death,
And the Lord will fight for thee[q].

(*c*) IV. 29—V. 3. *Further precepts for everyday life* (= 3 + 3 distichs).

29 Be not boastful[r] with thy tongue[s],
(Nor) slack and negligent in thy work.
𝔅^A 𝔅^C 30 Be not like a lion[t] in thy home,
And [u]tyrannous and terrible[u] towards thy servants[v].
31 Let not thy hand be stretched out[w] to take[x],
[y]And closed[z] [a]at the time of giving back[a y].
𝔅^A **5** 1 Trust not in thy wealth[b],
And say not, 'I have power[c].'

own ignorance' 𝔊; 'And keep thyself from thine own foolishness' 𝔖 [n] *Lit.* 'to turn from' [nn–nn] *Reading, on the basis of* 𝔊, ואל תשא פני מושל [o] 𝔅 *inserts* viii. 14 *here, but in a different form from* 𝔊, *see note below* [p] 'truth' 𝔊 𝔖; 𝔏 = 𝔎. [q] 𝔅 *inserts here* v. 14 a, b [r] א^c.a V 55 70 157 248 254 θρασυς (= 𝔅 𝔖); א* A 155 ταχυς (= 𝔏 Syro-Hex) 'hasty'; B C τραχυς 'rough' [s] 'hearing' א*; 'words' א^c.a 𝔖 [t] *So* 𝔅^C (= 𝔊 𝔏); 𝔅^A 'dog' (= 𝔖) [u–u] *So* 𝔅^A (= 𝔖, *cp.* 𝔏 evertens domesticos tuos et opprimens subiectos tibi); 𝔊 φαντασιοκοπων, 'suspicious'; 𝔅^C 'reckless' (מתפחז, *for which Smend would read* מתפחד 'terrifying'; *the hithpael form is not found in Biblical Hebrew*). [v] *So* 𝔅^C, *reading* עבדיך (= 𝔊 𝔏); 𝔅^A 'in thy work' (= 𝔖) [w] *So* 𝔅^C (= 𝔊); 𝔅^A 'open' (= 𝔖) [x] *So* 𝔅^A (= 𝔊 𝔖); 𝔅^C *lit.* 'to lift up' [y–y] *So* 𝔅^C [z] *So* 𝔅^A קפוצה; 𝔅^C קפורה, 'gathered up' (= 𝔏) [a–a] 𝔅^A 'in the midst of giving' (= 𝔖); 𝔏 ad dandum [b] *Lit.* 'strength' [c] εις ζωην 70 248

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26. **to confess (thy) sins.** The root שוב is that from which the later Jewish word for 'repentance' comes, viz. *Teshubah.* In the O.T. this word does not occur, no noun being used for 'repentance'; the idea is expressed by the verb שוב, 'to turn,' i.e. from a wrong course. Ben-Sira's teaching on repentance is the same as that of the O.T.; the first step is confession of sins (cp. Lev. v. 5, Num. v. 7) and self-abasement in the sight of God (cp. 1 Kings xxi. 29). The later Rabbinical doctrine teaches that the act of repentance (the technical term is עשה תשובה 'to do repentance') is *per se* meritorious; cp. the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* xxii, and on the whole subject see Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 261 ff., and Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, pp. 313–343.

In Rabbinical writings the confession of sins (the technical term is 'Widdui') is often insisted upon; e.g. Rabbi Aqiba in *Chagigah* 15 *a* (T. B.), says: 'As vessels of gold or of glass, when broken, can be restored by undergoing the process of melting, so does the disciple of the Torah, after having sinned, find the way of recovering his state of purity by repentance.' In *Sanhedrin* 14 *a* (T. B.) it is said that he who assumes a high public office after the confession of his sins in the past is 'made a new creature, free from sin like a child' (*JE*, ii. 280 *a*).

And stand not . . . Fritzsche takes these words in the sense of 'Swim not against the current of a river', i.e. Do not attempt the impossible; but the meaning seems to be that one might as well try and stop the current of a river as seek to hide sins, i.e. from God.

27. **Prostrate not thy soul . . .** 𝔊 'Lay not thyself down (lit. "spread not thyself out") for a fool to tread upon'; i.e. do not place yourself at the disposal of a fool. The Hebr. word translated 'prostrate', like the Greek equivalent, is used of spreading out sackcloth (see Is. lviii. 5, Hebr. and Sept.); so, too, in the Targums, e.g. in the Jerusalem Targum to Deut. xxxiv. 6 of spreading a bed. According to Smend, the word is also used of a slave who throws himself down before his master in order that the latter may step upon his slave in getting into the saddle.

accept not . . . Cp. Jas. ii. 1. The ignoring of either of the prohibitions contained in these two clauses brings shame.

28. **Strive.** The Hebr. היעצה should perhaps be read היעצם (Smend), or התעצם (Schechter); the latter means lit. 'Show proof of' = 'strive for'.

will fight. A different word in 𝔅 from the foregoing.

(*c*) IV. 29—V. 3.

29. **boastful.** See critical note. Cp. Jas. i. 19.

(Nor) slack . . . Cp. Prov. xviii. 9.

30. **thy home.** Cp. xi. 34 for this use of בית.

And tyrannous . . . See critical note.

31. **Let not thy hand . . .** Cp. Acts xx. 35. This *v.* is apparently cited in *Didache* iv. 5; cf. Introd. § 7 (*a*).

V. 1. **Trust not in.** Lit. 'Lean not upon.' 𝔊 'Set not thy heart upon,' the Greek word means lit. 'to be intent upon' something; cp. Ps. lxii. 10. With 𝔅 cp. xv. 4; Luke xii. 15; 1 Tim. vi. 17.

wealth. חיל is used primarily of physical strength, but also frequently of wealth, Is. viii. 4, x. 14, xxx. 6, &c.

I have power. Lit. 'There is to the "god" (אֵל) of my hand'. For the phrase cp. Gen. xxx. 29; Deut. xxviii. 32; Prov. iii. 27; Neh. v. 5; Mic. ii. 1; אֵל must be taken here in the sense of 'might' or 'power'. 𝔊 αὐτάρκη μοί ἐστιν, 'I have sufficient,' does not quite give the meaning of 𝔅, which refers to the sense of power which the possession of wealth inspires, not to the boast of possessing much.

𝔅^A 2 [b]Trust not in thy wealth,
[c]To walk after the desire of thy soul[cb].
[Go not after (the desire) of thine heart and of thine eyes,
To walk in the desires of thy soul[d].]
3 Say not, 'Who shall have power over me?'[e]
For Jahveh is an avenger [f]of the persecuted[f].

(*d*) V. 4–8. *The Wickedness of tempting God* (= 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 distichs).

𝔅^A 𝔅^C 4 Say not, 'I have sinned, [g]but what [i]happened unto me?'[g]
For Jahveh is longsuffering[h].
5 Count not upon forgiveness,
That thou shouldst add sin to sin.
6 [k]And say not, [l]'His mercies are great[l],
[m]He will forgive the multitude of mine iniquities'[mk];
For mercy and wrath are with Him,
And His indignation abideth upon the ungodly.
7 Delay not to turn unto Him,
And put (it) not off from day to day;
For suddenly doth His wrath come forth[n],
And in the time[o] of vengeance thou shalt perish.
𝔅^A 8 Trust not in unrighteous gains,
For they shall profit (thee) nothing in the day of wrath.

(*e*) V. 9—VI. 1. *On the Need of Straightforwardness in Speech* (= 2 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔅^A 𝔅^C 9 Winnow not with every wind,
[p]And walk not in every path[pq].

(= Syro-Hex); + Nihil enim proderit in tempore vindictae et obductionis, 𝔏 *cp. v.* 7 [b–b] > 𝔊 [c–c] > 𝔖 [d] *Reading* נפשך *for* רעה ('evil') [e] *Several Grk. cursives* Syro-Hex 𝔏 + 'Because of my works' [f–f] *Several Grk. cursives read* σου την υβριν (= Syro-Hex 𝔏) [g–g] 𝔅^A 'What will He do unto me?—Nothing!' [h] + ου μη σε ανη 70 248 [i] + λυπηρον 70 248 (= 𝔏) [k–k] > 𝔖 [l–l] 'Jahveh is merciful' 𝔅^A1 [m–m] 'And He will blot out all mine iniquities' 𝔅^A1 [n] + 'And if thou rememberest not thou shalt be destroyed ℵ^c.a 248 [o] 𝔅^A 'day' [p–p] *So* 𝔅^C, *the text of* 𝔅^A *is corrupt:* 'Turn the way of the stream', *cp.* iv. 26 [q] + 'Thus

2. **Trust not** ... This and the next clause are doublets based on *vv.* 1 *a*, 2 *b*; they are rightly omitted in 𝔊.
To walk in the desires ... Cp. Job xxxi. 7.
3. **Who shall have** ... Cp. Ps. xii. 4.
of the persecuted. 𝔊 'of thee'. Cp. Eccles. iii. 15, where almost the identical Hebrew of clause (*b*) occurs.
(*d*) V. 4–8.
4. **I have sinned** ... Cp. Eccles. viii. 1; Ps. liii. 12. This verse is quoted in *Chagigah* 16 *a* (T. B.).
For Jahveh is longsuffering. With this rejoinder contrast the teaching of later sages, who, in accordance with a more developed belief concerning the hereafter, taught that retribution awaited the ungodly in the next world; cp. e. g. 1 Enoch li. 2.
5. **Count not.** Lit. 'trust not', 𝔊 'be not without fear'. This verse and *v.* 6 are quoted by Nissim ben Jacob (first half of eleventh century) in his *Sepher Ma'asiyoth*; also by Sa'adya (d. 942) (Smend).
forgiveness. Cp. Ps. cxxx. 4. 𝔊 'atonement'.
That thou shouldst ... i. e. Do not think that because sins are forgiven you can therefore continue to commit sins. See further the note on xvi. 14.
6. 𝔅^A 𝔖 place the first two clauses of this verse before *v.* 5, the former repeats them here.
He will forgive. 𝔊 ἐξιλάσεται, 'He will be pacified.'
For mercy ... This clause occurs again in xvi. 11; cp. the teaching of the books of Hosea and Amos in which the divine characteristics of mercy and wrath are respectively taught, with special emphasis.
7. This verse is quoted in *Shabbath* 153 *a* (T. B.).
Delay not ... For the thought cp. Ps. cxix. 60, but the Hebr. word is different.
And put (it) not off. i. e. the turning = repentance; see note on iv. 26.
from day to day. For the phrase cp. 1 Chron. xvi. 23; Ps. xcvi. 2; Esther iii. 7 (Hebr.).
suddenly doth ... Cp. Lev. x. 2; Num. xvi. 35; Is. li. 5; Mark xiii. 36.
in the time of vengeance ... Cp. xviii. 24; for 'the day of vengeance' cp. Is. xxxiv. 8, lxi. 2, lxiii. 4; Prov. vi. 34.
8. **Trust not.** 𝔊 μὴ ἔπεχε.
unrighteous gains. Cp. Prov. x. 2; Ezek. vii. 19; Matt. xiii. 22; Mark iv. 19; Luke xvi. 11.
For they shall profit... Cp. Prov. xi. 14.
in the day of wrath. 𝔊 '... of calamity'; cp. ii. 2 and 1 Enoch lxiii. 10, 'Our souls are satisfied with the mammon of unrighteousness, but this does not prevent us from descending into the flame of the pain of Sheol.'
(*e*) V. 9—VI. 1.
9. The addition of 𝔊, &c. (see critical note), is from vi. 1 *c*.

𝔅^A𝔅^C 10 Be steadfast concerning [r]that which thou knowest[r],
And let thy speech[s] be one.
11 Be swift[t] to hear[u v],
[w]But with patience make reply[w].
12 If it lie in thy power answer thy neighbour;
And if not, —[x] thy hand upon thy mouth![y]
13 Glory and dishonour come through speaking[z],
And the tongue of a man [a]is his fall[a].
𝔅^A 14 Be not called 'Double-tongued',
And slander not with thy tongue;
For shame hath been created for the thief,
[b]And sore reproach for[b] the double-tongued[c].
15 Deal not corruptly either in a small or a great matter;
6 1 And be not an enemy in place of a friend,
[d](For then) wouldst thou get an evil name, and reproach, and shame[d];
So it is with an evil man who is double-tongued.

(*f*) VI. 2–4. *A Warning against lustful passions* (= 3 distichs).

2 [e]Be not a slave to thy passions[e],
Lest they[f] consume [g]thy strength [h]like a bull[h];

(doth) the double-tongued sinner' 𝔊 Syro-Hex; + Sic enim peccator probatur in duplici lingua 𝔏 [r–r] 'thy word' 𝔅^C [s] 'words' 𝔅^C [t] 'firm' 𝔅^C, *cp. v.* 10 [u] 𝔅^C *lit.* 'with a good hearing' (*see notes below*); + *good* 70 248 Syro-Hex. [v] + 'and let thy life be in truth' 70 248 𝔏 [w–w] 𝔅^C *has:* ובארך ענה תענה נבונה [x] 𝔅^C *inserts* 'place'; 𝔊 'let . . . be . . .' [y] + Ne capiaris in verbo indisciplinato et confundaris 𝔏, *cp. v.* 14 [z] 'one that babbleth' 𝔅^C [a–a] 'bringeth him into security,' *evidently a corruption* 𝔅^C; + 'evil' 𝔅 [b–b] *Reading, with Smend:* וחרפה רעה על [c] + susurratori autem odium et inimicitia et contumelia 𝔏 [d–d] *Reading, with Smend:* שם רע חרפה וקלון תוריש [e–e] *Lit.* 'Fall not into the hand of thy soul'; 'Deliver not thyself . . . .' 𝔖 [f] *Lit.* 'it' [g] *Reading* ותבער *for* תעבה (*Smend*) [h–h] *So* 𝔖 𝔊; >𝔅

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10. **steadfast.** Cp. Ps. cxii. 8; Is. xxvi. 3.
let thy speech . . . i. e. be consistent in what you say.
11. **Be swift to hear.** Smend thinks that 𝔅^C (lit. 'Be steadfast with a good hearing') means 'Be attentive during a good lecture', or the like. 𝔅^A, however, contains the right text; cp. Jas. i. 19.
with patience. Cp. Eccles. vii. 8, 1 Pet. iii. 15. Perhaps ארך רוח has here the sense of 'deliberation'.
make reply. With the Hebr. phrase חשב פתגם cp. Ezra v. 11; Dan. iii. 16.
12. **If it lie in thy power.** Lit. 'if there is with thee'; 𝔊 adds σύνεσις for clearness' sake; cp. Job xxxviii. 32.
thy hand . . . Cp. Job xxi. 5, xxix. 2; Prov. xxx. 32.
13. **Glory and dishonour.** Cp. Prov. xviii. 21.
come through. Lit. '(are) in the hand of'; cp. Prov. xviii. 21, '. . . in the hand (or, power) of the tongue.'
speaking. The Hebr. word (בטא, בטה) means properly 'to speak rashly', or 'unadvisedly', in the O. T.; cp. Lev. v. 4; Ps. cvi. 33; Prov. xii. 18. The root is a rare one, it occurs again in ix. 17; in Neo-Hebrew the noun means simply 'utterance' in a neutral sense (Smend), as in ix. 18.
And the tongue . . . Cp. Matt. xii. 37, Jas. iii. 2 ff., and *Abodah Zara* 11 *b* (T. B.): '. . . their tongue causeth them to stumble' (Peters, quoting Bacher).
14. In 𝔅 the first two clauses of the verse come also after iv. 29.
Double-tongued. Lit. 'master of two (tongues)'; 𝔊 'a whisperer'; cp. iv. 28, xxviii. 13; Prov. xvi. 28; 2 Cor. xii. 20; Schechter quotes *Baba mezia* 48 *a* (T. B.): '. . . who doth not speak one thing with his mouth and another with his heart.'
slander not. Cp. Ps. xv. 3; 𝔊 'lie not in wait', cp. Prov. xii. 13; 𝔏 '(ne) capiaris et confundaris', cp. *v.* 12.
hath been created. Cp. Prov. xii. 13, xviii. 7. 𝔊 'there is'.
the thief. The reference is to him who, through slander, has stolen the good name of another.
the double-tongued. See above.
15. **Deal not corruptly.** 𝔊 'Be not ignorant (concerning)'; a misunderstanding of 𝔅.
VI. 1. **(For then) wouldst thou . . .** 𝔊 'For an evil name inheriteth shame and reproach', a free rendering.
get. Lit. 'inherit'.

(*f*) VI. 2–4.
2. **Be not . . .** 𝔊 'Exalt not thyself in the counsel of thy soul', which is difficult to account for excepting on the supposition that the point of 𝔅 was misunderstood. For the phrase נפל ביד ('to fall into the hand of') cp. Judges xv. 18; 2 Sam. xxiv. 14. In xxxvii. 7 𝔊 also renders יד as βουλή ('counsel'). The reference, as the context shows, is to impure passions.
Lest they consume . . . 𝔊 gives no sense: 'That thy soul be not torn in pieces like a bull'; 𝔅 as it stands is corrupt (see critical note). The original meaning was probably that lustful passions, if not resisted, consume a man's

𝔅[A] 3 Thy leaves will they[d] eat up, and thy fruits will they[d] destroy,
4 And they[d] will leave thee as a dried-up tree.
For[e] fierce passion destroyeth its possessor[f],
And[ff] [g]maketh him[g] the scorn[h] of his enemy.

(*g*) VI. 5–17. *Concerning true and false Friendship* (= 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 1 distichs).

5 [k]Gentle speech[k] multiplieth friends[l],
And [m]kindly words[m] [n]those that give greeting[n].
6 Let those [o]that are at peace with thee[o] be many,
But thy confidant[p] one in a thousand.
7 If thou makest a friend [q]test him[q],
And be not in haste to trust him.
8 For there is a friend (who is so) according to occasion,
And continueth not in the day of[r] affliction;
9 [s]And there is a friend that turneth to an enemy[t],
[u]And he revealeth strife to thy reproach[u].
10 And there is a friend who is a table-friend,
But he [v]is not to be found[v] in the day of affliction[w s].
11 [x]When thou art in prosperity he will be like thee[x],
𝔊 [y]And will lord it over thy servants[y].

[d] *Sing.* in 𝔅 [e] > 𝔊 *but* + γαρ 253 [f] *Reading* בעלה *for* בעליה [ff] + 'quickly' 70 [g–g] *Reading* תשימנו *for* תשיגם [h] *Lit.* 'joy' [k–k] 𝔊 *lit.* 'A sweet throat' [l] + 'et mitigat inimicos' (*cp.* Prov. xv. 1) 𝔏 [m–m] *Lit.* 'lips of grace'; 'the lips of the righteous' 𝔖; lingua eucharis 𝔏 [n–n] *Reading* שואלי שלום; 'peaceful greeting' 𝔖; in bono homine abundat 𝔏 [o–o] 'that greet thee' 𝔖 [p] *Lit.* 'the master of thy secret'; consiliarius sit tibi 𝔏 [q–q] *Lit.* 'acquire him by testing' [r] 𝔊 + 'thy' [s–s] > א* 𝔖 (*homoioteleuton*), *hab* א[c.a] [t] B א 'enmity'; A C &c. = 𝔅 [u–u] Et est amicus qui odium et rixam et convicia denudabit 𝔏 [v–v] 'will not continue' 𝔊, *cp.* v. 8 b, 12 b [w] 'thy affliction' 𝔊 [x–x] Amicus si permanserit fixus, erit tibi quasi coaequalis 𝔏 [y–y] 'And

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strength; impure desire is aptly compared to a bull, because of the havoc it causes. The repetition of ψυχή is a mistake for ἰσχύς (= חיל). With the whole verse cp. Job xxxi. 9–12.

3. The metaphor is now changed, and the man who does not control his passions is compared to a sapless tree. 𝔊 makes the man himself the subject, in 𝔅 the lustful passion is the subject. Cp. Job xxxi. 12.

leaves . . . fruits. Figurative for youth and offspring; cp. Ps. cxvii. 3, cxxxii. 11; Is. xiii. 18.

a dried-up tree. Figurative for a man without posterity, a bitter thought to the Jew; cp. 1 Kings xvi. 3, xxi. 21; see also Ps. cxxviii. 3, 6 for a man's delight in his children. For the picture of a tree used figuratively for a man see Ps. i. 3, xxxvii. 35; Dan. iv. 10 ff.

4. **fierce passion.** i.e. uncontrolled desire (cp. Is. lvi. 11): 𝔊, 'a wicked soul,' apparently read רעה for עזה, and translated נפש literally.

its possessor. 𝔅 lit. 'its master'; 𝔊 τὸν κτησάμενον αὐτήν; cp. Is. xxvi. 13; Prov. xvi. 22 (Sept.).

the scorn. ἐπίχαρμα of 𝔊 well brings out the idea of malignant delight.

enemy. 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏 'enemies', probably correct.

(*g*) VI. 5–17.

5. **Gentle speech.** Cp. Cant. ii. 14; Prov. xvi. 21.

kindly words. 𝔊 'a fair-speaking tongue', cp. Prov. xi. 16 (Sept.), xv. 1. 𝔊 unnecessarily repeats the verb.

those that give greeting. 𝔅 lit. 'those that ask peace'; 𝔊 '. . . courtesies'.

6. This verse is quoted in the T. B. *Jebamoth* 63*b*, *Sanhedrin* 100*b*.

those that are . . . Cp. for the phrase Ps. xli. 10; Prov. xvi. 7; Rom. xii. 18.

thy confidant. i.e. thy most intimate friend; 𝔊 'thy counsellor', is too general, cp. Is. xl. 13; with 𝔅 cp. viii. 17.

7. **If thou makest.** The Hebr. word (קנה) means 'to acquire', and occurs often in Proverbs for acquiring wisdom.

test him. Lit. 'by testing' (בנסיון), cp. iv. 17.

be not in haste. Cp. xix. 4.

8. **according to occasion.** i.e. only in so far as it suits his own purpose. Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* v. 22: 'All friendship (אהבה) which depends on something, when the thing ceases, the friendship ceases; and such as does not depend on anything never ceases.'

9. **revealeth . . .** Cf. Prov. xxv. 9, 10, which offers an explanation of this clause.

10. **there is a friend . . .** i.e. his friendship only lasts as long as he receives hospitality. The Hebrew word *chabêr* means primarily, as here and in the O.T. generally, a companion, but later on it came to mean a companion in studying the Law, and thus came to be synonymous with 'scholar'. The word had, however, besides this the technical meaning of a member of a society or order (e.g. one who belonged to the sect of the Pharisees), whose aim was to observe in all strictness the laws of 'clean' and 'unclean'; in contrast to the *chabêr* was one who was not particular in the observance of these, viz. a *'am-ha'areṣ* (= 'one of the land'), i.e. one who knew not the Law, cp. John vii. 49.

11. **When thou art in . . .** Cp. xii. 8, 9; Prov. xi. 10, xix. 6. In *Shabbath* 32 *a* (T. B.) it is said: 'At the door of the rich all are friends; at the door of the poor there are none.'

he will be like thee. i.e. he will agree with you in everything.

𝔅ᴬ 12 [z a]If evil overtake thee[z] he will turn against thee[a],
[b]And will hide himself from thee[c].
13 Separate thyself from thine enemies,
And be on thy guard against thy friends.
14 A faithful friend is a strong defence[d],
And [e]he that findeth him[e] findeth a treasure.
15 A faithful friend is beyond price,
And his worth cannot be weighed.
16 A faithful friend is a 'bundle of life',
He that feareth God [f]obtaineth him[f].
𝔊 17 [g]He that feareth the Lord directeth his friendship aright[g],
𝔅ᴬ For as he is, so is his friend[h].

(*a*) VI. 18–22. *Wisdom is a joy to those who seek her, but harsh to the foolish* (= 3 + 3 distichs).

𝔊 18 [i]My son, receive[k] instruction from thy youth up[i],
[l]And even unto hoar hairs[l] [m]shalt thou find wisdom[m].
𝔅ᴬ𝔅ᶜ 19 Draw nigh unto her as one that plougheth and soweth[n],
And wait for the abundance of her fruits.

when thou art in adversity he will depart from thee' 𝔅ᴬ 𝔖 z–z 'If thou fall' 𝔖 a–a Si humiliaverit se contra te 𝔏 b 𝔖 *inserts:* 'He will depart' c + unanimem habebis amicitiam bonam 𝔏, *rendered necessary by the misunderstanding of* 𝔊 *in the first clause* d *Reading* אהל (*lit.* 'tent') *for* אוהב (= 𝔊) e–e *Reading* ומוצאו (= 𝔊) *for* ימצא f–f *Reading* ישיגנו *for* ישיגם g–g > 𝔅 h 𝔖 + 'And as his name so are his works' 𝔅 (= ii. 18 *d* 𝔅) i–i > 𝔅 𝔏 *inserts the title:* 'De Doctrina Sapientiae' k *Reading* επιδεξαι (= 𝔖 𝔏) *for* επιλεξαι l–l > 𝔅 m–m *So also* 𝔅ᶜ; '. . . grace' 𝔄 Syro-Hex n *So* 𝔊; 'and reapeth' 𝔅 𝔖

And will lord it . . . The reading of 𝔊 is, as the context shows (see *v.* 12), right. 𝔅 reads וברעתך יתנדה ממך, which should, on the basis of 𝔊, be emended to ובעבדיך יתנדב, as the antithesis does not come until the next verse. The meaning is that this false friend seeks in all things to identify his actions with those of him whom he calls his friend.

12. **If evil overtake thee . . .** Cp. Job xix. 19 (Hebr.); 𝔊 'If thou be brought low', cp. xxii. 26.

And will hide himself . . . See the contrast to this in xxii. 23 ff.

13. **And be on thy guard . . .** Cp. *vv.* 7, 10.

14. **defence.** 𝔊 σκέπη; cp. Exod. xxvi. 7 (Theod.), xxxv. 11 (Aq. Theod. Symm.); Job viii. 22 (Aq.), xxi. 28 (Theod.); where אהל is thus rendered.

a treasure. The word הון, lit. 'wealth', belongs especially to the Wisdom literature, cp. Prov. i. 13, vi. 31, viii. 18.

15. **A faithful friend . . .** Lit. 'For a faithful friend there is no price'; 𝔊 has for 'price' ἀντάλλαγμα, lit. 'exchange', cp. xxvi. 14, and for the Hebr. מחיר vii. 18.

And his worth . . . Lit. 'And there is no weight for his goodness', 𝔊 . . . τῆς καλλονῆς αὐτοῦ, cp. xxxiv. 23. Schechter (*Studies in Judaism*, second series, p. 93) quotes *Pirqe Aboth* i. 6 (T. J.): 'Let a man buy himself a friend who will eat and drink with him, who will study with him the written and the oral Law, and to whom he will entrust all his secrets . . .'

16. **a 'bundle of life'.** צרור חיים; the meaning is that a man's life is as safe in the hands of a faithful friend as his soul is in the bundle, or bag, of life. This latter expression occurs for the first time in 1 Sam. xxv. 29, where Abigail says to David: 'And though man be risen up to pursue thee, and to seek thy soul, yet the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God; and the souls of thine enemies, them shall He sling out, as from the hollow of a sling.' Mr. S. A. Cook, in the *JQR*, xiv, pp. 413 ff., refers to this in the words: 'Although Semitic examples of the belief of the external soul in its crude form appear to be exceedingly rare, the conception that a man's life can be wrapped up in some external object on the safety of which his immunity depends, is one that readily lends itself to development and refinement. Thus David's soul is bound up with (i. e. in the care and custody of) Jahweh (1 Sam. xxv. 29), and, according to 2 Sam. xxi. 17, the life of the nation is wrapped up in David, since the extinction of the "lamp of Israel" seems to entail that of the people.' The phrase is still used in the liturgies of the Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews.

Schechter quotes the well-known Jewish saying from *Taanith* i. 23*a* (T. J.): 'Friendship or Death' (*op. cit.*, p. 93).

He that feareth . . . i. e. a faithful friend is to be regarded as a gift from the Almighty.

17. **He that feareth . . .** The accidental omission of this clause in 𝔅 is due to the fact that the opening words were the same as those of the preceding clause (ירא אל).

directeth . . . aright. εὐθυνεῖ, 'maketh straight,' cp. Isa. xl. 3; John i. 23; Jas. iii. 4.

For as he is . . . i. e. both are alike to him, his friend is as dear to him as he himself; cp. Matt. xix. 19: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

VI. 18—VIII. 7. The contents are again miscellaneous; Wisdom is still the main theme. The division falls into fourteen subsections.

(*a*) VI. 18–22.

18. **hoar hairs.** Cp. xxv. 4.

shalt thou find. The Hebr. תשיג means rather 'shalt thou attain', cp. xxv. 3.

19. **the abundance of her fruits.** 𝔊 'her good fruits'; with the clause cp. Jas. v. 7, 8.

𝔥^A 𝔥^o For in cultivating her thou [needest to] toil[o] but for a little,
For to-morrow shalt thou eat her fruits.
𝔥^A 20 How[p] harsh is she[q] to the fool[r],
And he that is lacking in understanding cannot abide in her.
𝔥^A 𝔥^C 21 Upon him [s]she is like a burdensome stone[s],
And he is not slow to cast her off.
𝔥^A 22 [t]For Wisdom[u] is according to her name[t],
And to most men she is not manifest.

(*b*) VI. 23–31. *They who seek Wisdom shall receive a crown of joy* (= 3 + 3 + 3 distichs).

𝔊 23 [w]Hearken, my son, and receive my judgement,
And refuse not my counsel;
24 And bring thy feet into her fetters,
And thy neck into her chain[w].
𝔥^A 25 Bow down thy shoulder, and bear her,
And chafe not [x]under her bonds[x].
𝔊 26 [y]Draw nigh unto her with all thy heart[z],
And keep her ways with thy whole power[y].
𝔥^A 27 Inquire and search, seek and find[a],
And take hold of her, and let her not go;

[o] *Reading* תעמל (= 𝔖 𝔊) *for* תעבוד [p] *Inserting* מה (= 𝔖 𝔊); 'exceeding harsh' 𝔊 [q] 'Wisdom' 𝔖 𝔏 [r] *plur.* 𝔊 𝔖 [s–s] 'like a mighty stone of trial' 𝔊, *reading* מסה *for* משא; quasi lapidis virtus probatio 𝔏 [t–t] 'Her name is like her teaching' 𝔖 [u] *Reading, with Smend,* החכמה *for* המוסר, *and* היא *for* הוא [w–w] > 𝔥, *substituting instead* xxvii. 5, 6, *but in the marg.* [x–x] *Reading, with Smend,* בחבלותיה (= 𝔊) *for* בתחבולתיה 'at her counsels' [y–y] > 𝔥 [z] *So* 𝔖; 𝔊 'soul' [a] 'thou shalt find' 𝔖 [b] + 'and joy' 𝔖 [c–c] 'And thou shalt rejoice in her (*al.* thy) end' 𝔖 [d] 'her net' 𝔥 (𝔖 *plur.*) [e–e] in protectionem fortitudinis et bases virtutis 𝔏 [f–f] > 𝔖 [ff–ff] *Reading*

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in cultivating her. Lit. 'in her cultivation'. Wisdom is compared to land which, though productive, requires labour to be expended upon it before its fruits can be enjoyed.

but for a little. Cp. xl. 6. The reference, as the context shows, is not to the smallness of the labour, but to the short time during which one need labour, so soon does Wisdom reward those who seek her.

to-morrow. Reading למחר; Peters may, however, be right in reading למהר 'quickly' (= 𝔊), but cp. Exod. viii. 19; Is. xvii. 11.

20. **harsh.** i. e. rough (𝔊 *τραχεῖα*; only B, wrongly, *ταχεῖα*). Wisdom is compared to a path, cp. iv. 17; Prov. ii. 9; and see the next clause, '. . . cannot abide in her.'

the fool. אויל is generally used of one who is morally bad, as well as deficient in understanding, cp. Prov. i. 7, vii. 22, xiv. 9, xx. 3.

in understanding. Lit. 'heart'; for the heart as the seat of the understanding cp. Prov. vi. 32, vii. 7, x. 13, &c.

cannot abide. Cp. xlix. 9 (Hebr.).

21. Wisdom is now compared to a great weight which to the fool is so burdensome that he flings it from him, thus forfeiting all the benefits which a little perseverance would have obtained.

a burdensome stone. Cp. Zech. xii. 3.

22. **For Wisdom . . .** Lit. 'For Wisdom—as her name so is she', i. e. her name expresses her essence.

manifest. Lit. 'plain', as in Prov. viii. 9.

(*b*) VI. 23–31.

23. **judgement.** *γνώμην*, i. e. estimate, or opinion, viz. of Wisdom; used only here in Sirach. With the whole verse cp. Prov. xix. 20.

24. **And bring . . .** Cp. *v.* 29.

25. **Bow down . . .** 𝔊 'Put thy shoulder under her'; Wisdom is compared to a yoke; with this metaphor cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 8: 'Whoso receives upon him the yoke of Torah (Law), they remove from him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care (דרך ארץ); and whoso breaks from him the yoke of Torah, they lay upon him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care'; Matt. xi. 29, 30: 'Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me . . . for My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.'

chafe not . . . Lit. 'loathe not'. Cp. *Erubin* 54 *a* (T. B.): 'If thou bring thy neck under the yoke of Torah she will watch over thee'; for the identification between Wisdom and the Law see Introd. § 9 (iii).

under her bonds. 𝔥 'at her counsels', cp. Prov. i. 5; but the context justifies the reading based on 𝔊 (see critical note). Cp. the Midrash *Debarim Rabba* to x. 1: 'It is as if a lord said to his servants, "Here is a golden chain (if thou doest my will), but if not, here are iron fetters"'; the reference is to the obeying of God's will as revealed in the Law.

26. The omission of this *v.* in 𝔥 is probably accidental; there is no reason to doubt its genuineness; indeed the words of the next *v.*, 'Inquire and search,' seem to demand a reference to the walking in her paths, i. e. the ways that lead to Wisdom.

with all thy heart . . . with thy whole power. Cp. Deut. vi. 5.

27. **Inquire and search . . .** 𝔊 'Search (*lit.* trace out) and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee', a free rendering; cp. Deut. xiii. 15 (Sept.).

let her not go. Cp. Prov. iv. 13.

𝔅ᴬ𝔅ᶜ 28 For at length thou wilt find her rest[b],
[c]And she shall be turned for thee into gladness[c].
𝔅ᴬ 29 And her fetters[d] shall become[e] a stay of strength for thee[e],
[f]And [ff]her bonds[ff] for [g]robes of glory[g].
30 An ornament of gold is her yoke,
And her fetters a cord of blue[f].
31 Thou shalt array thee with her (as with) robes of glory,
And crown thee with her (as with) a crown of beauty.

(*c*) VI. 32–37. *A reward awaits those who diligently seek Wisdom* (= 2 + 3 + 2 distichs).

32 My son, if thou desirest it thou shalt be made wise,
And if thou set thy heart (thereon), thou shalt learn prudence.
33 If thou desire to hear, [h]thou shalt receive[h],
[i]And if[i] thou incline[k] thine ear, thou shalt be wise.
𝔊 34 [l]Stand thou in the assembly[m] of the elders,
And whoso is wise, cleave unto him[l].
𝔅ᴬ𝔅ᶜ 35 Desire to hear every discourse[mm],
And let not a wise proverb[n] escape thee.
𝔅ᴬ 36 [o]Look for him who[p] is wise[o], and seek him out earnestly,
And let thy foot wear out [q]his threshold[q].
37 Meditate in the fear of the Most High[r],
[s]And think upon His commandments[s] continually;
Then will He instruct [t]thine heart[t],
And He [u]will make thee wise[u] (in that) which thou desirest.

חבלותיה (*see v.* 25). [g–g] 'robes of gold' 𝔅; 'a robe of life' 𝔏 [h–h] *So* 𝔊; *the verb has fallen out in* 𝔅; 'thou shalt learn' 𝔖; + 'understanding' 70 248 253 Syro-Hex; + doctrinam 𝔏 [i] *So* 𝔊 𝔖; *the words have fallen out in* 𝔅 [k] 𝔅 *imperative, but probably the mistake arose through the falling out of the preceding letters* [l–l] > 𝔅 [m] *So* 𝔖; 'multitude' 𝔊 [mm] 𝔊 *inserts* 'godly'; + dei 𝔏 [n] 𝔊 *plur.*; 'the sayings of the wise' 𝔖 [o–o] 'See who is wise' 𝔖 [p] *Reading* מי *for* מה [q–q] 'the steps of his doors' 𝔊 [r] 'God' 𝔖 [s–s] *Reading* ובמצותיו הגה (= 𝔖 𝔊); *the text is corrupt* [t–t] 'thy ways' 𝔖 [u–u] 'will teach thee' 𝔖

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28. **her rest.** i.e. the rest which Wisdom finally gives to those who seek her.
she shall be turned . . . To follow after Wisdom seems hard and grievous at first, cp. *vv.* 24, 25, but to those who persevere Wisdom reveals herself as she really is.
gladness. תענוג, lit. 'luxury', cp. Prov. xix. 10.
29. **a stay of strength.** מכון עז, cp. Ps. lxxxix. 15 מכון כסאך (Smend).
bonds. Cp. *v.* 25[b]; 𝔊ᴮ *οἱ κλάδοι* ('branches)' is a corruption; AC read *οἱ κλοιοί* ('bonds'), which probably represents the original reading.
robes of glory. Cp. l. 11, where 𝔅 has 'robes of glory'; 𝔊 is to be preferred here (see critical note).
30. **her yoke.** עולָה, which 𝔊 read עָלֶיהָ ('upon her'); cp. *v.* 25.
a cord of blue. פתיל תכלת, the same as in Num. xv. 38, lit. 'twisted threads of blue'. 𝔊 has the same rendering as the Sept. of Num. xv. 38.
31. **a crown of beauty.** Cp. Prov. iv. 9, xvi. 31; 𝔊 'a crown of rejoicing', cp. i. 11, xv. 6.
(*c*) VI. 32–37.
32. **if thou set thy heart (thereon).** 𝔊 'if thou yield thy soul'.
thou shalt learn prudence. Lit. 'thou shalt be shrewd'.
33. **If thou desire.** אם תובא, written defectively as in Prov. i. 10; but possibly it is a scribal error for אם תאהב (= 𝔊).
34. **Stand thou . . .** Cp. viii. 9.
in the assembly . . . Cp. xxxii. (𝔊 xxxv.) 3.
cleave unto. Cp. xiii. 16 *b*.
35. **discourse.** Cp. viii. 8, xi. 8. שיחה in the O.T. means a 'complaint', also 'musing' or a 'meditation'; in Ps. cxix. 97 it has the sense of the 'study' of the Law. In Neo-Hebrew it means an edifying discourse.
escape. Lit. 'go forth', cp. Gen. xliv. 4; Jer. x. 20 (Hebr.).
36. **Look for him who is wise.** 𝔊 'If thou seest a man of understanding', a free rendering.
seek him out earnestly. Cp. Job vii. 21. 𝔊 'Get thee betimes unto him', cp. iv. 12.
let thy foot . . . Cp. Prov. viii. 34 and *Pirqe Aboth* i. 44.
wear. For the Hebr. word שחק cp. Job xiv. 19.
37. **the fear of the Most High.** 𝔊 'the ordinances of the Lord'. As Smend points out, Ben-Sira has יראת יי or יראת אלהים, but never elsewhere יראת עליון, this being the only place where it occurs; on the other hand, in xxxviii. 34 תורת עליון occurs, and perhaps that is what should be read here; the verb 'meditate' suggests this.
will He instruct. 𝔊 'establish', reading יכין for יבין.
And He will make thee wise . . . 𝔊 renders freely: 'And thy desire of wisdom shall be given unto thee.'

(*d*) VII. 1–3. *An Exhortation to keep from Sin* (= 2 distichs).

𝔅^A 𝔅^C **7** 1 Do no evil[a], and evil will not overtake thee;
2 Avoid iniquity, and it will turn from thee.
𝔅^A 3 [bc]Sow not in the furrows of unrighteousness[c],
Lest thou reap it sevenfold.

(*e*) VII. 4–7. *An Exhortation to follow after Humility* (= 2 + 3 distichs).

𝔅^A 𝔅^C 4 Seek not dominion[d] from God[e],
Nor[f] a seat of-honour from[g] the king.
𝔅^A 5 Justify not thyself in the sight of God[h],
[i]Nor display thy wisdom[i] before the king.
𝔅^A 𝔅^C 6 Seek not to be a judge[k],
[l]Lest thou be not able[l] [m]to put down presumption[m],
𝔅^A (And) lest thou be in fear in the presence of a mighty[n] man,
And thou put a stumbling-block[o] in (the way of) thy uprightness.
7 [p]Sin not[p] against the assembly in the gate[q],
[r]That it cast thee not down[r] [s]among the multitude[s].

(*f*) VII. 8–10. *A warning against a false doctrine of Atonement* (= 3 distichs).

8 [t]Do not wickedly continue in sin[ut],
For in respect of [v]one (sin)[v] thou art not without guilt.

[a] + 'to thyself' 𝔅^A [b] 𝔊 *inserts* 'My son' (τεκνον) [c–c] *Reading* (*after* 𝔊 𝔖) אל תזרע חרושי עולה, *the text of* 𝔅 *is corrupt* [d] 'pre-eminence' 𝔊 [e] 'from the Lord' 𝔊; 'from man' 𝔏 [f] *So* 𝔊; 𝔅 *reads* וכן [g] 'like' 𝔅^C [h] *Reading* אל (= 𝔖) *for* מלך 'the Lord'; + quoniam agnitor cordis ipse est 𝔏 [i–i] noli velle videri sapiens 𝔏 [k] *Reading* שופט (= 𝔊) *for* מושל; > 𝔅^C [l–l] *So* 𝔊; 'If thou art not able' 𝔅 𝔖 𝔏 [m–m] 'to take away iniquities' 𝔊 (= 𝔖 𝔏) [n] 'rich' 𝔖 [o] *Lit.* 'a bribe'; 'a blemish' 𝔖 [p–p] *Lit.* 'Make not thyself evil' [q] *Reading* שער *for* שערי אל ('the gates of God') [r–r] 'And cast not thyself down' 𝔊 [s–s] 'in its judgements' 𝔖 [t–t] 𝔖 *lit.* 'repeat not to sin sins' [u] *Reading* חטאה (*Peters*) *for* חט [v–v] 'the former (sins)' 𝔖 [w] 'my gifts' 70 253 Syro-Hex 𝔏 [x–x] 'Be not grieved' 𝔖 [y] + 'and tarry not to fulfil the commandment' 𝔖 [z] > 𝔖 𝔊 𝔏 [a] 𝔏 *has the title* 'De mendacio vitando ad amicum' [b] 'noli amare' (*for*

(*d*) VII. 1–3.

VII. 1. Smend gives references to the Midrashic literature in which this verse is quoted several times, viz. *Wajjiqra Rabba* xxii. 190*c*, *Bemidbar Rabba* xviii. 272*d*, *Qoholeth Rabba* v. 97*b*.

2. **Avoid.** Lit. 'be far from'.

3. **Sow not . . .** For the metaphor cp. Job iv. 8; Prov. xxii. 8; Gal. vi. 8.

sevenfold. Cp. xxxv. 11 (𝔊 xxxii. 13).

(*e*) VII. 4–7.

4. **Seek not . . .** The reason for the prohibition is not because these things are in themselves wrong, but because power becomes, for most men, a temptation to wrongdoing.

dominion. For the Greek ἡγεμονία cp. x. 1*a*.

5. **Justify not thyself . . .** Cp. Job ix. 20; Ps. xliii. 2; Eccles. vii. 16; Matt. xix. 20; Luke xviii. 11.

Nor display thy wisdom. Lit. 'be not wise'; 𝔊 μὴ σοφίζου, 'play not the wise man', cp. 𝔏 (see critical note). The form תתבונן does not occur elsewhere in this sense; Smend suggests תתחכם.

6. **Lest thou be not able.** See critical note; lit. 'lest thou have not might'.

to put down. Lit. 'to make to cease'; 𝔊 'to take away'.

lest thou be in fear . . . 𝔊 'Lest haply thou fear the person of a mighty man,' lit. 'lest thou act cautiously' (μή ποτε εὐλαβηθῇς), used in a bad sense here, viz. not doing his duty for fear of offending the 'mighty man'; cp. Lev. xix. 15; Mic. vii. 3.

uprightness. Cp. xlix. 3.

7. **Sin not against . . .** This would be done either by acting unjustly in deference to the 'mighty man', or else by taking a bribe; cp. 2 Sam. xix. 8; Amos v. 15.

in the gate. שער is rendered πόλις in the Sept. of Gen. xix. 1; Deut. xii. 12; Is. xlv. 1 and elsewhere; see also xxxi. (𝔊 xxxiv.) 24.

That it cast thee not down . . . i.e. that the multitude cast thee not down. The words are probably to be taken in a figurative sense, cp. Prov. v. 14.

(*f*) VII. 8–10.

8. **Do not wickedly . . .** Lit. 'Conspire not to repeat sin'; 𝔊 'Bind not up sin twice' (μὴ καταδεσμεύσῃς δὶς ἁμαρτίαν), cp. συνδεῖν in 1 Sam. xviii. 1, and συνδεσμός in 2 Kings xi. 14 (Hart).

For in respect of . . . i.e. each individual sin deserves, and receives, punishment.

𝔊 9 Say not, 'He will look upon the multitude of my gifts,
And when I offer (them) to the Most High God He will accept (them)[w].'
𝔅^A 10 [x]Be not impatient[x] in thy prayer,
And in righteousness be not behindhand[y].

(*g*) VII. 11–17. *Various precepts for conduct of life* (= 3 + 2 + 2 distichs).

11 Despise no man (who is) in bitterness of spirit,
Remember that[z] there is one who exalteth and humbleth.
12 [a]Devise not[b] evil[c] against a brother,
[d]Nor do the like[d] against a friend [e]or a neighbour withal[e].
13 Take no delight in lies of any[f] sort,
For the outcome thereof will not be pleasant.
14 Prate not[g] in the assembly of elders[h],
And repeat[i] not (thy) words in (thy) prayer.
15 [k]Hate not[l] laborious work,
[m]Nor husbandry, for it was ordained of God[mk].
16 [n]Number not thyself [o]among sinful men[on],
Remember that wrath[p] will not tarry.

'arare') 𝔏 [c] *So* 𝔖; 𝔅 *lit.* 'violence'; 'a lie' 𝔊 [d–d] *So* 𝔊; 𝔅 *lit.* 'and thus' [e–e] > 𝔊 [f] *Reading* כל *for* על [g] 𝔖 'Hide not thy soul', *reading perhaps* תסחר for תסוד (*Smend*) [h] *So* 𝔊; 𝔅 *lit.* 'princes' (= 𝔖) [i] 'alter' 𝔖 [k–k] > 𝔖 [l] *Reading* תקון *for* תאין (*Smend*) [m–m] *The text is in part corrupt* [n–n] 'Love not thyself more than the men of thy people' 𝔖 [o–o] *Reading* במתי עון *for* במתי עם [p] *Reading* עברון (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* עכרון

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9. This verse has fallen out in 𝔅; in its place *v.* 15 stands here. 𝔏 places *v.* 10 before *v.* 9.

Say not, 'He will look upon'... Cp. xxxiv. 19[b]; Prov. xxi. 27; on the false conception of atonement and satisfaction here combated cp. Is. i. 11–15.

10. **Be not impatient...** As Smend points out, תתקצר is an abbreviated form of קצרה רוח; for this phrase see Job xxi. 4; Prov. xiv. 29. 𝔊 *μὴ ὀλιγοψυχήσῃς*, cp. iv. 9, Jas. i. 6, and the Midrash *Debarim Rabba* iii. 24: 'Pray and pray, again and again; a time will come when thou wilt be answered'; see also Matt. xxi. 21, 22; Mark xi. 24.

And in righteousness... i.e. almsgiving, cp. xxix. 8; 𝔊 'Neglect not to give alms', cp. iii. 30. For almsgiving as the highest form of righteousness, as it is according to Rabbinical teaching, cp. Matt. vi. 1 ff.

(*g*) VII. 11–17.

11. **Despise no man.** 𝔊 'Laugh not a man to scorn', free rendering.

in bitterness of spirit. The more usual expression in the O.T. is 'in bitterness of soul' (= 𝔊), cp. Job iii. 20, vii. 11; Prov. xxxi. 6. The reference is to one suffering destitution who would be an object of scorn because his evil plight would be regarded as a visible sign of divine wrath for sin committed, cp. Is. liii. 34.

there is one who... Cp. for this thought 1 Sam. ii. 7; Luke i. 52, 53.

12. **Devise not.** Lit. 'plough not', so 𝔊; cp. Prov. iii. 29. חרש means both 'to plough' and 'to devise', cp. Prov. iii. 39, and for the metaphorical sense, as here, cp. Hos. x. 13 (Hebr.).

a friend or a neighbour. רע ('friend') is more intimate than חבר ('companion'); on the latter see also note on vi. 10.

13. **Take no delight...** Lit. 'Delight not to lie any lie'.

the outcome. תקוה means usually 'hope' or 'expectation', but it occurs in the sense of 'result' or 'outcome' several times in this book, cp. *v.* 17, xx. 2–6; Job xi. 20. 𝔊 misunderstands the clause in rendering: 'For the custom (lit. 'continuance') thereof is not for good.'

14. **Prate not.** 𝔊 *μὴ ἀδολέσχει* (lit. 'babble not'), seems to bring out the meaning, cp. xxxii. (𝔊 xxxv.) 9; Eccles. v. 2. The Hebr. word means simply 'to converse', cp. xlii. 12.

repeat not... Cp. Eccles. v. 1, and Matt. vi. 7, 'And in praying use not vain repetitions.'

15. **Hate not...** Lit. 'Hate not a warfare of work', cp. Job vii. 1 (R. V. marg.); the verse shows that already in the time of Ben-Sira manual labour, the honourableness of which is often emphasized in Rabbinical writings, was held in high esteem; cp. Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3, and *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 2: 'Excellent is Torah study together with worldly business ... all Torah without work (i.e. manual labour) must fail at length, and occasion iniquity'; this is a saying of Rabbi Gamaliel, a grandson of the great Gamaliel; he lived at the end of the first century A. D. Cp. also *Qiddushin* 99*a* (T. B.): 'Whosoever doth not teach his son work, teacheth him to rob.'

husbandry. עבדה in this sense occurs in Exod. i. 14; 1 Chron. xxvii. 26; the verb is used in Deut. xxi. 4; Ezek. xxxvi. 9, 34; Eccles. v. 8.

ordained. Lit. 'apportioned', cp. xv. 9*b* (Hebr.).

16, 17. The order of these verses varies in the Greek MSS.

16. **Number not thyself.** אל תחשובך, the pronominal suffix used reflexively is not found in the canonical books of the O. T. (Smend), cp. *v.* 7, where another example occurs in אל תרשיעך ('make not thyself evil'; in *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 17 this is expressed אל תהי רשע בפני עצמך). An analogous usage is found in Arabic, according to Smend.

among sinful men. 𝔊 'among the multitude of sinners', cp. xvi. 6, xxi. 9.

wrath. The Hebr. word עברון does not occur elsewhere; possibly it is a corruption of עברה, cp. Prov. xxii. 8*b*. In 𝔅 there is a word-play in this clause: זכור עברון לא יתעבר.

𝔅^A 𝔅^C 17 Humble (thy) pride[q] greatly,
For the expectation[r] of man is decay[s].
[[t]Hasten not to say, 'Violence';
Commit (thyself) unto God, and delight (in) His way[t].]

(*h*) VII. 18–21. *A man's duties to a friend, a wife, and a servant* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔅^A 18 Change not a friend for money,
Nor a natural[u] brother for gold of Ophir.
19 Reject not[v] a wise[w] wife;
And a well-favoured (wife) is above pearls.
𝔅^A 𝔅^C 20 [x]Maltreat not [y]a servant that serveth truly[y],
Nor a hireling[z] who giveth his life (for thee).
21 A wise slave love[a] as thyself,
And withhold not from him (his) freedom.

(*i*) VII. 22–25. *A man's duties to his cattle and to his children* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔅^A 22 Hast thou cattle[b], look (to them)[c] thyself[d],
And if they are[e] profitable, keep them[f].
𝔅^A 𝔅^C 23 [g]Hast thou sons, correct them,
[h]And give them wives[i] in their youth[h].

q 'soul' 𝔊 𝔖; 'spirit' 𝔏 r 'punishment' 𝔊 s *Lit.* 'worms'; 'for worms' 𝔅^C t–t > 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏; *the text is corrupt* u *Reading* תלים *for* תלוי v 'Forgo not' (μη αστοχει) 𝔊; 'Exchange not' 𝔖 (*cp. v.* 26); 'Depart not from' 𝔏 w > 𝔖; + 'and good' 𝔊; 𝔏 *adds* quam sortitus es in timore dei (*cp.* xxvi. 3) x 𝔏 *has the title* 'De bono servo' y–y 'a trusty servant' 𝔅^C z *Reading* שכיר *for* שוכר ('the hirer') a 𝔅^A *has* חבב (*cp.* Deut. xxxiii. 3, *a new Neo-Hebr. word*); אהב 𝔅^C b *Lit.* 'a beast' c *Or* 'to it' d *Lit.* 'with thine eyes' e *Or* 'it is' f *Or* 'it' g 𝔏 *has the title* 'De filiis' h–h 'And bow down

17. **Humble . . .** Cp. ii. 18.

decay. 𝔊 'fire and the worm', cp. Job xxv. 6, Mark ix. 48. A development of thought regarding the Hereafter had taken place in the intervening period between the time when Ben-Sira wrote his book and the grandson translated it, hence the addition in 𝔊; cp. with the latter 1 Enoch xlvi. 3 (The Book of Parables, *c.* 94–64 B.C.): '. . . Darkness will be their dwelling, and worms their bed . . .'; and 1 Enoch xcviii. 3 (*c.* 134–95 B.C.): '. . . and in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution will their spirits be cast into the furnace of fire.'

In *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 7 this verse is quoted thus: 'Rabbi Levitas of Jabneh said, Be exceedingly lowly of spirit, for the hope of man is the worm.'

Hasten not . . . These two additional clauses are certainly not original.

Commit (thyself) unto . . . Cp. Ps. xxii. 9, xxxvii. 5 (Hebr.); Prov. xvi. 3.

(*h*) VII. 18–21.

18. **for money.** 𝔊 ἀδιαφόρου ('a thing indifferent'), a mistake for διαφόρου ('profit').

a natural brother. The reading אח תלים is that suggested by Nöldeke (*ZATW*, xx. 85). The word occurs in the Targ. of Pseudo-Jonathan and in the 'Fragment' Targ. to Gen. xlix. 5 in the sense of 'twin', and seems preferable to the text as it stands אח תלוי; but Schechter thinks that the latter is correct, and compares it with the Rabbinical term אשם תלוי, 'which means the trespass-offering of one who is in *doubt* whether he has committed an act that has to be atoned for by a sin-offering; אח תלוי would then mean a doubtful, questionable friend, an indifferent friend.' The meaning of the verse would then be that a friend is so valuable a possession that even the semblance of one should not be exchanged for gold.

gold of Ophir. Cp. 1 Kings ix. 28; Job xxii. 24, xxviii. 16.

19. **a well-favoured (wife).** For the expression טובת חן ('well-favoured'), cp. Nahum iii. 4 (Smend); 𝔊 'her grace'.

pearls. The exact signification of פנינים is uncertain, whether 'pearls', 'corals', or 'rubies', cp. Job xxviii. 18; Prov. xxxi. 10, and R. V. marg.

20. **who giveth . . .** i.e. who devotes his whole life to thy service, cp. ix. 246, li. 20; Deut. xxiv. 14.

21. **And withhold not . . .** In reference to the law according to which servants were to be granted their freedom after six years of service, cp. Exod. xxi. 2; Deut. xv. 12–15; Lev. xxv. 39–43; Jer. xxxiv. 8–18.

(*i*) VII. 22–25.

22. **cattle.** Lit. 'a beast'; Smend suggests that a riding-horse is meant, cp. Neh. ii. 12, 14, which seems probable. Cp. Prov. xxvii. 23 ff., of flocks and herds generally.

profitable. Lit. 'reliable'.

keep. Lit. 'let it stand firm', i.e. do not part with them.

23. **correct them.** Cp. xxx. 1–3, 13; Prov. xxii. 26, xxiii. 13.

And give them wives . . . Schechter (*Studies*, 2nd series, p. 96) refers to *Qiddushin* 30 *b*, where it says that the chief duties of a father towards his son consist in 'instructing him in the Torah, bringing him into wedlock, and

𝔅^A 𝔅^C 24 Hast thou daughters[k], keep[l] their bodies,
And show them not a pleasant countenance.
25 Marry thy daughter, and sorrow will depart [from thy house],
But bestow her upon a man of understanding[m].

(*j*) VII. 26–28. *A man's duty to his wife and to his parents* (= 1 + 2 distichs).

𝔅^A 26 Hast thou a wife[n], °abhor her not°,
But trust not thyself to one that hateth (thee).
𝔊 27 [p]Honour thy father with thy whole heart,
And forget not thy mother who bare thee [q]in pangs[q].
28 [qq]Remember that [r]of them thou wast born[r],
And how canst thou recompense them for what they have done for thee[p]?

(*k*) VII. 29–31. *A man's duties to God and to His ministers* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔅^A 29 [s]Fear God[t] with all thy heart[u],
And reverence His priests.
30 With all thy strength[v] love[w] Him that made thee,
And forsake not His ministers.
31 [x]Glorify God[x] and honour the priest,
And give (them) their portion as it is commanded (thee);
[xx]The food[y] of the trespass-offering, and the heave-offering of the hand[xx],
The sacrifices of righteousness, and the offerings [z]of holy things[z].

their neck from their youth' 𝔊 (= 𝔏) i > 𝔅^C *by mistake* k 'sons' 𝔅^C l 'give heed to' 𝔊 m + *και μισουμενω* (ℵ^c.a *μισουση σε*) *μη εμπιστευσης σεαυτον* 𝔊^N, *cp. v.* 26 b n + 'after thy mind' 𝔊 o–o 'cast her not out' 𝔊; 'forsake her not' 𝔖 p–p > 𝔅 q–q > 𝔖 qq 𝔏 *has the title* 'De parentibus' r–r 'if they had not been thou hadst not been' 𝔖 (= 𝔏) s 𝔏 *has the title* 'De timore dei et honore sacerdotum' t 'the Lord' 𝔊 u 'soul' 𝔊 v 'heart' 𝔖 w 'honour' 𝔖 x–x 'Fear the Lord' 𝔊 xx–xx 𝔏 *renders this clause in various ways* y 𝔊^B *απ αρχης* (B^ab ℵA *απαρχην*) z–z > 𝔊^B

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teaching him a handicraft'. The point of the admonition is that fathers should, by marrying their sons while young, save them from temptation. With the rendering of 𝔊 (see critical note) cp. the interpolated passage xxx. 12 *a*.

24. **And show them not . . .** Lit. 'And cause not thy face to shine unto them'; see xxvi. 10–12, xlii. 10, 11.

25. **Marry thy daughter . . .** Lit. 'Let thy daughter go out, and sorrow will go out'. Marriages were arranged by the fathers; daughters had no say in the choice of their husbands.

But bestow her upon . . . The Hebr. word זבד in this sense occurs elsewhere in the Bible only in Gen. xxx. 20. In the Midrash *Pesiqta* 49 *a*, it is said that a man should give up all he has (i.e. for the purpose of offering an adequate marriage-settlement) in order to marry his daughter to a learned man; and it goes on to say that if the daughter of a learned man marries one of the *'am-ha'areṣ* ('the people of the land', who were unlearned), the marriage would be a failure.

(*j*) VII. 26–28.

26. **abhor her not.** The reference is to Lev. xxi. 7, 14.

But trust not . . . See critical note on the preceding verse.

27. The omission of this verse and the next in 𝔅 is probably due to the fact that *vv.* 27 and 29 both began with the same words בכל לבך ('with all thy heart').

Honour. Lit. 'give glory to'; cp. Exod. xx. 12, Deut. v. 16, where the Sept. uses *τιμάω*, instead of *δοξάζω*, as here.

28. **how canst thou recompense.** Cp. the saying of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi (middle of second century A.D.): 'Be careful of the honour due to your mother; let the lamp be lit in its place, the table be set in its place, the couch be spread in its place' (T. B. *Kethuboth* 103 *a*, quoted in *JE*, ix. 99 *a*).

for what they have done for thee. 𝔊 *καθὼς αὐτοὶ σοί.*

(*k*) VII. 29–31.

29. **reverence.** Lit. 'regard as holy'; 𝔊 *θαύμαζε*, cp. xxxviii. 3.

30. **And forsake not . . .** Cp. Lev. ii. 3, vi. 16, vii. 7, 9, 34; Num. v. 9, xviii. 8–19; Deut. xii. 19, xviii. 1–5.

31. **their portion.** Cp. Lev. vi. 14–18.

The food of the . . . Cp. Num. xv. 20 f., Lev. v. 6; 𝔊 'the first-fruits and the trespass-offering'.

the heave-offering of the hand. Cp. Exod. xxix. 27; Lev. vii. 32; Deut. xviii. 3; 𝔊 lit. 'the gift of the shoulders'.

sacrifices of righteousness. Cp. Deut. xxxiii. 19; the מנחה ('meal-offering') is most likely meant, it is called 'a thing most holy' in Lev. ii. 3, 10.

the offerings of holy things. Cp. Num. xviii. 5–11; 𝔊 'the first-fruits of holy things'.

(*l*) VII. 32–36. *A man's duties to the poor, to his departed friends, to mourners, and to the sick* (= 1 + 3 + 1 distichs).

𝔏^ 32 [a]Also to the poor stretch out thy hand[a],
That the blessing may be perfected.
33 A gift is acceptable[b] in the sight of every man living,
[c]And also from the dead withhold not kindness[d].
34 Withdraw not thyself from them that weep[e],
And mourn with them that mourn.
35 Forget not [f]to visit the sick[f],
For thou wilt be loved for that.
36 In all thy doings[g] remember thy last end,
Then wilt thou never do corruptly.

(*m*) VIII. 1–3. *A caution against quarrelling with the powerful, the rich, and the boastful* (= 3 + 1 distichs).

8 1 [a]Contend not with a mighty man,
Lest thou fall into his hands[b].
2 Strive not against [c]the man that is rich[c],
Lest he weigh thy price[d], [e]and thou be destroyed[e].
For gold[f] hath made many reckless,
And wealth hath led astray the hearts of princes.
3 Quarrel not with a loud-mouthed man,
And put not wood on fire.

a–a *The text is somewhat mutilated* b *Reading* חן (*lit.* 'a grace') *for* תן ; 'Grace is a gift . . .' 𝔖 c 𝔏 *has the title* 'De defunctis' d *Lit.* 'mercy' e + in conrogatione (*in reference to the funeral feast*) 𝔏 f–f *Reading* לבקר כואב *for* לב מאוהב ('thy heart from a friend') g 'words' 𝔊

a 𝔏 *has the title* 'De non litigando' b + *the doublet:* 'That thou needest not to turn against his heart, contend not with a man that is mightier than thou' 𝔓 c–c 'the possessor of gold' 𝔖 d *Reading* משקלך (*Smend*) *for* מחירך e–e > 𝔖 𝔊 𝔏 f + 'and silver' 𝔏 g–g 'an untutored man' 𝔊 h–h *Reading*

(*l*) VII. 32–36.

32. **Also to the poor . . .** The reference is to sharing with the poor, &c., the tithe of every third year, cp. Deut. xiv. 28, 29.

33. **And also from the dead . . .** The reference is to offerings for (or to?) the dead; cp. Deut. xxvi. 14; Hos. ix. 4; Jer. xvi. 7; Tob. iv. 17. 𝔊 seeks to tone down the point of 𝔓 by rendering: 'And for a dead man keep not back grace'; cp. xxx. 18 (Greek).

34. **mourn . . .** Cp. xxii. 11.

35. **to visit the sick.** This has always been regarded as a paramount duty among the Jews; the technical name for the visitation of the sick used in Rabbinical literature is *Biqqur Cholim.* Schechter (*op. cit.*, p. 99 f.) says: 'It is clear from certain injunctions in the Talmud in connexion with this duty, that it included, in case of need, also nursing, and sweeping the room (*Peah* iii. 9, Talm. J.). His friends also prayed for the patient, and it was part of their duty to remind him to make a will and to confess his sins, "for all those who were about to die had to confess their sins." They had also the belief that a confession, which concluded with a prayer for the forgiveness of sins, might bring about his recovery'; cp. Jas. v. 13–16. In the modern Jewish Liturgy there is a special Office for the visitation of the sick; see the *Jewish Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (ed. Singer), pp. 314–317.

36. **remember thy last end, Then . . .** Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 1: 'Consider three things, and thou wilt not come into the hands of transgression: know whence thou art come, and whither thou art going, and before whom thou wilt have to plead thy cause, and make thy reckoning.'

do corruptly. For the verb שחת cp. xxx. ii; Dan. ii. 9.

(*m*) VIII. 1–3.

VIII. 1. **Lest.** On the Hebr. למה here, see Smend *in loc.*

2. **Strive not.** Lit. 'devise not', cp. Prov. xiv. 22.

Lest he weigh thy price. i.e. lest he offer a larger bribe than thou art able to pay. 𝔊 'Lest haply he overweigh thee'.

reckless. Lit. 'boastful', i.e. the possession of much wealth has made men reckless in giving bribes. 𝔊 renders, 'And gold hath destroyed many.'

And wealth . . . 𝔊 'And turned aside the hearts of kings'.

3. **a loud-mouthed man.** Lit. 'a man of tongue', cp. ix. 18, xxv. 20; Jas. iii. 8.

And put not . . . Cp. xxviii. 8–12; Prov. xv. 1, xxvi. 20, 21; Jas. iii. 5, 6; in the Psalms of Solomon xii. 2 the tongue of a malicious man is compared to 'fire in a threshing-floor that burns up the straw'. 𝔊 has 'and heap not' (μὴ ἐπιστοιβάσῃς); for the word cp. Lev. i. 12 (Sept.).

(*n*) VIII. 4–7. *A warning against associating with a foolish man; the need of having respect for the penitent, the aged, and the departed* (= 1 + 3 distichs).

𝔅ᴬ 4 Associate not with a [g]foolish man[g],
Lest he despise [h](thy) sound (words)[h].
5 Reproach not a man who repenteth,
Remember that we are all guilty[i].
6 Dishonour not[k] a man that is old,
For [l]we shall be numbered among the aged[l].
7 Rejoice not over one that is dead,
Remember that we shall all be gathered[m] (to our fathers).

(*a*) VIII. 8–9. *An exhortation to learn from the wise and the aged* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

8 Neglect not the discourse of the wise,
And busy thyself with proverbs;
For therefrom[n] wilt thou learn instruction[o],
That thou mayst stand[p] in the presence of princes[q].
9 Reject not the tradition[r] of the aged,
Which they heard[s] from their fathers;
For therefrom wilt thou receive[t] instruction[u],
That thou mayst (be able to) return answer in time of need.

נכחים *for* נדיבים ('princes') [i] 'sinners' 𝔖; 'worthy of punishment' 𝔊 [k] 'Laugh not at' 𝔖 [l–l] *Reading* נמנו מזקנים; *Smend emends the text* ממנו מזקנים ('from among ourselves some will grow old'); 'remember that . . .' 𝔖 [m] 'die' 𝔊 𝔖 [n] 'From them' 𝔊 [o] 'wisdom' א [p] + 'at ease' 𝔊ᵛ; + 'readily' 248 Syro-Hex; + sine querella 𝔏 [q] 'great men' 𝔊 [r] *Reading* בשמועת; 'the discourse' 𝔊 [s] 'learned' 𝔊 [t] 'learn' 𝔊 [u] 'understanding' 𝔊

(*n*) VIII. 4–7.

4. **(thy) sound (words).** The emendation of the text (see critical note) is that suggested by Matthes and Dyserink (*ZATW*, iii. 163); cp. xi. 21; Prov. iv. 25, xxiv. 26. The rendering of 𝔊 πρόγονοι is probably based on the corrupt Hebr. text.

5. **a man who repenteth.** Lit. 'a man who turns from transgression'. Cp. *Baba mezia* iv. 10 (T. J.): 'When a man repenteth say not to him, "Remember thy former sins."'

6. **Dishonour not . . .** Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 28: 'He who learneth from the aged, to whom is he like? To one who eateth ripened grapes, and drinketh old wine.'

7. **Rejoice not . . .** Lit. 'boast not', i.e. because thou art still living, while another is dead.

we shall all be gathered . . . Cp. Gen. xxv. 8; Judges ii. 10; 2 Kings xxii. 20; Job xxvii. 19.

VIII. 8—X. 29. This division contains thirteen subsections; the contents are miscellaneous, consisting mainly of rules about conduct towards many classes of persons.

(*a*) VIII. 8–9.

8. **the discourse.** For שיחה cp. vi. 35.

busy thyself. This form of the Hebr. word does not occur elsewhere, and its meaning here is uncertain; Hart suggests דרש, following 𝔖, which in Hebr. means 'to seek out', and has become the technical term for studying the Scriptures, &c.; cp. Beth ha-Midrash, 'the house of study,' in li. 23.

That thou mayst stand . . . Cp. xxxviii. 3, xlvii. 1; 𝔊 'minister', cp. Prov. xxii. 29.

9. **Reject not.** אל תמאס, cp. vii. 19; 𝔊 μὴ ἀστόχει ('miss not'), as in vii. 19.

the aged. Cp. *v.* 6, vi. 34, xxv. 4, xxxii. (𝔊 xxxv.) 13.

Which they heard from . . . The reference is to the Oral Tradition, technically known as תורה שבעל פה (lit. 'The Law which is according to the mouth') in Rabbinical literature, cp. Ps. xliv. i. The following passage, from the preface to the *Yad ha-chazaqah* ('the Strong Hand') of Maimonides, shows the traditional belief of the Jews regarding this subject: 'All the commandments which were given to Moses on Sinai were given with their interpretation; for it is said, And I will give thee the tables of stone, and the Torah ("Law"), and the Mitzvah ("Commandment"), Exod. xxiv. 12; *Torah*: that is, the Written Law; *Mitzvah*: that is, its interpretation. He commanded us to observe the *Torah* in accordance with (על פה, lit. "according to the mouth of") the *Mitzvah*. And this *Mitzvah* is called the Oral Law. Moses, our teacher, wrote down the whole Law with his own hand before he died . . .; the *Mitzvah*, that is, the interpretation of the Law, he did not write down; but he commanded it (צוה בה) to the elders and to Joshua and to the rest of Israel; for it is written, "All the words which I have commanded you, these shall ye observe and do" (Deut. xii. 28). And therefore this is called "Oral Tradition" (תורה שבעל פה).' Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* i. 1: 'Moses received the Torah from Sinai, and he delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders (Joshua xxiv. 31; Judges ii. 7), and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue.'

(*b*) VIII. 10–11. *The danger of consorting with sinners* (= 2 distichs).

𝔅ᴬ 10 [v]Kindle not[w] the coals[x] of the wicked[v],
Lest thou be burned with the flame of his fire.
11 [y]Be not enraged because of the scorner,
That he should use[z] thy mouth[a] as an ambush.

(*c*) VIII. 12–13. *Warnings against lending and standing surety* (= 2 distichs).

12 Lend not to a man that is mightier than thou,
And if thou lend, (thou art) as one that loseth.
13 Be not surety [b]for one who is more excellent[c] than thou[b],
And if thou become surety (thou art)[d] as one that payeth.

(*d*) VIII. 14–19. *Warnings against having dealings with various types of evil men* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 3 distichs).

14 Go not to law with a judge,
For he will judge according to his good pleasure.
15 Go not [e]in the way[e] with a cruel[f] man,
Lest thou be overwhelmed with misfortune:
For he will go[g] straight before his face,
And through his foolishness thou wilt perish.
16 [h]Do not obstinately gainsay[h] a wrathful[i] man,
And ride not[k] with him through the desert[l].
For blood is as nothing in his eyes,
And where there is no helper, he will destroy thee.

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v–v 'Be not a companion of him who is wholly bad' 𝔖 w *Reading* אל תצת (= 𝔊) *for* אל תצלה ('rush not')
x *Reading* גחלת *for* נחלת y 𝔏 *has the title* 'De vitandis malis' z *Lit.* 'set' a *Reading* לפיך (= 𝔊) *for* לפניך
b–b 'above thy power' 𝔊 c 'stronger' 𝔖 d 'take thought' 𝔊; 'thou art become' 𝔖 e–e *So* 𝔊 𝔖; > 𝔅
f 'rash' 𝔊; 'hard' 𝔖 (*lit.* 'heavy') g ποιησει 𝔊, *a mistake for* πορευεται h–h μη ποιησης μαχην 𝔊, *reading*
אל תעש מַצָּה *for* אל תעיז מֵצַח i 'an unrighteous' 𝔖 k 'strive not' 𝔖 l *Reading* במדבר (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* בדרך

(*b*) VIII. 10–11.

10. **Kindle not.** See critical note; cp. Is. ix. 17 (18 in E.V.).

the flame . . . Cp. xlv. 19. With the clause cp. the Mishna, *Aboth* ii. 10: 'Warm thyself at the fire of the wise; but beware of their coal (והוה זהיר בגחלתן), that thou burn not thyself (שלא תכוה).'

11. **Be not enraged.** זוח in Aramaic and Syriac means 'to set in movement', 'to become excited' (Smend) and this seems to be the meaning here (cp. 𝔊 μὴ ἐξαναστῇς). In Hebr. the cognate word זחח means 'to move away'; it only occurs twice in the O.T. (Exod. xxviii. 28, xxix. 21), each time in the Niph'al voice; but in later Hebrew it is common, occurring frequently in the Targums.

scorner. Cp. Ps. i. 1; 𝔊 'an injurious man', or 'one who is insolent', cp. 1 Tim. i. 13.

That he should . . . 𝔊 'Lest he lie in wait as an ambush for thy mouth'. The meaning of the verse is that a man should not lose his temper before a scorner (i.e. one who scoffs at religion), because by doing so he gives his case away; the scorner gains the advantage through the intemperate speech of the other.

(*c*) VIII. 12–13.

12. **Lend not . . .** Cp. Prov. xxii. 7.

13. **Be not surety . . .** Cp. xxix. 14–20; Prov. vi. 1, 2, xi. 15, xvii. 18, xxii. 26, 27.

more excellent. i.e. of higher social standing, cp. Esther vi. 6; see also Gen. xlix. 3 (Hebr.).

(*d*) VIII. 14–19.

14. This verse occurs in a somewhat different form after iv. 27: 'Sit not with an unjust judge in order that thou judge not with him according to his good pleasure' (= 𝔖 here).

For he will judge . . . 𝔊 'For according to his honour will they give judgement for him'.

15. **a cruel man.** Cp. Job xli. 2 (Hebr.).

Lest thou be overwhelmed . . . Lit. 'Lest thou bear thyself down with thy evil'. 𝔊 ἵνα μὴ καταβαρύνηται κατὰ σοῦ ('Lest he be aggrieved against thee'), which Smend, on the basis of 𝔅, emends thus: ἵνα μὴ βαρύνῃ τὰ κακά σου ('Lest thy evils bear thee down').

For he will go . . . i.e. he will follow his bent blindly, irrespective of consequences.

thou wilt perish. Lit. 'thou wilt be swept away'.

16. **Do not obstinately gainsay.** Lit. 'Harden not thy forehead', cp. Prov. vii. 13, xvi. 29, xxii. 24; Is. xlviii. 4; Ezek. iii. 7.

a wrathful man. Lit. 'a master of wrath' (בעל אף).

nothing. Lit. 'a lightly-esteemed thing' (קל), cp. Deut. xxv. 3; Prov. xi. 9; Is. iii. 5, xvi. 14.

𝔅^A 17 Take no counsel with a fool,
For he will not be able [m]to keep thy secret[m],
18 [n]Do no secret thing before a stranger[n],
For thou knowest not what he will ultimately[o] do (therewith).
19 Reveal not [p]thy heart[p] to every man,
And [q]drive not away[q] from thee prosperity.

(*e*) IX. 1–9. *Of conduct towards women* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 distichs).

9 1 [a]Be not jealous of the wife [b]of thy bosom[b],
[c]Lest she learn[c] [d]malice[d] against thee.
2 [e]Give not[e] thyself unto a woman,
[f]So as to let her trample down thy manhood[f].
3 [g]Meet not[g] [h]a strange woman[h],
Lest thou fall into her nets[i].
4 [j]With a female singer[j] [k]have no converse[k],
Lest thou be taken in her snares.
5 On a maiden fix not thy gaze,
[l]Lest thou be entrapped in penalties with her[l].

[m–m] 'to conceal the matter' 𝔊 [n–n] > 𝔖 [o] > 𝔊 [p–p] 'what is in thy heart' 𝔖 [q–q] *Reading* אל תדיח, *for which Smend suggests* אל ידיח ('that he drive not away')
[a] 𝔏 *inserts the title* 'De mulieribus' [b–b] *So* 𝔅 𝔊: > 𝔖 [c–c] *So* 𝔅 פן תלמד: 𝔊 μηδε διδαξῃς: 𝔏 ne ostendat (= μη δειξῃ) [d–d] *So* 𝔅 רעה; 𝔊 παιδειαν πονηραν (*so* 𝔖) = ? דעה רעה (? *conflation; but Peters reads so*) [e–e] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 אל תקנא (*diltography*); *read* אל תתן [f–f] *So* 𝔅 להדריכה על במותיך ('To cause her to tread upon thy high places'; *cp.* Hab. iii. 19); επιβηναι αυτην επι την ισχυν σου 𝔊; 'To give her power over all that thou hast' 𝔖 [g–g] 𝔅 אל תקרב אל [h–h] 𝔅 אשה זזרה; [μη υπαντα] γυναικι εταιριζομενη 𝔊 [i] 𝔅 + עם־זונה אל תסתייד פן תלכד בלקותיה: (*read* חלקותיה *for the last word or* בתקלותיה) *i.e.* 'Consort not with a courtesan lest thou be caught in her flatteries *or* in her snares' (תַּקָּלָה *in NH* = 'snare', 'stumbling-block': *B.H.* מִכְשׁוֹל). *The line is a doublet and variant on* 4 *a* [j–j] 𝔅 עם מנגינת (*point* מְנַגֵּינֶת) [k–k] *Read* אל תסתייד (*from variant in preceding line*) = 𝔖 *and* (?) 𝔊 (μη ενδελεχιζε): *so Smend*: 𝔅 text אל תדמוך = 'do not sleep' [l–l] *So* 𝔅 (*variant*) *i.e. reading* פן תלכד בתקלותיה (*see note* [i–i] *above*): 'Lest haply thou be caught by her attempts' 𝔊 = 𝔅 (*variant*): 𝔅 text פן יִשְׂרְפוּךָ בפיפיותם = 'Lest they (*m.*) burn thee with their mouths' (*sic!*) *is hardly possible.* 𝔖 'Lest she destroy thee with her utterances' (*Smend keeps the reading* בלקותיה *of* 𝔅 *variant* = ? 'with her punishments': *cp.* לָקוּתָא = 'punishment', 'disorder', 'defect') [l–l] 𝔅 = 𝔊 (*lit.* 'in her fines': עוֹנֶשׁ = 'fine', 'indemnity'): 'Lest thou be mulcted in her dowry doubly' 𝔖, *interpreting after* Deut. xxii. 29

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17. **Take no counsel.** Cp. ix. 14 (Hebr.).
18. **secret thing . . . stranger.** זר . . . רז, evidently intended for a word-play; רז ('secret thing') does not occur elsewhere in the Bible, but it is used in the Targums.
what he will . . . do. Lit. 'what he will bring forth', i.e. what mischief he will do with the secret that has been confided to him. For the more general use of ילד cp. Prov. xxvii. 1.
19. **every man.** Lit. 'all flesh'.
drive not away. i.e. If a man publishes his private concerns to all the world he will suffer for it.
(*e*) IX. 1–9.
IX. 1. **Be not jealous . . .** The Rabbis, as Edersheim points out, often warn against groundless jealousy. Ben-Sira here gives a good reason for avoiding it—it may promote the realization of the thing feared. For the subject cp. Num. v. 14. For the expression 'wife of thy bosom' cp. Deut. xiii. 6.
2. **Give not thyself unto a woman.** On the other hand, a man ought not to go to the other extreme, and be over-trustful.
So as to let her trample down thy manhood. Lit. 'to cause her to tread upon thy high places'; cp. for the expression Hab. iii. 19. 𝔊 'that she should set her foot upon thy strength'. The term 'high places' in such connexions appears to have lost its original significance, and to have acquired the meaning 'strength' or the like: so 𝔖 renders the word in xlvi. 9; and the LXX (ισχυς) and Onqelos render similarly in Deut. xxxii. 13. The man who is ruled over by his wife is held up to pity and scorn as no man in several passages in the Talmud (see Edersheim on the verse).
3. **Meet not a strange woman.** 𝔅 has 'draw not nigh'. 'Strange woman', as in Proverbs (cp. ii. 16, vii. 5) = courtesan. For the doublet in 𝔅 at the end of this verse see critical note.
5. **fix not thy gaze.** Cp. Matt. v. 28.
Lest thou be entrapped in penalties with her. Or 'lest thou be caught in her punishments'. The verb might also be rendered 'lest thou come to fall' (in the penalties inflicted on her account). Perhaps 'penalties on her account' would be a better rendering. Such cases involved a fine of 50 shekels, and an indissoluble marriage according to Deut. xxii. 28–29.

𝔅^A 6 Give not thyself unto the harlot,
[m]Lest thou lose[m] [n]thine inheritance[n].
𝔊 (𝔖) 7 [o p]Look not round about thee[p] [q]in the streets of a city[q],
[r]And wander not about in the broad places thereof[r].
𝔅^A 8 [s t]Hide thine eye[t] from a lovely woman,
[u]And gaze not[u] upon beauty which is not thine;
[v]By the comeliness[v] of a woman many [w]have been ruined[w],
[x]And this way[x] [y]passion[y] flameth [z]like fire[z].
9 [s a]With a married woman[a] [b]sit not at table[b],
[c]And [mingle not] wine in her company[c];
Lest thou incline [d]thine heart[d] towards her,
[e]And in thy blood[e] [f][descendest][f] to the Pit.

[m–m] *So* 𝔊 ινα μη απολεσῃς: *so* 𝔖 = פן תאבד (*cp.* Prov. xxix. 3); 𝔅 פן תסוב ('Lest thine inheritance remove : *cp. Num.* xxxvi. 7). *Peters keeps* תסוב *and explains it as an Aramaism fr.* נסב = 'to take away'—'Lest she take away', &c. [n–n] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊; 𝔖 'the inheritance of money' [o] 𝔅 *here is very corrupt* [p–p] *So* 𝔊 μη περιβλεπου = (?) אל תתנבט (*so Peters, Smend*): 𝔅 להתנבל = 𝔖 (ותצטער) [q–q] *So* 𝔊 = 𝔖 במבואי עיר (*so Smend: Peters* במבואות): 𝔅 במראה עיניך (*corrupt*) [r–r] 𝔊 και εν ταις ερημαις (א* ρυμαις: Eth 'streets') αυτης μη πλανω = ואל תשוטט בחרבותיה (*read* ברחובותיה *for last word, with Smend*). 𝔖 'And thou shalt be inscribed in the book of sins' (? *reading* ולשוטר בחובותיה): 𝔅 ולשומם אחר ביתה (*corrupt*) [𝔅 *may be rendered:* 'to be treated with contumely in the sight of thine eyes and to be amazed behind her house'] [s] *vv.* 8–9 (*partly*) *are cited in Sanhedrin* (T. B.) 100 *b*, *Yebamoth* 63 *b as follows:*

העלם עיניך מאשת חן (= 8 a)
פן תלכד במצודתה: (= 4 b or 3 b)
אל תט אצלה (אצל בעלה v. l.) (= 9 a)
למסוך עמה יין ושכר: (= 9 b)
כי בתואר אשה יפה רבים הושחתו (= 8 c)
ועצומים כל הרוגיה:

i. e. Hide thine eyes from a lovely woman,
Lest thou be caught in her snares;
Turn not aside to her,
To mingle wine and strong drink with her:
For through the comeliness of a beautiful woman many have been ruined,
And 'all her slain are a mighty host' (Prov. vii. 26)

[𝔖 *has a double recension of ver.* 9, *one before and one after ver.* 8] [t–t] 𝔅 העלים עין = 𝔊 (οφθαλμον): Talmud (עיניך) + σου (א^c.a C 106 157 254 Sah: *cp.* 𝔏 faciem tuam = 𝔖) [u–u] 𝔅 ואל תביט = 𝔊 και μη καταμανθανε = 𝔖 [v–v] *Reading* בתואר (*for* בעד *of* 𝔅) = 𝔊 εν καλλει: *so* 𝔏 (70 248 Syro-Hex εν γαρ κ. = 𝔖 *and Talm.*) [w–w] *So* 𝔅 השחתו: 𝔊 επλανηθησαν: 𝔖 'have perished' [x–x] *So* 𝔅 וכן = 𝔊 και εκ τουτου: > 𝔖 [y–y] 𝔅 text 'her lovers' אהביה: *read* אהבה = 'love' = 𝔊: 'her love' 𝔖 [z–z] *So* 𝔊 = 𝔖 (*reading* כאש): 𝔅 באש 'in the fire' [a–a] 𝔅 עם בעלה (*i.e.* בְּעָלָה): 𝔖^1 'With the mistress of a house' (= בַּעֲלָה) 𝔖^2 = 𝔊 μετα υπανδρου γυναικος [b–b] *lit.* 'stretch not out thine elbow' (*reading* אל תט אצלך = 𝔖^1 'prop not thine elbow'): *so the doublet in* 248 και μη κατακλιθης επ αγκαλων μετ αυτης (*so Clem. Alex. with* επ αγκωνα *for* επ αγκαλων): 𝔖^2 (*paraphrasing*) 'multiply not talking': 𝔊 μη καθου το συνολον: 𝔅 *text* 'do not taste' אל תטעם [c–c] *Reading* ואל תמסך עמה יין = 𝔖^1 (*which has* 'old wine'): *cp. the Talm. citation:* 𝔊 'And revel not (και μη συμβολοκοπησῃς) with her at the wine': 𝔖^2 'Nor shalt thou protract conversations with her' (*with the variant* תמשך *for* תמסך): 𝔅 *text* ואל תסב עמו שכור (= ? ואל תסבא עמה ש"), *i.e.* 'And imbibe not strong drink in her company': *this may underlie* 𝔊) [d–d] *So* 𝔅 (לב) 𝔖: *also Clem. Alex.* η καρδια *and* 𝔏: 𝔊 η ψυχη σου [e–e] 𝔅 ובדמים 𝔊 και τῳ πνευματι (*but Clem. Alex.* αιματι: *so* 𝔖^1

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6. **Lest thou lose thine inheritance.** Cp. Prov. xxix. 3 ('he that keepeth company with harlots wasteth his substance'): cp. also Prov. v. 10, vi. 26.

7. **Look not round about thee in the streets . . .** A warning against giving opportunities to the courtesan: cp. Prov. vii. 8 f.

vv. 8–9 cited in the Talmud. See critical note.

8. **. . . many have been ruined.** Cp. Prov. vi. 26.

this way passion (*lit.* love) **flameth like fire.** Cp. Job xxxi. 12 (sinful passion compared to fire).

9. **With a married woman sit not at table.** Lit. 'stretch not out thine elbow' (corrected Hebr. text: see critical note). 𝔅 has 'do not eat' (contrast 9 *b*, which refers to drinking in her company—eating and drinking form, perhaps, a designed contrast). The verse is a general warning against undue familiarity. The married woman is the subject of the verse; but the reference is not intended to exclude her husband. Married women were often present with their husbands at banquets given to guests—such occasions are dangerous, says Ben-Sira. Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* i. 3 (a saying of Jose b. Jochanan): 'Prolong not converse with a woman' (and Taylor's note): cp. also John iv. 27, and, in our book, vii. 28.

And [mingle not] wine in her company. Or 'and imbibe not strong drink in her company' (see critical note).

Lest thou incline thine heart towards her. Or 'lest thine heart incline towards her'. Cp. Prov. vii. 25.

(*f*) IX. 10–16. *Precepts regarding friends and others* (= 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 distichs).

10 Forsake not [ff]an[ff] old friend,
  For the new [g][is not his equivalent][g].
 New wine is a new friend;
  [h]But when old—then thou mayst drink it[h]!

11 Envy not [i]the ungodly man[i],
  For thou knowest not what [j]his destiny shall be[j].
12 [k]Take no pleasure[k] [l]in the arrogant man that prospereth[l],
  Remember that [m]he shall not escape unpunished[m] [n]till death[n].

13 Keep far from the man that hath power to kill,
  [o]And so thou needest have no terror[o] [p]of death's terrors[p].
 [q]But when[q] thou comest nigh (him) [r]commit no fault[r],
  Lest he take away [s]thy life[s].
 Know that thou marchest amid snares,
  And walkest [t]upon nets[t].

14 As far as thou canst [u]associate with[u] thy neighbour,
  And converse with the wise.
15 [vw]With[w] [x]the intelligent[x] let [y]thy communing[y] be,
  And all thy converse [z]in the Law of the Most High[z].

(+ 'guilty'): 𝔖² 'condemned to death': *so* 𝔏) σου f–f *Reading* תֻחַת: *so* (?) 𝔊 ολισθησης *and* 𝔖: 𝔅 *text* תטה (*repeated by mistake from previous clause*) ff–ff *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 'thy' 𝔖 g–g 𝔊 ουκ εστιν εφισος αυτω = לא ידמה לו (*so read with Peters, &c.*): 𝔖 'doth not attain unto him': 𝔅 . . . . יד (*partly illegible*) h–h 𝔅: וישן אחר תשתינו *lit.* 'But when old—afterwards thou mayst drink it': (תשתינו = תִּשְׁתֻּנוּ 'mater lectionis'): 𝔊 εαν παλαιωθη μετ ευφροσυνης (? *reading* חדוה *for* אחר: *so Levi*) πιεσαι αυτον (𝔖 *evades the difficulty of* 𝔅) i–i 𝔅 באיש רשע 𝔊 δοξαν αμαρτωλου (𝔖 = 𝔅) j–j *So* 𝔅 (*lit.* 'what his day [shall be]'): 𝔊 τι εσται (*so* א* A = 𝔖: 70 248 τις εστιν: 106 τι εστιν: 55 254 τι τεξεται) η καταστροφη αυτου: 𝔖 'what his end shall be' k–k *So* 𝔊 (μη ευδοκησης) = אל תרצה (*so read with Peters*): 𝔅 *illegible for this word* (*Levi reads* תקנא = 𝔖; *Smend* תבחר) l–l בזדון מצליח (*i.e.* זָדוֹן *adj. cp.* Ps. cxxiv. 5): 𝔊 εν ευδοκιας (B Sah ευδοκια *for* ευοδια) ασεβων = 𝔅 m–m 𝔅 לא ינקה = 𝔊 ου μη δικαιωθωσιν n–n 𝔊 εως ᾳδου = עד מות (*correct* 𝔅 עת *to* עד *with* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖) = 𝔖 o–o *So* 𝔅: 'And thou shalt have no suspicion' (και ου μη [= ואל] υποπτευσης) 𝔊 p–p *So* 𝔅 (*cp.* Job xv. 21): φοβον θανατου 𝔊 q–q *So* 𝔅 ואם = 𝔖: εαν 𝔊 r–r 𝔅 לא תאשם: 𝔊 μη (? = אל) πλημμελησης: + נשמתך 𝔖 'make not thy breath guilty' (ν *from line* 13 d *which* 𝔖 *omits*) s–s 𝔅: נשמתך t–t 𝔅 על רשת: 𝔊 'upon the battlements of a city' (επι επαλξεων πολεως) = ? על אשית עיר (*Hart, comparing* Jer. xxvii. (l.) 15 *Hebr. and* LXX): 𝔊 *may, however, depend upon a variant* מצודות (*understood as* = 'strong places' *instead of* 'nets'): *Peters proposes* ראשת ('pinnacles': *cp.* Zech. iv. 7) u–u 𝔅 ענה *in Syr. sense* (*cp.* Eccles. i. 13, iii. 10 = 'be occupied', 'busied with'): *Hart renders* (Hebr. sense) 'answer kindly': 𝔊 στοχασαι (= 'have regard for', 'seek after': *cp.* 2 Macc. xiv. 8) v *ver.* 15 *follows* 16 *in* 𝔏 w–w *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖: + και 𝔊 x–x 𝔅 נבון = 𝔊 συνετων: 'him that feareth God' 𝔖 y–y 𝔅 חשבונך = 𝔊 ο διαλογισμος σου (𝔅 ״ח = 'reckoning' *in B.H.*: *here* 'interchange of thought', 'communing': *cp.* xxvii. 5–6) z–z *So* 𝔊 (*and* 𝔖 *corrected text*): 𝔅 בינותם (*read* בתורת יי)

And in thy blood [descendest] to the Pit. For the expression 'in thy blood' (lit. 'with blood') cp. 1 Kings ii. 9 ('bring his grey hairs down to the grave with blood'). The reference is to the vengeance of the husband, who slays the adulterer. Cp. Prov. vii. 26, 27 (esp. 27 *a*, 'her house is the way to Sheol'). 'The Pit' = Sheol, as often elsewhere.

(*f*) IX. 10–16. The subject-matter is rather varied, ranging from friends (*v.* 10) to warnings as to the attitude to be adopted towards prosperous godlessness (*vv.* 11–12), and the tyrant (*v.* 13), and precepts regarding the value of good companionship (*vv.* 14–16).

10. **Forsake not an old friend.** The Alphabet of Ben-Sira has a similar admonition: 'An old friend repudiate not.'

11. **Envy not.** In the sense of desiring to be like him: cp. xlv. 18; Prov. iii. 31, xxiv. 1.

his destiny. Lit. 'his day', i.e. the day of his death (𝔊 'his overthrow').

12. **Take no pleasure in the arrogant . . . till death.** According to Ben-Sira's view the overthrow of the godless man who prospers for a time is certain: cp. xvi. 6–12 (also 13), xxi. 10, xl. 15 ff.

13. **Keep far from the man that hath power to kill.** Avoid contact with tyrants: cp. Prov. xvi. 14, xx. 2.

have no terror of death's terrors. For the terror of death cp. Job iii. 25, xv. 21, &c. (phrase).

. . . thou marchest amid snares, and walkest upon nets. Cp. Job xviii. 8, 9 ('. . . he walketh upon the toils', &c.). For 𝔊 see critical note.

vv. 14–16: an admonition to associate only with wise and pious men.

14. **associate with thy neighbour.** The meaning is not quite certain (see critical note). Smend renders: 'advise (*berate*) thy neighbour': teach and instruct others, but be careful, above all, to learn thyself of the wise.

converse with the wise. On the other hand, the wise have as little as possible to do with the ungodly; cp. viii. 17, xi. 9, xii. 13 ff., xiii. 17, &c.

𝔅ᴬ 16 Let men of rectitude be [a]the companions of thy board[a];
And in the fear of God be thy boast.

(*g*) IX. 17—X. 5. *The value of God-fearing wisdom as exemplified in rulers* (= 2 + 3 + 2 distichs).

17 [b]By the cunning-handed[b] [c]**a shapely work is devised**[c],
[d]Even so[d] one who ruleth over his people (must be) [e]wise in discernment[e].
18 A man (full) of tongue is dangerous [f]in the city[f],
[g]And he that is hasty in speech[g] is detested.
10 1 [h i]A wise governor[i] [j]instructeth[j] his people;
And the rule of one that is discerning [k]is well-ordered[k].
2 As is the governor [l]of a people[l], so are his officers;
And as is the head of a city, [m]so[m] are its inhabitants.
3 [n]A reckless king[n] ruineth [o]his people[o],
But a city becometh populous through [p]the prudence of its princes[p].
4 [q]The rule over the world is in the hands of God,
And at the right time He setteth over it [r]one that is worthy[r].
5 [q]In the hand of God is [rr]the rule of every man[rr],
And He investeth [s]the commander[s] with his dignity.

(*h*) X. 6–18. *Pride in rulers ruins whole nations* (= 2 + 4 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 1 distichs).

6 [t]Requite not [evil to] thy neighbour[t] for any wrong,
[u]And walk not in the way of pride[u].

[a–a] 𝔅 בעלי לחמך = 𝔊 οι συνδειπνοι σου (*so* 𝔖 'eaters at thy table') [b–b] 𝔅 בחכמי ידים : 𝔊 εν χειρι σεχνιτων : 𝔖 'By the wisdom of the judge' (= בחכמת דין) [c–c] εργον επαινεσθησεται (=? ישבח עשה) : 'the city is established' 𝔖 (=? יושב העיר) : 𝔅 יחשך יושר = ? 'uprightness is preserved' *so Peters. Perhaps* יִתְּשֵׁב יֵצֶר *should be read* (יצר *might easily be corrupted to* עיר *as in* 𝔖 : *and* יחשב *is an easy correction of* ישבח *in* 𝔊 : יֵצֶר = 'something shaped or formed'). *Smend keeps* 𝔅 *which he renders :* 'a work of art' (יושר, *cp.* מְיֻשָּׁר 1 Kings vi. 35) 'is mastered' [d–d] *Lit.* 'and' (𝔅 = 𝔊) [e–e] *Cp.* 𝔖 'wise and prudent' (= ? חכם בינה : *so read here with Peters*) σοφος εν λογῳ αυτου 𝔊. 𝔅 *text* חכם ביטה (*wrongly attaching* ביטה *to v.* 18) = 'wise of (?) speech' (ביטה *from* בטה = בטא ; *cp. Neo-Hebr.* ביטוי = 'vain speech'). 𝔊 ? = 𝔅 [f–f] *Reading* בעיר *for* בעד = 𝔖 : *cp.* 𝔊 [g–g] 𝔅 ומשא על פיהו (*part.* מַשָּׂא, *cp.* Syr. דנסב על פומה = 'to speak hastily, unadvisedly') = 𝔊 και ο προπετης εν λογῳ αυτου [h] 𝔏 *pr. tit.* 'de iudicibus' [i–i] 𝔅 שופט עם (*read* חכם *for* עם = 𝔊 𝔖) [j–j] 𝔅 יוסר (*read* יוסר = 𝔊 𝔖) [k–k] 𝔅 סדירה (*read* סדורה) = 𝔊 τεταγμενη : 𝔖 'settleth his city' [l–l] 𝔊 του λαου αυτου (*but* א[c.a] 248 &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 > αυτου = 𝔅 𝔖) [m–m] *So* 𝔅 (כן) = 𝔖 : 𝔊 παντες (= כל) (*vv.* 2 *and* 3 *tr. in* 𝔅) [n–n] 𝔅 מלך פרוע = 𝔊 βασιλευς απαιδευτος : 'An unrighteous king' 𝔖 [o–o] *So* 𝔊 = עמו : 𝔅 עיר [p–p] 𝔅 שׂריה = 𝔖 : 𝔊 δυναστων (= שׂרים) [q] *Vv.* 4 *and* 5 *tr. in* 𝔅 [r–r] *So* 𝔊 𝔖 (= ישר *or* כשר) 𝔅 איש [rr–rr] 𝔅 ממשלת כל גבר : 𝔖 'power of all' (*omitting* גבר) : 'prosperitas (*read* "potestas") hominis' 𝔏 = 𝔅 : Peters מצלחת : ευοδια (? *for* εξουσια) ανδρος 𝔊 [s–s] 𝔅 מחוקק = 𝔊 γραμματεως (*traditional rendering of* מחוקק : *the Targums render same word by* 'scribe' [ספרא] *in* Gen. xlix. 10) [t–t] 𝔅 אל תשלים רע לריע : 𝔊 'Be not wroth with thy neighbour' (μη μηνιασῃς [al. μηνισῃς] = ? אל תטור) τῳ πλησιον : 𝔖 'Offend not thy friend' [> 𝔖 𝔊 רע = 'evil' *of* 𝔅 : *probably added to produce word-play with* לריע] [u–u] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖 : 𝔊

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16. **Let men of rectitude be the companions of thy board.** Cf. vi. 19.

(*g*) IX. 17—X. 5.

17. **By the cunning-handed . . . wise in discernment.** In spite of the uncertainty of the text (see critical notes) the general sense is clear; just as the skill of the trained adept produces a perfect piece of work, so insight (or ? wise speech) enables the wise man (or ruler) to govern his people successfully.

X. 1. **A wise governor . . . well-ordered.** Cp. Prov. xx. 8. The word rendered 'governor' = lit. 'judge', 'magistrate'; here it is applied to rulers (cp. vii. 6, 𝔅 and 𝔊) : cp. also verses 2 and 24 of this chapter, and xli. 18. 'Instructeth' has the idea of moral discipline.

2. **As is the governor . . . his officers.** Cp. Prov. xxix. 12. The Hebrew word rendered 'officers' = lit. 'interpreters', i.e. those who represent the ruler and interpret his will to the people.

3. **A reckless king.** Lit. 'a king broken loose' (viz. from all restraints) : cp. Exod. xxxii. 23 ('the people . . . broken loose').

4. **The rule . . . of God . . . setteth over it one that is worthy.** Cp. Dan. ii. 21. 'One that is worthy,' i.e. a worthy ruler : such good heathen kings as Cyrus are in the writer's mind, probably.

5. **In the hand of God is the rule of every man.** Or (pointing גִּבּוֹר) of every man of power : i.e. the power of rulers comes from God. Cp. Wisd. vi. 1 ff. 𝔊 has 'success' (so Peters reads) : the success which enables a man to secure power and rule well comes from God.

(*h*) X. 6–18.

6. **Requite not . . .** Or 𝔅 may be rendered : 'in the case of every wrong requite not,' &c. Lévi renders :

𝔅^A 7 [v]Pride is hateful to the Lord and to men,
[w]And before both oppression is an offence[w].
8 Sovereignty is transferred from nation to nation
[x]On account of the violence of pride[x].
9 How should he that is dust and ashes vaunt himself[y],
[z]He whose entrails rot (even) during his life[z]?
10 [a]A suspicion (?) of disease defieth (?) the physician[a]—
[b]To-day a king[b], and to-morrow [c]he shall fall[c]!
11 When a man dieth he inheriteth
[d]Worm and maggot, lice and creeping things[d].
12 The beginning of pride is [e]when a man becometh shameless[e],
And [f]his heart[f] departeth from his Maker.

(*freely*) *και μη πρασσε μηδεν εν εργοις υβρεως* [𝔖 *adds the doublet, perhaps translated from a Hebr. variant of the verse,* 'from all sins and lying depart, and walk not in a lofty spirit' (*reading* רוחא *for* אורחא)] [v] *Pr.* 'for' 𝔖 [w–w] ומשניהם מעל עשק 𝔅 = 𝔊^B *και εξ αμφοτερων πλημμελησει αδικα* (*but for last two words* א^c.a 70 248 *πλημμελεια αδικιας*): et exsecrabilis omnis iniquitas gentium 𝔏 = ? ושנואה כל מעל עמים: 𝔖 = 𝔅 with + ו (מעל ועשק) [x–x] *So* 𝔅 בגלל חמס גאוה: *δια αδικιας και υβρεις και χρηματα* 𝔊 = 𝔖 'Because of sins and pride and Mammon': + diversos dolos 𝔏 = *και διαφορα* (*cp.* vii. 18, xlii. 5 = מחיר) [y] + 'there is not a more wicked thing than a covetous man: for such an one setteth his own soul to sale' 70 248 𝔏 (*so* A.V. = *φιλαργυρου μεν γαρ ουδεν ανομωτερον ουτος γαρ και την εαυτου ψυχην εκπρακτον ποιει*: 𝔏 nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam hic enim animam suam venalem habet—*a catechetical addition; see Hart*) [z–z] *Reading* (*with one correction of* 𝔅) אשר בחייו ירום גויו: 𝔊 'Because in life I (*or* they) have cast away his bowels', *οτι εν ζωη ερριψα* (*so* B: *but* 248 &c. *ερριψαν*) *τα ενδοσθια αυτου*: proiecit 𝔏: Syro-Hex *εξουδενωσε* (*? a correction*): 𝔅 *text has* יורם *which yields no satisfactory sense: emend to* יָרוּם *from* רָמַם = 'to rot'. 𝔖 (*correct text: see Lévi, Peters*) 'whose sides and bowels worms creep through during his life' [a–a] *Text very difficult.* 𝔅 שמץ מחלה יצהיב רופא = 𝔊 'A long disease the physician mocketh' (*μακρον αρρωστημα σκωπτει* (C *σκοπτει*, Sah *σκοπει*, 248 &c. *κοπτει*, 254 &c. *εκκοπτει*) *ιατρος* (א^c.a *ιατρον*). 𝔏 *has a doublet*: omnis potentatus brevis vita (= *tit. pr.*?). Languor prolixior (= *μακραν*) gravat medicum. Brevem (= *μικρον*) languorem praecidit medicus [*here* 'gravat medicum' = 𝔅 יצהיב רופא: *and* 'praecidit' = *κοπτει or εκκοπτει, suggesting a variant* יחצב 'cuts short']. שמץ *in* xviii. 32 = 'much' ('much luxury' שמץ תענוג): *but in* Job iv. 12, xxvi. 14 *it* = 'a little' ('the whisper of'): *so in Neo-Hebr.* (*suspicion of a thing*, 'particle'): *the meaning of* יצהיב *is also uncertain* (? gleam, provoke, grieve, defy): 𝔅 *might mean:* 'a long disease provokes (grieves, defies) the physician': *or* 'there is a suspicion of disease—the physician is alarmed'—*or as rendered above in text* [b–b] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 (+ *και*): 𝔖 'walking' (מהלך *for* מלך: 'walking to-day and dead to-morrow') [c–c] 𝔅 יפול: *τελευτησει* 𝔊 = 𝔖 [d–d] *So* 𝔅 רמה ותולעה כנים ורמש: 𝔊 *ερπετα και θηρια και σκωληκας* (*σκωληκας* = רִמה ותולעה: *ερπετα* = רמש: 𝔊 *may not be in original order*): 𝔖 'and his worm before him creepeth' (= ותורעתם כנגדו ירמש) [*In Neo-Hebr.* כִּנָּה *pl.* כִּנִּים = 'vermin' *or* 'lice'] [e–e] 𝔅 אדם מועז = 𝔊 *ανθρωπου αφισταμενου απο Κυριου* (*free rendering*: מוּעָז = *Hof. part of* עזז) [f–f] *Reading* לבו *with* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖: 𝔅 מלבו [𝔖 *renders the whole verse:* 'The

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'Quelle que soit la faute ne punis pas ton prochain.' The sentiment (cp. Lev. xix. 27) seems hardly in place here, the sudden introduction of 'neighbour' having no apparent justification from the context. For this line the doublet in 𝔖 (see critical note) gives: 'from all sins and lying keep far away' (= ? מכל פשע וכחש רחק), which yields a satisfactory sense and harmonizes with the context. It may well represent a variant (and superior) Hebrew reading. The connexion would then be: from all sins and lying keep away, but especially avoid the sin of pride.

7. **And before both.** Lit. 'and from both of them', i.e. in the opinion of both God and men: (לפני = מן). 'Oppression' is not only an offence against men (in their social life), but also an offence against God.

8. **Sovereignty is transferred from nation to nation.** i.e. nations decline and fall (for reasons adduced in 8*b*).

On account of the violence of pride. The versions (see critical note) add a further reason—greed of money. Of this, however, there is no trace in 𝔅, and it may be due to later revision. God will not allow pride in nations to go unpunished; much less in the case of individual men (cp. xvi. 11). There is probably an allusion to the transfer of the sovereignty of Syria from the Ptolemies to the Seleucidae, which was consummated by the victories of Antiochus III (a comparatively recent event when Ben-Sira presumably wrote). Ben-Sira, however, makes the principle one of universal application, and, perhaps, hints that the sovereignty of the Seleucidae is not likely to be more permanent than that of other oppressive world-powers.

9–11 have probably some contemporary historical incident in view: Smend suggests that it was the death of one of the Ptolemies; perhaps Ptolemy IV (died 204 B.C.). According to Dio Cassius, this monarch died of a painful disease (*νόσῳ χαλεπῇ μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον*).

9. . . . **he that is dust and ashes.** Cp. Gen. xviii. 27 (cp. also xvii. 32 and xl. 3 of our book).

10. **a suspicion of disease . . .** The logical gaps in the verse seem to be due to rapid description (adopted for graphic effect)—a sudden and (seemingly) trifling ailment defies the physician: the next day all is over.

11. **When a man dieth . . . worm . . .** Cp. Is. xiv. 11. Cp. also vii. 17 of our book.

12. **The beginning.** According to Smend the word so rendered denotes (like ראשית) the essence or chief part of a thing.

𝔅^A 13 [g]For sin is the rallying-place of insolence[g],
[h]And its source overfloweth with depravity[h].
For this cause [i]hath God stricken such an one marvellously[i],
And smitten him to the uttermost.
14 [j]The throne of the proud[j] God overthroweth,
[k]And setteth[k] the humble in their place[l].
16 [m]**The roots of the proud**[m] God [n]**sweepeth away**[n],
[o]And extirpateth them to the foundations of the earth[o].
17 [p]He teareth them out of the earth[p] [q]and rooteth them up[q],
And extinguisheth their memory [r]from among men[r].
18 Insolence [s]was not the heritage of man[s],
[t]Nor savage wrath[t] (apportioned) to the earth-born.

(*i*) X. 19–25. *Honour to whom honour is due* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

19 An honourable race is what? The race of men!
𝔊 [u]An honourable race is that which feareth God.

beginning of the sins of men is their pride, and their deeds (=מעשהו) make foolish their heart'] [g–g] *So* 𝔅: *αρχη υπερηφανιας* 𝔊 *for* מקוה זדון: 𝔖 'the source of sin is pride' = *αρχη αμαρτιας υπερηφανια the reading of* 248 Syro-Hex *and Chrysostom* [h–h] *So* 𝔅 ומקורה יביע זמה: *και ο κρατων αυτης εξομβρησει βδελυγμα* 𝔊: 'and fornication is the source of both' 𝔖 (זמה *often in Biblical Hebrew of sins of unchastity*): 𝔊 *apparently read* וקונה *for* ומקוה (*so Lévi*) [i–i] *Reading* הפליא. אלהים נגעו *with Smend* (*so Peters substantially*): *παρεδοξασεν* (=הפליא) *Κυριος τας επαγωγας* (=מכות) 𝔊: 'God separated (= ? הפלה) their conflicts' 𝔖: 𝔅 *has* מלא לבו אלהים נגע ('God filled his heart with a stroke': מלא לבו *corrupt*) [j–j] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖: *θρονους αρχοντων* 𝔊 [k–k] 𝔅 וישב *i.e.* וַיֹּשֶׁב [l] 𝔊 *adds two lines* (= *v.* 15): *ριζας εθνων εξετιλεν ο Κυριος και εφυτευσεν ταπεινους αντ αυτων* =

(15 a) עקרי (שרשי) גאים עקר אלהים
(15 b) ויטע ענוים תחתם:

(15 a) 'The roots of the proud God plucketh up,
(15 b) And planteth the humble in their place': *so* 𝔖.

Here 15 a *is a doublet of* 16 a; *and* 15 b *a doublet of* 14 b (*with slight variants*). *Smend and Lévi* (*but not Peters*) *regard the verse, however, as original, and as omitted in* 𝔅 *accidentally* (*by homoioteleuton*) [m–m] 𝔅 עקבת גוים 'The traces of the nations' (*read* עקרי גאים *with Peters*): 𝔖 = עקבת גאים 'The traces of the proud' (*so Smend*): 𝔊 *χωρας εθνων* = 𝔅 (*cp.* xvi. 3 עקבת = *τοπος*) [n–n] 𝔅 טמטם = 'stoppeth up': *Fraenkel proposed* טֵאטֵא (Is. xiv. 23) *or* טאטָאָם *or* טאטָם (*indicated also in MS. of* 𝔅): 𝔊 *κατεστρεψεν*: 𝔖 עקר (𝔖 *suggests* עקרי גאים עקר אלהים, *cf.* 15 a *above*) [o–o] 𝔅 ושרשם עד ארץ קעקע = 'And their root (? root-offshoots) He cutteth down to the earth': *but* 𝔊 *και απωλεσεν αυτας εως θεμελιων γης* = וישרשם עד קרקע ארץ (*cp.* Amos ix. 3), *which is preferable* (*the first word of 2nd distich should be a verb on analogy of previous verses: hence* וישרשם *is preferable*). 𝔖 'And destroyed from the earth their memory' (*cp.* 17 b) [p–p] *Reading* נסחם (מארץ) (*cp.* xlviii. 15: *so Lévi, Smend*): 𝔅 וסחם (מארץ) = 'and He scoureth them from', &c. (*cp.* Ezek. xxvi. 4): *εξηρανεν εξ αυτων* (A א^c.a *and some cursives* *εξηρεν αυτους*) 𝔊 [q–q] 𝔅 ויתשם; *και απωλεσεν αυτους* 𝔊; 'He destroyeth them and uprooteth them and sweepeth them away' 𝔖 [r–r] *So* 𝔖 (= מאדם *or* מאנוש) 𝔅 מארץ = 𝔊 (*but repetition of this word cannot be right*) [s–s] 𝔊 *ουκ εκτισται ανθρωποις* = לא נחלק לאנוש (*so read*) = 𝔖: 𝔅 לא נאוה ('doth not befit') [t–t] 𝔅 ועזות אף: *ουδε οργη θυμου* 𝔊 [u–u] *Lines* b *and* c *omitted in* 𝔅 *by homoioteleuton.* 𝔊 *σπερμα εντιμον ποιον*;

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13. **For sin is the rallying-place (מקוה) of insolence, And its source (מְקוֹרָה) overfloweth with depravity.** 'Insolence', i.e. aggressive wrongdoing—sinning with a high hand, contemptuous both of God and men—finds its source or reservoir in sin, which also pours forth every form of depravity. The words rendered 'rallying-place' and 'source' occur together (as synonyms) in xliii. 20 = 'pond': but text doubtful; see critical note there.
such an one [lit. 'him'] . . . **him.** i.e. the proud and arrogant sinner.
14. **The throne of the proud** . . . Cp. 1 Sam. ii. 7 f.; Luke i. 52.
15. For this verse see critical note.
16. **The roots of the proud God sweepeth away** (*v. l.* 'rooteth out'). Cp. Ps. xliv. 2 (3): 'With Thy hand thou didst root up nations and plant them in' (corrected text). In 16 *b* ('extirpateth them,' &c.) there may be an allusion to Sodom. Cp. Ezek. xvi. 49.
17. **extinguisheth their memory.** The worst punishment of all: cp. xxxviii. 23; Deut. xxxii. 26.
18. **was not the heritage.** Or 'was not ordained'.
the earth-born. Lit. 'born of a woman', i.e. mortal: cp. Job xiv. 1.
(*i*) X. 19–25.
19. **An honourable race is what?** . . . Mankind may attain to honour or dishonour, in accordance with their relation to God.

𝔊. A despicable race is what? The race of men[u]!
𝔅[A] [v]A despicable race is that which transgresseth the commandment[v].
20 Among brethren their head is honoured,
And he that feareth God [a]**among his own people**[a].
22 [bc]Sojourner and stranger, alien and poor man[c]—
Their glory is the fear of God.
23 A poor man that hath understanding is not to be despised,
Nor is [d]any man of violence[d] to be honoured.
24 [e]Prince[e], ruler and governor are honoured,
[f]But none is greater than he that feareth God[f].
25 [g]Nobles will serve a servant that hath understanding[g],
[h]And a wise man will not complain[h].

(*j*) X. 26–29. *The wrong and the right kind of self-esteem* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

26 [i]Play not the wise man[i] when thou doest thy business,
[j]And glorify not thyself[j] in the time of thy need.
27 Better is he that worketh [k]and hath wealth in abundance[k],
Than he that glorifieth himself [l]and lacketh sustenance[l].

(*but* Syro-Hex Eth > ποιον;) οι φοβουμενοι (254 ο φοβουμενος) τον κυριον: = זרע נכבד ירא אלהים (*so* 𝔖 + 'the honourable race is that which observeth the commandment'): *for* c 𝔊 *has* σπερμα ατιμον ποιον; σπερμα ανθρωπου = זרע נקלה מה? זרע לאנוש (*so* 𝔖) v–v *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖: 𝔊 σπερμα ατιμον ποιον; (*but* Syro-Hex Eth > ποιον;) οι παραβαινοντες εντολας a–a 𝔊 εν οφθαλμοις αυτου = בעיניו (*so Peters*): 𝔖 = ממנו (*so Lévi*), *i.e.* ('is more honourable) than he': *Smend emends* בעמו b *Some cursives Complut.* + (= *v.* 21) προσληψεως (248 προ ληξεως) αρχη φοβος κυριου εκβολης δε αρχη (εκβολη δε αρχης 248) και (> 248) σκληρισμος και υπερηφανια—*a summary in gnomic form of verses* 7–25 (*Hart*) c–c *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 πλουσιος και ενδυξος και πτωχος = עשיר ונכבד ורש (for גר וזר ונכרי ורש): 𝔖 'Sojourner who is poor and troubled' d–d 𝔅 *defective* כל איש [חמ]ם (*Smend*): *Adler* כל איש [יור]ם 'every one that is exalted' (*so Lévi, with some reserve*): 𝔊 ανδρα αμαρτωλον: 𝔖 'the godless rich' (*reading* עשיר *for* איש) *cp.* 𝔏 (virum peccatorem divitem) e–e 𝔅 *defect.* 𝔊 μεγισταν και = נדיב (*so read with Smend and Strack*): *Adler, Peters* שר ו 𝔖 = 𝔊 f–f *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 (+ αυτων): 𝔖 'And there is none who is greater than he that honoureth (= מכבד) the God-fearer' (+ מכבד? *a variant from line above*) g–g *So* 𝔊 οικετη σοφῳ ελευθεροι λειτουργησουσιν = עבד משכיל חורים יעבדו (*so Smend, Peters*) = 𝔖: 𝔅 עבד משכיל הורם ועב[ד] h–h και ανηρ επιστημων ου γογγυσει = ואיש חכם לא יתאונן (*so read with Peters*); 𝔖 'And a wise man when he is corrected will not complain' = 𝔊 + πεπαιδευμενος (*so* 70 248 Syro-Hex: *cp.* 𝔏). [𝔅 *has for both distichs:*

עבד משכיל הורם
ועב[ד חכם] לא יתאונן:

i.e. 'A slave that hath understanding is exalted;
And a slave that is wise will not murmur']

i–i *So* 𝔅 אל תתחכם = 𝔊 μη σοφιζου: 𝔏 noli te extollere = μη δοξαζου (b): 𝔖 'Be not slack' (תתחבנן? *for* תתחכם) [𝔏 *transposes verbs in* a *and* b] j–j *So* 𝔅 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔏 et noli cunctari (*verb transposed from* (a)) k–k 𝔅 ויותר הון = 𝔖: 𝔊 εργαζομενος και περισσευων εν πασιν (*so* א* V 70 248 Syro-Hex 𝔏 = Sah) = 𝔅 𝔖 (*with* כל *for* הון): B εν πασιν η περιπατων *is not original* l–l *Reading* וחסר מזון (*so Lévi, Smend, &c.*): 𝔊 και απορων αρτων

20. **Among brethren their head is honoured, And he that feareth God . . .** A comparison is implied. Just as among a people (brethren) the leader is honoured, so the God-fearer is honourable among men. 'Brother' often = fellow-member of the same community or nation (cp. vii. 12). The alternative rendering (see critical note) is 'but he who feareth God is more honourable than he'.

[For *v.* 21 see critical note.]

22. **Sojourner and stranger, alien and poor man . . .** The reference is, perhaps, to poor Jews living in heathen lands (so Smend). 𝔊 ('The rich man, the honourable and the poor') makes the statement more general. All classes alike, whatever their condition, find their highest glory in the fear of God.

23. **A poor man that hath understanding.** i.e. a poor man who is pious, since piety (fear of God) is the only true source of wisdom according to Ben-Sira. Poverty and piety are often synonymous in the Psalms.

any man of violence. Even though he be rich. 𝔖 ('the godless rich') expresses this distinctly.

25. **Nobles will serve a servant that hath understanding.** Cp. Prov. xvii. 2 f. Character overcomes all the artificial barriers of social conventions.

(*j*) X. 26–29.

26. **Play not the wise man.** i.e. do not make a show of superior wisdom—do thy work quietly and honourably; do not pose as being superior to thy work (for then the work will suffer). Such superior wisdom is an excuse for idleness.

And glorify not thyself . . . Viz. as to what thou mightst have done. The fact remains that all that thou couldst have done has not availed to keep off want.

27. **Better is he that worketh . . .** The man who goes quietly about his work, and 'does' it, is infinitely superior to one who merely talks and boasts; cp. Prov. xii. 9.

And lacketh sustenance. i. e. through his own idleness.

𝔅^A 28 My son, glorify thy soul in humility,
[m]And give it discretion[m] [n]such as befitteth it[n].
29 [o][p]Who will justify him that condemneth himself[p]?
And who will honour him that dishonoureth [q]himself[q]?

(*a*) X. 30—XI. 1. *Wisdom rather than mere wealth brings honour* (= 3 distichs).

30 There is a poor man that is honoured on account of his wisdom,
[r]And there is[r] he that is honoured on account of his wealth.
31 [s]He that is honoured (in his poverty)—how much more in his wealth[s]!
And he that is despicable in his wealth—how much more [t](in his poverty)[t]!
11 1 The wisdom of the poor man lifteth up [u]his head[u],
And causeth him to sit among princes.

(*b*) XI. 2–13. *Warnings against hasty judgements* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 1 + 3 distichs).

2 Praise no man [v]for his beauty[v],
And abhor no man [w]for his appearance[w].
3 [x]Of no account[x] among flying things is the bee,
But her fruit is [y]supreme among products[y].

(= ? וחסר לחם *Prov.* xii. 9): *but* 𝔖 = מזון m–m 𝔊 *και δος αυτῃ τιμην* = ותן לה טעם (𝔖 = טעם : 𝔊 *τιμην chosen for its sound-resemblance? see Smend*): 𝔅 . . . . ויתן לך ט (*Ryssel* וְיִתֵּן לך טוב) n–n 𝔅 כיוצא בה (*a late idiom: cp.* xxxviii. 17) o 𝔖 *pr.* 'My son' p–p 𝔅 *has* מרשיע נפשו מי יצדיקנו : 𝔊 *τον αμαρτανοντα εις την ψυχην αυτου τις δικαιωσει;* q–q 𝔅 נפשו : 𝔊 *την ζωην αυτου* (? *mistake for* *την ψυχην αυτου*) r–r 𝔅 ויש : 𝔊 *και πλουσιος* (? *for* *και εστιν ος*): 𝔏 *suggests* ויש אשר (*also read* ויש עשיר : *so Hart*) s–s 𝔊 *ο δε δοξαζομενος* (*but* א* Syro-Hex > *δε*: *so* 𝔏 *in Cod. Am.*) (AC 248 &c. *ο δεδοξασμενος*) *εν πτωχειᾳ και εν πλουτῳ ποσαχως*; 𝔅 נכבד בעשרו איككה (= 'one honoured—in his wealth how much more!' *but* + בדלותו *after* נכבד : *so Smend, Peters* t–t + בדלותו (*so Smend, Peters*): 𝔊 *εν πτωχειᾳ* [𝔅 *adds an explanatory doublet:*

המתכבד בדלותו בעשרו מתכבד יותר
והנקלה בעשרו בדלותו נקלה יותר]

u–u *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 *κεφαλην* (+ *αυτου* א A C &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 = 𝔅) v–v *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 𝔖 'that is beautiful in his appearance' w–w *So* 𝔊 = במרהו (𝔅 מכוער ב" = 'hateful in appearance' [*cp.* xiii. 22]: *but omit* מכוער *with* 𝔊 *Lévi, Peters, &c.*) x–x 𝔅 אליל = 𝔖: 𝔊 *μικρα* (𝔖 + *γαρ* pr.) y–y 𝔅 ראש תנובות : 𝔊 'the chief of sweetmeats'

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28. **glorify thy soul** (i.e. thyself) **in humility.** In humility, not in pride and self-assertion, shall true honour be found.

give it discretion . . . i.e. cultivate sound sober sense in thyself, such as is worthy of thee. The implication seems to be that a proper self-respect is desirable.

29. **Who will justify . . .** Want of proper self-esteem, undue self-depreciation, are here condemned.

X. 30—XIV. 19. A series of warnings in connexion with various contingencies of life. This division contains eleven subsections.

(*a*) X. 30—XI. 1.

30. **that is honoured.** Even while he is still poor. The lives of many of the Rabbis would illustrate the truth of this remark.

31. **He that is honoured (in his poverty) . . .** i.e. wealth enhances the honour of the wise, and poverty the degradation of the foolish.

XI. 1. **The wisdom of the poor man . . . princes.** In both Talmuds and in the Midrashim clause *b* of this verse is quoted in combination with Prov. iv. 8 as from Ben-Sira: 'In the book of Ben-Sira it is written: '"Exalt her and she shall lift thee up (Prov. iv. 8) and set thee among princes."' (So *T. J. Berakhoth* vii. 2; cp. *T. B. Berakhoth* 48 *a*, &c.)

(*b*) XI. 2–13.

2. **Praise no man . . .** A warning against being misled by external appearance; cp. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

3. **Of no account . . .** The bee is an excellent example to point the moral.

𝔅ᴬ 4 [z]Mock not the dress of the wretched[z],
[a]And scoff not[a] [b]at those whose day is bitter[b]:
For wondrous are [c]the works of Jahveh[c],
And His operation is hid [d]from man[d].
5 Many [e]downtrodden[e] have sat [f]upon a throne[f],
[g]And those who were never thought of[g] have worn [h]a crown[h].
6 Many exalted have suffered [i]great[i] abasement,
And also honourable [j]been delivered up[j].

7 Before thou hast examined [k]blame not[k];
Investigate first, and afterwards [l]rebuke[l].
8 [m]Answer not a word before thou hear,
And in the midst of [n]a discourse[n] speak not.
9 [o]In a matter where thou art not affected[o], [p]enter not into strife[p],
[q]And with the quarrels of the arrogant meddle not[q].

10 My son, [r]why multiply thy business (unduly)[r]?
[s]But if thou so doest thou shalt not go unpunished[s].

(αρχη γλυκυσματων): 𝔖 +כל *before* תנובות z–z *So* 𝔅 (מעטה אבד *might* = 'at him that is clothed with destruction') 𝔊 'Glory not in the putting on of raiment' (εν περιβολῃ ιματιων μη καυχησῃ = בעטה בגד אל תתהלל): 𝔖 = 𝔅 a–a *So* 𝔅 ואל תקלם: 𝔊 'And exalt not thyself' (*taking* קלם *in NH sense* = ואל תסתולל) b–b *So* 𝔅 במרירי יום: 𝔊 εν ημερᾳ δοξης [𝔖 'And do not despise the man whose throat is bitter'] c–c *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 𝔖 'the secrets of God' d–d *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖: 𝔊 εν ανθρωποις (= באדם) e–e *So* 𝔅 נדכאים (*lit.* 'crushed ones') = 𝔖: 𝔊 τυραννοι = נדיבים f–f *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖 (*seat of kingship*): 𝔊 επι εδαφους (*? corruption or correction of* επι διφρου = 𝔏 in throno). g–g *So* 𝔖 = "ובל עלו על לב עטו (𝔊 *has singular* 'And one who was never thought of', &c.): 𝔅 *corrupt*: תבל על לב עטו צניף: *correct to* ובל עלו *as above: so Lévi: Peters* ובל עלה: *Smend* עלים. h–h *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 'clothing of honour' i–i 𝔅 מאד = 𝔊: 𝔖 'together' (𝔅 +והשפלו יחד *a variant*: יחד = 𝔖) j–j 𝔅 נתנו ביד: 𝔊 παρεδοθησαν εις χειρας εταιρων: 𝔖 'were brought low from their honour' k–k 𝔅 אל תסלף = 'distort not' (*sc. ? the judgement*): 𝔊 μεμψῃ: 𝔖 'associate not thyself' (לא תשתותף) l–l *So* 𝔊 = 𝔅 (תזיף *Hif. of* נזף = 'rebuke' *in NH*: *Hif. only here: if* תזעף *could be read the sense would be* 'be angry'; *cp.* Prov. xix. 3): 𝔖 *make* 'marriage' m 𝔅 *pr.* 'My son' n–n 𝔅 שיחה (*cp.* vi. 35): 𝔊 λογων = שִׂיחֹת: *so* 𝔖 o–o 𝔅 באין עצבה = 'When thou hast no concern (care)': 𝔊 περι πραγματος ου ουκ εστιν σοι χρεια (*but* אAC 248 &c. > χρεια): Syro-Hex περι πραγματος ου εστιν σοι αλυπως (*cp.* 𝔏 de ea re quae te non molestat) = ? 𝔊 II (= 𝔅): 𝔖 (*corrected text*) = באין עצמה p–p *Reading* אל תתחר (*for* 𝔅 אל תאחר) = 𝔊 (*cp.* viii. 2): *so* 𝔖 q–q *So* 𝔅 וברב זדים אל תקומם: 𝔊 και εν κρισει αμαρτωλων μη συνεδρευε = 𝔅 (εν κρισει = בְּרִב *rightly*): 𝔖 'And in the midst of sinners multiply not thine exactions' r–r 𝔅 למה תרבה עשקך (עסק = עשק): 𝔊 μη περι πολλα εστωσαν αι πραξεις σου: 𝔖 = 𝔅 (*interpreting* עשקך *as from* עֹשֶׁק) s–s *Reading* ואם תרבה לא תנקה = 'But if thou multipliest it thou shalt not go unpunished' = 𝔊: 𝔅 ואין להרבות לא

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4. **Mock not the dress of the wretched.** Or 'at him that is clothed with destruction' (less probable). For 'dress of the wretched' cp. Is. lxi. 3 (read 'garment of mourning'); and for 'those whose day is bitter' cp. Amos viii. 10 ('a bitter day'). As Edersheim remarks, great importance was attached by the Rabbis to dress. A saying attributed to Ben-Sira (in *Derek ereṣ zuta*, towards end) runs: 'The adornment (splendour) of God is man; the adornment of man is his dress.' It does not, of course, follow from this that a man would be estimated entirely by his dress, though Ben-Sira here enters a warning against conduct which may indicate the presence of such a tendency in certain quarters.

For wondrous are the works of Jahveh . . . God can (and often does) upset man's estimates by reversing in wonderful ways the conditions that determine a man's place in society. 'God may send sudden reversal in punishment of our pride, or else the prosperity of which we boasted may be only apparent and temporary: *vv.* 5 and 6 carry out this idea' (Edersheim).

5. **downtrodden.** Lit. 'crushed' = humble, lowly: cp. Is. lvii. 15. 𝔊 reverses the sense of 5 *a* ('Many rulers have sat down upon the ground'). For the sentiment cp. Ps. cxiii. 7.

vv. 7–9. A warning against hasty action in regard to things heard.

7. **blame not.** The Hebrew word (see crit. note) perhaps = 'pervert not' (sc. the judgement): i.e. be not prejudiced. 𝔊 renders 'blame not' (so Lévi).

8. **Answer not . . . speak not.** For the sentiment of the verse cp. Prov. xviii. 13; it is also expressed in *Pirqe Aboth* v. 10: 'Seven things are in a clod, and seven in a wise man. (The wise man) . . . doth not interrupt the words of his companion, and is not hasty to reply . . .' Cf. also *Baba Bathra* 98 *b* (cited by Edersheim): 'interrupt not in the middle of a discourse' (in a quotation from 'the book of Ben-Sira').

9. **And with the quarrels of the arrogant meddle not.** By the 'arrogant' are meant high-handed (presumptuous) sinners: the wise man will not trouble himself about the quarrels of such among themselves; he will confine himself to matters that concern the pious.

vv. 10–13. Warnings against hastiness in action.

10. **My son, why** (i.e. do not) **multiply . . .** In 10 *b* an alternative rendering to 'thou shalt not go unpunished'

𝔅^A [t]If thou runnest thou shalt not attain[t],
[u]And if thou seekest thou shalt not find[u].
11 There is one that toileth and laboureth [v]and runneth[v],
[w]And is so much the more[w] behind.
12 [x]There is (another) that is weak and wandering in misery[x],
[y]Lacking in strength and abounding in frailty[y];
[z]And the eye of Jahveh watcheth him for good[z],
[a]And He shaketh him up out of the stinking dust[a].
13 He lifteth up his head [b]and exalteth him[b],
So that many may marvel at him[c].

(*c*) XI. 14–28. *All things are in the hands of God* (= 1 [+3] + 1 + 3 + 3 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

14 Good and evil, life and death,
[d]Poverty and wealth come from Jahveh[d].
15 [e][Wisdom and insight [ee]and discernment 'of the Law'[ee]
Come from Jahveh:
[f]Love[f] and upright ways
Come from Jahveh.
16 Folly and darkness have been formed for sinners;
[g]And as for evil-doers—evil abideth with them[g e].]

ינקה = 'But he that hasteneth to multiply shall not go unpunished' = 𝔖 (*Lévi renders* נקה 'succeed' = זכא *in Aram.*) t–t *Reading* אם תרוץ לא תגיע = 𝔊: 𝔅 *has* בני אם לא תרוץ לא תגיע = 𝔖 u–u *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 'And thou shalt not escape by fleeing' (*και ου μη εκφυγῃς διαδρας* = ? ואם תאוץ לא תמלט (*Peters*). [*Thus according to* 𝔊 *the two lines would run:*

אם תרוץ לא תגיע
ואם תאוץ לא תמלט:]

v–v *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *και σπευδων* w–w 𝔅 וכדי כן = 𝔊 *και τοσῳ μαλλον* x–x 𝔅 יש רשיש ואבד מהלך (𝔅 *MS. places* מהלך *at beginning of next stichos*): רשיש = רשיש iv. 29: 𝔊 (*freely*) *εστιν νωθρος και προσδεομενος αντιληψεως* (*νωθρος* = רשיש iv. 29: *προσ. αντι.* = ? *a doublet of υστερον ισχυι* = חסר כח *of next line*): 𝔖 'There is that toileth and laboureth (= *v.* 11 *a*) and is lacking in body' (= ? 𝔊 *above*) y–y 𝔅 *defective*: . . . . חסר כל ויותר א (*read* חסר כח ויותר אנש: *Peters* דלות *for last word* = 𝔊: 𝔖 = 𝔅 *in reading* חסר כל *and for rest of line* = 𝔊 z–z *So* 𝔊 (א* 248 &c. *have sing.* ο οφθαλμος . . . = 𝔏 𝔖 𝔅: *v. l.* οφθαλμοι): 𝔖 'The word of the Lord shall be good upon him' a–a *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *weakens* 'stinking dust' *to* εκ ταπεινωσεως αυτου: 𝔖 *to* 'from dust and ashes' b–b *So* 𝔅: 248 &c. Syro-Hex απο συντριβης: *other Codd.* >: 𝔖 = 𝔅 c 248 Syro-Hex + *θεωρησαντες* d–d *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 'Rich and poor are equal before God' e–e *vv.* 15–16 *are omitted in* א A B, *but are attested in* 248 &c. 𝔏 Syr Ar *as well as* 𝔅: *they are regarded as original by Peters, but are rejected by Smend* (*who also thinks they do not form part of* 𝔏 *in its original form*). *Schlatter regards them* (*together with v.* 17) *as a glossator's addition to the text of* 𝔊 (*so Ryssel*). ee–ee *So* 𝔊 *και γνωσις νομου* = והבין תורה (*so Peters*): 𝔅 והבין דבר: 𝔖 = 𝔊 f–f *So* 𝔊 = 𝔖 (חובא) = ? חִבָּה (*so read*): 𝔅 חטא g–g 𝔊 'And evil shall wax old with them that glory therein' (*τοις δε*

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is 'thou shalt not succeed' (see crit. note). Lévi compares the French proverb: 'Qui trop embrasse mal étreint.' Cp. also *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 14: 'Have little business (עסק as here) and be busied in Torah.' The idea expressed in our verse is that over-eagerness in business matters defeats its own ends.

If thou runnest (for text cp. crit. note): developing the thought of 10 *a*, *b*.

11. **There is one that toileth . . .** Cp. Qoh. ix. 11; Prov. xi. 24, xxi. 5 (toileth . . . runneth to amass riches).

12. **And He shaketh him up out of . . .** Cp. 1 Sam. ii. 8; Ps. cxiii. 7–8.

13. **So that many may marvel at him.** Cp. Is. lii. 14.

(*c*) XI. 14–28.

14. **Good and evil.** i.e. good fortune and misfortune: cp. xxxiv. 24–5 (and notes); also Is. xlvii. 7. God creates welfare and calamity.)

Come from Jahveh. 𝔖 comments: 'are equal before God.'

On *vv.* 15–16, which are considered secondary by Smend, see crit. note. They may be an addition due to later revision of the book (part of the secondary Hebrew recension: cf. Introd. § 3 *e*).

15. **Wisdom, insight . . . Law.** Note that 'wisdom' and 'insight' are equated with knowledge of the Law. This is characteristically scribal: the point of view is that of the doctors of the Law (cp. 1 Chron. xxv. 8 ['teacher' and 'scholar'] and xxvii. 32 ['a counsellor, a man of understanding, and a scribe']). The source of the passage is Dan. ii. 20–21 (Lévi).

Love and upright ways. The fruit of a real knowledge of and devotion to the Law.

16. **Folly and darkness . . .** The sinner, by his presumption in persisting in his evil ways, brings upon himself

𝔅^A 17 [h]The gift of Jahveh abideth for the righteous[h],
And His good pleasure is ever successful.
18 There is that waxeth rich [i]from self-denial[i],
[j]And this is his allotted reward[j]:
19 [k]What time he saith: 'I have found rest,
And now [l]I will enjoy my goods'[l]—
He knoweth not [m]what lot shall befall[m];
He shall leave (them) to others and die.

20 [n]My son[n], [o]be steadfast[o] in thy task [p]and think thereon[p],
And [q]grow old[q] in thy work.
21 [r]Marvel not at the doers of iniquity[r]—
[s]Trust[s] in Jahveh and wait for [t]His light[t];
For it is [u]easy[u] in Jahveh's sight
Suddenly—in a moment—[v]to make a poor man rich[v].

γαυριωσιν επι κακιᾳ συγγηρᾳ κακα): 𝔅 *has* ומרעים רעה עמם (*Smend thinks a verb has fallen out of* 𝔅 = συγγηρᾳ: ? תשגה *foll.* מרעים: *Peters restores* ומתרבים ברעה רעה עמם = 𝔊 *and* 𝔖). h–h = 𝔊: 𝔅 *only partly legible* . . . . צדיק . . מ[תן] (*restore with Smend* מתן יי לצדיק יעמד): 𝔖 = 𝔊 (*with the reading* ευλαβεσιν א^ca *for* ευσεβεσιν) i–i 𝔅 מהתענות 'from humbling himself' = 𝔊 (*free rendering*) 'by his wariness and pinching' (απο προσοχης και σφιγγιας αυτου): 𝔖 'from his poverty' j–j *So* 𝔊 και αυτη η μερις του μισθου αυτου = וזה חלק שׂכרו (*so read with Lévi*): 𝔅 יחיב שׂכרו . . . . = 'maketh his reward liable' ('mortgageth it'): *but the expression is a strange one:* 𝔖 'There is whose wealth does not follow him' k 𝔅 𝔖 *pr.* 'And' l–l 𝔊 φαγομαι εκ των αγαθων μου = 𝔅 אכל (מטובתי) m–m 𝔅 *here defective: Smend* מה י[ום י]חלף = 'what sort of day' (*or* 'what day' = 'how much day') 'shall pass?' = 𝔊 τις καιρος παρελευσεται: *Strack* מה [יהיה] חלף: *Lévi* מה יהיה חלק: *Peters* מה יהיה חקו = 'what his (time)-limit shall be': *cf.* 𝔖 'what his end shall be' n–n *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 > o–o 𝔖 στηθι = עמח (*so read with Lévi, Peters*): 𝔅 *illegible* p–p 𝔊 και ομιλει εν αυτῃ = ובו תהגה (*so Adler, Lévi*): *Smend* ובו התרע = und lass sie dir gefallen: *Peters* ובו התהלך: 𝔖 'and thereon prop thyself' q–q 𝔊 παλαιωθητι = 𝔅 [שן]התי = 𝔖 r–r *Reading* אל תתמה בפעלי און = 𝔊 𝔖 (𝔊 *vocalized* פָּעֳלֵי): *Lévi* בפעלי עול: *Smend* בדרכי רע: 𝔅 *defective* s–s *So* 𝔊 πιστευε (τῳ κυριῳ) = [ליי] האמין: 𝔖 'wait for' (סכר) = ? שחר = 'look diligently (for)' t–t *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 τῳ πονῳ σου (= ? לאונך *for* לאורו) u–u 𝔅 נכח = 'a straightforward thing', i.e. 'something plain and easily compassed': 𝔊 κουφον = 𝔖 v–v *So* 𝔊 𝔖 = להעשיר דל (𝔅 *MS. defective*)

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an inevitable doom—he is plunged into folly and darkness which have been created for him by God (predestinated for him).

evil abideth with them. Or 'waxeth old with them' (𝔊): i.e. it becomes inveterate.

17. **The gift of Jahveh abideth . . .** i.e. the good fortune that God bestows upon the righteous lasts—it is not transient like that of the wicked.

His good pleasure. Jahveh's goodwill always makes itself felt, and is seen in tangible evidences of it. [Schlatter regards *v.* 17 as part of the gloss, which includes *vv.* 15–17 according to him.] According to Smend the divine gift to the pious consists in the triumphant vindication which they enjoy at the latter part of their lives.

vv. 18–22. The subject of these verses is the old one of the prosperity of the wicked and the reward of the righteous (cp. e.g. Ps. lxxiii). Here *vv.* 18–19 are concerned with the rich fool, to which *vv.* 20–21 form an antithesis, having for their subject the poor righteous man: *v.* 22 sums up in favour of the righteous. Riches carefully amassed elude their possessor when he proposes to enjoy them; while piety leads to a good end of life.

18. **from self-denial.** Lit. 'from afflicting himself': 𝔊 interprets well 'by his wariness and pinching'.

his allotted reward. The same person is, of course, referred to as in clause *a* (for reading see critical note).

19. **What time he saith . . .** Cp. the parable of the rich fool (Luke xii. 16): also Ps. xlix. 10 (11) for the last line. The sentiment is common also in the Rabbinic literature: cp. e.g. *Qoheleth rabba* (on i. 4): 'In this world one man builds a house and another inhabits it; one plants a garden and another eats the fruit thereof' (cited by Edersheim).

20. **My son.** The form of address marked by the expression 'my son' introduces a new division, or a new paragraph.

be steadfast in thy task. i.e. in thy allotted task (בחוקך: cp. for this use of חֹק, Exod. v. 14), which in the case of the righteous is the fulfilling and carrying out of God's commands. (𝔊 renders: 'Be steadfast in thy covenant with God.')

in thy work: of leading a God-fearing life.

21. **Marvel not.** i.e. at the success of his works so as to envy: cp. Prov. iii. 31 ('Envy thou not the man of violence').

Trust in Jahveh and wait for His light. Cp. Is. lix. 9 ('we wait for the light'); Jer. xiii. 16; Job iii. 9, &c. 'Light' is a common metaphor for divine deliverance (so here).

to make a poor man rich. As Edersheim remarks: 'the moral of this verse can scarcely be considered elevated.'

𝔅^A 22 [w]The blessing of God is [x]the portion[x] of the righteous,
[y]And at the right time[y] [z]his hope shall flourish[z].

23 Say not: [a]'What is (yet) my desire[a]?
[b]And what henceforth is left unto me[b]?'
24 Say not: [c]'I have enough[c],
[d]And what mischief can befall me[d]?'
25 [e]A day's happiness maketh misfortune to be forgotten[e],
[f]And a day's misfortune maketh happiness to be forgotten[f].
𝔊 26 [g]For it is easy in Jahveh's sight
At the end to requite a man according to his deeds[g].
𝔅^A 27 [h]An evil time causeth forgetfulness of delights[h],
[i]And the last end of a man will tell of him[i].
28 [j]Pronounce no man happy before his death;
[k]For by his latter end[k] a man shall be known[j].

[w] *vv.* 22–26 *omitted in* 𝔖 [x–x] 𝔅 גרל : 𝔊 εν μισθῳ (= בְּגֹרָל *i.e.* ב *essentiae; so Smend reads*) [y–y] 𝔅 ובעת : 𝔊 και εν ωρᾳ ταχινῃ (Sah > ταχινῃ) : 𝔖 = 𝔅 [z–z] 𝔅 תקותו תפרח : 𝔊 αναθαλλει ευλογιαν αυτου (? ευλογιαν *corrupt for* ευοδια = 𝔏 processus illius fructificet) [a–a] 𝔊 τις εστιν μου χρεια : 𝔅 כי עשיתי חפצ' ..... *Read with Peters* מה חפצי = 𝔊 : 𝔅 *seems to embody an explanatory addition* (*it makes the line too long: Smend's restoration is hardly Hebrew*) [b–b] 𝔅 ומה עתה יעזב לי (*correct* עתה *to* מעתה *with* 𝔊) : 𝔊 και τινα απο του νυν εσται μου τα αγαθα = ומה מעתה ייטב לי ? (*Lévi*) [c–c] 𝔊 αυταρκη μοι εστιν = דיי ישנו (*so read with Peters*) [d–d] 𝔅 *defect.* יהי עלי ..... *Peters restores missing words* ומה אסון : *Smend* איה אנש : 𝔊 και τι απο του νυν κακωθησομαι ; (απο του νυν ? *from* 23 b) [e–e] *So* 𝔅 : 𝔊 εν ημερᾳ αγαθων αμνησια κακων [f–f] *So* 𝔅 : 𝔊 και εν ημερᾳ κακων ου μνησθησεται αγαθων [𝔅 + ואחרית אדם תהיה עליו = 27 b *in* 𝔖 (*see note below*) : *v.* 27 *in the form preserved in* 𝔖 *seems to have been introduced as a doublet in* 𝔅 *and to have displaced v.* 26; *when this occurred its first stichos was omitted owing to its similarity with* 25 b. *See further Peters ad loc.*] [g–g] *So* 𝔊 (*omitted in* 𝔅) : *Peters restores:*

כי נכח בעיני יהוה
באחרית להשיב לאדם כדבריו :

Peters plausibly explains the omission of vv. 22–26 *in* 𝔖 *as due to the similarity of* 21 b, c *and* 26 (*homoioteleuton*). [h–h] *So* 𝔅 : 𝔊 κακωσις ωρας (𝔅 עת רעה) επιλησμονην ποιει τρυφης : 𝔖 'The evil of a day causeth forgetfulness of good' (*assimilated to* 25 b) [i–i] *So* 𝔅 וסוף אדם יגיד עליו : 𝔊 (*freely*) και εν συντελειᾳ ανθρωπου αποκαλυψις εργων αυτου : 𝔖 *exactly* = ואחרית אדם תהיה עליו (*doublet in* 𝔅 *added at end of v.* 25) : *here* תהיה *is a corruption of* תחיה, *and this and* ואחרית *are variants on* וסוף *and* יגיד [j–j] *So* 𝔊 = 𝔅² : 𝔅¹ = 𝔖. *The doublet* (𝔅¹) *and the original text* (𝔅²) *appear in* 𝔅 *side by side, thus:*

בטרם תחקר אדם אל תאשרהו
כי באחריתו יאושר אדם } 𝔅¹ = 𝔖

לפני מות אל תאשר גבר
כי באחריתו ינכר איש } 𝔅² = 𝔊

Saadya (*as cited in Cowley*, iv, *p.* xxi) *quotes* 𝔅² *with slight variants* (*omitting* גבר *at end of line* 1, *and reading* יתנכר *for* ינכר *in line* 2) [k–k] 𝔅 כי באחריתו *which* 𝔊, *misunderstanding, renders* και εν τεκνοις αυτου : *for* אחרית

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22. **The blessing of God . . . flourish.** Cp. Prov. x. 22.
vv. 23–28 : God's retribution smooths away all inequalities at the last.
23. . . . **What is (yet) my desire?** i.e. what is there left for me to desire? (= 23 *b*).
25. **A day's happiness . . . a day's misfortune . . .** Developing the idea of 24 *b*. 'Past sufferings will be forgotten by the righteous when prosperity cometh, and the opposite will be the case with the wicked' (Edersheim). For 'a day's happiness' cp. xiv. 14 ('a good day'). For the general sentiment cp. xviii. 24 f.
26. **it is easy . . .** It is easy for God, because the retribution that comes at the last is final and complete.
27. **the last end of a man will tell of him.** The last circumstances of a man's life will reveal whether he has lived his life on the whole well or badly. This appears to be one of the main convictions of Ben-Sira.
28. **Pronounce no man happy before his death.** Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 5 (ed. Taylor) : 'Trust not in thyself until the day of thy death' (a saying of Hillel).
by his latter end a man shall be known. 𝔊 has 'in his children (by his posterity) a man shall be known'. The idea introduced by 𝔊's interpretation is not present in the original form of the verse. It is, however, one of the developments natural to speculation on the subject. It implies that the misdeeds of a man will involve his children in punishment, and that, if he dies unpunished, retribution will yet assert itself in their punishment. It was a common notion among the Jews that the sins of parents resulted in physical or moral defects in children (cp. John ix. 2). It is noticeable that the idea of a future life is entirely absent from the passage.

(*d*) XI. 29–34. *Beware of intercourse with strangers and bad characters* (= 3 + 1 + 2 distichs).

𝔅^A 29 [l]Not every one is to be brought into [m]the house[m]—
[n]And how many are the wounds of a slanderer[n]!
30 [o]As a decoy partridge in a cage[o], so is the heart of the insolent (sinner),
And as a spy that seeth [p]the nakedness[p][l].

='posterity,' *cp.* Ps. cviii. (cix.) 13; xxxvii. (xxxviii.) 37; Jer. xxxviii. (xxxi.) 17. [l–l] *vv.* 29–30. *These verses have a number of additional lines appended to them in* 𝔅, *where they appear in the following form:*

לא כל איש להביא אל בית = 29a
ומה רבו פצעי רוכל = 29b
[ככלוב מלא עוף = 29c } citation from
כן בתיהם מלאים מרמה] = 29d } Jer. v. 27.
כעוף אחוז בכלוב לב גאה = 30a
כואב אֹרֵב לטרף: = 30b
מה ירבו פשעי בוצע = 30c
ככלב הוא באכל (בא לכל .l) בית = 30d
וחומם [כן] כל בוצע = 30e
בא ומשים ריב (לכל.....): = 30f
אורב הרוכל כדוב לבית לצים = 30g
וכמרגל יראה ערוה: = 30h

Here 29 c, d *is a citation from* Jer. v. 27 (𝔖 𝔊 >): 29 a, b, 30 a, *and* 30 h = 𝔊 *vv.* 29–30 *and represent the genuine text of* 𝔅. *These lines are also attested in* 𝔖. *Besides* 𝔖 *also represents* 30 c–f. (30 a, b *in* 𝔖 = 30 a, b *in* 𝔊: 𝔖 *thus preserves the two genuine clauses consecutively*). *In English* 30 a–h *may be thus rendered:*

'As an imprisoned bird in a cage (so) is a proud man's heart' (= 30 a).
'As a wolf that lieth in wait to tear' (= 30 b).
'How many are the iniquities of the pillager!' (= 30 c).
'Like a dog that entereth every house (= 30 d)
and stealeth (so) is every pillager' (= 30 e).
'He cometh and maketh strife in all .....' (= 30 f).
'The slanderer lieth in wait like a bear at the house of the scoffers (= 30 g)
and like a spy that seeth the nakedness' (= 30 h).

A citation of the passage also occurs in T. B. Yeb. 63 b, *Sanh.* 100 b.

מנע רבים מתוך ביתך
ולא הכל תביא (בתוך) ביתך } = 29 a.
רבים היו פצעי רכל (רוכל .v.l) = 29 b.
המרגלים לדבר ערוה (עבירה .v.l) = 30 h (i.e. 30 b in 𝔊).
כניצוץ מבעיר נחלת: = 32 a.

The origin of the additional clauses in 𝔅 *may be explained as follows:* [29 c, d *is a citation from* Jer. v. 27;] 30 b *is a gloss developing* 30 a; 30 c *is a doublet of* 29 b, *and* 30 d (*down to* וחומם *of* 30 e) *of* 30 a; 30 e (כן כל בוצע) *and* 30 f *a doublet of* 31 b; *and* 30 g *an expansion of* 30 h (= 30 b *in* 𝔊) [m–m] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 𝔖 + 'thy' [n–n] *So* 𝔅: ומה רבו פצ[עי] רוכל (*in B.H.* רוֹכֵל = 'trafficker': רָכִיל = 'slanderer'): 𝔊 πολλα γαρ τα ενεδρα του δολιου (248 διαβολου) = 𝔖: *hence Peters reads* ומה רב ארב נוכל [o–o] 𝔅 כעוף אחוז בכלוב: 𝔊 περδιξ θηρευτης (*but* 70 θηρευθεις = 𝔏) εν καρταλλῳ = קורא אחוז בכלוב (*so* 𝔖): *Peters so reads.* [p–p] 𝔅 ערוה = 'nakedness' (*cp.* Gen. xlii. 9, 12):

(*d*) XI. 29–34.

29. **Not every one is to be brought into the house.** The citation in the Talmud (see critical note) runs: 'Keep away many from the midst of thy house, and bring not every man into thy house.' To be 'brought into the house' = to be placed on terms of intimate friendship; to be made a 'house-friend'.

30. **As a decoy partridge in a cage.** Lit. 'as a partridge imprisoned in a cage' (see critical note for text). The simile is drawn from the custom of employing a bird in a cage, provided with food, as a decoy, the cage being so arranged that other birds can enter, but, having once entered, cannot get out again: cf. Jer. v. 27: 'As a decoy (cage) is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit.' This verse from Jeremiah has been inserted in the text of 𝔅 (at end of *v.* 29) to illustrate our passage here, which, indeed, is based upon it. The point of the comparison is the apparent harmlessness of the lure which is so dangerous.

the insolent (sinner). Lit. 'the proud man': 'proud' often = wicked, just as 'meek' often = pious in O. T. The heart of a sinner is as dangerous to know as a decoy bird is to other birds that come to it.

as a spy that seeth the nakedness. The phrase is to be explained by the full phrase 'spies to see the

𝔅^A 31 [q]The backbiter turneth[q] good into evil,
And in thy loveliest qualities he putteth [r]a stain[r].
32 [s]From a spark cometh much coal[s],
[t]And a villain lieth in wait for blood[t].
33 Shrink from an evil man, for he begetteth evil—
Why [u]shouldst thou incur[u] a lasting blemish?
34 [v]Let a stranger dwell with thee and he will estrange thy way of life,
And alienate thee from thine own house[v].

(*e*) XII. 1–7. *Against indiscriminate benevolence* (= 3 + 3 + 1 distichs).

12 1 [w]If thou do an act of kindness, know to whom thou doest it[w],
[x]That thou mayst have hope of thy kindness[x].
2 Do acts of kindness to the righteous and find recompense;
If not from him, [y]from Jahveh[y].
3 [z]No (return of) kindness (cometh) to him that giveth satisfaction to the ungodly[z],
[a]Nor hath he done any act of benevolence[a].

𝔊 *interpreting*) πτωσιν = 𝔖: *Talmud citation confirms* 𝔅 [q–q] 𝔅 יהפך נרגן = 𝔏 convertit insidiator: 𝔊 μεταστρεφων ενεδρευει (𝔖 > נרגן) [r–r] *So* 𝔊 μωμον = ? דופי (*Lévi*) *or* מום: 𝔅 קשר: 𝔖 'stumbling-block' (= ? מוקש) [s–s] *So* 𝔅 מנצוץ ירבה גחלת (*emend to* תרבה): 𝔊 απο σπινθηρος πυρος (248 μικρας) πληθυνθησεται ανθρακια: 𝔖 'From a little tow ('tow' = ? נערת) a fire is kindled' [t–t] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 (*freely*) 'So the man that is a sinner sheddeth blood like water' [u–u] *So* 𝔅: תשא [למה] 𝔊 = ישא לך *or* יתן לך [v–v] 𝔅 *has two forms of this v.: the first, which follows v.* 33, *runs:*

לא תדבק לרשע ויסלף דרכך
ויהפכך מבריתיך:

i. e. 'Cling not to a godless man lest he overturn thy way and turn thee from thy covenants' (*so* 𝔖): *a second form follows* xii. 1, *and runs:*

משׁוכן זריו זהיר דרכיך ויגכרך במחמדיך

i. e. 'from a corrupt (?) neighbour (be) thy way warned, for he will estrange thee to them that are dear to thee'. *Prob. the Hebrew original of* 𝔊 *underlies this:* 𝔊 *has* ενοικισον αλλοτριον, και διαστρεψει σε εν ταραχαις και απαλλοτριωσει σε των ιδιων σου. *Correct* 𝔅² (*with Smend*):

השכן זר ויזיר דרכיך
וינכרך מביתך:

This text prob. underlies 𝔊 (*see Smend*). מביתך *has been corrupted into* מבריתיך *in* 𝔅 1: במחמדיך *in* 𝔅² *has prob. come in from v.* 31 [w–w] 𝔊 εαν ευ ποιης γνωθι τινι ποιεις = אם תיטיב דע למי תטיב (*so read with Peters, Smend, &c.*): 𝔅 אם טוב תריע למי תטיב = 'If thou doest evil to the good, to whom wilt thou do good?' 𝔖 'If thou doest good to the evil (= אם תטיב רע) thou doest nothing' (𝔖 *supports* 𝔊, *and the evidence shows that in* 𝔅 אם טוב תריע *is corrupt for* אם תטיב דע) [x–x] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 και εσται χαρις τοις αγαθοις σου *which* = (?) ויהי טובה לטובתך, 'And thou shalt have kindness for thy kindness' (*so* 𝔖 *inserting* 'not'): *Smend so reads* (טובה *for* תקוה *in* 𝔅) [y–y] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 παρα υψιστου: 𝔖 'from his Lord' [z–z] *Reading* אין טובה לַמְּנִיחַ רשע (𝔅 *has* למנוח *which Schechter takes as an infin. of a verb.* מנח = 'to bestow' [*cp.* מנחה]; *then render* 'No good cometh of bestowing upon him that is wicked)': 𝔖 'There is no good to him that honoureth (= ? למכבד, *cp.* Prov. iii. 9) the wicked':

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nakedness of the land' (cp. Gen. xlii. 9, 12). A base and unscrupulous person, if admitted to intimacy, will use his opportunities of intimate knowledge merely for malicious purposes.

31. **The backbiter.** This word (Heb. נרגן) otherwise occurs only in Proverbs (xvi. 28, xviii. 8, xxvi. 20, 22).
32. **From a spark cometh much coal.** The general sense is: Do not play with fire.
lieth in wait for blood. Cp. Prov. i. 11.
33. **Shrink.** 𝔊 'take heed of'.
an evil man . . . begetteth evil. Cp. Is. lix. 4.
incur . . . blemish. Cp. xviii. 15, xx. 24, xxx. 31, xliv. 19, xlvii. 20.

(*e*) XII. 1–7.
XII. 1. **If thou do an act of kindness . . .** Lit. 'if thou do good'. This forms a sort of text for what follows.
1. **hope.** sc. of a return for thy benevolence.
2. **Do acts of kindness to the righteous . . .** This forms the complement of *v.* 1.
3. **No (return of) kindness (cometh) to him . . . benevolence.** i.e. acts of benevolence to the unworthy and

𝔅[A] †5 (*b*) [b]Weapons of bread give him not[b],
†5 (*c*) [c]Lest he attack thee with them[c].
†5 (*d*) [d]Twofold evil[d] shalt thou obtain[e]
†5 (*e*) [f]For all the good thou shalt have brought him[f].
†6 For God also hateth them that are evil,
[g]And to the ungodly He repayeth vengeance[g].
†7 (4) Give to the good [h]and withhold[h] from the evil;
†5 (*a*) [i]Refresh[i] [j]the humble[j], and [k]give not[k] [l]to the arrogant[l].

(*f*) XII. 8—XIII. 1. *Against trust in false friends* (= 2 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

8 A friend [m]is not known[m] in prosperity
And an enemy is not hidden in adversity.
9 [n]In a man's prosperity even an enemy is friendly[n],
But in his adversity even a friend [o]holdeth aloof[o].
10 Never trust [p]an enemy[p],
[q]For even as brass his wickedness rusteth[q].

𝔊 ουκ εστιν αγαθα τῳ ενδελεχιζοντι εις κακα (= לַמְּנִיחַ רָשָׁע : 𝔖 *may* = לַמְּנִיחַ רָשָׁע : *so Bacher, JQR*, xii. 278) [a–a] *So* 𝔅 וגם צדקה לא עשה = 𝔊 (*taking* 𝔅 *as a rel. clause*, 'And also to him who hath done no benevolence'): 𝔖 'And he that doeth alms loseth it not' †† (*vv.* 4–7): *these verses are out of order in* 𝔊 𝔅 *and* 𝔖 (*they are numbered according to* 𝔊*'s reckoning*): *v.* 4 = *v.* 7 (*a doublet*) *and should be eliminated:* 5 a *should follow* 7: *thus the true order is most nearly preserved in* 𝔊, *and is* 5 b–e, 6, 7 (= 4), 5 a: *in* 𝔅 *and* 𝔖 (*but* 5 e *is omitted in* 𝔖) *the order of the clauses is:* 5 d, e, 5 b, c, 6, 7, 5 a (*both* 𝔅 and 𝔖 *rightly omit* 4). 𝔏 *also places* 5 a *after* 7 (*showing that this was original order of* 𝔊). [b–b] *So* 𝔅 כלי לחם אל תתן לו : 𝔊 'Keep back his bread and give it not to him' (εμποδισον τους αρτους αυτου [א* > αυτου : 248 Sah σου] και μη δῳς αυτῳ (𝔊 *took* כלי *as* = כלא, 'withhold'): 𝔖 'The instruments of thy warfare (= ? כלי מלחמתך) thou shalt not give him' [כלי לחם *is rendered by Schechter* 'weapons of war'; *cp.* Judges v. 8] [c–c] *So* 𝔅 למה בם יקביל אליך (למה = פן : *cp.* viii. 1, xi. 10, xi. 33, xii. 12, xxx. 12 : 𝔊 ινα μη): 𝔊 ινα μη εν αυτοις σε δυναστευσῃ (*inexactly*): 𝔖 'Lest with them he war with thee' [d–d] 𝔊 διπλασια γαρ κακα = 𝔅 פי שנים רעה, 'a double portion of evil': *so* 𝔖 (𝔊 + γαρ) [e] 𝔅 𝔖 + 'in the time of (thy) need' (בעת צורך) : *omit with* 𝔊 [f–f] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 (οις αν ποιησῃς αυτῳ = תגיע אליו) : 𝔖 >. [g–g] *So* 𝔅 𝔊 : 𝔖 'And upon the ungodly He bringeth His retribution' [h–h] 𝔅 ומנע : 𝔊 και μη αντιλαβῃ (*freely*) [i–i] 𝔅 הקיר, *i.e.* הָקִיר, *Hif. of* קרר, 'to be cool': 𝔊 ευ ποιησον = 𝔖 [j–j] 𝔅 מך = 𝔊 ταπεινῳ [k–k] *So* 𝔅 𝔊 : 𝔖 'withhold' (כלי): [l–l] 𝔅 לוז = 𝔊 ασεβει [m–m] *So* 𝔅 לא יודע : = 𝔖 : 𝔊 γνωσθησεται (א[c.a] Syro-Hex : επιγνωσθησεται 253 𝔏) = 𝔅 : *the ordinary reading of* 𝔊 *is* εκδικηθησεται = ? יתנקם (*or* יִפָּקֵד) [n–n] *So* 𝔅 : 𝔊 'In a man's prosperity his enemies are grieved' (εν λυπῃ) = 𝔖 (+ γαρ) [o–o] 𝔅 בודד : 𝔊 διαχωρισθησεται = 𝔖 (𝔏 agnitus est = διαγνωρισθησεται) [p–p] *So* 𝔅 𝔖 : 𝔊 + σου [q–q] *So* 𝔅 כי כנחשת רועו יחליא : 𝔖 ('For even as brass is he that polluteth his comrade') = 𝔅 *with* ריעו for רועו = 𝔊 'For like as the brass rusteth so is his wickedness' (ιουται ουτως η πονηρια αυτου : *but* 𝔖

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godless are not requited, and are not to be regarded as real benevolence. Cp. Midrash *Qoh. rabba* v. (*Tanch.* חקת § 1), where a proverb is attributed to Ben-Sira: 'Do not good to the evil and evil shall not befall thee' (*Qoh. rabba* adds: 'and if thou doest good to the evil thou hast done evil'). These citations illustrate the idea which is worked out in our passage, viz. that doing good to the evil will produce positively evil results to the doer (cp. *vv.* 5 *d, e* below). 𝔊 has entirely misunderstood the verse.

5. **Twofold evil.** The Hebrew expression here (פי שנים) = lit. 'a double portion (of evil'): it recurs xviii. 32 (𝔅), xlviii. 12 (𝔅); cp. in Biblical Hebrew 2 Kings ii. 9; Zech. xii. 8.

6. **For God also hateth them that are evil.** Justifying the advice given in the previous verse. With the whole contrast Rom. xii. 19–21.

7 (4). **Give to the good and withhold from the evil.** Cp. *T. B. Baba Bathra* 9 *b*: 'when given to undeserving persons it [alms] is not a meritorious act receiving reward.'

(*f*) XII. 8—XIII. 1.

8. **A friend is not known in prosperity . . .** This opening verse provides the text for what follows. A true friend is difficult to determine. Two Hebrew words are used for 'friend' in what follows, viz. אוֹהֵב, lit. 'one who loves', i.e. the true friend, and רֵיעַ = a friendly acquaintance.

9. **In a man's prosperity . . .** Cp. Prov. xix. 4: 'Wealth addeth many friendly acquaintances, but in the case of a poor man his friend separateth himself'; also *v.* 7.

10. **For even as brass his wickedness rusteth.** Just as the metal is ever liable to rust, so the wickedness of the enemy is ever active and assuming new forms. For the figure cp. xxix. 10 and Jas. v. 3.

𝔅^A 11 Yea[r], when he is obsequious[r] [s]and walketh humbly[s],
[t]Take care[t] [u]to have a fear of him[u]:
Be to him [v]as one that brighteneth a mirror[v w]
[x]And so (thou shalt) know how to be rid of rust[x].
12 Let him not stand beside thee
Lest he thrust thee aside and stand in thy place:
Set him not at thy right hand
Lest he seek thy seat—
[y]And too late thou shalt comprehend[y] my words,
[z]And sigh o'er my plea[z]!

13 Who[a] pitieth[a] [b]the charmer that is stung[b],
Or any one that cometh nigh [c]a ravening beast[c]?
14 [d]So is he that associateth with an impious man[d],
[e]And polluteth himself with his iniquities[e f].
15 [g h]So long as thou standest he doth not reveal himself[h],
But if [i]thou fall[i] [j]he no longer restraineth himself[j g].

> *ουτως and* = 𝔅: *ουτως due to a reviser*). [r–r] 𝔅 אם ישמע לך (= יִשָּׁמַע, 'is obedient, compliant'): 𝔊 (*freely*) *εαν ταπεινωθῃ* [s–s] 𝔅 ויהלך בנחת: 𝔊 *και πορευηται συνκεκυφως* ('and go crouching' R.V.) = 𝔖 (*which adds* לפניך: *so Peters*) [t–t] 𝔅 תן לבך = 𝔊 *επιστησον την ψυχην σου* [u–u] *So* 𝔅: 𝔖 = 𝔊 *και φυλαξαι απ αυτου* [v–v] 𝔊 'as one that hath wiped a mirror' (*ως εκμεμαχως εσοπτρον*), *cp.* Syro-Hex 'as a wiped off mirror: *pointing to a reading* ראי: 𝔅 כמגלה רז, 'as one that revealeth a secret = 𝔖 (גְּלָה *here may* = 'brighten': *Smend compares Arab.* גלי = 'to polish bright', *of a sword, silver, &c.*) [w] 𝔅 + ולא ימצא להשחיתך, 'and he shall not find opportunity to harm thee' (*or* ? 'to rust thee'—*Aram. sense*): *so* 𝔖 *but* 𝔊 > (*prob. a gloss*) [x–x] 𝔅 'And know thou the end of jealousy' (ודע אחרית קנאה) = 𝔖: *but* 𝔊 (*και γνωσῃ οτι ουκ* [*but* Syro-Hex *prob. rightly* > *ουκ*] *εις τελος κατιωσεν*) *suggests* חלאה *for* קנאה: *so read with Smend* [y–y] 𝔅 ולאחור תשיג: 𝔊 *και επ εσχατῳ επιγνωσῃ* = 𝔖: 106 *ευρησεις* (*cp.* xxxi. [xxxiv.] 12) [z–z] 𝔅 ולאנחתי תתאנח, *lit.* 'And sigh at my sighing': 𝔊 *και επι των ρηματων μου κατανυγησῃ* ('and be pricked with my sayings', R.V.)', 𝔖 'And wonder at my sayings' (? *reading* תתמה): 'at my sayings' (𝔊 𝔖) *suggested by* 'my words' *of preceding line.* [a–a] *Reading* יחון *with* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 יוחן [b–b] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 *επαοιδον οφιοδηκτον* (𝔊 = 𝔖) [c–c] 𝔅 חית שן (*so* xxxix. 30) *lit.* 'beast of tooth': 𝔊 *θηριοις* [d–d] 𝔅 כן חובר אל אשת (l. איש) זדון: 𝔊 *ουτως τον προσπορευομενον ἀνδρι αμαρτωλῳ* (𝔏 *qui comitatur*) [e–e] 𝔅 ומתגלל בעונתיו: 𝔊 *και συνφυρομενον εν ταις αμαρτιαις αυτου*: 𝔖 > [f] 𝔅 + לא יעבר עד תבער בו אש, 'he will not cease until a fire be kindled in him' = xxiii. 16 f (= 𝔊 23 b) *ου μη παυσησαι εως αν εκκαυσῃ πυρ* (*so* 𝔖 *here*): *the insertion of this clause in* 𝔅 *and* 𝔖 *is due to false reading* אשת זדון *in* 14 a: *in* 𝔖 *it has taken the place of* 14 b [g–g] 𝔅 *has* 4 *stichoi:*

(a) כאשר יבוא עמך לא יתגלה לך (c) עד עת עמד לא יופיע
(b) ואם תפול לא יפול להצילך: (d) ואם נמוט (l. תמוט) לא יתכלכל:

(a) 'When he cometh with thee, he doth not betray (*lit.* reveal) himself,
(b) And if thou fall he doth not fall to help thee;
(c) So long as thou standest he doth not show himself (as he is),
(d) But if thou stumble he doth not restrain himself.'

𝔖 = (*nearly*) (a) *and* (b); 𝔊 = (*nearly*) (c) *and* (d): *prob.* (a) *and* (b) *are doublets* (*with an explanatory tendency*) *of* (c) *and* (d)—יתגלה לך (a) *doublet of* יופיע (c) *and* תפול *of* נמוט (תמוט) *in* (d), *while* להצילך (? *l.* יוכל) יפול (b) *is a doublet of* יתכלכל (d). *Smend thinks* 𝔖 *at the end of* (b) *attests the reading* לא יתכלכל (𝔖 *reads* לא מצא אנת הילה) *and concludes that the translator of* 𝔖 *had the* 4 *stichoi before him which he reduced to* 2, *partly conforming to* 𝔊. 𝔊 (= (c) (d) of 𝔅) *represents the original text.* [h–h] 𝔅 עד עת עמד לא יופיע: 𝔊 *ωραν μετα σου διαμενει* (= ? עד)

11. **Yea, when he is obsequious** (*or* compliant) . . . Cp. Prov. xxvi. 24 f. ('he that hateth dissembleth with his lips', &c.). When a friend is especially compliant and humble be on your guard!

Be to him as one that brighteneth (*lit.* polisheth) **a mirror . . . rid of rust.** The danger of rust can be avoided in the case of the metal mirror by regular polishing; so one can avoid the dangers arising from an enemy's malice by constant watchfulness (being on one's guard against, and not confiding in such). For the text see critical note. For the figure of the mirror cp. Jas. i. 23.

13–18 (and xiii. 1) depict the consequences that follow neglect of the warning given in the previous part of the section.

14. **So is he that associateth with an impious man.** i. e. a man who runs risks by associating on terms of friendship with sinners (impious) is equally undeserving of pity when dire consequences ensue, as the cases referred to in the previous verse.

polluteth himself . . . The sinner is unclean and defiles all who come near him (Smend).

15. **So long as thou standest . . . restraineth himself.** i.e. so long as one sustains one's position the false friend

𝔅^ 16 [k]With his lips [l]an adversary speaketh sweetly[lm],
But in his heart he deviseth [n]deep pitfalls[n].
[o]Yea[o], though an enemy [p]weep with his eyes[p],
[q]When[q] he findeth opportunity he will not be satiated with blood.
17 If misfortune have befallen thee [r]he is at hand[r];
[s]As though ready to help he seizeth the heel[s].
18 He shaketh [t]the head[t] [u]and waveth the hand[u],
[v]And with much whispering[v] [w]changeth[w] his countenance.
13 1 Whoso toucheth pitch, [x]it cleaveth to his hand[x],
And he that associateth with a scorner [y]will learn his way[y].

(*g*) XIII. 2–13. *Against dangerous and unequal association* (*a*) *with the rich*, (*b*) *with rulers* (= 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 1 distichs).

(*a*) *vv.* 2–8.

2 [z]What is too heavy for thee [a]do not lift[a],
[b]And with one that is richer than thyself[b] [c]associate not[c].

עת עמך עמד): *here* עמך *might be a mutilated* עמדך *which would be a variant on* עמד: *then the orignal form would have been, perhaps,* [לא יופיע] עת עמדך = 'what time thou standest,' &c. *Smend reads* עד עת תעמד לא יופיע: לא יופיע *is omitted by* 𝔊, *but its originality is guaranteed by the doublet* לא יתגלה. i–i *Reading* תמוט = 𝔊 (נמוט 𝔅) j–j 𝔅 לא יתכלכל: 𝔊 ου μη καρτερησῃ k 𝔊 *pr.* και (*but* 254 &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 > *with* 𝔅 𝔖). l–l *Reading* ימהיק צר = 𝔊 (*so Peters*): 𝔖 'an enemy giveth a sign' (רמז): 𝔅 יתמהמה (*? due to assimilation with* xxvii. 23 b. m B^a·b + και πολλα ψιθυρισει και ερει σοι καλα λεγων n–n 𝔅 מהמרות עמוקות (*cp.* Ps. cxl. 11): 𝔊 (*freely*) 'to overthrow thee into a pit' (αναστρεψαι σε εις βοθρον): 𝔖 'deep devices' o–o 𝔅 וגם = 𝔖: 𝔊 > p–p 𝔅 בעיניו ידמיע (*Hif. not attested in any other passage*) = 𝔖 ('cause tears to issue from their eyes'): 𝔊 δακρυσει q–q 𝔊 *pr.* και (254 &c. > και) r–r 𝔅 נמצא שם: 𝔖 'thou wilt find him there'; 𝔊 ευρησεις αυτον εκει προτερον σου (*or* προτερον σου εκει) (*Smend suggests that* προτερον σου *may have arisen from an uncorrected mistake in writing* πτερναν σου *of next line*) s–s 𝔅 כאיש סומך יחפש עקב = 'As a man that would help he seeketh reward' (*or* 'seeketh to supplant'): *read with Smend* יתפש *for* יחפש: 𝔊 υποσχασει πτερναν σου t–t 𝔊 + αυτου u–u 𝔅 והניף ידו: 𝔊 (*inexactly*) και επικροτησει ταις χερσιν (Syro-Hex 𝔏 τῃ χειρι) αυτου v–v 𝔅 *has* ולרוב הלחש (*read with Smend* ולרוב מְלַחֵשׁ) = 𝔖 'and whispering much': 𝔊 και πολλα διαψιθυρισει w–w 𝔅 ישנא = ישנה (*cp.* xiii. 25) x–x 𝔅 תדבק ידו (*read* בידו, *cp.* 𝔖): 𝔊 μολυνθησεται ('shall be defiled' R.V.), *? a correction for* κολληθησεται (248, 𝔏 Syro-Hex + εν αυτῃ) y–y *So* 𝔅 ילמד דרכו: 𝔖 'is clothed with his way' = ילבש דרכו, *cp.* 𝔏 induet superbiam (*Smend reads* ילבש ד"): 𝔊 ομοιωθησεσαι αυτῳ (= ? ידמה לו; *so Peters reads*) z 𝔏 *pr. tit.* (*before v.* 1) de societate divitum superborum a–a 𝔊 μη αρῃς = 𝔅 מה תשא (מה *sometimes* = אל, *just as* למה = פן *in later Hebrew: cp.* Cant. viii. 4; Qoh. v. 5, vii. 16: *another case of* מה = אל *occurs in ch.* xxxii. (xxxv.) 4) b–b *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 και ισχυροτερῳ σου και πλουσιωτερῳ (*double rendering*) c–c 𝔅 מה תתחבר

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does not reveal his true character; but he comes out in his true colours when misfortune befalls. 𝔊 gives a different turn to the sentence, but expresses a similar general meaning (cp. R. V.).

16. **With his lips . . . speaketh sweetly . . . deep pitfalls.** i.e. when misfortune comes he professes to be sympathetic, but secretly plots further ruin for the victim: cp. Prov. xxvi. 24 f. ('he that hateth dissembleth with his lips'). The Hebrew word rendered 'pitfalls' (מהמרות) occurs only again in Ps. cxl. 11. The meaning 'pitfall' or 'pit' (Jerome, on the Psalm, renders *foveas*) is guaranteed by our passage.

Yea, though an enemy weep with his eyes . . . blood. Illustrate from Jer. xli. 6. The expression 'he will not be satiated with blood' is usually understood literally to mean that such an enemy will not be satisfied until the blood of the victim of misfortune has been actually shed. But Edersheim prefers to interpret the expression metaphorically (in conjunction with the following verse), as meaning that the false friend will not be satisfied with the mere coming of misfortune (= the shedding of blood), but will himself actively take part in making the ruin even more complete.

17. **he seizeth the heel.** i.e. to trip thee up. He actively assists in making the overthrow complete. For text see critical note.

18. **He shaketh the head . . . changeth his countenance.** His enmity now becomes open and undisguised.

He shaketh the head. A gesture of contempt; cp. xiii. 7; Job xvi. 4: 'with much whispering', i.e. secretly preparing all manner of evil devices.

changeth his countenance. i.e. becomes openly hostile; cp. xiii. 25; Qoh. i. 8.

(*g*) XIII. 2–13.

2. **What is too heavy for thee . . . richer than thyself associate not.** i.e. such a proceeding is too difficult to carry out successfully.

𝔅ᴬ What association can [d]jar and kettle[d] have in common
[dd]When[dd], if the one smite, the other is smashed[e]?
3 The rich man [f]if he perpetrateth a wrong[f] [g]plumeth himself[g],
While if a wrong is perpetrated upon a poor man [h]he must implore favour[h].
4 [i]If thou art useful to him[i] he maketh a slave of thee,
[j]But if thou be brought low[j] [k]he is sparing of thee[k].
5 [kk]If thou possessest anything[kk] [l]he will live with thee[l],
And will impoverish thee without a pang.
6 [m]Hath he need of thee[m]? [n]then he will deceive thee[n],
[o]And will smile upon thee[o] and raise thy hopes.
𝔊(𝔖) [p]He will speak thee fair[p],
7 [q]And shame thee with his hospitality[q].
𝔅ᴬ [r]So long as it profiteth he will cajole thee,
Twice (or) thrice he will . . . thee[r];

[d–d] 𝔅 פר ור אל סיר = 𝔊 χυτρα προς λεβητα (𝔖 'the vessel of clay to the cauldron of brass') [dd–dd] *So* 𝔅 אשר = 𝔏 quando: 𝔊 > (𝔖 'which [knocks it and breaks it'] = 𝔅) [e] 𝔅 (𝔖) + או מה יתחבר עשיר אל דל 'or why should the rich associate with the poor': 𝔊 > (*rightly as a gloss*) [f–f] *Reading* יעוה *to correspond with* נעוה *in next clause* (*or* עוה): *so* 𝔊 (ηδικησεν) *and* 𝔖 [g–g] 𝔅 יתנוה = *Neo-Hebr.* נתנוה, 'to make oneself handsome, be vain (plume oneself)': 𝔊 προσενεβριμησατο (= ? יתכוה): 𝔖 'is unconcerned' (מהמא) [h–h] 𝔅 יתחנן: 𝔊 και προσδεηθησεται: 𝔖 (*misunderstanding* 𝔅) 'he prays' [i–i] 𝔅 אם תכשר לו = 𝔖: 𝔊 εαν χρησιμευσῃς (> לו) [j–j] *So* 𝔅 (ואם תכרע): 𝔊 και εαν υστερησῃς (= ? ואם תגרע: *cp.* Num. ix. 7): 𝔖 'if thou art poor' (𝔊 and 𝔖 *may be free renderings of* 𝔅) [k–k] 𝔅 יחמל עלך (= 'he pitieth thee'): 𝔊 καταλειψει σε = 𝔖 (*? interpreting* 𝔅) [kk–kk] 𝔅 אם שלך: 𝔊 εαν εχῃς = אם יש לך (= 𝔖): *so read* (*with Peters, Smend*) [l–l] *So* 𝔊 συμβιωσεται σοι = יחיה עמך (*so read with Peters*): 𝔅 = 𝔖 ייטיב דבריו עמך = 6 c (*accidentally misplaced: so Peters*) [m–m] 𝔅 לו עמך (*l.* צורך) צריך: 𝔊 χρειαν εσχηκε σου: 𝔖 'while he does his will with thee' [n–n] 𝔅 והשיע לך = ? 'he will flatter thee' (*reading* וְהִשַּׁע *from* שעע: *cp. Aram. sense of verb*) *or* 'toy with thee': 𝔊 και αποπλανησει σε = והשיא לך: *so read with Peters*: 𝔖 'he will seem to do thy will' [o–o] 𝔅 לך (*l.* ושחך) ושוחק, *cp.* Job xxix. 24 (שחק אל) [p–p] *Reading* ייטיב דבריו עמך (= 5 a 𝔅): 𝔊 λαλησει σοι καλα: 𝔊 + και ερει τις η χρεια σου, *which Peters regards as an explanatory doublet* (*but Smend keeps*). 𝔖 'and will call thee a fortunate man' (*? paraphrase of* 'will speak thee fair'): 𝔅 > [q–q] *So* 𝔊 and 𝔖 = ויבישך במאכליו (*so read with Peters, Smend*): 𝔅 > [r–r] 𝔅

עד אשר יועיל יהתל בך
פעמים שלש יעריצך:

(𝔖 *prob.* = 𝔅 *substantially.*) 𝔊 εως ου αποκενωσῃ σε δις η τρις, και επ εσχατῳ καταμωκησεται σοι. *Peters thinks the Hebrew text underlying* 𝔊 *to have been:*

עד אשר ירששך פעמים שלש
ובאחרית יהתל בך:

But this can hardly be right (באחרית *foll. by* ובכן *next line*). 𝔅 *is essentially right: but the meaning of* יעריצך *is uncertain. Smend suggests that it may = a corresponding verb in Arab., which means* 'to deceive' [s–s] 𝔅 ובכן

What association . . . smashed? i.e. the weaker is bound to go to the wall: when a collision takes place the earthen pot (פָּרוּר, cp. Num. xi. 8) is bound to be smashed by the brass cauldron (סיר, cp. Ezek. xxiv. 3, 6). 'The one' =, of course, the cauldron or kettle, 'the other' the earthen pot. The latter was also used for boiling purposes; cp. Num. xi. 8.

3. **The rich man . . . perpetrateth a wrong. . .** 'The folly of the whole thing, viewed from the standpoint of the rich, could scarcely be more graphically set forth than in this and the following verses' (Edersheim).

4. **he maketh a slave of thee.** The same expression (עבד ב) occurs in Jer. xxiii. 13, xxvi. 14, xxx. 8: lit. = he uses thee as an instrument for work. For the Hebrew word here for 'to be useful' (כשר) cp. Eccles. v. 10 ('skill, success'). The original meaning is to be fit, suitable.

he is sparing of thee. The Hebrew word here used = usually 'to pity' ('he pitieth thee'). But here the meaning seems to be to neglect, leave alone: cp. Horace, *Odes*, i. 34. 1 'parcus deorum cultor et infrequens' (𝔊 gives the meaning correctly—'he will forsake thee'). Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 3.

5. **without a pang.** lit. 'and it will not pain him'.

7. **wag his head at thee.** In mockery and scorn; cp. xii. 18.

𝔅^A [s]And then[s] he will see thee [t]and pass thee by[t],
And wag his head at thee.
8 Take care [u]that thou be not overbearing[u],
[v]And that thou be not crushed by senseless folly[v].

(*b*) *vv.* 9–13.

9 Doth a noble [w]draw near[w]? [x]keep at a distance[x]—
[y]And so much the more[y] [z]will he cause thee to approach[z].
10 [a]Do not thyself draw near[a], lest thou be put at a distance;
And keep not (too) far away, lest [b][thou be forgotten][b].
11 [c]Venture not[c] [d]to be free[d] with him,
And mistrust his much conversation.
[e]For [f]by his conversation at large[f] [g]he is testing thee[g],
[h]And when he smileth at thee he is probing thee[h][e].
12 [i]A ruthless one maketh peace,
While plotting against the life of many[i].

(*cp.* Prov. viii. 10, Esther iv. 16): 𝔊 *μετα ταυτα* [t–t] 𝔅 והתעבר בך (*cp.* Prov. xiv. 16) 𝔊 *καταλειψει σε* (א *καλυψει σε* = 𝔖 'be hid from thee') [u–u] 𝔅 אל תרהב מאד ('be not arrogant, overbearing, violent, overmuch'): 𝔊 *μη αποπλανηθῃς* (248 &c. Syro-Hex + *τῃ διανοιᾳ σου, i. e.* 'be not deceived in thy mind, act foolishly'—*an interpretation of* 𝔅): 𝔖 'be not given into his hands' = ? אל תתיהב בידיו. [v–v] 𝔅 ואל תדמה בַחֲסֵירֵי מדע 'and be not like to them that lack intelligence' (*Schechter*): 𝔊 *και μη ταπεινωθῃς εν ευφροσυνῃ σου* (248 &c. + *καρδιας after ευφροσυνῃ*: *but* Sah 𝔏 *εν τῃ αφροσυνῃ* = *the original reading of* 𝔊): *the Hebr. text underlying* 𝔊 *is prob.*:

ואל תרכה בחסר מדע

i.e. 'and be not crushed by senseless folly' (*so read with Peters: Peters also reads in line* 1: אל תרהב בלבך: *cp.* 𝔊 *τῃ διανοιᾳ σου*) [w–w] *So* 𝔅 קרב, *i. e.* קָרֵב (*particip.*): 𝔊 *προσκαλεσαμενου σε* = קֹרֵא: 𝔖 = 𝔅 [x–x] 𝔅 היה רחוק: 𝔊 *υποχωρων γινου*, *so* 𝔖 + 'from him' [y–y] 𝔅 וכדי כן (*cp.* xi. 11) = 𝔊 *και τοσῳ μαλλον*: 𝔖 'and at every time' (ובכל זבן) [z–z] *So* 𝔅 יגישך = 𝔖: 𝔊 *προσκαλεσεται σε* [*Peters adopts* 𝔊 *in both clauses*: 'doth a noble invite thee . . . . . will he invite thee'] [a–a] *So* 𝔅 אל תתקרב = 𝔖: 𝔊 (*freely*) 'do not press (upon him),' *εμπιπτε* [b–b] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 תשׁנא, 'be hated (detested)' = 𝔖: *emend to* תִּנָּשֶׁא = תִּנָּשֶׁה: *cp.* xlii. 9, 10 𝔅, *and* Isa. xliv. 21 תִּנָּשֵׁנִי (*but text doubtful*) [c–c] 𝔅 אל תבטח = 𝔊 *μη επεχε* (*επεχειν* = בטח, v. 8, xiii. 11, xv. 4) [d–d] 𝔅 לחפש, *i.e.* לַחְפֹּשׁ, 'to be free' (*Qal does not otherwise occur*): 𝔊 *ισηγορεισθαι*, 'to speak as an equal (with him)': 𝔖 'to speak' (*from context the word means* 'to speak freely'). *Bevan* (*so Strack*), *however, suggests the pointing* לְחַפֵּשׁ. [e–e] *These two lines are cited by Sa'adya* (*cp. Cowley-Neub., p.* xxii) *as follows*:

כי ברב שיח מנסה אותך
ושחק לך ויחקרך:

'For with much talk will he try thee,
And will laugh at thee and probe thee.'

[f–f] 𝔅 מהרבות שיחו: 𝔊 *εκ πολλης λαλιας* (*read* שיח *for* שיחו, *so Sa'ad.*) [g–g] *Reading* ינסיך (*for* 𝔅 ו נסיון (*the* ו *of* שיחו)) = 𝔊 *πειρασει σε* (*cp. Sa'ad.* מנסה אותך): *so Smend*: 𝔖 = 𝔅 ('for in the multitude of his speech there are trials') [h–h] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 *και ως προσγελων εξετασε σε* (248 &c. Syro-Hex *τα κρυπτα σου instead of σε*: *cp.* 𝔏) [i–i] 𝔅:

אכזרי יתן מושל
ולא יחמל על נפש רבים קושר קשר:

𝔊 *ανελεημων ο μη συντηρων λογους και ου μη φεισηται περι κακωσεως και δεσμων* ('unmerciful is he that keepeth not words; and he will not spare injury and bonds'): 𝔖 'and he that is without pity exacts recompense (= שִׁלּוּם *for* מושל) and pitieth not the souls of many'. *Thus* 𝔊 *omits* לא יחמל *and* 𝔖 קושר קשר. *Smend attaches* ולא יחמל *to first line*

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vv. 9–13 contain a warning against incautious intercourse with highly-placed members of the governing class (princes, governors, and their entourage). In *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 3, a passage occurs which expresses similar sentiments (attributed to Rabban Gamaliel, son of Judah ha-Nasi): 'Be cautious with (those in) authority, for they let not a man approach them but for their own purposes; and they appear like friends when it is to their advantage, and stand not by a man in the hour of his need.'

10. **Do not thyself draw near . . . be forgotten.** Avoid both extremes—pressing forward or holding back unduly.

12. **A ruthless** (or cruel) **one maketh peace, While plotting against the life of many.** A deliberate contrast

𝔅^A 13 Take heed [j]and be wary[j],
[k]And go not about with men of violence[k l].

(*h*) XIII. 15–20. *Like consorteth with like: what common bond can there be between rich and poor?* (= 2 + 3 + 1 distichs).

15 [m]All flesh[m] loveth [n]its kind[n],
[o]And every man his like[o].
16 [p]All flesh consorteth according to its kind[p],
And with his kind man [q]associateth[q].
17 [r]What association[r] can wolf have with lamb?
[s]Even so is the ungodly that consorteth with the righteous[s].
18 [t]What peace[t] can the hyena have with the dog?
[u]Or what[u] peace rich with poor?
19 [v]Food[v] for the lion are the wild asses of the desert:
Even so the pasture of the rich are the poor.

and renders: 'the tyrant employeth (übt) cruelty and doth not pity, against the life of many he plotteth' (*but this is highly doubtful*): *Peters reads* אכזרי יתן מושֶל ולא יחמל קושר קשר, *i.e.* 'the cruel one taunteth, and is without pity in his plotting'. *A better result is obtained if* שלום *is read* (*with* 𝔖) *in line* 1, *and* ולא יחמל (*? an explanatory gloss on* אכזרי) *is omitted; then read:* אכזרי יתן שלום על נפש רבים קושר קשר, *i.e. as rendered in text above* (*for* נתן שלש *cp.* Lev. xxvi. 6, 1 Chron. xxii. 9) j–j 𝔅 והיה זהיר: 𝔊 *και προσεχε σφοδρως* (248 + *ακουειν* = 𝔏 auditui tuo): 𝔖 = 𝔅 k–k *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *οτι μετα της πτωσεως σου περιπατεις* = כי עם מכשולך תהלך, 'for thou goest with thine own fall' (𝔖 'for with the ravishers thou walkest'). *So Peters reads* l 248 253 𝔏 Amb + *verses* 13 c *and* 14 ('when thou hearest these things awake in thy sleep. 14 Love the Lord all thy life, and call upon Him for thy salvation'): *for text see Hart and Schlatter, p.* 108 f. *The verses are a late gloss* m–m 𝔅 כל הבשר: 𝔊 *παν ζῳον* n–n 𝔅 מינו = 𝔊 *το ομοιον αυτῳ* (*cp. v.* 16, xxvii. 9) o–o *So* 𝔅 וכל אדם את הדומה לו: 𝔊 *και πας ανθρωπος τον πλησιον αυτου.* *An echo of this line appears in a Talmud citation* (*T. B. Baba qama* 95 b). *Thirdly, in the Hagiographa; as it is written:* 'Every bird dwelleth according to its kind, and (so doth) man according to his like' (ובן אדם לדומה לך). *Note Talmud has* בן אדם *for* 𝔅 אדם p–p *Reading* כל בשר למינו יאצל = 𝔊 *πασα σαρξ κατα γενος* (Syro-Hex 254 + *αυτης*: *so* 𝔏 ad similem sibi) *συναγεται* (307 *συναπτεται* = 𝔏 coniungitur): 𝔅 מין כל בשר אצלו (𝔖 = 𝔅 *with* מִן *for* מין) q–q 𝔅 יחובר: 𝔏 sociabitur: 𝔊 *προσκολληθησεται* r–r 𝔅 מה יחובר: 𝔊 *τι κοινωνησει* s–s 𝔅 *has two forms of this line, viz.*:

(1) כך רשע לצדיק
(2) וכן עשיר אל איש נאצל:

𝔊 *ουτως αμαρτωλος προς ευσεβη* = 𝔅 (1): 𝔖 'and so the rich to the poor man' = 𝔅 (2): *read with Smend*: כן רשע לצדיק נאצל (כן = כך *in* 𝔅 (1) *is Neo-Hebr.*) t–t *Reading* מה יש שלום = 𝔊: 𝔅 (*corrupt*) מאיש ש״ (*cp.* איש = יש, 2 Sam. xiv. 19, Mic. vi. 10, Prov. xviii. 24) u–u 𝔊 *και τις* = ? מה או (*so Peters reads*): 𝔅 מאין 'whence?' v–v *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖: 𝔊 *κυνηγια* (*a free rendering: but Peters reads* ציד = *κυνηγια*, Gen. xxv. 27)

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is drawn between the real character and the methods of the unscrupulous ruler. While pretending to make (or give) peace (i.e. to be full of active goodwill) he is secretly plotting murder. For the text see critical note. For a similar contrast cp. Ps. cxx. 7 ('I am for peace; but when I speak they are for war'). 𝔊 runs: 'Merciless is he that keepeth not words (i.e. betrays confidences in free and incautious conversation), nor will he spare (sc. to inflict) injury or bonds'.

13. **Take heed . . . men of violence.** For the second clause 𝔊 (cp. 𝔖) has 'For thou goest about with thy fall' (so Peters prefers to read): the expression is a figurative one (to have ruin as a companion in thy walk); cp. Job xxxi. 5; Prov. xiii. 20 (cp. also ix. 13 of our book).

14. See critical notes.

(*h*) XIII. 15–20.

vv. 15–16. A reference is made to this passage in the Talmud (see critical notes for the citation). Our passage is cited as from the *Hagiographa* in conjunction with passages from the Law and the Prophets (see Edersheim, *in loc.*).

15. **All flesh.** 𝔊 'Every living creature'. 'Flesh' has here a general sense, including the forms of animal life generally. Cp. Lev. xvii. 14 ('the life of all flesh . . . the blood thereof', &c.).

kind . . . like. Cp. xxvii. 9. The law of 'like consorteth with like' is 'a universal law in the physical and moral world, as well as of society'. 'Similis simili gaudet; aequalis aequalem delectat' (Edersheim).

17. **What association . . . wolf . . . lamb?** Cp. Is. xi. 6; Matt. x. 16.

18. **rich with poor.** Throughout these terms connote ungodly and pious respectively. Cp. Ep. James ii. 6 ('But ye have dishonoured the poor man. Do not the rich oppress you?' &c.).

19. **the wild asses of the desert** (or steppe). Cp. Job xxiv. 5, where the poor (as here) are compared to the wild asses in the desert. For the lion as a figurative expression for the rich cp. Ps. xxxiv. 10, xxxv. 17, lviii. 7; Zech. xi. 3.

𝔅^A 20 [w]An abomination [x]to pride[x] is humility;
Even so an abomination to the rich are the poor.

(*i*) XIII. 21–23. *The world's treatment of rich and poor—a contrast* (= 1 + 2 + 2 distichs).

21 A rich man [y]when he is shaken[y] [z]is supported by a friend[z],
[a]But the poor man[a] [b]when he is shaken[b] is thrust away [c]by a friend[c].
22 A rich man [d]speaketh[d], and his helpers are many;
[e]And though his words be unseemly, they are pronounced lovely[e].
A poor man [f]speaketh[f], [g]and they jeer at him[g];
[h]Yea, though he speak with wisdom[h], [i]there is no place for him[i].
23 When the rich man [j]speaketh[j], all [k]keep silence[k],
And they extol [l]his intelligence[l] to the clouds.
When the poor man speaketh: 'Who is this?' say they;
And if [m]he stumble[m] [n]they will assist his overthrow[n].

(*j*) XIII. 24—XIV. 2. *A Collection of Miscellaneous Proverbs* (= 1 + 2 + 2 distichs).

24 Wealth is good if it be without sin,
And evil is poverty [a]which is due to presumption[a].
25 The heart[b] of a man changeth his countenance,
Whether for good or for evil[c].

[w] *v.* 20 *omitted by* 𝔖 [x–x] *So* 𝔅 גאוה: 𝔊 υπερηφανῳ [y–y] *So* 𝔊 σαλευομενος = נמוט (*so read*): 𝔅 מוט: 𝔖 'falls' [z–z] 𝔊 στηριζεται (= ? נסמך *or* יסמך: *so read*) υπο φιλων; 𝔅 בסמך מרע: 𝔖 'is cast into evil' (לרע) [a–a] 𝔅 ודל: 𝔊 ταπεινος δε (א* 248 πτωχος δε: '𝔊 *prefers the synonym* [ταπεινος] *which more easily admits of a spiritual interpretation*' (*Hart*)) [b–b] 𝔅 נמוט: 𝔊 πεσων = 𝔖 (*contrast renderings* 21 a) [c–c] 𝔊 υπο φιλων = מרע (*cp. v.* 21 a), *so read:* 𝔖 'from evil into evil' = 𝔅 מרע אל רע [d–d] 𝔅 מדבר = 𝔖: 𝔊 = נמוט (*in clauses* a *and* c *the two terms must correspond—either* 'speaketh' *or* 'falleth' *must be read in both*: 𝔊 *expresses in both* 'falleth'; 𝔖 *in both* 'speaketh'; 𝔅 *in* a 'speaketh', *in* c 'falleth') [e–e] *So* 𝔅 ודבריו מכוערין מהופין (מכוערין, *part. Hof. of* כער *common in Neo-Hebr.* = 'to be dark, ugly, repulsive, unseemly' (*cp.* xl. 2): מהופין, *part. Hof. of* יפה = *lit.* 'they are made beautiful': *note the pl. endings in* ין־). *Schechter suggests reading* מחופין = 'they (his words) are veneered over', *as base with precious metal.* 'and his hateful words are glozed over' (*Hart*). 𝔊 ελαλησεν απορρητα και εδικαιωσαν αυτον = ? ודבר מכוערין ומופין (*so Peters reads*) [f–f] *So* 𝔖: 𝔅 נמוט = 𝔊 [g–g] *Reading* (*with Peters*): וגע גע ישאו (*lit.* 'and they raise [cries] of' גע, גע): 𝔖 'they say to him' גוע: 𝔊 (*freely*) και επετιμησαν αυτῳ: 𝔅 גע גע ושא [h–h] 𝔅 ודבר משכיל: 𝔊 εφθεγξατο συνεσιν [i–i] 𝔅 ואין לו מקום: 𝔊 και ουκ εδοθη αυτῳ τοπος [j–j] *So* 𝔅 (*part.*): 𝔊 ελαλησεν [k–k] *So* 𝔅 נסכתו (*cp.* Deut. xxvii. 9) = 𝔊: 𝔖 'hearkened' [l–l] 𝔅 את שכלו: 𝔊 (*freely*) σον λογον αυτου: 𝔖 'his favourers' [m–m] 𝔅 נתקל = 𝔊 [n–n] 𝔅 גם הם יהדפוהו = 𝔊

[a–a] *Lit.* 'according to the mouth of presumption' (על פי זדון); א A 55 157 248 253 307 εν στοματι ασεβους (= 𝔅 𝔖 Syro-Hex 𝔏); B C 70 254 εν στομασιν ευσεβους [b] 𝔖 'sins' [c] 248 253 Syro-Hex + 'And a happy (*lit.* flourishing) heart maketh a face cheerful with delight'; *gloss on the following clause.*

20. **an abomination to the rich are the poor.** Cp. Prov. xxix. 27 *b* ('he that is upright . . . is an abomination to the wicked').

(*i*) XIII. 21–23.

21. **when he is shaken.** i.e. come into a dangerous and unfortunate situation; cp. Ps. xiii. 4 (5): 'mine adversaries rejoice because I am moved' ('shaken'), xvi. 8, x. 6 'I shall not be moved' (Hebr. בַּל־אֶמּוֹט = LXX οὐ μὴ σαλευθῶ, as here). Edersheim thinks the meaning need not be restricted to the decay of external fortunes, but may include a wider connotation.

22. **A poor man speaketh . . . no place for him.** Cp. Qoh. ix. 16: 'The poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard.' For the expression 'there is no place for him' cp. iv. 5; *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 6 (ed. Taylor), 'there is not a thing that has not its place' (a saying of Ben Azzai, second century A.D.); cp. also Rom. xii. 19. Here the expression may mean: they refuse to hear him.

23. **all keep silence.** From respect; cp. Job xxix. 9.

extol . . . to the clouds. Cp. for the expression Job xx. 6.

(*j*) XIII. 24—XIV. 2.

24. **Wealth . . .** After having pointed out the consideration shown to the rich for the sake of their wealth, Ben-Sira goes on to say that riches *per se* are not bad, but, on the contrary, good when they do not bring sin in their train.

And evil is poverty . . . See critical note. Poverty is an evil when it is the result of wickedness; this is a poverty to be ashamed of.

25. **The heart of a man . . .** i.e. the inward state of a man, not his outward circumstances, determines his happiness or otherwise, and this is reflected in the expression of his face; cp. Prov. xv. 11; Eccles. viii. 1; Luke ix. 47.

Whether for good . . . In the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* to Gen. xxxi. 2 this verse is quoted verbatim, excepting that the אם . . . ואם of 𝔅 is, in accordance with the later Hebrew usage, expressed by בין . . . ובין.

𝔅^A 26 The outcome[d] of a happy heart is a cheerful countenance,
But solitude and meditation *occasion* toilsome thoughts.

14 1 Blessed is the man whose mouth doth not grieve him,
[e]And (who) doth not mourn for the sorrow of his heart[e].
2 Blessed is the man whose soul doth not reproach[f] him,
And whose hope[g] hath not ceased.

(*k*) XIV. 3–19. *On the proper use of wealth* (= 2 + 3 + 3[+ 1] + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 1 distichs).

3 To him that is small of heart wealth is unfitting[h],
And wherefore[i] should the evil-eyed have gold[k]?
4 He that withholdeth from himself gathereth for another,
And a stranger shall satiate himself with his goods.
5 He that harmeth his own soul, to whom will he do good?
For[l] [m]he hath no delight[m] in his own goods.

[d] *Lit.* 'result' [e–e] *Reading* ולא אנה על דוי לבו; *the text of* 𝔅 *as it stands cannot be right, it reads*: ולא אבה עליו דין לבו, 'And his heart doth not desire judgement against him': 𝔊 'And (who) is not pricked at the heart (και ου κατεννγη) with sorrow for sin'; *excepting for* αμαρτιας (= עון) 𝔊 = 𝔅 *as amended above;* αμ. *may be an explanatory addition.* 𝔖 *reads:* ולא חבא דין מיעיו, 'And judgement is not hid from his eyes'; מיעיו *suggests a corruption of* עון (= 𝔊), *but* 'heart' *is required to correspond with* 'mouth' *in the first clause. Smend suggests the reading* ולא אנה על דון עונו, 'And (who) doth not sigh for sorrow of his sin.' *Another possible form might be* וְלֹא הֵעֵל דְּוַי בְּלִבּוֹ, 'And (who) doth not cause sorrow to enter into his heart' (*cp. Sanh.* 100 b, לא תעיל דויא בליבך 'Let not sorrow enter into thine heart,' *quoted by Levy*, i. 164); עלל *is only used in the Po'el in the O. T., see* Job xvi. 15 [f] *Reading* חסדתו (*for* חסרתו), *cp.* Prov. xxv. 10: *cp.* 𝔏 qui non habuit animi sui tristitiam [g] V 248 253 Syro-Hex + 'in the Lord' [h] *Lit.* 'not comely', *as* 𝔊 [i] 𝔅 𝔖 *repeat* 'not comely'; 𝔊 *is more probably correct here,* ινα τι (= למה) [k] 𝔏 = 𝔅: 𝔊 'money': 𝔖 'mammon' [l] *Lit.* 'and' [m–m] *Reading* יחדה (= 𝔖 נקרא *and* 𝔊) *for* יקרה 'he shall not meet with' (*i.e.* 'will not retain possession of')

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26. **a happy heart.** To be understood in accordance with *v.* 25. 𝔊 'a heart that is in prosperity'; cp. xii. 8.

But solitude . . . שיג ושיח (lit. 'withdrawing and musing') occur in the reverse order in 1 Kings xviii. 27, where Elijah says of Baal: '. . . for he is a god; either he is musing, or he is gone aside.' The clause seems a little inappropriate (possibly it expresses the thought of Eccles. xii. 12: 'Much study is a weariness to the flesh'), and Smend suggests as an emendation: 'Weary eyes (reading מחשיכים עינים for מחשבת עמל) are a sign of worry'; cp. xii. 9 ff., xxv. 23*b*. At any rate the words as they stand must be taken in a general sense, and not in reference to Ben-Sira's own studies. 𝔊 has: 'And the finding out of parables is a weariness of thinking,' which is not far from 𝔅; the meaning of the words which is intended is to offer a contrast to what is said in the previous clause.

XIV. 1. **whose mouth . . .** Cp. xxv. 8*b*; 1 Kings i. 6; Ps. xvii. 3, xxxix. 2, cxli. 3; Jas. iii. 2. 𝔊 'that hath not slipped with his mouth' is explanatory.

And (who) doth not . . . See critical notes.

2. **whose soul doth not . . .** Cp. 1 John ii. 19–22.

(*k*) XIV. 3–19.

3. **small of heart.** i.e. one who is grudging; cp. 𝔏 'viro cupido et tenaci'. 𝔊 μικρολόγος, one who cavils about trifles.

unfitting. Cp. xv. 9; 𝔏 'sine ratione'.

And wherefore . . . See critical notes.

the evil-eyed. i.e. envious, as 𝔊; cp. xviii. 8, xxviii. 11 *e*; Prov. xxiii. 6, xxviii. 22: it is equivalent to קנאה ('jealousy') in its bad sense. In *Pirqe Aboth* v. 29 the 'evil eye' is contrasted with the 'good eye' (cp. xiv. 10 below); in the same tractate (ii. 15) an 'evil eye' is reckoned among those things which 'put a man out of the world'. The expression here is used with reference to the envy which the miser feels at seeing riches in the possession of others.

gold. 𝔊 χρήματα is a free rendering; cp. Job xxvii. 13, where the Sept. has the same word for the Hebr. כסף ('silver').

4. **He that withholdeth . . .** The reference is to the miser who denies himself many things in order to increase his hoard; he is in reality only laying it up for others.

a stranger . . . Cp. Eccles. vi. 2; 𝔊 'others'.

satiate himself. The Hebr. root בעע means lit. to be full to bursting; the verb does not occur in the O. T., but in Exod. ix. 9 a derivative is used for 'blisters' or 'boils'.

5. **He that harmeth . . .** The reference is only to the miser; the 'harm' refers to the miser's denying himself every enjoyment.

𝔅ᴬ 6 None is worse than him that is evil to his own soul,
And the recompense of his evil is [n]in himself[n].
𝔊 7 [o]And even if he doeth good, [p]he doeth it in forgetfulness[p],
And at the last [q]he showeth forth[q] his wickedness[o].
8 [r]Evil is he that envieth[s] with his eye,
Turning away his face and despising men[t r].
𝔅ᴬ 9 In the eye of the covetous[u] (too) small is his portion,
But he that taketh his neighbour's portion [v]destroyeth his own portion[v].
10 [w]The eye of the envious[w] hasteth[x] after bread,
And naught is on his table.
[y][A good eye causeth bread to increase,
And 'A dry fountain sendeth forth water' upon (his) table.][y]

Erubin 54*a* 11 [z]My son, [a]if thou possessest aught, do well to thyself[a],
[b]And prosper to the best of thy power[b].
𝔅ᴬ 12 [c]Remember that death tarrieth not,
Nor hath the decree of Sheol been told thee[c].
13 Before thou diest do good to him that loveth (thee),
And [d]as thou hast prospered[d], give to him.

[n–n] *Lit.* 'with him' [o–o] 𝔅 > [p–p] 248 'he doeth it not willingly': 𝔏 ignoranter et non volens facit [q–q] 𝔖 'he will look upon' [r–r] 𝔅 > [s] 70 248 + 'to look' [t] *Lit.* 'souls': 𝔏 'his soul' [u] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 'of him that stumbleth' *is a corruption*: 𝔖 'of a fool' *is an attempt to improve upon* 𝔅 (𝔅 כושל, 𝔖 שכלא) [v–v] 𝔖 'loseth his own soul', *so* V 248 Syro-Hex: 𝔊 'drieth up his soul': 𝔏 donec consumat arefaciens animam suam: *Smend is perhaps right in emending* 𝔅 *in accordance with these, reading* מיבש נפשו *instead of* מאבד חלקו [w–w] *Lit.* 'The eye of (him that hath) an evil eye' (עין רע עין): 𝔊 οφθαλμος πονηρος = עין רעה, *which perhaps represents the original* [x] 𝔊 '(is) envious' (= 𝔅 *inexactly*) [y–y] 𝔊 >: but 𝔖 = 𝔅 [z] 𝔏 *inserts the title* 'Concerning well-doing, for death tarrieth not' [a–a] *The Babylonian Talmud has preserved the right reading here:* 𝔅 𝔖 'Serve thy soul, and if thou hast [i.e. possessest aught], do well to thyself' [b–b] *Lit.* 'And according to the God [*i.e.* power] of thy hand, make thyself fat': *the rendering of* 𝔊, και προσφορας Κυριῳ αξιως προσαγε, *betrays ignorance of the Hebrew idiom here* [c–c] *In the Babylonian Talmud, Erubin* 54 a, *this verse is quoted thus:* 'For in Sheol there is no delight, and death hath no tarrying; and if thou say, I will give rest to my sons, the decree of (*lit.* in) Sheol who will declare (it) unto thee?' [d–d] *Lit.* 'according to the finding of thy hand',

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6. **None is worse . . .** Cp. Prov. xi. 17.
that is evil to . . . 𝔊 'that is grudging to himself'; cp. Deut. xxviii. 54, 56 Sept. (Smend).
is in himself. 𝔊 'is this', i.e. being evil to his own soul, which does not fully bring out the force of 𝔅.
7. The omission of this and the next verse in 𝔅 is perhaps only accidental; 𝔖 has *v.* 7, though probably it is freely rendered ('And if by chance he doeth good, it is by mistake, and at the last he will see his wickedness'). The omission in 𝔅 can be accounted for by the similar beginning of *vv.* 6 (רע) and 8 (רעה); the beginning of *v.* 5 (רע) and the end of *v.* 6 (רעתו) may also have tended to confuse things.
in forgetfulness. i.e. not of set purpose.
And at the last . . . In spite of the apparent good done in forgetfulness, his true nature is sure to be revealed ultimately and seen of all the world.
8. **that envieth with his eye.** Cp. *v.* 6, where 𝔊 uses the same word (ὁ βασκαίνων).
despising men. ὑπερορῶν ψυχάς. Smend would read ὑπερορῶν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ, as the verse is evidently intended to describe the harm done to the envious man himself; cp. the second clause in *vv.* 6, 7, 9, 10.
9. **In the eye of . . .** 𝔊 'A covetous man's eye is not satisfied with his portion'.
destroyeth his own portion. See critical note. With 𝔊 cp. Num. xi. 6, '. . . but now our soul is dried up,' i.e. there is no more enjoyment of good things; and Ps. xxii. 15 (16 in Hebr.).
10. **The eye of the envious.** See critical note.
hasteth. The Hebr. root עיט (cp. xxxi. [xxxiv.] 16) means to pounce greedily upon something, cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 32 (*Q*ᵉ*ri*), xv. 19, xxv. 14 (probably corrupt); these are the only occurrences of the verb in the O. T.; the coll. noun עַיִט 'birds of prey' occurs more often, Jer. xii. 9, &c. The picture is that of a bird of prey darting upon its spoil.
And naught is on . . . 𝔊 καὶ ἐλλιπὴς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ. Although the miser is ever grasping, he has naught to show for it.
A good eye. For the expression cp. xxxv. 8 (= xxxi. 10); Prov. xxii. 9; *Pirqe Aboth* v. 29.
A dry fountain . . . This seems to be a quotation. The bracketed clauses are secondary according to Smend.
11. See critical notes.
do well to thyself. Cp. Ps. xlix. 18.
12. **the decree.** חק, i.e. that which has been determined, cp. xli. 2.
13. **as thou hast prospered . . .** Cp. Lev. v. 11.

𝔅^A 14 [e]Refrain not from the joy of the present[e],
𝔊 [f]And let not the portion of a good desire pass thee by[f].
𝔅^A 15 Wilt thou not leave thy wealth to another,
And thy labour to them that cast the lot?
16 Give and take; yea, indulge thy soul,
Erubin 54*a* [g]For in Sheol there is no delight[g].
17 All flesh withereth[h] like a garment,
𝔅^A And the eternal decree is: 'Thou shalt surely die!'
18 As the leaf that groweth on a luxuriant tree,
One fadeth, and another sprouteth;
[i]So (are) the generations of flesh and blood,
One dieth, and another flourisheth[ji];
19 All his works will surely decay,
And the labour of his hands followeth after him.

(*a*) XIV. 20–27. *The Blessedness of him who seeks Wisdom* (= 4 + 4 distichs).

20 Blessed (is) the man that meditateth[k] on[l] Wisdom[ll],
And that giveth heed[m] to understanding,
21 That directeth[n] his heart upon her ways,
And giveth heed unto her paths[o];

reading כהשיגת *for* השיגת [e–e] *Lit.* 'Withdraw not (thyself) from the good things of a day' [f–f] 𝔅, *which is corrupt, reads:* 'And upon the portion of a brother trespass not': אח ('brother') *is a corruption of* אוה ('desire'); טוב ('good') *should, according to* 𝔊, *be added; for* עבר *in the sense as used in* 𝔊 *cp.* Jer. xiii. 24, Isa. xxix. 5. 𝔖 >: 𝔅𝔖 + 'And an evil desire, desire not', *a gloss, which, however, shows that* 𝔊 *has preserved the correct rendering* [g–g] 𝔅 'For in Sheol there is no seeking of delight (= 𝔊); but all (that is) fitting to do, do in the sight of God'; *the addition is due to the desire to tone down the flippant sentiment of the verse.* 𝔖 > *the second clause, but has the addition* [h] *Lit.* 'wears out' [i–i] *In the Talmud, Erubin* 54 a, *these clauses are quoted thus*: 'the sons of men are like the herbs of the field, some flourish (*lit.* 'sparkle'), others fade' [j] *Lit.* 'ripeneth'. *At the end of the v.* 253 Syro-Hex + '(It is) by the decree of the Lord' [k] א^c.a 70 248 253 μελετησει (= 𝔅), *so* 𝔖 Syro-Hex: 𝔊 (τελευτησει) *is corrupt* [l] *Lit.* 'in' [ll] 𝔏 + Et in sensu suo cogitabit circumspectionem dei [m] *Lit.* 'that hath respect' [n] *Lit.* 'setteth' [o] *Reading* נתיבותיה (= 𝔖)

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14. See critical notes.

15. **Wilt thou not leave ...** Cp. Ps. xlix. 6–11, 17. Therefore why not enjoy it while you have it?

to them that cast the lot. 'In Palestine brothers divided their patrimony by lot as late as, and probably much later than, the second century' (*Baba Bathra* 106 *b* (T. B.); see *JE*, viii. 188 *a*).

16. **indulge thy soul.** Cp. Prov. xxix. 21.

17. **withereth like ...** Cp. Job xiii. 21; Ps. cii. 26 (Sept.); Is. l. 9, li. 6.

Thou shalt surely die. 𝔊 'Thou shalt die the death'; cp. Gen. ii. 17 (Sept.), iii. 19. The Hebr. root נוע occurs mainly in the poetical books of the O. T.

18. **As the leaf ...** The two first clauses of this verse are quoted in Erubin 54 *a* (see crit. notes above); cp. Is. xxxiv. 4, xl. 6, 8; 1 Pet. i. 24.

a luxuriant tree. 𝔊 'a thick tree', cp. Deut. xii. 2, &c.

One fadeth ... 𝔊 'Some it sheddeth, and some it maketh to grow'.

So (are) the ... This and the next clause were inadvertently omitted in the text of 𝔅; they are added in the margin.

flesh and blood. בשר ודם (= σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, also in the order αἷμα καὶ σάρξ; cp. xvii. 31; Matt. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 50; Gal. i. 16) does not occur in the O.T., but is frequent in Rabbinical writings; 'the writers use this form of speech infinite times, and by it oppose *men* to *God*' (Lightfoot, *Horae Hebr. et Talm.* [Gandell's ed.], ii. 234).

flourisheth. Lit. 'ripens', used of the 'ripening grape' in Is. xviii. 6; cp. 1 Kings xi. 20. 𝔊 'is born'. In 𝔅 there is added כן אחרית ('so is [their] latter end'); see Cowley in *JQR*, xii. 110.

19. **All his works ...** 𝔊 'Every work rotteth and fadeth away'. 𝔖, in order to tone down this rather pessimistic note, substitutes: 'All his works shall be proved before Him' (i.e. God).

will surely decay. Cp. Is. xl. 20, where this word (רקב) is used of a tree rotting, and Prov. x. 7, where it is used in reference to 'the name of the wicked'.

And the labour ... Just as man perishes and is forgotten, so it is with his works (cp. Job xxi. 13; John xii. 19); contrast with this thought Rev. xiv. 13. 𝔊 'And the worker thereof shall depart with it'.

XIV. 20—XVI. 23. The general theme of this division is Divine retribution. It contains six subsections.

(*a*) XIV. 20–27.

20. **that meditateth.** See critical note. Cp. vi. 37, l. 28; Ps. cxix. 15, 23, 148.

that giveth heed ... Cp. Ps. cxix. 117; 𝔊 'And that shall discourse by his understanding'; some cursives add 'holy things'.

𝔅^A 22 Going forth after her like a spy,
He looketh stealthily upon[p] her enterings-in[q].
23 [Blessed is he] that peereth into her window,
And hearkeneth at her doors;
24 Who encampeth round about her house,
And fixeth his pegs into her wall;
25 [r]Who pitcheth[s] his tent [t]close beside her[t r],
And dwelleth in a goodly dwelling;
26 And buildeth[u] his nest[v] in her foliage,
And lodgeth among her branches;
27 Seeking refuge from the heat in her shade,
He dwelleth within her habitations.

(*b*) XV. 1–10. *How Wisdom is to be attained* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

15 1 For[a] he that feareth the Lord doeth this,
And he that taketh hold of the Law findeth her.
2 And she will meet him as a mother,
And as a youthful wife will she receive him;
3 And she will feed him with the bread of understanding,
And will give him the waters of knowledge[b] to drink.

[p] *Reading* על *for* כל, *which the sense demands* [q] *Cp.* B εισοδοις: 𝔊 *otherwise* οδοις [r–r] 𝔖 > [s] *Lit.* 'stretcheth out' [t–t] *Lit.* 'upon her hand' [u] *Lit.* 'setteth' [v] 𝔊 'children', *misreading* קנו ('his nest') as בניו 'his children'
[a] 𝔊 𝔖 > [b] *Reading* תבונה *instead of* תבואה

21. **That directeth . . .** Cp. xxi. 17 *b*, xvi. 20; Is. xlvii. 7. 𝔊 'He that considereth her ways in his heart'.
And giveth heed unto . . . 𝔊 'And he shall take knowledge of her hidden things'; cp. iv. 18, vi. 22, xxxix. 3, 7. *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 1: '. . . and they reveal to him the secrets of the Torah.'
22. **Going forth . . . He looketh stealthily.** 𝔊 renders both verbs in the imperative.
like a spy. Cf. 2 Sam. x. 3. 𝔊 'as one that tracketh' (ὡς ἰχνευτής), using the metaphor of a hunter.
He looketh stealthily. Cp. Prov. viii. 34. 𝔊 'lieth in wait', continuing the metaphor of a hunter.
23. **into her window.** Cp. xxi. 23; Song of Songs ii. 9.
at her doors. Cp. li. 19; Prov. viii. 34.
24. **encampeth.** Cp. iv. 13, 15. 𝔊 'lodgeth'.
his pegs. The same Hebr. word as in Judges v. 26.
25. **And dwelleth . . .** Cp. Prov. i. 33.
26. **his nest.** See critical note.
in her foliage. Cp. Ps. civ. 12. 𝔊 'under her shelter'.
lodgeth among. 𝔊 'shall rest under'.
27. **Seeking refuge . . .** 𝔊 'By her he shall be covered from heat (cp. Eccles. vii. 12), and shall lodge in her glory' (cp. Is. iv. 5 f.).
(*b*) XV. 1–10.
XV. 1. **For.** Wrongly omitted by 𝔊, since this and the following verses are connected with what has preceded; the way in which men should seek Wisdom is now followed by a description of the reception accorded to those who find her.
doeth this. Referring to what has preceded.
he that taketh hold of . . . תופש תורה; cp. Jer. ii. 8, where four offices are enumerated, among which this is one, viz. priests, lawyers, rulers, prophets; the second of these ('handlers of the Law') came to be technically known as the Scribes (= 'Sopherim', cp. xxxviii. 24–xxxix. 11); in the N. T. γραμματεῖς, and, more rarely, νομικοί (Matt. xxii. 35; Luke vii. 30, x. 25, xi. 45 ff., xiv. 3) or νομοδιδάσκαλοι (Luke v. 17; Acts v. 34; 1 Tim. i. 7); they were those who occupied themselves with the study and teaching of the sacred Scriptures, and, above all, with the Law.
the Law. The most important point about Ben-Sira's teaching regarding the Law is that he identifies it with Wisdom; but the way in which this identification is taken for granted shows that Ben-Sira is not expressing a new truth, but one which in his time had already become generally accepted; cp. the following passages: i. 26, xix. 20, xxi. 11, xxiv. 23, xxxiv. (𝔊 xxxi.) 8.
findeth her. i.e. Wisdom; ידרכנה is more strictly 'shall attain her' or 'overtake', as in Judges xx. 43.
2. **. . . as a mother.** The same comparison is used in reference to Jahveh in Is. xlix. 14, 15.
a youthful wife. See the same expression in Prov. v. 18, 'a young wife'; 𝔊 γυνὴ παρθενείας, cp. Prov. vii. 4, 5; Jer. iii. 4; Joel i. 8 (see Sept. in each case); cp. also Wisd. vii. 8.
will she receive him. With 𝔅 cp. 1 Chron. xii. 18.
3. **bread of understanding.** Cp. Prov. ix. 5.
waters of knowledge. 𝔊 ὕδωρ σοφίας. In the later Jewish literature the 'water' and 'bread' of the Torah are often referred to; e.g. in *Shabbath* 120 *a* (T. B.) the words of Is. iii. 1, 'the whole stay of bread,' are explained as referring to the Torah; in the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, § lxx (to Gen. xxviii. 20), it is said that the proselyte may find in Israel 'the bread of the Torah'. In the Midrash *Shir Rabba* i. 4 it is said: 'As water refreshes the body, so does the Torah refresh the soul.'

𝔅ᴬ 4 And he that stayeth upon her will not fall,
Nor shall he that trusteth in her be ashamed;
5 And she will exalt him above his neighbour,
And will open his mouth in the midst of the assembly.
6 Joy and gladness shall he find,
And she will make him inherit an everlasting name.
7 [c]Ungodly men[c] shall not obtain her,
And the arrogant shall not look upon her.
8 Far from the mockers is she,
And liars do not think of her.
9 Praise[d] is not seemly in the mouth of the wicked,
For it hath not been apportioned [e]to him[e] by God.
10 In the mouth of the wise praise is uttered,
And [f]he who is mighty[f] with her shall teach her.

(*c*) XV. 11–20. *On Free-will* (= 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

11 Say not: 'From God is my transgression,'
For that which He hateth made He not.
12 Say not: '(It is) He that made me to stumble,'
For there is no need of [g]evil men[g].
13 Evil and abomination doth the Lord hate,
And [gg]He doth not let it come nigh to them[gg] that fear Him.

[c-c] *Lit.* 'men of falsehood' [d] 𝔖 'wisdom' [e-e] 𝔊 > *exc.* 70 106 248 [f-f] *Lit.* 'he who ruleth'
[g-g] *Lit.* 'men of violence', cp. 𝔏 'homines impii' [gg-gg] *Lit.* 'he doth not cause it to encounter them'

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4. **he that stayeth upon her.** On the other hand, in Ps. xviii. 18 Jahveh is man's stay.
5. **she will exalt him.** Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 1, where it is said: 'And it [the Torah] magnifies him and exalts him over all things'; cp. also Sirach iv. 11.
will open his mouth. In order that he may teach.
in the midst of the assembly. Cp. xxi. 17; Prov. xxiv. 7. The reference is probably to those gathered together for instruction in the temple, for, as Friedländer has shown (*Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen*), the synagogue did not exist in Palestine until the latter half of the second century B.C.
6. 𝔊 'Joy and a crown of gladness and an everlasting name shall he inherit'; for 'crown' cp. i. 9, vi. 31.
an everlasting name. Cp. Is. lvi. 3, where, however, this is given by God.
7. **Ungodly men.** 𝔊 'Foolish men'. 𝔅 מתי שוא, cp. Job xi. 11; Ps. xxvi. 4; 𝔏 homines stulti.
the arrogant. 𝔊 'liars'. 𝔅 אנשי זדון, cp. Jer. xliii. 2.
8. **the mockers.** 𝔊 'pride'; cp. Eth 'the proud'. The 'mockers' are the cynical free-thinkers to whom wisdom, as contained in the Law, is foolishness; cp. xiv. 6.
do not think of her. Cp. xxiv. 20.
9. This and the next verse belong to what has preceded, but form, at the same time, an introduction to what follows.
seemly. נאתה, cp. Ps. xxxiii. 1, cxlvii. 1 (Smend).
apportioned. 𝔊 'sent'. Cp. 𝔏 Quoniam a deo profecta est sapientia.
10. **In the mouth of . . .** 𝔊 'For praise shall be spoken in wisdom'. Cp. ii. 29; Prov. xi. 9.
And he who is mighty . . . 𝔊 καὶ ὁ κύριος εὐοδώσει αὐτόν, but, as the rendering of 𝔏 shows ('Et dominator dabit eam illi'), this is a corruption of καὶ ὁ κυριεύων δώσει αὐτῷ, which is much nearer to 𝔅; αὐτῷ must originally have been αὐτήν. Cp. Matt. vii. 29.

(*c*) XV. 11–20. Cp. with this passage James i. 13 f.
11. **From God is my transgression.** 𝔊 'Through the Lord I fell away'.
that which He hateth made He not. 𝔊 'For thou shalt not do the things that He hateth', a misunderstanding of the point in 𝔅. The reference is probably to the *Yeṣer ha-ra'* (the 'Evil Tendency') which, according to the text, was evidently believed by some to have been created by God, a belief which is reflected in later Rabbinical writings, e.g. *Qiddushin* 30*b* (T.B.): 'I (God) created an evil tendency (*Yeṣer ha-ra'*); I created for him (i.e. for man, in order to counteract this) the Law as a means of healing'; and in *Bereshith Rabba*, § xxvii (to Gen. vi. 6), Rabbi Ibo explains the text to mean: 'It repenteth Me for having created in him (i.e. in man) the evil tendency; if I had not created it in him, he would not have rebelled against Me.' In earlier days, too, it was believed that God was the cause of sin; see 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; Jer. vi. 21; Ezek. iii. 20.
12. **Say not.** פן תאמר, i.e. 'By no means say . . .'; cp. Is. xxxvi. 18 (Smend).
stumble. 𝔊 'err'.
evil men. 𝔊 'a sinful man'. With the whole verse cp. Job xxii. 2 ff.
13. **Evil and abomination.** 𝔊 'every abomination'.
He doth not let it come nigh. 𝔊 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαπητόν should be emended to . . . ἀπαντητόν (Knabenbauer).
14. **God.** 𝔊 'He himself'.
created man . . . Since man was created by God he cannot have been bad from the beginning; the teaching here implied seems to be that man became bad because he followed his evil inclination; contrast, however, xxxiii. (𝔊 xxxvi.)

𝔅^A 14 God created man from the beginning,
[h]And placed[i] him in the hand of his *Yeṣer*.
15 If thou (so) desirest, thou canst keep the commandment,
[j]And (it is) wisdom[k] to do His good pleasure[j].
16 Poured out before thee (are) fire and water,
Stretch forth thine hand unto that which thou desirest.
17 Life and death[l] (are) before man,
That which he desireth shall be given to him.
18 Sufficient is the wisdom of the Lord,
(He is) mighty in power, and seeth all things.
19 And the eyes of God behold his works,
And He knoweth every deed of man.
20 He commanded no man to sin,
Nor gave strength to men of lies[m].

(*d*) XVI. 1–5. *The Curse of sinful Children* (= 2 + 2 + 1 + 1 distichs).

16 1 [a]Desire not the sight[b] of unprofitable sons,
And delight not in corrupt children;
2 Yea, and if they [c]are fruitful[c], exult not because of them
If they have no fear of the Lord.
3 Trust not thou in their life,
[d]Nor rely on their [e]end[ed];

[h] 𝔅 *inserts the following gloss*: 'And delivered him into the hand of him that spoileth him'; *added for doctrinal purposes* [i] *Lit.* 'gave' [j–j] 𝔖 >: 𝔅 𝔖 + 'and if thou trust in him, of a truth (*lit.* even) thou shalt live' [k] *Lit.* 'understanding' [l] 𝔏 + 'good and evil' [m] 𝔅 + *the gloss*: 'And He hath no mercy on him that committeth falsehood (*lit.* doeth vanity), nor on him that revealeth secrets.' 𝔖 + 'And He said not to the sons of flesh that they should sin, and He hath no mercy on them that commit falsehood.'

[a] 𝔏 *has the title* 'Concerning ungodly children' [b] *Lit.* 'beauty': 𝔊 𝔖 'multitude' [c–c] 𝔊 𝔖 'multiply' [d–d] 𝔖 'And trust not that there will be a good end for them' [e–e] 𝔊^BC 'place'; ℵ A V 55 155 248 253 254 Syro-Hex Sah 'multitude'; 𝔅 + *the gloss*: 'For there will not be for them a good end'; ℵ^c.a + στεναξις γαρ πενθει αωρω και εξεφνης αυτων συντελειαν γνωσεται

14, 15. *Yeṣer* is here used in a neutral sense (almost equivalent to Free-will) in which lay the power of doing right or wrong; the origin of evil is, therefore, in this passage, traced to man; cp. xxv. 24; Wisd. xii. 11; 4 Esdras iv. 29–31. A later scribe, realizing the difficulty which could be urged, that as the Creator of all things God must have created the *Yeṣer* with its tendency to evil as well as to good, added the gloss that God delivered man from his spoiler (i. e. Satan; see critical note); cp. iv. 19. This later scribe, in his turn, however, did not realize that the difficulty still remained.

Yeṣer. Cp. xxvii. 6, xxxvii. 3: 𝔊 διαβούλιον.

15. **If thou (so) desirest.** In this and the two next verses the normal Jewish doctrine of Free-will is well illustrated; it is characteristic of this that divine grace occupies a relatively subordinate position.

the commandment. מצוה, i.e. any precept of the Law; the keeping (עשׂא) of such is reckoned as of merit. Cp. x. 19, xxxii. (𝔊 xxxv.) 23, xxxvi. 12, xlv. 5; Prov. xix. 6; Eccles. viii. 5.

And (it is) wisdom . . . 𝔊 'And faithfulness (it is) to do (His) good pleasure, cp Prov. xii. 22; for תבונה ('understanding') it is perhaps better to read אמונה ('faithfulness'), following 𝔊 (and see the addition of 𝔅, with which cp. Hab. ii. 4; see critical note); cp. 𝔏 'Et in perpetuum fidem placitam facere'.

16. **Poured out before thee.** 𝔊 'He hath set before thee'.

fire and water. Corresponding to 'life and death' in *v.* 17; opposing elements; cp. Light and darkness = Good and evil. For the synonym 'Fire' for 'Good', applied to God, cp. Deut. iv. 24.

17. **Life and death.** With the addition of 𝔏 (see critical note) cp. Deut. xxx. 15, 19; see also Jer. xxi. 8.

18. **Sufficient is . . .** i.e. God knows what each man chooses, cp. xlii. 17. 𝔊 'Great is . . .'

(He is) mighty in power. i. e. It lies within His power to punish those who choose the evil, and to reward those who choose the good.

and seeth all things. Cp. Ps. xxxiii. 13–15.

19. **And the eyes of God . . .** 𝔊 'And His eyes are upon them that fear Him', cp. Ps. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 16.

And He knoweth every deed . . . Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 31: 'He is the framer, and He the creator, and He the discoverer . . .'; cp. Ps. xxxiii. 15.

20. **to sin.** 𝔊 'to be ungodly' (ἀσεβεῖν).

nor gave strength . . . 𝔊 'And He gave no man licence to sin'. For the addition in 𝔅 see critical note.

(*d*) XVI. 1–5.

XVI. 1. **Desire not . . .** Cp. xlii. 12.

sight. 𝔊 'multitude', anticipating *v.* 2.

unprofitable sons. Lit. 'vain youths'. Cp. Philemon 11.

2. **If they have . . .** 𝔊 'Except the fear of the Lord be with them'.

3. **Trust not thou . . .** For the reason that it may suddenly come to an end cp. Job xxiv. 24.

on their end. For the Hebr. word עֵקֶב in the unusual sense of 'end' cp. Ps. cxix. 33, 112. Possibly the word is to be understood in the sense of 'gain', as in Ps. xix. 11 (12 in Hebr.); Prov. xxii. 4.

𝔅^ For better is one[f] than a thousand[g],
And to die childless than [h](to have)[h] a presumptuous posterity.
4 From one that[hh] feareth the Lord a city is peopled,
But through a race of treacherous men it is desolated[i].
5 Many things like these mine eye hath seen,
And mightier things than these mine ear hath heard.

(*e*) XVI. 6–14. *God's righteous wrath against the Wicked* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 2[+ 2] distichs).

6 In the assembly of the wicked a fire is kindled,
And in an apostate nation doth wrath burn.
7 He forgave not the princes[k] of old,
[l]Who revolted [m][l] in their might.
8 He spared not [n]the place where Lot sojourned[n],
Who were arrogant in their pride;
9 Nor did He spare the nation accursed[o],
Dispossessed because of their sin[p].
10 Thus (did it happen) to the six hundred thousand footmen,
Who were destroyed in the arrogancy of their heart[q]:
11 Yea, and if there be one who is stiff-necked,
A marvel it would be were he not punished.
For mercy and wrath are with Him,
He forgiveth and pardoneth, but [r]upon the wicked[r] He causeth His wrath to rest[r].
12 As great as His mercy (is), so is His chastisement[s]:
(Each) man doth He judge according to his works.

[f] 248 + 'righteous'; ℵ^c.a + 'doing the will of the Lord' (= 𝔅 𝔖): 𝔏 + timens deum [g] ℵ^c.a + 'transgressors': 70 + 'sinners': 𝔏 + filii impii [h-h] 𝔅 + 'one that hath many unprofitable children and than' [hh] 𝔅 + 'is childless (but)' [i] 248 + 'quickly' [k] 𝔊 𝔏 'giants' [l-l] 𝔖 'who filled the world' [m] 𝔅 + 'of yore' [n-n] 𝔖 'the inhabitants of the city of Lot' [o] ℵ^c.a + 'the nation of Canaan' [p] ℵ^c.a + 'All these things did He do to the hard-hearted nations, nor was He appeased by the multitude of His holy ones' [q] 55 70 248 + 'Chastising, showing mercy, smiting, healing, the Lord guarded them in mercy and in discipline' [r-r] 𝔖 'punisheth sins' [s] 𝔊 + 'great'

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4. **that feareth the Lord.** 𝔊 'that hath understanding'; 𝔖 'that feareth God'. To have understanding and to fear the Lord are synonymous terms in the Wisdom-Literature, cp. i. 14; Prov. i. 7, ix. 10; Ps. cxi. 10.

But through . . . Cp. Gen. xix. 24, 25. 𝔊 'But a race of wicked men shall be made desolate', misunderstanding the point of 𝔅.

5. **mightier things than . . .** These are enumerated in the verses that follow.

(*e*) XVI. 6–14.

6. **a fire is kindled.** Cp. Num. xvi. 35 for the thought, but probably the reference is not specifically to this as in the enumeration of events in the succeeding verses the chronological order is followed.

an apostate nation. The same phrase in Is. x. 6.

7. **He forgave not.** 𝔊 'He was not pacified towards'.

the princes of old. 𝔖 'the ancient kings'; 𝔊 follows the Sept. of Gen. vi. 4, 'the giants' of old time; cp. Num. xxi. 21–31; Wisd. xiv. 6; Judith xvi. 7; Bar. iii. 26 ff.; 3 Macc. ii. 4; Enoch vii. 2, ix. 9; Jubilees v. i.

Who revolted . . . 𝔏 Qui destructi sunt confidentes suae virtuti.

8. **He spared not . . .** Cp. Gen. xix. 14.

the place . . . sojourned. מגורי לוט as in Job xviii. 19, בְּמְגוּרָיו; not as 𝔊 𝔖.

Who were arrogant . . . Cp. Ezek. xvi. 49; 3 Macc. ii. 5 (Smend). 𝔊 'Whom He abhorred for their pride'.

9. **spare.** 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏 'pity'.

the nation accursed. i.e. Canaan, as ℵ^c.a explains correctly in an addition. 𝔊 'the people of perdition'.

10. **to the six hundred thousand . . .** Cp. xlvi. 8, and see Num. ix. 21; it is improbable, as the context shows, that the reference is to Exod. xii. 37, as Ryssel thinks.

destroyed. Lit. 'taken away'; 𝔊 'gathered together'.

in the arrogancy of . . . For the Hebrew cp. Deut. i. 43; 𝔖 'because of their murmuring' (cp. Num. xiv. 12). 𝔊 'in the hardness . . .', cp. *v.* 11.

11. **stiff-necked.** Cp. Exod. xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, 5, and for 𝔊 Neh. vii. 51.

A marvel. תֵּמָהּ; the noun (Aramaic) occurs, outside our book, only in Dan. iii. 32, 33, vi. 28.

For mercy and wrath . . . The same clause as *v.* 6*c* (𝔅 𝔊).

He forgiveth . . . 𝔊 for the whole clause, 'He is mighty to forgive (δυνάστης ἐξιλασμῶν, cp. Ps. lxxxvi. 5, cxxx. 4), and poureth out wrath.'

but upon the wicked . . . The same clause as *v.* 6*d* (𝔅 𝔊).

𝔅^A 13 The sinner shall not escape with his spoil,
And He will not suffer the desire[t] of the righteous to fail for ever.
14 Every one that doeth righteousness shall receive his reward,
And every man shall find[u] (his reward) before Him, according to his works.
15 [[v]The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh who knew Him not,
Whose works were manifest under the heavens;
16 His mercies are seen by all His creation,
And His light and His darkness[w] hath He apportioned unto the children of men.][v]

(*f*) XVI. 17–23. *Man's insignificance in the sight of God* (= 2 + 3 + 3 + 1 distichs).

17 Say not: 'I am hidden from God,
And in the height who will remember me?
I shall not be noticed[x] among so illustrious a people,
And what is my soul among the mass of the spirits [y]of all the children of men[y]?'
18 Behold the heavens and the heavens of the heavens,
And the deep, and the earth[z];
19 [a]When He treadeth upon them they stand firm,
And when He visiteth them they tremble[a].
[b]Yea, the bottoms of the mountains, and the foundations of the world,
When He[c] looketh upon them they tremble greatly.

[t] 𝔊 𝔖 'patience' [u] *Reading* (*after* 𝔊 𝔖) ימצא *for* יצא [v–v] 𝔊 > (*exc.* 106 248): 𝔖 Ar = 𝔅: *the two cursives vary only slightly from* 𝔅 [w] *Reading* (*after the cursives* 106 248 *and* 𝔖) חשכו *instead of* שׁבחו ('His blessing') [x] B C 'remembered' [y–y] 𝔊 > [z] 70 248 106 𝔏 + 'and all that in them is' [a–a] B 'when He visiteth them they are shaken' [b] 248 *inserts*: 'The whole world was made, and existeth, by His will' [c] 70 248 'the Lord'

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12. **according to his works.** Cp. xv. 19, and *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 24: 'The world is judged by grace; and everything is according to work.'

13. **the desire.** Cp. Prov. x. 24, xi. 23; Ps. cxii. 10; Smend, on the basis of xliv. 10 (Hebr.), emends to 'hope (תקות for תאות).

for ever. Omitted in 𝔊.

14. **Every one that . . . to his works.** 𝔊 'He will make room for every work of mercy; each man shall find according to his works'. Concerning the efficacy of works, see iii. 14, 31, xi. 27, xvii. 22, xxix. 9, xxxi. 9, 10, &c.; the Hebr. phrase עשה צדקה is the technical one for fulfilling the commandments of the Law (*Mitzvoth*); Ben-Sira frequently lays stress on the need of this, though occasionally he finds it necessary to utter a note of warning, e.g. in v. 5, 6, where he combats the belief that any number of sins can be committed provided that a sufficient number of good works are done to atone for them (cp. xxxiv. 26 [xxxi. 31]). The danger of works assuming a mechanical character became a more urgent one as time went on, see e.g. Matt. vii. 15, 27; it is seen clearly also in the later Rabbinical literature (for many examples see Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 279 ff.), though passages in which the efficacy of works is balanced by teaching on the need of grace are not wanting.

before Him. i.e. in His (God's) sight.

15, 16. These verses are probably not original, but they must have got into the text at an early period, as they are found in the Syriac and Arabic versions, as well as in two Greek cursives. They belong to the secondary recension of 𝔅.

15. **The Lord hardened . . .** Cp. Exod. ix. 12 ff.

under the heavens. Cp. Exod. v. 2, xvii. 14; Deut. xxv. 19, xxix. 19; Job xli. 3.

16. **the children of men.** 𝔊 τῷ ἀδαμάντι, a corruption for τῷ ἀδάμ (לאדם).

(*f*) XVI. 17–23.

17. **I am hidden from God.** Cp. Ps. cxxxix. 7–12.

noticed. Lit. 'known', i.e. recognized.

among the mass . . . 𝔊 'in a boundless creation'; Saʿadya, who quotes this verse (Smend), omits 'of all the children of men', which overloads the clause, and is evidently not original.

18, 19. The whole-hearted acknowledgement of the divine glory and power contained in these verses cannot be intended to be spoken by the sceptic, in whose mouth they would sound strange; it is clear, on the other hand, that *vv.* 20–22 belong to the same speaker as *v.* 17. It would seem that *vv.* 18, 19 have got out of place; they would come more appropriately after *v.* 23, where, after having rebuked the sceptic's way of thinking, Ben-Sira utters his own confession of faith.

18. **the heavens of the heavens.** Cp. Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; 3 Macc. ii. 15.

the deep, and the earth. These, with the heavens, went to make up the universe, according to the ancient Hebrew conception. The 'deep' = *Tehom* (cp. Gen. vi. 11), i.e. the subterranean abyss of waters.

19. **treadeth.** Lit. 'cometh down', cp. Ps. xviii. 8, civ. 32.

And when He visiteth . . . פקד often has the sense of 'punish'; cp. Is. x. 12; Jer. ix. 24 (Hebr.); with the whole verse cp. *Test. 12 Patriarchs*, Levi iii. 9: 'When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken.'

the bottoms of the mountains. Cp. Jonah ii. 6 (Hebr. 7); 𝔊 'the mountains'.

When He looketh . . . Cp. Ps. civ. 32; Nahum i. 5.

𝔓[A] 20 'In truth, unto me He will not have respect;
And as for my ways, who will mark them?[cc]
21 If I sin, no eye beholdeth it,
Or if I deal untruly in all secrecy, who will know it?
22 [d]My righteous dealing, who declareth it?
And what hope (is there)? for the decree is distant*[de].'
23 They that lack understanding think these things,
And the man of folly thinketh this.

(*a*). XVI. 24–30. *Wisdom as seen in Creation* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

24 Hearken ye unto me, and receive my wisdom,
And set your heart upon my words.
25 I will pour out my spirit[f] by weight,
And [g]by measure[g] will I declare my knowledge.
26 When God created His works from the beginning,
𝔊 [h]After making them[h] He assigned them (their) portions[i].
27 He set in order His[k] works for ever,
[l]And their authority unto their generations[l].
They hunger not, neither [m]are they weak[m],
And they cease not from their works[n].

[cc] א c.a + 'And according as a man asketh, his eye shall see (his reward'): *cp. v.* 14 b [d-d] 𝔖 > * *Reading* ירחק *for* אצוק (*Smend*) [e] 70 106 248 𝔏 + 'And the trying of all things is not until the end' [f] 𝔖 'words' [g-g] 𝔖 'in wisdom' [h-h] 𝔓 'Concerning their life': *this is all that is left of* 𝔓 *in the clause; it is wanting from here to* xviii. 23 [i] 𝔖 'laws' [k] א 253 'their' (= 𝔖 𝔏) [l-l] 70 106 248: 'In His hand are their beginnings from generation to generation' [m-m] *So* א: 𝔊 'do they labour': 70 106 248 + 'in His works': 𝔖 'do they labour,' + 'nor are they weary' [n] 𝔖 'strength'

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20. **In truth.** In this and the two next verses the sceptic's train of thought is continued from *v.* 17; he says, in effect, that neither evil actions nor righteous dealing matter since God is indifferent to both. 𝔊 misunderstands the point of the words, and renders: 'And no heart shall think upon these things, and who shall conceive his ways?'

21. **If I sin ...** It is difficult to make much out of 𝔊: 'And a tempest which no man seeth [א[c.a] adds: 'shall come upon him', to make sense], and the more part of his works are among hidden things'; with the second clause cp. xliii. 32. Smend ingeniously emends the first clause thus: *κἂν κακοποιῇ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ὄψεται ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ*, but the unanimity of the Greek MSS. in reading *καταιγίς* points to an original misreading of 𝔓. With the whole verse cp. xxiii. 18–20.

22. **who declareth it?** Since God Himself, according to the sceptic, does not see it (cp. *vv.* 20, 21), who is there to tell Him if a man deals righteously? The sceptic is represented as not believing in the ministry of angels (cp. Job xxxiii. 23, 24).

And what hope (is there)? 𝔊 'Or who shall endure them?' *ὑπομενεῖ* is probably a corruption of *ὑπομονή* (=תקוה in Job xiv. 19; Ps. ix. 19, lxi. 5).

for the decree is distant. i.e. the decreed reward for well-doing, or punishment for evil-doing, is, in any case, so far off that one need not be concerned with either.

23. **And the man of folly ...** 𝔊 paraphrastically: 'And an unwise and erring man thinketh follies.' Cp. Ps. xiv. 1 (Sept. xiii. 1), liii. 1 (Sept. lii. 1).

XVI. 24—XVIII. 29. Divine retribution further exemplified. This division contains seven subsections.

(*a*) XVI. 24–30.

24, 25. These verses form an introduction to this section, which deals with the wonders of Creation, in which the divine Wisdom is revealed.

24. **receive my wisdom.** Cp. viii. 9. שֵׂכֶל means 'insight', or 'good sense'; cp. Prov. iii. 4, xiii. 15, &c. 𝔊 'learn knowledge'.

set your heart. With 𝔊 *πρόσεχε τῇ καρδίᾳ σου* cp. Deut. xxxii. 46 (Sept.).

25. **I will pour out.** The Hebr. root נבע is a late one, and occurs only elsewhere in the poetical books, Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes; cp. x. 13, l. 27.

by weight. Cp. xxi. 5, xxviii. 25.

by measure. 𝔊 *ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ.*

will I declare my knowledge. Cp. Job x. 17, xxxii. 6.

26. **When God created.** 𝔊 *ἐν κρίσει* (a scribal error for *κτίσει*) *Κυρίου.* Cp. 1 Enoch ii. 1–3.

... He assigned them ... Cp. Gen. i. 20, 25; Ps. cxxxvi. 6–9.

27. **He set in order ...** Cp. Ps. civ. 24, 31.

their authority. *τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν.* Cp. Gen. i. 16, 18; Ps. ciii. 22; i.e. the sphere of their activity. Ryssel refers to Philo (*De Monarch.* I. § i, II. § 5 ff.), where the sun and the stars are designated *ἄρχοντες.*

unto their generations. Cp. Ps. cxxxv. (cxxxvi.) 8 f. (Sept.).

They hunger not ... Cp. xliii. 10.

𝔊 28 [o]Not one thrusteth aside his neighbour[o],
They never disobey His word.
29 And after this the Lord looked upon the earth,
And [p]filled it with His good things[p].
30 With every living thing He filled[q] the earth;
[r]And into it is their return[r].

(*b*) XVII. 1–14. *God's gifts to man* (= 2 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 2 distichs).

17 1 God[a] created man[b] out of dust[c],
And turned him back thereunto.
2 He granted them [d]a [fixed] number of days[d],
And gave them authority over all[e] things [f]on the earth[f].
3 [g]He clothed them with strength [gg]like unto Himself[ggg],
And made them according to His own[h] image.
4 He put the fear of them[i] upon all flesh,
And [k]caused them to have power[k] over beasts and birds[l].
𝔊 𝔖* 7*a* [m]With insight and understanding He filled their heart[m],
7*b* And taught[mm] them good and evil.
6*a* [n]He created for them[n] tongue, and eyes, and ears,
6*b* And He gave[o] them a heart to understand,

[o–o] 𝔖 'they hate not one another' [p–p] 𝔖 'blessed it with all its fruits' [q] *So* 𝔖; 𝔊 'covered' [r–r] 𝔖 'And gathered within it all His works'
[a] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'The Lord' [b] 𝔖 Adam [c] *So* 𝔖: 𝔏 + 'and made him after His image' [d–d] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'days by number': 𝔊 𝔏 + 'and a set time' [e] *So* 70 𝔖 [f–f] *Lit.* 'thereon' [g–g] 𝔏 *omits this clause here, but places it before v.* 2: 𝔖 'By His wisdom He clothed them with strength and covered them with fear' [gg–gg] *Reading* καθ' εαυτον *for* καθ' εαυτους [h] *So* ℵ A [i] So 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'him' [k–k] *Cp.* B[b]: 𝔖 >: 70 248 + 'in His likeness' (*i.e.* like Him) [l] 70 248 +: 'They (*i.e.* men) received the use of five powers (*i.e.* the five senses) of the Lord; but as a sixth He also accorded them the gift of understanding (νους), and as a seventh the Word (λογος), the interpreter of His (*i.e.* God's) powers' (= *v.* 5) * *The order of the clauses here follows* 𝔖: 𝔊 *lacks logical sequence; the order in* 𝔏 *differs from both* [m–m] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'He filled them with skilfulness of insight': 𝔏 + 'He created for them the understanding of the spirit, and filled their heart with reason' [mm] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'showed them' [n–n] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 διαβουλιον, *the result of reading* וְיִצֶר *instead of* וַיִּצֶר; *the omission of* לָהֶם ('for them') *followed from this* [o] 𝔖 *Lit.* 'granted as their portion'

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28. **Not one thrusteth aside . . .** i.e. the heavenly bodies have been 'set in order', they follow their course without interfering with one another; cp. Ps. civ. 19.
They never disobey . . . Cp. Ps. cxlviii. 5, 6.
29. **And after this . . .** Cp. Gen. i. 20–31.
And filled it . . . Cp. Ps. civ. 24, 28.
30. **With every living thing.** 𝔊 ψυχὴν (א ψυχὴ) παντὸς ζῴου; cp. Gen. i. 21 כל־נפש החיה, πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζῴων . . .; cp. also Gen. i. 24.
And into it . . . Cp. Gen. iii. 19; Ps. civ. 29; Eccles. xii. 7.

(*b*) XVII. 1–14.

XVII. 1. After speaking of the Creation generally, Ben-Sira now deals more specifically with man and God's gifts to him.
God created . . . Cp. Gen. ii. 7.
And turned him back . . . Cp. Gen. iii. 19; Ps. cxlvi. 4.
2. **He granted them . . .** Cp. Ps. xc. 10.
And gave them authority. Cp. Gen. i. 28; Ps. viii. 6–8.
3. **like unto Himself . . . according to His own image.** Cp. Gen. i. 26, 27.
4. **the fear of them . . .** Cp. Gen. i. 28, ix. 2; Wisd. ix. 2.
caused them . . . Cp. Gen. i. 26, 28; Ps. viii. 6–8.
5. See critical note [1]. In reference to this insertion Grotius (quoted by Smend) says: 'Videtur ad marginem annotatum fuisse ab aliquo Stoicorum librorum lectore. Nam Stoici ad quinque sensus notissimos tres annumerabant alios, quorum hic omissum est τὸ σπερματικόν.' The verse is, on the face of it, not original.
6 ff. See critical notes.
7 *a*. **With insight . . .** Cp. Ps. viii. 5.
7 *b*. **. . . good and evil.** See, however, Gen. ii. 17, iii. 22.
6 *a*. **He created.** See critical note.
6 *b*. **heart.** As usually in the O. T., the seat of understanding.

𝔊 𝔖 8*b* [p]To show them the majesty of His works,
8*c* [q]And that they might glory in His wondrous acts[q];
*9 That they might evermore declare[r] His glorious works[r],
10 And praise[s] His holy name.
𝔊 11 He set before[t] them the covenant[tt];
The law of life [u]He gave them for a heritage[u].
12 He made an everlasting covenant with them,
And showed[uu] them His judgements.
13 Their eyes beheld [x]His[x] glorious majesty,
[y]And their ear heard His[z] glorious voice[y];
14 And He said unto them, [a]Beware of all unrighteousness[a];
And He gave them commandment, to each man concerning his neighbour.

(*c*) XVII. 15–24. *God's recompense to those who serve Him* (= 2[+1]+2+2 distichs).

15 Their ways [b]are ever[b] before Him,
They are not hid from His eyes[c].
17 [[d]For every nation He appointed a ruler,
But Israel is the Lord's portion[e]].

[p] 𝔖 > 8[a]: 𝔊 𝔏: 'He set His eye (254 Syro-Hex [mg] 'fear') upon their hearts' [q-q] *So, with some variation,* ℵ[c.a] 70 248 (*as v.* 9) 𝔖 𝔏 * *vv.* 9–10 *are misplaced in* 𝔊 [r-r] 𝔖 'the fear of Him in the world' [s] 70 248 'the elect shall praise' [t] προεθηκεν (= 𝔖) *instead of* προσεθηκεν ('He added') [tt] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'knowledge' [u-u] 𝔖 'He taught them': 248 + 'to perceive that they are mortal' [uu] 𝔖 'made known unto' [x-x] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 > [y-y] 𝔏 > [z] *So* ℵ C V 70 253 254 Syro-Hex Ar: BA &c. 'their' [a-a] 𝔖 'take heed and be not faithless' [b-b] 𝔖 'are manifest' [c] 70 248 + 'From their youth up every man (70 their way) was towards evil, neither were they able to make their hearts (to be) of flesh instead of stone' (= *v.* 16), *cp.* Ezek. xi. 19 [d] 70 248 *insert here*: 'At the separation of the peoples of the whole earth,' *cp.* Gen. vi. 5, vii. 21, Deut. xxxii. 8 [e] 70 248 + 'Whom (*i.e.* Israel, the Lord's portion) He brought up as His firstborn (*cp.* Exod. iv. 22) with severity, yet loving them, imparting to them the light of love, and He forsook them

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8 *b*. **the majesty.** Cp. xviii. 4.
8 *c*. See critical note.
9, 10. The order as given above is that of 𝔖.
11. **He set before them.** Cp. Deut. iv. 44.
the covenant. 𝔊 read בינה for ברית.
The law of life. i.e. the law which gives life, the Law of Moses; cp. xlv. 5 (תורת חיים), Baruch iv. 1, and the Midrash *Sifre* 84 *a*: 'As water giveth life to the world, so do the words of Torah give life to the world'; and *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 8: 'He who hath gotten to himself words of Torah hath gotten to himself the life of the world to come.' Ben-Sira is, of course, only referring to this life.
12. **made.** Lit. 'set up' (ἔστησεν); cp. xliv. 18 *a*; Ezek. xvi. 60.
an everlasting covenant. Cp. Baruch iv. 1.
13. **Their eyes beheld . . .** See Exod. xix. 16–20, xxiv. 16, 17.
His glorious voice. Cp. xlv. 5; Is. xxx. 30; Rev. i. 10, iv. 1.
14. **Beware of . . .** A summary of all the prohibitory commandments of the Law, referring especially to that against worshipping other gods.
He gave them commandment . . . This and the preceding clause sum up the 'great commandments' of the Law, love to God and one's neighbour; cp. Matt. xxii. 36–40.
(*c*) XVII. 15–24.
15. **Their ways are . . .** Cp. Ps. xc. 8 *a*; Is. xlix. 16.
They are not hid . . . Cp. Ps. xc. 8 *b*. See critical note.
17. See critical note for addition in 248. This verse (17) can hardly be original here. If genuine it has been misplaced (it breaks the close logical connexion between *vv.* 15 and 19, which form 2 distichs).
For every nation . . . portion. This verse is of importance as illustrating the Jewish doctrine of God both in His relationship to Israel and to the Gentiles. By their acceptance of the Law the Israelites became God's 'peculiar people' (עם סגלה; cp. Deut. xiv. 2, xxvi. 18; Ps. cxxxv. 4), and were therefore His particular care (cp. the Sept. of Deut. xxii. 8, 9, 'But the Lord's portion was His people Jacob, the lot of His inheritance was Israel'). On the other hand, since He was the God of all the world, His interest in other nations could not be denied (cp. the Midrash *Sifre* 40: 'God doth not provide for Israel alone, but for all men'); thus the belief arose that, while God reserved the Israelites for His special care, He deputed angels to look after, and champion, the cause of other races. It is said, e.g. in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen. xi. 7, 8, that every nation has its own guardian angel who pleads the cause of the nation under his protection before God. It is interesting to observe that in later times even the divine guardianship over Israel was deputed to the archangel Michael; in *Ḥagigah* 12 *b* (T. B.) he has the title of 'Advocate of the Jews'; and in the *Yalkut Shimeoni*, *Bereshith* 132, Michael is described as the prince over all the angels, because he is the guardian angel of the Israelite nation; he acts as Israel's representative and patron in the presence of God, and he intercedes there on behalf of his people.
For *v.* 18 see critical note.

𝔊 19 All their works [f]are [clear][f] as the sun before Him,
[g]And His eyes are continually upon their ways[g].
20 Their iniquities are not hid from Him,
And all [h]their sins[h] are [inscribed][i] before the Lord[k].
22 The righteousness[l] of men[m] [n]is to Him as a signet[n],
And the mercy[o] of man He preserveth[p] as the apple of an eye[q].
23 Afterwards [r]He will rise up[r] and recompense them,
And will visit[s] their deeds[t] upon their own head[u].
24 Nevertheless to them that repent doth He grant a return[v],
And [w]comforteth them that lose hope[w x].

(*d*) XVII. 25–32. *An exhortation to turn to God and forsake sin* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

25 [y]Turn unto the Lord, [z]and forsake sins;
Supplicate before (His) face, and (so) lessen offence.
26 Turn unto the Most High, and turn away from iniquity[zz],
And vehemently hate the abominable thing[z].
𝔖 27 [a]For what pleasure hath God in all that perish[a] in Hades[b],
𝔊 In place of those who live and give Him praise?

not' (= *v.* 18) [f–f] *So* 𝔏 (*lit.* 'manifest'): 𝔖 'stand': 𝔊 > [g–g] 𝔖 'And all their thoughts are manifest before Him' [h–h] 𝔖 'the sins of men' [i] *So* 𝔖 *only* [k] 70 248 + 'But the Lord, being merciful, knowing also (that they are made in) His own image, spared them, and forsook them not nor cast them off' (= *v.* 21). [l] *Lit.* 'alms' [m] 𝔖 'of all men' [n–n] 𝔖 'is sealed and deposited with Him' [o] *Lit.* 'grace' [p] 𝔖 'is preserved' [q] 70 248 + 'granting (*lit.* allotting) repentance to his sons and daughters' [r–r] 𝔖 'shall He reveal Himself' [s] *Lit.* 'render' [t] *Lit.* 'retribution': 𝔖 'debts' [u] 𝔏 + 'and He will consign (*lit.* turn) them to the lower parts of the earth' [v] 𝔏 'a way of righteousness': 𝔖 'repentance' [w–w] 𝔖 'will destroy all who cause hurt to the righteous' [x] *Lit.* 'endurance': 𝔏 + 'and hath apportioned to them the lot of Truth' [y] 𝔏 *has the title* 'Concerning conversion': 248 'Therefore turn' [z–z] 𝔖 'and ye shall turn from destruction; turn from sin and cause not anger (unto the Lord)' [zz] 70 248 + 'For He Himself will lead (thee) out of darkness unto the light of salvation' (*lit.* 'health') [a–a] 𝔊 'who will praise the Most High in Hades': 𝔏 *has instead of v.* 27: 'and recognize the justice and judgements of God, and stand in the lot of the favour and prayer of the Most High; walk in the places of the holy world with the living and with those who give thanks unto God. Abide not in the folly of the wicked; confess (God) before death' [b] 𝔖 'the world': 70 248 + 'in heart'

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19. **All their works...** Cp. xvi. 22; Eccles. viii. 9.
And His eyes... Cp. xxiii. 19; Ps. xciv. 11.
20. **Their iniquities...** Cp. Ps. xxxiii. 5, lxix. 5.
And all their sins... Cp. Jer. li. 5.
22. **righteousness.** ἐλεημοσύνη (=צדקה); almsgiving was reckoned as the greatest of the מעשים טובים ('good works'), and therefore righteousness *par excellence.* 𝔖 has זכותא, i.e. a state of justification in the sight of God brought about by the accomplishment of good works.
a signet. i.e. something which is especially precious; cp. xlix. 11; Job xiv. 17.
mercy. For χάρις (=חסד) used in reference to a human virtue see xl. 17, and cp. xiv. 1, where 𝔓 reads אנשי חסד, lit. 'men of mercy', for the Greek ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους.
He preserveth. i.e. He keeps in memory; cp. Acts x. 10: 'Thy prayers and thine alms are gone up for a memorial before God.'
the apple of an eye. Cp. Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. xvii. 8; Prov. vii. 2; Zech. ii. 12.
23. **Afterwards...** The reference here is to those mentioned in *v.* 20; the words of *v.* 22 are parenthetic.
He will rise up. i.e. to judgement.
and will visit. For פקד על in this sense cp. Amos iii. 2, 14; Hos. i. 4, ii. 15, &c.
upon their own head. Cp. Joel iii. (Hebr. iv.) 4, 7.
24. **to them that repent...** Cp. *Shabbath* 32 *a* (T. B.): 'Repentance and works of charity are man's intercessors before the House of God'; and *Yoma* 86 *a*: 'Great is the power of repentance; for it reaches up to the throne of God; it brings healing...'
a return. i.e. to divine favour.
that lose hope. Cp. Hebr. of Ezek. xxxvii. 11.
(*d*) XVII. 25–32.
25. **Turn unto...** Cp. Ps. xc. 3; Mal. iii. 7.
Supplicate before (His) face. i.e. before the place in the temple where God's presence was believed to be, in the Holy of Holies.
offence. πρόσκομμα, cp. Rom. ix. 32, 33; 1 Cor. viii. 9.
26. **...the abominable thing.** Cp. xv. 13.
27. The thought is that God's delight is in those who live and can therefore praise Him, not in those who go down to Hades and are cut off from communion with Him; the teaching here coincides with the normal teaching of the O.T. (some passages in the Psalms show, however, a great development), that God's interest in man is restricted to this world; cp. the next verse.
...who live and give Him praise. Cp. Ps. cxvi. 2, cxx. 17, 18; Is. xxxviii. 18, 19.

𝔊 28 Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead as from one that is not,
(But) he that liveth and is in health praiseth the Lord[c].
29 How great is the mercy of the Lord[d],
And [e]His[f] forgiveness unto[e] them that turn unto Him[g].
𝔖 30 [h]For it is not like this in man,
Nor is (God's) thought like the thoughts of the children of men[h].
𝔊 31 What is brighter than the sun? Yet this faileth;
And (how much more) [i]man, who[i] (hath) the inclination[k] of flesh and blood!
32 He looketh upon [l]the hosts of heaven[l],
[m]And on men[m] who are dust and ashes.

(*e*) XVIII. 1–14. *The works of the Almighty are past finding out; the insignificance of man, and the magnanimity of God* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

18 1 He that liveth for ever created[a] all things together[b].
2 The Lord alone [c]shall be justified[c].
4 [de]Who is sufficient[e] to declare His works,
And who can trace out[f] His mighty deeds?

[c] 𝔏 + 'and thou shalt glory in His mercy' [d] 248 + 'our God' [e-e] 𝔖 'He forgiveth' [f] *Expressed in* 𝔏 *only* [g] 248 + 'holily' [h-h] 𝔊 𝔏 'For all things cannot be in men, for a son of man is not immortal': 𝔏 + 'and they take pride in the vanity of iniquity' [i-i] *Reading* ανηρ ος *instead of* πονηρος [k] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'thinketh', *reading* יצר *as a verb, cp.* xvii. 6, *where the verb is understood as a noun*: ℵ[c.a] και τι πονηροτερον ενθυμειται (= 𝔏): 70 253 και ανηρ ος ενθυμηθησεται (= Syro-Hex) [l-l] *So* 𝔖 [m-m] *So* 𝔖

[a] 𝔖 'tried', *or* 'proved' [b] 254 'by word (and) in order' [c-c] 70 248 'is just'; *adding*: 'and there is none other beside Him': 𝔏 + 'and He abideth as king, invincible for ever' [d] 70 248 *insert here*: 'who guideth the world in the hollow of His hand, and all things are obedient unto His will; for He is King of all things, and they are in His power; He separateth among them the holy things from the common' (= *v.* 3) [e-e] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'to none' (248 'to whom') 'hath He given power' [f] 𝔖 'number'

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28. The omission of this verse in 𝔖 is probably owing to the sentiments expressed, which would naturally be distasteful to a Christian translator.

Thanksgiving perisheth . . . Cp. Ps. vi. 5, xxviii. 1, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 4, 5, cxv. 17.

29. **How great is . . .** Cp. Ps. lxxxvi. 5, 15.

forgiveness. ἐξιλασμός, lit. 'appeasement'; see further, note on xviii. 20.

30. The rendering of 𝔖 of this verse is to be preferred to that of 𝔊, according to which the meaning is that because man is imperfect and mortal, therefore he is entitled to appeal to God's mercy; 𝔖 accords better with the context.

it is not like this in man. Cp. xviii. 13.

Nor is (God's) thought . . . Cp. Isa. lv. 8, 9.

the children of men. 𝔊 υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, i.e. a human being; cp. Judith viii. 12, the only other place in the Apocrypha where the expression occurs. (Cf. however 4 Ezra viii. 44, emended text.)

31. **What is brighter . . .** i.e. If the sun with all its brightness ceases at times to give light, is it to be wondered at that man, the victim of the manifold temptations which flesh is heir to, should sometimes fail? Logic of a somewhat similar incongruous character is found in Job xxv. 5, 6: 'Behold, even the moon hath no brightness, and the stars are not pure in His sight: how much less man, that is a worm! and the son of man, which is a worm!' But similes of the kind, especially in Oriental writers, must not, of course, be unduly pressed.

the man who (hath) . . . See critical notes.

𝔖 paraphrases the verse thus: 'When the sun, having run its course through the bright day, has sunk, it becomes dark; so also man, who, being flesh and blood, does not control his inclination' (יֵצֶר).

32. **the hosts of heaven.** Cp. xxiv. 2, xlii. 17; Deut. ix. 19, xvii. 3; Isa. xxiv. 21; 𝔊 'the power of the height of heaven', δύναμιν ὕψους οὐρανοῦ; in the Sept. δύναμις is the rendering of חיל even when it means 'a host'. Here the reference is to the sun, moon, and stars, regarded as eternal; God looks upon these as well as upon man who passes away.

on men. 𝔊, misunderstanding the point of the verse, viz. that God looks upon things eternal and also upon things transient, made an independent clause of the second half of the verse, and added 'all' to 'men'.

dust and ashes. Cp. x. 9; Gen. xviii. 27; Job xv. 14, 15.

(*e*) XVIII. 1–14.

XVIII. 1. **created.** ἔκτισεν, for which Ryssel would read κρίνει ('judgeth'), cp. 𝔖, and the reading of the cursives (see critical note) in *v.* 2; cp. the scribal error ἐν κρίσει for ἐν κτίσει in xvi. 26.

together. κοινῇ (= יחדו as in l. 17), referring to Creation in its entirety.

2. **shall be justified.** δικαιωθήσεται, lit. 'shall be declared just'. For the additions to this verse see critical notes, and cp. Isa. xl. 12, 21; Ezek. xxii. 26.

4. **Who is sufficient . . .** Cp. i. 6. The similarity of language with that of the Psalms (Sept.) in this and the following verses is noteworthy.

to declare His works. ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ; cp. Ps. cvi. 22 ἐξαγγειλάτωσαν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

who can trace out. ἐξιχνιάσει; cp. Wisd. vi. 23.

His mighty deeds. Cp. Ps. lxx. 7 (Sept.).

𝔊 5 [g]Who can declare the might of His majesty,
And [gg]who can recount[gg] His[h] mercies[i]?
6 No man can take (from them) nor add (to them),
Nor can any one trace out the marvellous acts of the Lord[g].
7 When a man hath finished, then doth he but begin,
And when he ceaseth, he is in perplexity.
8 What is man, [m]and what profit is there of him[m]?
What is the good of him, and what is the evil?
9 The number of man's days
Is great (if it reach) an hundred years[n].
10 [o]As a drop of water[o] from the sea, or as[p] a grain[q] of sand,
[qq]So are [r](man's) few[r] years in the eternal days[s qq].
11 Therefore is the Lord longsuffering towards them,
And poureth out His mercy upon them.
12 [t]He seeth[u] and knoweth[t] that their end[v] is evil,
Therefore doth He multiply His forgiveness[w].
13 The mercy of man is (exercised upon) his own kin[x],
But the mercy of God[y] is (extended) to all flesh[z],
Reproving, and chastening, and teaching[a],
And bringing them back as a shepherd his flock.
14 [b]He hath mercy on them that accept (His) chastening[b],
And that [c]diligently seek after[c] His judgements.

(*f*) XVIII. 15–18. *The right spirit in giving* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

15 [cc]My son, [d]bring no[e] blemish on thy good deeds[d],
[f]Nor in (giving) any gift[g] (cause) grief through words[f];

[g-g] 𝔖 > [gg-gg] 𝔊 *lit.* 'who shall add to make a description of' [h] C 'the Lord's' [i] C 'works': 307 μεγαλεια = גדלות, 'mighty works' [m-m] *So* 𝔖 'what is his loss and what is his gain?' [n] 70 248 + 'and eternal (*lit.* incalculable) is the sleep of such (which is common) to all' [o-o] 𝔖 'as when one fills a bottle' [p] *So* 70 248 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 > [q] *So* V 253 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'pebble' [qq-qq] 𝔖 'So a thousand years of this world are not (even) as one day in the world of the righteous' [r-r] 248 'a thousand' [s] 𝔊 'in the day of eternity' (248 253 Syro-Hex 'days of') [t-t] 𝔖 'for He knew': ℵ [c.a] *places an asterisk before this v.* [u] 𝔏 + 'the pride of their heart, that it is evil' [v] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 καταστροφη [w] 𝔖 + 'among them, and showed them the way of righteousness' (viam aequitatis) [x] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'neighbour' [y] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'the Lord' [z] 𝔖 'his works' [a] 𝔖 + 'them' [b-b] 𝔖 'Blessed are they that wait for His mercy': 𝔏 'He hath mercy on them that receive the teaching of mercy' [c-c] 𝔖 'accept' [cc] *ℵ has the title εγκρατεια ψυχης [d-d] 𝔖 'hinder not him that doeth a good deed to his neighbour' [e] 𝔊 *lit.* 'give not' [f-f] 𝔊 *lit.* 'nor in every gift grief of words'; *cp.* 𝔏 et in omni dato non des tristitiam verbi mali: 𝔖 'and on him that gives look not askance' [g] 248 'request'

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5. **Who can declare.** τίς ἐξαριθμήσεται; cf. Ps. lxxxix. 12 (Sept.) = מנה.
who can recount. Cp. Isa. xlix. 16 (Sept.).
His mercies. Cp. Ps. xvi. 7 (Sept.).
6. **No man . . .** Lit. 'It is not (possible) to . . .'; so, too, in the next clause. Cp. xlii. 21 *c*.
the marvellous acts . . . Cp. Ps. lxxvi. 12, lxxvii. 12, lxxxvii. 11 (all in the Sept.).
7. **he is in perplexity.** i. e. because he realizes the impossibility of his task.
8. **What is man.** Cp. Ps. viii. 4 (Sept.),
what profit is there of him? i. e. that he should think it possible to trace out the wonderful works of God.
What is the good . . . i. e. neither are worth consideration in view of his insignificance in the sight of God.
9. **The number . . .** Cp. Ps. xc. 10. The addition to this verse (see critical note) probably represents something which the original contained; cp. with it Eccles. ix. 5, 6.
10. **As a drop of water . . .** Cp. Isa. xl. 15.
So are . . . i. e. man's few years of life are like a day compared with eternity.
11. **Therefore.** Because his time is short and fleeting.
12. **end.** Lit. 'overthrow'.
doth He multiply. Cp. Ps. xxxv. 8 (Sept.).
13. **his own kin.** See critical note. Cp. Peshiṭta of Lev. xviii. 6 (= שאר בשרו, lit. 'flesh of his flesh', i. e. 'near of kin'), quoted by Ryssel; cp. also Lev. xxv. 49.
as a shepherd. Cp. Isa. xl. 11.
14. **He hath mercy . . .** Cp. xxxii. (𝔊 xxxv.) 14.
chastening. i. e. 'instruction' which is given by means of chastening; cp. vi. 32, 33.
(*f*) XVIII. 15–18.
15. **Nor in (giving) . . .** i. e. do not humiliate the receiver of charity.

𝔊 16 [h]Just as[h] the rain[i] maketh the burning heat to cease;
[k]So a word changeth[l] (the character of) a gift[k].
17 [m]For there is a good word which is better than a gift[m],
And both belong to a saintly[n] man.
18 A fool upbraideth ungraciously[o],
And the gift of an envious[p] man consumeth[q] the eyes.

(*g*) XVIII. 19–29. *The need of foresight and preparation in view of many things which happen to men; this is true Wisdom* (= 3 + 2 + 3 + 1 + 2 distichs).

𝔖 19 [r]Before thou fight, seek thee a helper[r];
[s]Before thou art ill, seek thee a physician[s].
𝔊 20 [t]Before judgement [u]examine thyself[u t],
And in the [v]hour of visitation[v] thou shalt find forgiveness[w].
21 Before thou fall[x], [y]humble thyself[y],
And [z]in the time of[z] (committing) sins, [a]show forth repentance[a].
22 Delay not[b] [c]to pay thy vow in due time[c],
[d]And wait not till death to be justified[d].

h–h *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'doth not' i *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *lit.* 'dew' k–k *So* 𝔖 l *Lit.* 'turneth': 𝔊 𝔏 'is greater than' m–m *So* 𝔖: 𝔊𝔏 'Lo, is not a word above a good gift?' n *So* 𝔖: 𝔊𝔏 'gracious' o 𝔖 'before he doeth a gracious act' p 𝔊 *properly* 'evil-eyed': 𝔖 'evil' q *Lit.* 'melteth'; 𝔏 'maketh to waste away' r–r *So* 𝔖; 𝔊 'before speaking learn': 𝔏 'before judgement prepare justice for thyself,' *cp.* 20 *a* s–s *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *lit.* 'before sickness heal': 𝔏 'and before thou speak learn, and before sickness apply to a physician' t–t 𝔖 'and before sorrow come upon thee, pray' u–u 248 'prepare thyself by well-doing' v–v 𝔏 'sight of God' w 𝔖 + 'and it shall help thee' x *So* 𝔖: 𝔊𝔏 'art sick' y–y 𝔖 'pray and beseech': 70 248 + 'with self-control' z–z 𝔖 'before' a–a 𝔖 'give alms' b 𝔊 *lit.* 'be not hindered' c–c 𝔖 'to cause thy sins to pass away': 𝔏 'to pray unceasingly' 𝔖 *inserts here two clauses:* 'be not careless until thou art in trouble, put not off the time of turning from thy sins' d–d 𝔖 'remember that death delayeth not': 𝔏 + 'for

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16. **Just as the rain . . .** Cp. xliii. 23.

17. **For there is a good word . . .** Cowley and Neubauer quote *Baba Bathra* 9 *b* (T. B.): 'He who giveth a farthing is blessed sixfold, but he who addeth words elevenfold'; the 'word' refers to the encouragement and words of cheer addressed to the recipient.

And both belong . . . Words as well as acts mark the truly charitable man.

18. **A fool . . .** He is a 'fool' because the efficacy of the gift in the sight of God is done away with by the churlish remark which accompanies it.

consumeth . . . The reference is to the humiliation suffered by him who receives when the gift is accompanied by cruel words; for the expression in Gr. cp. Lev. xxvi. 16.

(*g*) XVIII. 19–29.

19. 𝔖 is to be preferred in this verse; cp. 𝔏 (see critical note).

seek thee a physician. Cp. xxxviii. 12–15.

20. **Before judgement.** i. e. the judgement of God; the reference is to the 'hour of visitation' in the next clause; see note on vii. 35.

thou shalt find forgiveness. ἐξιλασμόν ('propitiation'). According to Jewish teaching suffering and sickness, as well as death itself, are in themselves means of atonement, and therefore of reconciliation with God, though the need of repentance as well is often insisted upon in Rabbinical writings. In the Midrash *Sifre* 73 *b* (belonging to the second century A. D.) it is said that a man should rejoice more in chastisement than in prosperity, because if he enjoyed good fortune all his life his sins would not be forgiven him. In the same Midrash (33 *a*) a saying is quoted to the effect that 'All who die are reconciled through death'. Very pointed are the words in the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* 5 *a*: 'Suffering is more apt than sacrifice to win God's favour and to atone for man.' Teaching of this kind is only adumbrated by Ben-Sira, but it was greatly developed and elaborated by later teachers.

21. **humble thyself.** Cp. xxxiv. 26 (𝔊 xxxi. 31).

show forth repentance. Repentance is also, according to Jewish teaching, a mediating agency; cp. *Yoma* 86 *b* (T. B.), where it is said that repentance 'brings redemption, and is the cause of God's regarding sins as though they had been unconsciously committed, and even of His regarding them as good works and (therefore) meritorious. It prolongs the days and years of men.' Cp. also *Shabbath* 32 *a* (T. B.): 'Repentance and works of charity are man's intercessors before the House of God'; and *Sanhedrin* 43 *b* (T. B.): 'He who sincerely repents is doing as much as he who builds temple and altar, and brings all sacrifices.'

22. **Delay not to pay . . .** See critical note; perhaps the rendering of 𝔖 is to be preferred, for it seems to accord better with the words of the second clause; vowing is dealt with in the next verse. Smend adds the distich from 𝔖 to the text between verses 21 and 22. (See crit. note c–c.)

wait not till death to . . . As in the later Rabbinical literature (cf. on *v.* 20), Death is regarded as a means of atonement.

𝔥[A] 23 [e]Before thou vowest, prepare thy vows[ee],
And be not as one [f]that tempteth God[f e].
𝔊 24 Think of the wrath in the [g]latter day[g],
And (when), in the time of vengeance, He turneth away His face.
25 Remember [h]the time of famine[h] in the time[i] of fullness,
And poverty and want in the days of wealth.
26 From morning until evening the time changeth,
And all things[k] haste on[l] before the Lord.
27 [m]A wise man is discreet[n] in all things[o m],
And in days of sinning [p]keepeth himself from offence[p].
𝔖 28 [q]Every wise man teacheth[r] wisdom[s],
[t]And they who know her must give thanks[t q].
𝔊 29 They that are wise in words[u] also show that they are wise,
[v]In that they pour forth apt proverbs[v].

(*a*) XVIII. 30—XIX. 3. *An Exhortation to Self-control in all things* (= 2 + 3 + 2 distichs).

30 [w]My son[x], follow not the lusts of thy soul[y],
And refrain thyself [z]from its desire[z].
𝔖 31 [a]If thou fulfil the desire of thy soul,
Thou wilt be like him that fulfilleth his enemy's wish[a].
𝔥[C] 32 [b]Delight not thyself in overmuch luxury,
[c]For double is the poverty thereof[c].
33 Be not a squanderer and a drunkard,
Else there will be nothing in thy purse[d].

the reward of God abideth to eternity' [e–e] *So* 𝔥, *of which this verse is extant* [ee] 𝔊 σεαυτον, *a correction of* την ψυχην σου (𝔏 animam tuam), *which is a mistake for* την ευχην σου (= 𝔖 *plur.*) [f–f] *So according to Smend's emendation* (= 𝔖 𝔏); *the text is corrupt* [g–g] *Lit.* 'days of the end' (ℵ 'day') [h–h] 𝔏 'poverty' [i] A 254 𝔖 'days' [k] 70 248 𝔏 'these things' [l] *Lit.* 'are speedy' [m–m] 248 > [n] 𝔖 'is concerned' [o] 𝔖 'these things' [p–p] 𝔖 'feareth no evil': 70 248 + 'and the fool observeth not (248 > 'not') the opportunity' [q–q] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'every man of understanding knoweth, &c.' [r] 𝔊 𝔏 'knoweth' [s] 70 248 + 'and instruction' [t–t] 𝔊 𝔏 'and to him that findeth her he will give thanks' [u] 𝔖 'in teaching' [v–v] 𝔖 𝔏 *are paraphrastic:* 70 248 + 'unto life:' 248 *adds further* 'Better is trust (*lit.* boldness) in a single master (*i.e.* God), than with a dead heart to cling to a dead one (*i.e.* an idol)' [w] ℵ A B C (> C[a]) 70 248 254 307 *have the title* 'Self-control of the soul' [x] *So* 𝔖 [y] *So* 𝔖 [z–z] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'from thine appetites': 𝔏 'from thy will' [a–a] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'If thou grant to thy soul the delight of (her) desire thou wilt make thee a rejoicing to thine enemies' (248 + 'who bear thee malice') [b] 𝔥 *is extant from here to* xix. 3 [c–c] 𝔊[B] 'neither be tied to the expense thereof': B μη προσδεθης *should be read with* ℵ* A C μη προσδεηθης ('that thou be not in need besides'): 𝔖 'that thou become not twice as poor' [d] 70 248 𝔏 *add, with slight*

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23. This verse is quoted in *Tanchuma* וישלח 13 *a* (Smend).
prepare. i.e. think over, so as not to vow rashly.
And be not as one that... In making a rash vow a man tempts God; for rash vows are not likely to be kept, and divine punishment will ensue on their being broken. Cp. Deut. vi. 16.
24. **in the latter day.** i.e. the day of death; cp. i. 13, xi. 26–8.
He turneth away His face. Lit. 'In the turning away', i.e. when God turns away His face, or 'hideth His face'; cp. Deut. xxxi. 17, 18, xxxii. 20; Ps. x. 10, xxx. 7, meaning that He repudiates the sinner.
25. **Remember...** Because evil days may come quite unexpectedly; cp. next verse; the reference is quite general.
26. **From morning...** i.e. within the space of a single day all may be changed; cp. Job iv. 19–21.
before the Lord. i.e. it is the will of God.
27. **is discreet.** εὐλαβηθήσεται, cf. Prov. xxviii. 14 (Sept.).
in days of sinning. i.e. when a man has succumbed to temptation and committed sin.
28. See critical notes.
29. **They that are wise...** i.e. their utterances proclaim their wisdom.
In that they... Perhaps in reference to the writer himself, who has just been pouring forth apt proverbs.

XVIII. 30—XX. 26. Warnings against various faults. This division contains nine subsections.

(*a*) XVIII. 30—XIX. 3.

30. The title in 𝔊 runs: Ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς. In one or other of the Gr. MSS. titles are found before xix. 29, xx. 27, xxiv. 1, xxx. 1, 16, xliv. 1, li. 1; probably none of these belonged to the original.
the lusts of thy soul. Cp. 2 Tim. ii. 22; Jas. i. 14.
31. See critical note.
32. **For double is...** i.e. poverty in purse and poverty in health.
33. **Be not...** 𝔊 paraphrases: 'Be not made a beggar by banqueting upon borrowing'; this, when taken, as it must be, with the following clause, makes it tautologous.

𝔅ᶜ **19** 1 He that doeth this will not become rich,
And [dd]he that despiseth small things[dd] [e]will become wholly poor[e].
2 Wine and women make the heart lustful,
𝔊 [f]And he that cleaveth to harlots [g]will perish[g f].
3 [h]Moulder[i] and worms [k]will take possession of him[k h],
𝔅ᶜ [l]And a brazen soul will destroy its owner[l].

(*b*) XIX. 4–12. *A warning against too much talking* (= 2 + 3 + 3 distichs).

𝔊 4 [m]He that is hasty in reposing confidence [n]is unwise[n],
[o]And he that erreth sinneth against his own soul[o].
5 He that hath pleasure in wickedness[p] [q]shall be brought to destruction[q],
6 [r]And he that hateth[s] gossip is without malice[t].
7 Never repeat a word[u],—
[v]Then no one will reproach thee[v]—
8 [vv]Speak not of it to[vv] friend or foe—
Unless it be a sin to thee [w]reveal it not[w]—
𝔖 9 [x]Lest he who hear thee hate thee,
And regard thee as an evil-doer[x].
𝔊 10 Hast thou heard something[y]? let it die with thee[z];
[a]Be of good courage, it will not burst thee[a].
11 A fool travaileth in pain [b]because of[b] a word,
As a woman in labour [b]because of[b] a child.

variations, 'For thou wilt become a snare unto thine own life and much talked about' dd–dd 𝔖 'he that loveth the flesh' e–e *Lit.* 'will become altogether naked': 𝔖 'will inherit poverty': *the rendering of* 𝔊 (κατα μικρον πεσειται) *is due to a doublet* f–f 𝔅 > g–g *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'will become reckless' (B A 'more reckless'): 𝔏 'will become bad (nequam)' h–h 𝔅 𝔖 > i *So* B ℵ^c.a A C (σηπη): B^b *followed by R.V.* σητες (ℵ* σηπες) k–k 𝔊 *lit.* 'will inherit him' l–l *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 70 248 'and he shall be destroyed as (*lit.* in) a terrible (*lit.* greater) example' m 𝔅 *is wanting from here to* xx. 4 n–n *So* 𝔖, *lit.* 'wanting in understanding': 𝔊 *lit.* 'empty of heart' o–o 𝔖 'He who accuseth his own soul, who will hold him guiltless?' p *So* ℵ* V 253 𝔏 Syro-Hex: B A C ℵ^c.a 70 'in his heart': 248 𝔖 'in evil living' q–q *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'he shall be condemned': 70 248 + 'he that averteth his eye from pleasures crowneth his life' r 70 248 *insert* 'and he that controlleth his tongue liveth without strife' s 𝔖 'repeateth' t 𝔖 'understanding' (= A 'heart'): 𝔏 'life'. *In* 𝔏 *the text of this verse has got out of order* u 𝔏 'an evil and cruel (*lit.* hard) word': ℵ^c.a 253 + 'in ('thy' 253) prayer' v–v *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'and thou wilt derive no disadvantage' vv–vv 𝔖 'deceive not' w–w 𝔖 '(then) pray for them, but accuse no one' x–x *So* 𝔖, *which on the whole is preferable to* 𝔊 'For if he hear thee he will guard himself from thee, and will hate thee (*i.e.* show himself thine enemy) at the (fitting) time' y *Lit.* 'a word': 𝔏 + 'against thy neighbour' z 𝔖 'in thy heart' a–a 𝔖 'it is not an arrow (*cp. v.* 12 a) that it should pierce through thee and come bursting forth' b–b *Lit.* 'in face of'

XIX. 1. **He that doeth this.** 𝔊 'A workman that is a drunkard'; cp. Prov. xxi. 17, xxiii. 21.
he that despiseth... It is not easy to see the connexion between the two clauses of this verse; this want of connexion probably accounts for the reading of 𝔖 (see critical note), which is apparently an attempt to make sense. Possibly these words are to be explained in the light of Eccles. x. 1: 'Dead flies cause the ointment of the perfumer to send forth a stinking savour,' i.e. looking upon any sins as venial must have evil results.
2. **Wine and women...** Cp. Hos. iv. 11; Prov. xxxi. 3–7.
make the heart... 𝔊 'make men of understanding to fall away' is a toning down of the directness of 𝔅.
3. **Moulder and worms...** Cp. Prov. v. 5, vii. 26, 27, ix. 18.
a brazen soul. נפש עזה. Cp. vi. 4, xix. 3, and a similar phrase עַזֵּי־נפש in Isa. lvi. 11. 𝔊 'And a reckless soul shall be taken away' is a free paraphrase; for τολμηρός cp. viii. 15.
(*b*) XIX. 4–12.
4. **He that is... confidence.** ὁ ταχὺ ἐνπιστεύων; cp. vi. 7 μὴ ταχὺ ἐμπιστεύσῃς, where the Hebr. has אל תמהר לבטח.
unwise. κοῦφος is not found elsewhere in the O.T. in this sense.
against his own soul. Cp. Prov. xx. 2 (Sept.).
5. **He that hath pleasure in wickedness.** The reading of ℵ* πονηρά is evidently the more correct one (see critical note). The addition in 70 248 may well contain an echo of the original.
6. See critical note.
7. **Never repeat.** Cp. xlii. 1.
Then no one... Cp. Prov. xxv. 10.
8. **Speak not of it.** Cp. 1 Pet. ix. 15. Possibly 𝔖 represents a more original text, 'Deceive not friend or foe.'
Unless it be a sin to thee. i.e. unless by keeping silence thou become a partaker in another's guilt.
9. **Lest he who...** Cp. Prov. xxv. 10. With 𝔊 (see critical note) cp. xxii. 26.
10. **it will not burst thee.** Cp. Job xxxii. 18, 19 (Hebr. and Sept.).
11. **because of a word.** ἀπὸ προσώπου λόγου = מלפני דבר.

𝔊 12 Like[c] an arrow that sticketh in the fleshy thigh,
So is a word in the [d]inward parts[d] of a fool.

(*c*) XIX. 13–17. *On taking a friend to task on any matter* (= 3 + 2 distichs).

13 Reprove a friend[e], [f]that he do no evil[f],
And if he have done anything, [g]that he do it not again[g].
14 Reprove a friend[h] [i]lest he speak[i] [evil],
And if he have said (it), that he do it not again.
15 Reprove a friend[k], for often there is slander[l],
And [m]believe not[m] every word.
16 [n]Many a man[n] there is that slippeth[o], [p]though unintentionally[p],
And who hath not sinned[q] with his tongue!
17 [r]Reprove thy[s] friend[r] [t]before thou threaten him[t],
[u]And give place to the law[v] of the Most High[uw].

(*d*) XIX. 20–30. *The Difference between Wisdom and Craftiness* (= 2 + 3 + 3 + 2 distichs).

20 [x]All wisdom is [y]the fear of[y] the Lord,
[z]And all wisdom is the fulfilling of the Law[z].
22 [a]But the knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom[a],
[b]And the counsel of sinners is not understanding[b].
23 There is a prudence[bb], [c]and the same is abomination[c],
And there is a fool [d]who is without[d] sins[e].
24 Better is one that hath small understanding, and feareth,
Than one that hath much prudence and transgresseth the Law.

[c] *So* 𝔖 [d-d] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'belly'; 𝔏 'heart' [e] 𝔖 'thy friend' [f-f] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'it may be he did it not' [g-g] 𝔏 'and shall not have perceived it, and he say, I did it not' [h] ℵ C 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex 'thy neighbour' [i-i] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'it may be he said (it) not' [k] 𝔖 'thy friend' [l] 248 𝔖 'mere (*lit.* vain) slander' [m-m] 248 𝔖 'let not thine heart believe' [n-n] *Lit.* 'one' [o] 𝔖 'sinneth': 70 248 + 'in word': 𝔏 + 'with his tongue' [p-p] *Lit.* 'not from the soul' [q] 70 248 𝔖 'slipped' [r-r] 𝔖 'rebuke the evil man' (*reading* רַע *instead of* רֵעַ = 𝔊 'neighbour') [s] ℵ 70 248 𝔏 > [t-t] 𝔖 'for he hath oppressed many' [u] 𝔖 'and believe not every word of his' [v] 𝔏 'fear' [w] 70 248 + 'being without wrath.' *These also insert here:* 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of acceptance (by Him), and wisdom will gain love from Him. The knowledge of the commandments of the Lord is life-giving instruction (*lit.* instruction of life); and they who do the things that are pleasing unto Him shall pluck the fruit of the tree of immortality' (= *vv.* 18, 19) [x] 𝔖 *inserts* 'The words of prophecy and': 𝔏 *inserts* 'Because' [y-y] C 248 'from' [z-z] 𝔊 *lit.* 'and in all wisdom is the doing of the Law': 𝔖 𝔏 'and the fear of God, that is wisdom'; 70 248 + 'and the knowledge of His omnipotence', *to which is added* 'A servant that saith unto his lord, I will not do according to thy will, though he do so afterwards, angereth him that feedeth him' (= *v.* 21) [a-a] 𝔖 'There is no wise man who is evil' [b-b] *So* ℵ* A C 𝔖 𝔏: B ℵ[c.a] 'and it is not (found) where the counsel of sinners (is deemed) prudence' [bb] *Reading* πανουργια (70 253) *instead of* πονηρια (*see exegetical notes*) [c-c] 𝔖 'that createth sins' [d-d] *Lit.* 'who is wanting in' [e] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'wisdom'

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12. **inward parts of.** בתוך מעי (Edersheim).

(*c*) XIX. 13–17.

13. **Reprove . . .** Here in the sense of 'exhort'; if the reading of 𝔊 be accepted then it has the force of 'examine'. In these verses the various meanings of ἐλέγχειν are well illustrated.

14. **Reprove.** i. e. expostulate with, or the like.

15. **Reprove.** i. e. find out the truth concerning him.

16. **that slippeth.** Cp. xx. 18, xxi. 7, xxv. 8, xxviii. 26.

17. **Reprove.** i. e. call to account.
give place to the law. i. e. Lev. xix. 17.

18, 19. See critical note.

(*d*) XIX. 20–30.

20. **the fulfilling of the Law.** Cp. Jas. i. 25.

22. **the knowledge of wickedness . . .** Cp. Wisd. i. 4, 5.

23. **There is a prudence.** Although πανουργία ('subtlety', or 'prudence') is rarely used in a good sense, it is best to adopt this here. 'Subtlety,' as a form of wisdom, may be good; but in the sense of craft or sharp dealing it is bad. It is in this latter sense that it is spoken of as 'an abomination'.
And there is a fool . . . The meaning of the verse may be expressed thus: On the one hand, there is a good type of wisdom which can be made bad; on the other, there is a bad type of man which may be good—i. e. prudence, good in itself, may take the form of craft, and thus become bad; while, to be a fool, bad in itself, may take the form of guilelessness, and thus become good.

24. What has just been said is illustrated by this verse.
that hath small understanding. ἡττώμενος ἐν συνέσει, cp. iii. 13, xiii. 8, xxv. 2.

𝔊 25 There is [f]a subtle (form of) craftiness which is unrighteous[f],
[g]And there is the man who[g] dealeth tortuously to gain[h] a judgement[i].
26 There is one that walketh[k] [l]bent and mournfully[m][l],
But inwardly he is full of deceit[n].
27 There is[nn] one with downcast look, [o]pretending to be deaf[o],
But [p]when unobserved[p], [q]he will get the better of thee[q];
28 And there is one who[qq], if for want of power he be hindered from sinning,
Will do harm when he findeth opportunity.
29 A man is known by his appearance,
And the wise man recognizeth[r] him by his look[s],
30 A man's attire [t]proclaimeth his occupation[t],
And his gait[v] showeth what he is.

(*e*) XX. 1–8. *There is a time for silence and a time for speech* (= 3 + 2 + 2 distichs).

20 1 There is a reproof that is uncalled for[a],
Then he that is silent is wise.
𝔖 2 [b]He that reproveth a sinner getteth no thanks[b],
But let him that maketh confession [c]be spared humiliation[c].
𝔓[b] 4 [d]As is an eunuch that sojourneth with a virgin[dd],
So is he that would do right with violence[e].
𝔓[c] 5 [f]One[f] keepeth silence, and is accounted[g] wise,
[f]And another[f] is despised for his much talking.

[f–f] 𝔖 'a crafty man who rejoiceth in deceiving' [g–g] 𝔊 *lit.* 'and there is one that . . .': 𝔖 'and there is one that acteth perversely' [h] 𝔊 *lit.* 'to bring to light' [i] 248 + 'and there is a wise man who justifieth the judgement' [k] *Reading with two cursives,* πορευομενος (= Syro-Hex), *instead of* πονηρευομενος [l–l] 𝔖 'humbly and broken in spirit' [m] 𝔊 *lit.* 'with black' [n] 248 'burning deceit' [nn] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 > [o–o] 𝔖 'planning evil' [p–p] *Lit.* 'where he is not known' [q–q] *Lit.* 'he will be beforehand with thee': 70 248 + 'to harm (thee)' [qq] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'And' [r] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'shall be known' [s] *Omitting with* 𝔖 απο απαντησεως [t–t] *So* 𝔖 ('occupation,' *lit.* 'deeds'): 𝔊 *lit.* 'and laughter of the teeth' [v] 𝔖 'appearance': 𝔊 *lit.* 'the footsteps of a man': ℵ[c.a] 'the step of the foot'

[a] *Lit.* 'not comely' [b–b] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'how good it is to reprove rather than to be wroth': 70 248 + 'in secret' [c–c] *Lit.* 'be kept back from hurt'. *The interpolation* (= *v.* 3), *which* 70 248 *place after v.* 8, 𝔏 *after v.* 4, *but which logically belongs here, runs*: 'How good it is when he who is reproved manifesteth repentance, for thus wilt thou escape wilful sin' [d] 𝔓 *is extant from here to v.* 7 *incl.* [dd] 𝔓 + 'And the Lord will seek it at his hand' [e] 𝔓 *wrongly transposes the clauses of this verse: the whole verse has got misplaced;* 𝔓 B[b mg], *several cursives,* Syro-Hex *place the second clause after* xxx. 20 [f–f] *Lit.* 'there is (one) that': *so frequently*

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25. **dealeth tortuously.** What the Greek is intended to express here is uncertain; διαστρέφων χάριν is lit. 'that distorts grace' (R.V. 'that perverteth favour'); but it is best to take χάριν (= the Hebr. למען, 'for the sake of') with τοῦ ἐκφᾶναι, and to regard διαστρέφων as the rendering of מתפתל ('that dealeth tortuously'); cp. the Septuagint of Ps. xviii. 28, 2 Sam. xxii. 27; διατέψεις = תתפתל (cp. also Deut. xxxii. 5); the clause then forms a good parallel to the other half of the verse.

26. See critical note, and cp. xii. 11.

that walketh bent and mournfully. Cf. Ps. xlii. 10; Mal. iii. 14.

full of deceit. πλήρης δόλου: cp. Acts xiii. 10 πλήρης παντὸς δόλου.

27. **one with downcast look.** συνκύψων πρόσωπον: cp. Job ix. 27 συνκύψας τῷ προσώπῳ.

28. 𝔖 is probably right, as against 𝔊, in not joining this verse on to the preceding.

30. **And his gait . . .** In the Babylonian Talmud directions are given as to how the inner worth of a man may be gauged by his outward appearance and behaviour, *Berakhoth* 43 *b*, *Erubin* 65 *b* (Ryssel).

(*e*) XX. 1–8. With this subsection cp. xix. 4–17.

2. **He that reproveth . . .** In this clause the rendering of 𝔖 is to be preferred as fitting in better with the context than 𝔊.

thanks. Cp. xii. 3, where the Hebr. טובה has the sense of 'thanks'.

But let him . . . Cp. viii. 5.

For *v.* 3 see critical note.

4. The point of the comparison is that in neither case is the design accomplished.

right. Lit. 'judgement'. 𝔊 for the second clause, 'So is he that executeth judgements with violence,' taking משפט in a legal sense. For the phrase עשה משפט, i. e. 'to do justice,' 'maintain the cause' of some one, see 1 Kings viii. 45, 49; Ps. ix. 5.

5. **One keepeth silence . . .** Cp. Prov. xvii. 28, *Pirqe Aboth* i. 18: 'Simon [the son of Gamaliel I] said, "All my days I have grown up amongst the wise, and have not found aught good for a man but silence; not learning, but doing, is the groundwork; and whoso multiplies words occasions sin."'

𝔅ᶜ 6 One keepeth silence, having naught to say;
And another keepeth silence, for he seeth (it is) a time (for silence).
7 The wise man is silent until the (proper) time,
But [h]the arrogant and the scorner[h] [i]take no note[i] of the time.
𝔊 8 *He that is abundant in word is abhorred[k],
And he that taketh to himself authority[l] is hated[m].

(*f*) XX. 9–17. *Things are not always what they seem* (= 2 + 3 + 3 + 2 distichs).

9 [n o]Sometimes it is advantageous[o] for a man[p] to be in adversity[n],
[q]And sometimes prosperity resulteth in harm[q].
10 [r]Sometimes a gift there is that profiteth thee nothing,
And sometimes a gift bringeth double recompense.
11 Sometimes cometh loss[s] through honour,
[t]And sometimes honour cometh through loss[t r].
12 [u uu]Some buy[uu] much for little[u],
And some pay sevenfold.
𝔅ᶜ 13 [v]The wise man with few words [vv]maketh himself beloved[vv],
But the pleasantries of fools are wasted[w].
𝔊 14 The gift of a fool profiteth thee nothing[x],
[y]For he looketh for recompense[z] sevenfold[a y];
15 He giveth little, and upbraideth much,
And openeth his mouth [b]like a crier[b];
To-day he lendeth, to-morrow he will demand it back:
Hateful is such an one [c]to God and men[c].

[g] 𝔊 𝔏 'found' [h–h] 𝔅 'the fool': *the text is corrupt, for* וכסיל *read* חד ולין (*Smend*): 𝔊 'the braggart and the fool': 𝔖 'the arrogant and the unrighteous': 𝔏 'the haughty and the shameless' [i–i] *So* 𝔅 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'oversteppeth' * 𝔅 *is wanting from here to v.* 12 *incl.* [k] 𝔏 'injureth his soul' [l] 𝔏 + 'unjustly' [m] 𝔖 'his life will be hated': 70 248 + 'How good it is when he who is reproved manifesteth repentance, for thus wilt thou escape voluntary sin': *see v.* 2 *above* (*note*) [n–n] 𝔖 'there is that which is to a man's hurt' [o–o] 𝔊 *lit.* 'there is prosperity' [p] 70 248 𝔏 + 'that is a sinner' [q–q] 𝔊 *lit.* 'And there is a gain that turneth to loss' [r–r] *In place of these two verses* 𝔖 *has*: 'For as thou throwest a stone at a bird, thus causing it to fly, so dost thou destroy the friendship of thy true friend, and findest it no more' (= xxii. 20 + xxvii. 25, *Hart*) [s] 𝔊 *lit.* 'humiliation' [t–t] 𝔊 *lit.* 'And there is (the man) that hath lifted up his head from a low estate' [u–u] 𝔖 'One lendeth much like (*i.e.* as though it were) little' [uu–uu] 𝔊 *lit.* 'There is (the man) that buyeth' [v] *This verse is extant in* 𝔅, *but is placed after* xxxvii. 26: 𝔖 *omits it* [vv–vv] *So* 𝔊, *inadvertently omitted in* 𝔅 [w] *Reading* ישפכו: 𝔅 'poureth forth wisdom', *an obviously corrupt text*: 𝔊 *lit.* 'are poured out': 𝔅 *is wanting from here to* xxi. 21 *incl.* [x] 70 248 + '(who) receivest (it); so is it with the niggard who only giveth under compulsion' [y–y] 𝔊 *lit.* 'For his eyes are many instead of one': 248 *adds* 'with a view to receive' [z] *So* 𝔖 [a] *So* 𝔖 𝔏 [b–b] 𝔖 'and speaketh evil and lieth' [c–c] *So* 248 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 >

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6. **having naught to say.** 𝔊 'for he hath no answer'; the discussions of the wise often took the form of question and answer; cp. Prov. xv. 23 *a*, xvi. 1 *b*.

7. **The wise man . . .** Cp. xx. 20 *b*; Eccles. iii. 7.

take no note. 𝔊 'oversteppeth', but in xviii. 27 𝔅 is followed by 70 248 (see critical note there).

8. **he that taketh . . .** i. e. He who arrogates to himself the sole right to speak. For the addition to this verse in some Gr. MSS. and 𝔏 see critical note.

(*f*) XX. 9–17.

9. **prosperity.** Lit. 'gain', εὕρεμα, cp. xxix. 6 *b*.

10. **a gift.** i. e. which is given to another.

11. **honour.** Lit. 'glory'. With the verse cp. 1 Sam. ii. 4.

12. The original text probably presented a contrast, as indicated in the text; according to 𝔊 the meaning would be that a man thinks he has made a good bargain, but finds that he is ultimately a good deal worse off: 'There is that buyeth much for little, and payeth for it sevenfold,' i. e. apparent good fortune is in reality a loss.

13. This verse forms the antithesis to *v.* 8.

pleasantries. χάριτες, lit. 'kindnesses', cp. xxix. 15.

wasted. i. e. thrown away; for the Hebr. cp. Lam. iv. 1.

14. **profiteth thee nothing.** Because what is expected in return is much more than what has been received. The 'fool' is here, according to Ben-Sira, a rogue as well as a simpleton.

15. **He giveth little . . .** In *Berakhoth* iv. 2 (T. J.) reference is made to those 'who give little, and reprove much' (quoted by Smend).

upbraideth much. Cp. xviii. 18; the upbraiding refers to the reproaches made because he does not receive back as much as he expected.

And openeth . . . i. e. he complains to all the world.

Hateful . . . to God and men. Cp. x. 7.

𝔊 16 The fool saith: 'I have no friend,
And my good deeds receive no thanks;
They that eat my bread are evil-tongued[d].'
17 How oft—and how many there are—they laugh him to scorn[e].

(*g*) XX. 18–20. *Concerning unseasonable speech* (= 3 distichs).

18 [f g]A slip on the pavement is better than a (slip) of the tongue[g];
So doth the fall of the wicked come swiftly[f].
𝔖 19 [h]As the fat tail of a sheep, eaten without salt,
So is a word spoken out of season[h].
𝔊 20 A parable from the mouth of a fool is worthless[i],
For he uttereth it out of season.

(*h*) XX. 21–23. *Some are unintentionally without sin, while others sin intentionally* (= 3 distichs).

21 One, through want, is hindered from sinning,
[k]And when he resteth he will not be troubled[k];
22 Another destroyeth his life through sense of shame,
And perisheth[l] through [m]his want of frankness[m].
23 And another, for shame's sake, maketh promises to a friend,
[n]Thus making for himself[n] an enemy [o]without reason[o].

(*i*) XX. 24–26. *The Liar shall be destroyed* (= 3 distichs).

24 A lie is a foul blot in a man,
It is continually [found] in the mouth of the ignorant.
25 [p]Preferable is a thief to one who continually lieth[p],
[q]But both shall inherit destruction[q].

[d] 𝔊 *lit.* 'evil with their tongue': 𝔖 'like a rock of stone' [e] 70 248 + 'For he hath not honestly received [that which he possesseth]; likewise that which he hath not is unimportant (αδιαφορον) to him': *so* 𝔏, *excepting that instead of* 'received' *it reads* 'distributed' [f–f] 𝔖 'As waters poured out on a rocky stone, so is the tongue of the wicked among the righteous' [g–g] 𝔏 'The slip of a false tongue is as one falling upon the pavement' [h–h] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'A man without grace is (as) a table out of season (𝔏 tabula vana)': 𝔊 𝔏 + 'It will be continually in the mouth of the ignorant' (= *v.* 24 b) [i] 𝔊 *lit.* 'will be rejected' [k–k] 𝔖 'and who that is righteous taketh his ease in (his) wealth?' [l] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'destroyeth it' [m–m] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'by a foolish countenance' [n–n] 𝔊 *lit.* 'and hath obtained' [o–o] δωρεαν [p–p] 𝔖 'he loveth stealing as well as lying' [q–q] 𝔖 'and his

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16. **I have no friend.** His good deeds have been unable to make friends for him, because his constant seeking for recompense has deprived them of all virtue.
receive no thanks. i. e. not sufficient thanks according to his estimate.
They that eat my bread. i. e. that live on his charity.
evil-tongued. φαῦλοι γλώσσῃ: i. e. they do not thank and praise him sufficiently.
17. **How oft . . .** The essence of folly is not to see how others scorn it.
(*g*) XX. 18–20.
18. **A slip . . .** Smend quotes Zeno: κρεῖττον εἶναι τῷ ποδὶ ὀλισθαίνειν ἢ τῇ γλώσσᾳ.
So doth . . . The point of the comparison is that each is sudden.
19. **fat tail.** Cp. Exod. xxix. 22. '𝔊 cuts the obscure allusion, compresses, and adds 24 *b* to make the couplet' (Hart).
20. **A parable . . .** Cp. Prov. xxvi. 7.
(*h*) XX. 21–23.
21. **want.** i. e. poverty.
hindered from sinning. Cp. xix. 28.
And when he resteth . . . i. e. he will not be conscience-stricken when, after the day's activities are over, he thinks over what he has done. Οὐ κατανυγήσεται, lit. 'he will not be pricked (at heart)'.
22. **Another destroyeth . . .** Cp. iv. 20–21.
want of frankness. Lit. 'the covering of his face'.
23. **an enemy without reason.** Because, being weak, he promises what he cannot fulfil, and thus makes enemies unnecessarily.
(*i*) XX. 24–26.
24. **A lie is . . .** Cp. xxv. 2.
of the ignorant. ἀπαιδεύτων, i. e. those uninstructed in wisdom.
25. **a thief.** Cp. v. 14, where a thief and 'one that hath a double tongue' are mentioned together.
. . shall inherit destruction. Cp. Ps. v. 6; Prov. xv. 5, 9.

𝔊 26 The end[r] of a liar is dishonour[s],
And his shame is ever[t] with him.

(*a*) XX. 27–31. *The Reward of the wise and prudent; but wisdom must be apparent* (3 + 2 distichs).

27 [u v]The wise man advanceth himself by means of his words[v],
And a prudent man ruleth[w] the great.
28 [x]He that tilleth his[y] land raiseth high his heap[z],
And he that pleaseth the great atoneth for wrong[x].
29 Presents and gifts blind the eyes [a]of the wise[a],
And as a muzzle on the mouth turn away reproofs.
30 [b]Hidden wisdom and concealed treasure,
What profit is there in either[c]?
31 Better is the man that hideth his folly
Than a man that hideth his wisdom[b d].

(*b*) XXI. 1–10. *The Nature of Sin* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 3 distichs).

21 1 [a]My son, hast thou sinned, (then) add not thereto;
And pray concerning thy former (sins)[a b].
2 [c]Flee from sin [d]as from the face of a serpent[d];
For if thou come nigh it, it will bite thee[e];
Like[f] the teeth of a lion [g]are the teeth thereof,[g]
It slayeth[h] the souls of men.
3 Like a two-edged sword is [i]all iniquity[i],
From the stroke thereof is no healing.

ways will bring him to destruction' [r] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'disposition' [s] 𝔖 'for a curse' [t] 𝔖 'destroyed' [u] 𝔊 𝔏 *insert the title*: Parabolic sayings: *lit.* 'words (𝔏 'word') of parables' [v–v] 𝔖 'he that is full of wise parables showeth himself humble (*lit.* small)' [w] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'pleaseth' [x–x] 𝔖 > [y] *So* 248 𝔏 *only*: *others* > 'his' [z] 𝔏 + 'and he that doeth justice exalteth himself' [a–a] 𝔏 'iudicum': 𝔖 > [b–b] *These verses recur in* xli. 14, 15, *which see* [c] *Lit.* 'in both' [d] 248 + 'Better is persistent endurance (*lit.* patience) in seeking the Lord than a driver (*lit.* charioteer) of his own life without a master'

[a–a] 𝔖 > [b] 𝔏 + 'that they may be forgiven thee' [c] 𝔖 *inserts* 'my son' [d–d] 𝔖 > [e] δηξεται: *but* 70 248 &c. δηξεται = 𝔏 [f] *So* 𝔖 *only* [g–g] 𝔖 'is falsehood' [h] *Lit.* 'slaying' [i–i] 𝔖 'an harlot'

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26. **The end . . .** The rendering of 𝔖 'is manifestly right, since ארח even in the sense of "fate" does not suit here' (Smend).

XX. 27—XXIII. 27. Further Warnings and Contrasts. This division has eleven subsections.

(*a*) XX. 27–31.

27. **by means of his words.** ἐν (= ב of the instrument or means) λόγοις.

. . . **ruleth the great.** Smend thinks that the reference is to Jewish sages at the court of a Gentile king, and that perhaps Ben-Sira had here some particular historical personage in mind, who through his influence was able to be of help to his co-religionists; see *v.* 28 *b*.

28. **He that tilleth.** Cp. Prov. xii. 11. Just as proper attention to the land brings its reward, so does due attention paid to the great result in real advantage.

his heap. i. e. of corn.

atoneth for wrong. It is very possible that the reference here is to the wrongdoing of some Jew, which was overlooked through the kind offices of some influential Jewish person, perhaps Ben-Sira himself.

29. **Presents . . .** Cp. Prov. xxi. 14. For ξένια cp. Sept. of 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6; Hosea x. 16 (= מנחה).

the eyes of the wise. Cp. Deut. xvi. 19 (Sept.).

a muzzle. Lit. 'a gag'.

30, 31. See critical note.

(*b*) XXI. 1–10.

1. **And pray.** i. e. for forgiveness.

2. **Flee from . . .** Cp. Prov. xiii. 21.

it will bite thee. Cp. Prov. xxiii. 32, where strong drink is compared to a serpent that bites.

the teeth of a lion. Cp. xxvii. 10; Joel i. 6.

It slayeth . . . Cp. 1 Pet. v. 8.

3. **a two-edged sword.** Cp. Ps. cxlix. 6; Prov. v. 4; and the Sept. of Judges iii. 16.

no healing. Cp. iii. 28 *a*.

𝔊 4 [k]Tyranny and violence[k] make[kk] habitations[l] desolate,
And[ll] the house[m] [n]of the arrogant[n] is rooted out[o].
5 The supplication of the poor man cometh[p] unto His ears,
[q]And his vindication[r] cometh quickly[q].
6 He that hateth reproof [s][walketh] in the path of a sinner[s],
But he that feareth God[t] will turn [to Him] whole-heartedly[u].
𝔖 7 [v]The wise discerneth him that is before him,
And spieth out the sinner at once[v].
𝔊 8 He that buildeth his house with other men's money
Is as one gathering stones for his [w]sepulchral mound[w].
9 (Like) tow wrapped together is the assembly of the ungodly,
And their end is the flame of fire[x].
10 The way of sinners is [y]made smooth without[z] stones[y],
And at the end thereof is [zz]the pit of Hades[zz].

(*c*) XXI. 11–17. *The contrast between the godly man who is wise and the godless man who is a fool* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

11 He that keepeth the Law controlleth [a]his natural tendency[a],
[b]And the fear of the Lord is the consummation of Wisdom[bc].

[k–k] 𝔖 'from morning till evening' [kk] 𝔖 'she maketh' [l] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'riches' [ll] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'so' [m] 𝔖 'many palaces': 𝔏 'the wealth' [n–n] 𝔖 > [o] *Reading, instead of* ερημωθησεται, *with* 𝔏, εκριζωθησεται: 𝔖 'she rooteth out' [p] *So* 𝔏 *only*: 𝔊 'is from the mouth' [q–q] 𝔖 'and it ascendeth unto the presence of the eternal Judge' [r] *Lit.* 'judgement' [s–s] 𝔖 'is an unrighteous man': 𝔏 '(it is) the mark of a sinner' [t] *So* A 𝔖 𝔏: ℵ B C 'the Lord' [u] *Lit.* 'in heart': 𝔖 'from his heart' [v–v] 𝔊 'He that is mighty in tongue is known afar off, and the man of understanding knoweth when he slippeth' [w–w] *Read with* 248 εις χωμα (= 𝔖) *for* εις χειμωνα (𝔊): 248 + 'for his tomb' [x] 248 + 'unto destruction' [y–y] 𝔖 'is a stumbling-block to them' [z] εκ λιθων = מאבן [zz–zz] 𝔖 'a deep pit': 𝔏 inferi et tenebrae et poenae
[a–a] *So* 𝔖 (=יצר, *misunderstood by* 𝔊): ℵ* > (*hab* ℵ c.a) [b–b] 𝔖 'and he that feareth the Lord lacketh naught'

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4. **Tyranny.** καταπληγμός is ἅπ. λεγ.; it might have also the meaning of 'intimidation'.
habitations. This rendering (of 𝔖) is preferable to that of 𝔊 because one expects a parallel to 'house' in the next clause; see further critical note.
is rooted out. Cp. Prov. xv. 25.
5. **His ears.** i.e. the ears of God; cp. Ps. xvi. 8, cx. 5, cxxxix. 10.
And his vindication . . . See the rendering of 𝔖 for this clause in the critical notes; perhaps it is to be preferred to 𝔊.
6. **in the path.** ἐν ἴχνει, lit. 'in the track' (cp. 𝔏 'vestigium est'); cp. Prov. xvi. 17.
7. The context makes it probable that the rendering of 𝔖 is nearer the original than that of 𝔊.
8. **He that buildeth his house.** A figurative expression for making a fortune; cp. Ps. xlix. 16.
sepulchral mound. See critical note.
9. **tow.** στιππύον = נערת; cp. Isa. i. 31 and Judges xvi. 9, the only occurrences of the word in the O.T.
the assembly of the ungodly. For the phrase συναγωγὴ ἀνόμων cp. vii. 16, xvi. 6.
the flame of fire. i.e. Gehenna; for the expression φλόξ πυρός cp. viii. 10.
10. **without stones.** Cp. Isa. lxii. 10.
the end thereof . . . Cp. Prov. xiv. 12 *b*, xvi. 25 *b*. 'In Ecclesiasticus the problem of retribution takes a peculiar form. On the one hand it is uncompromisingly tory, and refuses to admit the possibility of the new views as to the future life. All retribution, without exception, is confined to this life (cp. xli. 3, 4). On the other hand, this writer supplements Ezekiel's theory of exact individual retribution with the older view which Ezekiel attacked, and seeks to cover its obvious defects with the doctrine of the solidarity of the family. A man's wickedness must receive its recompense either in his own person in this life, or, failing this, in the persons of his surviving children, since Sheol knows no retribution. Thus, on the one hand, he teaches the doctrine of individual retribution (see ii. 10, 11, ix. 12, xi. 26, 27 *b*, xii. 3). But this theory of individual retribution was inadequate, for obviously all men did not meet with their deserts. Hence a man's sins are visited through the evil remembrance of his name and in the misfortunes of his children after him. Thus our author declares that a man's character shall be manifest in the fortunes of his children (see xi. 28, xxiii. 24–6, xl. 15, xli. 6). On the other hand, the children of the righteous are blest (xliv. 11–13). Since there is thus no retribution beyond the grave, there is no organic relation between this life and the life in Sheol (in xxi. 10 thoughts of the penal character of Sheol do seem to be present, though not in harmony with the doctrinal system of the author). Sheol is out of the sphere of moral government; for there no account is taken of man's past life on earth (xli. 4); there is there no recognition of God (xvii. 28); in that region there is no delight of life (xiv. 16); its inhabitants are bereft of light (xxii. 11); they are plunged in an eternal sleep (xliv. 19)' (Charles, *Eschatology* . . ., pp. 162 ff.).

(*c*) XXI. 11–17.
11. **controlleth his natural tendency.** 𝔊 'becometh master of the intent thereof', as though the reference were to the Law (see critical note); cp. *Qiddushin* 30 *b* (T. B.): 'I created the evil tendency (יצר הרע) [and] I created the Torah for healing. If ye occupy yourselves with [the study of] the Torah, ye will not fall into the power of it (i.e. of the evil tendency)'; and cp. also *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 2: 'Who is mighty? He that subdueth his nature (יצרו).'

𝔊 12 [d]He that is not wise[e] will not be instructed,
And[ee] there is a wisdom[f] which maketh bitterness to abound[d].
13 The knowledge of a wise man aboundeth like a [g]spring of water[g],
And his counsel [h]is like[h] [i]the water[i] of life.
14 The heart [k]of a fool is like a broken vessel,
[l]He holdeth no knowledge[l].
15 If a man of understanding hear a wise word,
He commendeth it, and addeth thereto;
𝔖 [m]If a foolish man hear it, he mocketh at it[m],
𝔊 And casteth it behind his back.
16 The discourse of a fool[n] is like a burden[o] on a journey,
But grace[p] is found [q]on the lips of the wise[q].
17 The utterance[r] of the prudent is sought for in the assembly,
And his words are pondered in the heart.

(*d*) XXI. 18–28. *Further contrast between the godly man and the fool* (= 2 + 1 + 1 + 3 + 2 + 2 distichs).

18 As a prison-house[s] is Wisdom to a fool,
And the knowledge of the wise[t] as [u]coals of fire[u].
19 As[v] chains[w] on (their) feet is instruction to the foolish,
And as manacles on their right hand.
21 As a golden ornament is instruction to the wise,
And as a bracelet upon their right arm.
20 The fool lifteth up his voice with laughter,
But the wise[x] man smileth[y] in silence[z].
𝔥[c] 22 *a* The foot of a fool hasteth into a house,
23 *b* But it is [a]good manners[a] [b]to stand outside[b].
23 *a* The fool through the door looketh into a house,
22 *b* But the cautious man [c]demeans himself humbly[c].

[c] 248 'the acceptation of Wisdom': 𝔏 + 'and understanding' [d–d] 𝔖 > [e] 𝔏 + 'in (that which is) good': 𝔊 *lit.* 'crafty' [ee] א A C 'But' [f] *Lit.* 'craftiness' [g–g] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'flood', *reading* מבול *instead of* מבוע [h–h] 𝔏 'abideth' [i–i] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'a fountain': 248 'a pure fountain (as)' [k] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'the inward parts' [l–l] 𝔖 'he learneth no knowledge all the days of his life': 70 248 + 'in his life' [m–m] 𝔊 'The wanton man heareth it, and it displeaseth him' [n] 𝔖 'the ungodly' [o] 𝔖 𝔏 Syro-Hex 'a heavy burden' [p] A >: א [c.a] 'parable' [q–q] 𝔖 'in all the speech of the righteous' [r] *Lit.* 'mouth' [s] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'a house that is destroyed' [t] *So* א* *only*: 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏 'unwise' [u–u] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *lit.* 'unexamined words' [v] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 > [w] 𝔖 'a net' [x] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'clever' (πανουργος) [y] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 + 'scarcely' [z] 𝔖 'in peace' [a–a] 𝔥 כבוד לאיש (= 𝔖) 'the glory of a man' (*Smend conjectures* מוסר *for* כבוד) [b–b] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔥 *corrupt* בבית עמו 'in the house of his people' (*Smend conjectures* בבר לעמוד) [c–c] 𝔥 יכנע רבים ('shall humble many'), *for which*

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12. **a wisdom.** πανουργία, cp. xix. 23.
. . . which maketh . . . Craftiness is a kind of wisdom which is often a cause of sorrow and bitterness to others.
13. **aboundeth like a spring of water.** 𝔊 read מבול, the technical Hebrew word for the Flood, instead of מבוע ('a spring'). Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 1, where it is said that the man who is busied with the Law is like 'a spring that ceaseth not, and as a river that continueth to flow on'. In ii. 10 of the same tractate, Rabbi Eleazar ben Arak is called a 'welling spring' because of his devotion to the study of the Law.
. . . like the water of life. Cp. the Midrash *Sifre* 84 *a*: 'As water giveth life to the world, so do the waters of the Torah give life to the world.'
14. **like a broken vessel.** Cp. Jer. ii. 13.
15. **casteth it behind . . .** Cp. Ezek. xxiii. 35.
16. **grace.** For the word used in this connexion cp. vi. 5, xx. 19, xxxvii. 21; Ps. xlv. 3; Prov. xxii. 11; Eccles. x. 12.
17. **. . . are pondered in the heart.** Cp. xiv. 21.
(*d*) XXI. 18–28.
18. **coals of fire.** i. e. to a fool. 𝔖 is preferable here, because the context demands something that is disagreeable to the fool to correspond with 'prison-house' in the first clause.
19. Contrast vi. 24 ff.
21. That this verse should come before *v.* 20 is manifest, cf. *vv.* 22, 23.
20. **the wise man.** πανοῦργος.
22, 23. In 𝔥 these verses have got misplaced; both verses are preserved in a quotation in פרקא דרבינו הקדוש 14 *a* ('The Lecture of our holy Rabbi,' i. e. Judah ha-Nasi), an ethical treatise; *v.* 32 is also quoted in the Babylonian Talmud, *Nidda* 16 *b*, *Pesachim* 112 *a* (Cowley and Neubauer, p. xxiv).
23. **good manners.** For the Hebr. phrase cp. Prov. xx. 3.

𝔊 24 'Tis unseemly[e] for one to listen at the door,
And the wise man would be grieved [f]at the shameful act[f].
25 The lips of babblers[g] [only] repeat[h] [i]what others say[i],
[j]But the words of the wise are weighed in the balance[j].
26 The heart of fools is in their mouth,
But the mouth of the wise is [k]in their heart[k].
27 When the fool[l] curseth his adversary[m],
He curseth his own soul.
28 The whisperer defileth his own soul,
And is hated [n]wheresoever he sojourneth[n].

(*e*) XXII. 1–2. *The Despicableness of Sloth* (= 2 distichs).

22 1 The slothful man is like[a] a filthy stone[b],
𝔖 [c]Every one fleeth from the stench thereof[c].
𝔊 2 [d]A slothful man is like[a] the filth of a dunghill[d],
He who [e]taketh it up[e] shaketh out his hand.

(*f*) XXII. 3–6. *The shame and grief of evil children* (= 3 + 1 distichs).

3 [There is] shame to a father in [ee]the begetting of[ee] an uninstructed (son),
And a daughter is born to his loss.
4 [f]A prudent daughter [ff]is a treasure[ff] [g]to her husband[g],
But[gg] she that bringeth shame is a grief to him that begat her[f].
5 She that is bold[h] bringeth shame on father and husband[i],
And she is despised of both.
6 As[k] music in (time of) mourning, (so) is unseasonable talk[l],
But[m] stripes and correction are at all times wisdom[n].

read פנים ... (= 𝔊) [e] *Lit.* 'want of instruction' [f–f] *Lit.* 'with the disgrace (of it)' [g] *So* 248 : 𝔊 'strangers' : 𝔖 'ungodly' : 𝔏 'unwise' [h] *Lit.* 'declare' : *so* ℵ V 248 𝔖 𝔏 Syro-Hex : B A C 'are grieved' [i–i] *Lit.* 'the things that are not theirs' : *so* 248 *only* : 𝔊 'at these things' : 𝔖 'in his own body', *i.e.* 'his inner thoughts' : 𝔏 'foolish things' [j–j] 𝔖 'The wise man speaketh by measure' (*lit.* 'by weight') [k–k] *So* 248 𝔖 𝔏 : 𝔊 'their heart' [l] *So* 𝔖 : 𝔊 𝔏 'ungodly' [m] 𝔊 *lit.* 'Satan' (*see note below*) : 𝔏 'the Devil' : 𝔖 'him who sinned not against him' [n–n] *So* C V 248 253 254 (= Syro-Hex) ; 𝔊 εν παροικησει. 𝔖 *reads for this verse* : 'The soul of the wise is grieved at the fool, for he knoweth not what to say to him'

[a] *Lit.* 'is (to be) compared to' [b] א [c.a] 𝔖 'a stone cast out' (𝔖 *lit.* 'thrown out into the street') [c–c] 𝔊 'and every one hisseth at the shame thereof' : 𝔊 + 'every one keeps clear of him' [d–d] 𝔖 'when a man goeth out into the street and disgraceth himself' [e–e] 𝔖 'seeth it' : 𝔏 'toucheth it' [ee–ee] 𝔖 > [f–f] 𝔖 > [ff–ff] 𝔊 'shall inherit' : 𝔏 'is an inheritance' : 𝔊 *misread* יִרְשָׁה ('she shall inherit') *instead of* יְרֻשַּׁת ('treasure,' *lit.* 'inheritance') [g–g] 𝔊 ανδρα αυτης [gg] *Lit.* 'and' [h] 𝔖 'foolish' [i] 𝔖 'her mother' : 𝔏 *inserts* 'she will not be menaced by the ungodly' (*i.e.* 'they will be in sympathy with her') [k] *So* 𝔖 *only* [l] *Lit.* 'discourse' [m] B 'and' [n] *So* א* 𝔖 𝔏 : 𝔊 'of wisdom' : 70 248 + 'Children who live comfortably in good circumstances

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24. **the wise man.** φρόνιμος means here 'discreet'.
25. **are weighed in the balance.** Cp. xvi. 25, xxviii. 25.
26. Fools talk without thinking, the wise think before they speak.
27. **his adversary.** 𝔊 evidently read השטן, the original meaning of which was simply 'adversary' (cp. Num. xxii. 22, 32 ; 1 Kings v. 18, xi. 22) ; the meaning is either, that in cursing Satan the curse recoils on the man's own head, or else that a man's real spiritual adversary is his own evil nature ; cp. the next verse.
28. Cp. v. 14, xxviii. 13.

(*e*) XXII. 1–2.

1. **a filthy stone.** Cp. the Midrash *Wayyiqra Rabba*, § xvii, chap. xiv. 34, where the passage Job xxxi. 34 is commented upon. Cp. Job ii. 8.
2. **A slothful man . . .** Ben-Sira's disgust for slothful people is coarsely expressed.

(*f*) XXII. 3–6.

3. **in the begetting of.** Cf. Prov. xvii. 21.
a daughter . . . According to Jewish ideas it was a misfortune to beget daughters ; cp. *Menachoth* 43 *b* (T. B.), where it is taught that a man ought to bless God every day for not having made him a woman or a slave. In the daily service for Morning Prayer in the Jewish Liturgy occurs the following Benediction : 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast not made me a woman.'
4. **a treasure to . . .** See critical note. Cp. xxvi. 1–4.
she that bringeth shame. i.e. to her husband ; this is also a grief (εἰς λύπην) to her father, because her shame is a reflection on him, implying, as it does, that he did not bring her up properly.
5. **She that is bold.** ἡ θρασεῖα ; cp. Sept. of Prov. ix. 13, γυνὴ ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα.
6. **talk.** διήγησις (Syr. שועיתא) means the discourse of the sages ; this is 'unseasonable' at times when 'stripes and

(*g*) XXII. 7–18. *The Futility of the Fool* (= 2 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 distichs).

𝔊 7 He who teacheth a fool is (as) one that glueth together a potsherd[o],
(Or) as[p] one that awakeneth a sleeper out of a deep sleep.
8 [q]He that discourseth to a fool[qq] is as one discoursing to him that slumbereth[q],
And at the end he saith, 'What is it?'
11 Mourn for the dead, [r]for his[s] light hath failed[r];
And mourn[t] for a fool, for understanding hath failed (him).
[u]Weep gently[v] for the dead[u], for he hath found rest;
[w]But[x] the life of a fool is [y]worse than[y] death[w].
12 The mourning for the dead (lasts) seven days,
But [z]the mourning for a fool[z] all the days of his life.
13 Talk not much with a foolish man,
And consort not with a pig[a]:
Beware of him, lest thou have trouble,
And thou becomest defiled [b]when he shaketh himself[b];
Turn from him, and thou wilt find rest,
And (so) shalt thou not be wearied with his folly[c].
14 [d]What is heavier than lead[d]?
And what is its name but 'Fool'?
15 Sand and salt and a weight of iron
(Are) easier[e] to bear than [f]a senseless man[f].
16 As[g] timber girt and fixed into the wall[h]
[k]Is not loosened by an earthquake[k],

conceal the humble origin of their own parents; (but) children who grow up in arrogance and wantonness besmirch the noble descent of their kin (= *vv.* 9, 10) [o] V Syro-Hex *plur.*: 𝔏 + ('and as one) who telleth a tale (*lit.* word) to him that heareth not' [p] *So* 𝔖 𝔏 [q–q] 𝔖 'he that teacheth a fool is like one that eateth bread when he is not hungry' [qq] 𝔏 + 'wisdom' [r–r] 𝔖 *lit.* 'for he is kept from the light' [s] *Expressed in* 𝔏 [t] 𝔖 > [u–u] 𝔖 'it is not (fitting) to weep for the dead': Sah 'it is good to weep for the dead' [v] *Lit.* 'more sweetly': 𝔏 modicum [w–w] 𝔖 'For an evil life is worse than death' [x] *So* B *only* [y–y] 248 > [z–z] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'for a fool and an ungodly man' [a] *So* 𝔖, *which adds* 'in the way': 70 248 + 'for being without sense he will altogether despise thee' [b–b] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'in his onslaught', *lit.* shaking': 𝔏 'in his sin' [c] 𝔖 'much talk' [d–d] 𝔖 'for he is much heavier than lead' [e] *So* 248 𝔏: 𝔊 'easy': 𝔖 'pleasanter' [f–f] 𝔖 'to dwell with a fool' [g] *So* 70 𝔖 [h] *Lit.* building': 𝔖 + 'of the corners of a house' [k–k] 𝔖 >

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correction' are really what is required. Ben-Sira is laying stress on the need of firmness towards children; the lack of this in their earlier years results in the shame and grief which, later on, are brought upon a father (*vv.* 4, 5); cp. the gloss on *v.* 6 (see critical note).

stripes and correction. Cp. Prov. xxii. 15, xxix. 15.

(*g*) XXII. 7–18.

7. **He who teacheth . . .** Cp. Prov. i. 7, xxvii. 22. A potsherd glued together is useless for all practical purposes, one that is awaked out of a deep sleep is unfit for doing anything; nothing can be done with either—nor yet with a fool.

8. **He that discourseth . . .** A fool cannot understand sensible talk, although he hears, any more than one who is asleep and cannot hear. For *vv.* 9, 10, see critical note.

11. **Mourn . . .** Cp. vii. 34, xxxviii. 16.

his light hath failed. Cp. Prov. xx. 20 *b*, 27. On Jewish tombstones the following ancient formula is often inscribed: 'May his light continue to shine.'

12. . . . **(lasts) seven days.** This is still observed by modern orthodox Jews; the period is technically called 'Shiba'' (pronounced 'Shiva''), 'seven'; cp. Gen. l. 10; Judith xvi. 24; and see below xxxviii. 17.

13. **Talk not much.** μὴ πληθύνῃς λόγον = אל תרבה שיחה, a phrase which occurs in *Pirqe Aboth* i. 5.

consort not. Lit. 'go not to'.

with a pig. This rendering of 𝔖 is evidently correct, as is shown by the context (see clause *d*); 𝔊 is a toning down. The swine is referred to as the emblem of filthiness in the T. B. *Berakhoth* 43 *b* (*JE*, xi. 609 *b*). The fool, like the man of sloth, is regarded as unclean; for the uncleanness of swine cp. Lev. xi. 7.

And thou becomest defiled . . . The outpouring of a fool's nonsense is compared to the filth carried about by a pig which it shakes from itself after having wallowed in the mire.

wearied. The verb ἀκηδιάζω occurs very rarely in the Sept.: Ps. lx. 3, ci. 1, cxlii. 4; Dan. vii. 15.

folly. ἀπόνοια means also 'madness', which is perhaps preferable here, as a strong word is required.

14. **What is heavier . . .** Cp. xxi. 16.

what is its name. i.e. the name of that which is heavier than lead.

15. **Sand.** Cp. Prov. xxvii. 3. See further Introd. § 7 (*b*).

16. The contrast offered by the wise man.

𝔊 So a heart established on well-advised counsel
[l]Will not be afraid[l] in time[m] [of danger].
17 [mm]A heart fixed on thoughtful understanding
Is as an ornament graven[n] upon[o] a polished wall[mm].
18 [p]Small stones[p] lying upon a high place
Will not remain against the wind,
[q]So will the fearsome heart (bent) on foolish imagination
Be unable to withstand any terror[q].

(*h*) XXII. 19–26. *How Friendship is dissolved; the duty of a friend* (=2+3+2[+1]+2 distichs).

19 A wound [r]in the eye maketh tears to flow,
And a (heart)-wound[r] [s]severeth friendship[s].
20 [t]He that throweth a stone at birds scareth them away,
And he that reproacheth[u] a friend dissolveth friendship.
21 Even if thou draw the sword against a friend,
Despair not, for there is [v]a way out[v];
22 And[w] if thou open thy[x] mouth against a friend,
Fear not, for there is a (way of) reconciliation;
[y]But reproach and arrogance, and betrayal of a secret, and a deceitful blow,—
In (face of) these every friend will depart[y].
23 Support[z] thy neighbour in his poverty,
That in his prosperity[a] thou mayst rejoice[b];
Remain true[c] to him in the time of his[d] affliction,
That thou mayst be heir with him in his inheritance[e].
24 [[ee]Before the fire is the smoke of the furnace[f],
So revilings before bloodshed].[ee]
𝔖 25 [g]Be not ashamed of a friend who becometh poor[g],
𝔊 [h]And [i]hide not thyself[i] from his face[h];
26 [k]For [kk]if evil happen unto him[l] through thee[ll k],
Whosoever heareth it will beware of thee[m].

[l-l] 𝔖 'no fear will shake him' [m] 70 248 𝔖 𝔏 'at any time': 248 𝔏 + 'with fear' [mm-mm] 𝔏 > [n] *Reading* γλυμματος (*Smend*) *for* ψαμμωτος [o] *So* 248 𝔖 [p-p] *Reading with* A C 70 248 *mg.* 254 χαλικες (=𝔏): B ℵ χαρακες, 'pales' [q-q] 𝔖 'So is the heart of a fool broken in his innermost being, and he cannot stand up against grief' [r] *Reading* νοσος (= 𝔖) *for* νυσσων (= 𝔏) [s-s] *So* 𝔖 (*lit.* 'changeth friendship'): 𝔊 'showeth feeling' [t] 𝔏 *inserts the title*: 'Concerning friendship' [u] 𝔖 'robbeth': *and adds* 'change not towards thy friend, but if thou change think not that thou wilt retain his love' [v-v] *Lit.* 'a returning' (= תשובה), *i.e.* 'a way of repentance' [w] *So* V 253 Syro-Hex. 𝔏: 𝔊 > [x] *So* 𝔖 [y-y] 𝔖 'He who reveals a secret is worthy of contempt (*lit.* is a son of contempt), and a deceitful blow puts friendship far away' [z] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'acquire trust in' [a] *Lit.* 'good things' [b] *So* ℵA 25 248 253 254 Syro-Hex 𝔏 (ευφρανθης): B C V 70 ομου πλησθης: 𝔖 'thou mayst share' [c] *Lit.* 'steadfast' [d] *So* 𝔏 *only* [e] 248 + 'For not always is the (outward) appearance to be despised, nor is the rich man void of understanding to be respected' [ee-ee] *This verse seems to have got out of place, as it breaks the sequence of thought* [f] 𝔊 𝔏 + 'and smoke' (καπνος), *which* 𝔖 *rightly omits* [g-g] 𝔊 𝔏 'I will not be ashamed to shelter a friend' [h-h] 𝔏 > [i-i] 𝔊 𝔏 'I will not hide myself' [k-k] 𝔖 'If thy companion reveal to thee a secret, repeat it not'

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17. **an ornament graven.** See critical note.

18. **Small stones . . .** The reference, as Ryssel points out, is to the small stones which were placed on the top of the walls surrounding gardens and vineyards; these were put there in order that, when jackals or foxes leaped on to the wall to enter the vineyard, the noise occasioned by the rattling of the displaced stones might warn the watcher. As these small stones were always lying in an exposed position they were easily blown down by a high wind.

(*h*) XXII. 19–26.

19. **A wound.** See critical note.
maketh tears to flow. Cp. Prov. xxx. 32, 33.

20. **reproacheth.** Cp. v. 22, xviii. 18, xx. 15.

21. **. . . for there is a way out.** Cp. xxvii. 21. The meaning of the verse is that every straightforward quarrel, however serious, is capable of adjustment, but when such things as those mentioned in the third clause of *v.* 22 sever friendship, then the breach is irremediable.

22. **if thou open . . .** The reference is to outspoken, straightforward differences between friends.
reproach. i.e. abuse.
betrayal of a secret. Lit. 'revealing . . .'; cp. Prov. xi. 13, xx. 19, xxv. 9.

23. **thou mayst rejoice.** See critical note.

24. **So revilings . . .** Cp. xxvii. 15.

25. **And hide not . . .** Cp. vi. 12.

26. The rendering of 𝔊 in this verse is clearly not in order, but its general sense agrees better with the context than

(*i*) XXII. 27—XXIII. 6. *The Need of Self-control* (= 2 + 4 + 1 + 2 distichs).

𝔊 27 [n-o]O that one would set a watch over my mouth[o],
And a seal of shrewdness upon my lips,
That I fall not[p] by means of[q] them[r],
And that my tongue destroy me not[s]!
23 2 [a]O that one would set scourges over my mind[b],
And [c]a rod of correction[c] over my heart,
That they spare not [d]their errors[d],
[e]And overlook not their sins[e]!
3 That mine ignorances be not[f] multiplied,
And that my sins [g]abound not[f g h],
And [i]cause me to fall[i] in the sight of[k] mine[l] adversaries,
So that mine enemy rejoice over me[m].
1 (=4*a*) O Lord, Father, and God[n] of my[o] life,
Abandon me not [p]to their counsel[p q].
4 *b* Give me not[r] [s]a proud look[s],
5 [t]And turn away concupiscence[u] from me[v].
6 May [w]the lust of the flesh[w] [x]and chambering[x] [y]not overtake me[y],
[z]And give me[a] not over to a shameless soul[z].

(*lit.* 'give it not out') [kk] 𝔊 'and' [l] 𝔊 𝔏 'me' [ll] 𝔊 'him' [m] 𝔊 'him': 𝔖 + and will account thee a mischief-maker' (*lit.* 'one that doeth harm') [n] 254 *inserts here*: 'O that one would set scourges over my thought' (= xxiii. 2 *a*) [o-o] 𝔊 τις δωσει (= מי יתן) μοι (> אA 𝔖 𝔏) επι στομα μου φυλακην [p] 248 + 'suddenly' [q] 𝔊 'from' [r] *So* V (= 𝔖 𝔏): 𝔊 'it': Sah 'through my mouth' [s] *The negative is preserved in* 248 253 (= 𝔖 Syro-Hex) [a] *For the reasons of the above order in the clauses of vv.* 1–5 *see note below* [b] *Lit.* 'thought' [c-c] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'a discipline of wisdom' [d-d] *So* 𝔏 (ignorationibus eorum): 𝔊 επι τοις αγνοημασι μου = 𝔖 [e-e] א [c.a] *has the clause under the asterisk:* 248 'Overlook not the insults (υβρεις) of sinners, according to (*lit.* 'in') (Thy) promise': 𝔖 >, *but has instead:* 'that they in their assembly inherit not, nor take delight (נרחמון) in destroying (למחבלו)'; Sah > *the clause altogether*: 𝔏 et non appareant delicta eorum [f] 𝔏 > *the negative* [g-g] 𝔖 *lit.* 'be not strong' (נעשנון) [h] 70 248 + 'to (my) destruction' [i-i] 𝔖 'reveal me' (נגלוני), *a scribal error which should, according to Smend, be corrected to* נפלוני (= יפילוני), 'cause me to fall': 𝔊 𝔏 'I fall' [k] *Lit.* 'before' [l] *So* 𝔏: 𝔊 𝔖 > [m] 70 248 + 'from whom the hope of Thy mercy is far-distant' [n] 𝔖 'Master' [o] 70 248 'all my' [p-p] 𝔏 > [q] 𝔊 + 'and suffer me not to fall by them' (𝔖 'on their account): 70 + 'as a (standing) example' (εν παραδειγματισμῳ): 𝔏 + in illa exprobatione [r] 𝔊 μη δῳς μοι [s-s] *Lit.* 'a lifting up of eyes': 𝔏 '... of mine eyes': 𝔖 'an exalted eye'; 248 + 'and an overbearing (*lit.* gigantic) soul' [t] 248 *inserts here:* 'Keep ever from Thy servant vain hopes' [u] 𝔖 'a lustful (פחזא) heart': 𝔏 'every desire' [v] 248 + 'and him that desireth to serve Thee do Thou ever hold up': 𝔖 + 'and suffer naught that is good to escape me' [w-w] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'the appetite (desire) of the (𝔏 'my') belly' [x-x] 𝔖 > [y-y] 𝔖 'not make me lustful' [z-z] 𝔖 'And let not a shameless soul have dominion over me' [a] 248 'Thy servant'

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is the case with 𝔖; if the pronouns in 𝔊 are corrected on the basis of 𝔖 good sense can be made out of the verse. The first word of the verse should be 'For' instead of 'And'; this is demanded by the context.

(*i*) XXII. 27—XXIII. 6.

27. **O that . . .** Cp. Ps. cxli. 3.

that my tongue . . . Cp. Prov. xviii. 21, xxi. 23.

XXIII. 1–5. A reference to the text of 𝔊 will show that it is out of order as it stands: *v.* 1 breaks the sequence between xxii. 27 and xxiii. 2; the first clause of *v.* 1 = *v.* 4 *a*; *v.* 1 *h* is omitted by 𝔖, and inserted in *v.* 4; something has evidently fallen out in *vv.* 4–5. That there is something radically wrong with the text of these verses as they stand is evident from the variations in the Gr. MS. and the Versions (see critical notes). Smend (following 𝔖 partly) keeps 1 *a* and 1 *c* and 4 *a* of 𝔊, adding 1 *b* to 4 *a*.

2. **O that one would set.** Lit. 'who will set . . .', cp. xxii. 27.

a rod of correction. Cp. Prov. xxii. 15 *b*.

their errors . . . their sins: i.e. those of his heart and mind.

3. **So that mine enemy . . .** Cp. Ps. xiii. 4.

1. **. . . their counsel.** i.e. the counsel of his own heart and mind.

4 *b*. **a proud look.** Perhaps this should be interpreted in the sense in which the expression is used in Gen. xxxix. 7, in view of what follows (Ryssel).

6. **the lust of the flesh.** See critical note.

(*j*) XXIII. 7–15. *The need of keeping the tongue under control* (= 2 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 2 distichs).

𝔊 7 [b]Hear, O children, (concerning) the discipline of the mouth[c]:
He that keepeth (discipline)[d] [e]shall not be taken [captive][e]
8 But[f] the sinner is ensnared[g] through[h] his lips,
𝔖 [i]And the fool stumbleth through his mouth[i].
9 Accustom not[k] thy mouth to an oath,
[l]Nor make a habit of the naming of the Holy One[ml].
𝔊 10 [n]For as a servant who is constantly being questioned[n]
[o]Lacketh not[o] the marks of a blow,
So also he that [p]sweareth and is continually naming [q]the name of the Lord[q p]
Is not free[r] from sins.
11 A man of many oaths [s]is filled with iniquity[s],
And the scourge[t] departeth not from his house;
If he offend[u] his sin will be upon him[v],
[w]And if he disregard[x] it he sinneth doubly[w];
[y]And if he sweareth [z]without need[z], he shall not be justified[y],
[a]For his house shall be filled with calamities[ba].
12 [c]There is a manner of speech [d]that is to be compared[d] with death[c]:
Let it not be found in the heritage of Jacob.
𝔖 [e]He that keepeth[f] his soul from this shall live[e],
[g]And not wallow in sins[g].
𝔊 14 [h]Remember[i] thy father and thy mother
[k]When[l] thou sittest in council in the midst of the mighty[k],
Lest, perchance, [m]thou stumble[m] before them,
[In that] [n]thou showest thyself [to be] a fool[n] in thy manner [of speech],
[o]And dost wish thou hadst not been born[o],
And cursest the day of thy birth.
13 Accustom not thy mouth to impure manner [of speech],
For [p]that is a sinful thing[p].

[b] B 70 248 254 *insert the title*: 'Discipline of the mouth' [c] 248 + 'that is truthful' [d] *Not expressed* [e-e] 𝔖 'shall not suffer shame' [f] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 > (ℵ[c.a] 'either') [g] *Lit.* 'overtaken', *reading* καταληφθησεται *with* 157 (= 𝔖 𝔏) *for* καταλειφθ. 𝔊: 157 248 + 'in his folly' [h] *Lit.* 'in' (= ב 'by means of', *cp.* Ps. vi. 8) [i-i] 𝔊 'the reviler and the arrogant shall stumble through them': 𝔏 superbus et maledicus scandalizabitur in illis [k-k] 𝔖 'and thou wilt not (have to) sit before the judges' [l] 𝔖 'instruct not': 𝔏 + 'for there is great calamity therein' [m] ℵ[c.a] A 'the Most High': 𝔏 'God' [n-n] 𝔖 'for (as) every man that sweareth continually' [o-o] 𝔖 'is not free from' [p-p] 𝔖 'lieth and sweareth' [q-q] *So only* A ℵ[c.a] 55 157 254 [r] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'is not cleansed' [s-s] 𝔖 'acquireth sins' [t] 𝔖 'strife' [u] 𝔖 'swear by mistake' (*i.e.* 'falsely'): 𝔏 frustraverit [v] 55 254 + 'he will hide it under his tongue' [w-w] 𝔖 'and if in truth he will not swear (at all)' [x] *Lit.* 'overlook': 𝔏 dissimulaverit [y-y] 𝔖 'For whosoever sweareth continually, it is detestable, and he shall not be justified' [z-z] *Lit.* 'in vain' [a-a] 𝔖 > [b] 248 𝔏 'retribution' [c-c] 𝔖 'And if there is another thing that is like it' [d-d] *Reading with* 70 253 (= Syro-Hex) αντιπαραβεβλημενη: 𝔊 αντιπεριβεβλ.: 𝔏 contraria [e-e] 𝔊 𝔏 'For from the godly (𝔏 'the merciful') all these things shall be put away' [f] *Lit.* 'shutteth up' [g-g] 𝔊 𝔏 'And they will not wallow (*lit.* roll) in sins' [h] *Vv.* 13 *and* 15 *belong together.* [i] 𝔖 + 'that thou hast' [k-k] 𝔖 'and from terror thou hast been preserved' [l] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'for' [m-m] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'that thou be not forgetful': 𝔏 'lest He (*i.e.* God) forget thee' [n-n] 𝔖 'thou be despised' [o-o] 𝔖 'and sayest, O that I had not been created' [p-p] *Lit.* 'therein is the word of sin'

(*j*) XXIII. 7–15. With the whole of this subsection cp. Jas. iii. 1–12.

7. **shall not be taken [captive].** i.e. by his mouth; he will not fall under the dominion of his tongue.

9. . . . **to an oath.** Cp. Matt. v. 34 ff., xxiii. 20 ff.; Jas. v. 12.

10. **a servant.** οἰκέτης, 'a household servant'; the context suggests that δοῦλος (= עבד), 'a slave', would have been a more appropriate word here.

being questioned. ἐξετάζω means 'to examine closely', but the word is frequently used in the special sense of examining by torture (cp. Acts xxii. 24); ἐξεταζόμενος is, therefore, used quite appropriately here; so that Smend's suggestion that ἐξουσιαζόμενος (lit. 'one having authority over', i.e. here in the sense of 'one rebelling') should be read instead does not commend itself.

the marks of a blow. Cp. xxviii. 17; μώλωψ means the result of a blow, i.e. a bruise, as well as the blow itself.

the name of the Lord. Cp. Lev. xxiv. 16 (Sept.).

11. **A man of many oaths.** Cp. xxvii. 14. The last two clauses seem to be merely a variation of the first two.

12. **There is a manner of speech . . .** Cp. Lev. xix. 12, xxii. 2, 3, 32, and especially xxiv. 16.

the heritage of Jacob. In the O.T. this expression is used in reference to the Promised Land, cp. Isa. lviii. 14; here it refers rather to the Jews in contradistinction to the Gentiles.

14. As the text shows, this verse must come before *v.* 13, which has got out of place.

Remember thy father . . . i.e. so as not to bring disgrace on their name.

. . . **thou hadst not been born . . .** Cp. Job iii. 3; Jer. xx. 14.

𝔊 15 A man that doth accustom himself to [q]disgraceful talk[q]
[r]Will not learn[r] wisdom [s]all his days[s].

(*k*) XXIII. 16–27. *The Wickedness of Impurity* (= 4 + 3 + 4 + 1 + 3 + 3 + 2 distichs).

16 Two types (of men) [t]multiply sins[t],
And the third increaseth[u] wrath[v];
[w]A hot desire[x], burning like fire,
Which is not quenched till [y]it be consumed[y w];
A fornicator with the body of his flesh,
𝔥[A] (For) he ceaseth not till the fire consumeth him;
𝔊 17 [And] the man to whom all bread[z] is sweet,
(For) he will not leave off till he die.
18 A man[a] that [b]goeth astray[b] [c]from his own bed[c],
And saith in his heart: 'Who seeth me?
𝔖 [d]The walls of my house hide me,
And the shadow of my roof covereth me,
And no one seeth me—
What hindereth me from sinning?'[d]
[e]He remembereth not the Most High[e];
𝔊 19 [f]The eyes of men are his (only) fear[f],
—And he perceiveth not that the eyes of the Lord
Are ten thousand times brighter than the sun,
Beholding all the ways of men,
[g]And looking into secret places[g];
20 For[h] all things are known unto Him before they are created,
[i]So also [doth He see them] after they are perfected[i],—
21 [k]Such a man shall be punished[l] in the streets of the city,
And shall be taken where he suspecteth it not[k m].

[q–q] *Lit.* 'words of reproach': 𝔖 'worthless words' [r–r] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *lit.* 'will not be instructed' [s–s] 𝔊 'in all . . .': 𝔖 'all the days of his life': 𝔖 + 'and the man that is impure in the shame of his flesh accepteth no instruction' [t–t] 𝔖 'doth my soul hate' [u] *Lit.* 'will bring': 𝔖 'causeth to arise' [v] 𝔏 + 'and perdition' [w–w] 𝔖 > [x] *Lit.* 'soul' [y–y] ℵ[c.a] 'it consume something' (= 𝔏) [z] 𝔖 'flesh' [a] A + '(that is) a fornicator' [b–b] 𝔖 'committeth adultery' [c–c] 𝔖 'on the covering of his bed' [d–d] *So* 𝔖 (*pr.* 'behold'): 𝔊 *inverts and abbreviates* 18 c d, *and misunderstands* 18 f [e–e] 𝔖 >: 𝔊 (*misnnderstanding*) ου μη μνησθησεται ο υψιστος [f–f] 𝔖 > [g–g] 𝔖 'and perceiveth the nature (*lit.* the form) of their works (done) in darkness' [h] *Expressed in* 𝔖 𝔏 [i–i] 𝔖 'and judgeth them at the end of the world' [k–k] 𝔖 *transposes the clauses* [l] 𝔖 'detected' [m] 𝔏 + 'and shall be a disgrace in the sight of (*lit.* to) all, because he knew not the fear of God'

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15. **disgraceful talk.** Cp. Joshua v. 9 (Sept.).

(*k*) XXIII. 16–27.

16. **Two types . . . And the third.** With this form of expression cp. xxvi. 1, 5, 28, l. 25; Prov. xxx. 7, 15, 18, 21, 24, 29; cp. also the whole of chap. v of *Pirqe Aboth.*

increaseth wrath. Lit. 'bringeth', i.e. the wrath of God; for the Gr. word (ἐπάγω) cp. ii. 4, xlvii. 20.

he ceaseth not. 𝔊 'He will in no wise cease till he have made a fire to blaze'.

17. **. . . to whom all bread is sweet.** Cp. Prov. ix. 13–18, especially *v.* 17.

18. Cp. Job xxiv. 15.

19. **Beholding . . .** Cf. xvii. 19, 20; Prov. xv. 3, 11; Ps. xxxiii. 14 ff.

20. **For all things are known . . .** Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 24: 'Everything is foreseen; and free-will is given'; and see Taylor's comments on this in his edition.

So also . . . Cp. Gen. ii. 1, 2 (Sept.).

21. **shall be punished . . .** Cp. Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; the full rigour of the Law was evidently mitigated in later times, since there is no mention of punishment by death here. 'Under the Talmudic law the severity of the Mosaic code was in many instances modified, and the laws relating to adultery came under the influence of a milder theory of the relation of crime and punishment. . . . Upon this mild view followed the entire abolition of the death penalty, in the year A.D. 40, before the destruction of the Second Temple (*Sanhedrin* 41 *a*), when the Jewish courts, probably under pressure of the Roman authorities, relinquished their right to inflict capital punishment. Thereafter the adulterer was scourged; and the husband of the adulteress was not allowed to condone her crime (*Sotah* vi. 1), but was compelled to divorce her, and she lost all her property rights under her marriage contract . . .' (*JE*, i. 217 *a*).

shall be taken . . . i.e. to the public place of scourging. The transposition of these two clauses in 𝔖 is correct.

𝔊 22 So also a wife that leaveth[n] her husband,
And bringeth in an heir by a stranger.
23 For, firstly, she is disobedient[o] to the Law of the Most High;
And secondly, [p]she trespasseth[p] against her own husband[q];
And thirdly, she committeth adultery through (her) fornication,
And bringeth children in by a stranger.
24 She shall be led into the assembly,
And upon her children [r]there will be visitation[r].
25 Her children shall not spread out their roots,
And her branches shall bear no fruit.
26 She will leave her memory for a curse,
And her reproach will not be blotted out.
27 [s]And they that are left behind shall know
That there is nothing better than the fear of the Lord[t],
And nothing sweeter than to observe
The commandments of the Lord[u s].

(*a*) XXIV. 1–34. [a]*The Praise of Wisdom*[a] (=2+2+2+3+3+1+3+2+2+2+2+1+3+2+3+3 distichs).

24 1 Wisdom praiseth herself[b],
And is honoured among [c]her people
2 She openeth her mouth in the assembly [d]of the Most High[d],
And is honoured in the presence of His hosts[e].
3 'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High,
And as a mist I covered the earth.

[n] 𝔖 'sinneth against' [o] 𝔖 'she lieth against' [p–p] 𝔖 > [q] 𝔖 + 'of her youth' [r–r] 𝔖 'her sins will be remembered' [s–s] 𝔖, *which on account of its better rhythmical measure is perhaps to be preferred, reads*:

'And all the dwellers on earth will know,
And all the rest in the world will perceive,
That nothing is better than the fear of God,
Or sweeter than to keep His commandments.'

[t] 55 157 254 𝔖𝔏 'God' [u] 55 248 253 254 'God': 70 248 𝔏 + 'to follow after God (𝔏 'the Lord') is great glory, and length of days it is for thee to be accepted of Him' (= *v.* 28)
[a–a] V 106 157 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex > [b] 𝔏 + et in deo honorabitur [c–c] 𝔖 'the people of God' [d–d] 𝔖 'of God' [e] So 𝔖: 𝔊 'might'

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23. **the Law of the Most High.** See Exod. xx. 14; Deut. v. 18.
bringeth children in by . . . For the result of this entailed upon such offspring see Deut. xxiii. 2.
24. **She shall be led . . .** i. e. for punishment.
upon her children . . . Their illegitimacy descended upon their children (*Qiddushin* 78 *b*).
25. **. . . shall not spread out . . .** They were not regarded as belonging to the congregation of Israel (cp. *Qiddushin* 78 *b*); for the belief that the children of adulterers do not come to maturity see Wisd. iii. 16–19, iv. 3–5.
26. **. . . will not be blotted out.** Cp. Ps. cix. 14.
27. **. . . shall know . . .** Cp. xlvi. 10. For the addition to this verse see critical note.

XXIV. 1—XXVII. 3. (In praise of Wisdom, with practical applications.) The division falls into twelve subsections.
XXIV. 1–34. A fine hymn in praise of Wisdom follows. The author, in declaring that Wisdom is honoured in heaven, as well as on earth, thereby shows that she is entitled to speak in her own name. The hymn falls into six strophes, each containing six distichs.
1. **Wisdom praiseth herself.** Lit. '. . . praiseth her soul'; she is entitled to do so on account of her inherent excellence; every utterance of hers is *ipso facto* the praise of herself because it witnesses to her transcendent perfection.
among her people. The rendering of 𝔖, 'the people of God,' suggests that Israel is meant (cp. *v.* 8); Smend thinks that the heavenly companions of Wisdom are meant, and the rendering of 𝔏 (in deo honorabitur) points to the scene being in heaven; but as the heavenly hosts are referred to in the next verse, it is probable that the Israelites are meant here, the intention of the writer being to indicate that Wisdom is honoured both on earth and in heaven.
2. **in the assembly of the Most High.** Cp. Ps. lxxxii. 1 בַּעֲדַת־אֵל (𝔖 reads 'of God'); here it is clear that the heavenly hosts are referred to.
. . . **His hosts . . .** *δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*; cp. Isa. xxxiv. 4, where צבא השמים is rendered *αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν* in the Sept.; cp. Ps. xxxiii (Sept. xxxii) 6; Dan. viii. 10.
3. **I came forth . . .** Wisdom now speaks in her own name; for the personification of Wisdom cp. Prov. viii. 4 ff., and with the whole of this section cp. Prov. viii. 22–ix. 12, with which it has many points of similarity.
as a mist I covered the earth. Cp. Gen. i. 2, 'The Spirit of God brooded upon the face of the waters,' and Gen. ii. 6, 'There went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.' In connexion with these

𝔊 4 In the high places did I fix my abode,
And my throne was [ee]in the pillar of cloud[ee].
5 [f]Alone I compassed the circuit of heaven[f],
And [g]in the depth of the abyss[g] I walked.
6 Over the waves of the sea, and over all the earth[h],
And over every people and nation I held sway[i].
7 With all these I sought a resting-place,
And (said): In whose inheritance shall I lodge?
8 Then the Creator of all things gave me commandment,
And He that created me fixed my dwelling-place (for me);
And He said: Let thy dwelling-place be in Jacob,
And in Israel[k] [l]take up thine inheritance[l].
9 He created me from the beginning, before the world;
𝔖 [m]The memorial of me shall never cease[m].
𝔊 10 In the holy tabernacle I ministered before Him,
Moreover[mm] in Zion was I established.

[ee–ee] 𝔖 'upon the pillars of the clouds' [f–f] 𝔖 'Together with Him did I dwell in heaven' [g–g] 𝔖 *lit.* 'in the roots of Tehom' [h] 𝔏 + steti [i] *So* ℵ[c.a] ηγησαμην (= 𝔖 𝔏): 𝔊 εκτησαμην ('I got possession') [k] 248 'Jerusalem' [l–l] 𝔖 'establish thyself' [m–m] 𝔊 𝔏 'And unto eternity I shall not fail' [mm] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 και ουτως

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the following should be considered: *v.* 5 *b*, 'in the depth of the abyss I walked,' and Prov. viii. 27, 'When He prepared the heavens I was there, when He set a circle upon the face of the deep...' Wisdom is here evidently thought of as the Spirit of God; in later Jewish literature Wisdom is identified with the 'Ruaḥ ha-qodesh' ('the Holy Spirit'). Here we have, therefore, the germ of the later teaching; but a great advance was made as early as the last quarter of the second century B.C., for in the Book of Wisdom the identification of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit is implicitly taught; see Wisd. i. 4–7, and especially xi. 17: 'And Thy counsel who hath known, except Thou give wisdom, and send Thy Holy Spirit from above?' In the Midrash *Bereshith Rabbah* lxxxv it is said that Solomon's wisdom was the Holy Spirit guiding him.

4. **In the high places.** Here again may be discerned the germ of the teaching of later Judaism, according to which there were a variety of 'Mehizoth', or dwelling-places on high; according to *Ḥagigah* 12 *b* there were seven heavens above (cp. 2 Cor. xii. 2), in the uppermost of which, called 'Araboth', God Himself dwells; in front of it a 'Pargôd' ('curtain') of clouds is placed; this is the 'Holy of Holies' of heaven (see further Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*[2], pp. 162 ff.).

the pillar of cloud. See Exod. xiv. 19, &c. (the 'Shekinah' of later Jewish teaching). According to Philo (*Quis Rer. Div. Heres.* § 42=§ 231 ff. in Cohn and Wendland's ed.) the 'pillar of cloud' was Wisdom; cp. *v.* 10, 'In the holy tabernacle I ministered before Him,' and Exod. xxx. 9, 10, '...the pillar of cloud descended and stood at the door of the Tent.' In *Sotah* 33 *a* it is said that the Holy Spirit and the 'Shekinah' dwelt in the Holy of Holies. In Wisd. x. 17 it is said of Wisdom that she 'became unto them a covering in the day-time, and a flame of stars through the night' (cp. Ps. lxxviii. 14); cp. the words of Philo in reference to the pillar of cloud (*De Vita Mos.* lib. i, § 29): *τάχα μέντοι καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων τις ἦν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἀφανὴς ἄγγελος, ἐγκατειλημμένος τῇ νεφέλῃ προηγήτωρ, ὃν οὐ θέμις σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶσθαι.*

5. **the circuit of heaven.** *γῦρον οὐρανοῦ*; the same expression occurs in the Sept. of Job xxii. 14 (= חוג שמים); cp. xliii. 12; Prov. viii. 27.

in the depth of the abyss. Cp. i. 3, and Job xxxvi. 30 שרשי הים (= 𝔖 בעקרא דתהומא, see critical note), Amos ix. 3 בקרקע הים ('in the bottom of the sea'). Cp. the Babylonian belief of Ea, 'the lord of wisdom,' whose wisdom came forth from Apsu, 'the deep,' which is called also 'the house of Wisdom'.

6. **I held sway.** See critical note.

7. **With all these...** i.e. with every people and nation. 'On the thought here expressed the Rabbis based, later on, the legend (referring to Deut. xxxiii. 2 and Job iii. 3) that the Law was offered to all nations, but was refused by them, before it was accepted by the Israelites at Mount Sinai (*Abodah Zarah* 2 *b* towards the end)' (Ryssel *in loc.*). So the Midrash *Pesiqta* 186 *a* says that originally the Law was offered to all, but that Israel alone of the nations accepted it.

resting-place. *ἀνάπαυσιν*; so too in the Sept. of Is. xi. 10, '...and His resting-place (= מְנֻחָתוֹ) shall be glorious.'

...shall I lodge? *αὐλίζομαι* is the Sept. for שכן in Job xi. 14, xv. 28, xxxviii. 19 (cp. 3 Esdras ix. 2); as Smend points out, the expressions מנוחה and שכן are used in this sense of God also.

8. **the Creator of all things.** Cp. li. (12[4]) 'He that formed all things', as in Jer. x. 16, li. 19; cp. 1 Enoch lxxxiv. 3,

fixed my dwelling-place (for me). *κατέπαυσεν τὴν σκηνήν μου*, lit. 'made my tent to rest'; Wisdom, after having vainly sought a resting-place among a people who would welcome her, has finally to leave the decision with God.

Let thy dwelling-place be in Jacob... *κατασκήνωσον*, cp. John i. 14. Contrast with what is said in this verse 1 Enoch xlii. 1, 2: 'Wisdom found no place where she might dwell; then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens. Wisdom came to make her dwelling among the children of men, and found no dwelling-place; then Wisdom returned to her place, and took her seat among the angels'; cp. lxxxiv. 3, xciv. 5. Wisdom is here identified with the Law, the perfect expression of divine Wisdom.

9. **He created me...** With this thought cp. John xvii. 5.

The memorial of me... This rendering of 𝔖 is preferable to that of 𝔊, since it is the Law (see the verses which follow) with which Wisdom is identified; this is thought of here; cp. Exod. xiii. 9, 16; Deut. vi. 8, 9, xi. 18.

10. **In the holy tabernacle...** The worship of the Tabernacle was the carrying out of the Law, so that, as personified, Wisdom could be said to minister before God.

in Zion... i.e. when the Temple took the place of the Tabernacle.

𝔊 11 In the Holy[n] City likewise[o] [p]He caused me to rest[p],
And in Jerusalem was my authority.
12 And I took root[q] among an honoured[r] people,
In the portion of the Lord (and) of His inheritance[s].
13 I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus,
And like an olive-tree[t] on the mountains of Zion[u].
14 I was exalted like a palm-tree on the sea-shore[v],
And as rose-plants in Jericho;
And as a fair[w] olive-tree in the plain[x];
Yea, I was exalted as a plane-tree [y]by the waters[y].
15 As cinnamon and aspalathus [z]have I given a scent of[z] perfumes,
And as choice myrrh I spread abroad a pleasant odour;
As[a] galbanum, and onyx, and stacte;
[b](I was) as the smoke of incense in the Tabernacle[b].
16 I as a terebinth[bb] [c]stretched forth my branches[c],
And my branches were branches of glory[d] and grace.

[n] *So* 248 𝔏 Eth: 𝔊 𝔖 'beloved' [o] 𝔖 '(. . . beloved) like me' [p–p] 𝔖 𝔏 Eth 'I rested' [q] 𝔖 'I was magnified' [r] ℵ[c.a] 'approved' [s] 𝔖 + 'Israel': 𝔏 + 'and among the multitude of the saints was my abode' [t] *So* 𝔖 (*cp.* 𝔍 *in* l. 10). [u] *So* 𝔏 (*cp.* Deut. iv. 48, Sept.), *see exegetical note* [v] ℵ[c.a] 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex 'in Engadi': 248 εν γαδδι: 𝔏 'in Cades' [w] 𝔖 > [x] 70 248 'the beautiful plain' [y–y] *So* 70 157 248 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 > [z–z] V 248 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex > [a] 𝔖 𝔏 *insert* 'incense and' [b–b] 𝔖 'I gave forth my perfumes as (that of) good oil' [bb] 𝔖 'oleander' [c–c] 𝔖 'fixed my roots' [d] 𝔏 'perfume'

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11. **the Holy City . . .** ἡγιασμένῃ (cp. xxxvi. 18) instead of ἠγαπημένῃ is perhaps to be preferred, as the phrase 'the Holy City' (עיר הקדש) is supported by O. T. usage (Isa. xlviii. 2, lii. 1; Neh. xi. 1, 18; Dan. ix. 24), whereas 'the Beloved City' is not found (but cp. Ps. cxxxvii. 2).

He caused me to rest. Cp. Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14.

in Jerusalem was . . . It is possible that the thought of Wisdom having had her abode above (see *v.* 4) and coming to dwell in Jerusalem contributed to the later idea of Jerusalem having its counterpart above; cp. *Test. Twelve Patr.*, Dan. v. 12, 13; *Sib. Orac.* iii. 657 ff., iv; 4 Ezra vii. 26, viii. 52, 53, x. 44–59; 2 Bar. iv. 2–6, xxxii. 4; and in the N. T. Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 10; the same idea occurs often in Rabbinical literature; the earthly Jerusalem (ירושלים של מטה) is paralleled by the Jerusalem that is above (ירושלים של מעלה); cp. e.g. *Pesaḥim* 50 *a* and the Midrash *Pesiqta* 143 *a*.

12. **. . . of His inheritance.** Cp. xvii. 17, and Sept. of Deut. xxxii. 9; Zech. ii. 16.

13. **like a cedar . . .** Cf. Ps. xcii. 12.

an olive-tree. κυπάρισσος is the rendering of עץ שמן ('Oleaster') in l. 10 (= 𝔖 אילנא דמשחא).

Zion. 'Apparently Ἑρμών is a correction in the Greek ("innergriechische Korrektur"), which put the more usual name for the rarer one' (Smend); cp. Hebr. of Deut. iv. 48. 𝔖 'Senir,' cp. Deut. iii. 9.

14. **on the sea-shore.** See critical note. It is possible that the right reading is 'in Engadi', for, as Ryssel points out, palm-trees do not grow to any great height on the seashore, whereas Engadi was famed for them (see Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, pp. 58, 165).

rose-plants in Jericho. Cp. xxxix. 13, l. 8; i.e. 'the Rhododaphne' (= 'Oleander'), which grows on the banks of the Jordan (cp. the rendering of 𝔖 'field of roses'): see Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

a fair olive-tree. Still to be seen growing in great luxuriance in the plains round the site of Jericho.

a plane-tree. Hebr. ערמון as in Gen. xxx. 37; Ezek. xxxi. 8, the only occurrences in the O.T.; see further J. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 107.

15. **cinnamon.** Cf. Exod. xxx. 23, 34; Prov. vii. 17; Cant. iv. 14 (קִנָּמוֹן).

aspalathus = *Genista acanthoclada* (cp. Löw, *op. cit.*, p. 340); according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xii. 24) the root was used for making ointment.

choice myrrh. מָר־דְּרוֹר Exod. xxx. 23.

galbanum. חֶלְבְּנָה Exod. xxx. 34, a gum used as an ingredient for making incense (cf. Löw, *op. cit.*, p. 115).

onyx. שְׁחֵלֶת Exod. xxx. 34; 'unguis odoratus.' Onycha is 'generally believed to be the operculum of some species of marine mollusc. The operculum is a horny or calcareous plate attached to the foot of certain Gasteropodous molluscs, the function of which is to close the aperture of the shell when the animal has withdrawn into the interior' (*EB*, iii. 3511). The operculum when burned gives forth a strong but pleasant odour, and was likewise used as an ingredient for making incense.

stacte. נָטָף Exod. xxx. 34, an odoriferous gum; the Hebr. name was given, apparently, because this gum was gathered by *drops*. See further Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. 64, 248.

as the smoke of incense . . . i.e. something holy, pleasant, and acceptable; its special sanctity is seen by the punishment meted out to those who offer it without being entitled to do so, cp. Num. xvi. 6 ff., 17 ff.; 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, and who use it for profane purposes, cp. Lev. x. 1 ff.; for its pleasantness, &c., cp. Ps. xlv. 8; Prov. vii. 17, xxvii. 9; Cant. iii. 6.

16. **terebinth . . .** It is still seen to be characteristic for its far-spreading branches (cp. Nowack, *op. cit.* i. 63).

𝔊 17 I as a vine put forth grace[e],
And my flowers are the fruit of glory and wealth[f].
19 Come unto me, ye[g] that desire me,
And be ye filled with my produce[h];
20 For my memorial[i] is sweeter than honey,
And the possession of me than the honey-comb.
21 They that eat shall still hunger [k]for me[k],
And they that drink me shall still thirst [k]for me[k];
22 He that obeyeth me will [l]not be ashamed[l],
And [m]they that serve me will not commit sin[m].'
23 All these things are the book of the covenant of God Most High,
The Law which Moses commanded (as) an heritage for the assemblies of Jacob[n],
25 Which filleth (men) with wisdom, like Pison,
And like Tigris in the days of [o]new (fruits)[o];
26 Which overfloweth like Euphrates, with understanding,
And as Jordan in the days of harvest[p];
𝔖 27 [q qq]Which poureth forth[qq], as the Nile, instruction[q],
𝔊 And[r] as Gihon in the days of vintage.
28 The first man knew her not perfectly,
So also the last will not trace her out;
29 [s]For her understanding is more full than the sea,
And her counsel is greater than the deep[s].
30 And as for me, I (was) as a [t]stream from the[t] river,
And I came forth as a conduit into a garden;
31 I said: 'I will water my garden,
I will abundantly water my garden beds';

[e] 248 'perfume': 𝔏 in suavitate odoris [f] 70 248 𝔏 (*with slight variations*) + 'I am the mother of beauteous love, and of fear, and of knowledge, and of holy hope; I, the ever-existing one, am given to all my children, to those who are called by Him' (= *v.* 18). [g] ℵ 𝔖 'all ye' [h] 𝔖 'good fruits' [i] 𝔖 'instruction': 𝔏 'spirit' [k–k] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 > [l–l] 𝔖 'not fail' [m–m] 𝔖 'none of his works will be destroyed' [n] 70 248 (*with slight variations*) + 'Faint not, (but) be strong in the Lord, and cleave unto Him in order that He may strengthen you. Cleave unto Him; the Lord, the Almighty, is the one and only God, and beside Him there is no Saviour' (= *v.* 24) [o–o] 𝔖 'its fruits' [p] 𝔖 'Nisan' [q–q] 𝔊 (ως φως) *misread* יאור (= 'the Nile') *as* אור ('light'), *and wrote* εκφαινων ('maketh to shine forth') *in order to make sense* [qq–qq] = 𝔏 qui mittit [r] *So* 248 254 Syro-Hex 𝔏 𝔖 [s–s] *The rendering of* 𝔊 *is due to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew way of expressing the comparative* [t–t] 𝔖 >

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17. **the fruit . . .** Cp. Prov. iii. 16, viii. 18, 19. See critical note.
19. **Come unto me.** Cp. Prov. ix. 4.
20. **sweeter than honey . . . honey-comb.** Cp. Ps. xix. 10 in reference to the Law; cp. Prov. xvi. 24.
21. With the thought of the verse contrast John vi. 58, iv. 14.
22. **will not commit sin.** Cp. *Pirqe Aboth*, ii. 2: 'Excellent is Torah-study together with worldly business, for the practice of them puts iniquity out of remembrance.' With the whole verse cp. *Test. Twelve Patr.*, Levi xiii. 7, 8. With this verse Wisdom concludes her speech.
23. **All these things . . .** The identification of the Law with Wisdom in this and the following verses comes out very clearly.
The Law which . . . assemblies. From Deut. xxxiii. 4, where the Hebr. reads קְהִלַּת (but Sept. συναγωγαῖς); Ben-Sira (so also the Sept. in Deut. xxxiii. 4) was thinking of the synagogues of the Dispersion.
25. **Pison.** Cp. Gen. ii. 11 ff.
new (fruits). Cp. l. 8; Num. xxviii. 26 (Sept.).
26. **in the days of harvest.** Cp. Joshua iii. 15.
27. See critical note.
And as Gihon. The addition of 'and' is well attested (see critical note); its omission (so 𝔊) would imply the identification of Gihon with the Nile, as in the Sept. of Jer. ii. 18 (Smend).
in the days of vintage. i.e. September to October, when the river is in full flood.
28. **The first man . . .** i.e. the first man who sought to fathom her (Fritzsche).
29. See critical note.
the deep. ἄβυσσος; cp. *v.* 5; Gen. vii. 11; Ps. xxxvi. 6.
30. **And as for me.** i.e. the writer, who speaks now of himself; he continues the metaphor of the river (as in *vv.* 25–27), and compares himself to a small irrigation canal leading out from the great river of Wisdom.
31. **I will water my garden.** i.e. he intended to use his waters of Wisdom for himself alone at first; but later on his stream 'became a river . . .', i.e. others were to benefit by it. Cp. Is. lviii. 11, 'thou shalt be like a watered garden'; John vii. 38.

𝔊 And lo, my stream became a river,
And my river [u]became a[u] sea.
32 Yet again will I bring instruction to light as the morning,
And will make these things shine forth afar off.
33 Yet again will I pour forth doctrine as prophecy,
And leave it for eternal generations.
34 [v]Look ye (and see), that I have not laboured for myself only,
But for all those that diligently seek her[w v].

(*b*) XXV. 1–2. *Three things which are beautiful, and three which are hateful* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔖 **25** 1 [a]Three things hath my soul desired[a],
And [b]they are[b] lovely in the sight of God and men:
𝔊 The concord of brethren, and the friendship of neighbours,
And a [bb]husband and wife[bb] suited to each other.
2 Three types (of men) doth my soul hate,
And I am greatly offended at their life:
𝔓[A] The poor man that is haughty, and the rich man that is deceitful[c],
And an old man that is an adulterer [cc]lacking understanding[cc].

(*c*) XXV. 3–6. *A beautiful thing is wisdom and counsel among the aged* (= 1 + 2 + 1 distichs).

3 (If) in thy youth thou hast not gathered[d],
How wilt thou find in thine old age?
𝔊 4 [dd]How beautiful [e]to grey hairs[e] is judgement,
And for elders to know counsel!
5 How beautiful is the wisdom of princes[f],
And thought and counsel in those (who are) honoured!
6 The crown[g] of the aged is their much experience,
And their glorying is the fear of the Lord.

(*d*) XXV. 7–11. *Ten types of men who are blessed* (= 1 + 5 + 1 distichs).

7 [h]Nine (types of men) have I conceived of[h]; (these) I accounted blessed;
And a tenth will I speak of with my tongue:
A man that hath joy of his children[hh],
Who liveth to see his enemy's fall.

u–u 𝔖 'reached to the' v–v 𝔖 > w 𝔏 'truth'
a–a 𝔊 'In three things I was beautiful': *ωραισθην is perhaps a textual corruption of* ηρασθην (*Hart*): 𝔏 = 𝔖
b–b 𝔊 *ανεστην* ('I stood') *is probably a corruption of a εστιν* (= 253 𝔏) bb–bb *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'a wife and a husband'
c 𝔊 'a liar' cc–cc 𝔓 > d 𝔖 + 'wisdom' dd 𝔓 *is wanting from here to v.* 8 e–e 𝔖 'among old men'
f *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'old men' (*cp.* 𝔏 veteranis) g 𝔖 'honour' h–h *Lit.* 'nine conceptions' (*εννεα υπονοηματα*), *to which* א[c.a] + *the correction* ανυπονοητα (= 𝔖 𝔏) hh 𝔖 'posterity'

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32. With this and the following verses cp. 4 Macc. i. 15–19.
afar off. i. e. to those of the Dispersion.
33. . . . **doctrine as prophecy.** As Smend points out, these words show that there was no rigid idea as yet concerning a fixed canon of Scripture.
34. This verse occurs in almost identical form again as xxxiii. 17 (= 𝔊 xxx. 26).
(*b*) XXV. 1–2
1. **concord of brethren.** Cp. Ps. cxxxiii. 1.
a husband and wife. Cp. xl. 23 *b*.
suited to each other. *ἑαυτοῖς συνπεριφερόμενοι*; cp. Sept. of Prov. v. 19 *συνπεριφερόμενος πολλοστὸς ἔσῃ*.
2. **Three types.** *τρία εἴδη*; cp. xxiii. 16 *δύο εἴδη* (lit. 'species').
at their life. i. e. that they are alive. The two last clauses of the verse are quoted in *Pesaḥim* 113 *b* (T. B.).
lacking understanding. The Talmud quotation has instead of this: 'And a president who behaves himself proudly towards the congregation' (Cowley and Neubauer, p. xxiv); the same words occur also in *Ḥagigah* 5 *b* (פרנס המתגאה על הצבור).
(*e*) XXV. 3–6.
3. **(If) in thy youth . . .** Quoted in *Aboth de R. Nathan*, c. 24, thus: 'If in thy youth thou hast had no delight in them, how wilt thou attain to them in thine old age?' (Cowley and Neubauer, p. xxiv); cp. vi. 18.
6. **The crown.** Cp. i. 18.
(*d*) XXV. 7–11.
7. **Who liveth . . .** Cp. Ps. xviii. 37, 38, liv. 7, cxii. 8.

𝔅ᶜ 8 [i]Blessed is the husband of an understanding wife,
[ii]That doth not plough with ox and ass[ii].
[j]Blessed is he that hath not slipped with his tongue[j],
And he that hath not served one [jj]inferior (to himself)[jj][i].
𝔊 9 *[k]Blessed is the man[k] that hath found a true friend[kk],
And that discourseth unto [l]ears that hear[l].
10 How great is he that findeth wisdom,
But he is not above him that feareth the Lord.
11 The fear of the Lord surpasseth all things:
[ll]He that holdeth it, to whom shall he be likened[ll]?

(*e*) XXV. 13–15. *Some of the worst forms of evil* (= 2 + 1 distichs).

𝔅ᶜ 13 Any wound, only not a heart-wound!
Any wickedness, only not the wickedness of a woman!
𝔊 14 †Any calamity, only not the calamity (brought about) by those who hate!
Any vengeance, only not the vengeance of enemies!
15 There is no poison [m]above the poison[m] of a serpent,
And there is no wrath above the wrath of a woman[mm].

(*f*) XXV. 16–26. *The evil of a wicked woman* (= 1 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 distichs).

16 I would rather dwell with a lion and a dragon,
Than [n]keep house with[n] a wicked woman.
𝔅ᶜ 17 The wickedness of a woman [nn]maketh black[nn] her look[o],
And darkeneth her countenance like that of a bear[oo].
18 In the midst of his friends her husband sitteth,
And involuntarily[p] he sigheth bitterly[q].

[i–i] 𝔅 *is much mutilated in this verse, and the order of the clauses is wrong, viz. c d a b* [ii–ii] 𝔊 > [j–j] *Most of this clause is mutilated in* 𝔅 [jj–jj] 𝔊 'that is unworthy of him' * 𝔅 *is wanting from here to v.* 13 [k–k] *So* ℵ 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 > [kk] *So* 𝔏: 𝔖 'a friend': 𝔊 'prudence' [l–l] 𝔖 𝔏 'the ear of one that heareth' [ll–ll] 𝔖 'Hold it fast, my son, and let it not go; there is nothing to be likened unto it': 70 248 𝔏 (*with slight variations*) + 'The beginning of the fear of the Lord is to love Him, and the beginning of faith is to cleave unto Him' (= *v.* 12) † 𝔅 *is wanting from here to v.* 17 [m–m] 𝔊 'head', *misunderstanding of* ראש, *which means* 'poison' *as well as* 'head' [mm] *So* 𝔖: 𝔏 𝔊 'enemy' [n–n] *So* B א*: A אᶜ·ᵃ 'dwell with' (= 𝔖) [nn–nn] 𝔖 'maketh pale' (*cp.* Jer. xxx. 6) [o] 𝔅 (*later hand*) + '(of her) husband' (= 𝔖) [oo] *So* א A *all the cursives*: B 'like sackcloth': א A *cursives* = 𝔅: 𝔖 'like the colour of a sack': 𝔏 *combines both renderings*: 'like a bear and like sackcloth' [p] *Reading* טעם מר *for* טעמו: 𝔊 ακουσας *is a corruption of* ακουσιως (248 𝔖) [q] 𝔖 >: 𝔏 modicum: 248 + 'through her'

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8. **Blessed is the husband . . .** 𝔊 'Blessed is the man that dwelleth with . . .'; for ὁ συνοικῶν 𝔅 𝔖 have בעל ('husband'); 𝔅 is mutilated.

That doth not plough . . . This clause is undoubtedly genuine and occurs both in 𝔅 and 𝔖 (out of place in the former); it has dropped out of 𝔊 by mistake; without it there are only nine, instead of ten (see *v.* 7 *b*) types of men enumerated. Cp. Deut. xxii. 10; 2 Cor. vi. 14; the words are of course metaphorical.

that hath not slipped . . . Cp. xiv. 1; Jas. iii. 2.

9. **a true friend.** The second clause shows that 𝔊 ('prudence') is wrong here.

10. **that feareth . . .** Cp. i. 16.

11. **He that holdeth . . .** Cp. vi. 27. For the gloss added after this verse (= *v.* 12) see critical note.

(*e*) XXV. 13–15.

13. This verse is quoted in *Shabb.* 11 *a* (T. B.); see Cowley and Neubauer, p. xxiv; cp. Schechter, *JQR*, iii. 697 f.

14. **Any calamity . . .** Those that hate obviously desire misfortune to befall the object of their hatred, and what vengeance is there but the vengeance of an enemy? Smend rightly points out that שנא(ים) (= μισούντων) and צר(ים) (= ἐχθρῶν) were mistakes for שְׁנֵאָה (vii. 26) and צָרָה (xxxvii. 11). The passage refers to the evils of polygamy, which, according to xxvi. 6, xxxvii. 11, was still in vogue in Ben-Sira's day.

15. **poison.** For ראש (see critical note) cp. Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xx. 16: in the former passage the Sept. renders the word by θυμός ('wrath'); see next clause. 𝔖 makes the same mistake.

(*f*) XXV. 16–26.

16. **I would rather . . .** Cp. Prov. xxi. 19, xxv. 24; εὐδοκήσω.

17. **maketh black.** 𝔊 'altereth'; the verb occurs elsewhere only in Job xxx. 30 in the O. T.; for the noun see Lam. iv. 8; Eccles. xi. 10, and for the adjective Lev. xiii. 31, 37; Cant. i. 5, v. 11; Zech. vi. 2, 6.

like that of a bear. In the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* to xxxix. 7 God is made to speak of Potiphar's wife as a 'she-bear'. For the variant readings here see the discussion in the Introd. § 3 (*b*).

18. **In the midst . . .** 𝔊 ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσεῖται ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς.

involuntarily. See critical note. With the expression בלא טעם (Neo-Hebr.) cp. בלא טעמא in *Gittin* 14 *a* (Schechter).

𝔅ᶜ 19 (There is but) little malice like the malice of a woman,
May the lot of the wicked fall upon her!
20 [r]As[rr] a sandy ascent to the feet of the aged,
So is a woman of tongue to a quiet man[r].
21 Fall not[s] because of the beauty of woman,
[ss]And [t]be not ensnared[t] for the sake of what she possesseth[ss];
22 For [tt]hard slavery[tt] and a disgrace it is,
(If) a wife support her husband.
𝔊 23 [u]A humbled heart and a sad countenance,
[uu]And a heart-wound, is an evil wife[u].
𝔅ᶜ Hands that hang down, and palsied knees,
(Thus shall it be with) a wife that maketh not happy her husband.
24 From a woman did sin originate,
And because of her [v]we all must die[v].
𝔊 25 [vv]Give not water an outlet,
Nor to a wicked woman power[x].
26 If she go not [xx]as thou wouldst have her[xx],
Cut her off from thy flesh[vv y].

[r-r] *So according to Smend's emendation (based on* 𝔊*) of the text, which is mutilated* [rr] 𝔊 (*exc.* 70 248) > : 𝔖 𝔏 = 𝔅 [s] 𝔖 'Be not enticed' [ss-ss] *So also* 𝔖 : *for* 𝔊 *see note below* [t-t] *Reading with Smend* אל תלכד : 𝔏 'look not upon' [tt-tt] *Reading* עבדה קשה (= 𝔖) *for . . .* בעדה *which* 𝔊 *read as* עברה ('wrath'): קשה *is wanting in the MS. of* 𝔅, *where a small hiatus occurs* [u-u] 𝔅 > [uu] 𝔖 *inserts* 'darkness' [v-v] *Lit.* 'we die altogether' (יחד) [vv-vv] *Wanting in* 𝔅 [x] א A *and cursives* παρρησιαν : B εξουσιαν : 248 παρρησιαν εξοδου (*cp.* 𝔏 veniam prodeundi): 𝔖 + 'For as the bursting forth of water goes on and increases, so does an evil woman continue to sin (more and more)' [xx-xx] *Lit.* 'according to thy hand': 𝔏 + 'she will shame thee in the presence of thine enemies' [y] 248 + 'Give, and send her away': 𝔖 + 'Give to her, and send her from thine house': 𝔏 + Ne semper te abutatur

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19. **(There is but) little . . .** 𝔊 renders freely: 'All malice is but little to the malice of a woman'; 𝔖 renders according to the sense of xlii. 14.

May the lot . . . i.e. may it be the lot of the wicked, not of the righteous, to have such.

20. **a sandy ascent . . .** i.e. one that is wearisome, and where it is difficult to get a foothold.

a woman of tongue. i.e. one that is abusive. The point of the comparison is that just as it is impossible for an aged man to ascend a slope where he can get no firm foothold, so it is impossible for a quiet man to get on with a woman who has an abusive tongue.

21. **Fall not.** For the expression נפל על of falling into a snare cp. Isa. xxiv. 18; Amos iii. 5; cp. also Prov. xxii. 14. 𝔊 incorrectly, 'throw not thyself upon.'

And be not ensnared . . . 𝔊ᴮ 'And desire not a woman': something has clearly dropped out; ἐν κάλλει is added by א A and a number of cursives 𝔏 Syro-Hex; 70 248 add εἰς τρυφήν.

22. **For hard slavery . . .** See critical note; 𝔊 'There is anger, and impudence, and great reproach'.

23. The omission of the two first clauses of this verse (found in 𝔊 𝔖) by 𝔅 suggests that they are not original; the sense of them is contained in the two last clauses.

A humbled heart . . . 𝔖 'And the heart that is with her she covereth over', meaning probably that she suppresses all womanly feelings.

Hands that hang down. רִפְיוֹן יָדַיִם, lit. 'hanging down of hands', signifying helpless terror; the same expression occurs in Jer. xlvii. 3.

palsied knees. Lit. 'a tottering of knees'; the word כְּשֶׁלוֹן only occurs elsewhere in the O. T. in Prov. xvi. 18, where it means 'a calamity'. Cp. Ps. cix. 24: ברכי כשלו מצום ('my knees totter from fasting').

(Thus shall it be with). These words are unexpressed, but implied; fearfulness and calamity are to be the lot of the woman who does not make her husband happy.

24. **From a woman . . .** Cp. Gen. iii. 6; 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 14, and see *The Life of Adam and Eve*, §§ 15–19.

did sin originate. 𝔊 '(was) the beginning of sin'.

And because of her . . . Cp. the Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan) to Gen. iii. 6, where it is said at the moment of Eve's succumbing to temptation Sammael, the Angel of Death (identified with Satan), appeared to her. In *The Life of Adam and Eve*, § 3, occurs the following: 'And Eve said to Adam, "My lord, if thou wilt, kill me; perchance the Lord God will then lead thee back into Paradise; for it was only through my fault that the anger of the Lord God was kindled against thee."' The later Jewish theology, however, generally points to Adam as the real cause for the entering of sin and death into the world (cp. 1 Cor. xv. 22), and that not so much on account of the 'Fall', as that he refused to show repentance for what he had done; see, e.g., the Midrash *Bemidbar Rabba*, chap. xiii: 'When Adam transgressed the command of the Holy One, and ate of the tree, the Holy One demanded of him penitence, thereby revealing to him the means of freedom [i.e. from the result of his sin], but Adam would not show penitence.'

25. **Nor to a wicked woman . . .** See critical note.

power. ἐξουσίαν, i.e. liberty to do what she likes; cp. 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35.

26. **Cut her off from . . .** i.e. Give her a bill of divorcement (the later *Gêṭ*), cp. Deut. xxiv. 1 ff.; Matt. v. 31; hitherto they had been 'one flesh', cp. Gen. ii. 24; Eph. v. 31.

(*g*) XXVI. 1–4. *The happiness of the man who has a good wife* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔅ᶜ **26** 1 A good wife,—blessed is her husband,
The number of his days is doubled.
2 A worthy wife cherisheth her husband,
𝔊 [a]And he fulfilleth the years of his life[b] in peace[bb a].
Yeb. 63*b* 3 A good wife [c](is) a good gift[c]:
Sanh. 100*b* She shall be given to him that feareth God, [cc]for his portion[cc].
𝔊 4 [d]Whether rich or poor, his heart is cheerful,
And his face is merry at all times.

(*h*) XXVI. 5–12. *The fearfulness of having a wicked wife* (= 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 distichs).

5 Of three things is my heart afraid,
And concerning a fourth I am in great fear[e]:
Slander in the city, and a concourse of the rabble,
[f]And a false accusation,—worse than death are they all.
6 Grief of heart and sorrow is a wife jealous of (another) wife[f],
The scourge of the tongue [g]all together[g] [are they].
7 Like[h] [i]a hard yoke[i] is[k] a wicked woman:
He that taketh hold of her is as one that graspeth a scorpion.
8 Great wrath (doth) a drunken woman (cause)[kk];
She doth not cover her own shame.
9 The whoredom of a woman is in the lifting up of her eyes,
And she will be known by her eyelids.
10 Upon a [l]headstrong daughter[l] keep strict watch,
[m]Lest, finding liberty, she use it for herself[m].

a–a 𝔅 > b *So* 248 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 > bb 𝔖 'joy' c–c 𝔖 > cc–cc *So* 𝔊: *Yeb. Sanh.* 'into his bosom' d 𝔅 *is wanting from here to* xxvii. 5 e προσωπῳ εφοβηθην, *so* A ℵ^c.a 55 106 155 248 253 (= 𝔖 𝔏): B πρ. εδεηθην ('I made supplication'): ℵ* εδοθην f–f 𝔖 > g–g *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'communicating to all' h *So* 𝔏: 𝔊 𝔖 > i–i *So* 𝔖; 𝔊 'a yoke of oxen shaken to and fro' k 𝔏 'so also is' kk 248 𝔖 + 'who strays about' l–l 𝔖 > 'daughter'; 'a wanton wife' m–m 𝔏 Ne inventa occasione utatur se

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(*g*) XXVI. 1–4.

1. This verse is quoted twice in the Babylonian Talmud, *Yebamoth* 63*b*, *Sanhedrin* 100*b*; the only difference being that both these tractates read 'beautiful' for 'good'. With this and the next verse cp. Prov. xii. 4 *a*, xxxi. 10–12.

2. **worthy.** חיל; for this sense cp. Gen. xlvii. 6; Exod. xviii. 21, 25; Ruth iii. 11, and the references above to Prov.

cherisheth. Lit. 'maketh fat', cp. *v.* 13; 𝔊 'maketh glad'.

fulfilleth . . . Cp. Is. lxv. 20: לֹא־יִהְיֶה . . . וְזָקֵן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יְמַלֵּא אֶת־יָמָיו.

3. **a good gift.** 𝔊 'a good portion'; cp. Prov. xviii. 22.

for his portion. Smend suggests that the rendering found in the Bab. Talmud בחיק ('into the bosom of') is a mistake for בחלק ('for [his] portion'), and refers to Num. xxvi. 53 for the use of ב.

4. **Whether rich or poor . . .** Lit. 'Of a rich man and of a poor man the heart is cheerful' (ἀγαθή), i. e. if he has a good wife.

(*h*) XXVI. 5–12.

5. **I am in great fear.** See critical note.

Slander in the city . . . Cp. Acts xix. 23 ff., xxiv. 12.

6. **a wife jealous . . .** The result of polygamy.

all together [are they]. i.e. All the four things enumerated, slander, the concourse of the rabble, a false accusation, and a wife's jealousy, are results of the scourge of an evil tongue.

7. **a hard yoke.** This rendering of 𝔖 simplifies matters; but the rendering of 𝔊, βοοζύγιον σαλευόμενον, suggests a misunderstanding of the original, which possibly had כמטת על ('like the bars of a yoke'), cp. Lev. xxvi. 13; Nahum i. 13; מוֹטָה ('a pole', or 'bar') was understood as though part of the verb מוט ('to shake'). In this case the point of the comparison would be that just as the bars of the yoke were constantly rubbing and chafing the neck of the ox, so a wicked woman was, by her behaviour, a constant source of irritation to her husband.

He that taketh hold . . . The thought seems to be that if a man attempts to assert his authority over a woman of this kind he will suffer grievously for doing so; deadly retaliation will be the result, i. e. some bitter slander or false accusation (see *v.* 5 *a*, and cp. Ezek. ii. 6). The simile of the scorpion is the more apt inasmuch as its sting was believed to be deadly (cp. Deut. viii. 15).

8. **She doth not . . .** i.e. Drunkenness leads her to adultery.

9. **. . . by her eyelids.** Cp. Prov. vi. 25; see also 2 Kings ix. 30; Jer. iv. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 40; for the Oriental customs and methods of painting the eyelids and eyebrows, &c., see *ZDMG*, 1851, pp. 236 ff.

10. **Upon a headstrong . . .** This clause occurs also in xlii. 11 *a*.

Lest, finding . . . Cp. xxiii. 16, 17.

𝔊 11 Look well after a shameless eye,
[n]And marvel not if it trespass against thee[n].
12 As a thirsty traveller that openeth his mouth,
And drinketh of any water that is near,
So she sitteth down at every post,
And openeth her quiver to every arrow.

(*i*) XXVI. 13–18. *The joy of the man who has a good wife* (= 3 + 3 distichs).

13 [o]The grace of a wife delighteth her husband,
And her understanding fatteneth his bones[o].
14 A silent woman (is) a gift from the Lord,
And [p]a well-instructed soul[p] [q]is above worth[q].
15 Grace upon grace is a shamefast[r] woman,
And there is no price worthy of [s]a continent soul[s].
16 As[t] the sun arising in the highest places of the Lord,
So[t] is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of his[tt] [her husband's] house.
17 As the lamp shining on the holy candlestick,
So is the beauty [u]of a face[u] [v]on a stately figure[v].
18 As the golden pillars upon the silver base,
So are beautiful feet [w]upon firm heels[w].

(*j*) XXVI. 19–27. *A later appendix to the preceding* (= 3 + 4 + 1 + 1 + 1 distichs).

70 248 19 My son, [x]keep thyself healthy in the flower of thine age[x],
And give not thy strength unto strangers.
20 Having found a portion of good soil out of all the land,
Sow it with thine own seed, trusting in thine own good birth.
21 Thus will thine offspring flourish,
And, having confidence in their noble descent, will become great.
22 A hired woman is as spittle[xx],
But a married woman is reckoned as a tower of death [y]to them that use her[y].
23 A godless woman shall be given to the man who regardeth not the Law as his portion;
But a devout (woman) is given to him that feareth[yy] the Lord.
24 A shameless woman despiseth shamefastness;
But a shamefast daughter will show modesty even before her husband.

n–n 𝔖 'And tarry not lest she deceive thee' o–o 𝔖 > p–p 𝔖 *lit.* 'a lacking of throat', *i.e.* 'self-control in speech' q–q *Lit.* 'there is no exchange for' r 248 + 'and faithful' s–s 𝔖 *lit.* 'a lacking of mouth' t *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 > tt *So* B*: B[a] ℵ A αυτης u–u 𝔖 'of a good woman' v–v 𝔖 'in keeping her house' w–w *Reading* επι πτερναις ευσταθεσι (*cp.* ℵ 248): B A επι στερνοις ευσταθους: 𝔏 super plantas stabiles mulieris: 𝔖 'in the ordering of her house' x–x 𝔖 'take heed to thyself in the time of thy youth' xx 𝔖 'naught' y–y 𝔖 'to them that cleave unto her' yy 70 'loveth'

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11. **Look well . . .** The reference is still to 'a headstrong daughter'; in the second clause 𝔖 (see critical note) is perhaps to be preferred; there must be no hesitation in dealing with such a daughter.

(*i*) XXVI. 13–18.

13. **. . . fatteneth his bones.** i.e. is the means of giving him physical health and strength; cp. Prov. xv. 30.
14. **A silent woman.** Cp. xxxvi. 23 (28 in 𝔊).
15. **price.** Cp. vi. 15.
16. **the highest places . . .** Cp. xliii. 9.
17. **the holy candlestick.** Cp. 1 Macc. i. 21, iv. 49, 50.
18. **As the golden pillars . . .** i.e. the pillars of the Temple which were covered with gold; cp. 1 Macc. i. 22, 23.
upon firm heels. See critical note.

(*j*) XXVI. 19–27. These verses occur only in 70, 248 among the Greek MSS.; they are, however, preserved in the Syriac and Arabic versions, and some of the clauses are quoted by Clement of Alexandria and in the 'Commonplace Books' of the monks Antonius and Maximus (see Hart, pp. 321–370). In the main they are derived from the secondary recension of the Hebrew (see Introduction, § 3(*c*)); this is proved by the fact that in 𝔖 there are various errors of translation which can only be explained on the basis of a Hebrew original (see Ryssel *in loc.*).

19. This verse is quoted in Antonius and Maximus (Hart, p. 367).
give not thy strength . . . Cp. Prov. v. 9, 10, xxxi. 3.
20. **a portion of good soil.** i.e. a good wife.
21. For the general sense of the verse cp. Prov. v. 15–19.
22. This verse is quoted by Clement of Alexandria (Hart, p. 330).
as spittle. ἴση σιάλῳ; cp. Sept. of Isa. xl. 15 ὡς σίελος = כרק (Smend).
. . . as a tower of death. See 2 Macc. xiii. 5 ff. (Nestle, quoted by Ryssel).
24. This verse is quoted by Antonius and Maximus (Hart, p. 367).

70 248 25 [z]A headstrong woman[z] will be regarded as a dog;
But she that hath shame feareth the Lord.
26 The woman that honoureth her own husband appeareth[a] wise unto all,
But she that dishonoureth (her husband) [aa]is known to[aa] all as one that is godless in (her) pride.
Happy is the husband of a good wife,
For the number of his years is doubled[b].
27 A loud-voiced and tongueful woman is reckoned as [bb]a trumpet[bb] that putteth enemies to flight;
[c]And the soul of every suchlike man will pass his life in the turmoils of war[c].

(*k*) XXVI. 28. *Three things that cause sorrow* (= 3 distichs).

𝔊 28 For two things my heart is grieved,
And for a third cometh wrath upon me:
A [cc]man of war[cc] suffering on account of poverty,
Men of understanding who suffer contempt,
(And) one that turneth from righteousness to sin;—
May the Lord prepare [d]him for the sword[d].

(*l*) XXVI. 29—XXVII. 3. *The temptations of trade* (= 3 + 1 distichs).

29 [e]Hardly[f] shall the merchant keep himself from wrongdoing[g],
And a huckster will not be acquitted of sin.
27 1 Many have sinned for the sake of gain[gg];
And he that seeketh to multiply (gain)[h] turneth away his eye.
2 [i]A nail sticketh fast between [k]the joinings of[k] stones[l],
[m]And [n]sin will thrust itself in[n] between buyer and seller.
3 [o]My son[o], if [p]thou hold not[p] diligently to the fear of the Lord,
[q]Thy[r] house will soon be overthrown[q].

(*a*) XXVII. 4–7. *The appraising of a man's value* (= 3 + 1 distichs).

4 [s]When a sieve is shaken, the refuse remaineth;
So (it is with) the filth of man in his reasoning[s].

[z–z] 𝔖 'A woman that hath no shame' [a] 𝔖 'is reckoned' [aa–aa] 70 'is accounted by' [b] 𝔖 + 'The strife of a woman is even in her gentleness, and as a burning fever so shall she appear' [bb–bb] 248 > [c–c] 70 > [cc–cc] 𝔖 'man of wealth' [d–d] *So* 248 253 (= 𝔏): 𝔊 'the sword for him': 𝔖 *is a paraphrase* [e] 𝔏 *inserts the clause*: Duae species difficiles et periculosae mihi apparuerunt [f] 𝔖 'with great difficulty' [g] 𝔖 + 'But in many things he stumbleth' [gg] *Reading, with* ℵ*, διαφορου (B A ℵ[c.a] αδιαφορου). *Cp.* vii. 18 [h] 𝔖 'sins' [i] 𝔏 *inserts* 'As' [k–k] 𝔖 > [l] 𝔖 'one stone and another' [m] 𝔏 *inserts* 'So' [n–n] *Reading* συνθλιβησεται *for* συντριβησεται (𝔏 angustiabitur): 𝔖 'sins are fixed' [o–o] *So* 𝔖 [p–p] *So* 𝔏: 𝔖 'if thou transgress but a little' [q–q] 𝔖 'For long time wilt thou be in want' [r] *So* 𝔏 [s–s] 254 𝔖 >

25. **as a dog.** Used typically of some one without shame (cp. Deut. xxiii. 18).
26. **Happy is the husband . . .** These two clauses are almost identical with *v.* 1.
27. This verse is quoted by Antonius and Maximus (Hart, p. 368).
(*k*) XXVI. 28.
28. **A man of war.** Perhaps Smend is right in preferring here the rendering of 𝔖, 'a man of wealth'; in the two other types of men referred to in this verse contrasts are presented—a wise man suffering contempt, a righteous man committing sin—so that logically one would expect a similar contrast in this case as well—a rich man suffering poverty; the Hebrew may have had איש חיל ('a man of wealth,' lit. 'strength'), which was misunderstood by 𝔊; cp. Ruth ii. 1.
one that turneth from . . . Cp. Ezek. xviii. 24; Matt. xii. 45; 2 Pet. ii. 2.
XXVI. 29–XXVII. 3.
29. **Hardly shall the merchant . . .** Cf. *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 6: '. . . Nor is every one that hath much traffic wise.' In *Erubin* 55 *b*, where Deut. xxx. 13 is commented upon, it is said that the Torah 'is not found either among hucksters or among merchants', the reason being that their constant travelling from place to place prevents study. Schechter (*Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, p. 72) refers to *Qiddushin* 82 *a*, where it is said that the hawker and the shopkeeper are engaged in trades of bad odour, and the latter are said to practise 'the handicraft of robbery'.
XXVII. 1. **turneth away his eye.** i.e. will acquiesce in what is wrong; cp. Prov. xxviii. 27.
2. **nail.** Lit. 'tent-peg', cp. xiv, 24.
3. **My son . . .** 𝔊 'Unless (a man) hold on diligently . . . his house will soon . . .'; cf. Prov. xiv. 11.
XXVII. 4—XXIX. 28. This division continues the general theme of the preceding. It gives further illustrations of applied wisdom. Such topics as malice, anger, revenge, strife, calumny, and their baneful effects are dealt with; and lastly mercy in its several aspects. The whole falls into twelve subsections.
(*a*) XXVII. 4–7.
4. **a sieve.** i.e. the 'Kirbal-el-Kamachi', still used in Palestine. The corn which has been threshed for the first time is placed in it and sifted; the refuse, i.e. the dung of the oxen which has been trodden into the straw, remains behind,

𝔅ᴬ 5 [t]The furnace proveth[u] the potter's vessels,
[v]And the trying[v] of a man (is done) by examining him.
6 Upon the cultivation of the tree dependeth the fruit;
So (dependeth) man's[vv] thought upon his nature[t].
𝔊 7 [w]Praise no man [x]before taking stock (of him)[x],
For this (is) the (way to make) trial of men[w].

(*b*) XXVII. 8–10. *Reward and retribution* (= 3 distichs).

8 If thou follow after righteousness[y], thou wilt attain[z],
Baba Qamma And put it on as a robe of glory.
92*b* 9 Every bird[a] dwelleth[b] with its kind,
𝔊 And truth returneth[c] to them who practise her.
10 The lion lieth in wait for prey;
So do sins[d] for those who [e]work iniquity[e].

(*c*) XXVII. 11–15. *Concerning varieties of speech* (= 2 + 3 distichs).

11 The discourse of the wise[f] man continueth[g] [h]in wisdom[h],
But the fool changeth as the moon.
12 In the midst of fools [i]watch closely the time[i],
But [k]among the wise abide continually[k].
13 The discourse of fools[l] is an annoyance[m],
And their laughter is [n]sinful wantonness[n].
14 [o]The oath of the godless[o] maketh the hair stand upright;
Their strife maketh one stop his ears.
15 The strife of the proud is shedding of blood,
And their reviling is grievous[p] hearing.

[t–t] *vv.* 5, 6 *come after* vi. 22 in 𝔅ᴬ: *the text is in part corrupt* [u] *Reading* לבחר *for* לבער (*Smend*) [v–v] *Reading* ומסת *for* וכמהו (*Smend*) [vv] *Reading* אדם [w–w] *Wanting in* 𝔖: 𝔅 *is wanting from here to* xxxii [x–x] *Reading* προ διαλογισμου (*cp. v.* 5 *b*) *for* προ λογισμου [y] 𝔖 'truth' [z] 248 + αυτο (= 𝔖 𝔏) [a] 𝔖 'the birds of the heaven' [b] 𝔊 καταλυσει (*al.* καταλυει): 𝔏 conveniunt [c] 𝔖 'walketh' [d] 𝔖 'unrighteousness' [e–e] 𝔖 'commit sins' [f] *So* A (= 𝔖): 𝔊 'godly': 𝔏 sanctus in sapientia [g] *So* 𝔏: 𝔊 > [h–h] *So* 248 𝔖: 𝔏 'as the sun' [i–i] 𝔖 'bide thy time': 𝔏 serva verbum tempori [k–k] 𝔖 'among the wise speak continually' [l] 𝔏 'sinners' [m] 𝔖 𝔏 'hateful' [n–n] 𝔖 'impertinence' [o–o] *So* 𝔖 (*reading* מומתא *for* מוהבתא 'gift') [p] אᶜ·ᵃ V 'evil'

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while the grain passes through the sieve (cp. *Zeitsch. du deutschen Palästina Vereins,* xci. 2). The point of the comparison is that, in the case of the type of man under consideration, the bad qualities remain in him, just as the refuse remains behind in the sieve; while the good that is in him passes away.

5. With this verse cp. *Test. Twelve Patr.*, Naph. ii. 4: 'As the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil.'

by examining him. 𝔊 'in his reasoning'.

6. For this verse 𝔊 reads: 'The fruit of the tree declareth the husbandry thereof; so is the utterance of the thought of the heart of a man'; i.e. just as the yield of a tree depends upon the way in which it has been tended, so the utterances of a man depend upon the state of his heart, i.e. the way in which he has tended himself, in a spiritual sense.

7. **before taking stock (of him).** Lit. 'before his discourse', i.e. before discoursing with him.

(*b*) XXVII. 8–10.

8. **If thou follow after righteousness.** Cp. Zeph. ii. 3.

a robe of glory. ποδήρη (= מעיל) δόξης; cp. Isa. li. 10; Job xxix. 14 (מעיל צדקה); cp. the high-priestly robe mentioned in xlv. 8; Wisd. xviii. 24. In the *Test. Twelve Patr.*, Levi viii. 2, it is said: 'Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth. . . .'

9. **Every bird . . .** Cp. xiii. 15; 𝔊 'Birds will resort unto their like'.

10. **The lion . . .** Cp. xxi. 2.

(*c*) XXVII. 11–15.

11. **. . . continueth in wisdom.** Cp. v. 10.

12. **watch closely the time.** συντήρησον καιρόν; cp. iv. 20, where the same phrase occurs. The meaning of the verse is that one must grudge the time wasted with fools, whereas among the wise one may well spend all one's time.

13. **annoyance.** προσόχθισμα is the Sept. rendering of שִׁקּוּץ ('abomination') in 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 24; Ezek. v. 11, vii. 20.

. . . sinful wantonness. Cp. Prov. x. 23, xiv. 9.

14. **The oath of . . .** Cp. xxiii. 11.

maketh the hair . . . Cp. Job iv. 15.

maketh one stop . . . Lit. '(is) a stopping' (ἐνφραγμός), אᵃ* στεναγμός ('groaning'). The strife of the godless man of oaths occasions language such as makes a man shut his ears.

15. **is shedding of blood.** i.e. their strife is as bad as shedding of blood in its results.

(*d*) XXVII. 16–21. *The evil consequences of betraying secrets* (= 2 + 3 + 1 distichs).

𝔊 16 He who revealeth secrets[q] loseth[r] credit,
And he findeth no friend to his mind[rr].
17 Prove[s] a friend, and [t]keep faith with him[t],
But if thou reveal his secrets, follow not after him;
18 For as a man that hath destroyed his inheritance[v],
So hast thou destroyed the friendship of thy[w] neighbour.
19 And as a bird which thou hast loosed out of thy hand,
So hast thou let thy[x] neighbour go, and thou wilt not catch him again.
20 Pursue him not, [xx]for he is gone far away[xx],
And hath escaped[y] like a gazelle out of a snare[yy].
21 For a wound may be bound up, and for slander[z] there is reconciliation,
But he that revealeth secrets [zz]hath no hope[zz].

(*e*) XXVII. 22–24. *The hatefulness of insincerity* (= 3 + 1 distichs).

22 [a]He that winketh with his eye planneth evil things,
70, 248 And he that knoweth him keepeth far from him.
𝔊 23 Before thy face he speaketh sweetly,
And will admire thy words;
But afterward he will alter his speech,
And with thy words will make a stumbling-block.
24 Many things I hate, but nothing like him,
And the Lord will hate him (too), [b]and curse him[b].

(*f*) XXVII. 25–29. *Nemesis* (= 3 + 2 distichs).

25 He that casteth a stone [bb]on high[bb] [c]casteth it on his own head[c],
𝔏 [d]And a deceitful blow apportions wounds to the deceiver[d].

q 𝔏 'of a friend' r *So* 𝔏: 𝔊 𝔖 'destroyeth' rr *Lit.* 'soul' (= 𝔖) s *So* 𝔖 (𝔊 𝔏 'love') t–t 𝔖 'put thy trust in him' v *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'enemy': 𝔏 'friend' w *So* 248 𝔖: 𝔊 >: 𝔏 Syro-Hex 'his' x *So* 𝔏 Syro-Hex: 𝔊 𝔖 > xx–xx 𝔖 > y 𝔏 + quoniam vulnerata est anima eius yy 𝔖 + 'and like a sparrow out of the snare,' *cp.* Prov. vi. 5 z 𝔖 'a quarrel' zz–zz 248 'hath destroyed faith' a 𝔖 *in place of vv.* 22, 23 *has*: 'He who hath a proud eye it shall be his ruin' b–b *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 > bb–bb 𝔖 > c–c 𝔖 'it will return upon him': 𝔏 'it will fall upon his head' d–d 𝔊 'And a deceitful blow will open wounds': 𝔖 'He will be delivered over to destruction'

(*d*) XXVII. 16–21.

16. **He who revealeth secrets . . .** Cp. xxii. 22; Prov. xx. 19, xxv. 9.

17. **keep faith with him.** Cp. xxix. 3.

follow not after him. It is useless to do so because his friendship is lost.

18. **inheritance.** Smend's suggestion (following Böttcher) that κλῆρον should be read instead of ἐχθρόν, which is also the reading of 𝔖, is worth adopting, though 𝔊 makes good sense as it stands.

19. Friendship which has been forfeited by the betrayal of secrets is lost irretrievably.

21. **hath no hope.** i.e. of reconciliation, cp. xxii. 22.

(*e*) XXVII. 22–24.

22. **He that winketh with his eye.** διανεύων ὀφθαλμῷ; cp. Sept. of Prov. vi. 13 ἐννεύει ὀφθαλμῷ, x. 10 ὁ ἐννεύων ὀφθαλμοῖς (קרץ עין). A sign of insincerity.

planneth. τεκταίνει; cp. xi. 33, xii. 23; Prov. iii. 29, vi. 14 (חרש רע).

And he that knoweth him . . . This rendering agrees better with the context, and is preferable to 𝔊: 'And no man will remove him from it,' i.e. it is impossible to dissuade him from planning evil things.

keepeth far from him. Lit. 'will depart from him'.

23. **he speaketh sweetly.** Lit. 'he will sweeten his (B 'thy') mouth'; cp. xii. 16*a*; Prov. xvi. 21.

he will alter his speech. Lit. 'he will twist his mouth', διαστρέψει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ; cp. Prov. xii. 1 עקש שפתים.

And with thy words . . . Perhaps ובדבריך יתן קשר, cp. xi. 31; i.e. he will conspire against thee by wresting thy words and putting a wrong meaning upon them, and thus cause thee to give offence to others.

24. **but nothing like him.** See critical note. 𝔊 lit. 'and I likened (them) not unto him', i.e. he hated many things, but his hatred for them was not to be compared with his hatred for the insincere man who wrested his words.

will hate him. Cp. Prov. vi. 16, viii. 13. The addition 'and curse him' (from 𝔖) seems to be demanded, as otherwise the clause would be rather too short.

(*f*) XXVII. 25–29.

25. **casteth it on his . . .** i.e. he will wound himself.

a deceitful blow . . . So 𝔏. The meaning of 𝔊 is obscure, but 𝔏 gives good sense.

𝔊 26 He that diggeth a pit [e]shall fall into it[e];
And he that setteth a snare shall be taken therein.
27 He that doeth evil things, they shall roll[f] upon him,
And he will not know whence [g]they came[g] to him.
28 [h]Mockery and reproach (are the lot) of the proud,
And vengeance, like a lion, lieth in wait for them[ih].
29 [k]They that rejoice at the fall of the godly shall be taken in a snare,
And anguish shall consume them ere they die[k].

(*g*) XXVII. 30—XXVIII. 7. *Concerning forgiveness; vengeance belongs to God alone* (= 3 + 3 + 2 distichs).

30 Wrath[l] and anger, these also are abominations,
[m]And a sinful man clingeth to them[m].
28 1 [no]He that taketh vengeance[o] shall find vengeance from the Lord,
[oo]And his sins [p](God) will surely keep[p] (in memory)[oo].
2 [pp]Forgive thy neighbour the injury (done to thee)[pp],
[q]And then, when thou prayest, thy sins will be forgiven[q].
3 Man cherisheth anger against another;
And[r] doth he seek healing from God[s]?
4 [t]On a man like himself he hath no mercy;
And doth he make supplication for his own sins[t]?
5 He, being flesh[u], [v]nourisheth wrath[v];
Who will [w]make atonement[w] for his sins?
6 Remember thy [x]last end[x], and cease from enmity[y];
(Remember) [z]corruption and death[z], and [a]abide in the commandments[a].
7 Remember the commandments, and be not wroth with thy neighbour;
And (remember) the covenant of the Most High, and [b]overlook ignorance[bc].

[e–e] 𝔖 'shall fill it with his own body' [f] 𝔖 'shall fall' [g–g] 𝔖 'evil hath come' [h–h] 𝔖 > [i] *So* V 248: 𝔊 'him' [k–k] 𝔖 'Snares and nets are for those who make (*lit.* know) them; these shall cling to them till the day of their death': 𝔏 > [l] 𝔖 'envy' [m–m] 𝔖 'And a deceitful man destroyeth his own way' [n] 𝔏 *inserts the title*: De remissione peccatorum [o–o] 𝔖 'And' [oo–oo] 𝔖 'And all his sins are reserved for him' [p–p] *Reading* with 248 διατηρων διατηρησει (= 𝔏): 𝔊 διαστηριων διαστηρισει [pp–pp] 𝔖 'Put away what is in thy heart, and thereupon pray' [q–q] 𝔖 'And all thy sins will be forgiven thee' [r] 𝔖 'And why' [s] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'the Lord' [t–t] 𝔖 > [u] 𝔖 'a man' [v–v] 𝔖 'will not forgive' [w–w] 𝔖 'forgive' [x–x] 𝔖 'death' [y] 70 248 + 'and be not wrathful with thy neighbour' [z–z] 𝔖 'Hades and corruption' [a–a] 𝔖 'keep thyself from sinning' [b–b] 𝔖 'give him what he needeth' [c] 𝔏 + 'of thy neighbour'

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26. **He that diggeth . . .** Cp. Prov. xxvi. 27 *a*; Eccles. x. 8; Ps. vii. 15.
he that setteth . . . Cp. Ps. ix. 15, 16.
27. **they shall roll upon him.** See Prov. xxvi. 27, and cp. Sirach xxxvii. 3.
29. **. . . ere they die.** Cp. Job xxi. 19, 20.
(*g*) XXVII. 30—XXVIII. 7.
30. **these also . . .** i.e. in addition to the abominations above referred to.
XXVIII. 1. **He that taketh vengeance.** Cp. Deut. xxxii. 35; Rom. xii. 19.
will surely keep. 𝔊 διαστηριῶν διαστηρίσει, lit. 'will surely make firm'. For the reading διατηρῶν διατηρήσει of 248 'he will surely mark,' cp. Sept. of Ps. cxxix. (cxxx.) 3 (παρατηρήσῃ); Job xiv. 16, 17.
2. **Forgive thy neighbour.** With this and the next two verses cp. the following passage from the *Test. Twelve Patr.*, Gad vi. 3–7: 'Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee, he take to swearing, and so thou sin doubly. . . . But if he be shameless, and persist in his wrongdoing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging.' In *Rosh Ha-shanah* 17 *a* occur the words: 'God forgives him who forgives his neighbour' (cp. Matt. vi. 14, 15, xviii. 35). In view of these passages, it is not necessary to regard the verse under consideration as a Christian interpolation (Edersheim).
3. With this verse cp. the Midrash *Sifre* 93 *b*: 'He only who is merciful with mankind may expect mercy from Heaven' (quoted by Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, p. 94).
healing. i.e. forgiveness, cp. next verse; for this sense of ἴασις cp. Sept. of Is. xix. 22, &c.
4. Cp. *Megillah* 28 *a*: 'So long as we are merciful, God is merciful to us; but if we are not merciful to others, God is not merciful to us.'
5. **being flesh.** Cp. xvii. 31; the 'flesh' is regarded in itself as evil; cp. Rom. vii. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 50; Gal. v. 19.
6. **Remember . . .** Cp. vii. 36, xxxviii. 20.
7. **be not wroth with . . .** Cp. x. 6, and *Shabbath* 20 *a*, where it is said that the most important law is: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'; cp. Matt. xix. 19.
overlook ignorance. πάριδε ἄγνοιαν = שא לשחיתות xxx. 11 (Smend). Ignore sins committed against you unconsciously.

(*h*) XXVIII. 8–12. *Warnings against quarrelling* (= 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔊 8 Keep far from strife, and [d]sins will keep far from thee[d]:
[e]For a passionate man kindleth strife[e];
9 And a sinful man [f]stirreth up strife among friends[f],
And casteth enmity[g] in the midst of the peaceful.
10 According to its fuel, so will the fire burn;
[h]And according to the vehemence of the strife, so doth it increase[hi];
And according to the [ii]might[ii] of a man, so is his wrath;
And according to (his) wealth, so doth he increase[k] his anger.
[kk]Strife begun in haste kindleth fire[kk],
11 And a hasty quarrel [l]leadeth to bloodshed[l].
If thou blow a spark it burneth, [m]and if thou spit upon it it is quenched[m];
12 And both [n]come out of thy mouth[n].

(*i*) XXVIII. 13–26. *The mischief that is wrought by a wicked tongue* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 1 distichs).

13 [o]Curse the whisperer and double-tongued[o],
[p]For it hath destroyed many that were at peace[p].
14 The third tongue [q]hath taken many captive[q],
And hath dispersed them [r]among many nations[r];
Even strong cities hath it destroyed[s],
And laid waste[t] the dwellings of the great.
15 The third tongue hath cast out [u]brave women[u],
And deprived them of their labours[v].
16 [w]He that hearkeneth thereto shall not find rest,
Neither shall be dwell in quietness[w].
17 The stroke of a whip maketh a mark,
But the stroke of the tongue breaketh bones.

[d–d] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'thou shalt diminish sins' [e–e] 𝔖 > [f–f] *Cp.* 𝔖: 𝔊 *lit.* 'troubleth friends' [g] *So* 𝔖 𝔏: 𝔊 'calumny' [h–h] 𝔏 > *In* B *this clause has got out of place, coming at the end of the verse* [i] *So* 70 248 αυξηθησεται (= 𝔖) *for* εκκαυθησεται [ii] 𝔖 *lit.* 'honour of the hands' [k] *Lit.* 'exalt' [kk–kk] 𝔖 'Gum and pitch kindle a fire' [l–l] *Lit.* 'sheddeth blood' [m–m] 248 > [n–n] 𝔖 'are from thee' [o–o] 𝔖 'May the third tongue be cursed' [p–p] 𝔖 'For it hath cast away many slain' [q–q] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 𝔏 'hath shaken many' [r–r] *Lit.* 'from nation to nation' [s] *Lit.* 'pulled down' [t] *Lit.* 'overturned' [u–u] 𝔖 'many' [v] 𝔖 'wealth' [w–w] 𝔖 >

(*h*) XXVIII. 8–12.

8. **Keep far.** Cp. ix. 13. It is quite possible that, as Smend suggests, the clauses of *vv.* 8, 9 have got displaced, and that their order should be 8 *a*, 9 *a*, 8 *b*, 9 *b*. With *v.* 8 cp. viii. 1, Prov. xxvi. 21, xxix. 22.

10. **According to its fuel . . .** Lit. 'As is the fuel of a fire, so will it burn'; cp. Prov. xxvi. 20; Jas. iii. 5. The more inflammable the matter which is put on the fire the more fiercely it burns, and in the same way, the more contentious the cause of the strife, the more bitter will it be.

vehemence. στερέωσις = עצמה, cp. xi. 9 (Smend); cp. also Isa. xl. 29, xlvii. 9. The varying degrees of the vehemence of a quarrel are conditioned by the causes which give rise to it.

might. Not material strength here, but social rank.

according to (his) wealth . . . The richer a man and the more exalted his position the more will he resent any one crossing him.

11. **Strife begun in haste.** These words, in view of the next clause, evidently do not represent the original; 𝔖 (see critical note) very likely echoes the Hebrew, if it does not give the exact translation. Both in 𝔊 and 𝔖, as they stand, the parallelism between the two clauses is incomplete.

12. **If thou blow . . .** Quoted in the Midrash *Wayyiqra Rabba*, ch. xxxiii, thus: 'There was a glowing coal (נחלת) before him; he blew upon it, and it blazed up; he spat upon it, and it was extinguished.' Though Ben-Sira is not mentioned as the author of these words in the Midrash, they are evidently a quotation from his book. It may be gathered that in the Hebrew 'glowing coal' was read instead of 'spark'.

And both . . . The words are illustrated by Prov. xv. 1: 'A soft answer turneth away wrath, but a grievous word stirreth up anger.' The words which will kindle strife, as well as those which will avoid it, come from the same mouth; whether it is to be war or peace depends upon yourself.

(*i*) XXVIII. 13–26.

13. **the whisperer and . . .** Cp. v. 9, 14; and with the whole section cp. Jas. iii. 1–12.

14. **The third tongue.** A literal translation of the Hebrew, which is represented in Rabbinical literature by לישון תליתאי, a technical expression for the tongue of the slanderer; cp. e.g. *Arakin* 15 *b*: 'The third tongue kills three,' viz. the slanderer, the slandered, and he who believes the slander; on the last of these see *v.* 16.

15. **hath cast out brave women.** ἐξέβαλεν . . .; cp. vii. 26, where ἐκβάλλειν is used of divorcing a wife. For the expression 'brave women', i.e. noble women, cp. xxvi. 2.

16. **He that hearkeneth thereto.** This refers to the third person whom the third tongue 'kills'; see the quotation in note on *v.* 14. The husband is primarily thought of.

17. . . . **breaketh bones.** Cp. Prov. xxv. 15.

𝔊 18 [ww]Many have fallen by the edge of the sword,
But not (so many) as they that have fallen through the tongue[ww].
19 Happy the man that is sheltered[x] therefrom,
And that [xx]hath not passed through[xx] the wrath thereof;
That hath not drawn the yoke thereof,
And that hath not been bound with its bands.
20 For its yoke is a yoke of iron,
And its bands are bands of brass.
21 The death thereof is an evil death,
𝔖 [y]And the rest of Hades is better than hers[y].
𝔊 22 (But) it hath no power over the godly,
They will not be burned in her flame;
23 [z]They that[a] forsake the Lord shall fall into it[z],
And she will burn among them, and not be quenched;
As a lion shall she be sent upon them,
And as a leopard shall she destroy them[b].
𝔖 24(*a*) [c]For as thou enclosest thy vineyard with thorns[c],
70 248 25(*b*) So make [d]doors and bolts[d] for thy mouth.
𝔖 24(*b*) [e]Thou makest a bolt[f] for[e] thy silver and gold,
𝔊 25(*a*) Make a balance and weight for thy words.
26 Take heed that thou slip not thereby[g],
Lest thou fall before [h]him that ensnareth[h].

(*j*) XXIX. 1–13. *On lending and borrowing* (= 3+3+3+1+3+3 distichs).

29 1 [a]He that lendeth to (his) neighbour [b]showeth kindness[b],
And [c]he that taketh him by the hand[c] keepeth the commandments.
2 Lend to thy neighbour in time of his need,
And pay thou thy neighbour again at the appointed time.
3 Confirm thy word, and keep faith with him;
And (so) shalt thou always have what thou needest.

ww–ww 𝔖 'Many are they that are killed with the sword, but they are not (as many) as they that are killed by the tongue.' x 𝔖 'preserved' xx–xx 𝔖 'hath not mingled with' y–y 𝔊 'And more profitable is Hades than her' z–z 𝔖 'All who forsake the fear of God the fire shall burn' a 𝔖 'All who' b 𝔖 'tear them in pieces' c–c 𝔊 'See that thou hedge thy possession about with thorns' d–d 𝔊 'a door and a bar' e–e 𝔊 'bind up' f *Lit.* 'seal' g 𝔖 > : 𝔏 'in thy tongue' h–h 𝔖 'thine enemy'

a 307 *inserts the title*: 'Concerning loans' (= 𝔏) b–b 𝔖 'obtaineth good interest' c–c *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'he that

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19. . . . **that is sheltered therefrom.** Cp. the Sept. of Ps. xxxi. 20: 'Thou shalt shelter them in a pavilion from the contradiction of tongues.'

hath not drawn the yoke. Cp. Deut. xxi. 3.

bands. Of the yoke, i. e. the tongue here.

20. **a yoke of iron.** Cp. Jer. xxviii. 14.

21. **The death thereof . . .** i. e. the death caused by the third tongue (see note on *v.* 14).

22. **They will not be burned.** Cp. Jas. iii. 5–8.

23. **into it.** i. e. the flame of the wicked tongue.

destroy. λυμαίνομαι; lit. 'to mutilate'.

24–25. The clauses of these verses have got out of order, as their contents show: the proper order should be as given in the text. 70 248 𝔏 read 25 *b* twice over, once after 25 *a* and again after 24 *a*; 𝔖 places 25 *b* after 24 *a*.

25 *b*. **make doors.** Cp. xxii. 27; Ps. cxli. 3.

24 *b*. **Thou makest a bolt.** For the rendering of 𝔊 (see critical note) cp. Deut. xiv. 25; 2 Kings v. 23.

25 *a*. **Make a balance.** Cp. xvi. 25, xxi. 25.

26. **that thou slip not.** For ὀλισθάνω cp. iii. 24, xiv. 1, xxi. 7, xxv. 8.

(*j*) XXIX. 1–13.

1. **showeth kindness.** Cp. xlvi. 7 (עשה חסד); also Exod. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 36; 2 Sam. ix. 3.

that taketh him by the hand. ὁ ἐπισχύων τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ; cp. Lev. xxv. 35 (מחזיק בידו).

keepeth the commandments. Cp. xxxvii. 12 שומר מצוה, and the Rabbinical phrase עֹשֶׂה מִצְוֹת.

2. **Lend . . .** Cp. Prov. xix. 16, 17. In accordance with both Biblical and Rabbinical teaching there is no mention here of interest; in Lev. xxv. 36 it is said: 'Take thou no usury of him, or increase'; cp. *Baba Bathra* 90 *a*: 'A usurer is comparable to a murderer, for the crimes of both are equally irremediable' (quoted by Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 237).

pay thou thy neighbour . . . Cp. iv. 31; Ps. xxxvii. 21. See also *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 13: 'Go and see which is the evil way a man should shun. . . . Rabbi Simeon said, "He that borroweth, and payeth not again."'

3. **keep faith.** Cp. xxvii. 17.

𝔊 4 Many have reckoned a loan as a windfall[d],
And have brought trouble[e] on them that helped them.
5 Until he receive it, he kisseth thy hand,
And speaketh humbly about his neighbour's money;
But when payment is due, he prolongeth the time,
𝔖 [f]And after much time he repayeth[f].
𝔊 6 If he is able [to repay], he [i.e. the lender] will hardly[ff] receive the half,
And counteth it as a windfall;
If not [able to repay], he hath deprived him [i.e. the lender] of his money,
And he hath made him an enemy unnecessarily[g].
He repayeth him with cursings and railings,
And instead of honour [gg]he repayeth him[gg] with insult[h].
7 Many, therefore[i], have turned away [from lending] because of wickedness,
(For) they feared [k]to be defrauded for naught[k].
8 [kk]But with the man of low estate be longsuffering,
[l]And let him not[m] wait for alms[l].
9 [mm]Help the poor man for the commandment's sake,
𝔖 [n]And grieve not for the loss[n].
𝔊 10 Lose money for the sake of a brother or a friend,
And [o]let it not rust[o] under a stone [p]or a wall[p].
𝔖 11 [q]Lay up for thyself a treasure of righteousness and love[q],
And it shall profit thee more than [r]all that thou hast[r].
𝔊 12 [rr s]Store up almsgiving [t]in thy treasuries[t s],
And it shall deliver thee from all evil;
13 Better than a mighty shield and a heavy spear
Shall (this) fight for thee against [u]an enemy[u].

strengtheneth him with his hand' [d] *Lit.* 'find' [e] *So* B: 𝔊 'grief' (= 𝔏 Syro-Hex) [f–f] 𝔊 'He returneth words of heaviness, and complaineth of the (shortness) of the time' [ff] 𝔖 > [g] So A ℵ c.a (= 𝔖 𝔏): ℵ*B 'not without cause' [gg–gg] 𝔖 > [h] *Lit.* 'dishonour' [i] B >: ℵ? V 253 307 𝔖 𝔏 Syro-Hex *have a negative* (ου *for* ουν) [k–k] 𝔖 'an empty quarrel' [kk] 307 *inserts the title* περι ελεημοσυνης [l–l] 𝔖 > [m] B *omits the negative* [mm] 𝔏 *inserts the title*: De dato in proximo [n–n] 𝔊 'And according to his need send him not away empty' (V 248 > 'empty') [o–o] 𝔖 'put it not': 248 𝔏 'hide it not': V 'let it not be saved' (σωθητω *for* ιωθητω) [p–p] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'for perishing' [q–q] 𝔊 'Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the Most High' [r–r] 𝔊 'gold' [rr] 𝔏 *inserts the title*: De misericordia [s–s] 𝔖 'Bind up alms and put them in thy store-chamber' [t–t] 𝔏 'in the heart of the poor' [u–u] 𝔖 'many'

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4. . . . **as a windfall.** i. e. they did not repay the loan.

5. **he kisseth thy hand.** i. e. in insincere servility.

speaketh humbly. Lit. 'humbleth his voice', i. e. he speaks as one awestruck and humbled by his neighbour's wealth, thus implying that it would be but a trifling matter for one of such wealth to make a loan.

prolongeth the time. i. e. delays repayment.

And after much time . . . See critical note. The rendering of 𝔖 is to be preferred to that of 𝔊 because 'he returneth words of heaviness' forestalls what is said in 6 *e f*; it is probable that the words καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αἰτιάσεται are merely a bad translation of לְעֵת רַבָּה (Smend), 'after much time.' The two last clauses of *v.* 5 (as in the text above) are elaborated in *v.* 6: with the words, 'But when payment is due, he prolongeth the time,' must be read *v.* 6 *a–d*, and with the words, 'And after much time he repayeth,' must be read 6 *e f*. The rendering of 𝔖 in the clause under consideration must be understood ironically; the borrower repays indeed, but with 'cursings and railings'; that literal repayment is not meant is clear from 6 *a–c*.

7. . . . **because of wickedness.** i. e. many have refused to lend money because experience has taught them that they may not be able to get their money back owing to the unscrupulousness of the borrower.

to be defrauded for naught. The rendering of 𝔖 (see critical note) is perhaps to be preferred.

8. **But . . .** Nevertheless; the man is justified who will not part with his money for the reason just mentioned, nevertheless there are other reasons which should induce him to part with it.

9. **for the commandment's sake.** See Deut. xv. 7, 8, cp. xxxii. 7. In *Baba Bathra* 9 *a* it is said that 'almsgiving is equal in value to all other commandments' (quoted in *JE*, i. 435 *b*).

And grieve not . . . The rendering of 𝔖 accords better with the context, and is preferable to 𝔊.

10. **Lose money . . .** Cp. xxxvii. 6.

let it not rust. Cp. Matt. vi. 19; Jas. v. 3.

under a stone . . . For treasures hidden away cp. Isa. xlv. 3.

11. **Lay up for thyself . . .** The rendering of 𝔖 strikes one as more original than 𝔊, which reads as though it were explanatory.

12. **Store up . . .** The renderings of 𝔊 𝔖 have the same meaning.

it shall deliver thee . . . Cp. vii. 32, xii. 2; Tobit ii. 14, iv. 9–11.

13. **Shall (this) fight for thee . . .** Cp. iii. 30.

(*k*) XXIX. 14–20. *Concerning suretyship* (= 3 + 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔊 14 A good man becometh surety for his neighbour,
But he that hath lost the sense of shame [v]runneth away from his surety[v].
15 [w]Forget not the good offices of thy surety,
For he hath given his life for thee[w].
16 [x]A sinner disregardeth[y] the goodness of his surety,
17 [z]And the ungrateful[a] man faileth him that delivered him[z].
18 Suretyship hath undone many [b]that were prospering[b],
[bb]And tossed them about as a wave of the sea[bb];
Men of wealth hath it driven from their homes,
And they had to wander among strange nations.
19 The sinner falleth in (his) suretyship[c],
And [d]he that followeth after sins[d] falleth into judgements.
20 Help[e] thy neighbour according to thy power,
And take heed to thyself, that thou fall not.

(*l*) XXIX. 21–28. *The advantages of contentment and independence* (= 1 + 3 + 3 + 1 distichs).

21 [f]The chief thing for life[g] is water and bread,
And a garment, and a house to cover nakedness[h].
22 Better the life of the poor under a shelter of logs,
Than sumptuous fare [i]in the house of strangers[i].
23 With little or with much, be contented;
𝔑[C.A] 248 𝔏 [k]So wilt thou not (have to) hear the reproach of thy wandering[lkm].
𝔊 24 An evil life (it is) to go from house to house,
And where thou art[n] a stranger thou[n] (must) not open (thy)[n] mouth.
𝔖 25 [o]A stranger thou art [in that case], and drinkest contempt[o];
𝔊 And besides this thou wilt (have to) hear bitter things:
26 'Come hither, sojourner, furnish (my) table,
And if thou hast aught, feed me (therewith)';
27 (Or): 'Get thee gone, sojourner[p], from the face [q]of honour[q],
My brother is come as my guest, [r](I have) need of my house[r]!'

v–v *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'will fail him' w–w 𝔖 > x 𝔏 *inserts here* 'The sinner and the dishonourable man (immundus) fleeth from his surety': 248 *adds this* (*omitting* 'and the dishonourable man') *at the end of the verse* y *Lit.* 'will overthrow' z–z 𝔖 'He who forsaketh his Creator forsaketh him that delivereth him' a 248 'unprofitable in mind' b–b 𝔖 > bb–bb 𝔖 'And they went unto a strange people' c 70 248 𝔖 𝔏 + 'transgressing the commandments of the Lord' d–d *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 'he that undertaketh contracts for work' e 𝔖 'Go surety for' f 𝔏 *inserts the title*: De frugalitate honesta et hospitalitate g A[a] *most cursives* 𝔖 𝔏 Syro-Hex + 'of man' h *Lit.* 'shame' i–i *Lit.* 'among strangers': 𝔖 'in exile': 𝔏 in peregre sine domicilio k–k 𝔊 >: 𝔖 'And what he doeth in his house none seeth' l *So* 𝔏 peregrinationis: *read* παροικιας *for* οικιας m 253 Syro-Hex + 'For there is one who humbleth and exalteth' n B 𝔖 𝔏 *3rd pers.* o–o 𝔊 'thou shalt entertain, and give to drink, without thanks' p 𝔖 𝔏 > q–q 𝔏 amicorum meorum r–r 𝔖 >

(*k*) XXIX. 14–20.

14. **becometh surety.** Cp. viii. 13. Contrast with this Prov. vi. 1 ff., xvii. 18, &c.

15. **the good offices.** Or 'kindnesses' (χάριτας).

For he hath given. Cp. Prov. xx. 16, xxii. 27.

16. **A sinner disregardeth . . .** Lit. 'A sinner overturneth the good things of (his) surety', i.e. disregards his obligations in spite of the kindness shown (cp. *v.* 15); it is also possible to take the words to mean that the sinner, by disregarding his obligations, involves his surety in ruin; but this is rather the meaning of *v.* 17.

18. Men, ruined by unscrupulous persons, have had to leave their homes and seek a living in foreign lands.

19. The preceding verse has described how good men have been ruined because they have become surety out of kindness; this verse refers to evil men who have been ruined because they became surety for evil purposes, e.g. for the sake of usurious practices.

20. Help others as far as you can, but be careful not to ruin yourself; cp. viii. 13.

(*l*) XXIX. 21–28.

21. **The chief thing for life.** Cp. xxxix. 26.

23. **. . . the reproach of . . .** i.e. the reproaches which the wanderer has to listen to when dependent on others. Although both 𝔊 and 𝔖 omit this clause, it is most probably genuine; cp. next two verses.

25. **A stranger . . .** The rendering of 𝔖 is, on the face of it, more genuine than that of 𝔊.

drinkest contempt. Cp. Prov. xxvi. 6.

27. **from the face of honour.** A literal translation of מִפְּנֵי יָקָר (Deut. xxviii. 20); cp. 𝔖 מן קדם איקרא (Ryssel),

𝔊 28 These things are grievous to a man of understanding:
[rr]Upbraiding concerning sojourning[s], and the reproach of a money-lender[rr t].

(*a*) XXX. 1–13. *The training of children*[a] (= 3 + 3 + 1 + 3 + 3 + 1 distichs).

30 1 He that loveth his son [b]will continue[b] (to lay) [c]strokes upon him[c],
That he may rejoice over him at the last.
2 He that disciplineth his son [d]shall have satisfaction[d] of him,
And among [e]his acquaintance[e] glory in him.
3 He that teacheth his son maketh his enemy jealous,
And in the presence of friends exulteth in him.
4 When his father dieth [f]he dieth not altogether[f],
For he hath left one behind him like himself.
5 In his life he saw[g] and rejoiced[h],
And in death he hath not been grieved.
6 [i]Against enemies he hath left behind [j]an avenger[j],
And to friends one that requiteth favour[i].
7 [k]He that pampereth his son[k] [l]shall bind up his wounds[l],
And his heart [m]trembleth[m] at every cry.

8 An unbroken horse [n]becometh stubborn[n],
And a son [o]left at large[o] [p]becometh headstrong[p].

rr–rr 𝔖 'Upbraiding and usury, and the loan of a money-lender' s *Reading* παροικιας *for* οικιας (*Smend*) t 𝔖 + 'Give very freely to the poor, and feed him from that which thou hast at hand; if he be naked clothe him; thus wilt thou be lending unto God, and He will repay thee sevenfold'

a B &c. *pr. tit.* περι τεκνων (307 λογος ετερος του αυτου περι τεκνων): *but* Syro-Hex. 253 &c. *omit*: 𝔏 de disciplina filiorum b–b 𝔊 ενδελεχησει: 𝔖 'will renew' c–c 𝔊 μαστιγας αυτῳ: 𝔖 'his strokes' d–d 𝔊 ονησεται (א[c.a] αινεθησεται = 𝔏: ησθησεται 106, ευφρανθησεται 248 = 𝔖): 𝔅? (בו) ישיש e–e 𝔊 γνωριμων: 𝔖 'his neighbours' f–f 𝔊 (ετελευτησεν αυτου ο πατηρ) και ως ουκ απεθανεν: 𝔖 'and is almost (= is not quite) dead' (וחבר דלא מות: חברדלא = 'wellnigh', 'almost', *as in* 4 Ezra vii. 48: *Lat.* 'pene', *Greek* ως ουκ) g 𝔖 + 'him' h 248 + επ αυτῳ = 𝔏 i–i 𝔖 *transposes clauses* (a) *and* (b) (*perhaps rightly*) j–j 𝔊 εκδικον: 𝔏 defensorem domus k–k 𝔊 (א* B A Sah Eth 𝔏) περι ψυχων υιων: *read with* 248 περιψυχων υιον (א[c.a] A &c. *also read* υιον) = 𝔖 (דמפנק ברה: *cp.* מְפַנֵּק Prov. xxix. 21 = 'one pampering') l–l 𝔊 καταδεσμευσει τραυματα αυτου: 𝔖 'his wounds shall be increased' (𝔊 = ? ירפה: 𝔖 = ירבה [*Hari*]) m–m 𝔊 ταραχθησεται: 𝔖 'shall be empty' n–n 𝔊 αποβαινει σκληρος (= ? יקשה) o–o 𝔊 ανειμενος (= ? משלח) p–p εκβαινει προαλης (𝔖 *for whole verse*: 'like a young

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meaning that the sojourner has now no more to expect any honour being shown to him, because a guest has arrived; the wanderer must only expect attention when there is no one else there to claim it.

brother. Used in the wide sense.

28. The addition to this verse in 𝔖 (see critical note) Smend regards as a translation from an original Hebrew text, though of a secondary character (see Introd. § 3 (*c*)).

XXX. 1—XXXII. 13 (= 𝔊. XXXV. 13). With ch. xxx a new division of the book begins, the change being marked not only by the difference of theme, but also by a difference in the method of treatment. A number of subjects now come in for brief and practical treatment. The division contains eight subsections, the subjects of which range over the upbringing of children, health, and conduct at meals and banquets.

(*a*) XXX. 1-13.

1. **He that loveth his son . . . strokes.** Cp. Prov. xiii. 24 ('He that spareth his rod hateth his son', &c.), xxiv. 13, 14, xxix. 15.

at the last. i.e. in the latter part of his (the parent's) life.

2. **He that disciplineth his son . . . satisfaction of him.** Cp. Prov. xxix. 17 ('Correct thy son . . . and he shall give delight unto thy soul'). The Greek word here rendered 'have satisfaction of' (ὀνίνασθαι) occurs only again in the Greek Bible in Philemon 20, where it is used with the same meaning as here. It was regularly employed in Greek of joy in children.

4. **When his father dieth he dieth not altogether . . . like himself.** i.e. the father lives on in his son. 'This and the following verse cast light on one of the great consolations and hopes which the writer entertained in regard to death: (viz.) continuance in one's children' (Edersheim). The son being regarded in this light, it was all-important that he should be pious.

6. **Against enemies . . .** Cp. Ps. cxxvii. 5 (a man who has a number of stalwart sons to support him will not be exposed to the danger of an unjust conviction at the place of trial (the gate)).

7. **shall bind up his wounds.** i.e. the wounds of his son, incurred in reckless play or adventure, when allowed to go on unchecked. 𝔖 (so Edersheim) understood the 'wounds' to be those of the indulgent father.

at every cry. Either of the son, or that caused by him (so Edersheim).

8. **a son left at large.** Cp. Prov. xxix. 15 ('a child left to himself').

𝔊 9 [q]Cocker[q] thy son [r]and he will terrify thee[r];
[s]Play with him[s] [t]and he will grieve thee[t].
10 [u]Laugh not with him[u], [v]lest he vex thee[v],
[vv]And make thee gnash thy teeth[vv] at the last.
𝔓[B] 11 [w]Let him not have freedom[w] in his youth,
[x]And overlook not[x] [y]his mischievous acts[y].
12 [z][a]Bow down ⌜his neck⌝ in his youth[a],
And smite his loins sore while he is little[z]—
Lest[b] he become stubborn[b] [c]and rebel against thee[c],
[d]And thou experience anguish of soul on his account[d].
13 Discipline thy son [e]and make his yoke heavy[e],
Lest [f]in his folly[f] [g]⌜he stumble⌝[g].

(*b*) XXX. 14–20. *The blessing of good health* (= 3 + 1 + 3 distichs).

14 Better is one that is poor, [h]and is healthy in his body[h],
Than a rich man who is plagued in his flesh.

horse that has not been broken, so is a rebellious son that listens not to his father' [q–q] 𝔊 τιθηνησον (=? אמן = 'nurture tenderly': *cp.* Lam. iv. 5): 𝔖 'chasten' [*read* 'thy son' *with* 𝔖: 𝔊 *has* τεκνον *only*] [r–r] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'lest thou be mocked' [s–s] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'and if thou laugh with him' (𝔓? שחק [t–t] 𝔊 και λυπησει σε = ? ויעצבך [u–u] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'do not go with him according to his pleasure' = ? אל תרצה עמו (*Smend*), *i.e.* 'be not complacent with him' (*cp.* Job xxxiv. 9, Ps. l. 18): *this may be right* [v–v] *So* 𝔖 = ? פן יכעיסך: 𝔊 ινα μη συνοδυνηθῃς (248 &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 οδυνηθῃς) [vv–vv] 𝔊 *has* και . . . γομφιασεις τους οδοντας σου ('and thou shalt gnash,' &c.): *but* 70 *has* γομφιασει = 'he shall cause (thee) to gnash' (= 𝔖): *so read* [w–w] 𝔓 (*MS.* B *begins here*) אל תמשילהו, *lit.* 'let him not have rule' *or* 'independence' = 𝔊 μη δῳς αυτῳ εξουσιαν: 𝔖 = 𝔓 [x–x] 𝔓 ואל תשא ('and forgive not'): 𝔊 (248) και μη παριδῃς [y–y] 𝔓 לשחיתותיו: 𝔊 (248) τας αγνοιας αυτου (𝔏 cogitatus = εννοιας) [z–z] 𝔓 *has the first two stichoi of v.* 12 *in a double form, as follows:*

(a) כפתן על חי תפנע
(b) רציץ מתניו שעודנו נער:
(c) כיף ראשו בנערותו } = 𝔊, 𝔖
(d) ובקע מתניו כשהוא קטן:

Here (a) *and* (b) *form a doublet of* (c) *and* (d); (a) *is obviously corrupt, and yields no tolerable sense: Schechter emends to* כְּתֵפוֹ עוֹד חי תבקע: *then render* (a) *and* (b): 'beat his shoulder while it is yet tender, crush his loins while he is yet a youth' (*Lévi emends* "כתפו בעלומו ת, *i.e.* 'beat his shoulder in his youth'). *For* ראשו *in* (c) *read* צוארו *with* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 (*cp.* li. 26) [a–a] *Reading* (*after* 𝔊 248) כִּיף צוארו בנערותו [*owing to homoioteleuton all MSS. of* 𝔊 *except* 428 *and three other cursives omit* 11 *b and* 12 *a*: *in* 248 *the two lines run*: (11 *b*) και μη παριδῃς τας αγνοιας αυτου (12 *b*) καμψον τον τραχηλον αυτου εν νεοτητι] [b–b] *Reading* יקשה = 𝔊 (σκληρυνθεις), *so* 𝔖: 𝔓 ישקה (*scribal error*) 𝔓 *mg.* יקשיה [c–c] *So* 𝔓 ומרה בך = 𝔊 απειθησῃ σοι [d–d] 𝔓 ונולד ממנו מפח נפש ('and there will be born from him an expiry of soul'): 𝔊 και εσται σοι (+ εξ αυτου 106) οδυνη ψυχης: *so* 248 70 106 *and* 𝔏, *but uncials omit* (*? reading* מרת נפש *for* "מפח נ: *so Hart*) [e–e] *So* 𝔓 והכבד עולו: 𝔊 και εργασαι εν αυτῳ (= ? רהעביד עליו): 𝔖 'be hard towards him' [f–f] *So* 𝔓: 𝔊 εν τῃ ασχημοσυνῃ σου (*but* 248 𝔏 &c. αυτου) [g–g] 𝔊 προσκοψῃ = יִתָּקֵל (*so read with Peters*): 𝔓 יתלע בך 𝔓 (𝔓 *mg.* יתעל = 'lift himself up against thee') [h–h] 𝔓 וחי בעצמו (חי *often* = 'healthy' *in PBH*): 𝔊 υγιης (= חי) και ισχυων τῃ εξει (= *explanatory paraphrase for* בעצמו): 𝔖 'that is healthy and firm in his body' = 𝔊 [i–i] *Reading* חַיִּים וָשֹׁר = 𝔊 υγεια και ευεξια (שֹׁר = 'soundness,' 'strength': *Aram.* שׁרר, 'to be sound,' firm'); *so Peters*: 𝔓 חיי שר (*i.e.* שר = שאר, *so* 𝔓 *mg.*) 'bodily health' (𝔖 = 𝔓) [j–j] *So* 𝔓

9. **Cocker.** Nurture tenderly ('tend as a nurse', Edersheim; Heb. אמן); cp. Lam. iv. 5 ('they that were nurtured in scarlet').

10. **Laugh not with him.** Or 'be not complacent with him' (see critical note). Fritzsche quotes from Solon: 'liberis ne arrideas, ut in posterum non fleas' (cited by Edersheim).

12. **Bow down his neck.** Cp. li. 26 ('and bring your necks under her yoke'). 𝔓 has 'Bow down his head', i.e. humble him; cp. iv. 7; Isa. lviii. 5.

smite his loins sore. Cp. Ezek. xxix. 7.

anguish of soul. Cp. Job xi. 20 ('giving up of the ghost').

13. **Discipline thy son.** Cp. vii. 23.

make his yoke heavy. Cp. 1 Kings xii. 10 (phrase).

(*b*) XXX. 14–20.

𝔅ᴮ 15 [i]Health and soundness[i] [j]have I desired[j] more than fine gold,
[k]And a cheerful spirit[k] [l]more than pearls[l].
16 There is no wealth [m]above the wealth[m] [n]of a sound body[n],
And no [nn]good[nn] above [o]a good disposition[o].
17 [p]Better death [q]than a wretched life[q],
And eternal rest [r]than continual pain[rp].
18 Good things [s]poured out[s] before a mouth that is closed
[t]Are as an offering[t] [u]that is placed before an idol[u].
19 [v]How can (such) [w]profit[w] [x]the images[x] of the heathen
Which are unable either to eat or smell[y]?

אויתי = 𝔖: 𝔊 βελτιων k–k *So* 𝔅 ורוח טובה = 𝔖: 𝔊 και σωμα ευρωστον (? σωμα, *a corruption of* πνευμα: *so Lévi*) l–l 𝔅 מפנינים = 𝔖 ('pearls'): 𝔊 (*freely*) η ολβος αμετρητος m–m *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 (βελτιων) *and* 𝔖 ('like') *omit* (*Peters omits second* עשר): *but* 𝔏 (census super censum) *and the parallelism with next line support* 𝔅 n–n 𝔅 שר עצם (*i. e.* 'soundness of body') = 𝔊 nn–nn 𝔅 טובה: 𝔊 ευφροσυνη = 𝔖 o–o 𝔅 טוב לבב = 'goodness of heart': 𝔊 χαραν καρδιας p–p 𝔅 *has this verse in a double form:*

(a) טוב למות מחיי שׂוא
(b) ונוחת עולם מכאב נאמן (מחיים רעים Mg.) } = 𝔊

(c) טוב למות מחיים רעים
(d) ולירד שאול מכאב עומד: } = 𝔖

𝔊 κρεισσων θανατος υπερ ζωην πικραν (אc.a 70 + και αναπαυσις αιωνιος: *so* 𝔏 et requies eterna) η αρρωστημα εμμονον = 𝔅 (a) (b): 𝔖 = 𝔅 (c) (d) q–q *Reading* מחיים רעים = 𝔅 (c) *and* 𝔊: *so Peters, Smend* r–r *Smend reads* מכ״ עומד = 𝔅 (d) *and* 𝔖: *Peters* מכ״ נאמן = 𝔅 (b) s–s *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 'shut up' = 𝔏 (bona abscondita) t–t 𝔅 תנופה 𝔊 θεματα (B Syro-Hex θεμα) βρωματων: *cp.* 𝔖 'as foods' u–u 𝔅 מצנת לפני גלול: 𝔊 παρακειμενα επι ταφῳ (𝔖 = 𝔊). *reading* גוֹלֶל (גּוֹלְלָא) = 'the stone which closes a grave' v–v 𝔅 *has a lacuna in its text corresponding to vv.* 19 a–d *and* 20 a, *which is supplied by the margin:* 𝔅 *text has* 20 b *immediately after* 18 b:

מה י[עיל] לגלולי הגוים = 19 (a)
אשר לא יאכלון ולא י[ריחון]: = 19 (b)
כן מי ש[יש] לו עושר = 19 (c)
ואין נהנה מהונו: = 19 (d)
[רואה] בעיניו [ומתאנח] = 20 (a)
כאשר סרים יחבק נערה ומתאנח: = 20 (b) } 𝔅 *mg.*

in 𝔅 *text.*

𝔅 *adds the following to v.* 20:

[כן עושה באונס משפט = 20 c
כן נאמן לן עם בתולה = 20 d
ויי מבקש מידו] = 20 e } *in* 𝔅 *text.*

[*These lines* 20 c–e *are unoriginal.*]

𝔊 τι συμφερει καρπωσις ειδωλῳ; = 19 (a)
ουτε γαρ εδεται, ουτε μη οσφρανθῃ = (19 b)
ουτως ο εκδιωκομενος υπο κυριῳ.
βλεπων δε οφθαλμοις και στεναζων = 20 (a)
ωσπερ ευνουχος περιλαμβανων παρθενον και στεναζων = 20 (b)

(+ ουτως ο ποιων εν βιᾳ κριματα) = 20 c (*so* 254 70 V &c., *but not uncials* = xx. 4 𝔊)

𝔖 = 19 (a) (b) (c) (d), 20 (a) (d) (e). Thus 19 (c) (d) *are attested in* 𝔅 *and* 𝔖, *but not in* 𝔊: *they are certainly*

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15. **pearls.** So 𝔖: or 'corals' (𝔅 פנינים).

16. **There is no wealth . . . disposition.** This verse is cited in Solomon ibn Gebirol's 'Choice of pearls' (see Cowley-Neubauer, p. xxx) as follows: 'There is no greater riches than health, no greater pleasure than a cheerful heart' (אין עושר כבריאות ולא נעימות כלב טוב).

17. **Better death than a wretched life.** Cf. Tobit iii. 13, 15 ('why should I live?'); the sentiment often comes to expression in classical literature (cp. e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 377).

And eternal rest. Omitted by 𝔊 (principal MSS.—see critical note), perhaps for dogmatic reasons (Edersheim). The omission may be due to later revision; note that 𝔏 ('requies eterna') attests the words, which probably belong to the original form of 𝔊.

18. **Good things . . . before a mouth that is closed . . .** i.e. riches which cannot be enjoyed (owing to ill health) are as futileas food offered to an idol that can neither taste nor smell.

an offering . . . placed before an idol. The heathen custom of offering food to idols is referred to (cp. e.g. the story embodied in Bel and the Dragon). 𝔊 ('as messes of meat laid upon a grave') makes the reference to the well-known heathen custom of providing food at the graves for the dead: cp. Tobit iv. 17 (and the notes there).

19. **unable either to eat or smell.** The phrase is borrowed from Deut. iv. 28 (cp. Ps. cxv. 4 f.).

𝔅[B] [z]So is he who possesseth wealth,
[a]And hath no enjoyment[a] [b]of it[bz]:
20 [c]He seeth it[c] with his eyes [c]and sigheth[c],
As [d]a eunuch[d] that embraceth a maiden[ev].

(*c*) XXX. 21–25. *An exhortation to dismiss sorrow and care* (= 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

21 Give not thy soul [ee]to sorrow[ee],
[f]And let not thyself become unsteadied with care[f].
22 Heart-joy is life for a man,
And human gladness [ff]prolongeth days[ff].
23 [g]Entice thyself[g] [h]and soothe[h] thine heart,
And [i]banish[i] [j]vexation[j] from thee:
For sorrow [k]hath slain[k] many,
And there is no [l]profit[l] [m]in vexation[m].

original. 𝔊 *in its third line of v.* 19 *apparently preserves an unoriginal equivalent of* 19 (c) (d); *Peters regards the three original lines in* 𝔅 *as added to amplify the text from other parts of the book: v.* 20 (c) = xx. 4 b; *v.* 20 (d) = xx. 4 a, *and v.* 20 (e) = v. 3 b (כי יי" מבקש נרדפים) [*in v.* 20 d נאמן, *lit.* 'trusted one' (*i.e. one entrusted with the care of the Harem*) = 'eunuch': *so* 𝔖 *renders* 20 d מהימנא; *but it is unnecessary to regard* נאמן *as a translation of* 𝔖; *see Peters* ad loc. *against Lévi*] w–w *Reading* יעיל = יועיל = 𝔊 𝔖 (*so Peters*); *others* ייטב; *Smend* יערכו ('what do men sacrifice, &c.') x–x *Smend* לגלולי: *Peters* לצלמי (*cp.* Ps. xxxix. 7, lxxiii. 20) = 𝔖: 𝔊 καρπωσις y 𝔖 + 'and drink not' z–z *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 ουτως ο εκδιωκομενος (*read with* Syro-Hex εκδικουμενος) υπο κυριου = ? כן מיי מְבַקֵּשׁ = 19 c (כן) + 20 e a–a 𝔅 ונהנה (*Nif. of* הנה *a PBH word*) b–b 𝔅 *not quite certain: either* ממנו (= 𝔖) *or* מהונו, 'of his substance' (*the latter probably* = 𝔅*'s reading: so Schechter, Strack, Smend*) c–c *Reading* רואֶה . . . ומתאנח = 𝔊 𝔖 d–d 𝔅 סרים, *a mistake for* סריס e 𝔅 + ומתאנח = 𝔊: *probably an addition from the previous clause* (*so Peters*) ee–ee 𝔅 לדין (*l.* לְדָוֹן: *the same graphical mistake in* xxx. 23, xxxviii. 18) f–f 𝔊 και μη θλιψης σεαυτον εν βουλη σου = ואל תִּכָּשֵׁל בעצתך (*so read with Peters*): 𝔅 *text* ואל ת" בעונך (*? corrupt for* בעיניך, *but cp.* Ps. xxxi. 11): 𝔅 *mg.* בעצתך = 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 *mg.*[2] ואל תכשילך עצתך ff–ff 𝔊 μακροημερευσις: = האריך ימיו (*so read*): 𝔅 *text* אפו ה" (*a scribal error*): 𝔖 'his life' *for* 'his days' (= חייו: *so Schechter reads*) g–g *So* 𝔅 פת נפשך = 𝔖: 𝔊 αγαπα (*but* א[a.c] C V 253 254 &c. Syro-Hex απατα = 𝔅) h–h 𝔅 ופייג = 𝔖: 𝔊 και παρακαλει [פייג, *an Aramaism* = ? 'refresh' ('mitigate', 'soothe'), 'cause relaxation'] i–i 𝔅 הרחק = 𝔊 μακραν αποστησον j–j 𝔅 קצפון (= 'anger' *in PBH: cp.* קצף) k–k 𝔊 απεκτεινεν (*but* א A C απωλεσεν: 248 *combines the two verbs*) l–l 𝔅 תעלה, *i.e.* תּוֹעֶלָה (*or* תֹּעֶלָה) (*cp. PBH* תּוֹעֶלֶת = 'profit', 'use') = 𝔊 ωφελια m–m *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 εν αυτη [𝔖 *for the whole line*, 'And anxiety destroyed them'] n–n 𝔅 בלא עת תזקין = 𝔊 προ καιρου γηρας αγει (γηρας αγει = *the causative of* γηρασκειν [*Hart*]): 𝔖 'bring grey hairs' o–o 𝔅 שנות, *i.e.* שְׁנוֹת (*pl. constr.*); *cp.* Prov. vi. 10: 𝔊 *apparently omits.* 𝔖 *? transposes* (*see next note*) p–p 𝔅 לב

(*c*) XXX. 21–25 (= 𝔊 XXX. 21–24 + XXXIII. 13 *b c*).

21. **Give not thy soul to sorrow.** Cf. xxxviii. 20 *a* 𝔊. The sentiment expressed in this verse and also in *v.* 23 is also re-echoed in the Talmud. Thus in T. B. *Yebamoth* 63 *b* the following is cited as from the Book of Ben-Sira: 'Be not troubled for the trouble of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what the day may bring forth (= Prov. xxvii. 1). Perhaps on the morrow he will be no more, and be found grieving over a world that is not his' (so *Sanh.* 100 *b*). Edersheim also cites: 'Suffice sorrow for its hour' (T. B. *Berakh.* 9 *b*), and 'the sorrow of the hour (i.e. immediate sorrow) is sorrow' (T. J. *Abodah zarah* 39 *b*).

And let not thyself become unsteadied with care. 𝔅 text, 'and stumble not because of thine iniquity'; cp. Ps. xxxi. 10 ('my life is consumed in sorrow . . . my strength stumbleth because of mine iniquity'). The rendering given above ('and let not thyself become unsteadied') = 'stumble not'.

22. **prolongeth days.** Lit. 'his days' (or 'his life'); see critical note. 𝔅 has 'prolongeth his anger' (maketh him slow to anger); cp. Prov. xix. 11 ('the discretion of a man maketh him slow to anger'). The mistake of the copyist may be due to his reminiscence of this passage (so Schechter).

23. **soothe thine heart.** The Hebr. word here rendered 'soothe' (פייג) 'is sometimes used in Rab. literature in the sense of calming and rejoicing' (Schechter).

banish vexation . . . For sorrow hath slain many. The Talmud cites a form of this passage as from Ben-Sira in T. B. *Sanh.* 100 *b* (in Aramaic): 'let not sorrow enter thy heart, for sorrow hath killed strong men' (לא תיעול דויא בליבך דגברין גיברין קטל דויא).

[At this point the dislocation of chapters, which has produced a different order in all extant Greek MSS., begins (Cod. 248 is not an exception). Chapters xxx. 25—xxxiii. 16 have been placed after xxxiii. 16—xxxvi. 11, thus

𝔅ᴮ 24 Envy and anger shorten days,
And anxiety [n]maketh old untimely[n].
(= 𝔊 xxxiii. 13 *b, c*) 25 [o]The sleep[o] [p]of a cheerful heart is like dainties[p],
[q]And his food is agreeable unto him[q].

(*d*) XXXI. (XXXIV.) 1–4. *The anxieties of poverty and riches* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

31 𝔅ᴮ 1 [r]Watchful care over wealth[r] [s]wasteth the flesh[s],
[t]And anxiety about it[t] [u]dissipateth slumber[u].
2 [v]Anxiety about sustenance[v] [w]breaketh off (?)[w] slumber,
[x]Even as severe sickness dissipateth sleep[x].
3 The rich man [y]laboureth[y] [z]to gather[z] riches,
And when he resteth, it is to [a]partake of delights[a].
4 [b]The poor man [c]toileth[c] [d]for the needs of his house[d],
And if he rest [e]he becometh needy[e] [b].

טוב תחת מטעמים: 𝔊 λαμπρα καρδια και αγαθη επι εδεσμασιν (= ? 𝔅: ? λαμπρα . . . και αγαθη, *a double rendering of* טוב): 𝔖 'a good heart many (=? שנות *transposed—so Hart*) are its meats' (*but Smend suggests that both* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 *may have read* לב טוב רב מטעמים). *Lévi thinks* שנות *in* 𝔅 *is a title* (='of sleep'), *and so is omitted by* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 [q–q] 𝔅 ומאכלו יעלה עליו: 'and his food (𝔖 'all that he eats') goes up upon him' (𝔖 'upon his body'), *i.e.* 'agrees with him' 𝔊 *misunderstands* 𝔅 *and renders freely*: των βρωματων αυτης επιμελησεται. [r–r] *So* 𝔊 = שקד עשר: 𝔖 = 𝔅 עשיר (*l.* שקד) שקר (*so* 𝔅 *mg.* שקד) [s–s] 𝔅 ימחה שארו (*l.* שאר) 𝔊 εκτηκει = ? ימסה (*so* 𝔖) [t–t] *So* 𝔊 = 𝔅 *mg.* ודאגתו [u–u] 𝔅 *text* תפריע נומה = 𝔊 αφιστα υπνον [v–v] 𝔅 דאגת מחיה; 𝔊 μεριμνα αγρυπνιας (αγρυπνιας *from previous line*): 𝔖 = 𝔅 [w–w] 𝔅 תפרינ: 𝔊 απαιτησει (*but read with* 𝔏 [avertit] αποστησει = ? 𝔅): 𝔖 = 𝔅 (פרג *in Aram.* = to break, divide, exchange) [x–x] *Reading* תפריע שנה (𝔅 *mg.*) ומחלה חזקה (𝔅 *mg.* תפרינ *for* תפריע); 𝔅 *has* נומה *at end; but read* שֵׁנָה = 𝔊: 𝔊 και αρρωστημα βαρυ εκνηψει (= ? תפרינ *so* 𝔅 *mg.*) υπνον: *but* 𝔖 *supports* תפריע. [𝔅 *adds two lines, which are not original, to this verse: they are omitted by* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 *and do not harmonize with the context.*

רע נאמן תניד חרפה
ומסתיר סור אוהב כנפש:

'Reproach putteth to flight the faithful friend,
But he that hideth a secret loveth (a friend) as his own soul.'

Cp. xxii. 22, xxvii. 17, xli. 22] [y–y] *Reading* עמל with 𝔅 *mg.* = 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 *text* עמלי ('the labours of a rich man are to,' &c.) [z–z] *Reading* לקבץ *with* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 לקבל (*from next line*) [a–a] 𝔅 לקבל תענוג: 𝔊 εμπιμπλασαι των τρυφηματων αυτου (𝔖 'to partake of banquets') [b–b] 𝔅 *gives a double recension of this verse:*

(a) יגע עני לחסר ביתו
(b) ואם ינוח יהיה צריך:
(c) עמל עני לחסר כחו
(d) ואם ינוח לא נחה לו:

According to Smend (c) *and* (a) *give the original text* of 𝔅 [c–c] 𝔅 (a) יגע: 𝔅 (c) עמל (*so Smend*) [d–d] 𝔅 (a) לחסר ביתו: 𝔅 (c) לחסר כחו = ? 𝔊 εν ελατσωσει βιον (לחסר כחו = ? 'for lack of means for himself' = 𝔖) [e–e] *So* 𝔅 (b): 𝔅 (d) 'he hath no rest'

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producing the order in 𝔊 xxx. 24; xxxiii. 16—xxxvi. 11; xxx. 25—xxxiii. 15; xxxvi. 12 *et seq.* 'It is evident that this must have proceeded from a misplacement of the sheets in the archetype of our Greek MSS.' (Edersheim). Note that 𝔏 and 𝔖 have the right order; so 𝔅.]

25. **The sleep of a cheerful heart is like dainties.** Cp. Prov. xv. 15 'he that is of a cheerful heart hath a continual feast'.

And his food is agreeable unto him. The Hebr. phrase here used (see critical note) = lit. 'and his food goes up upon him' (𝔖 'upon his body'). It may be illustrated from the *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (ed. Schechter), ch. xxvi: 'food which does not go up upon (i.e. which does not agree with) one's body' (אוכלים שאינם עלים על גופו).

(*d*) XXXI. 1–4 (= 𝔊 XXXIV. 1–4).

1. **anxiety about it dissipateth slumber.** Cp. (for the phraseology) xlii. 9.

2. **breaketh off (?) slumber.** The Hebr. word rendered 'breaketh off' occurs also in Rabbinic literature in the sense of 'to destroy', 'cause to disappear'. For the additional clauses in 𝔅 which are attached to *v.* 2 see critical note. They deal with the law of loving one's neighbour (cf. Lev. xix. 18, 34).

3. **The rich man . . . delights.** This verse may underlie Luke xii. 18–19 (so Peters). For the phrase 'to partake of delights' cp. xli. 4 *d* (𝔅).

4. **The poor man toileth . . .** Cf. with the sentiment here expressed the Rabbinic citation attributed to Ben-Sira

(*e*) XXXI. (XXXIV.) 5–11. *The perils of mammon-worship* (= 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

𝔅[B] 5 He that [f]loveth[f] gold [g]shall not go unpunished[g],
And he that [f]pursueth[f] [h]hire[h] [i]erreth thereby[i].
6 Many there are that have [j]bound themselves to gold[j]
[k]And have put their trust in corals[k].
7 [l]It is a stumbling-block[l] [m]for the foolish[m],
[n]And whoso is simple is snared thereby[n].
8 Happy is [o]the rich man[o] that is found blameless,
And that hath not [p]gone astray following[p] mammon!
9 Who is he? that we may felicitate him—
For he hath done wondrously among his people.
10 Who [q]hath been tested[q] by it [r]and remained unharmed[r],
[s]So that it hath redounded to his glory?[s]

[f–f] *Reading* אוהב *in* (a) *and* רודף *in* (b) *with* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 *inverts the order* [g–g] 𝔅 לא ינקה = 𝔊 ου δικαιωθησεται [h–h] 𝔅 מחיר: 𝔊 διαφθορον (*corrupt for* διαφορον = 𝔅): 𝔖 'mammon' [i–i] 𝔅 בו ישגה = 𝔊 αυτος πλησθησεται (+ αυτης 296 308 = 𝔏): *? l.* απ αυτης πλανθησεται = 𝔅 *and* 𝔖 (יִשָּׁגֶה: *but* 𝔊 *may* = יִשָּׁגֶה: *so Peters*) [j–j] 𝔅 חבולי זהב = 'bound of (given in pledge to) gold': 𝔊 εδοθησαν εις πτωμα χαριν χρυσιου: *but* 248 εδεθησαν χαριν χρυσιου = 𝔅: 𝔖 'rich' (𝔅 *might mean* 'have been destroyed of gold') [k–k] 𝔅 על פנינים (*l.* והבוטחים) והבוטח: 𝔖 'and have trusted (= והבוטחים) in their riches': 𝔊 και εγενηθη η απωλεια αυτων κατα προσωπον αυτων = וחבלם על פניהם ? (*or* ? והיה הוות: *Peters reads* והאבדון—'and destruction was before their face'): 𝔅 + (*so* 𝔖) 2 *lines*:

ולא מצאו להנצל מרעה
וגם להושע ביום עברה:

'And they found not how to deliver themselves from evil,
And also to save themselves in the time of wrath.'

(𝔖 'in the time of their end'.) *But* 𝔊 *rightly omits* (*the lines are a gloss*; *cp.* Prov. xi. 4) [l–l] *So* 𝔊 ξυλον προσκομματος = עץ תקלה (𝔅 כי *for* עץ (*displacement*): 𝔖 *also inserts* כי) [m–m] 𝔅 לאויל 𝔊 τοις ενθυσιαζουσιν αυτῳ ('unto them that sacrifice unto it' R.V.): *but* א* *and three cursives give the right reading* ενθουσιαζουσιν (*? confusing* אוה *with* אויל: *so Hart*). *See also* 𝔏 [n–n] *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 𝔖 'every one that erreth therein stumbleth' [o–o] 𝔊 πλουσιος = 𝔖 = עשיר: *so read for* 𝔅 איש (*Smend keeps* איש) [p–p] 𝔅 נלוז אחר: 𝔊 (*inexactly*) επορευθη οπισω [q–q] 𝔊 εδοκιμασθη = נבדק (*Peters* מי נבדק בו): 𝔅 *text* מי הוא זה שנדבק בו: 𝔅 *mg.* הנדבק (הוא זה *from previous line*): 'who is he that we should cleave unto him?' (= 𝔅 *text*) *or* 'who is he that cleaveth unto it?' (בדק *in PBH* = to examine, explore) [r–r] *Reading* וישלם = 𝔊 και ετελειωθη: 𝔅 והיה לו שלום [s–s] 𝔅 והיה לו

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which is given in the notes on xl. 22. The alternative reading 'for the lack of his means' (for כח in this sense cp. Prov. v. 10; Job vi. 22) may possibly be right against 'for the lack of his house'. Cp. xi. 11.

(*e*) XXXI. 5–11 (𝔊 XXXIV. 5–11).

5. **He that loveth gold shall not go unpunished.** Cp. Prov. xxviii. 20 ('he that maketh haste to be rich shall not be unpunished'); also *Qoh.* v. 10 (Hebr. 9) ('he that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver', &c.). For the same theme (the dangers of love of money) cp. also 1 Tim. vi. 9.

that pursueth hire. Or rather 'gain, profit'; cp. xlii. 9, vii. 18.

erreth thereby. Or 'is led astray thereby' (i. e. 'falleth into sin on account of it').

6. **And have put their trust in corals.** Or pearls: for 𝔊 see critical note. For the two lines (a gloss) that are appended to this verse in 𝔅 and 𝔖 (see critical note) cp. Prov. xi. 4 ('Riches profit not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death').

7. **It is a stumbling-block . . .** Cp. xiii. 23*c*.

simple. Cp. Job v. 2 (same word).

is snared. Cp. Eccles. ix. 12.

8. **the rich man that is found blameless.** Cp. for the phraseology xliv. 16, 17 (𝔅).

following mammon. The occurrence of the word 'mammon' (מָמוֹן) here is noticeable (=in Biblical Hebrew כסף or מטמון). Outside Ben-Sira its earliest attestation is in the N. T. (Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 9, 11, 13). The spelling 'mamon' (so in Greek) seems to be probably correct; but both spelling and etymology are uncertain (see art. 'Mammon', col. 2912–5 in *EB*, vol. iii).

9. **Who is he? . . .** Apparently a pious rich man was as rare in Ben-Sira's time as an honest publican later in the provinces of the Roman Empire.

10. **Who hath been tested by it** (sc. by wealth) **and remained unharmed?** Cp. Matt. xix. 23; Luke xi. 24. 𝔅 (text) 'Who hath clung to it . . .'

𝔅 Who could [t]fall away[t], and did not fall away;
[u]And (could) inflict[u] harm, [v]and did not[v]?
11 [w]Therefore[w] shall his good fortune [x]be steadfast[x],
And the congregation shall declare [y]his praise[y].

(*f*) XXXI. (XXXIV.) 12–24. [a]*Instruction concerning bread and wine together*[a]
(= 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 3 + 1 + 2 + 2 distichs).

12 [b]If thou sittest [c]at a great man's table[c],
[d]Be not greedy upon it[d];
[e]Say not: [f]There is abundance upon it[f]—
13 [g]Remember that an evil eye is an evil thing[g],

לתפארת (𝔅 *mg.* לתפארה : *so Peters reads*) : 𝔊 *και εστω εις καυχησιν* (*but* אca 70 Syro-Hex *εσται αυτῳ* = 𝔅) [𝔅 *adds four lines which are not attested by* 𝔖 *or* 𝔊 :

כי ברבות שלום חייו ‖ אהיה לך לתפארת
מי ברכו וישלם חייו ‖ הוא (m. אהיה) לך לתפארת

'For when the peace of his life multiplieth, I will be to thee a glory—who hath blessed it and made his life perfect? he (*m.* I) will be a glory unto thee.' *These lines form doublets to* 10 ab] [t–t] 𝔅 לסור = 𝔊 *παραβηναι* [u–u] 𝔅 ולהרע רעה (*so Cowley: Schechter* רע) = 𝔊 *και εποιησεν κακα* : 𝔖 'to evil entreat his comrade' (= רעו) [v–v] *So* 𝔊 𝔖 = ולא הרע : 𝔅 ולא אבה [w–w] 𝔅 על כן : > 𝔊 𝔖 (248, 70 𝔏 + *δια τουτο*) [x–x] *Reading* יחזק *with* 𝔊 𝔖 : 𝔅 חזק [y–y] 𝔊 *τας ελεημοσυνας αυτου* = צדקתו : 𝔅 ותהלתו [a–a] 𝔅 מוסר לחם ויין יחדו (*cp. similar headings in* xli. 16 *and* xliv. 1 : *all doubtless secondary*) : 𝔊 𝔖 > (*but* 254 *has title περι βρωματων* : *cp.* 𝔏 de continentia) [b] 𝔅 *pr.* בני 'my son' : *so* 𝔖 (*but* > 𝔊) [c–c] *Or* 'at a great table' (*so* 𝔊) = 𝔅 על שלחן גדול (*may be rendered either way*) [d–d] 𝔅 אל תפתח עליו גרנך (M גרון) *lit.* 'open not thy throat (*mg.* the throat) upon it' = 𝔊 𝔖 [e] 𝔊 *pr.* *και* (*so* 𝔖) [f–f] 𝔅 ספוק עליו (*lit.* 'there is sufficient upon it') = 𝔊 *πολλα γε τα επ αυτης* : 𝔖 'I have not enough' [g–g] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 : > 𝔖 : 𝔅 *here adds four lines, which are not attested by* 𝔊, *but are partly represented in* 𝔖 :

(1) רע עין שונא אל
(2) ורע מכנו לא ברא:
(3) כי זה מפני כל דבר תזוע עין (M תזיע)
(4) ומפנים דמעה תדמע (M ? תזיע):

'The man of evil eye God hateth,
And He hath created nothing more evil than him.
For this—by reason of everything the eye quivereth,
And from the face it maketh tears.'

𝔖 *has*:—

(= 1) 'The evil of the eye God hateth,
(= 2) And He hath created nothing more evil than it.
(= 3) Therefore the eye quivereth by reason of everything.'

Here it is clear that (2) *is a doublet of* 13 b, *while* (1) *is prob. a gloss on the same stichus* (13 b); (3) *and* (4) *are*

Who could fall away . . . i.e. Who ever had the power and opportunity of falling away and inflicting mischief, and failed to do so? Such cases (see next verse) are so rare as to be marvellous. For 'inflict harm' (לְהָרַע) cp. Ps. xv. 4.

11. **his good fortune** (𝔅 טובו). For this meaning cp. Prov. xi. 10; or it may mean 'his goods' (riches); cp. Deut. vi. 11.

And the congregation shall declare his praise. Cp. xliv. 15 (same expression). 𝔊 'his alms' (= צדקתו : so Peters reads) is probably an interpretation, but suggests the right meaning. A rich man who was pious would show his piety by generous almsgiving: cp. the Rabbinic dictum 'the salt of mammon is almsgiving'.

(*f*) XXXI. 12–24 (= 𝔊 XXXIV. 12–24). With the subject of this subsection cp. Prov. xxiii. 1–3.

12. **at a great man's table.** So 𝔅 preferably to 𝔊 ('at a great table', i.e. one well provided): cp. *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 5: 'lust not for the table of kings.' For the Rabbinic rules regarding table-manners cp. *Derek ereṣ rabba* vi–viii; also *Derek ereṣ zuta* and *Kallāh*.

Be not greedy upon it. Cp. *Derek ereṣ zuta* i: 'Be careful with your teeth (i.e. at your meals) that you do not eat too much.' The Hebrew phrase lit. = 'Open not thy throat upon it' (this possibly may mean, 'Make no remark': so Edersheim, cp. next note).

Say not: There is abundance upon it. The Syr. *it is not enough for me* 'is', says Edersheim, 'characteristic. The praising of the food in Oriental countries is done by the host; the mere act of admiration by any one else would be regarded as dangerous.'

13. **Remember that an evil eye . . .** 'When a person expresses what is considered improper or curious admiration

𝔅[B] [h]God hath created[h] nothing more evil than the eye;
[i]Therefore over everything must it weep[i].
15 [j k]Be considerate[k] to [l]thy companion as thyself[l],
And be mindful of all [m]thou detestest[m].
14 Stretch not out the hand [n]wherever he may look[n],
[o]And collide not with him[o] [p]in the dish[p j].
16 [q]Eat like a man [r]what is put before thee[r],
[s]And be not ravenous[s], lest thou become disliked[q].
17 [t]Leave off first[t] [u]for manners' sake[u],
[v]And devour not voraciously[v] [w]lest thou become offensive[w].

variants of 13 c [𝔅 *embodies a number of variants, &c. from different codices*]. *In* (3) כי זה *has displaced* על כן, *and* דבר *has been* (*erroneously*) *inserted; while* תזוע *has arisen, prob., from* תמעד *a corruption of* תדמע (*Perles*) [h–h] 𝔅 לא חלק אל (= *variant* (2) לא ברא): 𝔊 τι εκτισται; [i–i] *Reading* על כן מפני כל דמוע תדמע = 𝔊 δια τουτο απο παντος προσωπου δακρυει (*so Smend*: דמוע תדמע *from variant* (4)): 𝔅 *here for last two words yields a further variant, viz.* נס לחה, 'its freshness is abated' (*from* Deut. xxxiv. 7) [j–j] *vv.* 14, 15 *to be transposed* (*with Smend*): *in the usual order* 'may look' *has no proper antecedent* [k–k] *Reading* רעה (*cp.* xxxviii. 1 note) *with Smend*: 𝔅 דעה (*only again in this form* Prov. xxiv. 14) = 'know': 𝔊 νοει: 𝔖 = 𝔅 ('know that thy neighbour is like thyself') [l–l] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 (freely) τα του πλησιον εκ σεαυτου [m–m] 𝔅 ששנאת: 𝔊 [επι παντι] πραγματι = ? מעשה (𝔅 *mg.* אשר שנאת *is to be preferred*) [n–n] 𝔅 מקום יביט אל (אל *repeated accidentally: omit*) = 𝔊 ου εαν επιβλεψη (א* 155 Syro-Hex επιβλεψης = 𝔖) [o–o] 𝔅 *mg.* ואל תיחד עמו (תִּחַד = תיחד) *lit.* 'and join not thyself with him': 𝔊 και μη συνθλιβου αυτῳ (70 αντ αυτου: Origen μετ (αυτου)): 𝔖 'do not force thy hand' [p–p] 𝔅 בטנא = 'in the basket': 𝔊 'in the dish' (τρυβλιῳ) (*so* 𝔖) *give* טנא *an extended meaning* (*so Peters*) [q–q] *In* 𝔅 *v.* 16 *exists in a double form, as follows:*

(1) הסב כאיש אשר נבחר ‖ ואל תעט פן תגעל: (2)
(3) דע שרעך כמוך

of anything, he is generally reproved by the individual whom he has thus alarmed' . . . and especially when one is invited to partake of a meal 'he must reply if he do not accept the invitation "Heneeān" (i.e. "may it be productive of enjoyment"), or use some similar expression; else it will be feared that an evil eye has been cast upon the food' (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 183 (315), as cited by Edersheim). The thought of our passage, however, seems rather to be that the guest at the great man's table should not be envious and greedy in the presence of the abundance he sees upon it; such envy and greed is equivalent to 'the evil eye': cp. xiv. 10*a*, 'The eye of him that has an evil eye darts greedily (𝔅 תעיט, cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 32) upon bread.' In the same passage Ben-Sira also says that the 'evil-eyed' man is not only greedy, but grudging (xiv. 10*b*). For the Biblical senses of 'the evil eye' see *EB*, s.v. 'Eye' (ii, col. 1453), and for the later senses *JE*, s. v. 'Evil' Eye, v. 280 f. [For the variant additional clauses in 𝔅 see critical note.]

God hath created nothing more evil than the eye; Therefore over everything must it weep. The eye is a main cause of sin; cp. Num. xv. 38 f. (esp. 39: 'that ye go not about after . . . your own eyes'); Job xxxi. 1 ('I made a covenant with mine eyes', &c.); it is therefore punished by God in that when misfortune comes it must weep (so Smend).

15, 14. For the transposition of these verses see critical note.

15. **Be considerate.** i.e. treat in a friendly way; cp. xxxviii. 1 note (same Hebrew verb). 𝔊 here has 'know' (νοει): see critical note [𝔊 for whole line has: 'Know the affairs of thy neighbour by thine own' (R.V. 'Consider thy neighbour's [liking] by thine own'). See next note.]

to thy companion as thyself. 'Thy companion' here =, of course, thy companion at table, thy fellow-guest. To see in this dictum an anticipation of the positive form of the Golden Rule of the Gospel[1], as Friedländer claims (*The Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 232 f.), is not justified by the context.

And be mindful of all thou detestest. Here, again, the reference is to the behaviour of the guest at table. In Tobit iv. 15, which is cited by Fritzsche and Ryssel in this connexion, the reference is more general and less restricted ('And what thou thyself hatest do to no man').

14. **wherever he may look.** i. e. wherever thy fellow-guest may look. Possibly, however, the reference is to the host.

16. **like a man.** i.e. as a grown-up man and not as a child, i. e. as becomes a man. Smend compares Qoh. x. 17.

16, 17. **be not ravenous . . . devour not voraciously.** Cf. xxxvii. 29: 'Indulge not excess in any enjoyment, nor immoderation in any dainties.' Prescriptions against gluttony are common in the Rabbinic literature.

[1] Matt. vii. 12: 'All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets.'

𝔅[B] 18 And, moreover, when thou art seated [x]in a large company[x]
Stretch not the hand out [y]before a neighbour[y].
19 Surely a little is sufficient for [z]a man of understanding[z],
And he need not [a]choke[a] upon his bed.
20 (*c*) [b]Pain and sleeplessness, and distress[b],
20 (*d*) [c]And inward disorder[c] [d]are with a foolish man[d].
20 (*a*) [e]Healthy sleep[e] [f]hath a purged belly[f],
20 (*b*) And when he riseth in the morning [g]his wits are with him[g].

(4) ואכול כאיש דבר ששם לפניך
[*This line added in smaller writing in MS.* ולא תהיה גרגרן פן תמאם] (5)

𝔊 φαγε ως ανθρωπος τα παρακειμενα σοι
και μη διαμασω μη μισηθῃς. } *v.* 16

[𝔖 *has for vv.* 15–16 *three stichoi* = (3) (4) (5) [*in same order*].

(1) 'Take thy seat like a man that is chosen,
(2) And dart not greedily (i. e. *be not voracious*) lest thou become abhorred.
(3) Know that thy neighbour is like thyself.
(4) And eat like a man what is placed before thee,
(5) And be not gluttonous, lest thou be rejected.'

The form of 𝔅 *as it exists in the MS. is a mixture of two recensions. Apparently* (3) (4) *and* (5) *represent the recension of the text which lay before* 𝔖. *It is clear that* (3) *is a doublet of v.* 15 a: *it divides the pairs of doublets* (1) (2) *and* (4) (5); (1) *is a variant form of* (4) *and* (5) *of* (2). *Peters adopts* (4) *and* (5) *as representing the original form of* 𝔅, *and corresponding to* 𝔊; *but Smend adopts* (4) *and* (2) *thus:*

אכול כאיש דבר ששים לפניך = 16 a
ואל תעט פן תגעל: = 16 b

It should be noted that 𝔅 *mg. gives as a variant to* (1) אכל כאיש נכח, *from which Fuchs concludes that the original form of* 16 a *in* 𝔅 *was:* אכול כאיש אשר נכחך, i. e. 'eat as a man what is in front of thee': *this, he thinks, will explain* כאיש אשר נבחר *in* (1) *and* דבר ששים לפנך *in* (4): *but the latter is attested by* 𝔊 [r–r] *So* 𝔊 = 𝔅 (4): *the variant in* 𝔅 (1) נכח (*l.* נכחך) = 'what is in front of thee' (*cp.* Exod. xiv. 2, Ezek. xlvi. 9): 𝔅 (1) כאיש נבחר *perhaps arose from* כאיש נכח, *misread* נָכֹחַ = 'upright': *hence* הסב *in* 𝔅 (1) [s–s] 𝔅 ואל תַעט = *lit.* 'and dart not (greedily) upon'; *variant* 𝔅 (4) ולא תהיה גרגרן (גרגרן = 'greedy': *a Neo-Hebr. word with Aramaic affinities*). [t–t] 𝔅 (*partly damaged*) חדל ראשון = 𝔊: 𝔖 'be watchful' [u–u] 𝔅 (*damaged*) בעבור מוסר = 𝔊 χαριν παιδειας [v–v] 𝔅 . . . ואל תל i.e. תלע (*from* לוע *or* לעע 'to swallow greedily'; *cp.* Obad. 16): 𝔊 και μη απλησταευου [w–w] 𝔅 (*damaged*) פן תמאם: 𝔊 μη ποτε προσκοψῃς = ? פן תִּתָּקֵל (*Peters*) [x–x] *Lit.* 'in the midst of many' [y–y] *So* 𝔅 לפני רע: 𝔊 προτερος αυτων = לפניהם (*so* 𝔖): *Schechter, Ryssel propose* לפני ראש [z–z] 𝔅 אנוש נבון = 𝔊 ανθρωπῳ πεπαιδευμενῳ (𝔅 *mg.* נכון = 'honest, steadfast): 𝔖 'righteous' = 𝔅 *mg.* [a–a] 𝔅 ישיק 'burneth': 𝔊 ασθμαινει = ? ישתנק (*from next line: so read*) [b–b] 𝔊 πονος αγρυπνιας και χολερας: 𝔅 מכאוב ונדד ישינה וצער ותשניק: *but* 𝔊 = *the first four words of* 𝔅: *prob.* ותשניק *is an error for* ישתנק = ישתנק *a variant of* ישיק *in previous line: it overloads the stichus here* [c–c] 𝔅 הפוכות (M ופנים) ופני: 𝔊 και στροφος: 𝔏 'et tortura' (*but Cod. Tol.* 'et tortura ventris', *which suggests that* γαστρος *has fallen out of* 𝔊): και στροφος γαστρος = ? ומעים הפוכות (*so Smend: so read: Smend also reads* וְנדדי שנה *for* ונדד ישינה *in* 20 (c), *prob. rightly; cp. Targ.* Job vii. 4 נדדת שינתא) [d–d] 𝔅 עם איש כסיל: 𝔊 μετα ανδρος απλησταου = 𝔖; *but* 𝔅 *is implied by* אנוש נבון *in* 19 a [e–e] 𝔅 שנות חיים (חיים = 'health' *as in* Prov. xiv. 30) = 𝔊 υπνος υγειας [f–f] 𝔅 על קרב צולל (צלל *in PBH* = 'to clarify' (wine, &c.); *here* 'purge': ? *read* צלול *pt. pass.*) = 𝔊 επι εντερῳ μετριῳ (μετριῳ *a toning down*) [g–g] 𝔅 ונפשו אתו = 𝔊 [*the right order of clauses in v.* 20 *is given in* 𝔅, *as above, viz.* 20 (c) (d) (a) (b) *against* 𝔊]. *To v.* 20 𝔅 *appends some additional clauses, six in number, which are partly destroyed* (*gaps in MS.*):

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18. **Stretch not the hand out before a neighbour.** Cp. *Derek ereṣ rabba* vii: 'When two are sitting at table, the elder begins to eat first, and the younger after him; and if the younger begins first he is a glutton.' Cp. also Lane (*op. cit.* i. 183): 'The master of the house first begins to eat; the guests or others immediately follow his example' (this last passage is cited by Edersheim.)

19–22. Moderation in eating conduces to health.

19. **Surely a little . . .** Cp. Prov. xiii. 25: 'The righteous eateth to the satisfying of his soul.'
choke upon his bed. Or 'groan', viz. from the effects of indigestion.

20. **Pain and sleeplessness . . .** Cf. xxxvii. 29–31.

𝔅ᴮ 21 [h]And even if thou hast been constrained with dainties,
[i]Arise and vomit[i], and thou shalt have ease.
22 [j]Listen, my son, and despise me not,
[k]And in the end[k] thou shalt comprehend my words[j].
In all thy doings be [l]modest[l],
And no [m]mishap[m] shall touch thee[h].
23 [n]Him that is generous over meat[n] [o]the lip[o] blesseth;
[p]The testimony of his generosity[p] is lasting:
24 Him who is niggardly over meat [q]the city murmureth at[q];
[r]The testimony of his niggardliness[r] is lasting.

(*g*) XXXI. (XXXIV.) 25–31. *The use and abuse of wine* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 distichs).

25 In wine [s]also[s] show not thyself valiant,
For [t]new wine[t] [u]hath been the ruin[u] of many.

(2) (1) ש . . . . . ש נבון ‖ ילין עד בקר ונפשו עמו
(4) (3) . . . . . ‖ . . . . . ותמצא נחת
(6) (5) . . . . . ‖ . . . . . .

𝔖 = (1) (2) *and by its aid* (1) *can be restored to* שנות חיים עם איש נבון: *thus* (1) *and* (2) *are doublets of* 20 (a) *and* (b): *the variant in* (a) *may be due to an attempt to refine away the somewhat coarse expression in* 20 a על קרב צולל. *In* (4) ותמצא נחת *is, apparently, a variant of* וינוח לך 21 b (*end*). [*Note that* 𝔏 in 20 b dormiet usque in mane = 𝔖 *and* 𝔅 (2) *against* 𝔊 (ανεστη πρωι)] [h–h] *The right order of vv.* 21, 22 *is preserved in* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖. *In* 𝔅 22 c d *is placed before* 21, *and a doublet* = 19 a *intruded* (הלא די אנוש נבון מזער), *thus producing the order* 22 c d *doublet*, 21, 22 a b [i–i] 𝔅 קוה קוה *i.e.* 'keep on hoping' (patiently): 𝔊 αναστα μεσοπορων: *but* 248, &c. + εμεσον = 𝔏 surge a medio et vome (*a conflation*): *read* קום קוה (*or* קיא): 𝔖 'withdraw thyself from the midst of the company' [j–j] 𝔅 *has these lines in a double form thus:*

(a) שמע בני ואל תבוז לי
(b) באחרית תשיג אמרי
(c) שמע בני וקח מוסרי
(d) ואל תליג (תלעג .M) עלי ובאחרית תמצא דברי

Here, again, we have double readings: (c) *and* (d) *represent the recension of* 𝔅 *which lay before* 𝔖 (*reading* מוסרי = יולפני): (a) *and* (b) = 𝔊 [k–k] *Reading* ובאחרית = 𝔊 (*so* 𝔅 (d) *but* 𝔅 (b) > ו) [l–l] 𝔅 צנוע: 𝔊 'adroit' (εντρεχης = 𝔅: *cp.* Micah vi. 8, *where* הצניע = 'walk humbly' *is rendered by* LXX ετοιμον ειναι: 𝔊 *misunderstood*): *for* צנוע *cp.* xlii. 8 [*in* T. J. *Yoma* 43 c צנוע *is opposed to* גרגרן 'gluttonous': *Levi*] [m–m] 𝔅 אסון ('mischief'): 𝔊 αρρωστημα: 𝔖 'evil' [n–n] 𝔅 טוב על לחם = 𝔊 λαμπρον επ αρτοις: 𝔖 'the good eye over', &c. (*cp.* Prov. xxii. 9) [o–o] 𝔅 שפה: 𝔊 χειλη: 𝔖 > [p–p] 𝔅 עדות טובו = 𝔊 (+ και) 𝔖 'and a good witness' (*incorrectly*) [q–q] *So* 𝔊 διαγογγυσει πολις = ? ירגן עיר (*so Peters: but* עיר *fem.*): 𝔅 ירגז בשער 'shall be troubled in the gate' [*perhaps* יִרְגַּן בשער *should be read* = 'he that is niggardly . . . shall be murmured at in the gate'] [r–r] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* 𝔊 (+ και): 𝔅 text *has* דעת *for* עדות—*a scribal error corrected by* 𝔅 *mg.* [𝔖 > *v.* 24] [s–s] 𝔅 וגם = 𝔖: > 𝔊 (𝔖 = גם) [t–t] 𝔅 תירוש: 𝔖 'the old (wine)' [u–u] 𝔅 הכשיל: 𝔊 απωλεσεν = 𝔖 [v–v] *Reading* כבור *with Smend* (*cp.* 𝔊 70 ως [*Clem. Alex.* ως αρα] καμινος *and* 𝔖): 𝔅 *text* כור = 𝔊 (*ordinary reading*)

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21. **Arise and vomit.** This appears to represent the best attested text (see critical note). The custom of using an emetic after immoderate eating was prevalent among the Romans; cp. Cicero, *ad Att.* xiii. 52. 1, of Caesar: 'ἐμετικὴν agebat; itaque et edit et bibit ἀδεῶς' (cited by Edersheim). Here, however, the reference may be simply to natural action. In *Sifra* (אחרי מות end) on Lev. xviii. 25 ('and the land itself vomiteth out its inhabitants') the explanation is given: 'as a man vomiteth his food' (כאדם שמקיא את מזונו).
22. **be modest** (as opposed to gluttonous) (see critical note).
23. **Him that is generous . . . blesseth.** Cp. Prov. xxii. 9: 'He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed.'
24. **Him who is niggardly over meat . . .** Cp. xiv. 10.
(*g*) XXXI. 25–31 (= 𝔊 XXXIV. 25–31).
25. **In wine also show not thyself valiant.** An echo of Isa. v. 22.
new wine hath been the ruin of many. Illustrate from Judith xiii. 2. For the expression cp. xxx. 23 above. Note the change of words for 'wine' in the two clauses.

𝔅ᴮ 26 [v]Like a furnace[v] which proveth [w]the work of the smith[w],
[x]So is wine in the quarrelling of the scornful[x].
27 [y]Life-giving water[y] [z]is wine to a man[z]
If he drink it [a]in moderation[a].
[bc]What life[c] hath a man that lacketh new wine,
[d]Seeing it was created[d] [e]for rejoicing from the beginning[eb].
28 Joy of heart [f]and gladness and delight[f]
Is wine drunk [g]in season and (for) satisfaction[g].
29 [h]Headache, derision, and dishonour[h]
Is wine drunk [i]in strife and vexation[i].
30 [j]Much wine is for the fool a snare[j]—
It diminisheth strength and supplieth wounds.

31 At a banquet of wine [k]‹rebuke not›[k] a friend,
[l]And ‹grieve him not in his joy›[l]:

[w–w] 𝔅 מעשה לוטש=𝔖 : 𝔊 στομωμα εν βαφῃ (εν βαφῃ='by dipping' R.V., *? an incorrect gloss*) [x–x] *So* 𝔅 : 𝔊 ουτως οινος καρδιας εν μαχῃ υπερηφανων (248 ο. ο. εν καρδια υπερηφανων εν μεθῃ): καρδιας *an addition*: 𝔖 'so is wine the provoker of the ungodly' [𝔅 *has a doublet with inferior readings of v.* 26 : נבון בוחן מעשה מעשה כן שכר לריב לצים, i. e. 'the discerning man proves work by work (every work); so is strong drink in the contention of the scornful'] [y–y] *Reading* למי חיים (*transposing* חיים *and* היין *with Smend*): 𝔊 εφισον ζωης = כמו חיים : 𝔖 = כמי היים [z–z] *Reading* היין לאנוש : 𝔅 *text for whole line has* למי היין חיים לאנוש = 'To whom is wine life? to the sick' (*cp.* Prov. xxxi. 6) [a–a] *Lit.* 'in its (due) proportion *or* measure': *so* 𝔅 = 𝔊 𝔖 [b–b] *A doublet of v.* 27 *c d occurs in* 𝔅 *text at the end of v.* 28, *which appears to yield a better text; read* (*following this*):

חיי מה לחסר תירוש ‖ והוא לגיל נחלק מראש:

(*so Smend*) (*inferior text of* 27 *c d* = 𝔅¹; *doublet* (*end of v.* 28) = 𝔅²) [c–c] 𝔅¹ חיי מה 𝔅² מה חיים [d–d] 𝔅² נחלק . . . והוא : 𝔅¹ נוצר . . . . . שהוא [e–e] *So* 𝔅¹ and ² : 𝔊 εις ευφροσυνην ανθρωποις (*the last word an error for* απ' αρχης, *see Clem. Alex. paed.* ii. 23) [𝔖 *for whole line* 'for joy was created from the beginning] [f–f] 𝔅 ושׂשון ועדוי (*l.* וְעִדּוּן = 'delight' *in late Hebr.*): 𝔊 και ευφροσυνη ψυχης (*cp.* עדי Ps. ciii. 5 = ? ψυχη: *so Peters reads here*): 𝔖 'and good times' [g–g] 𝔅 וראי (*so marg.*) בעת (ראי = רי 'saturation, moisture' Job xxxvii. 11; רויה Ps. xxxiii. 5): 𝔊 [εν καιρῳ] αυταρκης [h–h] 𝔅 כאב ראש לענה וקלון (*for* לענה 'wormwood' *l.* לעג *with Smend*): 𝔊 πικρια ψυχης (πικρια = לענה *often in LXX*): 𝔖 'pain, poverty, and headache' = *a double rend. of* כאב ראש [i–i] 𝔅 בתחרה וכעס = 𝔊 εν ερεθισμῳ και αντιπτωματι (𝔖 > וכעס) [j–j] 𝔅 חמר לכסיל (*l.* הרבה) מרבה מוקש = ? 𝔖: 𝔊 πληθυνει μεθη θυμον αφρονος εις προσκομμα ('Θυμον *perhaps marginal correction of* αντιπτωμα (29)' *Hart*) [k–k] 𝔊 μη ελεγξης = אל תוכח : 𝔅 *defective* [l–l] 𝔊 και μη εξουθενησης αυτον εν ευφροσυνη αυτου =

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26. **Like a furnace . . . So is wine . . .** 'Furnace' and 'wine' are parallel; just as the furnace tests and proves the real character of the metal (gold and silver), so wine brings out the real character of the 'scornful'—their inherent pride and viciousness being revealed in the quarrelsomeness that is engendered by free indulgence in drinking wine. According to *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (p. 68, ed. Schechter) wine is one of three things by which a man's character is tested (business dealings, much wine, and much talk). 𝔊 has obscured the sense by the addition of an incorrect gloss ('by dipping'—'the furnace proveth the temper of steel by dipping,' R.V.) a reference to the process of dipping red-hot iron in water to give it temper. See Edersheim *ad loc.*

[The word rendered 'smith' in 26*a* = lit. 'forger' or 'hammerer' (Heb. לוטש); cp. Gen. iv. 22.]

27. **life-giving water.** Lit. 'water of life'; cp. for the expression Rev. xxi. 6, &c. (not in the O. T.).

If he drink it in moderation. Moderation in this connexion is often insisted upon in Rabbinic literature; cp. e. g. *Derek ereṣ rabba* vii: 'Wine drunk in large quantity is bad for the body; in moderation it is good.' Edersheim remarks on the verse as a whole: 'These sentiments were perhaps natural at a period when there were practically no drinks known save wine and water; cp. Virgil, *Georg.* i. *ad init.*' ['In moderation', lit. 'in its measure', or (due) proportion.]

Seeing it was created for rejoicing. Cp. Ps. civ. 15.

28. **Joy of heart . . . gladness . . . Is wine drunk in season . . .** Cp. T. B. *Yoma* 76 *b*: 'If he acts rightly (i. e. drinks in moderation, Rashi) it (wine) gladdens him; if he does not act rightly (i. e. drinks to excess) it ruins him' (Heb. זכה משמחו לא זכה משממו; see Cowley-Neubauer, p. xxv).

30. **Much wine . . . diminisheth strength . . .** According to *Aboth de R. Nathan* (ed. Schechter, p. 108 *b*, chap. 37) wine is one of seven things which if used in moderation are wholesome, and if in excess are harmful (wine, work, sleep, wealth, travel, warm water, and the letting of blood).

31. **At a banquet of wine . . .** This verse forms the transition to the following section which deals with behaviour at banquets generally. Logically, perhaps, it should be reckoned with what follows (xxxii. 1–13).

rebuke not a friend. Cp. xx. 1.

𝔅[B] [m]‹Speak to him›[m] no reproachful word,
[n]‹And quarrel not with him›[n] [o]in the presence of (other) people[o].

(*h*) XXXII. (XXXV.) 1–13. *On behaviour at a banquet* (= 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

32 1 [p]‹If thou hast been appointed (banquet-)master, do not exalt thyself›[p];
Be [q]to them[q] as one of themselves;
Take thought for them, [r]and afterwards[r] be seated.
2 Supply [s]their needs[s], and [t]afterwards[t] recline;
That thou mayst rejoice [u]on their account[u],
And [v]receive consideration[v] [w]for politeness[w].

3 [x]Speak, O elder, [y]for it is thy privilege[y]:
[z]But be discreet in understanding[z], and [a]hinder not[a] song[x].

(תוגהו בשׂמחתו) ואל : *so Smend* m–m *So* 𝔊 𝔖 n–n *So* 𝔖 = ואל תצה עמו : 𝔊 *και μη αυτον θλιψῃς* = ? ואל תעצבהו o–o 𝔅 *mg.* לעיני בני אדם = 𝔖 : 𝔊 *εν απαιτησει* : *but* 248 *εν απαντησει αυτου suggests corruption of* *εις απαντησιν ανθρωπων* = 𝔅 *mg.* p–p linea ultima folii deest (*Strack*) : 𝔊 *ηγουμενον σε κατεστησαν* ; *μη επαιρου* = (*Peters* שׂר) ראשׁ (*Smend*) שמוך אל תתנשׂא = 𝔖 (𝔖 + 'and at the head of the rich do not sit down' : *this may be a corrupt variant of, or a gloss on, the first line. It may have stood in the Hebr. MS.*) q–q *So* 𝔅 𝔖 : 𝔊 *εν αυτοις* (*but* 𝔄 248 > *εν*) r–r *So* 𝔅 *text* 𝔖 : 𝔊 *και ουτω* = 𝔅 *mg.* ובכין (*cp.* xiii. 7) s–s *So* 𝔅 𝔖 : *but* 𝔊 *την χρειαν σου* (Sah > *σου*) t–t 𝔅 ואחר : 𝔊 𝔖 > u–u 𝔊 *δι αυτους* = בעבורם : 𝔅 בכבודם 'in their honour' : 𝔖 'in their latter end' (*correct to* בחדותהון 'in their joy' : *so Smend*) v–v 𝔅 תשׂא שׂכל (*cp.* Prov. iii. 4 : ומצא חן ושׂכל טוב 'and find favour and good repute') : *Smend thinks* שׂכל *has come in from v.* 3 ; *possibly* חן *or* חסד *should be read for* שכל *here.* 𝔊 *στεφανον* = ? כליל : 𝔖 'honour' = כבוד : *Schechter suggests* שׂכר w–w 𝔅 על מוסר = 𝔊 *ευκοσμιας χαριν* : 𝔖 'at table' (? *misreading* מוסב *for* מוסר) x–x *v.* 3 *lacking in* 𝔖 y–y 𝔅 כי הוא לך = 𝔊 *πρεπει γαρ σοι* z–z 𝔅 והצנע שׂכל : 𝔅 *mg.* והצנע לכת = Micah vi. 8 (*in PBH* הצניע = 'to hide, keep in the background') : 𝔊 *εν ακριβει επιστημῃ* = ? בהצנע שׂכל (248 *εν ακριβειᾳ της επιστημης*), *cp.* xvi. 25 a–a 𝔊 *μη*

31. **Speak to him no reproachful word.** Cp. xviii. 18, xx. 15, xxii. 22.

in the presence of (other) people. Lit. 'of men' (בני איש). The rendering of 𝔊 here ('by asking back a debt' = with a demand for repayment) depends upon a corruption in the Greek ; see critical note.

(*h*) XXXII. 1–13 (= 𝔊 XXXV. 1–13).

1–3. The banquet-master should study not his own dignity, but the comfort and convenience of the guests.

1. **If thou hast been appointed (banquet-)master.** i. e. *συμποσίαρχος* or *ἀρχιτρίκλινος* : cp. John ii. 8. The reference is to the sumptuous banquets which were given by wealthy Jews, and conducted according to the rules of etiquette generally acknowledged by the polite society of the time (Greek or Roman). The *ἀρχιτρίκλινος* was apparently appointed either by lot or election in such circles. The rules governing his conduct 'regarding the invitation and seating of the guests, the mixing of the wine and the serving of the dishes', as also the methods of procedure to be adopted by the cook and the servant of the house (שַׁמָּשׁ), 'were no less strictly observed by the Jews than by the Greeks and Romans' (Kohler in *JE*, ii. 497). A vivid account of the more luxurious banquets of this kind, such as were given by wealthy heathen and even Jews, is set forth in Philo, *De vita contempl.*, §§ v, vii (cp. *JQR*, xii. 761–764 ; also Wisd. ii. 7 f.). The Rabbis often uttered warnings against the dangers of such banquets, and tried to guard against the worst evils by insisting on discussions of Scripture, sacred songs, and the presence of students of the Law at such gatherings. Ben-Sira's advice is less tinged with rigorousness, but insists on a standard of good manners, restraint, and consideration for the guests. He obviously has in mind banquets where such standards were not observed.

Be to them . . . 𝔖 adds a clause here which is probably not genuine ; see critical note.

Take thought for them. 'This, according to Plutarch (*Pollux*, vi. 11), would refer to the nature and quantity of the wine to be given to each' (Edersheim).

be seated. Hebr. תסוב. This verb (in the Hif.) is used in Mishnaic Hebrew in the sense of 'recline at table' (lit.? 'surround the table'), but does not occur in this sense in Biblical Hebrew. (In Mishnaic Hebrew מֵסֵב = 'banqueting couch). Philo (*op. cit.* § 6) describes the couches used at a luxurious banquet thus : 'Couches, both for three to recline upon, and which extend all round, are manufactured of tortoise-shell or ivory, and of the more valuable woods ; and of them most parts are inlaid with precious stones. On them are laid cloths of purple with gold inwoven, as well as others dyed with divers bright colours, in order to attract the eye.'

2. **And receive consideration.** 𝔊 'and receive a crown', which has been supposed by some (older) commentators to contain a reference to the custom, common at the drinking-parties of Greeks and Romans, and perhaps known to the Hebrews (cf. Wisd. ii. 8 ; Ps. xxviii. 1–5), of the guests crowning themselves with garlands. Fritzsche sees a reference to a supposed custom of crowning the successful *symposiarch*, which, however, lacks attestation. In any case our text probably did not read 'crown' originally (see critical note).

for politeness. Cf. xxxi. 17, 'for manners' sake' (same Hebr. word, מוסר).

3–6. The elder should not obtrude his 'wisdom' in an unseasonable manner ; music and song also have their rights at a banquet.

3. **O elder.** The Hebr. word = lit. 'grey-head' ; cp. viii. 9, xlii. 8.

be discreet in understanding. Or keep thy wisdom in the background (see critical note for meaning of the Hebr. word). 'Do not play the sage when others are laughing' (Edersheim).

𝔅[B] 4 [b]In a place of music pour not forth talk[b],
[c]And at an unseasonable time[c] [d]display not thy wisdom[d]
5 [ef]As a signet-stone of carnelian[f] [g]on a necklace (?) of gold[g]
[h]Is a concert of song[h] at a banquet of wine[e].
6 [ij]Settings of fine gold and a seal of carbuncle[j]
Is the sound of music [k]with the pleasance of wine[k i].

7 [l]Speak, O young man, [m]if thou art compelled[m]—
[n]If thou art asked twice or thrice[n l].
8 [op]Sum up thy speech[p], [q]say much in little[q],
[r]And be like[r] one that knoweth and can keep silence[o].
9 Among [s]elders[s] [t]assert not thyself[t],
[u]And ply not [s]eminent persons[s] overmuch[u].
10 [v]In front of [w]hail[w] speedeth the lightning,
And in front of [x]the shamefast[x] speedeth favour[v].

εμποδιστης = 𝔅: *but* 248 *Chrysost.* xii. 248 (*Ben.*) > μη b–b 𝔅 *has a doublet here,* במקום היין אל תשפך שיח (1) ובלא מזמר מה תשפך שיח (2): *l.* במקום מזמר אל תשפך שיח = 𝔊 (οπου ακροαμα κτλ.): 𝔖 = 𝔅[1] c–c 𝔅 ובל (ובלא *lit.* עת) = 𝔊 και ακαιρως d–d 𝔅 מה תתחכם e–e *The true Hebrew text of this verse, which is preceded by a variant* (*two lines*), *runs*: כומז אודם על ניב זהב ‖ משפט שיר על משתה היין (*for* כומז Exod. xxxv. 22 *l. with variant* כחותם *cp.* 𝔊: *so Smend*) f–f *Reading* כחותם אודם: 𝔊 σφραγις ανθρακος g–g 𝔅 על ניב זהב (*meaning of* ניב *uncertain*): 𝔅 *variant* על כים זהב = 𝔖 h–h 𝔅 משפט שיר = 𝔊 συγκριμα μουσικων (𝔅 *variant* שיר אל 'divine song' = 𝔖) i–i *Here again the true Hebrew text is preceded by a variant* (*two lines*) *which corresponds to* 𝔖 j–j 𝔅 מלואות פז וחותם ברקת: 𝔊 (*freely*) εν κατασκευασματι χρυσῳ σφραγις σμαραγδου k–k 𝔅 על נועם תירוש: 𝔊 εφ ηδει οινῳ [𝔖 *renders v.* 6 'As a collar of gold and gems and emeralds, so are pleasant words at a banquet of wine': *this corresponds to* 𝔅 *variant*: כרביד זהב ובו נפך וספיר ‖ כך נאים דברים יפים על משתה היין:] l–l *v.* 7 *wanting in* 𝔖 m–m 𝔅 אם צריך אתה = 𝔊 ει χρεια σου n–n 𝔅 בחזק פעמים ושלש אם שאלך: 𝔊 μολις δις εαν επερωτηθης = ? בחזק פעמים (*so Peters* = 'at the most twice if thou art asked': *this may be right: Smend omits* בְּחֹזֶק (*cp.* בגבורות Ps. xc. 10) *and keeps* פַּעֲמַיִם ושלש = ? 'twice or thrice' *as above* (*but the expression is strange*) o–o *v.* 8 *wanting in* 𝔖 p–p 𝔊 κεφαλαιωσον λογον = כְּלֵל אֹמֶר (*Smend*): 𝔅 כל לאמר = ? 'finish saying' q–q 𝔅 ומעט הרבה = ? 'and make little (*Piel*) of much': 𝔊 (*freely*) εν ολιγοις πολλα (*or ? reading* במעט *Schechter*) r–r 𝔅 ודמה ל: 𝔊 γινου ως s–s 𝔅 *in line* 1 *has* 'elders' *and in line* 2 'eminent persons' ('princes' שרים): 𝔖 *transposes: so* 𝔊 (μεγιστανων *and* γεροντες *true text: see note following*) t–t 𝔊 μη εξισαζου ('behave not as their equal' R.V.): *but* 𝔄 𝔏 (praesumas) εξουσιαζου: 𝔅 אל תקומם = 𝔖 u–u *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 και ετερου λεγοντος μη πολλα αδολεσχει, *but* 𝔏 ubi senes = οπου γεροντες (*cp.* 248 οπου λεγοντες): 𝔏 *preserves the true reading* v–v *v.* 10 *wanting in* 𝔖: 𝔅 *has it in a double form with one variant, viz.* בוש ('shamefast') *and* דכא ('contrite') w–w *So* 𝔅 = 𝔏 (grandinem): 𝔊 [προ] βροντης (*a correction: 𝔏 preserves original reading*) x–x 𝔊 [προ] αισχυντηρου = 𝔅 בוש (*the variant is* דכא)

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song. i.e. singing accompanied by music.

4. **In a place of music.** i.e. at an entertainment (𝔊 ἀκρόαμα). The entertainment here contemplated was, apparently, in the main musical (vocal and instrumental). It followed at the conclusion of the banquet. Heathen banquets included also at this point performances by jesters, story-tellers, and acrobats.

at an unseasonable time . . . Cp. for the general sentiment *Derek ereṣ rabba* vii (end): 'One shall not rejoice among those who are weeping, &c. This is the rule. One shall not have different manners from those of his friends, and of people in general among whom he is' (in reference to social gatherings).

5. **As a signet-stone of carnelian . . .** Cp. Prov. xxv. 11.

6. **Settings.** Cp. Exod. xxviii. 17 and 20.

7–13. The young should be modest and not self-assertive; respectful to their elders, and not unduly talkative. When the time comes they should return home quietly, and remember the duty of thankfulness to God.

7. **Speak, O young man, if thou art compelled . . .** For the general sentiment of the verse cp. *Derek ereṣ zuta* ii (beginning): 'Sit before the elders, and let thine ears be attentive to their words. Be not hasty in answering. . . . Do not speak in the presence of one who is greater than you in wisdom.'

If thou art asked twice or thrice. i.e. only speak after repeated invitations; or the clause may run: '(Speak) at the most twice if thou art asked' (see critical note). 𝔊 is rendered by R. V. 'Yet scarcely if thou be twice asked' (= same sense as rendering adopted in text.

9. **Among elders** (or 'eminent ones', see critical note) **assert not thyself.** Cp. Job xxxii. 6 (xxix. 7 f.).

ply not. viz. with questions. The verb (טרד) has the meaning of 'to weary', 'trouble' in later Hebrew.

10. **In front of hail . . .** Hail as well as thunder is inseparable from lightning our text says; but the lightning is swifter, and is seen first; even so the favour and winsomeness inspired by modesty anticipate the exhibition of the latter (Smend). The verse reads like a proverb. The Hebr. verb rendered 'hasten' here (נצח: κατασπεύδει, προελεύσεται)

𝔅[B] 11 [yz]At the time of departure[z] be not last,
Depart home [a]and linger not[a];
12 [b]And (there) whatsoever cometh up in thy mind, speak[b],
[c]In the fear of God and not in foolishness[cy].
13 [d]And for all these things[d] bless thy Maker,
Who satisfieth thee with His bounty.

XXXII. (XXXV.) 14–17. (*a*) *The god-fearing and the sinful man: a contrast* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

14 [ef]He that seeketh[f] God will receive discipline,
And he that resorteth to Him diligently shall obtain [g]favour[ge].

y–y 𝔅 *has:*

(1) בעת מפקד אל תתאחר ‖ (2) פטר לביתך ושלם רצון
(3) בעת שלחן אל תרבה דברים ‖ (4) ואם עלה על לבך דבר:
(5) [פטר] ל[בית]ך ושלם רצון ‖ (6) ביראת אל ולא בחסר כל:

(1) 'At the appointed time linger not (be not last);
(2) Depart to thy home and accomplish (thy) will.
(3) At table-time multiply not words;
(4) But if anything comes up in thine heart, speak.
(5) Depart to thy house and accomplish (thy) will,
(6) In the fear of God and not in foolishness' (לב for כל).

𝔊 *does not recognize* (3) *and* (4), *which* = 𝔖 *of v.* 11 *essentially:* (3) *is a variant of* (1), מפקד *and* שלחן *being corruptions of the variants* מפטר *and* שִׁלּוּחַ (*so Smend*). *Smend adopts* (4) *as the true text of v.* 12 a; *while Peters follows* 𝔊 *and corrects it by* (5) z–z *Reading* בעת מפטר 𝔊 εν ωρᾳ εξεγειρου (*but* 𝔏 surgendi = αναστασεως *Clem. Alex. paed.* ii. 7. 56): *reading of* 𝔊 *is secondary.* 𝔅 *text* בעת מפקד = 'at the time appointed' a–a 𝔊 και μη ραθυμει = ואל תתרא (Gen. xlii. 1): 𝔅 ושלם רצון ? *from* (5); *but Smend keeps here* b–b *So* 𝔅 (4) *above* (*and Smend*): 𝔊 εκει παιζε και ποιει τα ενθυμηματα σου. *This partly corresponds to* 𝔅 (5) *above; correcting by* 𝔊 *Peters reads* שם שחק ושלם רצון: c–c *So* 𝔅 (6) *above correcting* כל *at end to* לב: 𝔊 και μη αμαρτης λογῳ υπερηφανῳ, ? *reading* ולא בחטאת *and* בחסר d–d 𝔅 ועל כל אלה 𝔊 και επι τουτοις (*but* 𝔏 et super his omnibus) e–e *The genuine text of this verse runs in* 𝔅 *thus:* דורש אל יקח מוסר ‖ ומשחרהו ישיג מענה: *This is preceded by a variant which has* רצון *for* מוסר *in line* 1, *and gives as line* 2 𝔅 *of v.* 15 b; *it is followed by another variant which runs:* דורש חפצי אל יקח לקח ‖ ויענהו בתפלתו: *i.e.* 'He that seeketh things pleasing to God will receive discipline, and He will answer him in his prayer' [*this* = 𝔖 *substantially:* 'he who seeketh the service of God receiveth instruction; and when he prayeth before Him He heareth him']: 𝔊 *has:* ο φοβουμενος κυριον εκδεξεται παιδιαν, και οι ορθριζοντες ευρησουσιν ευδοκιαν f–f 𝔊 ο φοβουμενος (? *from v.* 16): 𝔅 דורש g–g *Reading* רצון

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means 'to make brilliant' in xliii. 5, 13 (where it is similarly rendered by 𝔊: see critical notes *ad loc.*): so here it might be rendered 'flasheth'—'In front of the hail flasheth the lightning, and in front of the shamefast flasheth favour'. [Prof. Schechter suggests ינחץ; cp. 1 Kings xx. 19 = 'be urgent'; but the word is a doubtful one. A common meaning of נצח is 'to be victorious'.]

12. **In the fear of God and not in foolishness.** 𝔅 text has 'in the fear of God and without lack of anything', which may be a reminiscence, as Schechter suggests, of Ps. xxxiv. 9: 'O fear Jahveh, His holy ones: for there is no lack (מחסר) to them that fear Him': but see critical note.

13. **And for all these things bless thy Maker.** This, according to Schechter (*Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, p. 32), implies the institution of grace over food (ברכת המזון), which was undoubtedly very old; it was, of course, based on Deut. viii. 10.

Who satisfieth thee. Lit. 'who saturateth thee' (המרוך); cp. 𝔊 (μεθύσκοντά σε).

XXXII. 14—XXXIII. 31 (= 𝔊 XXXV. 14—XXXVI. 16 *a* and XXX. 25–40). Here a new section of the book begins. The main themes that emerge in it are: (1) Wisdom above all else consists in foresight against danger. The imprudence of the ungodly man is the result of pride, and the blindness so engendered; the pious man, on the other hand, finds the right path by study of the Law and attention to its teaching (xxxii. 14—xxxiii. 6 = 𝔊 xxxv. 14—xxxvi. 6): (2) a justification of the apparent arbitrariness of providential choice (xxxiii. 7–15 = 𝔊 xxxvi. 7–15); (3) an appeal to the rulers and guides of the people to listen (xxxiii. 16–18 = 𝔊 xxxvi. 16 *a*, xxx. 25–27). All this, as Smend points out, is introductory to the teaching that follows on (*a*) the importance of maintaining independence (xxxiii. 19–23 = 𝔊 xxx. 28–32); and (*b*) on keeping slaves and subordinates in order (xxxiii. 24–31 = 𝔊 xxx. 33–40).

(*a*) XXXII. 14–17 (= XXXV. 14–17).

14. **And he that resorteth to Him diligently . . .** Cp. xviii. 14.

𝔅[B] 15 [h]He that seeketh out the Law [i]shall gain her[i],
[j]But the hypocrite[j] shall be snared thereby[h].
16 [k l]They that fear Jahveh discern His judgement[l],
[m]And elicit guidance from the darkness[m k].
17 [n]The man of violence[n] [o]wresteth reproofs[o],
[p]And forceth the Law to suit his necessity[p].

(*b*) XXXII. (XXXV.) 18–24. *Forethought before action* (= 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

18 [q r]A wise man[r] [s]will not conceal understanding[s],
[t]And a scorner[t] [u]will not receive instruction[u q].
19 [v]Without counsel carry out nothing;
[w]And after the deed[w], [x]rue it not[x].

(*cp. first variant in* 𝔅) = 𝔊 ευδοκιαν (𝔏 benedictionem = ευλογιαν): 𝔅 *text* מענה 'an answer' [h–h] *v.* 15 *wanting in* 𝔖 [i–i] *So* 𝔅 (יפיקנה): 𝔊 εμπλησθησεται αυτου [j–j] 𝔅 ומתלהלה (*cp.* Prov. xxvi. 18: 'as a madman') 𝔊 και ο υποκρινομενος [k–k] 𝔅 *has this verse in two forms: the variant runs:* יראי ייי יבינו משפטו ‖ וכחמות רבות יוציאו מלבם: (*m.* וחכמות) = 𝔖 [l–l] *Reading first line as variant above:* 𝔊 οι φοβουμενοι κυριον ευρησουσιν κριμα (𝔅[1] ירא ייי יבין מִשפט) [m–m] 𝔅[1] ותחבולות מנשף יוציא (*l.* יוציאו): 𝔊 και δικαιωματα ως φως εξαψουσιν (*? a free rend. of* 𝔅[1]: *or possibly reading* כנשף יציתו): 𝔖 = 𝔅 *variant* (*see above*), *which may be a correction of the original* (*or paraphrase suggested* (*?*) *by a corrupt reading* מנפֹש *for* מנשף) [n–n] *Reading* איש חמס = 𝔊 ανθρωπος αμαρτωλος: 𝔅 איש חכם = 𝔖 [o–o] 𝔅 יטה תוכחות = 𝔊 εκκλινει ελεγμον ('reproof' *sing.*): 𝔖 'concealeth instruction' [p–p] 𝔅 ואחר צרכו ימשך תורה: 𝔊 και κατα το θελημα αυτου (= ? ואחר רצונו) ευρησει (248 εξευρισκει: *l.* ? ελκυσει [*Smend*]) συγκριμα: 𝔖 'and according to his will (= 𝔊) maketh his way' (*but l.* אוריתא *for* אורחו) [q–q] 𝔅 *has this verse in three forms; two in the text and one in the margin* (𝔅[1] 𝔅[2] 𝔅 *mg.*) [r–r] 𝔅 (*all three forms*) איש חכם = 𝔖: 𝔊 ανηρ βουλης (= ? איש עצה: *so Smend reads*) [s–s] *Reading* לא יכסה שכל (*Smend*): 𝔊 ου μη παριδῃ διανοημα (διανοημα = שכל): 𝔅[1] לא יכסה חכמה: 𝔅[2] לא יקח שחד: 𝔅 *mg.* לא יקח שכל: 𝔖 'will not leave wisdom when it is hidden' (*combining* παριδῃ *with* 𝔅[1]) [t–t] *Reading* ולץ with 𝔅[1]: 𝔊 αλλοτριος και υπερηφανος (*misreading* זר *as* זר) = זר ולץ (𝔅[2] *and* 𝔅 *mg.*); *but the sing. verb that follows* (יקח *or* יִשמר) *suggests that* זר *is an addition; the line ought also to begin with* ו: *so* 𝔖 (= ולץ) [u–u] *Reading* לא יקח תורה (*Smend*): 𝔅 *mg.* לא יקח מצוה: 𝔅[2] לא ישמר תורה: 𝔅[1] לא ישמר לשונו = 𝔖: 𝔊 ου καταπτηξει φοβον = ? לא יחת מורה (*? corruption of* לא יקח תורה) [*Peters reads line* 1: איש חכם לא יכחד שכל 'a wise man doth not dissemble wit': *in line* 2 *he follows* 𝔅[1] 'and a scorner guardeth not his tongue']. *At the end of v.* 18 𝔊 + και μετα το ποιησαι μετ αυτου ανευ βουλης (*but* 70 155 >; *and* א[c.a] *marks the words with an asterisk*); *the words have arisen from a correction of* 19 b; *as they stand they yield no sense* (ανευ βουλης *repetition of* 19 a) [v] 𝔏 Eth *praem.* fili [w–w] *Lit.* 'and after thy deed': 𝔅 ואחר מעשיך: 𝔊 και εν τῳ ποιησαι σε (248. 155 > σε): *lit.* και μετα το ποιησαι (*from end of previous verse*) = 𝔏 et post factum [x–x] 𝔅 אל תתקצף: 𝔊 μη μεταμελου (μετ αυτου *end of v.* 18 *has*

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15. **He that seeketh out the Law shall gain her.** Cp. iv. 12. The same Hebr. word (יפיקו) occurs in both passages, and 𝔊 renders in both passages 'shall be filled'. By 'seeking' (דורש) the Law is probably meant investigating it (searching out its meaning; cp. the technical use of the verb דרש in this sense in later Hebrew; also מדרש). Cp. Ps. cxix. 45.

the hypocrite. i.e. the man who is not in earnest about the Law or its fulfilment, and who therefore only pretends to be interested. Only those who love the Law will discover its secrets; cp. John vii. 17.

16. **They that fear Jahveh discern His judgement.** Cp. Prov. xxviii. 5.

And elicit guidance from the darkness. Knowledge of God's will, gained by the study of the revelation of it, will prove a beacon illuminating the darkness of life's journey. Possibly, as has been suggested, Ben-Sira has in mind the great lighthouse of Pharos off Alexandria, which he may have seen. For the idea cp. Prov. vi. 23; Ps. cxix. 105.

17. **The man of violence wresteth reproofs.** Cp. xxi. 6. He will accept no guidance.

And forceth the Law to suit his necessity. So 𝔅. In 𝔊 σύγκριμα = prob. משפט, i.e. 'justice'. In its original form 𝔊 may have suggested (reading ἑλκύσει for εὑρήσει): 'and will drag justice to suit his will.'

(*b*) XXXII. 18–24 (= 𝔊 XXXV. 18–24).

18. **A wise man will not conceal understanding, And a scorner . . .** Here 'conceal' apparently = 'let be concealed', let lie dormant; and the verse, as a whole, seems to mean: the wise man will take care to discover what course is demanded by prudence, and then to follow it; while 'the scorner', i.e. the proud, wicked man, obsessed by his own conceit, is not willing to receive advice ('instruction'). Illustrate the general idea from Prov. xii. 15 ('The way of the foolish is right in his own eyes; but he that is wise hearkeneth unto counsel'). The verse states a general principle which is illustrated in what follows (forethought and prudence is necessary before an effective course of action can be followed). The alternative for line 2 offered by 𝔅[1] (= 𝔖) is: 'And the scorner doth not guard his tongue,' i.e. is imprudent and reckless in speech; cp. Prov. xxi. 23 f. For 𝔊, the text of which is in much disorder, see critical note.

19. **Without counsel . . .** Cp. xxxvii. 16 (𝔊).

𝔅[B] 20 [y]In a way set with snares[y] walk not,
And stumble not [z]at an obstacle twice[z].
21 [ab]Be not careless[b] [c]in a way . . . . . .[c]
22 [d]And in thy paths be wary[da].
23 [ef]In all thy works guard thyself[f],
[g]For he that so doeth keepeth the commandment[ge].
24 [h]He that observeth the Law guardeth himself[h],
And he that trusteth in Jahveh [i]shall not be brought to shame[i].

(*c*) XXXIII. (XXXVI.) 1–3. *Loyalty to God's Law brings its own reward* (= 3 distichs).

33 1 Him that feareth Jahveh no evil befalleth,
But [j]in temptation[j] [k]<he shall again be delivered>[k].
2 [lm]He that hateth the law is not wise[m],
[n]And is tossed about <like a ship in a storm>[nl].
3 [o]A man of discernment [p]discerneth the Word[p],
[q]And the Law <is faithful unto him as the Urim>[qo].

arisen from μεταμελου) [y–y] 𝔅 בדרך מוקשת : 𝔊 εν οδῳ αντιπτωματος : 𝔖 'in a way of steepness' [z–z] 𝔅 בנגף פעמים : 𝔊 εν λιθωδεσιν : *l.* εν λιθῳ δις (*Hart*) = 𝔖 [a–a] 𝔅 *has these two lines in a double form* (𝔅[1] *and* 𝔅[2]) [b–b] 𝔅[1] *and* [2] אל תבטח = 𝔊 𝔖 [c–c] 𝔅[1] בדרך מחתף 'in the way of (?) the spoiler' : 𝔅[2] בדרך רשעים = 𝔖 : 𝔊 εν οδῳ απροσκοπῳ = ? בדרך מנגף (*so Peters reads*). [*In Rabbinic Heb.* תָּפוּחַ *occurs in the sense* 'round and smooth' : מְתֻפָּח *might have some such meaning* : 𝔅 *apparently corrupt*] [d–d] 𝔅[2] ובארחתך הזהר (*so read*) = 𝔖 : 𝔊 και απο των τεκνων σου φυλαξαι = ובאחריתך השמר (𝔅[1]) [e–e] 𝔅 *has this verse in a double form* (𝔅[1] *and* 𝔅[2]) [f–f] 𝔅[2] בכל מעשיך שמור נפשך (𝔅[1] דרכיך *for* מעשיך) : 𝔅[2] = 𝔖 : 𝔊 εν παντι εργῳ πιστευε τῃ ψυχῃ σου (? πιστευε *for* προσεχε : *cp.* 24 a) [g–g] *Reading* כי עושה זה שומר מצוה (= 𝔅[2]) : 𝔅[1] *has* "כי כל עושה אלה וגו = 𝔖 : 𝔊 και γαρ τουτο εστιν τηρησις εντολων (= ? כי זה שמור מצוה : *so Peters reads*) [h–h] 𝔅 נוצר תורה שומר נפשו : 𝔊 ο πιστευων (*cp. v.* 23) νομῳ (248 κυριῳ = 𝔏) προσεχει εντολαις : 𝔖 'he that keepeth his way keepeth the commandment of God' (*cp.* Prov. xvi. 17) [i–i] 𝔅 לא יבוש : 𝔊 ελαττωθησεται (= יחסר : *this may be right*) : 𝔖 'shall not perish for ever' [j–j] 𝔅 בניסוי (נִסָּיוֹן *a late Hebr. formation ; also again in* xliv. 20 : נִסָּיוֹן *is more common, e.g.* iv. 17, vi. 7, xiii. 11) [k–k] *Reading* ישוב יִמָּלֵט (*or* ושב ונמלט = 𝔖, *Smend*) : 𝔊 και παλιν εξελειται (𝔅 *defective*) [l–l] *v.* 2 *wanting in* 𝔖 [m–m] 𝔅 לא יחכם שונא תורה (*rightly*) : 𝔊 ανηρ σοφος ου μισησει νομον [n–n] *Reading* ומתמוטט במס[ער כאניה] (*Smend*) : 𝔊 ο δε υποκρινομενος εν αυτῳ (= ? ומתלהלה *cp.* xxxii. 15) ως εν καταιγιδι πλοιον [מסער = סערה 'storm' ; *a noun not otherwise attested*] [o–o] *v.* 3 *wanting in* 𝔖 [p–p] 𝔅 יבין דבר : 𝔊 ενπιστευσει νομῳ (νομος = דבר Ps. cxix. 57, 105) [q–q] 𝔅 . . . . . ותורתו : 𝔊 και ο νομος αυτῳ πιστος ως ερωτημα δηλων (*only* B δικαιων [ερωτημα *an explan. addition*]) = ותורה לו כאורים נאמנה (*so Peters, but without* לו) : *Smend* ותורה לו טטפת קשירת יד 'and the Law is for him an amulet, a band on the hand' [r–r] *v.* 4 *wanting in* 𝔖. *From here to* xxxv. 11 *there is a gap in the Hebrew MS. consisting of two leaves* (= *seventy-two lines*). *Here again* 𝔅 *apparently must have contained doublets.* [s–s] 𝔊 ετοιμασον λογον = הכין דבר [t–t] 𝔊 και ουτως = ובכן (*cp.* xxxii. 2) [u–u] 𝔊 ακουσθησῃ = ? והשמעת (*or* והשמיע) : 𝔊 ? *read Nif.* [v–v] 𝔊 συνδησον : 𝔏 et conservabit (= ? συντηρησον = 𝔅 ? צרר (*cp.* Isa. viii. 16)) [w–w] *Reading* και τοτε *with* 248 &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 (א 70 &c. και ουτως) : *cp.* ואחר xi. 7, xxxv. 1 [x–x] 𝔖 'like a swift wheel' : 𝔊 τροχος αμαξης (𝔏 quasi mota carri) : = ? כגלגל עגלה (*cp.* Isa. xxviii. 28) [y–y] 𝔊 σπλαγχνα μωρου [z–z] *Reading* כאופן חוזר : 𝔊 ως αξων στρεφομενος (αξων = אופן Exod. xiv. 25) : 𝔖 'like

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20. **And stumble not at an obstacle twice.** For the figure of the obstacle (stumbling-block) cp. Isa. viii. 14. The verse appears to mean: do not persist in a course beset with pitfalls; after stumbling at one obstacle, learn the lesson; be warned and do not run the risk of stumbling a second time.

21, 22. **Be not careless . . . be wary.** Repeating the general sentiment of the preceding verses. Possibly the corrupt word at the end of *v.* 21 meant 'smooth'; 'Be not careless in a way that is smooth'—a warning 'not to trust too much to the apparent ease and simplicity of a course' (Edersheim).

23. **In all thy works guard thyself . . . keepeth the commandment.** 'In the Rab. literature (T. B. *Berakoth* 32 *b*) the exposing of oneself to danger is regarded as a transgression of the Scriptural words (Deut. iv. 9): רק השמר לך ושמר נפשך ('Only take heed to thyself and keep [guard] thy soul [self]') (Schechter).

24. **He that observeth the Law . . .** Cp. Prov. xvi. 17, xix. 16 ('He that keepeth the commandment keepeth his soul'), xxii. 5. Good fortune and happiness are the reward of loyalty to the Law and its diligent observance. Therefore the observance of the Law appeals to the highest self-interest. This verse forms a natural transition to the paragraph that follows.

(*c*) XXXIII. 1–3 (= 𝔊 XXXVI. 1–3).

1. **no evil befalleth.** Cp. Job v. 19.
in temptation. Or 'trial'.
he shall again be delivered. viz. from the evil or misfortune that may threaten; cp. Prov. xii. 21.

2. **And is tossed about . . .** And so is likely to founder. For the figure cp. 4 Ezra xii. 42.

(*d*) XXXIII. (XXXVI.) 4–6. *Against thoughtlessness, especially in teaching* (=3 distichs).

𝔊 4 [rs]Prepare thy speech[s], [t]and so[t] [u]let it be heard[u];
[v]Bind up[v] instruction, [w]and then[w] reply[r].
𝔊 (𝔖) 5 [x]Like a cart-wheel[x] [y]is the mind of a fool[y],
And his thought [z]like a rolling wheel-rim[z].
6 [a]Like a saddled horse is the love of a fool[a];
Under [b]whatever rider[b] he neighs.

(*e*) XXXIII. (XXXVI.) 7–15. *Divine preferences in Nature and Man justified* (=3+2+2+2+2 distichs).

7 [c]Why is one day distinguished from another[c],
[d]When all daylight in the year is from the Sun[d]?
8 [e]By God's ‹great› wisdom[e] they were distinguished,
[f]And He differentiated[f] [g]seasons and feasts[g].
9 Some [h]He blessed and hallowed[h],
And others He made [i]ordinary days[i].

a pig [are all his thoughts]' *misreading* חוזר *as* חזיר [a–a] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 ιππος εις οχειαν (א[a] A.V. &c. οχειον: 307 ισοχιων: 253 Syro-Hex ισοχειος) ως φιλος μωκος (*but* א[c.a] *rightly* μωρος: *cp.* 𝔖): *for* μωκος V 70 *have* μοιχος (55 254 φιλομοιχος) [b–b] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 (*inexactly*) 'whoever loves him' [c–c] *So* 𝔖 (+'of the year' *after* 'day') = למה יש יום מיום פרוש (*Smend*): 𝔊 δια τι ημερα ημερας υπερεχει [d–d] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'seeing that all lights serve' (*misreading* משמש = 'from the Sun' *as* מְשַׁמֵּשׁ = 'serve') 'the days of the year' [e–e] *So* 𝔖 (*corrected*): 𝔊 εν γνωσει [f–f] 𝔊 και ηλλοιωσεν (= שִׁנָּה) [g–g] = עתים ומועדים [h–h] *So* 𝔖 (*cp.* Gen. ii. 3): 𝔊 ανυψωσεν και ηγιασεν (253 V Syro-Hex ηυλογησε και ανυψωσε) [i–i] 𝔊 εις αριθμον ημερων

(*d*) XXXIII. 4–6 (= 𝔊 XXXVI. 4–6). From the theme of the desirableness of pious study of the Law the writer here passes to the work of the Teacher of the Law. The good teacher will take care that oral instruction is preceded by careful preparation. As in the preceding subsection the point is emphasized by a contrast.

4. **Prepare thy speech . . .** Apparently the writer is thinking of the teacher who is answering questions.

Bind up instruction. Cp. Is. viii. 16. 'The metaphor is from provisions for a journey that are packed up' (Edersheim). The subject to be taught should have been well thought out beforehand—made compact, and preserved for future use.

and then. i. e. and only then.

5. **Like a cart-wheel . . .** A contrast. The mind of a 'fool', i. e. an uninstructed person (the exact opposite of the type described in *v.* 4), is 'like a cart-wheel', i. e. has no fixed convictions, but changes constantly like a wheel that is ever revolving.

6. **Like a saddled horse is the love of a fool . . .** Not only the mind, but also the affections of a 'fool' are equally uncertain. Just as the saddled horse, in the joy of free movement and exercise, cares not who rides him, but neighs to signalize his exhilaration; so the careless 'fool' is indifferent as to the object on which (or on whom) he lavishes his transient affections. On the other hand, the pious are particularly careful to cultivate only the society of the pious, and to shun that of evil-doers. 𝔊 (cf. R.V. and critical note) has misunderstood the verse.

(*e*) XXXIII. 7–15 (= 𝔊 XXXVI. 7–15). God in His unfathomable wisdom has willed that creation should be organized in a series of opposites and contrasts. In themselves all men, so far as their creation is concerned, are on a level, just as all the days of the year derive their light equally from a common source, the Sun; but just as God has distinguished some days (the festivals and holy-days) from others, so has He distinguished some men from others—notably (the writer implies) Israel from the heathen nations. The passage, as Smend suggests, was probably directed primarily against the Hellenists, who were striving to break down distinctions between Israel and the outside world, at the time when he wrote. For the passage as a whole cp. 4 Ezra v. 23 f., and the following from the Midrash (*Tanch.* on Numbers נשא): 'Out of certain classes of things God has chosen one. Of days the seventh was chosen and sanctified. Of years, too, the seventh was chosen as the sabbatical year; and out of seven sabbatical years one was selected as the jubilee. Of countries God made choice of Palestine. Of the heavens Araboth (i. e. the highest of the seven heavens) was chosen for God's throne. Of nations Israel was the choice; and of the tribes of Israel that of Levi.' See further the *Midr. rab.* on Cant. ii. 1. The following passage from *Midr. Tanch.* (already referred to above) is cited by Cowley-Neubauer, p. xxvi (Exodus, תרומה ג, p. 109 *b*; cp. also T.B. *Sanhedrin* 65 *b*): 'Turnus Rufus asked this question of R. Aqiba, and said to him: Why is one day different from another? He said to him: And why is one man different from another? He said to him: Because the Lord wills; and the Sabbath also is because the Lord wills.'

7. **Why is one day distinguished from another.** viz. in length, according to Ryssel (see 7 *b*); but it is more natural to suppose that the distinctions of holy and profane are referred to, which are worked out in what follows. Note that the days are regarded as real entities (cf. Job iii).

8. **By God's great wisdom.** The answer to all questions is: God has so willed, and His will is unfathomable: 'they were separated by a divine decree' (Edersheim). Cp. the Midrash extract cited above.

9. **He blessed and hallowed.** Cf. Gen. ii. 3 (of the Sabbath).

others He made ordinary days. 'Lit. "He put into the number of days"; i. e. days distinguished by nothing further than their "number" (in the month or year). In this use of the word signifying "number", the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages agree' (Edersheim).

𝔊 (𝔖) 10 [j]Likewise also[j] all men [k]are made from the clay[k],
And Adam was created [l]of earth[l].
11 [m]In His great wisdom[m] God distinguished them,
And differentiated [n]their ways[n].
12 Some He blessed and exalted,
And others He hallowed [o]and brought nigh to Himself[o];
[p]Some He cursed [q]and abased[q],
[r]And overthrew them[r] [s]from their place[s].
13 [t]As the clay is in the power of the potter[t],
[u]To fashion it[u] according to his good pleasure;
[v]So is man[v] in the power [w]of his creator[w],
[x]To make him according to His ordinance[x].
14 Over against evil (stands)[y] the good, and against death[y] life;
[z]Likewise over against the godly[y] the sinner[z].
15 [a]Even thus look upon all the works of God[a],
[b]Each different[b], one the opposite of the other.

(*f*) XXXIII. 16–18 (XXXVI. 16 *a*, XXX. 25–27). *Ben Sira's right to give instruction asserted* (= 2 + 2 distichs).

16 [c]I, indeed[c], [d]came last of all[d],
(xxx. 25) [e]As one that gleaneth[e] after the grape-gatherers:

[j–j] *So* 𝔖 = וגם: 𝔊 *και* [k–k] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *απο εδαφους* [l–l] 𝔊 *εκ γης*: 𝔖 'of dust' [m–m] 𝔊 *εν πληθει επιστημης*: 𝔖 *renders as in v.* 8 *above* [n–n] 𝔊 *τας οδους αυτων*: 𝔖 '[and He made them] inhabitants of the earth' (*? confusing* ארחותם *and* ארצותם; *cp.* 1 Kings xviii. 6, LXX [*Smend*]) [o–o] 𝔊 *και προς αυτον ηγγισεν* (= ואליו הגיע): 𝔖 'and they attained unto Him' (= הגיעו ואליו) [p] 296 (= 𝔏 𝔖) *praem.* *και* [q–q] 𝔊 *και εταπεινωσεν*: 𝔖 'and overthrew' [r–r] 𝔊 *και ανεστρεψεν* (157 *ανετρεψεν*) *αυτους*: 𝔖 'and rooted them out' [s–s] 𝔊 *απο στασεως αυτων* (= ? ממצבם *or* ממעדם: *so Smend*): 𝔏 a separatione ipsorum (= A *απο αποστασεως αυτων*): 𝔖 'from their habitations' (= ? ממושבם) [t–t] 𝔊 *ως πηλος κεραμεως εν χειρι αυτου* (𝔖 *supports* 'in the hand of the potter') [u–u] *Reading with* 70 *πλασαι αυτο* (*αυτον*): *cp.* 𝔏 plasmare illud et disponere (+omnes viae eius); *a doublet: the ordinary reading of* 𝔊 *πασαι αι οδοι αυτου is a corruption of the true reading* [𝔖 *combines* 13 a *and* b *thus*: 'as the clay, which is fashioned in the hand of the potter'] [v–v] *Reading* *ουτως ανθρωπος* 248 = 𝔏 𝔖; *other MSS. of* 𝔊 *ουτως ανθρωποι* [w–w] *του ποιησαντος αυτον* 248 (*other MSS.* *αυτους*) [x–x] 𝔊 *αποδουναι αυτοις κατα την κρισιν αυτου* (*last three words* = כמשפטו): 𝔖 'to set him over all his works' (*misreading* כמשפטו *as* במעשיו: *the whole line in* 𝔅 *prob. ran*: לשים אתו כמשפטו) [y, y, y] 𝔖 + 'is created' *in each case* (*an unnecessary addition*) [z–z] 𝔊 *ουτως απεναντι ευσεβους αμαρτωλος* (248 70 Syro-Hex 253 V *ουτως απεναντι* [*του*] *αμαρτωλου* [*ο*] *ευσεβης*): 𝔖 'and over against light was created darkness' [a–a] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'so hath God manifested all His works' (*? confusion of* חוה *and* חזה: *so Smend*) [b–b] 𝔊 *δυο δυο* (= ? שנים שנים) = 𝔖; *cp.* xlii. 24 [c–c] 𝔊 *καγω*: 𝔖 (*one reading*) 'and I also' (= וגם־אני) [d–d] 𝔊 *εσχατος ηγρυπνησα*: 𝔖 'came last' (אחרית אתית) = ? באחרית בָּתִי (𝔊 ? *misunderstood* בִּתִּי (*from* בות); *it* = בָּאתִי *as* 𝔖 *renders: so Edersheim*) [e–e] 𝔊 *ως καλαμωμενος* = ? כמעולל [f–f] 𝔊 *εφθασα* = קדמתי ('I went ahead'): 𝔖 'I stood' (= קמתי): 𝔏 speravi (= ? קויתי) *or emend to* superavi (*Bretschneider*) [g–g] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *ληνον*

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10. **Likewise also all men are made from the clay.** Cp. Job x. 9.

11. **In His great wisdom.** i.e. for reasons known only to Himself; they are beyond the human mind to fathom.
their ways. i.e. their destinies (Smend).

12. **Some He blessed . . . others He hallowed . . .** Israel and the priesthood (within Israel) are referred to (Smend). For the phraseology cp. Num. xvi. 5 f. It was the special privilege of the priests to 'come near' (cp. 'bring nigh' in 12 *b*) to God; cp. Ezek. xl. 46, xlii. 13, xlv. 4.

Some He cursed and abased . . . The heathen nations outside Israel, regarded in the lump, are apparently referred to, especially, however, those (in Canaan) that were overthrown by Israel: cp. Gen. ix. 25–27.

13. **As the clay is in the power** (lit. hand) **of the potter . . .** For the figure cp. Jer. xviii. 4, and its application by St. Paul in Rom. ix. 21.

To make him according to His ordinance. For the text see critical note. 𝔊 ('to render to him according to his judgement') misunderstands the original, and introduces an alien thought.

15. **Even thus look upon all the works of God.** Cp. *Qohel.* vii. 13 ('Consider the work of God: for who can make that straight which He hath made crooked?').

Each different. Or 'two and two' (𝔊 𝔖); cp. xlii. 24.

(*f*) XXXIII. 16–18 (= 𝔊 XXXVI. 16 *a*, XXX. 25–27). Although he comes last in the succession of teachers Ben-Sira asserts his right to be heard. He is conscious that what he has to say has been gleaned largely from predecessors; but his labour has been directed towards one end—to select and gather together what is most important for practical wisdom in the affairs of life. Therefore the leaders of the people ought to pay close attention to his message. For the general idea cp. xxiv. 30 ff.

16. **came last of all.** sc. of the wise. 𝔊 *ηγρύπνηστα* might mean 'I was studious', i.e. strove by study to acquire wisdom; Wisd. vi. 16.

𝔊 [f]I advanced[f] by the blessing of God,
And filled [g]my winepress[g] as a grape-gatherer.
17 (xxx. 26) [h]Consider that not for myself alone have I laboured,
[i]But[i] for all that seek [j]wisdom[j h]!
𝔊 (𝔖) 18 (xxx. 27) Listen [k]unto me[k], ye leaders [l]of the people[l],
And ye rulers of the congregation, give ear!

(*g*) XXXIII. 19–23 (XXX. 28–32). *Against surrendering one's independence to others* (= 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

19 (xxx. 28) To son or wife, to brother or friend,
Give no power over thyself while thou livest;
[m]And give not thy goods [n]to another[n]
[o]So as to have to ask for them again[o m].
20 (xxx. 29) Whilst thou art yet alive and breath remaineth in thee,
[p]Give not any creature power over thyself[p].
21 (xxx. 30) For it is better that thy children ask of thee
[q]Than that thou shouldst look to the hand of thy sons[q].
22 (xxx. 31) In all thy works [r]remain uppermost[r],
And[s] [t]let no stain come on thine honour[t].
23 (xxx. 32) When[u] the days of thy life are ended,
[u]In the day[u] of death, [v]distribute thine inheritance[v].

(*h*) XXXIII. 24–31 (XXX. 33–40). *On the treatment of subordinates* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 distichs).

24 (xxx. 33) [w]Fodder[x] and stick and burdens[y] for an ass,
[z]Bread and discipline[z] and work for a servant!

h–h *v.* 17 *wanting in* 𝔖 i–i 𝔊 αλλα (+ και ℵ^ca) i–j C 155 296 σοφιαν: *other MSS.* παιδειαν k–k *So* 𝔊 𝔖 (*but* 248 > μου) l–l 𝔊 λαου: *but* 55 254 λαων = 𝔖: *cp.* 𝔏 et omnes populi m–m 𝔖 *transposes these clauses so as to make them follow the next verse* (20) n–n 𝔖 'to others' = 𝔏 (*Cod. Amiat.* aliis); *so* Syro-Hex o–o 𝔖 'to return and beg from them': 𝔊 ινα μη μεταμεληθεις δεῃ περι αυτων (μεταμεληθεις *prob. a false transl. of* לשוב; *so Smend*) p–p *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 μη αλλαξῃς σεαυτον (= 'sell not thyself') πασῃ σαρκι: 𝔏 non immutabit se omnis caro q–q 𝔖 (*freely*) 'than that thou shouldst beg from them' r–r *So* 𝔖 Sah = C (γινου υπερανω) = היה למעלה (Deut. xxviii. 13): B υπεραγων s *So* 248 70 Syro-Hex א^c.a 𝔖; *others* > t–t 𝔊 μη δως μωμον εν τῃ δοξῃ σου u + u–u 𝔊 εν ημερᾳ . . . εν καιρῳ: *transpose with* 𝔖 v–v 𝔊 διαδος κληρονομιαν (= חנחל נחלה *cp.* Is. xlix. 8): 𝔖 'cause thy sons to inherit thy money' w *Certain MSS.* (248 &c.) *pr. tit.* περι δουλων (𝔏 de disciplina servorum) x 𝔊 χορτασματα (A 254 Sah χορτασμα = 𝔖) = מספא y *So* 𝔊: 𝔏 onus = 𝔖 z–z 𝔖 *transposes*

Here (in the middle of *v.* 16) occurs the great transposition in the Greek MSS. and the versions derived from the Greek. See further note on xxx. 24–25.

I advanced. viz. in wisdom. The Hebrew word (קדמתי = ἔφθασα) means 'I went to meet', 'anticipated'. The author attributes this advance to the grace of God ('by the blessing of God').

as a grape-gatherer. Ben-Sira here explicitly affirms his indebtedness to previous teachers. For the figure cp. Isa. xxiv. 13.

17. **Consider . . . wisdom.** = xxiv. 34.

18. **Listen unto me, ye leaders of the people . . .** For the address to rulers cp. xlv. 26; others, of course, are included: cp. Matt. xiii. 9, &c. ('He that hath ears to hear, let him hear'), and the similar passages in Rev. ii. 7, 17, 29, iii. 6, &c.

(*g*) XXXIII. 19–23 (= 𝔊 XXX. 28–32).

19. **Give no power over thyself.** So as to become dependent on them.

20. **Give not any creature power over thyself.** Ryssel thinks that 𝔊 (see critical note) = אַל־תְּמֵר נַפְשְׁךָ בְּכָל־בָּשָׂר, 'exchange not thyself with any flesh', i.e. do not allow any other person during thy lifetime to usurp thy place: following Edersheim he suggests that 𝔖 misinterpreted תְּמֵר by the Aram. מרא 'lord'.

21. **look to the hand of thy sons.** Cp. xl. 29 ('A man that looketh to a stranger's table'); Ps. cxxiii. 2 ('Behold, as the eyes of servants (look) unto the hand of their master'). Cp. the saying preserved in *Aboth de R. Nathan* (90 *a*): 'If a man eat of the property of his father or of his mother or of his children, his mind is not established; much more when he eateth of the property of others' (cited by Edersheim).

22. **And let no stain come on thine honour.** As would probably be the case in a position of dependence; for the expression cp. xviii. 15, xliv. 19.

23. **In the day of death, distribute thine inheritance.** In the so-called *Second Alphabet of Ben-Sira* the saying occurs in the following form: 'Hide, my son, thy wealth in thy life and conceal it; and to thy heirs give it not till the day of thy death.' Note that the dying man is to distribute the patrimony; written testamentary dispositions were apparently not usual (Smend).

(*h*) XXXIII. 24–31 (= 𝔊 XXX. 33–40).

24. **Fodder and stick . . .** Cp. Prov. xxvi. 3 ('A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the back of

𝔊(𝔖) 25 (xxx. 34) [a]Put thy servant to work[a], [b]and he will seek rest[b];
[c]Leave his hands idle[c], and he will seek liberty!
26 (xxx. 35) [d]Yoke and thong bow down the neck,
And for an evil servant (there are) [e]stocks and chastisement.[ed]
27 (xxx. 36) [f]Put thy servant to work[f], [g]that he be not idle[g];
(xxx. 37) For [h]idleness[h] teacheth much mischief.
28 (xxx. 38) [i]Appoint him (a task) in thy house[i] such as befitteth him,
And if he obey not [j]make his fetters heavy[j].
29 [k]But be not overbearing[k] against any creature,
And do nothing [l]that is without right[l].

30 (xxx. 39) [m]Hast thou an only servant[m], let him be as [n]thyself[n]—
[o]For [p]thou hast need of him as thy very self[po].
31 [m]Hast thou an only servant[m], treat him as [q]thy brother[q]—
[or]Be not jealous against thy very life[ro]!

[a–a] 𝔊 εργασαι εν παιδι = עבד בעבד: 𝔖 > (*by homoioteleuton*) [b–b] *So* 248 και ζητησει αναπαυσιν = 𝔏 (𝔖 'and give him no rest'): B &c. και ευρησεις κτλ. [c–c] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'if thou raise his head' (*? reading* הָרֵם *for* הָרֶף) [d–d] 𝔖 > [e–e] 𝔊 στρεβλαι και βασανοι = ? מהפכת ויסורין: στρεβλωτηριον (Symm.) = מהפכת Jer. xx. 2: βασανιζειν = יסר iv. 17 (*Smend*) [f–f] *So* 𝔖 = עבד בעבדך: 𝔊 εμβαλε αυτον εις εργασιαν [g–g] *So* 𝔊 = ולא(פן) יְעַצֵּל [h–h] 𝔊 αργια = עַצְלָה [i–i] 𝔖 'give him power in thine house' = ? הפקידהו בביתך (*Smend*): 𝔊 εις εργα καταστησον (+ αυτον 𝔏 Syro-Hex) [j–j] 𝔊 βαρυνον τας πεδας αυτου (> αυτου א* A C &c.): 307 βαρυνον ταις πεδαις *cp.* 𝔏 curva illum compedibus [k–k] 𝔊 και μη περισσευσης = ואל־תותיר (*Smend*), *or better, perhaps, a misreading by* 𝔊 (תותיר) *for* תתיהר (*in Neo-Hebr.* = 'be boastful', 'overbearing', *cp.* יהיר Prov. xxi. 24) [l–l] 𝔊 ανευ κρισεως = בלא משפט: 𝔖 'which is not in the Law' [m–m] 𝔖 'If one is thy servant': 𝔊 ει (*read* εις) εστιν σοι οικετης [n–n] 𝔊 συ (*but* 248 = 𝔏 η ψυχη σου) [o–o] *In* 𝔊 *these clauses are transposed; the order adopted above is supported by* 𝔖 [p–p] 𝔊 ως η ψυχη σου επιδεησεις αυτῳ: 𝔖 'like thee is thy loss' (𝔅 *read* תחסרהו *or* חסרונו: *so Smend*) [q–q] *Reading* αδελφον (*for* σεαυτον B) *with* א A C &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 𝔖 [r–r] 𝔊 οτι εν αιματι εκτησω (= תקנה) αυτον: 𝔖 'do not fight against the blood of thy soul' = ? אל תקנא בדם נפשך (*so read*)

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fools'). For 'discipline' in the second line the Armenian has 'the lash', which may be a correct interpretation of 'discipline' here; it corresponds to 'stick' in line 1. Cp. Prov. xxix. 19.

25. **Put thy servant to work.** Lit. 'work with thy servant'; cp. xiii. 4 ('make a slave of').

Leave his hands idle = הרף לו, which 𝔖 misread הָרֵם לו (so Edersheim).

26. **Yoke and thong bow down the neck.** The terms are applicable to a beast of burden, which is, no doubt, in the writer's mind. The word rendered 'thong' (ἱμάς) or 'strap' refers probably to some sort of rough harness. In Isa. v. 18 and Job xxxix. 10 it = עבות 'cord'—in the latter passage the cord or band by which an animal is controlled ('Canst thou bind the wild-ox with his band in the furrow?'). For the phrase 'bow down the neck' cp. vii. 23 𝔊.

stocks and chastisement. For the 'stocks' (מהפכת) cp. Jer. xx. 3, xxix. 26; 2 Chron. xvi. 10. It was an instrument of punishment which compelled a *crooked* posture, or *distorting* (הפך) apparently, and, though not recognized in the Law, is referred to (with the 'collar' or manacle [צינק] and the 'fetters' [see *v.* 28 below]) as a method of disciplining disobedient servants and other refractory persons. All these restrained personal liberty. By 'chastisement' (יסורים) probably scourging is meant. The right of a master to inflict excessive punishment was, however, limited by the Law, even in the case of non-Israelitish slaves; and the sabbath rest was a humane institution by which they benefited (cf. Exod. xxi. 26 f., xxiii. 12; Deut. v. 12 f.). It must be borne in mind that the case contemplated in our text is that of the '*evil* servant'.

27. **For idleness teacheth much mischief.** Illustrate from 2 Thess. iii. 11.

28. **make his fetters heavy.** Cp. for the phrase Lam. iii. 7 ('He hath made my chain heavy').

29. **be not overbearing.** The Hebr. text underlying 𝔊 is usually supposed to mean 'be not excessive' (אל־תותר), sc. in punishment; for another view see critical note. In any case the rights even of foreign-born slaves were safeguarded in the Law. Thus if a master struck his slave so as to cause the loss of an eye or tooth, the slave was to be free; if death resulted on the same day the deed was avenged as a murder, but not if it ensued on a subsequent day (cf. Exod. xxi. 20, 21, 26, 27). A fugitive slave, according to Deut. xxiii. 15, 16, was not to be delivered up to his master by those among whom he had taken refuge.

without right. i. e. contrary to the Law.

30. **an only servant.** For the reading cp. critical note. This reading explains the apparent contradiction between the advice given in this and the following verse and the section that immediately precedes. For the transposition of clauses *b* and *d* see critical note.

31. **Be not jealous against thy very life.** The original text probably ran אל תקנא בדם נפשך, lit. 'be not jealous against the blood of thy soul (or thyself)'; 'blood' = life according to Gen. ix. 3 f. and other passages. 𝔖 renders: 'and fight not with the blood of thy soul,' i. e. with thine own blood—a rendering of the same text, probably. Smend, following Drusius and other scholars, supposes 'with the blood' here to represent בְּדָמֵי, and explains this expression from the Aramaic sense of דמין = 'worth' or 'price': then the line may be interpreted: 'for in him thou possessest one worth thy very self': cp. A.V. (*v.* 30) 'because thou hast bought him with a price.'

𝔊 (𝔖) (xxx. 40) If thou treat him ill, [s]and he proceed to run away[s],
On what way shalt thou find him?

(*a*) XXXIV. (XXXI.) 1–8. *The vanity of dreams and divinations* (= 3 + 1 + 3 + 1 distichs).

34 𝔖 1 [a]He who seeketh vanity findeth delusion,[a]
𝔊 [b]And dreams elate fools[b].
2 As one catching at a shadow [c]and pursuing the wind[c],
So is [d]he that trusteth[d] [e]in dreams[c].
𝔖 3 [f]Alike are mirror and dream[f],
[g]The likeness of a face opposite a face[g].
4 [h]From the unclean what can be clean[h],
And from the false what can be true?
5 Divinations and soothsayings and dreams are vain;
Even [i]as thou hopest (so) seeth thy heart[i].

[s–s] 𝔊 *και απαρας αποδρᾳ*: 𝔖 'and he goes and gets lost' (נפוק נאבד) = ? והלך וברח

[a–a] *So* 𝔖 (*cp. v.* 2 a): 𝔊 *κεναι αι ελπιδες και ψευδεις ασυνετῳ ανδρι*: 𝔏 *has sing.* (vana spes et mendacium) [b–b] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'and a dream is a vain delight' (? = תענוג הבל *for* הרגיעו נבל(ים)) [c–c] *So* 𝔊 (*ανεμον* B, *ανεμους* 248 347 *Compl.*): 𝔖 'and as one startling a bird' [d–d] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *ο επεχων* (𝔏 qui attendit ad) [e–e] *So* 𝔊: 𝔏 visa mendacia: 𝔖 'to the vision of the night' [f–f] 𝔖 'thus is the vision' (= מראה *mirror*) 'and dream of the night': 𝔊 *τουτο κατα τουτο* (*so* א *et al* Syro-Hex 𝔏 Syr Sah: *but* B *κατα τουτου*) *ορασις ενυπνιων* (*τουτο κατα τουτο* = זה כזה *i.e.* 'like one another [are]', &c.): 𝔏 = 𝔊 (hoc secundum hoc, &c.) [g–g] *So* 𝔊 (*κατεναντι προσωπου ομοιωμα προσωπου*): 𝔏 ante faciem hominis similitudo hominis: 𝔖 'opposite a person (פרזופא) the likeness of a face' [h–h] *So* 𝔏: 𝔊 = מטמא מי יִטַהֵר (יִטַהֵר = *καθαρισθησεται*: *but read* יִטְהַר = *καθαρευσει cp.* *αληθευσει next clause: so Ryssel*): 𝔖 *has* 'and from the head of his people' = מראש עמו *misread from* מרשע מה 'it (*the dream*) expels innocency': 𝔖 *points to a Hebr. text* (?) ומרשע מה יזכה, 'out of wickedness what can be pure?' (*a variant on text underlying* 𝔊) [*Edersh., Ryssel suggest* צדק *for* יזכה *in Syr. variant*] [i–i] 𝔊 *ως ωδινουσης φανταζεται καρδια* (= ? כמו תחיל יוֹרֶה לבך: *cp.* Isa. xxvi. 17, LXX: *read* כמו תוחיל יראה לבך:

If thou treat him ill . . . 𝔖 renders: 'because if thou afflict him he will go away and perish (or get lost); and by what way shalt thou find him?' The runaway slave could not be recovered (see on *v.* 29 above).

XXXIV. 1—XXXVI. 16 (= 𝔊 XXXI. 1—XXXIII. 13 *a*; XXXVI. 16 *b*–22). This division falls into six subsections, viz.: (*a*) xxxiv. 1–8; (*b*) xxxiv. 9–17; (*c*) xxxiv. 18–26; (*d*) xxxv. 1–11; (*e*) xxxv. 12–20; (*f*) xxxvi. 1–17. Its themes embrace a disquisition on the vanity of dreams, the practical value of true wisdom, acceptable and unacceptable sacrifice, the efficacy of the prayers of the oppressed, and, in conclusion, a prayer is set forth to God for His people.

XXXIV = (XXXI). Three of these subsections are included in chap. xxxiv, viz.: (*a*) xxxiv. (xxxi.) 1–8; (*b*) xxxiv. 9–17 (= xxxi. 9–20); (*c*) xxxiv. 18–26 (= xxxi. 21–31). The theme of (*a*) is the futility of dreams, divinations, and soothsayings as sources of knowledge; with this the writer contrasts (*b*) the outcome of his own much-travelled experience, viz. that nothing can exceed in practical value, for the stress of life, the possession of true wisdom and the fear of the Lord; in (*c*) he turns to another subject, the ineffectiveness of sacrifices unaccompanied by a proper spirit and true repentance (this is continued in xxxv. 1–11 [= 𝔊 xxxii. 1–13] by a paragraph on acceptable sacrifice).

(*a*) XXXIV. (𝔊 XXXI.) 1–8. In his strong repudiation of belief in dreams Ben-Sira is much in advance of his time. Even the later Rabbis failed to reach so discriminating a standard, belief in the efficacy of dreams being practically universal among them. 'The Jews of antiquity held almost the same views regarding dreams as did other ancient peoples' (*JE*, iv. 837). False divination is denounced in Jer. xxviii. 8: cp. *Qohel.* v. 6 (Hebr. v. 7).

1. **He who seeketh vanity findeth delusion.** So 𝔖. 𝔊 has 'A man without understanding hath vain and false hopes'. The aphoristic style of 𝔖 here is probably more original. For thought cp. *v.* 2 *a*.

dreams elate fools. For the variant of 𝔖 here ('A dream is a vain delight') cp. the dictum of R. Simon b. Yochai (2nd cent. A.D.): 'As there is no grain without chaff, so there is no dream without vain things.' The Greek *ἀναπτεροῦν* = 'to furnish with wings': then, metaph. 'to excite, elate'. It may here represent הרגיע (in Cant. vi. 4 it = הרהיב).

2. **pursuing the wind.** Cp. Hos. xii. 2 (xii. 1 Hebr.). 𝔖 ('as one startling a bird') is probably interpolated from xxvii. 18: cp. Prov. ix. 12 LXX.

3. **Alike are mirror and dream.** Dream and mirror are alike in this, that the image in both is a mere reflection as contrasted with the reality. There may be the further idea that as a mirror merely reflects what is placed opposite it, so a dream merely portrays what is read into it. It may be made to mean anything. 𝔏 ('hoc secundum hoc visio somnorum') can only = 'all dreams are alike'.

4. **From the unclean what can be clean.** Cp. Job xiv. 4.

5. **Divinations . . .** The Latin qualifies the terms employed ('divinations, soothsayings, dreams'): 'divinatio erroris, auguria mendacia, somnia malefacientium,' 'reserving the rights of legitimate divination' (Hart): cp. *v.* 6.

as thou hopest . . . The emended text yields an excellent sense. 𝔊 is rendered by R. V.: 'And the heart fancieth, as a woman's in travail,' i.e. is the victim of manifold self-delusions. The physical phenomenon alluded to is often referred to by ancient writers.

𝔖 6 [j]If they be not sent from the Most High providentially[j],
Do thou pay them no heed.
7 [k]For many there are that have been led astray by dreams[k],
𝔊 [l]And through placing their hopes thereon have fallen[l].
8 [m]Without deceit shall the Law be fulfilled[m],
[n]And wisdom is perfect in a mouth that is faithful[n].

(*b*) XXXIV. 9–17 (XXXI. 9–20). *The practical value of true Wisdom* (= 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 distichs).

9 [o]An (experienced man) knoweth much,
And (one that is well versed)[o] [p]declareth understanding[p].
10 He that is without experience knoweth little,
(11) But [q]the well-versed[q] hath much [r]skill[r].

cp. Smend): 𝔖 'he that trusteth in them his heart is there' (248 *has* φανταζεται σου η καρδια: *so* 𝔏) [j–j] 𝔊 εαν μη παρα Υψιστου αποσταλη εν επισκοπη (א A C): + σου (248): επισκοπη (> εν) 106 = 𝔏 nisi ab Altissimo fuerit emissa visitatio: *so* Arm: *cp.* 𝔖 'even though it be ordained of God to err in thoughts of the night' [k–k] 𝔖 *lit.* 'for many there are that have missed their way (טעו אורחא) in a dream': 𝔊 (C &c.) πολλους (+ γαρ A 248 *et al.* Syro-Hex 𝔏 𝔖) επλανησε τα ενυπνια [l–l] *So* 𝔊 𝔏: 𝔖 'and have stumbled in their paths' [m–m] *So* 𝔊 𝔏 (verbum legis): 𝔖 'where there is no sin God is well pleased' (*Heb.* ? בלא שקר *misunderstood by* 𝔖: *so Ryssel*) [n–n] 𝔊 και σοφια στοματι πιστῳ (πιστων 253 296 308: *cp.* 𝔏 in ore fidelis) τελειωσις = וחכמה לפה שנאמן בליל ? (*cp. Ryssel*): 𝔖 'the wisdom of the ungodly at night is believed' = חכמה לַפּשֵׁעַ נאמנה בליל[ה] (*so Ryssel*) [o–o] 𝔊 ανηρ πεπαιδευμενος (*v. l.* א A *vid.* 248 347 &c. Syro-Hex πεπλανημενος) εγνω πολλα, και ο πολυπειρος: 𝔏 vir in multis expertus (= ανηρ πολυπειρος) cogitabit multa, et qui multa didicit (= και ο πεπαιδευμενος) *transposing the two Gk. words* [*in* xxi. 22 (25) ανθρωπος πολυπειρος *is rendered by* 𝔏 homo peritus: *in* xxi. 23 (26) ανηρ πεπαιδευμενος *by* vir eruditus]: *so* 𝔖 *which renders*: 'a wise man' (גברא חכימא = ανηρ πολυπειρος, *cp.* xxxvi. 25, xxi. 22) 'examines much, and the diligent man' (𝔖 כשיר [*so read*] = *Heb.* רגיל) *This would point to an original Hebrew text:*

. . . . . (*cp.* xxxvi. 25) איש וָתִיק
וְרָגִיל . . . . . .

רגיל (= 'used to', 'well versed in', *parallel in meaning to* ותיק) *prob. gave rise to the variant reading* πεπλανημενος = 'travelled' (= רגיל *regarded as passive part of* רָגַל) [p–p] *So* 𝔊, 𝔏 (enarrabit intellectum): 𝔖 'searcheth out everything' [q–q] 𝔊 ο δε πεπλανημενος, *so* C 248 &c.: πεπαιδευμενος 55 106 157 254 (*variant renderings of* רגיל *as in v.* 9): 𝔏 in multis factus est (= ? πληθυνομενος, *corruption of* πεπλανημενος): 𝔖 'he who is tried (experienced)' (דנסי) [r–r] 𝔊 πανουργιαν = ערמה: 𝔏 malitiam (nequitia) = רעה: 𝔖 'wisdom' [*vv.* 9 a, 10, 11 *in* 𝔏 = *doublets*] [s–s] *So* 𝔊 𝔏: 𝔖 'when I tried (gathered experience)' [t–t] 𝔖 = ורבים דברים באוני: *this is confirmed by* 𝔏 *which has* et plurimas verborum consuetudines (consuetudines = συνηθειας, *a corruption ? of*

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6. **If they** (i.e. dreams) **be not sent from the Most High providentially** (ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ, 'as a visitation'). The writer here makes an exception of God-given dreams, of which many are referred to in the O. T. The 𝔏, 'unless a visitation be sent from the Most High' (which may represent the true text), apparently means: unless the dream be followed by some definite and practical consequences, pay no heed to it—a good working precept which accords well with Ben-Sira's general view of the matter.

7. **through placing their hopes thereon have fallen.** For the phrase cp. 𝔊 xiv. 2.

8. **Without deceit shall the Law be fulfilled.** i.e. without the aid of such false and delusive *media* as dreams and divinations the Law will be realized (i.e. its threats and promises, dependent upon obedience or disobedience to its precepts, shall be realized): so Ryssel. Or the sentence might mean: those who practise the Law can and should fulfil its precepts without resort to such means (which, indeed, are contrary to it). Edersheim makes 'without deceit' = 'by telling the truth'—a harsh and strained construction.

wisdom is perfect in a mouth that is faithful. i.e. wisdom is only then perfect when it is allied with truthfulness. ('A mouth that is faithful and true': so Ryssel.) 'Wisdom when combined with sincerity is perfect' (Edersheim). Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 26. 24, *Paed.* 441 cites the clause in the form: σοφία στόματι πιστῶν (without τελείωσις, cp. 𝔏). [For the equation of Law and wisdom cp. chap. xxiv, and see Introd. § 9, ii and iii.]

(*b*) XXXIV. 9–17 (= 𝔊 XXXI. 9–20). The writer in this subsection proceeds to enlarge on the benefit of true wisdom and sound piety, as shown in his own wide experience of life.

9. **An experienced man . . . one that is well versed.** The context shows that the writer is referring to experience gained in the school of life, especially by travel (cp. *v.* 11). Edersheim thinks skill in practice in the arts or sciences is meant (cp. *v.* 10 *b*).

10. **the well-versed.** For the reading (= Hebr. רגיל) see critical notes. 𝔖 'one who is tried' (in the school of experience) gives the sense well: cp. also 𝔏. [Against the view that נסע and נסה have been confused in original Hebrew here see Ryssel.]

𝔊 11 (12) [s]In my journeying[s] I have seen much,
𝔖 [t]And many things have befallen me[t].
12 (13) Often was I in danger even unto death,
But was preserved [u]because of these things[u].
13 (14) [v]The spirit of those that fear the Lord remaineth alive[v],
(15) [w]For their hope is upon Him that saves them[w].
14 (16) [x]He that feareth the Lord is afraid of [y]nothing[y],
And doth not lose courage—for He is his hope.
15 (17) Of him that feareth the Lord—happy the soul!
(18) On whom doth he trust? And who is his stay[z]?
16 (19) The eyes of the Lord are upon [a]them that fear Him[a],
[b]A mighty shield, and strong stay[b],
[c]A cover from scorching Sirocco[c], [d]a shadow from noontide heat[d],
[e]A guard from stumbling[e], and a succour from falling,
17 (20) Heart-gladdener[f] and eye-brightener,
[g]Healing, life, and blessing[g]!

(*c*) XXXIV. 18–26 (XXXI. 21–31). *Unacceptable sacrifice* (= 2 + 3 + 2 + 3 distichs).

18 (21) [h]The sacrifice of the unrighteous man is a mocking offering[h],
(22) And unacceptable are [i]the oblations[i] of the godless.

συνηλθε: *or* = *ηθη for ηλθε*): 𝔊 *και πλειονα* (248 *τα πλασματα—a secondary reading*) *των λογων μου συνεσις μου* (106 > *μου*) = ? ורבה מדברי בינתי (בינתי *may be a corruption of* באוני: *so Ryssel*) u–u 𝔊 *τουτων χαριν* = 𝔖: 𝔏 horum causa et liberatus sum gratia dei; '*double rendering of χαριν suggested by the familiar phrase* "saved by grace"' (*Hart*). *Edersh. suggests that* בעברם *stood in the original Hebr. with the meaning* 'when they passed over (me)' (בְּעָבְרָם) *and that this was misread by the translators* בַּעֲבוּרָם = 'on account of them' v–v *So* 𝔊 = רוח יראֵי יהוה תחיה: 𝔖 'the will of those that fear Him the Lord does' = ? רעוּת יראי יהוה תהיה (*Edersh.*): 𝔏 quaeritur = *ζητηθησεται for ζησεται* (*the following clause in* 𝔏 *is an amplification*) w–w *So* 𝔊 𝔏 + et oculi Dei in diligentes se (= *v.* 16 (19) a): 𝔖 'for great is his hope and He saves' x 𝔖 > *the verse* y–y *ουδεν* א &c. Syro-Hex. 𝔏 𝔖: *πολλα* A: *ου μη* B &c. z 𝔊 *αντιστηριγμα* = משען Ps. xviii. 19 a–a 𝔊 (307) *τους φοβουμενους αυτον* (*so* 𝔏): *τους αγαπωντας αυτον* B &c. 248: 𝔖 'all His servants' [𝔏 *really has both readings: cp. v.* 13 (15)] b–b 𝔖 'protecting (מגן) and delivering, and He is a great confidence' c–c 𝔊 *σκεπη απο καυσωνος*: 𝔏 tegimen ardoris (𝔖 'from the enemy') d–d *So* 𝔏 (umbraculum meridiani): 𝔊 *σκεπη μεσημβριας* (𝔖 'from the foe') e–e *So* 𝔊: 𝔏 deprecatio (precatio) offensionis: 𝔖 'Saviour from affliction' f–f 𝔊 *ανυψων ψυχην* = (לנפש) מְשַׂגֵּב: *so* 𝔏 (exaltans animam): 𝔖 'joy of heart' = משמח לב: *so read here* (מְשַׂמֵּחַ) g–g *So* 𝔊 *adding διδους* (*cp.* 𝔏 dans sanitatem, &c.): *διδους prob. an addition of* 𝔊 (*so Ryssel*) [𝔖 *for the whole verse has:* 'joy of heart and light of eyes and healing of life and blessings—all these doubly upon the righteous shall come' (*last clause an addition: cp.* xl. 10)] h–h 𝔊 *θυσιαζων εξ αδικου, προσφορα μεμωκημενη* = ? זבח מעול מנחת תעתעים (*point* זֶבַח מְעֻוָּל: 𝔊 *read* זֹבֵחַ מֵעָוֶל): *so Ryssel*: 𝔖 'the sacrifices of the unrighteous are unrighteous' (עלותהון דעולא דעולא אנון) = *Hebr.*: (*or* עוֹלַת מְעֻוָּל עָוֶל) עוֹלָה: *for μεμωκημενη* (*from μωκασθαι* = *to*

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11. **In my journeying I have seen much.** An interesting autobiographical touch. Ben-Sira's travels are again alluded to in li. 13. Unfortunately no details are given.

And many things have befallen me. So 𝔖 (see critical notes): 𝔊 has 'and more than my words is my understanding', i.e. my knowledge and insight is greater than might be supposed from my words.

12. **because of these things.** i.e. because of the good sense, prudence, and skill referred to in the previous verses (*vv.* 9 and 10); or read: 'when they (viz. the experiences mentioned in the previous verses) passed over (me)'; see critical notes.

13. **The spirit of those that fear the Lord remaineth alive.** sc. in danger: 'spirit' here = principle of life, as in Isa. xxxviii. 16.

14. **is afraid of nothing.** i.e. nothing daunts him, because he is sustained by a sublime faith in God's providence. The *v. l.* of 𝔊 (A) = 'shall reverence much' (taking *εὐλαβεῖν* in a religious sense, of God-fearing).

15. **On whom doth he trust?** *τίνι ἐπέχει;* (= על־מי יבטח), 'And who is his stay?' For the rhetorical questions cp. Ps. xxiv (end): 'Who is the King of glory?' (to introduce the answer that follows).

16. **The eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear Him.** = Ps. xxxiii. 17 (= Hebr. xxxiii. 18); cf. xxxiv. 15 (16). The clause is identical with xv. 19.

A mighty shield . . . 'A mighty shield (*ὑπερασπισμὸς δυναστείας* = ? מגן חיל) and strong stay' (*στήριγμα ἰσχύος* = משען עז); for the terms cf. Ps. xviii. (xvii.) 3 and 19 Hebr. and LXX; cp. also Ps. lxi. (lx.) 3 f., xci. (xc.) 1 f.

A cover from scorching Sirocco, a shadow from noontide heat. Cp. Is. xxv. 4.

17. **Heart-gladdener and eye-brightener.** Cf. Ps. xix. (xviii.) 8: 'The statutes of Jahveh . . . rejoice the heart; the commandment of Jahveh . . . giveth light to the eyes.'

(*c*) XXXIV. 18–26 (= 𝔊 XXXI. 21–31). This subsection introduces a subject which is continued in the next

𝔊(𝔖)19(23) The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the ungodly,
[j]Neither doth He forgive sins for a multitude of sacrifices[j].
20(24) [k](As) one that killeth the son before the father's eyes
Is he that offereth a sacrifice from the goods of the poor[k].
21(25) [l]A scanty bread is the life of the poor[l]:
[m]He that depriveth him thereof[m] is [n]a man of blood[n].
22(26) [o]He slayeth his neighbour who taketh away his living[o],
(27) [p]And a blood-shedder is he that depriveth the hireling of his hire[p].
23(28) One building [q]and another[q] pulling down—
What have they gained but [r]empty[r] toil?
24(29) One [s]praying[s] and [t]another[t] cursing—
To whose voice shall [u]the Lord[u] listen?
25(30) He who washeth after (contact with) a dead body [v]and toucheth it again[v],
[w]What hath he gained by his bathing[w]?

mock at: cp. Jer. ii. (xxviii.) 18 *where* מעשה תעתעים = εργα μεμωκημενα LXX): A 70 106 157 *Cyril. Alex.* vi. 311 *and* 𝔏 (maculata) *read* μεμωμημενη 'contaminated' (*so Smend*): *combining this last reading with* 𝔖 *we obtain as the possible text in the original Hebrew,* עולה מנחת מום מעולה, *i.e.* 'A burnt offering from that which is unjustly gotten (*cp.* Isa. lxi. 8 וְזֶל וְעוֹלָה) is a blemished offering'. *This yields an excellent sense, and may be right* (*cp. Smend*) [i–i] 𝔊 (א[c.a] *mg.*, 248) δωρηματα ανομων (*cp.* 𝔖 'their oblations'): 𝔏 subsannationes iniustorum: *but* א[c.a] A 296 308 μωμηματα: B μωκηματα ανομων ('the mockeries of the godless') [j–j] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'neither for the multitude of their oblations (*cp.* 𝔏 nec in multitudine sacrificiorum eorum) doth He forgive them' [k–k] 𝔏 *transposes clauses* (a) *and* (b). [𝔊 *at beginning has* θυων: 𝔖 𝔏 Syro-Hex + ως 'as one that killeth': 𝔖 *also adds* ουτως *at beginning of clause* (b)] [l–l] 𝔊 αρτος επιδεομενων ζωη πτωχων: 𝔖 'bread of mercy', &c. (= לחם חסד *for* לחם חסר: *point* חֶסֶר = 'want, poverty' (Prov. xxviii. 22, Job xxx. 3)) [m–m] 𝔊 (B &c.): ο αποστερων αυτην: *for* αυτην א[ca] 248 𝔏 (qui defraudat illum) *read* αυτου: 𝔖 'he that exacts it from them' [n–n] *So* 𝔊 𝔏: 𝔖 'sheds innocent blood' (*cp.* 22 b) [o–o] *So* 𝔊 = ? הורג חברו הנוטל מחיה: 𝔏 qui aufert in sudore panem (*cp.* Gen. iii. 19, iv. 2) quasi qui occidit proximum suum: 𝔖 'he who kills his neighbour possesses his goods' (*Edersh. suggests* יורש *as the verb* = ο αφαιρουμενος: *this would account for* 𝔖: ירש = 'to dispossess' *as well as* 'possess') [p–p] *So* 𝔊: 𝔏 qui effundit sanguinem et qui fraudem facit mercenario, fratres sunt: 𝔖 *has a much extended text here* [q–q] 𝔊 και εις: 𝔖 'another': 𝔏 et unus [r–r] *So* 𝔖: >𝔊 *and* 𝔏 [s–s] *So* 𝔊 𝔏: 𝔖 'blessing' [t–t] 𝔊 και εις: *so* 𝔏: Syro-Hex και ετερος: *so* 𝔖 [u–u] 𝔊 ο δεσποτης: 𝔏 deus, *so* 𝔖 [v–v] *So* 𝔊 𝔏: 𝔖 'and returns (= again draws nigh) to him' (*i.e. the dead*) [w–w] *So* 𝔊 (𝔖 'from his washing): 𝔏 quid proficit levatio illius? [x–x] 𝔏 *transposes these two clauses* [y–y] 𝔊 εν τω ταπεινωθηναι αυτον = 𝔏: 𝔖 'that he fasted' (*correctly interpreting*) = 𝔅 ? בְּעַנּוֹתוֹ נפשו *or* בתעניתו. [z] [*Throughout this chapter* 𝔖 *seems to*

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chapter, viz. the value of sacrifices. The theme illustrated first is that of unacceptable sacrifice, which is defined as consisting in what is derived from unjust gain and oppression of the poor.

18. **The oblations of the godless.** The better attested Greek reading = 'mockeries', a term applied to the sacrifices of the godless. For the sentiment cp. Prov. xv. 8, xxi. 27.

19. **Neither doth He forgive sins for a multitude of sacrifices.** Cp. vii. 9; Isa. i. 11 f.; Ps. l. 8–15.

20. **(As) one that killeth the son before the father's eyes.** The point of the comparison is that a duty may not be fulfilled at the expense of committing a great wrong. The poor are dear to the divine heart as a son to a father.

21. **A scanty bread is the life of the poor.** 'Life' here = that on which their life depends and is sustained (= 𝔅 מחיה); cp. iv. 1. The reading of 𝔖 ('bread of mercy' = charity) yields the sense: 'Bread of charity is the livelihood of the poor,' i.e. the poor depend upon the doles of the rich for their livelihood: but this is probably not right. Ball (*Var. Apoc. ad loc.*) suggests the rendering: 'The bread of the needy, the living of the poor [he that depriveth him thereof,' &c.].

22. **his living.** The Greek word used (συμβίωσις) has here the unusual sense of 'living' (*victus*): 'living together' (of social or marital intercourse) would be more literal. Probably the word was chosen to represent מחיה as distinct from חיים (βίος). For the clause cp. the proverb cited in *Midrash Tanḥuma* 12 *b*: 'Any one who steals the worth of a farthing from his neighbour is as though he took away his life' (כל הגוזל שוה פרוטה מחבירו כאלו נוטל נשמתו ממנו).

who taketh away his living. The reading of 𝔏, 'he who takes away sweat bread' (see critical note), is remarkable. There is a clear reference to Gen. iii. 19; cp. iv. 2 (Cain) in a context which refers to unacceptable sacrifice.

And a blood-shedder is he that depriveth the hireling of his hire. Cp. the proverb cited in T. B. *Baba meṣia* 112 *a*: 'Every one who suppresses the hire of an hireling is as though he took from him his life' (כל הכובש שכר שכיר כאלו נוטל נפשו ממנו): cp. also vii. 20 and Lev. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 14 f.; Jer. xxii. 13; Mal. iii. 5; Tobit iv. 14; James v. 4.

23–24. In the case of the sacrifice contemplated one builds (=the poor man by his labour produces) something which the other pulls down (i.e. consumes by seizing it for an unjust sacrifice): one prays (i.e. the sacrificer) and the other (= the poor man who has been robbed) curses.

25–26. These verses give further illustrations of contradiction (between outward act and inward intention). It is futile

𝔊(𝔖) 26(31) So a man fasting for his sins
And again doing the same—
[x]Who will listen to his prayer?
And what hath he gained [y]by his humiliation[yx].

(*d*) [z]XXXV. 1–11 (XXXII. 1–13). *Acceptable sacrifice* (=3+3+2+2 distichs).

35 1 (1) [a]He that keepeth the law multiplieth offerings[a];
(2) [b]He sacrificeth a peace-offering that heedeth the commandments[b].
2 (3) [c]He that practiseth kindness offereth fine flour[c],
(4) And he that doeth mercy [d]sacrificeth a thank-offering[d].
3 (5) A thing well-pleasing to the Lord it is [e]to avoid wickedness[e],
[f]And [g]a propitiation[g] to avoid what is wrong[f].
4 (6) Appear not with empty hands [h]in the presence of the Lord[h],
5 (7) [i]For all this (shall be done) because it is commanded[i].
6 (8) The offering of the righteous [j]maketh the altar fat[j],
[k]And its sweet savour (cometh) before the Most High[k].
7 (9) [l]The meal-offering[l] of a righteous man is acceptable,
[m]And its memorial shall not be forgotten[m].

have modified and altered the text to a considerable extent for dogmatic reasons. These alterations are in a Christian direction; direct references to sacrifices have been largely eliminated, and even allusions to words of Jesus introduced] [a–a] *So* 𝔊 (*reading* προυφορας *with* ℵ A &c. Syro-Hex: *against* συμφορας B): 𝔏 oblationem (*Hart* orationem): 𝔖 'If thou hast done that which is written in the Law thou hast multiplied service' [b–b] *So* 𝔊: 𝔏 sacrificium salutare est adtendere mandatis (*cp.* θυσια *a corrected reading of* A): 𝔖 'and he that keepeth the commandment blessed is his spirit' [c–c] *So* 𝔊: 𝔏 retribuet gratiam qui offert similaginem: 𝔖 'he earns good interest that offers an oblation (*or* that celebrates the Eucharist)' [d–d] 𝔊 θυσιαζων αινεσεως (ℵ* θυσια κτλ.) = זבח תודה: 𝔏 offert sacrificium: 𝔖 'keepeth the Law' (*? reading* תורה *for* תודה) [e–e] 𝔊 αποστηναι απο πονηριας (απο αμαρτιας 55 106 254): 𝔖 'from all that is evil' [f–f] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'keep back thy strength from all that is hateful' [g–g] 𝔊 εξιλασμος (= סליחה, *cp. v.* 5): 𝔏 deprecatio pro peccatis [h–h] *So* 𝔊𝔏: 𝔖 'before Him' [i–i] *So* 𝔊 (𝔏 propter mandatum Dei fiunt): 𝔖 'for every one that doeth what is pleasing keepeth the commandment' [j–j] *So* 𝔊𝔏: 𝔖 'is the prayer of their mouth' [k–k] *So* 𝔊𝔏: 𝔖 'their deeds penetrate the heavens' (*cp. v.* 17) [l–l] 𝔊 θυσια: *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 'the gift' (*Smend* 'Speiseopfer') [m–m] *So* 𝔊: 𝔏 et memoriam eius non obliviscetur

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to pass through the ritual act of purification, if the defilement is to be immediately contracted again: so it is equally futile to ask for the divine forgiveness of sin (by a course of fasting) unless there is a real repentance: cp. for the thought 2 Pet. ii. 20–22; Heb. x. 26. Similar illustrations and language are employed in the Talmudic tractate on Fasting (*Ta'anith* 16 *a*); cp. also *Aboth de R. Nathan* (as cited both by Edersheim).

26. **humiliation** = 'fasting': cp. later Hebr. תענית (lit. 'humiliation', i. e. fasting).

(*d*) XXXV. 1–11 (= 𝔊 XXXII. 1–13). The governing thought of the section is that loyalty to God's Law, which is the expression of God's will, demands the offering of many sacrifices. But these are only acceptable if they are offered willingly, from a grateful heart, and if they are combined with high ethical standards of conduct.

1. **multiplieth offerings.** The various kinds of sacrifice are specified in what follows. The elimination of these references in 𝔖—who as a Christian recognizes no sacrifices—spoils the symmetry and appositeness of the original lines.

a peace-offering. 𝔊 σωτηρίου = probably περὶ σωτηρίου (so LXX 1 Chron. xvi. 1, 2, &c.): so αἰνέσεως *v.* 2 (cp. LXX 2 Chron. xxix. 31): Hebr. זבח שלמים. For the ritual prescriptions cp. Lev. iii.

2. **offereth fine flour.** i.e. a meal-offering (מנחה) of which fine flour (σεμίδαλις = סֹלֶת) was the principal constituent: cf. Lev. ii. The 'practice of kindness' (גמילות חסדים) is a regular phrase in late Hebrew for benevolence generally, which included much more than almsgiving.

he that doeth mercy. Hebr. prob. עושה צדקה.

3. **to avoid wickedness.** ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ πονηρίας = סור מרע: cp. Job xxviii. 28.

4. **Appear not with empty hands** (lit. 'empty') . . . Cp. vii. 29–31.

in the presence of the Lord. i.e. in the temple. For phrase cp. Exod. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20; Deut. xvi. 16 and LXX.

5. **because it is commanded.** One of the main motives for observance of the Law is that such constitutes obedience to the divine will. The prescriptions of the cultus must be obeyed because God has commanded them to be obeyed. It is this only that gives the sacrifices religious value. Though the best sacrifice is a moral life, yet the sacrifices of the Law must be performed because God has enjoined them. This was the position later of the conservative Hellenistic Jews such as Philo.

6. **maketh the altar fat.** A sign from which it may be concluded that the sacrifice is accepted (Smend). 𝔖 here simply paraphrases in a Christian sense (see critical notes).

7. **The meal-offering.** 𝔊 θυσία here = מנחה (𝔖 'the gift'): and 'its memorial' = the אזכרה, i. e. that part of the meal-offering which was burnt as a 'memorial' (Lev. ii. 2): so μνημόσυνον in xxxviii. 11, xlv. 16. So also 'sweet savour' in *v.* 6 = ריח ניחח in reference to the fat pieces (of the burnt offering) which were burnt upon the altar (Lev. i. 6, iii. 5).

𝔊 8 (10) With a good eye [n]glorify the Lord[n],
And [o]stint not the heave-offering of thy hands[o].
𝔅[B] 9 (11) [p]In all thy deeds[p] let thy countenance shine,
[q]And with gladness dedicate thy tithe[q].
10 (12) Give [r]to God[r] as He hath given [s]to thee[s],
[ss]With goodness of eye[ss], and [t]as thine hand hath attained[t].
11 (13) For He is [u]a God of requital[u],
And [v]sevenfold[v] will He recompense thee.

(*e*) XXXV. 12–20 (XXXV. 14–26). *God hears the cry of the oppressed* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 5 + 1 distichs).

12 (14) [w]Bribe not[w], for He will not receive[x];
(15) And put not thy trust [y]upon a sacrifice of extortion[y],
For He is [z]a God of justice[z],
And with Him is no partiality.
13 (16) [a]He will not show partiality against the poor man[a],
And the supplications of [b]the distressed[b] He heareth.
14 (17) He doth not ignore [c]the cry[c] of the fatherless,
[d]Nor the widow, when she poureth out (her) plaint[d].
15 (18) [e]Do not the tears[f] run down the cheek,
(19) [g]And sigh against [him who causeth them to fall][g]?

Dominus): 𝔖 'and the memorial of the righteous shall not be forgotten for ever' [n–n] *So* 𝔊 𝔏: 𝔖 'give to the poor' [o–o] *So* 𝔊 (*απαρχην χειρων* [70 *χειρος*] = תרומת ידך: *cp.* vii. 31, Deut. xii. 11, LXX), 𝔏: 𝔖 'stumble not (תמער *for* תמעט) in thy gifts' [p–p] 𝔊 *εν παση δοσει* (*interpreting*): *so* 𝔖 [q–q] *So* 𝔅 (מעשר, *mg.* מעשרך *and* מעשיך) 𝔊 (*δεκατην*): 𝔖 'lend to him who doth not pay thee' (*cp.* Luke vi. 34 *Pesh.*) [r–r] 𝔅 *text* לו: *variant* (*under line*) לאל: *so* 𝔖: 𝔊 *Υψιστῳ* [s–s] 𝔊 > [ss–ss] *So* 𝔅 (בְּטוּב עין) 𝔊 *εν αγαθῳ οφθαλμῳ*: *so* 𝔖 [t–t] 𝔅 (השיג יד כְּהַשָּׂגַת יד) = 𝔊 *καθ ευρεμα χειρος*: 𝔖 'with a large hand' (*reading* ב" *and interpreting by Aram.* שנא). *For phrase cp.* xiv. 13 𝔅: 𝔖 + (*a gloss*: *cp.* Prov. xix. 17) 'for he who giveth to the poor lendeth to God; for who is a recompenser but Him' = 𝔅 *mg.*: מלוה ייי נותן לאביון ומי בעל גמולות כי אם הוא: [u–u] 𝔅 אלוה תשלומות: אֱלֹהֵי *as in v.* 12 (15) *would be expected, and should probably be read*: 𝔊 *κυριος ανταποδιδους* (אל גמלות Jer. li. 56) [v–v] 𝔖 'ten thousand times ten thousand' [𝔖 *transposes verses* 10 *and* 11] [w–w] 𝔅 אל תשחד = 𝔊 *μη δωροκοπει* (*cp.* Deut. x. 17 *Aq.*): 𝔖 'do not tarry' (= ? אל תאחר): 𝔏 noli offere munera prava [x] 𝔏 + illa. [y–y] 𝔅 על זבח מעשק: 𝔊 *θυσια αδικῳ* [z–z] *So* 𝔅 (*rightly*) אלהי משפט: 𝔊 *κυριος κριτης* (= ? אלהים שֹׁפֵט): 𝔖 'a doer of justice' [a–a] 𝔖 'the prayer of the poor man cometh up before Him' (*cp. clause* b) [248 *and* 𝔏 + *κυριος*] [b–b] 𝔅 מצוק (*read* מוצק: *cp.* iv. 9): 𝔊 *ηδικημενου*: 𝔖 'the weary of spirit' [c–c] 𝔅 צעקת (*mg.* אנקת 'groan' = 𝔖): 𝔊 *ικετειαν* (*cp.* 𝔏 preces) [d–d] 𝔊 *και χηραν εαν εκχεη λαλιαν* = 𝔅 (*mg.* כי תחבט שיח: *for* תחבט *text has* תרבה): 𝔏 *for last word has* loquelam gemitus [e] *v.* 15 (= 𝔊 18, 19) > 𝔖 [f] 𝔊 (𝔏) + (*incorrectly*) *χηρας* [g–g] 𝔅 *to be read* וְאֲנָחָה על מורידיה *or* מורידה = 𝔊: 𝔅 *text* מרודיה = 'her wanderings'. *A verb is required; hence point* וְאֲנָחָה (*subject* דמעה *repeated*): 𝔊 *takes as subst.* = 'sighing' (*rendering* *και η καταβοησις*: 248

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8. **With a good eye.** i. e. with a thankful and joyful spirit. Cp. xiv. 10.
glorify the Lord. i. e. by sacrifices.
9. Here the Hebr. MS. B resumes the text.
In all thy deeds. Cf. xxxi. 21 (𝔊 xxxiv. 27).
thy tithe. Here tithe is expressly mentioned (contrast vii. 31; xlv. 20 f.). For the sentiment of the passage cp. 2 Cor. ix. 7.
11. **God of requital.** Cp. xii. 2: for 'sevenfold' cp. vii. 3, xx. 12; Ps. lxxix. 12.

XXXV. 12–20 (= 𝔊 XXXV. 14–26). This section is mainly concerned with the prayers of the poor and helpless oppressed. To such, prayer occupies the place of sacrifice in the case of the rich. The prayers of the distressed, indeed, will be heard by God, while sacrifices which are the outcome of unjust dealing are rejected. At the same time God will punish the oppressor who is the cause of bitter outcry (*vv.* 12–17). This thought suggests an appeal to God on behalf of His oppressed people. The section ends with the expression of a confident hope that God will yet vindicate His chosen people against their heathen tyrants (*vv.* 18–20).

12. **Bribe not, for He will not receive.** i. e. think not to bribe God to overlook sins unrepented by multiplying sacrifices. God is not like an unjust judge—such sacrifices are unavailing, and are not regarded. Cp. Job vi. 22.
a sacrifice of extortion. i. e. derived from the gains of extortion and unjust dealing.
with Him is no partiality (lit. 'respect of persons'). Cp. Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.
14. **He doth not ignore . . . the widow.** Cp. Exod. xxii. 21 f.; Deut. xxiv. 17; Ps. lxviii. 6; Prov. xxxiii. 10.
15. **Do not the tears run down the cheek.** The question suggests that the subject is no longer the widow

𝔅[B] 16 (20) [h]A bitterness accepted[h] is (such)[i] [sighing][i],
[j]And (such) a cry[j] [k][bendeth] the clouds[k].
17 (21) The appeal of the lowly [l]traverseth the skies[l],
[m]And resteth not till it reach (its goal).
It shall not remove till God doth visit[m],
(22 *a*) [n]And (till) the righteous Judge executeth judgement
18 (22 *b*) Yea, the Lord [o]will not tarry[o],
[p]And the mighty One will not refrain Himself[p],
Till He smite [q]the loins of the merciless,
(23) And requite vengeance [r][to the arrogant][r];
Till He [s]dispossess[s] [t]the sceptre of pride[t],
And [u]the staff of wickedness[u] utterly cut down;
19 (24) Till He render to man [v]his due[v],
[w]And recompense people[w] according to their devising;
(25) Till He plead the cause of His people,
And rejoice them [x]with His salvation[x].

Syro-Hex Sah 𝔏 *wrongly* + αυτης) [h–h] *So* 𝔅 (תמרורי רצון): 𝔊 θεραπευων εν ευδοκια = ? משרת ברצון (*cp.* θεραπων = משרת Exod. xxxiii. 11, LXX): 𝔏 qui adorat deum in oblectatione (*? pointing to a different text: Hart suggests* משמש אל: *then the doublet at end of previous verse* Dominus exauditor non = משמע אל אל): 𝔖 'the bitterness of the soul of the poor' = ? רש [נפש] תמרורי. *Schechter reads* רצוין *for* רצון: *so Smend* [i–i] 𝔅 (*text*) הנחה *to be emended with Lévi to* אנחה (*the subst. answering to the verb* אֲנַחָה *in previous line*). *For interpretations of* 𝔅 *text see exegetical notes below* [j–j] 𝔅 וצעקה: 𝔊 και η δεησις αυτου [k] *So* 𝔖 'boweth down the clouds' (= ? שחתה): 𝔅 *text* חשתה = 𝔊 'to the clouds hasteneth' (+ εως): *so* 𝔏. *Emend* 𝔅 *to* שחתה (*transp. two letters*). *Smend proposes* חשקה = (?) 'is attached to, attains'. [*For first clause Smend adopts Schechter's emend.*: וצעקת עני: *then read* וצעקת עני ענן חשקה] [l–l] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* עבים חלפה = 𝔊: 𝔅 *text* ענן חל עם: (חל = *shortened* חלפ *and* עם *a corruption of* עב, *Peters*): 𝔖 'above the clouds ascendeth' [m–m] 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 'and before the Lord of majesty it goeth, not passing away until He draw nigh upon it' [n–n] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 = 𝔅 *mg.*: 𝔖 'and judgement of truth judgeth [*for* και κρινει δικαιως א* A 248 *have* κρινει δικαιους = 'He shall judge the righteous (and execute judgement)'] [o–o] 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 'He will despise' [p–p] = 𝔅 *mg.*: 𝔊 ουδε μη μακροθυμησει επ' αυτοις (248 + ο κραταιος: *so* 𝔏): 𝔖 'and shall not forsake nor cease' [q–q] 𝔅 = 𝔊 (οσφυν = מתני): 𝔏 dorsum ipsorum [r–r] *Correcting* 𝔅 *text* לגוים (*so* 𝔊 𝔖) *to* לגאים: *cp.* x. 14 [s–s] 𝔅 יורישׁ = 𝔊 εξαρη (*cp.* xvi. 9). *Smend proposes to read* יָרוּשׁ *or* ירשיש (*root* רשׁשׁ) = 'beat down': *cp.* Jer. v. 17, Mal. i. 4 [t–t] = 𝔅: 𝔊 πληθος υβριστων (= ? שפעת זדים: *cp. Hart ad loc.*): 𝔖 'the strength of sinners' [u–u] *So* 𝔅 *text* (*mg.* 'of the wicked' = 𝔊): 𝔖 'the unrighteous rulers' [v–v] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖: 𝔊 κατα τας πραξεις αυτου [w–w] 𝔅 וגמול אדם = 𝔊 (*cp.* 𝔏): 𝔖 'to the workers of iniquity': *emend* 𝔅 *to* וגמל (*Smend*) [x–x] 𝔅 בישועתו = 𝔊 εν τῳ

(𝔊 adds χήρας incorrectly), but possibly oppressed Israel (so *v.* 18 onwards). The tears of Israel are often mentioned in the Psalms (so Smend). Cf. Lam. i. 2 ('She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks'). If the subject is understood to be the widow clause *b* may be rendered (so Hebr. text): 'and she sigheth because of her miseries' (על מְרוּדֶיהָ: cp. Lam. i. 7).

16. **A bitterness accepted is (such) sighing.** i.e. the bitterness produced by such oppression is not allowed to pass by unheeded and unredeemed by God. The text of 𝔅 is here uncertain. If the last word of the line is retained (הֲנָחָה) and רצון altered to רצוין, render: 'the bitterness of the crushed is accepted' (an accepted sacrifice): Peters, who keeps 𝔅 unaltered (pointing הֲנִחָה), renders: 'amaritudo gratiae adducit requiem ei' (see further critical notes).

(such) a cry bendeth the clouds. Cp. Ps. xviii. 10 ('He bowed the heavens and came down'). Perhaps the idea is that the cry or supplication of the oppressed pierces the clouds (= God's dwelling-place) and brings about the divine intervention. For God's dwelling-place in the skies (clouds) cp. Ps. lxviii. 34, lxxxix. 6 (7).

17. **The appeal of the lowly traverseth the skies, And resteth not till it reach (its goal).** Cp. Lam. iii. 44 ('Thou hast covered Thyself with a cloud that our prayer should not pass through'). A similar phrase occurs in the Zohar (according to Cowley-Neubauer) Lev. צו: 'this word ascends and cleaves the firmament.'

(till) the righteous Judge executeth judgement. Cp. Gen. xviii. 25.

18. **Yea, the Lord will not tarry . . .** i.e. will not delay His judgement on the oppressors. In this and the following verses the writer has in mind the heathen oppressors of God's elect people. For the thought cp. Luke xviii. 7 f.: 2 Pet. iii. 9.

Till He smite the loins. Cp. Deut. xxxiii. 11.

the merciless . . . the arrogant. Heathen ruling classes. (For phrase 'requite vengeance' cp. Deut. xxxii. 43.)

Till He dispossess the sceptre of pride. The expression 'dispossess' in such a connexion is unusual, but may be right, yielding a good sense. Smend proposes to read 'beat down'. For 'sceptre of pride . . . staff of wickedness' cp. Ps. cxxv. 3; Isa. xiv. 5; Ezek. vii. 11; Ps. lxxv. 11 ('all the horns of the wicked will I cut (hew) off').

19. **to man** (לאנוש). i.e. the heathen: cp. Ps. lvi. 2 (1).

And rejoice them with His salvation. Cp. Is. xxv. 9; 4 Ezra vii. 28, viii. 39, xii. 34.

𝔅[y]20(26) [y][Beauteous is His favour in a time] of stress[y].
[z]As a rain-cloud[z] in the season of [zz]drought[zz].

(*f*) XXXVI. 1–17 (XXXIII. 1–13 *a*, XXXVI. 16 *b*–22). *A prayer to God for Israel* (= 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

36 1 [ab]Save us[b], [c]O God of all[c],
2 [d]And cast[d] Thy fear upon all the nations[e].
3 [f]Shake Thy hand[f] against [g]the strange people[g],
And let them see [h]Thy power[h].
4 As Thou hast sanctified Thyself in us before them,
So [i]glorify Thyself[i] [j]in them[j] before us;
5 That they may know[k], as we also know,
That there is none other God but Thee[l].
6 Renew [m]the signs[m], and repeat [m]the wonders[m],
(7) Make Hand and [n]Right Arm[n] glorious.
7 (8) Waken indignation and pour out wrath,
(9) [o]Subdue[o] the foe and [p]expel[p] the enemy.
8 (10) Hasten [q]the 'end'[q] and [r]ordain the 'appointed time'[r],
[s]For who may say to Thee: What doest Thou?[s]

ελεει αυτου (*cp.* Is. xlv. 8) [y–y] *There is a lacuna in the Heb. MS.*: 𝔊 *has* ωραιον ελεος εν καιρῳ θλιψεως αυτου (א 248 Syro-Hex 𝔏 *and* 𝔖 > αυτου, *which should probably be transposed to follow* ελεος): 𝔅 *may be restored* מצוקה ונו בזמן]צ[נאה ר]: *so Smend. After* ελεος 𝔏 (Sang. Am.) + dei [*hence Peters restores* חסד יהוה]: 𝔖 'and put to shame the enemy'. [א 248 *prefix* ως (ως ωραιον = מה נאוה)] [z–z] 𝔅 חזיזים (*l.* כענן) כעת: *so* 𝔊 𝔖 [zz–zz] *So* 𝔊 𝔏: 𝔖 'vengeance' [a] 307 *pr.* αρχη λογου = 𝔅 פ(רק = 'section') [b–b] *So* 𝔅 הושיענו = 𝔊 ελεησον ημας: *cp.* xxxv. (xxxii.) 25 [c–c] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 δεσποτα (A *and* 𝔏 >) ο θεος παντων (δεσποτα *and* ο θεος *variants*): 𝔊 + και επιβλεψον (𝔏 et respice nos)—*a diltograph from* επιβαλε τον *in foll. line* [d–d] *Read* ושים (*Smend*): *others* והר]ים: 𝔅 *MS. defect.*: 𝔖 'and let [Thy wrath] come' [*from* Ps. lxxviii. (lxxix.) 6] [e] 248 (*so* 𝔏) + τα μη εκζητουντα σε (*cp.* Ps. xiv. 2): 𝔖 'that have not known Thee' (Jer. x. 25): 𝔏 + ut cognoscant, quia non est deus nisi tu et enarrent magnalia tua (*cp. vv.* 3, 5, 8) [f–f] 𝔊 επαρον την χειρα σου: 𝔅 הניף (*mg.* + יד) [g–g] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 εθνη αλλοτρια [h–h] 𝔊 την δυναστειαν σου = 𝔅 גבורתיך (*sing.*) [i–i] 𝔅 הכבד: 𝔊 μεγαλυνθειης (= התגדל): 𝔖 'sanctify Thyself' [j–j] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 *text* בנו (*a mistake*) [k] 𝔊 + σε ('and let them know Thee'): > σε 𝔅 𝔖 [l] 𝔊 + κυριε (𝔅 𝔖 >) [m–m] 𝔅 *has* אות . . . מופת: 𝔊 σημεια . . . θαυμασια (= ? תמה *so* 𝔅 *mg.*: *cp.* xliii. 25, xlviii. 14) [n–n] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 'and make strong arm and right hand': 70 248 + οπως διηγωνται τα θαυμασια σου (*from v.* 10) [o–o] 𝔅 והכניע: 𝔊 εξαρον (*but* εκτριβειν *in* xlvi. 18, xlvii. 7: *so* LXX, Neh. ix. 24) [p–p] 𝔅 והדוף: 𝔊 εκτριψον (*but in* xlvii. 5 εξαιρειν) [q–q] 𝔅 קץ = 𝔊 καιρον (*so often in* LXX) [r–r] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 μνησθητι (= פקוד Is. xxvi. 16) ορκισμου (*but* א Syro-Hex 𝔏 [finis] *read* ορισμου = 𝔅 מועד *rightly*): 𝔖 'let the time come' [s–s] *So* 𝔅 𝔖 (*cp.* Job ix. 12): 𝔊 και εκδιηγησασθωσαν (248 + σοι) τα μεγαλεια (248 θαυμασια) σου [t] *v.* 9 (11) > 𝔅

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20. **As a rain-cloud.** Reading כעב חזיזים: חזיז = 'cloud' or 'rain' rather than 'lightning' as usually rendered (Job xxviii. 26; Zech. x. 1). So Smend.

(*f*) XXXVI. 1–17 (= 𝔊 XXXIII. 1–13 *a*, XXXVI. 16 *b*–22) forms an independent subsection, which is linked on naturally with what precedes. In the previous subsection the confident hope had been expressed that God would punish the arrogant heathen oppressors of Israel, and grant His people relief. In the present subsection the writer pleads with God, in the form of a prayer, that He will save His own, and strike fear into the nations in order that all may know that He is God alone (*vv.* 1–5); God is urged to assert Himself by gathering in the scattered nation, and by compassionating Sion (*vv.* 6–17). There are some striking parallels between this prayer and parts of the synagogue liturgy, especially the *Eighteen Blessings* (*Shĕmōnēh 'Esrēh*), some of the key-words of which seem to be echoed here.

1. **O God of all.** Cp. xlv. 23, l. 22 (𝔊); Rom. ix. 5.
2. **cast Thy fear upon all the nations.** Cp. 1 Chron. xiv. 17.
3. **Shake Thy hand.** Cp. (phrase) Is. x. 32.
against the strange people. i.e. the Greeks.
4. **As Thou hast sanctified Thyself . . . So glorify Thyself.** i.e. As Thou hast punished us in the sight of the heathen, so now punish them in the sight of us: cp. Ezek. xxxviii. 23.
5. **there is none other God but Thee.** Cp. Is. xlv. 14; 1 Kings viii. 43, 60; 1 Chron. xvii. 20, &c.
6. **Renew the signs, and repeat the wonders.** As in the deliverance from Egypt: renew the wonders of the Exodus.
Make Hand and Right Arm glorious. Cp. Exod. xv. 6; Is. li. 9, liii. 10, lxii. 8, lxiii. 12.
7. **Waken indignation.** Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 38.
pour out wrath. Cp. Ps. lxxix. 6 ('pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that know thee not').
8. **Hasten the 'end' and ordain the 'appointed time'.** The 'end' (Heb. קץ) = the end of the period of oppression: the 'appointed time' is that of the deliverance (the same terms are used, almost in a technical sense, in Dan. xi. 27, 35.) The Heb. word here rendered *ordain* (פקוד) means almost 'give the command that it may come'. Even though the 'end' has been fixed, God can, if He chooses, shorten the period: cp. Mark xiii. 20 (cp. also Is. lx. 22 *b*). 𝔊 mistranslates 'remember the oath'.
For who may say to Thee . . . Cp. Job ix. 12; Eccles. viii. 4.

𝔊 9 (11) [t]Let [u]him that escapeth[u] [v]be devoured[v] in the [w]glowing fire[w],
And may Thy people's [x]wrongers[x] [y]find destruction[y]!
𝔓 10 (12) Make an end of [z]the head of the enemy's princes[z]
That saith: There is none beside me!

11 *a* (𝔊 xxxiii. 13 *a*) Gather all the tribes of Jacob[a],
11 *b* (16 *b*) [b]That they may receive their inheritance[b] [c]as in the days of old[c].
12 (17) Compassionate [d]the people[d] that is called by Thy name,
Israel, [e]whom Thou didst surname Firstborn[e].
13 (18) Compassionate Thy holy city,
Jerusalem, [f]the place of Thy dwelling[f].
14 (19) Fill Sion [g]with Thy majesty[g],
And [h]Thy Temple[h] with Thy glory.
15 (20) Give testimony [i]to the first of Thy works[i],
And establish [j]the vision spoken in Thy name[j].
16 (21) Give reward to them that wait for Thee,
That Thy prophets may be proved trustworthy.

[u–u] 𝔊 *o* (א* Sah + *μη*: א[c.a] + *ασεβης o*) *σωζομενος* = שׂריד [v–v] 𝔊 *καταβρωθητω* = יאכל (*cp.* xlv. 10): 𝔖 'destroy the enemy' = אכל שור (*for* יאכל שׂריד) [w–w] 𝔊 *εν οργῃ πυρος* = בחמת אש: 𝔖 'in anger and in fire' [x–x] *αδικουντες* (B 68); *κατοικουντες* (70 A* *vid.* 306), *κατεχοντες* (106 *corr.*): *the rest* *κακουντες* [y–y] 𝔊 *ευροισαν απωλειαν*: *cp.* עדי אובד Num. xxiv. 20 [z–z] 𝔓 ראש פאתי מואב (*mg.* אויב): 𝔊 *κεφαλας αρχοντων εχθρων* (𝔓 *mg.* = 𝔊): 𝔖 'crown of the enemy' [*εχθρων v. l. εθνων* (106 157) *and εθνων εχθρων* (155)] [a] 𝔏 + *same clause as in v.* 5 (= 5 b) [b–b] 𝔓 ויתנחלו: 𝔊 *και κατακληρονομησεις αυτους* = ? ותנחילם (248 106 *κατεκληρονομησα*) [c–c] 𝔓 כימי קדם: 𝔊 = ? כמן קדם: 𝔖 'as Thou saidst from the days of old' [d–d] *So* 𝔓 𝔊: 𝔖 *and* 𝔏 'Thy people' [𝔊 + *κυριε*: *but* א 253 23 𝔏 Sah >: > 𝔓 *and* 𝔖 *also*] [e–e] *So* 𝔓 𝔖 = *ον πρωτογονον ωνομασας*, 157 248: *but* C &c. *ον πρωτογονῳ* (𝔏 + 'tuo') (א[c.a] *πρωτοτοκῳ*) *ωμοιωσας* [f–f] 𝔓 מכון שבתיך: 𝔊 *πολιν* (*so* 𝔏: *but* א A Sah *τοπον*) *καταπαυματος σου* [g–g] 𝔓 את הודך (*mg.* מהדריך): 𝔊 *αρεταλογιας σου* (*so* B*: *on αρεταλογια, used of* 'glorifying' *God, cp. Deissmann, Bible Studies, p.* 93 f.: *it* = רנה *in* Ps. xxix. (xxx.) 6 Symm.): 253 307 Syro-Hex *αρρητα* (307 *αρετα*) *λογια σου* (A.V. 'Fill Sion with Thine unspeakable oracles'): *also misread* *αραι τα λογια σου* (B[b]: R.V. 'exalt Thine oracles') [h–h] 𝔓 את היכלך *so* 𝔖: 𝔊 *τον λαον σου* (*read* *ναον*) [i–i] 𝔓 למראש מעשיך: 𝔊 *τοις εν αρχῃ* (𝔏 ab initio) *κτισμασι σου* = 𝔖 'to Thy works as from the first' [j–j] 𝔓 חזון דבר בשמך = 𝔊 *προφητειας* (= חזון Dan. xi. 14) *τας επ ονοματι μου* (248 *προφητας*): *cp.* 𝔏 𝔖 'the prophecies of Thy prophets that

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9. **Let him that escapeth . . . destruction.** Num. xxiv. 19, 20 seems to have been in the writer's mind here.

10. **Make an end of the head of the enemy's princes.** 𝔓 text has 'of the princes of Moab', a correction by the text of Num. xxiv. 17. Here again there is probably a reminiscence of Num. xxiv. 17: 'princes' here = פאתי (R.V. 'corners'), which Ben-Sira understands in the sense expressed by the LXX *ad loc.* (*ἀρχηγούς*). The 'head of the enemy's princes' means some one pre-eminent hostile person, probably either Antiochus the Great, or Seleucus IV, or Antiochus IV. [Perhaps Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.) is meant, who wrested Syria (including Judaea) from Egyptian rule (198), and made many other conquests. In 190 B.C. he was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia, and compelled to give up the greater part of his conquests (but not Coele-Syria). In *v.* 9 *a* ('Let him that escapeth be devoured in the glowing fire') there may be an allusion to Antiochus's plight after this disastrous defeat.]

11 (11 *b* = xxxvi. 16 *b* 𝔊). **Gather all the tribes of Jacob, That they may receive their inheritance.** i.e. that they may once again receive possession of the whole of the Holy Land. The Restoration under Cyrus had been incomplete, the Jews only recovering a small part of their ancient inheritance. The greater part of the nation was still 'scattered' in foreign lands, and this state of things was never essentially altered. Technically, therefore, the 'Exile' still continued, and continues.

12. **Compassionate the people that is called by Thy name . . . Firstborn.** Cp. Exod. iv. 22. For 'that is called by Thy name' (*κεκλημένον ἐπ' ὀνόματί σου*) Syr. has 'over whom Thy name is called' = 𝔏 'super quam (*sc.* plebem) invocatum est nomen tuum'. Cp. Deut. xxviii. 10. See further xliv. 23 *b* note.

13. **Jerusalem, the place of Thy dwelling.** Cp. 1 Kings viii. 39, 43, 49 (also 13); Exod. xv. 17. [𝔊 'place of thy rest' on account of the assonance between שבת (ישב) and שַׁבָּת.]

14. **Fill Sion with Thy majesty.** 𝔊 (R.V. 'Fill Zion; exalt Thine oracles'; cp. also A. V.) has been misread (see critical notes).

Thy Temple with Thy glory. Cp. Hag. ii. 7

15. **Give testimony to the first of Thy works.** i.e. openly acknowledge the position of Israel as firstborn. According to the Rabbis Israel was one of the six things created (or created in the divine thought) before the creation of the world. This was deduced from Ps. lxxiv. 2, 'O remember the congregation which Thou didst create of old,' עדותך קנית קדם (cited by Schechter *ad loc.*).

And establish the vision spoken in Thy name. Cp. (for phrase) 1 Kings viii. 20; the prophecies of the prophets are, of course, referred to; 'Vision' (חזון) often occurs as a title at the beginning of the prophetical books.

16. **be proved trustworthy.** 'Verified'; cp. Gen. xlii. 20 (same verb).

𝔅[B] 17(22) Thou wilt hear[k] the prayer [l]of Thy servants[l],
[m]According to Thy good favour[m] towards [n]Thy people[n]:
That [o]all the ends of the earth[o] may know
[p]That Thou art the eternal God[p].

(*a*) XXXVI. 18–20 (23–25). *Moral discernment the fruit of experience* (= 3 distichs).

18(23) [q]Every meat doth [r]the belly[r] eat,
Yet is [s]one meat more pleasant than another[s].
𝔅[C] 19(24) The palate tasteth [t]the dainties that are bestowed[t],
And the discerning heart [tt]the dainties of falsehood[tt].
20(25) [u]A deceitful heart[u] produceth sorrow,
But an experienced man [v]wardeth it off[v].

(*b*) XXXVI. 21–26 (26–31). *Concerning women* (= 3 + 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔅[B] 21(26) [w]A woman will receive any man,
[x]Yet is one woman more pleasant than another[x].

spake in Thy name' [k] 𝔊 + κυριε (𝔏 = 𝔅 >) [l-l] 𝔅 עבדיך = οικετων σου (א A 155 253 𝔏 *and* 𝔖): C ικετων σου ('Thy suppliants') [m-m] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 κατα την ευλογιαν Ααρων (*but* 307 κατα την ευδοκιαν: *the same mistake* xlii. 15): *after the misreading* ευλογιαν *had arisen the incorrect gloss* Ααρων *was added*: 𝔖 = 𝔅 [n-n] א* του υιου σου [o-o] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 παντες οι επι της γης (𝔏 omnes qui habitant terram) [p-p] 𝔅 כי אתה אל [עולם] (*Hebr. MS. defect. at end of line*) = 𝔊 (248) οτι συ κυριος των αιωνων (*this the original reading*): C οτι Κυριος ει ο θεος των αιωνων (*also other variants*) [q] 𝔅 *pr.* פ (= פרק) *marking a new section* [r-r] = *one of the marginal readings of* 𝔅 *as restored by Smend, viz.* [כ]רש = 𝔊: 𝔅 *text* גרגרת ('throat'): 𝔖 'soul' [s-s] *Reading* 𝔅 (*which is defective*) אך יש אוכל [מא]ו[כ]ל [נ]עים (*Peters, Smend*) = 𝔊 [t-t] 𝔅 *mg.* מטעמי זבד (*text* דבר): 𝔊 βρωματα θηρας ('dainties of the chase' = ? מטעמי ציד, *cp.* Gen. xxvii. 4 f.) [tt-tt] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 λογους ψευδεις (*adopting* דבר *from line* a 𝔅: *so Hart*): *so* 𝔖. [*The Hebr. readings of the verse are uncertain, there being several variants in mg. and in MSS.* B *and* C. *The more important may be exhibited thus*: חיך בוחן (יטעם C) מטעמי דבר (זבד C) [ולב מבין (נבון, בוחן) מטעמי כזב (*v. l.* בוחן, נבון) [u-u] 𝔅 לב עקוב: 𝔊 καρδια στρεβλη = לב עקש [v-v] 𝔅 *text* ישיבנה בו: 𝔅 *mg.* ישיבנו: 𝔊 ανταποδωσει αυτῳ: 𝔖 'understands these things' [w] *This verse is misplaced in* 𝔅, *being inserted between vv.* 18–19 (23–24): 𝔖 > [x-x] 𝔊 *renders freely* (*in order to avoid repetition of* γυνη) εστι δε

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17. **Thou wilt hear the prayer of Thy servants.** Or 'Thy servant' = Israel; cp. Dan. ix. 17; 1 Kings viii. 30.
According to Thy good favour towards Thy people. Cp. Ps. cvi. 4 (𝔊 'according to the blessing of Aaron' [cp. Num. vi. 22 f.] is due to a corruption in the Greek text; see critical note).
That all the ends of the earth may know (𝔅 mg. 'see'). Cp. Is. lii. 10.
the eternal God (אל עולם). Cp. Gen. xxi. 33; Isa. xl. 28. Cp. also 1 Kings viii. 60. Smend notes the significant omission in this prayer of all reference to the Messiah.

A new division of the book begins with xxxvi. 18 (𝔊 xxxvi. 23) which extends to xxxix. 11. Its contents, which are somewhat miscellaneous in character, may, perhaps, be grouped under the general title of 'Precepts for social life'. It falls naturally into the following sections: xxxvi. 18 (𝔊 xxxvi. 23)—xxxvii. 15; xxxvii. 16–31; xxxviii. 1–23; and xxxviii. 24—xxxix. 11, with an Appendix, xxxix. 12–35.

XXXVI. 18 (𝔊 XXXVI. 23)—XXXVII. 15 again falls into four subsections, the first of which treats of the moral discernment of a man of experience (xxxvi. 18–20 = 𝔊 23–25), the second of women (xxxvi. 21–26 = 𝔊 26–31), the third of friendship (xxxvii. 1–6), and the fourth of counsellors true and false (xxxvii. 7–15).

(*a*) XXXVI. 18–20 (= 𝔊 23–25). A parallel is drawn here between the senses and the moral faculties; in each case the educated sense or faculty discriminates.

19. **the dainties that are bestowed.** Perhaps the dainties set on the table before a distinguished guest are meant, or the 'portions' referred to in Neh. viii. 10, 12 (cf. Esther ix. 19, 22). For the Hebr. words = 'that are bestowed' (מטעמי זבד) cp. Gen. xxx. 20 [Hebr. text מטעמי דבר yields no sense. 𝔊 'dainties of the chase' may be due to reminiscence of Gen. xxvii. 4—possibly a Hebr. reading derived from the passage].
the dainties of falsehood. The deceptive and alluring appearance that disguises what is false. For the sentiment of the verse cp. Job xii. 11, xxxiv. 3.

20. **A deceitful heart.** Cp. Jer. xvii. 9 (same phrase). 'Produceth sorrow,' i.e. sorrow to itself; perhaps misdirected (tortuous) intelligence is referred to.
an experienced man wardeth it off. The Hebr. lit. rendered = causeth it (sorrow or trouble) to return by means of it (*sc.* the heart or intelligence), i.e. wards off its attack by foresight and intelligence. The word for 'experienced' here is ותיק, which occurs otherwise only in Neo-Hebrew.

(*b*) XXXVI. 21–26 (= 𝔊 26–31) forms a second subsection. Its general theme is women: happy is the man with a tactful wife.

21. **A woman will receive . . .** 𝔅 misplaces the verse, inserting it between verses 18 and 19. 𝔖 omits it.

𝔅[B] 22 (27) The beauty of a woman brighteneth the countenance[y],
And excels every [z]delight of the eye[z].
23 (28) [zz]When she possesseth also [a]a soothing tongue[a],
Her husband is not (like other) sons of men.
𝔅[BD] 24 (29) [b]He that getteth[b] a wife [bb](getteth) the choicest possession[bb],
[c]A help meet for him[c], and [d]a pillar of support[d].
25 (30) Without a hedge the vineyard is laid waste,
And without a wife (a man is) [dd]a wanderer and homeless[dd].
26 (31) Who trusteth [e]an armed band[e]
[f]That rusheth[f] from city to city?
So is the man that hath no [g]nest[g],
Who resteth where evening befalls him.

(*c*) XXXVII. 1–6. *Of friendship, good and bad* (= 3+3 distichs).

37 𝔅[D(B)] 1 Every friend saith: [h]I am a friend[h];
[i]But there is a friend who is (only) friend in name[i].
2 Is there not [j][a sorrow][j] [k]that cometh nigh unto death[k]—
[l]A deeply loved friend[l] [m]who changeth to an enemy[m]?
3 [n]O base nature! why then wast thou created[n],
[o]To fill[o] [p]the world's face[p] [q]with deceit[q]!

θυγατηρ θυγατρος κρεισσων [y] 307 + *ανδρος*: 𝔏 + viri sui: 𝔖 'her face' [z–z] = 𝔅 מחמד עין *so* 𝔖: 𝔊 *επιθυμιαν ανθρωπου* [zz] *v.* 23 > 𝔖 [a–a] 𝔅 מרפא לשון (Prov. xv. 4): 𝔊 *επι γλωσσης αυτης ελεος και πραυτης* (248 + *ιασις*): 𝔏 lingua curationis et mitigationis misericordia [b–b] 𝔅[B] *mg. has part.* קונה = 𝔊: *so* 𝔅[D] (*Lévi*): 𝔅[B] (*text*) קנה 'get' (*imperative*) = 𝔖 [bb–bb] 𝔅[B] ראשית קנין: 𝔊 *εναρχεται κτισεως*: 𝔖 'at the head of thy possession' [c–c] 𝔅[B] *MS. reads* עזר ומבצר: 𝔊 *βοηθον κατ αυτον* = עזר כנגדו (Gen. ii. 18) = 𝔖 (*this probably original reading*): 𝔅[B] *mg. and* 𝔅[D] עיר מבצר (Jer. i. 18) 'a fortified town' [d–d] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *στυλον αναπαυσεως*: 𝔖 'pillar over against thee' (𝔖 *may have read a faulty text*: עזר כמוך ועמוד כנגדך) [dd–dd] 𝔅 נע ונד (Gen. iv. 12, 14): 𝔊 *στεναζει πλανωμενος* (LXX Gen. iv. 12 *στενων και τρεμων*) = 𝔏 ingemiscit egens [e–e] 𝔅 בגדוד צבא (*cp.* 1 Chron. vii. 4) 'in a band of war' = 𝔊 *ευζωνῳ λῃστῃ* (*ευζωνος* = גדוד *in Aquila*; *λῃστης* = גדוד *in* LXX): 𝔖 'the youth like a gazelle' (גדוד *in Syr. sense: and* צבי *for* צבא: *cp. also* Cant. ii. 9) [f–f] 𝔅 המדלג: 𝔊 (B) *σφαλλομενῳ but εφαλλομενῳ* (248 106 155): *the rest αφαλλομενῳ* = 𝔅 𝔖 [g–g] *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 𝔖 'wife' [h–h] 𝔊 *εφιλιασα αυτῳ καγω* (*but all authorities omit αυτῳ except* B: *it is a dittograph of καγω* (*Smend*)) [i–i] 𝔅[D] *text* אך יש אהב שם אהב 'but there is a friend the name of a friend' (*i.e.* 'only a friend in name'). *But the Hebr. is not smooth*: 𝔊 (*ονοματι μονον φιλος*) *suggests* בשם אהב 'a friend (only) in name': 𝔖 'whose name is friend' (= ? שמו אהב) [j–j] 𝔅[BD] *text* דין: *but emend to* דָּוֹן = tristitia [k–k] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 [*λυπη*] *ενι εως θανατου* (*so* א* B*: 𝔏 inest): *v. l. μενει* (B[b] א[c.a] Syro-Hex mg.): 𝔖 = 𝔅 [l–l] 𝔅[D] ריע כנפש: 𝔅[B] רע כנפשך: 'friend like the (thy) soul': 𝔊 *εταιρος και φιλος* [m–m] 𝔊 (A 155 254 296 308) *τρεπομενος εις εχθρον* = 𝔅 (*others εις εχθραν* = 𝔏): 𝔖 (*omitting* לצר *at end of v.* 2 *and confusing* יצר *of* 3 a *with* צר) *renders* 2 b '[a deeply loved friend] shall he be to thee'. (*v.* 3) 'Enemy and evil', &c. [n–n] 𝔅[D] הוי רע יאמר מדוע נוצרתי (*so* 𝔅[B] *substantially*) *i.e.* 'Woe to the evil man that saith: Why was I created?' (*cp.* Is. xxix. 16): 𝔊 *ω πονηρον ενθυμημα ποθεν ενεκυλισθης, i.e.* 'O wicked imagination! whence wast thou fashioned' (rolled, *sc. on the potter's wheel*): *by this correct* 𝔅 *and read*: הוי יצר רע מדוע כן נוצרת [o–o] 𝔅 למלא: 𝔊 *καλυψαι* [p–p] 𝔅 פני תבל: 𝔊 *την ξηραν* [q–q] 𝔅 תרמית:

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22. **The beauty of a woman brighteneth the countenance** (for יהליל Hif. cp. Job xxxi. 26). Cp. xxvi. 16 f.

23. **a soothing tongue.** lit. 'healing of tongue' (Prov. xv. 4; cp. also Prov. xiv. 30 and Eccles. x. 4); 𝔊 'if there is on her tongue mercy and meekness' (248 adds 'and healing').

Her husband . . . lit. 'her husband is not of the sons of men,' i.e. is unusually fortunate.

24. **He that getteth a wife . . .** The other form of the text (see critical note) runs:

'Get a wife, (as) the choicest possession—
A fortified city, and a pillar of support.'

For the form of the distich see Prov. iv. 7. ['Get' has the idea of acquiring by purchase, as in fact was customary with a wife.]

25. **Without a hedge.** Cp. Ps. v. 5; Prov. xxiv. 30, 31.

a wanderer and homeless. Cp. Gen. iv. 12, 14 (Cain); same phrase.

26. **that hath no nest.** No wife, no house. For 'house' (בית) = wife. Cp. *Mishnah Yoma* i. 1.

(*c*) XXXVII. 1–6. This forms a third subsection. Its theme is true and false friendship (cp. what is said on the same subject in ch. vi).

1. **Every friend saith: I am a friend . . .** Cp. Prov. xx. 6 ('Many a man will meet one who is kind to him, but a faithful man who can find?')

there is a friend who is (only) friend in name. This agrees with 𝔊; but 𝔖 interprets otherwise: 'whose name is friend,' i.e. who deserves the name.

3. **O base nature!** יצר רע = 'the evil *Yeṣer*: cp. Gen. vi. 5. In order to avoid imputing the creation of 'the evil nature' to God 𝔊 rationalizes, translating 'wast thou created' by *ἐνεκυλίσθης* (see critical note).

To fill the world's face. Same phrase, Is. xiv. 21.

𝔅ᴰ ⁽ᴮ⁾ 4 [r]Base is the friend who hath regard to (one's) table[r],
But in the time of stress standeth aloof.
5 [s]A good friend contendeth with (one's) enemy[s],
[t]And[t] against [u]adversaries[u] holdeth the shield.
6 [v]Forget not[v] a comrade [w]in conflict[w],
[x]And forsake him not when thou takest spoil[x].

(*d*) XXXVII. 7–15. *Of counsellors true and false* (= 4 + 6 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

7 Every counsellor [a]pointeth (with) the hand[a],
But there is he that counselleth [b]a way to suit himself[b];
8 Beware of the counsellor,
And inform thyself beforehand what is his interest:
[c]For he himself will also[c] take thought:
[cc]'Why should it fall out as he wishes?'[cc]
9 And will say to thee: [d]How good[d] is thy course!
And (then) stand off to watch [dd]thy misfortune[dd].
𝔅ᴰ 10 Consult not [e]with [those opposed to thee][e],
And hide thy counsel from him that is envious—

𝔊 εν δολιοτητι: 𝔏 malitia et dolositati illius r–r *So* 𝔅 (= 𝔖 'evil is the friend who approacheth the table'): 𝔊 *misunderstanding* מרע *mistranslates the whole line* εταιρος φιλου εν ευφροσυνη ηδεται s–s *So* 𝔅ᴰ: 𝔊 *again mistranslates* (*but perhaps from a corrupt Hebr. text*) εταιρος φιλῳ συνπονει χαριν γαστρος (*? reading* אוהב נחמל עם רע בקרב: *i.e.* נחמל (= πονεῖν 1 Sam. xxiii. 21, LXX) *for* נלחם *and* רע *for* זר *with* בקרב *from next verse*) t–t 𝔊 > (*but* 70 248 *have* και: *so* 𝔏 *and* 𝔅) u–u 𝔅 ערים (*Neo-Hebr. for* צרים): 𝔊 πολεμου (*but* 248 πολεμιου) v–v 𝔅 אל תשכח = 𝔊: 𝔖 'praise not' = אל־תשבח w–w 𝔅 בקרב: 𝔊 εν τῃ ψυχῃ σου x–x *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 (*but, perhaps,* εν χρημασιν σου = בשלך *for* בשללך): 𝔖 'make him not ruler' (*perhaps an interpretation of* אל־תעזבהו) 'in thy house' (*?* בביתך *for* בשללך). *Cp.* Gen. xxxix. 6 a–a 𝔅ᴮ יניף יד 'shaketh the hand': 𝔊 εξαιρει βουλην (*cp.* επαιρειν = הניף xxxiii. 3, xlvii. 4: *and* βουλη = יד vi. 2): 𝔅ᴮ *mg. and* 𝔅ᴰ אומר חזה 'saith behold': 𝔖 'behold' [*for* εξαιρει 23 296 *have* εξερει = 𝔏 prodit] b–b 𝔅ᴰ דרך עליו = *lit.* 'a way according to him' c–c 𝔅ᴰ כי גם הוא נפשו cc–cc 𝔅 למה זה אליו יפול: 𝔊 μηποτε βαλῃ επι σοι κληρον (𝔏 ne forte mittat sudem in terram): 𝔊 *perhaps read* עליך יפיל (*cp.* Job vi. 27: 1 Sam. xiv. 42): 𝔖 'lest he cast upon thee evil hurt' d–d 𝔅 מטוב = מה־טוב dd–dd 𝔅 רישך *lit.* 'thy poverty' (*cp.* iv. 29): 𝔊 το συμβησομενον σοι: 𝔖 'thy shame' e–e 𝔅ᴰ חמיך = 𝔏 socero tuo (𝔅ᴮ *illegible*): *but* חמיך *can hardly be right* (חָמִיךָ = 'thy father-in-law', *i.e. husband's father, always in ref. to a woman: Smend explained by Arab.* حميل = dux viae malus, 'an untrustworthy guide': *but this word is uncertain*): 𝔊 του υποβλεπομενου σε: *emend to* קָמֶיךָ (*with Lévi: this seems to be the best suggestion yet made, and may, perhaps, be accepted provisionally*): *cp.* 𝔖 'thine enemy'. [*Edersh., Margol. suggest* חֹמֶיךָ *as* = 𝔊 *from*

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4. **standeth aloof.** Cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 13 (phrase).

[4 *a* is misunderstood by 𝔊; R.V. renders 'There is a companion, which rejoiceth in the gladness of a friend'. See critical note.]

5. **A good friend . . .** 𝔊 again misunderstands the text (see critical note; R.V. renders 𝔊 'There is a companion, which for the belly's sake laboureth with his friend'.

against adversaries holdeth the shield. Cp. Ps. xxxv. 2.

(*d*) XXXVII. 7–15. This forms a fourth subsection. It treats of counsellors base and faithful.

7. **Every counsellor pointeth (with) the hand.** The Hebr. expression means 'to shake the hand', and may be understood as = 'to beckon with the hand' as a preliminary to speech (cp. the phrase *κατασείειν τῇ χειρί*; e.g. Acts xii. 17, &c.). But this phrase is only used in reference to a public meeting, while here it is private counsel that is spoken of. It is better, therefore, with Smend, to understand the expression in the sense of Is. xiii. 2, of pointing the way = 'he points out a way or course of action'. The alternative reading of the Hebrew ('Every counsellor saith: Behold!' cp. the alternative Greek reading and 𝔖) certainly is well supported. It is preferred by Lévi. Smend, however, regards this as an interpretation. [𝔊 'extolleth counsel' misrepresents.]

he that counselleth a way to suit himself. Cp. *Derek 'Ereṣ zuta* 8: 'Beware of him that counselleth according to his own way' (= T. B. *Sanh.* 76 b): והוי זהיר מהיועץ לפי דרכו (cited by Edersheim).

8. **what is his interest** (lit. 'need') (cf. 𝔅 𝔊).

For he himself will also take thought: 'Why should it fall out as he wishes?' The thought is set forth. The metaphor of the lot underlies the expression (cp. also 𝔖) = why should matters fall out as he wishes (עליו = אליו)? Lévi arrives at a similar meaning for the text. He explains by the phrase נפל אל ('to fall to') = 'to go on the side of', 'espouse the cause of' (cp. 1 Chron. xii. 20); so here = why should it go to his benefit or interest? i.e. why should the matter result in benefiting him? 𝔊 has misread and misunderstood the clause (cp. R.V.).

10. **those opposed to thee.** See critical note. For words expressing hostility and envy in parallelism cp. Is. xi. 13.

𝔅ᴮ⁽ᴰ⁾ 11 With[f] a woman [g]about[g] her rival,
[h]And from [l]an enemy[l][h] [i]about war with him[i];
With a merchant about [j]business[j],
And from a buyer about selling;
[k]With an evil-disposed man[k] [l]about benevolence[l],
And a merciless man [m]about human happiness[m];
[n](With) the worthless workman[n] about his work,
[nn]And the yearly hireling[nn] [o]about the sowing of seed[o];
𝔊 (With) the idle slave about much work—
Put no trust in these [p]for any counsel[p]!
𝔅ᴮ⁽ᴰ⁾ 12 [q]But rather with a man that feareth always[q],
[r]Whom thou knowest to be a keeper of the Law[r];
[s]Whose heart is at one with thine own[s],
[t]Who[t], if thou stumblest, [u]will be grieved for thee[u].

Aram. חמא = 'to see'. *Here used in a hostile sense*] [f] 𝔏 *here inserts a doublet of clauses* (e) *and* (f) [g-g] 𝔅 על = περι (א C &c. *also* 𝔏): B > περι: *for* על צרתה 𝔖 *substitutes* 'lest thou commit adulterery with her' (*to avoid sanctioning concubinage implied by text*) [h-h] 𝔅ᴰ ומדד: 𝔊 και μετα δειλου (= מרך: *cp.* Deut. xx. 8): *but context requires* 'enemy' (*so* 𝔖): *read therefore with Smend* מזר (*cp. v.* 5) [i-i] 𝔅ᴮ אל מלחמתו: 𝔊 (*so* 𝔖) περι πολεμου = 𝔅ᴰ (*but parallelism with* צרתה *requires suffix*) [j-j] 𝔅 תחנר: 𝔊 περι μεταβολιας (א μεταβολης) 'concerning exchange' [k-k] 𝔅 עם איש רע: 𝔊 μετα βασκανου (= אם רע עין, *cp.* xiv. 13). *Perhaps* עין *has fallen out in* 𝔅: 𝔏 cum viro livido *supports* 𝔅 *in reading* איש [l-l] 𝔅ᴮ אל תגמל חסד (*cp.* תַּגְמוּל Ps. cxvi. 12): 𝔅ᴰ על גמילות חסד (ג״ ח״ *common in Neo-Hebrew: ? substituted in MS. for the earlier expression*): 𝔊 περι ευχαριστιας [m-m] 𝔅 על טוב בשר = 'about the happiness (welfare) of flesh' [n-n] 𝔅ᴮ פועל שוא: 𝔊 μετα οκνηρου: 𝔏 cum operario agrario = μετα εργατου αγρου (*for* αργου *from next clause*): 𝔖 'with a cheating servant', *cp.* 𝔅ᴰ פועל שכיר (*? misread* שקר) [nn-nn] 𝔅ᴰ שכיר שנה (*so* 𝔅ᴮ *mg.*: 𝔅ᴮ שומך שוא): 𝔊 μετα μισθιου αφεστιου (B): *but for last word* Syro-Hex 253 23 εφεστιου: א* C 155 308 επεστιου: *the rest rightly with* 𝔏 επετειου (= 'yearly': *cp.* Deut. xv. 18 LXX) [o-o] 𝔅ᴰ על מוצא זרע: 𝔊 (*freely*) περι συντελειας: 𝔏 consummatione anni [p-p] 𝔊 περι πασης συμβουλιας [q-q] 𝔅 איש מפחד תמיד (*read* עם) אך אם: 𝔊 αλλ η μετα ανδρος ευσεβους ενδελεχιζε, *cp.* 𝔖 'with men righteous be dwelling' [r-r] 𝔅 = 𝔊 (*but* εντολας): 𝔖 'for they fear to sin before God' [s-s] 𝔅ᴮ אשר עם לבבו כלבבך = *lit.* 'with whose heart (it is) as thine own heart': 𝔊 = אשר בלבבו, *which may be right* [t-t] 𝔅ᴮ אם: 𝔅ᴰ ואם = 𝔊 𝔖 [u-u] 𝔊 συναλγησει σοι = יַעֲכֹר בך ('will be troubled on

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11. **With . . . from.** The clauses that follow in 11 are in subordination to 'consult not (with)' and 'hide thy counsel (from)' in 10.

With a woman about her rival. i.e. with a wife about another woman whom one is intending to take as a second wife; the Hebr. word used here (צרה = ἀντίζηλος) has this technical meaning; cp. xxvi. 6 (also xxv. 11). In these passages Ben-Sira apparently has in mind some of the evil results of polygamy, which were in evidence when he wrote. The same word (= 'rival wife') is used in 1 Sam. i. 6; cp. also Lev. xviii. 18.

And from an enemy . . . 𝔊 'and with a coward about war'.

With a merchant about business. 𝔊 has 'concerning exchange', i.e. about what to buy (the goods that the merchant has to sell). The cases enumerated are of persons directly interested in the results of the transactions. From such the reader is warned not to seek advice.

And from a buyer about selling. i.e. about the price he should pay one. Such cautions as these are especially necessary in the East.

With an evil-disposed man . . . The list of unsuitable counsellors that follows consists of such as are incapacitated from giving advice on the particular matter by inherent defects of character. 'An evil-disposed man,' i.e. an ill-natured, grudging man (Lat. 'cum viro livido'). For 'benevolence' 𝔊 has περὶ εὐχαριστίας—εὐχαριστία apparently = display of kindliness.

about human happiness. i.e. about the good fortune and happiness of any one. 𝔊 'about kindness'.

And the yearly hireling about the sowing of seed. 𝔊 offers an interesting variety of reading here (see critical note). The reading of the cursives (55 106 248 254 296), viz. ἐπετείου (= 𝔏 'annuli'), is correct as against the uncials (B C א*), and is attested by 𝔅. It is not 'the domestic (ἐφεστίου) servant', but the 'yearly hireling' that the verse is concerned with. Such an one remained in his employment not a day longer than he was obliged (cp. Isa. xvi. 14); hence it would be of all things most unprofitable to discuss with one of this class something which would be carried out after the termination of his year's contract—viz. the sowing of seed in the autumn.

(With) the idle slave about much work. i.e. the opinion of a lazy servant must not be asked on the question whether there is much work to be done (Edersheim).

12. **with a man that feareth always . . . keeper of the Law.** i.e. a man who is God-fearing and pious: such a counsellor will be guided by right principle. For the phrase 'that feareth always' cp. Prov. xxviii. 14; also xviii. 27 of our book.

Whose heart . . . i.e. a faithful counsellor must be one who can act in a disinterested way, and is not committed to any course by special interests of his own.

𝔅^B (D) 13 Do thou also [v]take knowledge[v] of the counsel of (thine own) heart,
[w]For thou hast no one more true to thee[w].
14 The heart of a man [x]telleth (him) his opportunities[x]
Better than seven watchmen [y]on a tower[y].
15 But in all this intreat God,
That He may direct thy steps in truth.

(*a*) XXXVII. 16–26. *True and false wisdom* (= 3 + 2[+1] + 2 + 3 distichs).

16 [a]The beginning of every action is speech,
And before every work is the thought[a].
17 [b]The roots of the heart's deliberations
(18) Bring forth four branches[b]:
18 Good and evil, life and death;
[c]But the tongue ruleth over them altogether[c].
𝔅^B D (C) 19 [d]There is a wise man who is wise for many[d]
But for himself [e]is a fool[e].

account of thee'), *which is the mg. reading of* 𝔅^B (*corrupted to* יעבד *in* 𝔅^D: 𝔅^B *text* יגיע אליך = ? (*pointing* יָגִיעַ) condolebit tibi [*Peters*]: 'shall be weary for thee') v–v 𝔅 הבין: 𝔊 στησον = הכין: 𝔖 *renders whole verse*: 'for his faith shall quicken him, and also he is faithful like thee' w–w 𝔅^B לך אמן ממנו (*l.* אין) יאמין (𝔅^D כי) מי: 𝔊 ου γαρ εστιν σοι πιστοτερος αυτης x–x 𝔅 שעיותיו (מגיד) יגיד (*pl. of* שעה 'hour, time = opportunity': *form unusual*): 𝔊 απαγγελειν ενιοτε ειωθεν ('is sometimes wont to bring him tidings' R.V.) (157 + το αληθες: 106^b αληθινα = 𝔏): 𝔖 'shall rejoice in (*for* shall show) his ways' y–y 𝔅^B על מצפה: 𝔊 επι μετεωρου καθημενοι επι σκοπης (καθημενοι *an addition*: ε. μ. *and* ε. σ. *a double rendering of* על מצפה): 𝔅^D *has* על שן 'upon a peak' [*possibly* επι μετεωρου = על שן *and* 𝔊 *gives a conflation*]. 𝔖 *renders* 'more than the riches of the world that profit not' ('*thinking of* Matt. iv. 8' [*Hart*]) a–a *So* 𝔅^D 𝔊: 𝔖 'before all men and before everything God hath created all'. [*For* לפני *in* (b) 𝔅^B *has* ראש.] 𝔏 ante omnia opera (*al.* omnem operam) verbum verax praecedat te et ante omnem actum consilium stabile b–b 𝔅^B לבב ארבעה שכמים (D תחבולות) תחבילות (D עקר) עקרת (D יפריח) יפרחו (*mg.* + D שרביטים): 𝔊 ιχνος αλλοιωσεως (= ? תחליפות) καρδιας τεσσαρα μερη ανατελλει [*Hebr. explains* 𝔊 *which yields no suitable sense*]: μερη = שכמים 𝔅^B (*cp.* שכם Gen. xlviii. 22) c–c *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 'he that rules over his tongue shall be preserved from evil' d–d 𝔅 יש חכם לרבים נחכם: 𝔊 εστιν ανηρ (Syro-Hex 253 > ανηρ) πανουργος και πολλων παιδευτης (και > א A C &c. 𝔏, 𝔖 = 𝔅) [𝔊 = 𝔅: *possibly, however, reading* יחכם *for* נחכם, *and treating this as Hif.: Lévi considers* נחכם *a mistake for* יחכם: *Nif. not otherwise attested*) e–e 𝔅^D נואל (*so* 𝔅^B *mg.*) = 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅^B *and* 𝔅^C גואל (*Peters renders*: et animam suam liberat): 𝔖 *renders whole verse:*

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13. **take knowledge . . .** Self-reliance is, after all, best; for the maxim regarding the counsel of the heart cp. the *Alphabet of Ben-Sira* (I): 'Take sixty counsellors, but the counsel of thine own heart do not abandon.'

14. **The heart of a man telleth (him) his opportunities . . .** The Hebr. word rendered 'opportunities' = lit. 'hours', (שעה): the right opportune time for doing a thing (in this sense in Neo-Hebrew). The 'seven watchmen on a tower' of the second half of the verse may be an allusion to astrologers (Heb. is צופים lit. 'watchers'). For the number 'seven' in such a connexion cp. Prov. xxvi. 16, 25; Jer. xv. 9. The moral of the verse is that man should trust the instincts of his own heart most (so also 𝔊).

15. **But in all this intreat God.** 𝔊 has 'above all these'; counsel, to be fruitful, must be taken in conjunction with prayer. Prayer is of primary importance. The counsellors may be ranked in an ascending order of importance as one's friends, oneself, God (Edersheim). With the verse cp. Prov. xvi. 9.

XXXVII. 16–31. This section falls into two well-defined subsections, the first of which is concerned with wisdom true and false (*vv.* 16–26), and the second with wisdom or discretion applied to eating (*vv.* 27–31).

(*a*) XXXVII. 16–26 opens with some general remarks on reflection and thought. Thought precedes and determines action. Wisdom and folly bring in their train good and evil, life and death; but the fate of men is above all controlled by the tongue of the teacher (*vv.* 16–18). In the verses that follow (19–26) three classes of wise who are not really such (*vv.* 19, 20, 22) are contrasted with those who really deserve the name of 'wise' (*vv.* 23, 24, 26). 'Wise' throughout is a term for the well-instructed scribe or teacher.

17. **The roots of the heart's deliberations bring forth four branches.** The Hebrew (note the *v. l.*) may be rendered:

'The root of counsels is the heart;
It brings forth four branches.'

This accords well with *v.* 16. The workings of mind and the moral will issue in action which results in a harvest of good or evil, life or death. For the figure (root and branches) cp. i. 20. [𝔊 gives no coherent sense.]

18. **Good and evil, life and death.** Cp. xxxiii. (xxxvi.) 14; Deut. xxx. 19.

But the tongue ruleth over them altogether. Cp. Prov. xviii. 21 ('Life and death are in the power of the tongue').

19. **. . . who is wise for many But for himself is a fool.** The verse may be explained to mean either (*a*) there

𝔅ᴮᴰ 20 [f g]And there is a wise man who is loathed for his speech[g],
And is cut off [h]from all enjoyment[h];
𝔊 21 [For winning grace has not been bestowed upon him from the Lord,
And he depriveth himself of all honour].
𝔅ᴮᴰ⁽ᶜ⁾ 22 [i]And there is [j]a wise man who is wise[j] for himself,
The fruit of whose understanding (is) [k]upon his body[k].
𝔅ᴮᴰ 23 [i]And there is a wise man [l]who is wise for his people[l],
The fruit of whose understanding is [m]lasting[m].
25 [n]The life of a man (numbers) [o]days but few[o],
[p]But the life of Jeshurun days innumerable[p].
𝔅ᴮᴰ⁽ᶜ⁾ 24 [n q]Who is wise for himself[q] shall have his fill [r]of enjoyment[r],
And [s]all who see him[s] count him happy.
26 [t]Who is wise (for his) people[t] gaineth [u]honour[u],
And his name [v]abideth in life eternal[v].

(*b*) XXXVII. 27–31. *Wisdom or discretion applied to eating* (= 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

𝔅ᴮᴰ 27 My son, prove thy soul [w]in thy life[w],
And see (that) what harmeth it [x]thou give it not.

'every one that is wise in his own conceit is a fool'. [𝔊 αχρηστος : 𝔏 insuavis = 𝔅] [f] *Pr. tit.* 𝔏 de sofistica et versuta locutione [g–g] 𝔅 ויש חכם בדברו נמאס : 𝔊 εστιν σοφιζομενος εν λογοις (Syro-Hex + και) μισητος [h–h] 𝔅 מכל מאכל תענוג ('from all agreeable food'): 𝔊 πασης τροφης (א* 106 157 248 253 Syro-Hex σοφιας): Sah τρυφης = תענוג *rightly* (τροφη *for* τρυφη xli. 1). *Read* מכל תענוג : מאכל *in* 𝔅 *is an addition* (*a conflate reading*): 𝔖 'and he depriveth himself of all honour' (? = 21 b): *both* 𝔖 *and* 𝔅 *omit two lines: possibly* 𝔖 *omits* 20 b, 21 a *and this line* = 21 b (*so Smend*): 𝔅 > 21 a *and* b: *not improbably there is a doublet in* 𝔊 (*vv.* 20, 21), *and* 𝔖 *may represent a variant of* 20 b (𝔅 'is cut off from all enjoyment' = 𝔖 (*variant*) 'is deprived of all honour)' [i] 𝔖 *transposes vv.* 22, 23 (*wrongly: cp.* 24, 26) [j–j] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔏: 𝔊 σοφος [k–k] *So* 𝔅: 𝔖 'from the sight of his face': 𝔊 επι στοματος (*read* σωματος) πιστοι (296 > πιστοι = *an interpolation from* 23 b) [l–l] *The verse is wanting in* 𝔅ᴮ: 𝔅ᴰ לעמו יחכם = 𝔊 τον εαυτου λαον παιδευσει: 𝔖 'who is wise at all times' = לעולם יחכם: *cp.* 19 a [𝔊 ανηρ *at beginning of line* = 𝔅 ויש *misread* איש] [m–m] *So* 𝔊 (= נאמן): 𝔅ᴰ בגויתם = 'in their own bodies': *but* על (*not* ב) *would be expected here: cp.* 22 b. *Context supports* 𝔊. 𝔖 'for themselves' [n] 𝔅 *transposes vv.* 24, 25 (*rightly*): 𝔖 > *v.* 25 [o–o] 𝔅ᴮ מספר ימים : 𝔅ᴰ ימים מספר : 𝔊 εν αριθμῳ ημερων. *Read with Smend* ימי מספר (*cp.* (b) *and* xli. 13) [p–p] *So* 𝔅ᴰ: 𝔅ᴮ *has* עם ישראל *for* ישרון (= 𝔊 του Ισραηλ): *but* ישרון *original* [q–q] 𝔅 חכם לנפשו : 𝔊 ανηρ σοφος : 𝔅 = 𝔖 [r–r] 𝔅 תענוג (= 𝔖): 𝔊 ευλογιας [s–s] 𝔅ᴰ כל רואיהו : 𝔊 παντες οι ορωντες (+ αυτον 10 b, *so* 𝔏 *and* 𝔖 = 𝔅) [t–t] 𝔅 חכם עם : 𝔊 ο σοφος εν τῳ λαῳ αυτου [u–u] 𝔅ᶜᴰ כבוד : 𝔊 πιστιν (*but* 248 δοξαν, *so* 𝔏 *and* 𝔖 = 𝔅): πιστιν *may have been corrupted from* τιμην (*Smend*) [v–v] 𝔅ᴰ עומד בחיי עלם : 𝔊 ζησεται (248 εσται) εις τον αιωνα (= לחיי עולם : *perhaps so read here with Smend*) [w–w] *So* 𝔅ᴮ 𝔊 𝔖 : 𝔅ᴮ *mg.* 𝔅ᴰ בחמר ('in wine') *probably a scribal mistake for* בחייך [x] 𝔅ᴰ + ו ('and give it not'): *so* 𝔊: *but* 𝔅ᴮ 𝔏 𝔖 > 'and'

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are some who are wise where others' interests are concerned, but in their own affairs act as fools; or (*b*) there are some who pass as wise in the opinion of many, but who in their own estimation are as fools. Perhaps in view of the use of ל in 22 *a* the former interpretation (*a*) is to be preferred. Then 22 *a* is a contrast.

21. **winning grace.** 𝔊 χάρις = here also lovableness. Cp. xx. 19; xxi. 16.
depriveth himself of all honour. Cp. Num. xxiv. 11.

22. **The fruit of whose understanding (is) upon his body.** i.e. he experiences the results of his prudence in material comforts ('upon his body' = almost 'upon himself'). For the reading of 𝔊 see critical note, and cp. Prov. xii. 14, xiii. 2, xviii. 21.

23. **is lasting.** The result of such public-spirited wisdom is seen not merely in material comforts and success, but in lasting honour (fame among posterity).

25. **The life of a man . . . life of Jeshurun.** The verse gives interesting expression to one ancient view of immortality. A man's memory might live on in honour in the life of his people. The nation could be regarded as immortal. There is no hint of a survival of the personality of the individual. Cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 15. 'Jeshurun' is a poetic name for Israel under its ideal aspect (= 'upright one'); cp. Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Isa. xliv. 2.

24. **all who see him . . .** Cp. Job xxix. 11; Cant. vi. 9.

26. **And his name abideth in life eternal.** i.e. will live on honoured in the memory of future generations: cp. xxxix. 9, xli. 13 ('a good name endureth for ever'), xliv. 13, 14.

(*b*) XXXVII. 27–31. The theme of this subsection is prudence and self-restraint, especially as shown in eating. Discretion in this regard will ward off disease and prolong life. It forms a good transition to the following section, which deals with the physician and the healing art.

27. **My son, prove thy soul in thy life . . .** 'Experientia docet.' The wise man will learn from experience what to avoid as specially dangerous to himself.

𝔅B(D) 28 For not [y]everything[y] is good for every one—
[z]Every soul maketh not its choice of every kind[z].
29 [a]Indulge not excess[a] [b]in any[b] enjoyment,
[c]Nor immoderation[c] in [d]any[d] dainties.
30 [e]For in much eating[e] [f]nesteth sickness[f],
[g]And he that indulgeth excess[g] cometh nigh to [h]loathing[h].
31 [i]By intemperance[i] many have perished,
But he that is on his guard prolongeth life.

(*a*) XXXVIII. 1–15. *The physician has been ordained by God and should be resorted to in sickness* (= 3 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 1 distichs).

38 1 [j]Cultivate[j] the physician [k]in accordance with the need of him[k],
𝔅B For him also hath God ordained.

[y–y] *So* 𝔅B = 𝔊: 𝔅D תענוג ('luxury, enjoyment': 'for enjoyment is not good for every one'), *cp.* 𝔖 ('food is not,' &c. = ? אכל *for* לכל) [z–z] *So* 𝔅B = 𝔊: *cp.* 𝔖: 𝔅D ולא לכל נפש כל זן תבחר = 𝔏 et non omni animae omne genus placet [a–a] 𝔅B [ל] אל תזרע (*mg.* אל תזרו *and* [אל] תזר): 𝔅D [אל] אל תזר (*cp.* 𝔅B *mg.* 2): 𝔊 μη απληστευου. *Perhaps* 𝔅B *should be read* (*with a different division of the letters*) אל תזר על (*so Lévi, Strack*): *then point* אל תִּזֹּר (*Nif. of* זרה) = 'scatter not thyself upon (dissipate not thyself)' = 'indulge not excess' (= 𝔊 'be not insatiable in'): *the reading of* 𝔅D אל תזר = 'be not excessive'(?). *Smend reads* אל־תזיע: *Hif.* (= *strengthened Qal*) *of* זוע 'to be restless': *he renders* 'sei nicht ausgelassen (bei)', *and regards the other readings as variants arising* (אל [ו]תזר *and* אל תזר) *from* תזר על *and this from* תזרע ל: *cp.* והמזיע *v.* 30 b 𝔅B *mg.* [b–b] 𝔅B לכל = 𝔊: 𝔅B *mg. and* 𝔅D > בל [c–c] 𝔅B ואל תשפך = 𝔊: 𝔅B *mg.* = 𝔅D ואל תתחנג = ? *a scribal error for* תתענג *which itself is a correction of* תשפך (*so Smend*): *Lévi reads* תתחנג *and explains from Syr. as meaning* 'desire' [d–d] *So* 𝔅B: *but* 𝔅B *mg.* 𝔅D > 'any' (כל) [e–e] *So* 𝔅D = 𝔅B *mg. and* 𝔊 (εν πολλοις γαρ βρωμασιν): 𝔅B כי ברוב תענוג [f–f] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 εσται πονος (B): *but other MSS.* (א A 248 &c.) νοσος (𝔏 infirmitas: *so* 𝔖) [g–g] 𝔅D המזיע (*cp. note* [a–a] *above*) = 𝔅B *mg.*: 𝔅B והמרבה: 𝔊 και η απληστια [h–h] 𝔅 זרא = 𝔊 (εως χολερας): *so* Num. xi. 20 (*Hebr. and* LXX) [i–i] 𝔅 בלא מוסר ('through lack of discipline': *cp.* Prov. v. 23 באין מוסר = *Symm.* δι' απαιδευσιαν): 𝔊 δι' απληστιαν: 𝔏 propter crapulam: 𝔖 'through much food' [j–j] 𝔅B רעי *i.e.* רְעִי: *mg.* רעה רועה = 𝔅D: 𝔊 τιμα = 𝔏 𝔖 *and the citation in Rabbinic sources* (כבד אוקיר): *see exeg. note for these, and also for the use of* רעה *in these connexions* (רעה *used in an Aram. sense* = *Heb.* רצה 'to take pleasure in, treat in a friendly way') [k–k] 𝔅B *mg.* לפי צרכך (𝔅D לפי *here this MS. ends*): 𝔊 προς τας χρειας (+ αυτου א A V 155 253 254 307 Syro-Hex)

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28. **For not everything is good for every one . . .** Cp. 1 Cor. vi. 12.
29. **Indulge not excess.** Cp. xxxi. (xxxiv.) 7, 'be not insatiable' (𝔊 μὴ ἀπληστεύου, as here).

Nor immoderation . . . lit. 'be not poured out' (𝔊 μὴ ἐκχυθῇς = 𝔅 אל תשפך), i.e. do not allow yourself to be given up excessively to. Cp. Ep. Jude 11 'rushed headlong (ἐξεχύθησαν) for wages in the error of Balaam'.

30. **sickness . . . loathing.** There is a clear allusion to Num. xi. 20. Possibly both here and in the Numbers passage the word translated 'loathing' (Vulg. 'nausea') may, as Smend suggests, denote something stronger, some severe illness like dysentery (Smend renders 'Brechruhr'). Oriental dysentery is especially dangerous. For the whole verse cp. xxxi. (xxxiv.) 20.

31. **prolongeth life.** Lit. 'will add life': cp. for the expression xlviii. 23; Ps. lxi. 6 (7); Prov. iii. 2, ix. 11.

XXXVIII. 1–23. This section falls into two well-defined subsections, the first of which treats of the physician and his healing art, which should be resorted to in sickness (*vv.* 1–15); and the second with mourning for the dead (*vv.* 16–23).

(*a*) XXXVIII. 1–15. God has ordained the physician, and given man the power and means to use the healing art, in order that these should be resorted to when needful (*vv.* 1–8). In time of sickness, together with prayer, repentance, and sacrifice, the skill of the physician should be called in to aid. The section seems to be addressed to people who, on religious grounds, were unwilling to consult the physician in times of sickness; cp. 2 Chron. xvi. 12 ('Asa . . . was diseased in his feet . . . yet in his disease he resorted not unto the Lord, but to the physicians'—the contrast is significant).

1. **Cultivate the physician in accordance with the need of him.** The line is cited more than once in Rabbinic works in the form—('The proverb says:) Honour thy physician before thou hast need of him' (*Midrash rabba* to Exod. xxi; cp. *Midr. Tanh.* Gen. מקץ § 10; also in an Aram. form in T. J. *Taanith* iii. 6). This form agrees with 𝔅B here in reading 'before (thou hast need of him)'; but the alternative reading (לפי = 𝔊) 'in accordance with the need of him' is to be preferred here, being supported by the logical connexion. The physician is to be cultivated and honoured 'because' God has ordained him for a special and necessary office in human affairs. This point the author is enforcing to people who were inclined to deny the necessity of the physician under any circumstances. The reading 'before' here may have arisen under the influence of xviii. 19 ('Have a care of thy health or ever thou be sick'); so Taylor. The word rendered 'cultivate' (רעה) occurs also in xxxi. (xxxiv.) 15, with the meaning to treat in a friendly and considerate manner; cp. רעי in Aram. = 'to delight in, welcome' (*B. H.* רצה).

ordained. The Hebr. word here rendered 'ordained' (חלק) sometimes has the meaning 'created' (so xxxi.

𝔅ᴮ 2 It is from God that [l]the physician getteth wisdom[l],
And from the king he receiveth [m]gifts[m].
3 The skill of the physician lifteth up his head,
[n]And he may stand before nobles[n].
4 God [o]hath created[o] medicines out of the earth,
And let not a discerning man reject them.
5 Was not [p]the water[p] made sweet [q]by the wood[q],
[r]That He might make known to all men His power[r]?
6 And He gave men discernment,
That they might glory [s]in His mighty works[s].
7 [t]By means of them the physician assuageth pain[t],
8 And likewise [u]the apothecary prepareth a confection[u]:

τιμαις (70 106 296 > τιμαις) αυτου: *Clem. Alex. has only* προς χρειαν αυτου: אᶜ·ᵃ προς τας χρειας = 𝔏 = לפי צרכו (*so read*): 𝔅ᴮ לפני צרכו = 𝔖: *so Rabbinic citations* (? לפני *for* לפי *under influence of* xviii. 19) [l–l] 𝔅 יחכם רופא = 𝔖: 𝔊 (*freely*) εστιν ιασις [m–m] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 δομα (*but* V 248 253 Syro-Hex δοξαν) [n–n] *So* 𝔅 (*with mg.* מלכים *for* נדיבים): 𝔊 και εναντι μεγιστανων θαυμασθησεται: 𝔖 'and before kings they set him' [o–o] *So* 𝔊 𝔏 𝔖 = 𝔅 *mg.* (ברא [+שמים *i.e.* סמים]): 𝔅 (*text*) [תרופות] מוציא: *for* הוציא *used of creation cp.* Gen. i. 12. [*The marginal* שמים (סַמִּים) = 'spices' = 𝔖 *and occurs in the Rabb. citation* (*see exeg. note*), *but is not to be preferred to the text* תרופות = 'medicines'] [p–p] *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 𝔏 aqua amara = 𝔖 (*amplifying ref. to* Exod. xv. 25) [q–q] 𝔅 *mg.* מעץ = 𝔊: 𝔅 *text* בעץ = 𝔖 [r–r] 𝔅 בעבור להודיע כל אנש כחו (*for* בעבור ל+*inf.*, *cp.* 1 Chron. xix. 3): 𝔊 εις το γνωσθηναι την ισχυν αυτου = 𝔖 (*but* 248 70+υπο [248 απο] ανθρωπου [*so* 𝔏] = 𝔅) [s–s] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 'in His (*mg.* their) mighty work' (*but pl. is required by* בהם 7 a) [t–t] 𝔊 εν αυτοις εθεραπευσεν και ηρεν τον πονον αυτου (אᶜ·ᵃ 157 307 &c. Syro-Hex Sah Eth αυτων) = 'with them doth he heal and taketh away his (their) pain': 𝔏 in his curans mitigabit dolorem (*Aug. spec.* mitigavit dolorem ipsorum) = θεραπευων ανεπαυσεν = 𝔅 𝔖 [𝔊 *may have added* ו *of* וכן *to* מכאוב] [u–u] 𝔏 unguentarius faciet pigmenta suavitatis+et unctiones conficiet

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[xxxiv.] 13 𝔅, 27 mg.); the Greek so renders here (ἔκτισεν); cp. vii. 15, xxxix. 25, xl. 1, xliv. 2. But in all these passages the meaning 'allot' or 'ordain' is to be preferred. [The meaning 'create' in xxxi. (xxxiv.) 13 may be explained from the idea of smoothness, shape, according to Smend.]

2. **It is from God that the physician getteth wisdom . . .** The skill of the physician is derived from God, and is not dependent on the favour of earthly potentates for the high estimation with which it should be regarded. This seems to be the thought of the couplet. 'King' in clause *b* probably means an earthly king, and is not to be regarded as a title of God here (the King, i.e. the heavenly King). The verse, however, may not be intended to assert more than the fact that the physician derives his skill from God, and at the same time receives recognition and is honoured by the highest of earthly potentates. Physicians were regular officials of Oriental courts, and highly esteemed there. 𝔊 generalizes the statement ('from the Most High cometh healing').

3. **lifteth up his head . . . stand before nobles.** A physician specially skilful may rise to the highest honour. For the expression 'stand before nobles' (*v. l.* 'kings') cp. Prov. xxii. 29.

4. **created medicines out of the earth.** Herbs used for medicinal purposes are specially in the writer's mind. In the *Midrash rabba* on Gen. viii (cp. also *Yalqut*, Job, § 501) some sayings are grouped together which correspond to *vv.* 4 *a*, 7, and 8 *a* here:

(4 *a*) God causes spices to spring up out of the earth:
(7) With them the physician heals the stroke,
(8 *a*) And of them the perfumer compounds the perfume.[1]

5. **Was not the water made sweet by the wood . . .** The allusion is to Exod. xv. 23 f. Ben-Sira rightly interprets the miracle to have been effected by the nature of the wood: so Targ. Onq. *ad loc.* ('and the Lord instructed him (in the properties of) a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters became sweet': cp. also Philo *de vita Moysi*, i. 33, and Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 1. 2).

That He might make known to all men His power. So 𝔅 rightly. God is the subject of the sentence (𝔊 makes the reference to the power (virtue) of the wood). God reveals His power through natural agents and properties.

6. **That they** (i.e. men) **might glory in His** (God's) **mighty works.** For the expression 'glory in' (התפאר ב) cp. xvii. 9, xxxix. 8, l. 20.

7. **By means of them the physician assuageth pain.** 'By means of them,' i.e. by the forces which God has placed in natural objects. The subject of the sentence in the text of 𝔅 is the physician: 𝔊 (wrongly) makes the subject of the sentence God. [𝔊 may have read בהם רופא ומרפא מכאובו (cp. Rabb. cit. above).]

8. **And likewise the apothecary prepareth a confection.** Or the clause (𝔅) may be rendered: 'And likewise the perfumer prepareth a perfume' (μίγμα). In B.H רוֹקֵחַ is a professional name = 'mixer, perfumer' (cp. Exod. xxx. 25, 35; Eccles. x. 1, &c.); in 1 Chron. ix. 30 cp. 'compounders of the ointment': מְרַקַּחַת (the word used here) in Neo-Hebrew = 'ointment' (ointment-mixture) (so 1 Chron. ix. 30). Thus the line might be rendered: 'And likewise the apothecary (compounder) prepareth an ointment (ointment-mixture).' For רוקח (Gr. μυρεψός) cp. xlix. 1. The offices of apothecary (compounder) and physician were, of course, not distinct.

[1] אלוה העלה סמים מן־הארץ. בהם הרופא מרפא את המכה ומהם הרוקח מרחק את המרחקת

𝔅[B] That His work may not cease,
[v]Nor health[v] [w]from the face of His earth[w].
9 My son, [x]in sickness[x] [y]be not negligent[y];
Pray unto God, for He can heal[z].
10 [a][Turn] from iniquity, and [l]purify thy hands[l][a];
And from all [b]transgressions[b] cleanse thy heart.
11 [cd][l]Give a meal-offering with[l] a memorial[d],
[e]And offer a fat sacrifice[e] [f]to the utmost of thy means[f].
12 [g]And to the physician also give a place[g];
Nor should he be far away[h], for of him there is need.
13 For there is a time when successful help is in his power;
14 For he also maketh supplication to God,
[i]To make his diagnosis successful[i],
And the treatment, [j]that it may promote recovery[j].
15 He that sinneth before his Maker
[k]Shall be delivered into the hands[k] of the physician.

sanitatis (*a doublet*) [v–v] 𝔅 ותושיה : 𝔊 και ειρηνη [παρ' αυτου] (𝔏 *reading* γαρ *for* παρ : pax enim Dei) [? ειρηνη = שלוה *for* תושיה (*Hart*) : *but Smend thinks it translates* 𝔅 = 'Heil'] [w–w] 𝔊 παρ αυτου εστιν επι προσωπου της γης = ממנו על פני ארצו [תושיה] = 'and that health from him may be upon the face of the earth' (*Smend thinks this may be the original text*) : 𝔅 ותושיה מבני אדם, *mg.* מפני ארצו = 𝔖 ('from the face of the earth') : *in classical Hebrew* מעל פני *would be required* [x–x] *So* 𝔅 : 𝔊 + σου (*so* 𝔖 𝔏) [y–y] 𝔅 אל תתעבר = 𝔊 (*see further exeg. note*) : 𝔖 > (𝔏 ne despicias te ipsum) [z] 𝔊 + σε (*so* 𝔏) [a–a] 𝔅 (*at beginning of line*) *is here defective* : (נום) מעול ומהכר פנים = 'flee from iniquity and from respect of persons' (*Schechter*) : (נום *is supplied also by Lévi, Strack, Peters*) : 𝔅 *mg. has* נסה = 'prove'. 𝔊 αποστησον πλημμελειαν (248 70—μειας) και ευθυνον χειρας = הסיר מעל והבר פפים? (ευθυς = בר Ps. lxxviii. 1) : *so Smend would emend the whole line* : סור מעול והבר פפים : *this is confirmed by parallelism of next clause.* 𝔖 *has* 'remove iniquity and falsehood' [b–b] 𝔊 αμαρτιας (*sing.*) [c] *v.* 11 > 𝔖 [d–d] *Hebr. MS. defective, only the final word of the line,* אזכרה, *being legible* : 𝔊 δος ευωδιαν και μνημοσυνον σεμιδαλεως : 𝔅 *mg.* אזכרתה : *Smend remarks that a fem. noun must have preceded this, and he restores the whole line* : תן מנחה וגם אזכרה : *Lévi* הגש ניחוח ואזכרה (*cp.* xlv. 16) = 'offer incense and a memorial' [e–e] 𝔅 ודשן ערוך = 'and make fat what is set in order or prepared' (*i.e.* 'the offering prepared') : *cp.* מערכות l. 14 *where* 𝔊 *renders by* προσφορα : 𝔊 *here* και λιπανον προσφοραν [f–f] 𝔅 בכנפי הוניך (*Schechter proposes* ככנפי הוניך 'according to the savings of thy substance') : 𝔊 ως μη υπαρχων = ? כפי אינך : *or as Lévi suggests* כבלי הון : *perhaps* כפי הונך (*Lévi*) *should be read.* 𝔏 > [g–g] *So* 𝔊 = 𝔅 (*MS. defective*) : 𝔊 + και γαρ αυτον εκτισεν κυριος (*addition from v.* 1) [h] 𝔊 + σου : *cp.* 𝔅 *mg.* מאח (*corrupted for* מאתך ?) [i–i] אשר יצלח לו פשרה (= פִּשֶׁר 'solution', Eccles. viii. 1) : 𝔊 αναπαυσιν (*? from* αναλυσιν : λυσις = פשר Eccles. viii. 1. [𝔖 *here* 'health'.]) *For* יצלח (*read as Hif.*) 𝔅 *mg. has* ימנה (*i.e.* יְמַנֶּה) = 𝔖 : 𝔏 diriget [j–j] 𝔊 χαριν εμβιωσεως = 𝔅 : 𝔖 'in his hand and life' [k–k] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* יסתוגר על ידי = 𝔖 *and* 𝔊 (εμπεσοι εις χειρας) : 𝔅 *text* יתגבר לפני 'is presumptuous before' [l] 𝔏 *pr. tit.* de exequiis [m–m] 𝔅 הזיב (*lit.* 'cause to flow') = 𝔊 καταγαγε : 𝔖 'multiply' (= הרב *Hart*) [n–n] 𝔅 התמרר : 𝔊 ως δεινα πασχων = כמתמרר [o–o] 𝔅 ואל תתעלם ('hide not thyself') [p–p] 𝔅 בגויעתם (*but sing. suff. is required : so read with versions*) : 𝔊 (*for whole line*) και μη υπεριδης την ταφην

That His work may not cease, Nor health from the face of His earth. 'His (i.e. God's) work.' The idea is that God's mighty working manifests itself ceaselessly on the earth in the work of the physician. 'The reason ... is a divine design to encourage science, which otherwise would vanish, being useless. "Miraculous" healing would never have suggested a study of botany or mineralogy' (Edersheim). 𝔊 obscures the meaning.

9. **in sickness be not negligent.** The Hebr. word rendered here 'be negligent' (so 𝔊) means 'to let oneself go', i.e. be careless: so Prov. xiv. 16; Sir. v. 7, vii. 10, 16; cp. xiii. 7, xvi. 8. It is not necessary to alter the text in these passages to התעכר, 'trouble oneself'.

Pray unto God, for He can heal. Cp. Exod. xv. 26.

10. **Turn from iniquity, and purify thy hands . . .** The expression 'clean of hands' ('he that hath clean hands') symbolizes innocence or freedom from guilt; cp. Job xvii. 9, &c. The idea that physical ills are a punishment for sin is here emphasized, as often elsewhere in the O. T.

11. **Give a meal-offering with a memorial.** The sacrifice as described in Lev. ii. 1–3 is meant; the 'memorial' is that part of the *minḥaḥ* which is burnt upon the altar. All incense was so burnt (cp. xlv. 16). Lévi restores here: 'Offer incense and a memorial.'

offer a fat sacrifice . . . Cp. vii. 31; Prov. iii. 9, &c.

12. **And to the physician also give a place.** Note the order of Ben-Sira's thought: In sickness first make thy peace with God; resort to prayer and sacrifice; then call in the physician ('for verily the Lord hath created him' is an addition in 𝔊 from *v.* 1).

14. **To make his diagnosis successful, And the treatment . . .** For the text see critical note. The word rendered 'treatment' lit. = 'healing'.

15. **He that sinneth . . . Shall be delivered into the hands of the physician.** This probably means that if a man sins against his Maker he will be punished by sickness and ill health, and will then have to depend upon the physician for relief—God will not help him (presumably till he has made his peace with God). 𝔊 (ἐμπέσοι: but 23 55 254 ἐμπεσεῖται) renders: 'let him fall!' but the alternative rendering is to be preferred.

(*b*) XXXVIII. 16–23. *On mourning for the dead* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

𝔥[B] 16 [l]My son, [m]let tears fall[m] over the dead;
[n]Show thy grief[n] and wail out thy lamentation.
In accordance with what is due to him bury his body,
[o]And hide not thyself[o] [p]when he expires[p].
17 [q]Let thy weeping be bitter and thy wailing passionate[q];
And make mourning such as befits him:
A day or two on account of [r]gossip[r]—
And be consoled [s]on account of (thy) [sorrow][s].
18 [t]For out of sorrow[t] proceedeth [u]bane[u];
[v]Even so[v] [w]sadness of heart[w] [x][prostrateth] vigour[x].
𝔖 [y] 19 [z][Worse than death is abiding sorrow],
𝔊 (𝔖) And an unfortunate life is cursed by the heart[z].
𝔥[B] 20 [a]And let him no more occupy thy thoughts[a]:
[b]Dismiss the remembrance of him, and remember the end[b].

αυτου ('and neglect not his burial') [q–q] 𝔥 מספד (*mg.* ההם) והתם (*mg.* בכי) המר בני : 𝔊 πικρανον κλαυθμον και θερμανον κοπετον = המר בכי והחם מספד (*so Smend restores and reads*): מספד החם = *lit.* 'make hot lamentation'. *Lévi keeping* 𝔥 *text* מספד התם *renders* 'accomplis exactement les cérémonies funèbres'. 𝔖 (*reading* חמר 'wine' *for* המר) *renders*: 'wine and food for them that lament' [r–r] 𝔊 διαβολης = ? דבה (*so read*): 𝔥 דמעה (𝔖 'of men' = ? העם *from* דמעה: *Lévi*) [s–s] 𝔥 *text* בעבור עון: 𝔊 λυπης ενεκα = ? בעבור דָּוֹן: *so read*: 𝔖 'on account of life' [t–t] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔥 מדין (*read* כי מְדָוֹן) [u–u] 𝔥 אסון: 𝔊 θανατος [v–v] 𝔥 כן [w–w] 𝔥 רֹעַ לֵבָב (*cp.* Neh. ii. 3) = 𝔊 [x–x] καμψει ισχυν = יענה עצמה (*so read*): 𝔥 *text* יבנה עצבה [y] *v.* 19 > 𝔥 [z–z] 𝔖 (*fusing* 18 b *and* 19 a) *has* '[for so an evil heart] more than death crushes through anxiety the poor man and brings distress, for the life of the poor is for a curse of the heart': 𝔊 (*clause* a) εν απαγωγῃ (א A &c. επαγωγῃ) παραβαινει (א[c.a] A &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 παραμενει) και λυπη. *Smend proposes for this line* רע ממות דון עומד. 𝔖 *misread* רע *as* רש: 𝔊 *ignored* רע *and read* מכות(ב) *for* ממות (*cp.* iii. 28 επαγωγη = מכת): *so Smend. The second clause is in* 𝔊 και βιος πτωχου κατα (55 248 254 καταρα) καρδιας [a–a] 𝔥 אל תשיב אליו לב עוד = 'turn not thy heart back to him again': 𝔥 *mg.* אל תשית עליו לב עוד *i.e. as rendered above:* 𝔊 *seems to have understood* עליו *as* = 'upon it (*i.e.* sorrow)' = 'set not thy heart upon sorrow' (μη δως εις λυπην την καρδιαν σου *which* = אל תתן לדון נפשך, xxx. 21): 𝔖 'upon oaths' [b–b] *So* 𝔥: 𝔊 (*mitigating the harshness*) αποστησον αυτην μνησθεις τα εσχατα

(*b*) XXXVIII. 16–23. Proper mourning and burial should be bestowed on the dead; but sorrow, unduly prolonged, can only harm the living, and cannot benefit the dead.

16. **let tears fall . . .** Cp. Jer. ix. 17–18.

In accordance with what is due to him bury . . . 'Perhaps in grave-clothes suited to his station' (Edersheim). For the Greek word here used (περίστειλον) cp. Tobit xii. 12 and Ezek. xxix. 5, LXX.

And hide not thyself when he expires. So 𝔥 (for the expression 'hide thyself', used absolutely as here, cp. Deut. xxii. 3). 𝔊 'And neglect not his burial': this, perhaps, gives the sense fairly correctly. A passage in the Babylonian Talmud, cited by Schechter (*Moed Qatan* 27 *b*), will illustrate the meaning: 'Formerly the funeral (lit. the bringing out) of the dead was more grievous to his relatives than his death—so much so that his relatives used to leave him and flee; until Rabban Gamaliel came and himself set the example of going forth (in the funeral procession) in linen garments,' &c. The abuse referred to is the burden of expense entailed by extravagant funeral fashions, which caused relatives to abandon the dead and take to flight rather than face the requirements. It would seem probable that some such abuse is aimed at in the text. Smend explains the verse as referring to the laws of ritual uncleanness in connexion with a corpse (cp. Num. xix. 14 f.). Rather than incur this impurity people would leave the dying man. But this is most improbable.

17. **Let thy weeping be bitter and thy wailing passionate.** Lit. 'make bitter weeping' (same expression Zech. xii. 10): the Syr. variant here, 'wine and food for them that lament' (see critical note), is interesting. It is an allusion to the customary funeral feast, mentioned in Jer. xvi. 7 (also ? Tobit iv. 17), but the reading is due to misunderstanding of the original text, though some allusion to the custom would have been expected.

A day or two on account of gossip. i.e. to avoid slander or public criticism. 𝔖 has 'on account of people' (generally).

be consoled on account of (thy) sorrow. i.e. after the prescribed days of mourning are ended. These, according to the strict letter of the law, were seven, but in ordinary life may have been reduced to one or two days. 𝔖 has 'on account of life', i.e. that thy own life and health may not suffer. The duty of burying the dead with proper respect is constantly enforced in Rabbinical literature; cp. also the Book of Tobit.

18. **bane.** 𝔊 renders θάνατος. The Hebrew word (אסון) may be understood of sudden death brought about by accident or misfortune; cp. Gen. xlii. 4, 38, xliv. 29; Exod. xxi. 22, 23 (Targ. Onq. renders מותא, 'death,' in all these passages). So again in our book xxxi. (xxxiv.) 21 𝔥 (so Smend). Sorrow unduly prolonged will bring sudden misfortune (death).

19. **Worse than death is abiding sorrow . . .** Cp. xxx. 17. The verse is wanting in 𝔥: for text see critical note. 𝔊 in clause *a* (B ἐν ἀπαγωγῇ παραβαίνει καὶ λύπη) is explained by Ryssel to mean: with the departure of the corpse from the house, sorrow also passes away (cp. *v.* 23 *a*). (𝔥 for 19 *b*? וְחַיֵּי עָנִי קְלָלַת לֵב.)

20. **let him no more occupy thy thoughts.** 𝔊 'give not thy heart unto sorrow': cp. xxx. 21.

remember the end. The sense of the whole verse is: Give not up thy life and energies to vain regrets; remember thine own end, that thou thyself hast to die, and live thy life, while thou hast it, in the right way.

𝔅ᴮ 21 [cd]Remember him not, for he hath no hope[d];
Thou canst not profit him, while thou harmest thyself.
22 [c]Remember his doom, for it is the doom of thyself—
[e]His[e] yesterday, and thine to-day!
23 [f]When the dead is at rest, let his memory rest[f];
And be consoled when his soul departeth.

(*a*) XXXVIII. 24–30. *The superiority of the scribe over the labourer and artisan* (= 1 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 4 distichs).

24 The wisdom of the scribe [g]increaseth wisdom[g],
And [h]he that hath little business[h] can become wise.
25 How can he become wise that holdeth [i]the goad[i],
And glorieth [j]in brandishing the lance[j]?

[c] 𝔅 *transposes* (*wrongly*) *vv.* 21, 22 (*to* 22, 21) [d–d] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *again diverges, modifying the original sense:* μη επιλαθη ου γαρ εστιν επανοδος (R.V. 'forget it not, for there is no returning again'): 𝔖 *renders the whole verse:* 'Remember grief and dispel sins, and put not thy trust in riches, for there is no hope in them; for like a bird of the heavens that flieth and alighteth, so is wealth before the sons of men; thee it rejoiceth and another it harmeth' [e–e] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 εμοι (*so in clause* a 𝔊 *has* το κριμα μου *except* B 253 308 *which have* αυτου]): *so* A V Syro-Hex. 𝔏 [f–f] 𝔅 *mg.* [זכרו] כשבות מת ישבות = 𝔊 (*but* καταπαυσον *may* = השבת: *cp.* x. 17) [g–g] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖 (+'for him'): 𝔊 εν ευκαιριᾳ σχολης (EV 'cometh by opportunity of leisure') [h–h] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 ο ελλασουμενος πραξει αυτου: 𝔖 'he who is not busy with vain things' (ודלא מפרק סריקתא *cp.* 1 Tim. v. 13 *Pesh.*) [i–i] 𝔅 מלמד = 'ox-goad' (*cp.* Judges iii. 31): 𝔊 αροτρου: 𝔖 'plough-share' (*cp.* LXX *Theod.* Judges iii. 31, αρατροπους: *Vulg.* vomer) [j–j] 𝔅 *has* בחנית מהעיר = '(who glorieth) by reason of brandishing with the lance' (*cp.* 2 Sam. xxiii. 18): 𝔊 εν δορατι κεντρου = ? בחנית מַרְהֵעַ: *so Smend reads here* (מרדע = *B.H.* הָרְכָּן) [k–k] 𝔅 באלוף ינהג (אלוף Ps. cxliv. 14 = אלף) = 𝔊 βοας ελαυνων [l–l] 𝔅 ישובב בשור (*mg.* וישובב בשיר: *over line*

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21. **Remember him not, for he hath no hope.** So 𝔅. 𝔊 'forget it (i.e. thy latter end) not, for there is no returning' (? reading תקומה for תקוה, Lévi): for this sentiment cp. Job viii. 8; Wisd. ii. 1.

22. **Remember his doom . . .** Cp. xli. 2, 3.

23. **When the dead is at rest, let his memory rest . . .** Cp. for the sentiment 2 Sam. xii. 23.

XXXVIII. 24—XXXIX. 11, with an Appendix, XXXIX. 12–35. This forms an independent section which has for its general theme the scribes. It falls into three well-defined subsections (besides an Appendix), the first of which brings out the superiority of the scribe over the labourer and artisan (xxxviii. 24–30); then, the place of the craftsman in the civic economy is dwelt upon, but at the same time his inability to fulfil the higher offices of counsellor and judge is set forth (xxxviii. 31–34); the last subsection gives a glowing picture of the work and activity of the true scribe, and of his honourable status (xxxix. 1–11). The Appendix (xxxix. 12–25) contains a hymn of praise for creation.

The whole section is extremely valuable for the light it throws upon the position and character of the older Sopherim, and also, incidentally, on the trades that flourished in Jerusalem in Ben-Sira's days. These earlier scribes, in contrast with the later Teachers of the Law, appear for the most part to have belonged to the upper and wealthy classes (cp., however, xi. 1; Eccles. ix. 16), and to have been separated from the working classes (peasants, labourers, and artisans) by a wide social gulf. They were apparently a leisured class, raised above the necessity of earning a livelihood, who took the lead in public affairs and counsel, and acted as judges in pronouncing judicial decrees (cp. xxxviii. 33). They obviously belonged to the nobility, and perhaps to the noble families of the priesthood (hence their position as judges). They appear to have familiarized themselves with foreign affairs and countries, and to have sometimes occupied positions under foreign monarchs, in which capacity they would naturally act also as the representatives of their own people and state. Smend points out that originally the tradition of the scribes grew out of the priestly *Torah*, and, consequently, the earlier scribes were drawn from the priestly class. This was still the case in the time of Ben-Sira.

(*a*) XXXVIII. 24–30. This subsection is particularly interesting as containing a more or less representative enumeration of the handicrafts that flourished in Jerusalem, by the side of agriculture, when the author wrote. They appear in the following order of precedence: engravers of gems (signets and precious stones), smiths, and potters. Some of the more ordinary trades, such as weaving and carpentry, are passed over, as too obvious to mention, perhaps.

24. **The wisdom of the scribe increaseth wisdom.** Schechter cites *Baba bathra* 21 *a*: 'The emulation of scribes increaseth wisdom' (קנאת סופרים תרבה חכמה). 𝔊 apparently understood 'wisdom' at end of the line to mean 'learned leisure'.

he that hath little business . . . Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 14: 'R. Meir said: 'Have little business, and be busied in Torah.' But the rule in Mishnaic times was that study of the Law should be combined with a trade; cp. *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 2 ('Rabban Gamaliel said: Excellent is Torah study together with worldly business, for the practice of them both puts iniquity out of remembrance; and all Torah without work must fail at length and occasion iniquity').

25. **And glorieth in brandishing the lance.** The ox-goad is apparently meant here, as in the preceding line (so 𝔊 and Smend's restored text; see critical note). [For phrase 'brandish the lance' cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 18; 1 Chron. xi. 11 and 20.]

𝔅 [k]Who leadeth cattle[k] [l]and turneth about oxen[l],
[m]And whose discourse[m] is with bullocks?
26 [mm]He is careful [n]to harrow [l]the seed-strip[l][n],
And his anxiety is [o]to complete the provender[o].
27 [p]Likewise the maker of carving and cunning device[p],
Who by night as by day [q]hath no rest[q];
[r]Who engraveth signet-engravings[r],
[s]And whose art it is to make variety of design[s];
He is careful [t]to make the likeness true[t],
And his anxiety is to complete his work.
𝔊(𝔖)[tt]28 So also [u]the smith[u] that sitteth [v]by the furnace[v],
[w]And regardeth the weighty vessels[w]:
The flame of the fire [x]cracketh[x] his flesh,
And with the heat of the furnace [y]he gloweth[y];
[z]To the sound of the hammer he inclineth his ear[z],
And to the pattern of the vessel [a]directeth[a] his eyes.

לשדד): 𝔊 *και αναστρεφομενος εν εργοις αυτων* [m–m] 𝔅 ושעיותיו = שׂוּעִיתוֹ = 𝔊 [mm] 𝔅 (*wrongly*) *transposes clauses* a *and* b *here. In transl. above the clauses follow the right order* [n–n] 𝔅 (*defective*) לב ישית לשד[ד] (*most scholars complete by adding* בתלמים [*cp.* 𝔊]: *but Smend reads* גבלת זרע, *cp.* 𝔖): 𝔊 *εκδουναι αυλακας*: 𝔖 'in his seed-row' (בגלתא דזרעה = *Smend's reading above: cp.* לגנה in *Neo-Hebr.* = 'row': לגתא *in Targ.*) [o–o] 𝔅 לכלות מרבק (*Schechter* לבלות מרבק, 'to victual the stall'): 𝔊 *εις χορτασματα δαμαλεων* (= ? בקר (*vel* לכלכל [לאכל) [p–p] 𝔅 (*defective: MS. mutilated*) אף עשה חר[ש וח]שב (*point with Peters* חָרֵשׁ וְחֹשֵׁב: *others* חָרָשׁ וְחֹשֵׁב): 𝔊 *ουτως πας τεκτων και αρχιτεκτων* [q–q] 𝔅 *mutilated here: Smend* (*following* 𝔖 *partly*) *restores* [ו]יזיע = 'is (are) restless': 𝔊 *διαγει* = 𝔅 *mg.* ינהג (occupatus est) = *but* נהג *in v.* 25 = 'lead' (𝔖 *for v.* 27 a *and* b *has:* 'So also all the craftsmen are disturbed together, and night and day on them (*i.e. their works*) they think': *here* 'are disturbed' (= ? יזיעו) *has been transposed to the first clause: so Smend*) [r–r] 𝔊 *οι γλυφοντες γλυμματα σφραγιδων* = (?) מפתח פתחי חותם (*Smend*) [s–s] 𝔊 *και η υπομονη* (*so* B: *but* א A Syro-Hex 𝔏 *επιμονη*) *αυτου αλλοιωσαι ποικιλιαν*: *η επιμονη αυτου* = (?) אומנותו *and ποικιλιαν* = מחשבה: *αλλοιωσαι* = שׁנה ('change') [t–t] 𝔊 *εις ομοιωσαι ζωγραφιαν* (*ζωγραφειν* = חקה, חקק Ezek. xxiii. 14, Is. xlix. 16, LXX) [*for* 27 c–f 𝔖 *has:* 'on the work of carvings and signets and of pearls; also their thoughts are needed for the works of their craft'] [tt] xxxviii. 28–xxxix. 14 *is not extant in* 𝔅 [u–u] 𝔊 *χαλκευς* = חרש (*worker in metal is meant*) [v–v] 𝔊 *εγγυς ακμονος* ('by the anvil'): *but* 𝔖 '[to sit] by the furnace' (*rightly*) = ? אצל כור (𝔊 = ? אצל סד: *or is ακμανος a corruption of καμινου?*) [w–w] 𝔖 'And to consider closely the implements of the balance' (*reading rightly* כלי משקל): 𝔊 *και καταμανθανων αργῳ* (*so* B *wrongly*; V *εργῳ*: 248 Syro-Hex *εν εργῳ*) *σιδηρῳ* (V *σιδηρου*: א 55 106 254 308 *εργα σιδηρου*): *orig. Hebr.* ? והתבונן בכלי משקל (*so Smend*) [x–x] *τηξει* (א A &c.) = ? יבקע (*cp.* Micah i. 4 LXX, *where τηκομαι* = התבקע): = 𝔖 ('cracketh'): B (V 253 308) *πηξει* ('stiffeneth') [y–y] 𝔊 *διαμαχησεται*: 𝔖 (*rightly*) 'he burneth' (𝔊 *a misrendering of* התחרה) [z–z] 𝔊 *φωνη σφυρης* (+ *ακμονος* 248) *καινιει το ους αυτου* ('The noise of the hammer reneweth his ear'): *but* 𝔖 ('Over against the model he will bend his hand') *suggests κλινει for καινιει*: *so read* (*and accentuate φωνῇ*) [a–a] *Cp.* 𝔖 'And over against the image of his work his eyes shall

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Who leadeth cattle and turneth about oxen. 𝔅 mg. gives an excellent sense ('Who leadeth cattle and turneth them about with song'): the construction of the Hebrew is easier, and it may be right (so Smend).

26. **He is careful to harrow the seed-strip.** lit. 'he setteth his heart' (ישית לבו 𝔊 *καρδίαν αὐτοῦ δώσει*). In Palestine the field is arranged in separate seed-strips, which are ploughed and sown separately. See further on this point Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, ii. 179 f.

his anxiety is to complete the provender. 𝔊 'his sleepless care is for provender of heifers'; cp. Gen. xv. 9, xxiv. 35. See further critical note.

27. **Likewise the maker of carving and cunning device.** 'Likewise,' i.e. is likewise prevented by the demands of his craft from enjoying the leisure necessary for a member of the learned class (a scribe). It is best to regard the verse as dealing with one class of workers only, viz. the engravers of precious stones (seals and gems; so 𝔖). For this form of art see Benzinger, *Archäol.*, 258 f., and cp. art. 'Engraving' in *JE*. Smend understands two classes to be referred to, the gem-engravers and the weavers of embroidered stuffs; he renders 27 *d* 'and he also whose art it is to weave embroidery' ('und auch der, dessen [Künst] es ist, bunt zu weben'). But this is less probable.

28. **So also the smith that sitteth by the furnace.** The worker in metals is meant, here denoted by the Heb. term חרש probably. The work of the smith, as here described, is more particularly associated with the furnace, in which the ore was melted, and the anvil, on which the metal was beaten out (cp. Is. xliv. 12). With the present passage cp. also Ezek. xxii. 18–22; and see further *s.v.* 'metals' in *EB* and *JE*; cp. also Krauss, *op. cit.* ii. 299 f. [𝔊 reads by the anvil'; but the rendering adopted is supported by the context; see further critical note.]

And to the pattern of the vessel directeth his eyes. This clause apparently refers to the hammering out of the metal according to a model.

𝔊 (𝔖) He is careful to complete his work,
And his anxiety is [b]to measure it off exactly[b].
𝔖 (𝔊) 29 Likewise the potter who sitteth [c]at his wheel[c],
[d]And driveth the vessel with the soles of his feet[d];
[e]Who is all the time in anxiety over his work[e],
[f]And all his handiwork is [g]by number[gf];
30 [h]His arms are cracked by the clay[h],
[i]And [l]before old age[l] he is bent and bowed[i];
He is careful to complete [j]the glazing[j],
And his anxiety is [k]for the heating of[k] the furnace.

(*b*) XXXVIII. 31–34. *Though unfitted for the highest offices the craftsman fills an essential place* (= 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

31 All these [l]are deft[l] with their hands,
And each is wise [m]in his handiwork[m].
32 Without them a city cannot be inhabited,
[n]And wherever they dwell they hunger not[n].
33 [o]But they shall not be inquired of for public counsel[o],
And in the assembly [p]they enjoy no precedence[p].

be directed' (𝔊 > 'directeth') b–b 𝔊 κοσμησαι επι συντελειας (*cp.* xlvii. 10): κοσμειν = תקן xlii. 21; *cp.* xvi. 27 c–c *So* 𝔖 (על גיגלא): 𝔊 εν εργῳ αυτου d–d *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 και συστρεφων εν ποσιν αυτου τροχον (אc.a πηλον) e–e *So* 𝔊 (𝔖 > *the line*) f–f *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 (*in disorder and corrupt*) 'And his eyes are upon the vessels of all his work' g–g 𝔊 εναριθμοις (B &c.), εν αριθμῳ (55 153), εν αριθμοις (307) h–h 𝔖 'His arms break up (split) the clay' (*transposing subject and object*): 𝔊 εν βραχιονι αυτου τυπωσει πηλον i–i 𝔖 'And until he die he is bowed down and bent': 𝔊 και προ ποδων καμψει ισχυν αυτου [*Smend conjectures* לפני שיבה *for* לפני מות *in* 𝔖] j–j 𝔊 (א A V &c. 𝔏) χρισμα = משחה (𝔖 'his work': *? confusing with* מעשה) k–k 𝔊 καθαρισαι: 𝔖 'to build' (*context demands* 'to heat' = לבער: καθαρισαι *wrong transl. of* בער *in* LXX: *cp.* Hos. vii. 4, Jer. xxxvi. 22) l–l 𝔊 ενεπιστευσαν (εις χειρας αυτων): EV 'put their trust in their hands' (*probably mistranslating* אֻמָּן *or* אוּמָּן: *so Smend*): 𝔖 'for the sake of their advantage' (?) m–m 𝔊 εν τῳ εργῳ αυτου: 𝔖 'in the work of their craft' n–n *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 και ου (*? read* οὗ) παροικησουσιν ουδε περιπατησουσιν (*? last two words corrupted from* ου μη πεινασωσιν: *Edersh. suggests confusion between* יערבו *and* ירעבו) o–o 𝔊 (אc.a) αλλ εις βουλην λαου ζητηθησεται: 70 248 εν βουλῃ λαου ου ζητηθησεται = 𝔖 p–p 𝔊 ουχ υπεραλουνται = ? לא ירומו (*so* 𝔖) q–q *This is the order of the clauses in* א A V = 𝔖: B *has them in the inverted order* r–r 𝔖 'covenants and judgements' (*suggests* חק ומשפט 𝔐, *cp.* xlv. 17: *so read with Smend*): 𝔊 διαθηκην κριματος s–s 𝔊 εκφανωσιν = יביעו (*cp.* xvi. 25): 𝔖 'consider' (*? reading* יבינו *for* יביעו) t–t *So* 𝔖 (יולפנא דחכמתא) = ? מוסר שכל: 𝔊 (א A V &c. 𝔏) παιδειαν (B 253 308 δικαιοσυνην):

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to measure it off exactly. R.V. (= 𝔊) 'to adorn them (the vessels made) perfectly'; the Greek κοσμῆσαι might be understood of the polishing of the metal, but probably = a Hebrew word meaning 'to measure off' (see critical note). The reference will then be to getting the dimensions of the finished vessel exact.

29. **Likewise the potter.** For the work of the potter as here described cp. the art. 'Pottery' in *EB* and *JE*; also Krauss, *op. cit.*, ii. 271 f.

who sitteth at his wheel. Cp. Jer. xviii. 3–4.

all his handiwork is by number. The meaning seems to be that the potter goes on mechanically multiplying his products, which are all of one uniform quality (the reading of some Gr. MSS. 'without number', i.e. endless, is a correction).

30. **His arms are cracked by the clay.** i.e. his hands are cracked and disfigured by his work. For the text see critical note (the correction is necessitated by the context, which describes what the potter suffers from his work. 𝔊 'he fashioneth the clay with his arm' does not yield a suitable sense: the clay is prepared by stamping [cp. Isa. xli. 25], and manipulated on the wheel with the hands).

the glazing. Probably smearing with paint, which was then polished; see *EB*, *s.v.* 'Pottery', § 10.

for the heating of the furnace. R.V. (= 𝔊) 'to make clean the furnace'; but the furnace of the potter required no cleansing, as the soot was destroyed by the great heat. What was necessary was to raise the furnace to the greatest possible heat, and maintain it there; cp. xxvii. 5.

(*b*) XXXVIII. 31–34. This subsection follows closely on the preceding in logical order, by bringing out the value of the craftsman for the community; but, at the same time, his inability to fill the higher public offices is emphasized.

32. **Without them a city cannot be inhabited.** Cp. xvi. 4.

they hunger not. i.e. have no difficulty in finding work and bread (𝔊 yields no coherent sense).

33. **But they shall not be inquired of . . .** The clauses that follow refer to the public work of the scribes, who must have included priests to some extent (cp. xlv. 17).

𝔖 (𝔊) [q]On the seat of the judge they do not sit,
[r]And law and justice[r] they understand not[q].
[s]They do not expound[s] [t]the instruction of wisdom[t],
[tt] Nor understand the proverbs of the wise[tt];
34 [u]But they understand the work [they have wrought][u],
And [v]their thought[v] is on the practice of their craft.

(*c*) XXXIX. 1–11. *The ideal scribe described* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 2 distichs).

39 1 Not so he that applieth himself [w]to the fear of God[w],
[x]And to set his mind[x] upon the Law of the Most High;
Who searcheth out the wisdom of all the ancients,
And [y]is occupied[y] [z]with the prophets of old[z];
2 Who [a]heedeth[a] [b]the discourses[b] of men of renown,
And [c]entereth[c] [d]into the deep things of parables[d];
3 Searcheth out [e]the hidden meaning[e] of proverbs,
And [f]is conversant[f] [g]with the dark sayings of parables[g];
4 [h]Who serveth among great men,
And appeareth before princes[h];
Who travelleth [i]through the lands of the peoples[i],
[j]Testeth[j] good and evil among men;
5 Who is careful [k]to seek[k] [l]unto his Maker[l],
And [m]before[m] the Most High [n]entreateth mercy[n];

𝔖 *here* = παιδειαν διδασκαλιας (*cp.* xxxix. 8) tt–tt *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 και εν παραβολαις ουχ ευρηθησονται u–u 𝔖 'for (= כי) they are skilled in the works of the world': 𝔊 αλλα (= כי) κτισμα αιωνος τηρησουσιν (*so* B: στηρισουσι, στηριουσι ℵ^c.a 248): στηρισουσι = יכינו, *corrupt for* יבינו (= ? 𝔖): κτισμα = מעשה (*so* xxxvi. 24): *both* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 *appear to have read* עולם, *which may have arisen, as Smend suggests, from* פעלם (*so read*) v–v *So* 𝔖 (רניהון): 𝔊 η δεησις αυτων (𝔍? הגותם: *so Smend*) w–w *So* 𝔖 (*rightly*): 𝔊 > x–x *So* 𝔖 (= ? להתבונן): 𝔊 και διανοουμενου y–y 𝔊 ασχοληθησεται: *cp.* ασχολια xl. 1 = עסק: 𝔖 'turns (to the', &c.) z–z 𝔏 in prophetis (*cp.* 𝔏 *of* xli. 3, xliv. 22): *cp.* 𝔖 ('to the prophets of old'): 𝔊 εν προφητειαις a–a 𝔊 συντηρησει = ישמר *or* ינצר ('treasureth'): *cp.* Prov. iii. 1: 𝔖 'learneth' b–b 𝔊 (B 248 308) διηγησεις (*but the rest and* 𝔏 Sah διηγησιν) c–c 𝔊 συνεισελευσεται: *cp.* בא Ps. lxxiii. 17: 𝔖 'thinketh' d–d 𝔊 εν στροφαις παραβολων: 𝔖 'on what is deep (= ? מעמקים) *corrupted in* 𝔊*'s MS. to* מעקמים עקם√ *Aram.* 'perverse, crooked': *Edersh.*) e–e 𝔊 αποκρυφα = נסתרות (𝔖 *misplaces in next clause*) f–f 𝔊 αναστραφησεται: *cp.* viii. 8, l. 28 g–g 𝔊 εν αινιγμασι παραβολων h–h 𝔖 (*with clauses transposed*) 'and in the midst of the powerful he goeth, and in the midst of kings and of great ones he serveth': 𝔊 = *translation above* i–i 𝔊 εν γη αλλοτριων εθνων: 𝔖 'through the cities of the world' (? דעלמא *for* דעממא) = 𝔍? בארץ העמים = 'through the land of the peoples' j–j 𝔊 (αγαθα) γαρ . . . επειρασε (*but* א* > γαρ: *so* 𝔖): 𝔏 tentabit (*rightly*: επειρασε *wrong tense*): *so* 𝔖 k–k 𝔊 ορθρισαι = לשחר (𝔏 ad virgilandum diluculo): 𝔖 'to pray' l–l 𝔖 >: 𝔊 προς κυριον τον ποιησαντα αυτον (κυριον *prob. gloss*: *omit*) m–m *So* 𝔊 (εναντι):

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34. **their thought is on the practice of their craft.** Their mental horizon is bounded by the requirements of their craft.

(*c*) XXXIX. 1–11. This, the last of the three subsections (apart from the Appendix), gives a glowing picture of the work and position of the ideal scribe.

1. **Not so he that applieth himself . . . the Law of the Most High.** Cp. the description of Ezra, the ideal scribe, in Ezra vii. 10.

Who searcheth out the wisdom of all the ancients . . . the prophets of old. One, the principal, source of the scribe's knowledge is thus defined as the Law, the Wisdom books, and the Prophets. The other source of the scribe's wisdom, as described in *vv.* 2 and 3, is an oral tradition; but the descriptive terms employed do not suggest that it was legalistic or halakic in character, but rather of the type embodied in the Wisdom literature (proverbs, sententious sayings, maxims for the conduct of life, perhaps (?) allegories).

2, 3. **entereth into the deep things of parables . . . hidden meaning of proverbs . . . dark sayings of parables.** Cp. the description of Wisdom in Wisd. viii. 8 ('she understandeth subtilties of speeches and interpretations of dark sayings'). For 'deep things of parables' 𝔊 has 'subtilties (στροφαί) of parables': cp. Prov. i. 3 (also Wisd. viii. 8); what is meant is the process of investigation described in *v.* 3, by which the 'hidden meaning' is deduced—all that is implicit in the sayings.

4. **Who serveth among great men . . .** Cp. xxxi. (𝔊 xxxiv.) 9–12 and notes there. The wisdom of the scribe is culture—they are identical—and therefore the scribe has access to royal courts and enters into the service of kings. The high estimation of travel and foreign experience is particularly interesting. The education of the ideal scribe is broad and humanistic.

𝔖 (𝔊) Who openeth his mouth in prayer,
And [o]maketh supplication[o] for his sins.
6 [p]If[p] [q]it seem good to God Most High[q],
[r]He shall be filled[r] with the spirit of understanding.
[s]He himself poureth forth wise sayings in double measure[s],
And giveth thanks [t]unto the Lord in prayer[t].
7 He himself [u]directeth[u] [v]counsel and knowledge[v],
[w]And setteth his mind[w] on [x]their[x] secrets.
8 He himself declareth [y]wise instruction[y],
And glorieth in the law [z]of the Lord[z].
9 His understanding many do praise,
[a]And[a] never shall [b]his name[b] be blotted out:
His memory [c]shall not cease[c],
And his name shall live from generation to generation.
𝔅 10 [de]His wisdom[e] doth [f]the congregation[f] tell forth,
And [g]his praise[g] the assembly publisheth.
𝔖(𝔊) 11 [h]If he live long[h], [i]he shall be accounted happy[i] more than a thousand;
And when he cometh to an end, [j]his name sufficeth[j].

(*d*) Appendix. XXXIX. 12–35. *Hymn in praise of creation* (= 3 + 3 and 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 and 3 + 1 distichs).

12 [k]Yet again will I fix my thoughts and [l]make my doctrine to shine forth[l][k],
[l]As the full moon on the twelfth day[l].

𝔖 'from before' [n–n] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 δεηθησεται [o–o] *So* 𝔊 (δεηθησεται): 𝔖 'seeketh good' (*perhaps* 'good' *belongs to next verse*) [p–p] 𝔊 εαν (+γαρ 106 155 157 296 307 308 𝔏) [q–q] 𝔊 (εαν) κυριος ο μεγας θεληση (κυριος ο μεγας = אל עליון: *cp.* xlvi. 5): 𝔖 > (*but* 'good' *at end of previous verse may be a remnant of this clause: then the line may have run in* 𝔅 אם טוב בעיני אל עליון: *so Smend*) [r–r] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'he shall be made wise' [s–s] 𝔖 'he giveth out parables doubly' = 𝔅 הוא יביע משלים פי שנים: 𝔊 ανομβρησει ρηματα σοφιας αυτος [t–t] *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'unto Him in his thoughts' (*reading* לו *for* ליי) [u–u] 𝔊 κατευθυνει (= יכין): 𝔖 'understandeth' (= יבין) [v–v] *So* 𝔊 (βουλην αυτου [א 254 𝔏 > αυτου *rightly*] και επιστημην): 𝔖 'parables of the wise' [w–w] και . . . διανοηθησεται = התבונן (vi. 37: xlii. 18) [x–x] 𝔊 αυτου (*mistake for* αυτων *or* αυτης) [y–y] 𝔖 'instruction of wisdom' (= מוסר שׂכל): 𝔊 παιδειαν διδασκαλιας αυτου [z–z] 𝔊 διαθηκης κυριου (*probably* διαθηκη *and* νομῳ *original variants*): 𝔖 'of life' [a–a] א A C &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏 *have* και (εως): *so* 𝔖: B > και [b–b] *So* 𝔖 (*rightly*): 𝔊 > [c–c] 𝔊 ουκ αποστησεται (= לא יחדל?: *cp.* Job vii. 16 LXX) [d] *This verse follows* xliv. 14 *in* 𝔅 [e–e] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 חכמתם [f–f] 𝔅 עדה 𝔊 εθνη [g–g] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 תהלתם [h–h] 𝔊 εαν εμμεινη (= אם יעמד? = 'if he abide' [*sc. in life*]) [i–i] 𝔊 'he shall leave a name' (*but does not harmonize with the context*') = ?ישאר, *a mistake for* יאשר [*so Smend*] = 𝔖 (ονομα *from next line in* 𝔊) [j–j] 𝔊 εμποιει αυτῳ (*? origin.* εμποιει τῃ ονοματι αυτου: *cp.* xlii. 17 = יספוק שמו) [k–k] 𝔊 ετι (א Sah + δε) διανοηθεις εκδιηγησομαι: 𝔖 'attend (understand) and I will say my doctrine': *but the next clause suggests that a verb meaning to* 'give light' *originally stood at end of first line—perhaps, as Smend suggests,* אאיר *which* 𝔖 *read* אומר (*so* xxiv. 32 𝔊 φωτιω = אמר *in* 𝔖): ? 𝔅 עוד אתבונן ואאיר מוסר [l–l] *So* 𝔖 ('as the moon on the day of the Twelfths'): 𝔊 και (248, 70 οτι: 𝔏 enim) ως διχομηνια επληρωθην (𝔅

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5. **Who is careful to seek unto his Maker . . .** The note of true piety is strongly emphasized, as always. The cultivated humanists of Israel always kept a firm hold on the practical side of religion.

6. **If it seem good to God Most High.** Even when the conditions previously mentioned have been fulfilled, special grace is still required to inspire the scribe with the spirit of true wisdom.

He himself poureth forth wise sayings in double measure. i.e. he is not merely dependent upon the tradition which he has inherited, but puts forth what is his own: contrast the ideal of the later teachers of the Law—e.g. 'Eliezer b. Hyrqanos is a plastered cistern which loseth not a drop' (i.e. is a mere receptacle of tradition: *Pirqe Aboth*, ed. Taylor, ii. 10). The attitude of the earlier Sopherim to tradition was essentially freer and more independent. For 'in double measure' (a double portion) cp. xii. 5, xviii. 32 in 𝔅.

8. **wise instruction.** Cp. l. 27, xxxviii. 33*e*.

glorieth in. Cp., for expression, xxxviii. 6, l. 20.

9. **his name shall live . . .** Cf. xxxvii. 26, xliv. 14.

10. **His wisdom doth the congregation tell forth . . .** = xliv. 15 (10*b* = xxxi. [xxxiv.] 11*b*). 𝔊 misrenders 'congregation' (עדה) here by 'nations'; so by 'peoples' xliv. 15, cp. 'people', xlvi. 7.

11. **If he live long . . .** i.e. if long life is granted to him his reputation is assured; he reaps fame and honour; and when he dies 'his name sufficeth', i.e. in memory—his memory lives on and is cherished. For the text of verse see critical notes. The versions misunderstood it.

𝔖 (𝔊) 13 Hearken unto me, [m]ye pious[m], and [n]your flesh shall grow[n],
[o]Like the cedar[o] that is planted [p]by streams of water[p].
14 [q]Your scent shall be sweet as Lebanon[q],
[r]And ye shall put forth blossoms as the lily[r].
[s]Lift up your voice[s] and [t]sing together[t],
[u]And[u] [v]bless[v] the Lord for all His works.
15 [w]O magnify His name,
And acknowledge Him with praise[w],
𝔥[B] [x]With songs of the harp[x] [y]and of stringed instruments[y];
And [z]thus shall ye say[z], [a]with a shout[a]:

16 The works of God [b]are all good[b],
[c]And supply every need in its season[c].
17 (21 *c*) [cc]None may say: This is worse than that;
(21 *d*) For everything availeth in its season[cc].
[d](By His word) He ordereth (the luminaries in the heavenly height)[d],
[e]And by the utterance of His mouth in His treasury[e].

? כירח מלא בשנים עשר, *cp.* l. 6) m–m 𝔊 υιοι οσιοι (*but* 248 Syro-Hex > υιοι; V 253 *have* οι *instead*): 𝔖 זדיקא n–n *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 και βλαστησατε o–o 𝔖 'like the lilies' (*from v.* 14) 'and like cedars': 𝔊 ως ροδον = 𝔏 (? 'rose' *substituted for* 'cedar') p–p 𝔊 επι ρευματος υγρου (*so* א A C V &c.: *but* B αγρου): = *Clem. Alex.* επι ρευματων υδατων: 𝔏 super rivos aquarum: 𝔖 'on the water' (*cp.* יבלי מים *l.* 8) q–q 𝔖 'and like pleasant odours (= לבונה) shall your scent be sweet, like the scent of Lebanon with its cedars' (*a double rendering*): = ? וכלבנון יריח ריחכם: 𝔊 και ως λιβανος ευωδιασατε οσμην r–r *So* 𝔊: 𝔖 'and like the root of the king's lilies' s–s *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 διαδοτε οσμην (*wrong rend.*) t–t αινεσατε ασμα—*but read* αμα = 𝔖 u–u *Clem. Alex.* 𝔏 *here* και (*so* 𝔖): 𝔊 > v–v *So* 𝔊 (ευλογησατε = ברכו): 𝔖 = והודו ('and give thanks') w–w 𝔊 δοτε τῳ ονοματι αυτου μεγαλωσυνην (*cp.* הבו גדל Deut. xxxii. 3) και εξομολογησασθε εν αινεσι αυτου (*Clem. Alex. and* 𝔏 *have* αυτῳ *for* εν αινεσι αυτου: Eth *places* αυτῳ *after* εξομολ.: *read* αυτῳ εν αινεσι (*so Smend*)): 𝔖 'recount His mighty deeds with praises' x–x 𝔥 בשירות נבל: 𝔊 εν ᾠδαις χειλεων (*corrupt for* χελυων) y–y 𝔥 וכְלֵי מיני (*i. e.* מִנֵּי *for* מְנִים *as in* Ps. xlv. 9 = 'strings'): *so Smend, Strack: Lévi reads* וכל מיני שיר 'all kinds of music': 𝔊 και εν κινυραις z–z *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔥 תאמר a–a 𝔥 בתרועה: 𝔊 εν εξομολογησει b–b *So* 𝔥: 𝔊 παντα οτι καλα σφοδρα (𝔖 + 'together') c–c *So* 𝔥 *mg.* (𝔥 *text* 'And He supplieth every need in its season'): 𝔖 'And they all for their functions were created': 𝔊 και παν προσταγμα εν καιρῳ αυτου εσται cc–cc *These two lines misplaced in* 𝔥—*transposed to follow* 21 a *and* b *on account of similarity with that verse: with v.* 16 *they form a sort of refrain, which is repeated in vv.* 33–34. 𝔖 *has also a misplacement: vv.* 16, 21, 17 d–d 𝔥 *is here defective* (*one word,* יעריך, *is legible*): 𝔊 εν λογῳ αυτου εστη ως θιμωνια υδωρ = ? בדברו יעמוד כנד מים (*cp.* Ps. xxxiii. 7): 𝔖 'at His word the sun rises and at His word it sets': *according to Smend* 𝔖 *read* בדברו יערוך נר *and paraphrased as above:* 𝔊 *read* נד *for* נר *and thinking of* Exod. xv. 8, Ps. xxxiii. 7 *rendered as above: Smend restores* בדברו יערוך נר [במ]ר[ו]ם (*in* xl. 11 מרום *is misrendered in* 𝔊 *by* υδατων): *Ryssel* בד' יעמיד על עמדים (—'He stations [them] at [their] stations': *cp.* 2 Chron. xxx. 16; Neh. xiii. 11): *Lévi* ומה תעריך אליו ('and what wilt thou compare unto Him?') e–e 𝔥 ומוצא פיו

(*d*) APPENDIX: XXXIX. 12–35.

With xxxix. 11 a distinct division of the book ends. The hymn that follows in xxxix. 12–35 may, perhaps, be regarded as an appendix to the preceding section, which extols the wisdom of the ideal scribe. It may be intended to serve as a specimen of such 'wisdom'—an example of the Sopheric teaching. Its theme is the creation and the divine government of the world, which are revealed everywhere as all-wise. *vv.* 12–15 form an introduction, 16–31 the song proper, and 32–35 an epilogue.

12. **Yet again . . . my doctrine shine forth . . .** The author means, 'I will set forth the best doctrine I can express.' For the figure cp. xxiv. 16.

the full moon on the twelfth day. The reckoning may depend upon an inaccurate observation of the time of the new moon (Smend).

13. **your flesh shall grow . . .** i. e. ye shall flourish and prosper (a promise). For the figures in this verse cp. xxiv. 17 f.; Hos. xiv. 6 f.; Ps. i. 3, xcii. 13, 14.

like the cedar . . . by streams of water. For cedars by water cp. Numb. xxiv. 6; Ezek. xxxi. 3 f.

15. **and of stringed instruments** ([מִנִּים] וכלי מיני). Cp. Ps. xlv. 9, cl. 4.

16. **The works of God are all good.** 𝔊 has 'exceedingly (σφόδρα) good'. Cp. Gen. i. 31, 33.

And supply every need in its season. So 𝔥 mg. 𝔥 text: 'He (God) supplieth.' 𝔊 'and every command (? וכל צוּוּי for כל צורך) shall be'.

17 *a, b* (= 𝔥 21 *c, d*). **None may say: This is worse than that; for everything availeth in its season.** These two lines have been misplaced in 𝔥 (at beginning, cp. *v.* 21); 𝔊 has them in the right place (in a modified form); correct 𝔊 17 *a* (τί τοῦτο; εἰς τί τοῦτο; to τοῦτο τούτου πονηρότερον, as in *v.* 34 *a*). The four lines (beginning 'The works of God are all good') thus form a refrain, being repeated in *vv.* 33–34 at end of the poem. They express the burden of the whole composition.

(By His word) . . . treasury. For the text of this difficult verse see critical notes. The meaning of the rendering

𝔅[B] 18 [f]In His place (?) His good pleasure attaineth its end[f],
And there is no [g]restraint[g] to His deliverance.
19 [h]The works[h] of all flesh are before Him,
And there is nothing hid from before His eyes.
20 [i]From everlasting to everlasting He beholdeth[i],
[j]And there is nothing small or petty with Him;
Is there limit (?) to His deliverance?[j]
There is nothing too wonderful or hard for Him.

[k] 21 (*a*) None may say: [l]Wherefore is this[l]?
21 (*b*) For everything [m]is selected for its use[m].
22 [n]His blessing[n] overfloweth as the Nile,
And [o]saturateth[o] the world [p]like the River[p].
23 [q]Even so His wrath dispossesseth nations[q],
And He turneth a watered land into salt.
24 [r]His paths[r] [s]are plain for the blameless[s];
Even so [t]they offer obstacles[t] [u]to the presumptuous[u].

אוצרו ('And the utterance of His mouth is His treasure'): 𝔊 και εν ρηματι στοματος αυτου αποδοχεια υδατων (*so Smend corrects to* ובמוצא) [f–f] *So* 𝔅 (?): 𝔊 εν προσταγματι αυτου πασα η ευδοκια [g–g] 𝔊 ος ελαττωσει (*cp.* 𝔖): *but Clem. Alex.* ελαττωσις (= ? מחסור *for* מעצור) [h–h] *So* 𝔊, 𝔖: 𝔅 מעשה [i–i] *So* 𝔅 *and* 𝔊: 𝔖 > [j–j] *In* 𝔅 *these clauses are inverted: probably they should stand as above so that clauses* b *and* d (*as in vv.* 18 *and* 19) *may begin with* אין (ואין): 𝔊 > *clauses* b *and* c (? *passing accidentally from first* ואין *to second*): *clause* b (c) ('there is nothing small', &c.) *is attested by* 𝔖 *as well as* 𝔅 (*against* 𝔊) [k] 𝔖 *places the two clauses corresponding to this verse after v.* 17. [l–l] 𝔅 זה למה זה: 𝔊 τι τουτο; εις τι τουτο; = 𝔖 [m–m] 𝔅 לצרכו נבחר: 𝔊 εις χρειας αυτων εκτισται (= נברא *for* נבחר: *so* 𝔖) [n–n] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 ברכות (*read* ברכתו) [o–o] 𝔅 רותה: 𝔊 επεκαλυψεν (*mistake for* επεκλυσεν = 𝔏 inundavit) [p–p] 𝔅 כנהר: 𝔊 ως κατακλυσμος (= כַּמַּבּוּל: *so Peters reads*) [q–q] *So* 𝔅 *and* 𝔏: 𝔊 ουτως οργην (א[c.a] Sah Eth *rightly* οργη) αυτου εθνη κληρονομησει (𝔖 *for* יורש *has* 'judgeth') [r–r] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 [תמים יישרו] ארחות = 'the paths of the blameless are straight' = 𝔖 (+ 'before his face') [s–s] *Read* לתמים יישרו: 𝔅 *mg.* = 𝔊 (ארחותיו [לי]שרים יישרו: 'His paths are straightforward to the straight'—*note word-play*) [t–t] 𝔅 יסתוללו: 𝔊 προσκομματα [u–u] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 לזרים (*read* לזדים) [v–v] *So* 𝔅 (חלק): 𝔊 εκτισται ('are

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here given is that God, the great and all-wise Creator, disposes the heavenly bodies in their due order, and controls their movements. 'In His treasury' = in God's (celestial) treasury; cp. Deut. xxviii. 12 ('J. shall open to thee His good treasury, the heaven'); cp. Jer. l. 25. The lit. translation of 17 *b*, as the Hebr. text stands, is 'and the utterance of His (God's) mouth is His treasure': another suggestion is to read נוצרו for אוצרו; then render 'and (by) the utterance of His mouth they were formed'. Peters reads:

בדברו מים יערוך נד
ובמוצא פיו אוצרות:

'By His word the waters formed a heap (wall),
And by the utterance of His mouth treasuries.'

There is then an allusion to Ps. xxxiii. 7 and Exod. xv. 8; cp. 𝔊 (R. V.).

18. **In His place (?) His good pleasure attaineth its end.** 'In His place' = where He (God) is; cp. for the phrase 2 Sam. iii. 12. 𝔊 has 'in (*or* at) His command'. Peters, following this, reads: בְּצַוָּתוֹ רצונו יצליח = 'when He commandeth, His will attaineth its end' (an excellent sense, which may be right). For the last phrase cp. xi. 17 *b*, xliii. 26 *a*.

19. **The works of all flesh are before Him . . .** Cf. xvii. 15.

20. **From everlasting to everlasting He beholdeth.** Nothing escapes Him—past, present, and future are open before Him. For the thought cp. xlii. 18 f.

Is there limit (lit. number) **to His deliverance?** Cp. for phrase Job xxv. 3. Wellhausen and others would read לְחַשְׁעִיתוֹ (a formation from שעה like תבנית): then render 'Is there limit to His vision?'

21–27. God's works are a blessing to the pious, but a source of evil to the wicked.

21. **For everything is selected** (or **created**) **for its use.** Cf. *Qoh.* iii. 7 ('He hath made everything beautiful in its season').

22. **as the Nile.** The yearly overflow of the Nile is meant, which fertilizes the country adjacent.

like the River. i. e. the Euphrates; also much used for purposes of irrigation.

23. **His wrath dispossesseth nations.** The Canaanites are referred to; cp. xvi. 9.

turneth a watered land into salt. There is an allusion to Ps. cvii. 34; Sodom and Gomorrah are referred to.

24. **His paths are plain for the blameless.** Cp. Ps. xviii. 25 (26) f.

offer obstacles. The Hebr. word here (יסתוללו) may be taken to mean 'lift themselves up as a breastwork' (סללה) or obstacle; for the sentiment of the whole verse cp. Hos. xiv. 9 *b* ('for the ways of J. are right, and the just shall walk in them; but transgressors shall fall therein').

𝔅ᴮ 25 Good things for the good[v] hath He allotted[v] from the beginning;
Even so to the evil [w]good and evil[w].
26 [x](The chief of all the necessaries)[x] of life for man
Are water and fire, and iron and salt,
[xx]The fat of wheat[xx], milk and honey,
The blood of the grape, oil and clothing.
27 All these prove good to the good—
Even so for the evil they are turned [y]to evil[y].
28 [z]There are (winds) which are formed (for punishment)[z],
[a](And in their fury)[a] [b]remove moun(tains)[b].
𝔊 (𝔖) [c]In the season of destruction they pour out their force,
And appease the spirit of their creator[c].
𝔅ᴮ 29 Fire and hail, [d][famine][d] and pestilence—
These also are formed for judgement.
30 [e]Beasts of prey[e], scorpions and vipers,
And the avenging sword to exterminate the wicked—
[f]All these are created for their uses,
And are in the treasure-house (ready) to be requisitioned in due time[f]:
31 When He giveth them the command they rejoice,
And [g]in their prescribed tasks[g] disobey not His behest.

32 Therefore from the beginning [h]I was assured[h],
And when I had considered it I set it down in writing:

created')=𝔖 (= חֻלַּק): *so* 𝔅=𝔏 𝔖 [w–w] 𝔊 *κακα* [x–x] 𝔅 *defective*: 𝔊 *αρχη πασης χρειας* (=ראש כל צורך: *so read with Peters*: *Smend* [היי]ראש כל) [xx–xx] 𝔊 *και σεμιδαλις πυρος* (= ? חלב חטה: *cp.* 𝔖 'fat and wheat') [y–y] 𝔅 לרעה = 𝔊 (𝔖?): 𝔅 *mg.* לזרא (= 'to loathing': *cp.* xxxvii. 30) [z–z] 𝔅 *defective*: 𝔊 *εστιν πνευματα α εις εκδικησιν εκτισται* (*restore* 𝔅 יש רוחות למשפט נוצרו: *so Lévi, Peters, Smend* לנקם) [a–a] 𝔅 *defective*: *the missing words* (= 𝔊 *και εν θυμῳ αυτων*) = ובאפיהם; *cp.* xlv. 24, xlviii. 10 (*Peters*): *but Lévi, Smend* ובאפם [b–b] = 𝔅 הרים יעתיקו: 𝔊 *εστερεωσαν μαστιγας αυτων* (= ? עריהם ירקעו: *cp.* Jer. xv. 8, Hos. xi. 9, LXX, *and Hebr.*: *but Smend* צורים, *cp.* Job xiv. 18, xviii. 4) [c–c] = 𝔊 = 𝔅 ובעת כלה חילם ישפכו ורוח בוראם ישביתו (*Peters*) [d–d] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 רע (*read* רעב): *cp.* xl. 9 (*where read* רעב *for* רעה) [e–e] 𝔅 חית שן (*cp.* xii. 13) = 𝔊 *θηριων οδοντες* (𝔅 *lit.* 'beasts of tooth') [f–f] *Clauses* c *and* d *are preserved in* 𝔅:

כל אלה לצורכם נבראו
והמה באוצר ולעת יפקדו:

but 𝔊 *in* 31 b (*και επι της γης εις χρειας ετοιμασθησονται*) *attests the genuineness of the clauses*: *επι της γης* = בארץ *for* באוצרו: *and εις χρειας* = לצורכם: 𝔊 *has shortened and misplaced the lines.* 𝔖 *attests them partly in v.* 34, *also shortening and misplacing* [g–g] 𝔅 בחקם: 𝔊 (*inexactly*) *εν τοις καιροις αυτων* [h–h] 𝔅 התיצבתי *Cowley-Neub.* (*or* התנצבתי): יַצִּיב *in Neo-Hebrew* = 'sure': *so* התיצבתי = 'I was assured (*or* assured myself') = 𝔊 *εστηριχθην*

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25. **Good things for the good . . .** The verse is cited in the *Sefer Yeṣirāh* in the following form:
'Good is kept for the good,
And evil for the evil'
(טובה שמורה לטובים ורע שמורה לרעים): see Cowley-Neub., p. xxvi. 𝔊 and 𝔖 take 𝔅 חלק in the Arabic sense of 'create' as in xl. 1 (cp. xxxviii. 1 also); but this is unnecessary.

26. **(The chief . . . necessaries) . . . water . . .** Cp. xxix. 21. The place of iron in this list is certainly remarkable, as Edersheim remarks.

The fat of wheat. A poetical expression for the choicest wheat; cp. Deut. xxxii. 14; Ps. lxxxi. 17, cxlvii. 14.

The blood of the grape. Cp. l. 15 (in 𝔊); the expression (= wine) is derived from Gen. xlix. 11; it recurs in Deut. xxxii. 14; 1 Macc. vi. 34.

28. **There are (winds) . . .** The action of destructive winds (רוחות *πνεύματα*), not spirits, is meant, as the context shows. For the phrase 'remove mountains' cp. Job ix. 5 (of God). In Rabbinic Hebr. the phrase ('uproot' or 'remove mountains') = to accomplish what is seemingly impossible (cp. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 109, 376, notes). Here probably earthquakes and similar catastrophes are in the writer's mind.

29. **Fire and hail, famine . . . judgement.** Cp. Ps. cxlviii. 8. The judgements in view are such as are described in Gen. xix, Exod. ix, and 2 Sam. xxiv.

30. **Beasts of prey** (lit. of tooth) . . . The forces of judgement here are earthly, in *v.* 29 cosmic (Smend). For 'beasts of prey' cp. xii. 13 ('wild beasts' R. V.).

the avenging sword. Cp. Lev. xxvi. 25.

And are in the treasure-house (ready) to be requisitioned in due time. In xliii. 14 God's 'treasury' is also the armoury of judgement, as here; cp. Job xxxviii. 22 f.; contrast Deut. xxviii. 12 ('the good treasury' of heaven; see *v.* 17 above).

31. **in their prescribed tasks** (בחקם). Cp. Exod. vi. 14; Prov. xxxi. 15.

𝔅ᴮ 33 [i]The works[i] of God are all good,
[j]They supply[j] every need in its season.
34 None may say: This is worse than that;
For everything [k]availeth[k] in its season.
35 And now ring out [l]whole-heartedly[l]
And praise the name of the Holy One!

(*a*) XL. 1–17. *The woes of humanity and the destruction of evil*
(=3+3+4+2+2+1+2+2+1 distichs).

40 1 Much occupation [a]hath God apportioned[a],
And heavy is the yoke upon the sons of men—
From the day that he cometh forth from his mother's womb,
Until the day [b]when he returneth[b] [c]to the mother of all living:
𝔊 (𝔖) 2 [d]Preoccupation and anxiety of heart,
And watchfulness for the future, till the day of his death![d]
𝔅ᴮ 3 From him that sitteth in exaltation on a throne,
Unto [e]him that is clothed[e] with dust and ashes;
4 From [f]him that weareth[f] diadem and plate,
Even unto [f]him that weareth[f] [g]a garment of hair[g]:

[i–i] *Read* מעשי (*for* מעשה) *as in v.* 16 (*so* 𝔊, 𝔖) [j–j] 𝔊 χορηγησει = יספיק (*cp. v.* 16: *read pl.*) [k–k] 𝔅 *mg.* יגבר (*cp.* 21 d): 𝔅 *text* יגביר = 'displayeth strength': 𝔊 ευδοκιμηθησεται = ? נבחר (*cp.* 21 b) [l–l] 𝔅 בכל לב: 𝔊 εν παση καρδια και στοματι = 𝔅 *mg.* (+ ופה)

[a–a] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 εκτισται παντι ανθρωπω (εκτισται = חֻלַּק *as in* xxxix. 25: *see note there*): 𝔖 'hath God created' [b–b] 𝔅 שובו = 𝔊 (248 157) [εως] επιστροφης [ημερας] (אᶜ·ᵃ επιστραφη: B επι ταφη *corrupted from* επιταφης: *cp.* 𝔏 usque in diem sepulturae) [c–c] 𝔅 כל חי (*mg.* ארץ) אל אם: 𝔊 εις μητερα παντων: 𝔖 'to the earth of the living' (*Lévi adopts* 𝔅 *mg.* 'earth of all living') [d–d] > 𝔅: 𝔊 τους διαλογισμους αυτων και φοβον καρδιας επινοια προσδοκιας ημερα τελευτης: 𝔖 'their praises (*reading a derivative of* שבח *for* חשב) and the perception of their heart and the last of their words till the day of their death': *perhaps* 𝔅 *underlying* 𝔊 *may have been:*

מחשבות ודאגת לבב
והקשבה לאחרית עד יום מותם (מותו)

the substantives in apposition to עסק *in v.* 1 (*cp. v.* 5). *Peters* (*following* 𝔖 *mainly*) *restores:*

מחשבותם ומשכית לבם
ואחרית דבריהם עד יום מותם:

[εως ημερας *may have stood originally in* 𝔊: 70 155 *have* ημερας] [e–e] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* (*read* לְבוּשׁ): 𝔅 *text* לשוב: 𝔊 (*freely*) τεταπεινωμενου (= לשח *according to Smend*): 𝔖 = ליושב (*cp.* עוטה *repeated in next verse*) [f–f] 𝔅 עוטה . . . עוטה: *but* 𝔊 φορουντος . . . περιβαλλομενου (*two different words*): *hence Peters reads* עוטה . . . עוטף (עטף = περιβ. Job xxiii. 9: Ps. lxxii. 6) [g–g] 𝔅 (*last word defective*) *read* (*vel* עור) שמלת שִׂיעָר ('a garment

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33, 34. **The works of God are all good . . . season** = *vv.* 16–17 (refrain repeated).
35. **And now ring out . . .** Cp. Ps. cxlv. 21.

XL. 1—XLI. 13. With chapter xl a new section begins, which extends to xli. 13. Its contents may be grouped under the following subsections: (*a*) xl. 1–17; (*b*) xl. 18–27; (*c*) xl. 28–30; (*d*) xli. 1–4; (*e*) xli. 5–13.

(*a*) XL. 1–17. Following closely on the hymn of thanksgiving for God's goodness we have here, by way of contrast, a lamentation over the woes of humanity. Suffering is inherent in man's lot. His life must be passed in restless anxiety and misgiving, and constantly be visited by misfortune. But the godless experience the worst ills, viz. those which are inflicted by God in punishment for sins. What is false and unjust comes to destruction, but what is true abides. The two objects of the wicked man's desire, property (*vv.* 13–14) and children (*vv.* 15–16), are referred to, to illustrate the writer's main contention; in the final verse (17) he sets forth the blessedness which results from the fear of God.

1. **Until the day when he returneth to the mother of all living.** For the idea cp. Gen. iii. 19; cp. also in this book (Sirach) xvi. 30, xvii. 1 (𝔅 mg. adopted by Lévi = 'land of (all) living', cp. Ezek. xxvi. 20, xxxii. 32). The conception of the earth being man's mother is worked out in 4 Ezra ix. 9–15; cp. also Job i. 21; Ps. cxxxix. 15.

2. **Preoccupation . . . death.** The substantives are in apposition to 'much occupation' in *v.* 1, the governing verb being '(God) hath apportioned'; cp. *vv.* 5 *a* and *b*. The text adopted by Peters may be rendered: 'Their thoughts and the imagination of their heart, and their last actions (*or* their fate) until the day of their death.' See further critical note.

3–4. **From him that sitteth in exaltation on a throne . . .** Nobody, high or low, enjoys rest from distracting care and peace.

𝔅ᴮ 5 (*a*) [h](Naught but) anger and jealousy[h], anxiety and fear,
Terror of death, [i]strife[i], and contention!
5 (*b*) And what time he resteth upon his bed,
The sleep of night [k]doubleth [l]his distraction[l][k].
6 For a little, vainly—[l]for a moment—he reposeth[l],
[m]And then is disturbed by dreams[m]:
[n]Deceived[n] by the vision of his soul,
He is like a fugitive fleeing [o]from before the pursuer[o]—
7 [p][Now roused he waketh from his sleep[l][p],
[q]And his vision (?) . . . . . [q]
𝔊 8 [r](There are) with all flesh, both man and beast,
Yea and upon the ungodly sevenfold[r]:
𝔅ᴮ 9 Pestilence and bloodshed, [s]blight and drought[s],
[t]Devastation and destruction, famine and plague[t].

of hair or skin'): 𝔊 ωμολινον ('a hempen frock' R.V.) [h–h] 𝔊 θυμος και ζηλος (𝔅 אף וקנאה read אך קנאה) [i–i] 𝔅 *mg.* תחרה [k–k] 𝔅 *mg.* תשנה דעתו = 𝔊 αλλοιοι την γνωσιν αυτου (*? read* רְעֻתוֹ *or* רעיונו: *cp.* Qoh. ii. 22): 𝔖 'disturbeth them' [l–l] 𝔅 ברגע ישקוט: 𝔊 εν αναπαυσει (= ברגע *e.g.* Job xxi. 13): 𝔊 > ישקוט [m–m] 𝔅 (*defective*) ש . . . . . ומבין בחל: 𝔊 και απ εκεινου εν υπνοις ως εν ημερᾳ σκοπιας (*? for* κοπια) (= Arm). *Read* (?) ובכין בחלומות ירגש (ובכין = ובְכֵן: *cp.* xiii. 7, Qoh. viii. 10, Esther iv. 16: 𝔊 και απ εκεινου = ומכין, *corrupt for* ובכין) [*v.* 6 a b > 𝔖] [n–n] 𝔅 מעט טע (*? read* מוּטְעֶה *Hof. part. as in Neo-Heb.* = 'misled': *Smend* מטעטע *i. e. Hithpalpel of* טעע = טעה: *cp.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16, *same form from* תעע: *but the existence of such a root is doubtful*): *Peters eliminates* מעט *as intrusion from previous line and reads here* נע (= 'trembling on account of', &c.): 𝔊 τεθορυβημενος 𝔖 (דמתמלך) = ? מתיעט = מתיעץ ['for vision of his soul' 𝔖 *has* 'vision of the night'] [o–o] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 απο προσωπου πολεμου [p–p] 𝔅 (?) קין . . . . . עורך מ [ועד] = ? (יקין) עוד עורך מלחמה מקין: *according to Lévi* = 'while still preparing to fight he awaketh': 𝔊 εν καιρῳ σωτηριας αυτου εξηγερθη: 𝔖 'according to the wish of his heart he awaketh' = ? ברצון בלבבו יקין. *Perhaps* 𝔅 *may be restored:* עַתָּ נעור משנתו יקין = 'now roused he waketh from his sleep': נעור *would account for* רצון *in* 𝔖 (ע *and* צ *often confused*) *and for* עורך *in* 𝔅 *MS.*: 𝔊 *apparently read the text* [ב]עת תשועתו יקין (תשועתו *? a corruption of* נעור משנתו) [q–q] 𝔅 *defective* (מניה . . . . . ומרא *can be made out with difficulty*): 𝔊 και αποθαυμαζων εις ουδενα φοβον, *whence Peters restores* וישתמם לאין יראה 'And marvels at there being nothing to fear': 𝔖 'And seeth that there is nothing therein' (= ? ויראה כי אין ממנה: *cp.* 𝔅 *MS.*) [r–r] 𝔅 *MS. defective here*: 𝔊 = עם כל בשר מאדם ועד בהמה אף על רשעים שבעתים: 𝔖 'All the sons of flesh their care is with them, and wealth driveth away their sleep' = ? עם כל בשר מגורם עמהם ועשר מעיר שנתם (*Lévi*). 𝔊 *is to be preferred* [s–s] 𝔅 חרחר וחרב (*point* חַרְחֶר וָחֶרֶב: *so in* Deut. xxviii. 22): 𝔊 (*with different points*) ερις και ρομφαια [t–t] 𝔊 (א A C V &c.: B > *the whole line*) επαγωγαι λειμος και συντριμμα και μαστιξ (א* μαστιγες) = ? מכות רעב שבר ושד = 𝔅 *inverted, viz.* שד ושבר רעה

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3. **him that sitteth . . . on a throne.** Cp. Exod. xii. 29.

him that is clothed with dust and ashes. For the metaphor ('clothed with') cp. Job vii. 5 ('flesh clothed with . . . clods of dust').

4. **him that weareth diadem and plate.** The diadem or turban (צניף) of the High Priest is meant, with the metal plate (ציץ) attached to it. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 36–39; see also Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 6, and *Jewish War*, v. 5, 7; cp. further Zech. iii. 5 and Exod. xxxix, 30 f.

him that weareth a garment of hair. Cp. Gen. xxv. 25; Zech. xiii. 4; Matt. iii. 4. 𝔖 renders 'garment of poverty'; the mantle of hair was such, and was worn sometimes as a protest against luxury and extravagance, or as a badge of simplicity.

5. **Terror of death.** Cp. Ps. lv. 4 (5).

what time he resteth upon his bed . . . Cf. *Qoh.* ii. 22 f. ('Even in the night his heart taketh no rest'). The words of 5 *a* = xlvi. 19 *a* 𝔅.

6. **And then is disturbed by dreams.** For this text see critical note. 𝔊 is here obviously corrupt; if, with the Armenian, ἐνυπνίοις and κοπιᾷ be read (for ἐν ὕπνοις σκοπιᾶς) (καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐνυπνίοις ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κοπιᾷ) it may be rendered 'and after that he toils with dreams as in the day', i.e. he works hard during the greater part of the night by dreaming. Peters reads a Hebr. text (ומבין בְּהָלוֹת יינע) which may be rendered, 'and then he wearies himself from the midst of terrors' (for בהלות cp. Jer. xv. 8).

7. **Now roused he waketh from his sleep.** For the conjectural restoration of the text here adopted see critical note. The line thus restored affords an excellent sense: distracted by fearful dreams the sleeper at length awakes—the disturbance of his rest is complete.

And his vision (?) . . . It seems impossible to restore 𝔅 here (but see critical note). But the sense of the verse is doubtless well preserved in 𝔊 and 𝔖: 𝔊 has 'And he marvelleth that the fear is naught'. For the general idea (the shock of awaking from the dream) cp. Isa. xxix. 8.

8–9. **(There are) with all flesh, both man and beast . . . Pestilence . . .** The two verses form one long sentence. Note that the whole animal world is here included (cp. Gen. vii. 23; Exod. ix. 25).

9. **Pestilence and bloodshed . . . destruction.** In 𝔅 the three pairs of words form a series of alliterations; cp. Is. li. 19 (where, perhaps, חֹרֶב 'drought' should be read for חֶרֶב 'sword').

𝔅[B] 10 [u]For the wicked[u] [v]evil[v] is created,
And on his account [w][destruction is imposed][w].
11 All things that are from the earth return to the earth,
[x]And what is from on high (returneth) on high[x].
𝔊 (𝔖) 12 [y]All that is false and unjust is destroyed,
But what is true abideth for ever[y].
𝔅[B] 13 [z]Wealth unjustly gotten[z] [a][cometh to an end] like a torrent[a],
[b]And like a water-course that is mighty in a thunder-storm[b]:
14 [c]With its onrush [rocks are rolled away][1] [c]—
[d]Even so doth [plunder] suddenly come to an end[d].
15 [e]A branch (sprung) from violence[e] [f][hath no tender twig][f],
[g]For an impious root[g] [h]is on the point of a crag[h]:

ומכות (*l.* רעב) (𝔖 > *the verse*) u–u 𝔅 על רשע = 𝔊 επι τους ανομους (= 'to be a burden upon the wicked') v–v 𝔅 רעה: 𝔊 ταυτα παντα (= ? כֻּלָּה = *a variant* כֻּלָּה) w–w 𝔅 תמוש כלה (*to make sense the commentators propose to insert* לא = 'ruin departeth not, but'): *read* תְּוּשַׁם *with Peters* = 𝔊 εγενετο (שׁוּם = γινεσθαι 1 Sam. xxx. 25, Job xxxviii. 33, &c.): 𝔖 > *v.* 10 x–x *So* 𝔅 ואשר ממרום אל מרום: 𝔊 και απο υδατων εις θαλασσαν ανακαμπτει (= ואשר ממים אל ים): 𝔖 = 𝔅 y–y > 𝔅: 𝔊 *has* παν δωρον και αδικια εξαλειφθησεται και πιστις εις τον αιωνα στησεται (= *in Hebrew:*

כל שׁחד ועולה יִשָּׁחֵת
(ואמונה לעולם תעמד:) (*so Peters*).

𝔖: 'Every one that sins and cheats shall cease,
But the diligent of the world, even they shall stand'

= ? כל חטא ומעול ישבת)
ונאמני עולם יעמדו:)

𝔖 *may have read* שׁקר *for* שׁחד *in line* 1: *so emend* (*with Smend*) z–z 𝔅 *mg.* חיל מחיל 'wealth born of wealth (*or* strength)': 𝔊 χρηματα αδικων (= ? חיל מעולים): 𝔖 'wealth of deceit' (? חיל מעל): *read* חיל מֵעָוֶל (*or* מֵעַוְלָה) a–a 𝔅 כנחל איתן = 'is like a perennial torrent'—*an unsuitable sense* [*Smend ad loc. argues that the meaning* 'perennial' *is not made out. He thinks the original idea is that of strength, then* (*of a stream*) *strongly flowing—a rushing current. So he retains the word here*]: *both* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 *have a verb in place of* איתן: *viz.* 𝔊 ξηρανθησεται (= יִבָּתֵן *according to Peters: cp.* Isa. li. 12 LXX): 𝔖 'shall be swept away': *read, perhaps, with Ryssel* יִתֹּם (*Lévi, as well as Smend, keeps* נחל איתן = 'a swiftly flowing torrent') b–b *So* 𝔅 *mg.* = 𝔖 ('like rivers that are full of light clouds' [*reading* קַלּוֹת *for* קוֹלוֹת]): 𝔊 και ως βροντη μεγαλη εν νετῳ εξηχησει = 'And shall roar themselves out like great thunder in rain' (*a free rendering*) c–c 𝔅 *mg.* עם שׂאתו כפים יגילו (*emend to* יְגַלּוּ *and point* כַּפַּיִם): 𝔊 εν τῳ ανοιξαι αυτον χειρας ευφρανθησεται (*read* ευφρανθησονται) = 𝔅: 𝔖 *only has one line for this verse, which is usually supposed to represent clause* a: *but more probably clause* b (*see next note*) d–d 𝔅 כי פתאם לנצח יתם: 𝔊 ουτως οι παραβαινοντες (= ? פִּתְאֹם *for* פִּתְאֹם) εις συντελειαν εκλειψουσιν: 𝔖 'when they are taken away they come to an end' (= ? כי יְגֻזְלוּ יִתֹּמוּ). *Combining* 𝔅, 𝔊, *and* 𝔖 *read* כן פתאם גֻּזַל יתם (*or* גזלה תתם) e–e 𝔅 *text* נוצר מחמס *mg.* נצר חמס: 𝔅 *mg.* = 𝔊 εκγονα ασεβων: 𝔖 'and offspring to the wicked man' (= 𝔅 *mg.*?): *read* נֵצֶר מחמס f–f 𝔅 לא ינקה (= ? 'shall not be unpunished'): 𝔊 ου πληθυνει κλαδους

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10. **For the wicked evil** (or calamity) **is created . . .** Cp. xxxix. 29.

11. **All . . . from the earth return to the earth.** Cp. Gen. iii. 19; Eccles. xii. 7; Job xxxiv. 15.

what is from on high (returneth) on high. The return of the spirit to its Maker is meant; cp. *Qoh.* xii. 7. The prosperity of the ungodly shares the fate of all created things; it comes to destruction (cp. Ps. xlix).

13. **Wealth unjustly gotten . . . torrent . . .** Cp. Job vi. 15–18 for the image. Just as the torrent suddenly swollen in a thunder-storm as suddenly goes down, so wealth unjustly gotten disappears. In clause *b* 'in a thunder-storm' = lit. 'in flashing of thunder'. For 𝔊 see critical note.

14. **With its onrush rocks are rolled away.** For the word rendered 'rocks' here (כַּפַּיִם) cp. Jer. iv. 29; Job xxx. 6. 𝔊 misread this as 'hands' (כַּפַּיִם), and may be rendered 'in the opening of his hands one shall rejoice' (i.e. when he is made to disgorge his ill-gotten wealth there is general rejoicing). 𝔅 might be rendered (understanding the word in this sense), 'when he (the wicked man) lifteth up his hands (*sc.* as a beggar) men rejoice'; or 'when He (God) lifteth up His hands (*sc.* against the wicked man to punish him and reduce him to poverty) men rejoice.'

Even so doth plunder suddenly come to an end. For text see critical note. 𝔅 as it stands = 'for suddenly doth he (? the wicked man) come to an end for ever' (cp. 𝔊). The words cannot be understood of the brook; they must refer to the riches, and this is well expressed by the emended text.

15. **A branch (sprung) from violence.** i.e. the wicked man himself (not his offspring); cp. the parallel expression in clause *b* 'an impious root'.

hath no tender twig. i.e. has no permanent posterity. For the idea cp. xxiii. 25; Job viii. 11 f.

an impious root is on the point of a crag. For 𝔖 see critical note, and cp. with its rendering Matt. xiii. 5.

𝔅ᴮ 16 [i]Like reed-stalks (?)[i] [j]on the bank of a torrent[j],
[k]Which are consumed before any (other) [plant][k].
17 [l]But kindness shall never be moved[l],
And righteousness is established for aye.

(*b*) XL. 18–27. *The fear of the Lord is the greatest of all good things* (= 10 + 2 distichs).

18 [m]A life of wine and strong drink[m] is sweet,
But better than both is [n]he that findeth a treasure[n].
19 Child [o]and city[o] establish a name,
[p]But better than both is he that findeth wisdom.
Young cattle and planting make [abundance] to flourish[p],
But better than both [q]is a woman beloved[q].
20 Wine [r][and song][r] rejoice the heart,
But better than both is [s]the affection of lovers[s].

(κλαδος = יונקת Hos. xiv. 7, LXX): *read* לא ינֵק בו: *with Peters, &c.* [g–g] 𝔊 και ριζαι ακαθαρτοι (*? read* ακαθαρτου): 𝔅 כי שורש חנף 𝔅 = 𝔖 [h–h] 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 (*freely*) ['for the root of sinners] is like an ear of corn which sprouts upon a rocky crag' [i–i] 𝔅 כקרדמות (*? pl. of* קרדם = καρδαμον, 'nasturtium *or* cress': *Cowley-Neubauer suggest* כְּקִרְמִיּוֹת 'like reed-stalks': *pl. of* קִרְמִית): 𝔊 αχει = 𝔅 אָחוּ (*cp.* Job viii. 11): *so Peters reads here: Hart suggests that* 𝔅 *may be a corruption of* כַּעֲרָק (אחו = ערק *in Targ. of* Job viii. 11) [j–j] 𝔅 על גפת נחל (גְּפָה = 'side', *only here: cp. Syr.* גף 'wing', *and Aram.* גיף 'bank'): 𝔊 επι (παντος υδατος και) χειλους ποταμου (παντος υδατος και > *with* 𝔏): 𝔊 = ? על שׂפת נחל [k–k] 𝔅 *mg.* לפני כל מטר נדעכה (𝔅 *text* נדעכו): 𝔊 προ παντος χορτου εκτιλησεται: *Peters conjectures:* לפני כל מטע נדעך (𝔊 παντος υδατος *in previous line* = כל מטר ?: *Hart*) [l–l] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 χαρις ως παραδεισος εν ευλογιαις = וחסד כעדן ברכה 'but kindness is like a blessed Eden' (*? from* xl. 27): 𝔖 'But the works of the pious in season (= בעדן) are blessed' (*cp.* Isa. li. 3) [m–m] *So* 𝔅 חיי יין ושכר: *for* יין ושכר 𝔅 *mg. has* יותר שכל 'wealth of understanding': 𝔊 *has* ζωη αυταρκους εργατου (= חיי שָׂכִיר: αυταρκους *probably an addition in* 𝔊): 𝔅 *mg. may, as Peters suggests, be an independent attempt to emend* 𝔅 *in order to eliminate the offensive expression* 'a life of wine and strong drink' (*by substituting* 'a life of wealth of understanding'). 𝔅 *text is certainly strange, but is supported* (*partly*) *by* 𝔊: 𝔖 > *line. Hart ingeniously proposes to read* חן ושכל 'grace and understanding' (חן *for* חיי יין): *cp.* Prov. iii. 4 [n–n] 𝔅 מוצא אוצר: 𝔊 *rightly takes* מוצא *as participle* = 'one finding' (*so most moderns*): *a subst.* מוֹצָא = 'finding' (*so Peters*) *is highly doubtful* [o–o] 𝔅 ועיר: 𝔊 και οικοδομη πολεως [p–p] 𝔊 > 19 b *and* c, *but the clauses are attested by* 𝔖 *as well as* 𝔅: *omission in* 𝔊 *probably caused by homoioteleuton* (*so Peters, &c.*). *Smend, however, regards them as not a genuine part of the text, the double mention of* 'a name' (*in* 19 a *and* 19 c) *being alleged as suspicious. The repetition is certainly awkward: probably* 'a name' *in* 19 c *should be emended to* 'abundance (fatness)' (Heb. דֹּשֶׁן) *as suggested by Fuchs:* שם *may easily have arisen out of this* (*? through* שמן), *perhaps under the influence of the previous* שם [q–q] 𝔅 אשה נחשקת: 𝔊 γυνη αμωμος λογιζεται (*possibly, as Smend suggests,* λογιζεται = נחשבת: αμωμος *an addition*) [r–r] 𝔊 και μουσικα = ושיר (*cp. for the equivalence* Gen. xxxi. 27, Ezek. xvi. 13 *in* LXX, &c.): 𝔖 'old wine' = יין ישן: 𝔅 יין ושכר *under influence of v.* 18 [s–s] 𝔅 אהבת דודים:

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16. **Like reed-stalks . . .** 𝔊 may have preserved the true reading here, 'sedge' (ἄχει = אָחוּ; see critical note), and also the true construction of the sentence. Then the whole may be rendered, 'Sedge on a torrent's bank is consumed before any (other) plant: but kindness, &c.' (so Peters). Cp. Job viii. 12.

17. **But kindness . . . righteousness.** Kindness and righteousness as between man and man are meant. 𝔅 in clause *a* (cp. Prov. x. 30) differs from 𝔊 and 𝔖 (see critical note). If the latter be followed the first line will run: 'But kindness is like a blessed Eden' (cp. *v.* 27).

(*b*) XL. 18–27. In this subsection the various good things of life are enumerated—in a series of ten contrasted sets of boons. The climax is that the highest good is the fear of God.

18. **better . . . he that findeth a treasure.** Both Lévi and Peters prefer to render—'the finding of a treasure'. This certainly suits the construction of the verse, 'finding' rather than 'the finder' according with the predicate 'is sweet'. But there is a grave philological objection to the rendering. 'Treasure' here may, perhaps, be explained by 19 *b* as = 'wisdom' (so Peters).

19. **Child and city.** 𝔊's rendering 'children and the building of a city' gives the sense intended correctly. There may be an allusion to the building of such cities as were named after their founders (e.g. Alexandria). On the perpetuation of one's name cp. xvi. 1 f., xli. 11 f.

Young cattle and planting. Operations which promote natural increase are referred to, breeding of stock and sowing of crops being mentioned as typical examples.

20. **Wine and song rejoice the heart.** Cp. xxxi. (xxxiv.) 27 f.

the affection of lovers. Or 'the love of friends'. 𝔊's 'love of wisdom' is probably a deliberate alteration due to revision; cp. Wisdom ii. 7 f.

𝔅[B] 21 Pipe and harp make sweet the song,
  But better than both is [t]a tongue sincere[t].
22 [u]Grace and beauty[u] [v]charm the eye[v],
  But better than both are [w]the crops of the field[w].
23 [x]A friend and companion will each conduct himself opportunely[x],
  But better than both is [y]a discreet wife[y].
24 [z]A brother and helper will come to the rescue in a time of adversity[z],
  But more than both doth righteousness deliver.
25 Gold and silver [a]make the foot stand sure[a],
  But better than both [b]is good counsel[b].
26 Wealth and strength [c]lift up[c] the heart,
  But better than both is the fear of God[d].
 In the fear of Jahveh there is no want,
  And with it there is no need to seek [e]support[e].
27 The fear of God is a very Eden of blessing,
  And [f]its canopy[f] (stretcheth) [g]over[g] all that is glorious.

𝔊 αγαπησις σοφιας (? *a tendency alteration*) [t–t] 𝔅 לשון ברה : 𝔊 γλωσσα ηδεια (𝔖 = 𝔅) [u–u] 𝔅 *defective* : 𝔊 χαριν και καλλος = יפי ותאר (*Peters*), יפי ונועם (*Smend*), יפי וחן (*Lévi*) (καλλος = תאר xlii. 12, xliii. 9, 18) [v–v] 𝔅 יחמידו עין : 𝔊 επιθυμησει ο οφθαλμος σου (σου > A &c. Syro-Hex 𝔏) [w–w] 𝔅 צמחי שדה ('the growing things of the field'): 𝔊 χλοην (*v. l.* χλοη) σπορου 'the green blade of corn' (א* σποριμου) [x–x] 𝔅 *defective* עת ינהגו . . . . . : 𝔊 φιλος και εταιρος εις καιρον απαντωντες (*last word* = ? נִגְעִים): 𝔖 *for last word* 'will receive greetings from one another' (נתברכון): *read* אוהב וחבר לעת ינהגו *and render as above* (*others render:* 'friend and companion give support at the right time') [y–y] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔖: 𝔊 γυνη μετα ανδρος [z–z] 𝔅 *defective:* אח . . . . . ת צרה : 𝔊 αδελφοι και βοηθεια εις καιρον θλιψεως = 𝔖: *Peters, following Lévi mainly, restores:* אח ועזר יצילו לעת צרה : *Versions do not support the insertion of verb: Smend restores* אח ושותף גם בעת צרה = 'a brother and a partner', &c. (שׁתף *occurs in Neo-Hebr.* = 'form a partnership or attachment'; *it occurs again in* 𝔅 *mg.* xli. 18, xlii. 3) [a–a] 𝔊 επιστησουσιν ποδα = רגל (יעמידו)—*only last word legible in* 𝔅 [b–b] 𝔊 βουλη (*only* B* 55 *have* γυνη) ευδοκιμειται: 𝔖 'good counsel' (𝔏 consilium beneplacitum): *read* עצה טובה [c–c] *The word is illegible in* 𝔅 (*MS. mutilated*): *Cowley-Neub. read* יגביהו = 𝔊 (ανυψωσουσιν): *Smend* יגוללו ('make to exult'): *Lévi* יגדלו [d] *In the MS. of* 𝔅[B] *there is a marginal note by the side of vv.* 22–26 a b, *written in vertical lines, as follows:*

כל ימי עני רעים בן סירא אום אף בלילה
בשפל גגים גגו במרום הרים כרמו:
טִמטר גגים לגגו מעפר כרמו לכרמים:

'All the days of the poor are evil. Ben-Sira says, At night also.
 His roof is the lowest of roofs, and his vineyard is in the height of the mountains;
 The rain of other roofs falls on his roof, and the earth of his vineyard falls on other vineyards.'

This citation agrees, with one slight variation (*viz.* אף לילות *for* אף בלילה), *with the passage as cited in T. B. Sanhedrin* 100 b. *It is probably excerpted from some compilation of selected sayings which circulated under the name of Ben-Sira, and contained, together with genuine quotations, a number of others which do not belong to the genuine text of Ben-Sira's book. The citation here given appears to belong to the latter class. A Persian gloss is added in the MS.* (*written in Hebr. characters*) *as follows:* 'It is probable that this was not in the original copy, but it is used as a proverb' (*see Cowley-Neub., p.* 7) [e–e] *Reading* משען (𝔅 *MS. defective*): *so Bacher, Smend, Peters.* 𝔊 βοηθειαν = 𝔖 [𝔖 *here adds a gloss on next verse:* 'the fear of God over everything is exalted; seize it, my son, and let it not go, for there is nothing like it'] [f–f] 𝔅 חפתה = 𝔊 (εκαλυψαν αυτον): 𝔖 'is praised' [g–g] 𝔊 και υπερ = ועל (*so* 𝔖): 𝔅 וכן (Isa. iv. 5 כי על) [h–h] 𝔅 חיי מתן 'a life of gift': 𝔊 ζωην

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21. **Pipe and harp make sweet the song.** i.e. of course through their accompaniment.
22. **Grace and beauty . . . crops of the field.** For the sentiment cp. Matt. vi. 28–29.
23. **will each conduct himself opportunely.** Or 'will give support' (and guidance) 'at the right time'. The same verb (נהג), common in NH, is used in iii. 26.
 a discreet (or prudent) **wife.** The expression is borrowed from Prov. xix. 14; cp. also Sir. xxv. 1.
24. **A brother and helper . . .** Possibly the original form of the sentence was exclamatory: 'A brother and helper in time of adversity.' Cp. Prov. xvii. 17.
 But more than both doth righteousness deliver. Cp. Prov. x. 2, xi. 4, 6. 'Alms' (for 'righteousness') is a possible rendering.
25. **Gold and silver make the foot stand sure.** i.e. give a sure footing, a firm position. Neubauer cites the following from T. B. *Pesachim* 119 *a*: in reference to Deut. xi. 6 ('and every living substance that followed them' [lit. 'was at their feet']) R. Eleazar says: 'This means the wealth of a man, which makes him stand firm upon his feet.'

(*c*) XL. 28–30. *A beggar's life no life at all* (= 3 + 1 distichs).

𝔅ᴮ 28 My son, live not [h]a beggar's life[h];
Better is one dead [i]than importunate[i].
29 A man that looketh to a stranger's table—
His life is not to be reckoned as a life:
[j]A pollution of his soul[j] are [k]the dainties presented[k],
[l]And to an understanding man inward torture[l].
30 [m]In the mouth of an insatiable (man)[m] begging is sweet,
But inwardly it burneth as fire.

(*d*) XLI. 1–4. *Two views on death* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 distichs).

41 1 [ab]Ah![c] Death, how bitter is [d]the remembrance of thee[db]
To him[e] [f]that liveth at peace[f] in [g]his habitation[g];
[h]To him that is at ease[h], and prospereth in all,
And that still hath strength to enjoy luxury[i].
2 Hail! Death, how[k] welcome is thy decree[l]
[m]To the luckless man[m], and that lacketh strength,
[n]That stumbleth and trippeth[n] [o]at everything[o],
[p]That is broken[p], [q]and hath lost hope[q].

επαιτησεως [i–i] 𝔅 ממסתולל: 𝔊 *η επαιτειν* (𝔖 *renders whole verse:* 'him that asks refuse not; and be not good to kill but to keep alive'—*misunderstanding* 𝔅) [j–j] 𝔅 מגעל נפש (*so read for* 𝔅 *text* מעגל) = 𝔊 𝔖 (*possibly* נפשו *also to be read*) [k–k] 𝔅 *mg.* מטעמי זבד (𝔊 *read* זר *for* זבד) [l–l] 𝔅 (*with mg.*) לאיש יודע יסור מעים: 𝔊 *misunderstands* [m–m] 𝔊 *εν στοματι αναιδους* (*so* 𝔖) = בפי עז נפש (*for* 𝔅 לאיש עוז נפש): *so read.* [a] *Some MSS. of* 𝔏 *insert the title* De memoria et iudicio mortis [b–b] 𝔖 'Ah! Death, how evil art thou' [c] *So the margin; the text has* 'Life' [d–d] *So* 𝔊; *the text of* 𝔅 *is corrupt* [e] 𝔖 + 'rich': 𝔏 + et iusto [f–f] 𝔖 'sitting' [g–g] *Lit.* 'his foundation'; 𝔊 𝔖 'his possessions' [h–h] 𝔊 *απερισπαστῳ* (*ευπρεπεστατῳ* V 253): 𝔖 'strong' [i] 𝔊 *τροφην*; *read τρυφην* (= 𝔅 𝔖) [k] *Reading* מה *for* כי (= אᶜ·ᵃ 253 𝔖 Syro-Hex): >𝔊 [l] *Reading* חֵקֶךְ *for* חקוך (𝔅 *marg.* חוק, חזק, *and* חוקו) [m–m] *Reading* לאיש אוֹנִים (*cp.* 𝔅 *marg. in v.* 10) ('to a man of sorrows'): 𝔊 *επιδεομενῳ*: 𝔖 'broken' [n–n] *Reading with* 𝔅 *marg.* כושל ונוקש: 𝔊 *εσχατογηρῳ και περισπωμενῳ*: 𝔖 'that is old and stumbleth' (*cp.* 𝔏 defecto aetate) [o–o] 𝔊 *περι παντων* [p–p] *Reading* שָׁבוּר (*Ryssel*) *for* סרב (= 𝔊): 𝔅 *mg. reads* אפם המראה ('lacking sight'): 𝔖 'lacking wealth' [q–q] 𝔖 'and is

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26. **But better than both is the fear of God.** The fear of God is the one all-sufficing and all-important possession; cp. xxxiv. 10.

27. **its canopy (stretcheth) over all that is glorious.** Cp. Isa. iv. 5 (the source of the expression here).

(*c*) XL. 28–30. On begging: cp. xxix. 21 f.

28. **live not a beggar's life . . .** Perhaps this saying of Ben-Sira has influenced the dictum (cited from Ibn Gabirol by Cowley-Neubauer, p. xxx): 'Better the grave than a fall to poverty'. 'A beggar's life' is lit. in 𝔅 a 'life of gift' (or 'gifts'), i.e. a life dependent upon gifts.

In 28 *b* the word rendered 'importunate' (מסתולל) = lit. 'to make oneself a mound' (denom. from סוֹלְלָה 'a mound' thrown up by besiegers); fig. to advance against, beset, cp. xxxix. 24; here 'to beset' (with requests) = 'to importune' (see Driver in the Glossary in Cowley-Neubauer, p. xxxiii).

29. **A man that looketh . . . as a life.** Cp. the citation freely given in *T. B. Beṣāh* 32 *b*: 'There are three men whose life is no life. They are these—The man who watches the table of his neighbour, and he over whom his wife rules, and he whose body is ruled by pains.'

A pollution of his soul are the dainties presented. For 'dainties presented' cp. xxxvi. 19 (24) note. Such gifts pollute in so far as they are begged for, not because they have been presented.

30. **But inwardly it burneth as fire.** Cp. Jer. xx. 9.

(*d*) XLI. 1–4. Death fearful to some, welcome to others, inevitable for all.

1. **the remembrance of thee.** Lit. 'thy memory' (זכרך).

in his habitation. מְכוֹנָתוֹ, cp. Hebr. of xliv. 6, i.e. the conditions under which he is living.

that is at ease. Cp. Job xvi. 12, xxi. 23.

to enjoy. Lit. 'to receive' (cp. 𝔊 *ἐπιδέξασθαι*), cp. Hebr. of xxxiv. (A. V., R. V. xxxi.) 3.

2. **Hail.** האח, an expression of satisfaction, as in Isa. xliv. 16.

how welcome. Lit. 'how good'.

thy decree. Cp. xiv. 12, and see Isa. xxviii. 15, 18.

stumbleth. The word כושל has in Neo-Hebrew the meaning to be weak or ill (Smend).

broken. Cp. Ps. lxix. 21 (20 in R. V.), cxlvii. 3, where the same Hebr. word is used of being broken in heart. The text of 𝔅 reads סרב 'intractable', or the like (cp. 𝔊 *ἀπειθοῦντι*); but this word is out of place in its context.

𝔅ᴮ 3 [r]Fear not Death, (it is) thy destiny[r],
Remember that the former and the latter (share it) with thee.
4 This is the portion[s] of all flesh from God,
[t]And how canst thou withstand[u] the decree[v] of[t] the Most High!
[w](Be it) for a thousand years, for a hundred, or for ten (that thou livest)[w],
In Sheol there are no[x] reproaches concerning life.

(*e*) XLI. 5–13. *The end of the ungodly contrasted with the honour accorded to the name of the righteous* (= 3 + 3 + 1 + 3 distichs).

5 An abominable offspring is the generation[y] of sinners,
And [z]a godless sprout[z] is [a]in the dwellings of the wicked[a].
6 [b]From the son of the unrighteous man [c]shall the dominion be wrenched away[cb],
𝔖 [d]And want[e] shall ever abide with his seed[d].
𝔅ᴮ 7 A godless father do the children[f] curse,
𝔊 [g]For because of him do they suffer reproach[g].
8 [h]Woe unto you, ungodly men,
[i]Who have forsaken the Law of the Most High God[ih]!
𝔅ᴮ 9 [k]If ye increase (it will be) for mischief[k],
[l]And if ye bear children (it will be) for sighing;
If ye stumble (it will be) for everlasting joy[l],
And if ye die (it will be)[m] for a curse[n].

unable to work': 𝔊 '. . . patience': 𝔏 . . . sapientiam [r–r] *μη ευλαβου κριμα θανατου* [s] 𝔊 *το κριμα*: 𝔖 'the end' [t–t] 𝔖 > [u] *Lit.* 'reject', *or* 'despise' [v] 𝔊 *ευδοκια* [w–w] 𝔊 *ειτε δεκα ειτε εκατον ειτε χιλια ετη* [x] *Reading* אין (𝔅 *marg.*) *for* איש [y] *Reading* דור *for* דבר (*Smend*) [z–z] *Reading* ונכד אויל [a–a] *So* 𝔊 (= 𝔖 𝔏): 𝔅 *is mutilated, but may perhaps be read* מגורי רשע [b–b] 𝔊 *τεκνων αμαρτωλων απολειται κληρονομια* [c–c] *Reading* ממשלה תקרע (*Smend*) [d–d] 𝔅 *is almost entirely mutilated* [e] 𝔊 *ονειδος* [f] 𝔖 'his righteous sons' [g–g] 𝔅 *is almost entirely mutilated*: 𝔖 + 'in the world' [h–h] *In* 𝔅 *only three letters are preserved* [i–i] 𝔖 > [k–k] 𝔊 *και εαν γεννηθητε εις καταραν γεννηθησεσθε*; *pr.* *εαν γαρ πληθυνητε εις απωλειαν* 248 (*cp.* 𝔅) [l–l] 𝔊 > [m] 𝔊 *μερισθησεσθε* [n] *For the whole verse* 𝔖 *has*: 'A fruitful woman is the joy of her people, and if there die an

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3. **thy destiny.** Lit. 'thy decree,' as in *v.* 2, i.e. to which thou art destined, cp. xxxviii. 22 *a*.

the former and the latter. The reference is probably to the generations that have gone before and those that will follow after.

(share it) with thee. The Hebr. might mean: '(are) with thee', i.e. they will all be together hereafter in Sheol (cp. the expression 'to be gathered unto the fathers', 2 Kings xxii. 20).

4. **This is the portion.** Cp. Job xx. 29, xxvii. 13.

how canst thou withstand . . . Cp. Lev. xxvi. 15 for this phrase in Hebr. אִם־בְּחֻקֹּתַי תִּמְאָסוּ.

withstand. See critical note.

the decree. 𝔅 reads 'the Law', see critical note, but this can hardly be right, because 'Torah' is never used in this connexion.

In Sheol there are . . . Since in Sheol it will be found that the same fate has overtaken all men, it will be immaterial whether one man lived longer on earth than another; men will not quarrel about that. Cp. Eccles. vi. 6.

(*e*) XLI. 5–13. Death means far different things to the godless and the pious. In the case of the latter their name lives on.

5. **offspring.** The Hebr. word נִין occurs in Gen. xxi. 23; Isa. xiv. 22; Job xviii. 19; in each case it is the parallel to נֵכֶד 'sprout' in the next clause.

the generation of sinners. The reference is most probably to the Hellenistic party in Israel (see *v.* 8), and especially to the high-priestly family, as *v.* 6 seems to show.

and a godless sprout . . . The Hebr. text is mutilated, and it is impossible to reconstruct it with certainty, but the general sense is probably as given above.

6. **From the son of . . .** Ryssel renders this clause 'Because of an unrighteous son a kingdom falls to pieces' (reading תֵּרֵעַ), a rendering which the text may quite well bear, but if, as the present writers hold, the reference is to the high-priestly family, Ryssel's rendering seems too general. In the marg. of 𝔅 is read מבין ערל, 'from amongst the uncircumcized', a term which could well be applied to the Hellenistic ruling party (cp. 1 Macc. i. 48, ii. 46, &c.), so that at all events a later scholiast understood the passage as in reference to the Hellenizers.

the unrighteous man. עול, the regular term for a tyrannical ruler, cp. Job xviii. 18, xxvii. 7, xxix. 17, xxxi. 3.

. . . wrenched away. Cp. 1 Sam. xv. 28 (קרע יהוה את־ממלכת); 1 Kings xi. 11; 2 Kings xvii. 21.

8. **Who have forsaken . . .** This is a clear reference to the Hellenizers, cp. 1 Macc. ii. 23, iii. 6, 8, &c.

9. **If ye increase . . .** i.e. If they have children, these will likewise be godless.

if ye die . . . The reference is not to anything that would happen after death, but rather to the execration in which they will be held at the time of their death.

𝔐[B] 10 [o]All that is of naught returneth to naught[o],
[p]So the godless man,—from nothingness to nothingness[p].
11 [q]Vanity is man (concerning) his body[q],
[r]But the name of the pious shall not be cut off[r].
12 Be in fear for thy name, for that abideth longer for thee
Than thousands of [s]precious treasures[s].
13 [t]Life's goods last for limited days[t],
[u]But the reward of a name for days without number[u].

(*a*) XLI. 14—XLII. 8. *Moral duties enumerated under the category of shame.*

(i) XLI. 14–15. *Introduction to the section on the subject of shame* (= 2 distichs).

14 [[v]Hidden wisdom and concealed treasure,
What is the use of either?
15 Better the man who hideth his folly,
Than the man who hideth his wisdom.]

(ii) XLI. 16—XLII. 8. [x]*Instruction concerning shame*[x] (= 2 + 10 + 1 + 1 + 9 distichs).

16 [y]Hear, O children, instruction concerning shame[zy],
And be abashed [a]according to my judgement[a].
(16) For not every kind of shame is meet to retain,
[b]And not every kind of abashment is to be approved[b].
17 [c]Be ashamed of a father and a mother of whoredom,
Of a prince and a ruler[cc] of lies,

unrighteous father his righteous sons will not grieve over him' [o–o] *In place of this clause* 𝔊 *has a variant of* xl. 11 a: 𝔖> [p–p] 𝔊 ουτως ασεβεις απο καταρας εις απωλιαν: 𝔖 'the end of the ungodly man is for destruction', *so for the whole verse* [q–q] 𝔖>: 𝔊 πενθος ανθρωπων εν σωμασιν αυτων [r–r] ℵ[c.a] *alone among the MSS. of* 𝔊 *has preserved the right reading:* ονομα δε αγαθον ουκ εξαλειφθησεται (= Arm): 𝔊 ονομα δε αμαρτωλων ουκ αγαθον εξαλειφθησεται [s–s] *So* 𝔐 *mg., the text reads* 'treasures of wisdom'; 𝔊 'great treasures of gold' [t–t] 𝔊 αγαθης ζωης αριθμος ημερων [u–u] 𝔊 και αγαθον ονομα εις αιωνα διαμενει: 𝔖> *from here to* xlii. 8, *except* 19 b, 20 a [v] *The order of the clauses of vv.* 14–16 *differs in* 𝔊 (= 14 b, c, 15) [x–x] 𝔖 𝔊> [y–y] *This clause* = 14 a *in* 𝔊 [z] 𝔊 'peace' [a–a] 𝔊 επι τῳ ρηματι μου [b–b] 𝔊 και ου παντα πασιν εν πιστει ευδοκιμειται [c] 𝔏 *inserts the title* De omnibus vitiis declinandum [cc] *So* 𝔐 *mg.* (= 𝔊)

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10. **the godless man.** חָנֵף is often used in reference to one who is an apostate.

nothingness. Cp. xli. 10. In each case the Hebr. word is תהו ('tohu'), which in Gen. i. 2 is used of the 'waste' of chaos; it is also used in reference to moral worthlessness (cp. Isa. xxiv. 10, lix. 4). Both the words for 'naught' and 'nothingness' occur together in Is. xl. 17; cp. Is. lix. 4.

11. **But the name . . .** This thought of the memory of the righteous departed being held in honour was the beginning of a development regarding the conceptions about the future life; this memory involved, sooner or later, the question as to differentiation between the righteous and the sinners beyond the grave, and when once this point was reached further development of thought was inevitable. (Cp. Prov. x. 7; 1 Enoch ciii. 4, civ. 13; *Test. Twelve Patr.*, Naphtali viii. 5.)

12. **Be in fear for thy name.** Cp. Eccles. vii. 1, and *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 8: 'He who hath gotten a good name hath gotten it for himself'; iv. 19, 'Rabbi Simeon said, There are three crowns, the crown of Torah, and the crown of Priesthood, and the crown of Royalty, but the crown of a good name mounts above them.'

for that abideth. For the Hebr. word לוה cp. Eccles. viii. 15.

Than thousands of . . . Cp. Prov. xxii. 1.

13. **the reward.** Lit. 'goods' (טובת); the same word as in 'Life's goods'; in the Hebr. there is a play on the double meaning of טובת: 'The good things of life' = prosperity, 'the good things of a name' = its honourable remembrance.

XLI. 14—XLII. 14. With xli. 14 a new section begins, which extends to xlii. 14. It contains an enumeration of moral duties under the category of shame. It falls into two distinct subsections, (*a*) xli. 14–xlii. 8; (*b*) xlii. 9–14.

(*a*) XLI. 14—XLII. 8. After an introductory piece (xli. 14 *b*, 15) there follows the main part of the subsection, with the heading 'Instruction concerning shame'. It enumerates things to be ashamed of, and then the things not to be ashamed of.

14, 15. These verses, which occur also as xx. 30, 31, are evidently out of place here; possibly they were added from a marginal note (Smend), as seeming to offer an appropriate introduction to the section beginning at *v.* 16.

16. The title to this section is found in 𝔐 only.

according to my judgement. i.e. in accordance with my teaching concerning this subject; 𝔏 paraphrastically, 'quae procedunt de ore meo.'

17. **of whoredom.** i.e. guilty of whoredom.

𝔅[B] 18 [d]Of a master and a mistress[d] of deceit,
Of an assembly and a people of transgression,
Of a comrade and friend of treachery,
19 And of a place, where thou sojournest, of pride[e].
[ee][Be ashamed] to break an oath or a covenant[ee],
To stretch out thine elbow at meat,
[f]To withhold[g] a gift that is asked for[f],
21*a* (𝔊) [h]To turn away the face[h] of thy friend,
21*b* (𝔊) [i]To cause the dividing of portions to cease[i],
20*a* (𝔊) To be silent towards [j]him that greeteth (thee)[j],
20*b* (𝔊) To look upon a woman that is a whore,
𝔊 21*c* [k]To gaze on a woman that hath a husband,
22*a* To be busy with his maid[kl],
𝔅[B] 22*b* (𝔊) [m]And to violate her bed[m],
22*c* (𝔊) To [speak to] a friend with reproachful words;—
22*d* (𝔊) And after giving a gift contemn not,—
42 1 [n]To repeat [o]the word thou hast heard[o],
And to lay bare any secret counsel:
So shalt thou be truly [p]shamefast[p],
And find favour in the sight of all living.

[q]But of these things be not ashamed,
And accept not persons [r]unto sin[r]:
2 Of the Law of the Most High, and the statute;
And of justice, to do right by the wicked;

[d–d] *απο κριτου και αρχοντος* [e] *Reading* זד (𝔅 *mg.*) *for* זר *in the text:* 𝔊 *περι κλοπης* [ee–ee] 𝔊 *και απο αληθειας θεου και διαθηκης*; 𝔅 *is much mutilated* [f–f] 𝔊 *απο σκορακισμου λημψεως και δοσεως* [g] *Reading* מִמְּנֹעַ [h–h] *Reading* (*on the basis of* 𝔊 *απο αποστροφης προσωπου*) מֵהָשִׁיב פְּנֵי (*Ryssel*) [i–i] *The text of* 𝔅 *is partly mutilated* [j–j] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* [k–k] 𝔅 *is wanting with the exception of two letters at the end of v.* 22 a [l] *Reading* נערה (*Cowley-Neubauer*) [m–m] 𝔅 *is much mutilated* [n] xlii. 1 a–d = xli. 23–24 *in* EV: xlii. 1–8 *omitted by* 𝔖 [o–o] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *και λογου ακοης* [p–p] 𝔏 sine confusione: 𝔊 *αισχυντηρος* [q] *Here* xlii *begins in* EV [r–r] *Reading* לחטא = 𝔊 *του αμαρτανειν* (*with Cowley-Neub., Smend*): 𝔅 *text* וחטא (= ? 'And accept not persons and so bear sin': *cp. Peters*)

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18. **a master and a mistress . . .** Smend thinks that the reference here is to Gentile kings and queens into whose service Jews of noble family entered.

. . . of treachery. Cp. Lev. vi. 2.

19. **of a place.** i.e. the people of a place; like עִיר ('city'), which is often used of the inhabitants of a city, see e.g. 1 Sam. iv. 13, v. 12; Isa. xxii. 2.

an oath or a covenant. Cp. Gen. xxvi. 28.

To stretch out thine elbow . . . Cp. xxxi. (𝔊 xxxiv.) 14. Peters thinks that the reference is either to the action of the arm when taking an oath, connecting this with the previous clause; or else to the withholding of a gift in the following clause. It is, however, best to take the words as referring to behaviour; the whole passage exhibits a curious variety of topics referred to.

21 *a*. **To turn away the face.** i.e. to make him turn away in anger because the gift asked has been withheld; 𝔏 adds, apparently by way of explanation, 'ne avertas faciem a proximo tuo'; but the reference is to the turning away of the face of the friend, cp. xviii. 24.

21 *b*. **To cause the dividing of portions . . .** The reference is possibly to the dividing of an inheritance (see xlii. 3), but more probably to the bestowal upon the poor of portions of the offerings for sacrifice, cp. 2 Sam. vi. 19 (Smend). Peters understands the words in a general sense as a prohibition against niggardliness.

20 *a*. **that greeteth.** Lit. 'that asketh peace'; the usual Oriental mode of salutation.

20 *b*. **that is a whore.** Lit. 'a stranger', cp. Prov. ii. 16, v. 3, 20, vii. 5, xxii. 14.

22 *c*, *d*. Cp. xviii. 15.

XLII. 1. **To repeat the word . . .** Cp. xix. 7; a warning against circulating mere unsupported rumours.

lay bare any secret counsel. Cp. xxii. 22 *c*, xxvii. 16 f.

shamefast. The Hebr. word used (בּוּשׁ) occurs only here and in xxxii. (xxxv.) 10 in this sense (as an adj. = 'shamefast').

find favour in the sight of all living. Cp. xlii. 8.

But . . . be not ashamed, And accept not persons unto sin. This general exhortation applies to what follows: of certain things (following) the injunction is to be not ashamed, while some of the things enumerated also involve the application of a judicial and impartial mind. To the latter the injunction 'accept not persons (i.e. exhibit not partiality) unto sin' (i.e. so as to bring sin upon thyself) specially applies.

2. **Law of the Most High . . . statute . . . justice.** The 'Law of the Most High' = the Law generally, regarded as a body of principles invested with divine sanctions; 'the statute' = the particular enactments which result from

𝔅ᴮ 3 Of reckoning with a comrade [s]and (fellow) traveller[s],
And of the division of an inheritance [t]and a property[t];
4 [u]Of the small dust[u] of the scales and balance,
[v]And [w]of testing[w] measure and weight[v];
4(*b*) Of buying whether little or much,
5 [ww]And of profit from traffick with the merchant[ww];
𝔊 [x]Of frequent correction of children,
And of smiting the side of an evil-disposed servant[x].
𝔅ᴮ 6 For an evil wife [y]a seal[y],
And where [z]many[z] hands are, [a]a key[a]!
7 [b]Upon what is deposited make a mark[b],
And let giving and receiving all be in writing.—
8 Of the correction of the simple and foolish (be not ashamed),
[c]Or of the tottering grey-head occupied with whoredom[c]:
So shalt thou be truly well-advised,
And a man (truly) modest before all living.

[s–s] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* וארח (*read* וְאוֹרֵחַ) = 𝔊 *και οδοιπορων* (𝔅 *text* 'and a master' ואדרן) [t–t] 𝔅 ויש (Prov. viii. 21): 𝔊 *εταιρων* (*? read εταιρων*) = איש [𝔅 *mg.* וישר *? to be read* וְיַרְשֶׁה: *so Ryssel*] [u–u] *So* 𝔅 (*omitting* ו *in* ועל) = על שחק (Isa. xl. 15): 𝔊 *περι ακριβειας*: *Smend supposes an infin. to be implicit in* שחק ('to rub off,' *then* ? 'to balance') [v–v] > 𝔊 [w–w] 𝔅 תמחות (*or read* המחות): *in Neo-Hebr.* מחה (המחה) = 'to prove, test' (*cp.* מוּמְחֶה = 'skilled, expert, tried') [ww–ww] 𝔅 (*difficult to decipher*) ועל ממהיר [מ]מכר תגר: 𝔊 *περι αδιαφορου* (*but* א A C 155 157 307 *διαφορου* = 'difference, profit' = מחיר) *πρασεως* (B + *και*) *εμπορων* (C *εμπορου*): *read* ועל מחיר ממכר תַּגָּר: [x–x] > 𝔅 (*but* 𝔅 *mg.* 5 a מוסר *points to the lines having been in text originally*): 𝔊 *και* (*probably to be omitted*) *περι παιδειας τεκνων πολλης και οικετη πονηρῳ πλευραν αιμαξαι*: *from which restore with Peters* (*cp. Lévi*):

על מוסר בנים רב
ועל הכות צלע לעבד רע
(*Lévi:* ולעבד רע הכות צלע)

[y–y] 𝔅 חותם חכם (> חכם *as marginal note*): 𝔊 *καλον σφραγις* (*καλον an addition*) [z–z] *So* 𝔊 = רבות *which read for* 𝔅 רפות [a–a] 𝔅 תפתח: 𝔊 *κλεισον* (*? originally κλεις*): *read* מפתח (*Ryssel*), *as parallelism demands* [b–b] 𝔊 'Whatsoever thou handest over (let it be) by number and weight' (*ο εαν παραδιδῳς, εν αριθμῳ και σταθμῳ*): 𝔅 יד תספור (*mg.* מפקד) על מקום תפקד: 𝔊 *may have read* על מפקד יד מספר ומשקל = 'upon a deposit number and weight' (מְפֻקַּד יָד = 'what is entrusted to a hand', *i.e.* 'a deposit': *cp.* תְּשׂוּמֶת יד Lev. v. 21): *it will be nearer* 𝔅, *however, to read with Peters* על מפקד יד תספור [c–c] 𝔅 *mg.* ושב כושל ועונה בזנות (𝔅 *text* ושב וישיש). *For* ועונה בזנות 𝔊 *has κρινομενου περι πορνειας* (*so* 253 307 Syro-Hex.) (*but* B *προς νεους*)

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the application of these principles in practice; while 'justice' is a general term denoting the administration of such laws. The injunction is obviously addressed to the Scribes, who are responsible for the administration of law and justice. Smend explains the general meaning of the verse to be an admonition to the Scribes not to be ashamed of the Law of their fathers (i.e. their ancestral religion) in the face of Greek fashions and influences.

to do right by the wicked. i.e. probably not to hesitate to acquit the ungodly man when he is proved innocent of a particular charge.

3. **Of reckoning with a comrade and (fellow) traveller.** The meaning apparently is—do not allow feelings of false shame and pride to deter from settling accounts, involving mutual indebtedness, where friends and fellow travellers are involved. Lévi aptly quotes the French proverb, 'Les bons comptes font les bons amis.' Smend interprets differently. He takes 'reckoning with' to mean 'demanding from': 'Do not be deterred by feelings of false shame from asking a companion (on a journey) and a fellow traveller, who is staying for the night at the same inn, who he is.'

of the division of an inheritance . . . i.e. of determining exactly the details involved in the division of an inheritance or property (for the Hebr. of the last word cp. Prov. viii. 21).

4. **Of the small dust of the scales . . .** Cp. Is. xl. 15. 𝔊 gives the sense well, 'of exactness of scales.' Care must be taken that the exactness of the balance is not disturbed even by a fleck of dust. The scales, measures, and weights used by the trader must be tested ('measure and weight,' lit. 'ephah and stone').

Of buying whether little or much. Contrast xxvi. 29, xxvii. 2, where the dangers involved in buying and selling are dwelt upon.

5. **of smiting the side of . . . servant.** Cp. xxxiii. 24 f. (= 𝔊 xxx. 33 f.).

6–7. The construction changes in these verses, but it is not necessary for that reason to transpose them.

8. **Of the correction of the simple . . .** i.e. Be not ashamed to correct the foolish and ignorant, and also to correct the tottering grey-beard occupied with whoredom; for 8 *b* cp. xxv. 2.

a man (truly) modest. The Hebr. word here rendered 'modest' (צנוע) = 'lowly' in Bibl. Heb. (cp. Prov. xi. 2), but 'pious' in *PBH.* Smend renders it 'gesittet'. [It is supposed by some scholars that the word 'Essene' is equivalent to צָנוּעַ.]

(*b*) XLII. 9–14. *The care of daughters* (= 4 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

𐡄[B] 9 [d]A daughter is to a father [e]a treasure of sleeplessness[e],
[f]And the care of her banisheth slumber[f]:
In her youth, lest [g]she pass the flower of her age[g],
And [h]when she is married[h], [i]lest she be hated[i];
10[d] [ii]In her virginity[ii], lest she be seduced,
[j k]And in the house of her husband[k], [kk]lest she prove unfaithful[kk];
In her father's house, lest [l]she become pregnant[l j],
[m]And in her husband's house[m], lest she be barren.
11 [n]Over thy daughter keep a strict watch[n],
[o]Lest she make thee a name of evil odour[o]—

[d] *The following version of vv.* 9 *and* 10 *is cited in T. B. Sanh.* 100[b]:

בת לאביה מטמונת שוא מפחדה לא יישן:
בקטנותה שמא תתפתה.
בנערותה שמא תזנה.
בגרה שמא לא תנשא.
נשאת שמא לא יהיו לה בנים.
הזקינה שמא תעשה כשפים.

(= 9 a) A daughter is a vain treasure to her father:
(= 9 b) for fear about her he does not sleep;
(= 10 a) in her youth, lest she be seduced;
(= 9 c) in her maidenhood, lest she play the harlot;
when she is marriageable, lest she be not married;
(= 10 d) when she is married, lest she have no sons;
when she is old, lest she practise sorcery.'

[e–e] 𐡄 *text* מטמונת שקר = 'a deceptive treasure' (*cp.* 'vain treasure' *in Talm. citation*): 𝔊 αποκρυφος αγρυπνια: *read* שְׁקֶד *for* שקר (*so Peters, Smend*): 𝔖 'great honour' [f–f] *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𐡄 (*defective*): ודאגתה תפ[ריע] [נומה] (*cp.* xxxi. [xxxiv.] 1 𝔊 *and* 𐡄) [g–g] *So* 𝔊 (παρακμαση) = ? תבגר (*cp.* בגרה 'when she is marriageable' *in Talm. cit.*): 𐡄 תגור ('she commit adultery') *corresponding to* תזנה *in Talm. cit.*: 𝔖 '[that she] be not blamed' [h–h] *So* 𝔊 (𝔖 'and by her husband') = בְּעוּלָה (*so read*): 𐡄 בבתוליה [i–i] *So* 𝔊 𝔖 (𐡄 *text defective*): *read* פן תִּשָּׁנֵא: 𐡄 *mg.* תנשה 'she be forgotten' [ii–ii] *So* 𐡄 𝔖: 𝔊 εν παρθενειᾳ (+ αυτης Syro-Hex 𝔏) [j–j] *Transposed in* 𝔊 (*right order in* 𐡄 *as given above in the translation*) [k–k] 𐡄 *text* (*defective*) [בע][ל[ה] ובבית (𐡄 *mg.* בבית אישה) = 𝔊 μετα ανδρος ουσα [kk–kk] 𝔊 μη ποτε παραβη: 𐡄 *text lacking read with* 𐡄 *mg.* פן תשטה (*Peters; and Smend with* לא *for* פן) [l–l] 𝔊 εγκυος γενηται: 𐡄 *lacking* (*read* תחרה) [m–m] *So* 𐡄: 𝔊 'And when she is married' (συνῳκηκυια = ובעולה) [n–n] 𐡄 *mg.* בני על בתך החזק משמר: 𝔊 επι θυγατρι αδιατρεπτῳ στερεωσον φυλακην: 𝔖 *with* 𐡄 *mg.* + 'my son' (𐡄 *text defective: is restored by Lévi* [בני על בתו][ל[תך] הק[ם] מ[שמר]) [o–o] 𐡄 *text defective—the last two words are* (*l.* סרח) שם סרה: *read* שם סרח [פן תעשה לך]: 𐡄 *mg.* פן תעשך שמצה? = פ' תע' ש' לא' לאויבים = 𝔊 μη ποτε ποιησῃ σε επιχαρμα (= שמצה Exod. xxxii. 25) εχθροις: *perhaps, however,* 𝔊 *read in Exodus* שמחה (= επιχαρμα *in Exodus*). *Lévi reads* 𐡄 *mg.* פן תעשך כמשל לאחרים: 𝔖 ('a bad name') = 𐡄 *text* [p–p] 𐡄 *text* וקללת עם (*so Lévi, Peters, Strack*): *but Smend reads it* וקהלת עם = 𝔊 (και εκκλητον λαου: *cp.* 𝔖 ורטוניא בעמא) [q–q] 𐡄 *text* (והושבתך) *corrected in left margin to* והובישתך = 𝔊: הוֹבִישׁ = הביש 𐡄 *right margin* והבשת (= ? וְהַבּוֹשֶׁת) [r–r] 𐡄 בעדת שער: 𝔊 εν πληθει πολλων (? *read* πυλων) [s–s] *These two lines* (11 e f) *are*

(*b*) XLII. 9–14. The subject of this subsection is the care of daughters. The same subject is touched upon in vii. 24–25, xxvi. 10–12.

9. **A daughter . . . treasure of sleeplessness . . .** Edersheim cites some of the Talmudic *dicta* on the subject of daughters and women generally, among others the following: 'Happy he that has male children; woe to him that has female children' (*Qidd.* 82 *b*; *Baba bathra* 16 *b*, &c.); 'Women are of light mind' (*Shabb.* 33 *b*; *Qidd.* 80 *b*); and the well-known one in *Pirqe Aboth*, 'prolong not converse with a woman' (i. 5). The Blessing in the Jewish Morning Prayer may also be cited: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord . . . who hast not made me a gentile . . . a slave . . . a woman.' But the harshness of tone manifest in Ben-Sira towards women generally was much mitigated in later (Rabbinical) Judaism under the influence of the Pharisees.

. . . lest she pass the flower of her age. i.e. without being married. Smend prefers to keep the reading of 𐡄 (פן תגור: Poel of גרר), which he renders 'lest she entice (men)': but 'lest she commit adultery' is a more probable rendering.

10. **be seduced.** For the Hebr. word here used cp. Exod. xxii. 15; Ezek. xiv. 9.

she prove unfaithful. Cp. Num. v. 12, 19 f., 29 (same Hebr. word שטה = 'go aside').

11. **Over thy daughter keep a strict watch.** Cp. xxvi. 10.

a name of evil odour. Cp. the Biblical expression 'to make odious' (lit. 'cause to stink', הבאיש e.g. Prov. xiii. 5).

𝔅[B] A byword in the city [p]and accursed of the people[p]—
[q]And shame thee[q] [r]in the assembly of the gate[r].
[s]In the place where she lodgeth [t]let there be no lattice[t],
[u]Or spot overlooking the entrance round about[u s].
12 [v]Let her not show her beauty to any male[v],
[w]And among[w] wives let her not converse.
13 For from the garment issueth the moth,
And from a woman a woman's wickedness.
14 [x y]Better is the wickedness of a man than the goodness of a woman[y];
[z]And a disgraceful daughter poureth forth disgrace[z x].

In praise of God as Nature's Lord.

(*a*) XLII. 15–25. *Exordium* (= 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

15 [a]I would fain remember[a] God's works,
And what I have seen I would recount.
[b]By the word of God His works were formed[b],
[c]And what was wrought by His good pleasure according to His decree[c].

lacking in 𝔊 (*accidentally omitted: ? the translator's eye passing from* ובית *in* 11 f *to* ובית *or* רבין *in* 12 b *omitted two lines*) [t–t] *So* 𝔅; 𝔖 *incorrectly* 'let her not go forth' [u–u] *So* 𝔅 ובית מביט מבוא סביב: 𝔖 (*? reading* ובית מבית מבוא סביב) 'And let her not be round about in houses' [v–v] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *misunderstood the line* (παντι ανθρωπῳ μη εμβλεπε εν καλλει): *as also* 𝔖 ('Reveal not to every man what is in thine heart') [w–w] 𝔊 και εν μεσῳ = ובין: *so* 𝔖 *rightly:* 𝔅 ובית [x–x] >𝔖 [y–y] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* = 𝔊 (η αγαθοποιος γυνη *? an interpretation of* מְטוּב אִשָּׁה: *but Lévi makes it* = ממטיב' אשה) [z–z] *Reading with* 𝔅 *mg.* (*correcting* ובית *to* ובת) ובת מחרפת תביע חרפה: *cp.* 𝔊 και γυνη καταισχυνουσα εις ονειδισμον (*? a free rendering of* תביע חרפה). *Smend reads* מחפרת = 'shame causing' *for* מחרפת [a–a] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 μνησθησομαι δε (δε *for* δη) [b–b] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 εν λογοις Κυριου τα εργα αυτου = 𝔅 *mg.*: 𝔅 *text* באומר אלהים רצ[ו]נו: *read* מעשיו נוצרו *for last word* (? = 𝔖): *so Peters* [c–c] א[c.a] και γεγονεν εν ευλογια αυτου κριμα (B &c. >): Sah και γεγονεν ευλογια των κριματων αυτου (ευλογια *for* ευδοκια): 𝔅 ופועל רצונו לקחו (*read* לְחִקּוֹ *for* לקחו, *cp.* 𝔊): 𝔅 *mg. has* לקח *which Peters retains: then render:* 'and teaching (doctrine) is a work of His grace': *Cowley-Neub. render* 𝔅 *text* 'and him that doeth His pleasure He hath accepted'

Or spot. The Hebr. term (ובית) has here a general sense as in *NH*, 'place', 'spot'. Smend suggests ובית תבות for ובית מביט = and 'where she spends the night (let there be) no entrance,' &c.

12. **Let her not show her beauty . . .** Perhaps 𝔅 (אל תתן תואר) may be rendered 'Let her not give a look to any male', i.e. show herself, be visible to (cp. Smend). תואר has the meaning 'look', 'countenance' in *PBH*, cp. also xvi. 1.

And among wives . . . i.e. let her not mix on familiar terms with married women.

13. **For from the garment issueth the moth.** The reference is to daughters. If such mix with married women on familiar terms, and listen to the conversation of the latter, sexual impulses and desires will be stirred which will lead to sin. The sentence is couched in proverbial form. The moth issuing from the garment is a figure of something emanating spontaneously from within. 𝔖 interprets rather than translates, 'For as a moth falls upon a garment, so doth jealousy upon a woman from the wickedness of her fellow.'

14. **Better is the wickedness of a man than the goodness of a woman.** As Edersheim remarks: 'The misogyny of the author here reaches its climax.'

poureth forth disgrace. Cp. x. 13 ('poureth forth abomination').

XLII. 15—XLIII. 33. This piece forms a distinct division. Its theme is the praise of God—of God as the mighty and all-wise Lord of nature. The introduction (xlii. 15–25) sets forth God's omnipotence and omniscience. The main (central) part has for its subject the firmament and the sun (xliii. 1–5), the moon (xliii. 6–8), the stars and the rainbow (xliii. 9–12), the storm, the snow and the hoar-frost, the ice, and lastly the sea (xliii. 13–26). A concluding section (xliii. 27–33) has for its main thought that the highest praise man can offer to God is inadequate. As Smend points out, the question of the origin of the heaven, of the dry land and the sea, does not come into the writer's treatment of the theme (cp., however, xliii. 23) any more than the creation of vegetation, of the land animals, and of man. God shows Himself to be the Lord of nature in the wonderful adjustment and economy that are maintained in natural forces and life.

With xlii. 15 f. cp. xviii. 1–7.

(*a*) XLII. 15–25. EXORDIUM.

15. **I would fain remember . . .** Cp. Ps. lxxvii. 12.

And what I have seen . . . = Job xv. 17.

And what was wrought by His good pleasure according to His decree. For text see critical note. According to Peters' rendering ('and doctrine is a work of His grace') creation and the wisdom-teaching are placed side by side: cp. xliii. 33; Ps. xix (the light of creation and the light of revelation set together).

𝔐 17 The rising sun [d]is revealed[d] over all things,
And the glory of Jahveh [e]is over all His works[e].
16 [f]God's holy ones have not the power[f]
To recount [g]His wondrous works of might[g];
(Though) God hath given strength [h]to His hosts[h]
[i]To endure in the presence of His glory[i].
18 He searcheth out the deep and (man's) heart,
[j]And all their secrets[j] [k]He surveyeth[k]:
𝔊 [l]For Jahveh possesseth all knowledge,
And seeth what cometh unto eternity[l].
𝔐[B] 19 He declareth [m]what is past and what is future[m],
And revealeth [n]the profoundest secrets[n].
20 [o]No knowledge is lacking to Him[o],
[p]And no matter escapeth Him[p].
21 [q]The might of His wisdom[q] [r]is established[r],
From everlasting [s]He is the same[s]:
[t]Nothing hath been added and nothing taken away (therefrom)[t],
And He needeth none to give counsel.
𝔊 (𝔖) 22 [u]All His works are truly lovely,
And are [l]like blossoms[l] to behold[u].

d–d *So* 𝔐: 𝔊 (*inexactly*) επεβλεψεν e–e *So* 𝔐: 𝔊 (*inexactly*) πληρες το εργον αυτου f–f *So* 𝔐: 𝔊 ουκ ενεποιησεν τοις αγιοις Κυριος g–g 𝔖 *has* גבורותא דפרישתה = גבורותיו נפלאות (*so read with Smend*): 𝔊 παντα τα θαυμασια αυτου: 𝔐 *text* ייי נפלאות (*but* יהוה *here otiose with* אל *in clause* a: *probably only a variant on* אל) h–h *So* 𝔐 צבאיו: 𝔊 (*taking* צבאיו אלהים *together*) Κυριος ο παντοκρατωρ i–i *So* 𝔐: 𝔊 στηριχθηναι εν δοξη αυτου το παν (*but* 𝔏 > το παν, *which is not original*) j–j 𝔐 ובכל מערומיהם: 𝔊 και εν πανουργευμασιν αυτων k–k 𝔐 יתבונן l–l > 𝔐: 𝔊 εγνω γαρ ο Κυριος πασαν ειδησιν και ενεβλεψεν εις σημειον αιωνος *is restored in Hebrew by Peters thus:*

כי ידע יהוה כל דעת
ויביט אל אותות לעולם:

𝔖 *attests the two lines also, rendering* (*freely*): 'for before God nothing is hidden, and there lie revealed before Him all things that come into the world 'm–m 𝔐 (*reading* ונהיות *mg. for text* נהיות) חליפות ונהיות = 𝔊 τα παρεληλυθοτα και επεσομενα (*so* 𝔖 *which, however, omits* מחוה = 'He declareth' *at the beginning of line*) n–n 𝔐 חקר נסתרות (חקר='what is to be explored', 'the whole range': *cp.* Job xxxviii. 16): 𝔊 ιχνη αποκρυφων: 𝔖 *paraphrases:* '[and there are revealed before Him] all things that are hidden' o–o *So* 𝔐: 𝔊 'no thought' (διανοημα = 𝔐 שכל *as in* xxxv. 18) 'escapeth Him' (𝔖 'no wisdom') p–p *So* 𝔐: 𝔊 'there is not a word hid from Him': *to* 'word (thing)' 𝔖 + 'of man' q–q 𝔐 *text defective:* 𝔐 *mg.* גבורת: 𝔊 τα μεγαλεια της σοφιας αυτου: *read* גבורת חכמתו r–r 𝔐 תכן (*point* תִּכֹּן: *cp.* 𝔖 'standeth fast'): *Smend prefers to point* תִּכֵּן = 'measured off', 'regulated' (*but parallelism favours* תִּכֹּן: *so Peters*): 𝔊 εκοσμησεν = תקן s–s 𝔐 אחד הוא: 𝔊 (B) και εως, ος (A 55 248 &c. Sah Lat Arm), ως (א 253 &c.) *are all corruptions of an original* [και] εις = אחד (𝔊 + και εις τον αιωνα) t–t *So* 𝔊: 𝔐 (*defective*) לא נאצל [לא נוסף ו] (𝔖 > 21 b c d) u–u 𝔊 ως παντα τα

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16. **The rising sun . . .** i.e. just as the sun shines over everything, so the glory of Jahveh is manifest in all His works.

17. **God's holy ones . . .** 'God's holy ones' here = the angels (cp. Job xv. 15). The meaning of the verse is: even the angels are unable to recount God's wondrous works—they need special strength to be given to them in order to stand in the divine presence. Sinful man can do neither. Cp. xliii. 27–33.

18. **He searcheth out the deep and (man's) heart . . .** i.e. the two inscrutable things. Omniscience = Almighty power (Smend). The word rendered 'deep' (𝔐 תהום) recalls the stories of the subduing of the monsters of chaos (Rahab, Leviathan, the demons) by Jahveh as set forth in the old accounts of Creation (cp. e.g. Is. li. 9–10). For our verse cp. Dan. ii. 22 ('He revealeth the deep and secret things'), Judith viii. 14 (a good parallel), and Job xxxviii. 16.

For Jahveh possesseth all knowledge . . . what cometh unto eternity. For the thought cp. Is. xli. 21 ff., xliii. 9 f.

19. **He declareth what is past and what is future . . .** That God knows and reveals to men both the past and the future proves Him to be the controller of history and events—again a thought characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah: cp. also xxxix. 29 in our book.

20. **No knowledge is lacking to Him . . .** For the idea cp. Ps. cxxxix. 3 f.

21. **Nothing hath been added and nothing taken away (therefrom).** i.e. from 'the might of His wisdom' (*v.* 20). Cp. xviii. 6; *Qoh.* iii. 14.

And He needeth none to give counsel. Cp. Is. xl. 10, 14.

22. **All His works are truly lovely . . . like blossoms.** The beauty of creation is compared to the loveliness of flowers. For the text see critical note. The verse is regarded as a gloss by Schlatter (it is absent from 𝔐).

𝔅[B](𝔊) 23 [v]Everything liveth and abideth for ever[v],
[w]And to every need all things respond[w].
24 [x]They are all different, one from the other[x],
But He hath not made any one of them [y]superfluous[y].
25 [z]The one exchangeth what is good (in it) with the other[z],
And who can be satiated with beholding [a]the beauty[a]?

(*b*) XLIII. 1–26. *Recital of the manifestations in Nature of God's might*
(= 1 + 4 + 1 + 4 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 3 + 1 distichs).

43 𝔅[B] 1 [b]The beauty of the (heavenly) height is the pure firmament[b],
[c]And the firm heaven[c] [d]poureth out light[d].

εργα αυτου επιθυμητα και ως σπινθηρος εστιν θεωρησαι [*here the first* ως *is probably due to assimilation to the second in second clause: so Smend:* σπινθηρος *has probably arisen from an original* σπινθηρ ος = 𝔏 tanquam scintilla quam (quae): *cp. Peters*]: 𝔖 *freely* 'And all His works He establisheth in truth for ever, and in holiness they are all of them praised'. 'in truth' *in clause* a (= באמת) *may be right. Perhaps* 𝔅 *of first clause may be restored thus:* כל מעשיו באמת נחמדים. *In clause* b και ως σπινθηρ ος = וכניצוץ אשר *according to Peters* (= 'and are as a spark which can be seen'). *But* וכניצוץ *is probably corrupt. Read* וכמו ציץ למראה (*Lévi suggests* וכציץ: וכמו *may easily have been corrupted into* וכני) [v–v] 𝔊 παντα ταυτα ζη και μενει εις τον αιωνα: 𝔅 (*defective*) ל . . . . . ח הוא = ? הוא חי ועומד לעד: *so Smend, Lévi: Peters* (*following* 𝔊) *reads* הכל *for* הוא: 𝔅 *mg. has* וקים, *thus reading the line* [ועד] הוא חי וקים (*Peters thinks* הוא *of* 𝔅 *a correction for dogmatic reasons*). *Between this verse* (xlii. 23 a) *and its next half* (23 b) *the Hebr. MS. inserts v.* 25 *and* xliii. 1, *thus producing the dislocation* xiii. 23 a, 25, xliii. 1, xlii. 23 b, 24, xliii. 2. *At the top of the next folio the Hebr. MS. has against v.* 24 (כלם שונים זה מזה ולא עשה מהם . . . שי) *the following:*

זה על זה חלף טוב
ומי ישבע להביט תואר } xlii. 25

תואר מרום רקע על טהר
ועצם שמים מביט נהרה } xliii. 1

thus restoring the right order xlii. 24, 25, xliii. 1 [w–w] 𝔅 (*text damaged*) *can be read:* [ו]לכל צורך הכל ישמע (𝔅 *mg.* נשמע): 𝔊 εν πασαις χρειαις και παντα υπακουει (*but* 𝔏 *places* και *at beginning* = 𝔅: *so* Sah): 𝔖 *implies same text, but paraphrases* [x–x] *So* 𝔅 (*text*): 𝔊 (*misunderstanding*) 'All things are double one against another' (παντα δισσα εν κατεναντι του ενος): *so* 𝔖 (*reading* שנים *for* 𝔅 (שונים) [y–y] 𝔊 εκλιπον (B), ελλιπον (A): 𝔏 aliquid deesse: 𝔅 . . שי *read* שוא *by Lévi, Peters* (= 'He hath not made one of them in vain'). *Smend restores* [שי]שאיר [z–z] 𝔅 (*mg.* טוב) (זה על זה חלף טובו: 𝔊 *inexactly* 'One thing establisheth (εστερεωσεν) the good things of another': 𝔖 'but one with the other (forms) pairs' [a–a] 𝔅 *mg.* תואר: 𝔊 δοξαν αυτου (= 'God's glory'): 𝔖 (*interpreting rightly*) 'their glory', *i.e.* 'the glory (beauty) of all things (the whole world)' [b–b] 𝔖 >: 𝔅 *mg.* תואר מרום רקע על טהר: 𝔊 γαυριαμα υψους στερεωμα καθαριοτητος: *read* (*with Smend*) תואר מרום רקיע טהר [c–c] 𝔅 *mg.* ועצם שמים (*cp.* Exod. xxiv. 10 כעצם השמים): 𝔊 ειδος ουρανου (*cp.* LXX Exod. xxiv. 10 και ωσπερ ειδος στερεωματος του ουρανου) [d–d] 𝔅 *mg.* מביט נהרה (*to be emended to* מביע *with Bacher: cp.* xliii. 2). 𝔅 *text has* הדר *which Peters prefers to keep, reading* מביע הדר = 'bursteth with majesty': 𝔊 εν οραματι δοξης (𝔖 > 1 b *as well as* 1 a)

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23. **Everything liveth and abideth for ever.** 𝔅 has 'He (i.e. God) liveth and abideth for ever' (𝔅 mg. חי וקים is common in NH, but is always applied to God; often in the Synagogue Liturgy). The text as translated ('everything liveth', &c.) follows 𝔊 and 𝔖. It may have been altered for dogmatic reasons in 𝔅; so Peters (cp. Smend).

And to every need . . . Cp. xxxix. 33.

24. **They are all different, one from the other.** The rendering of 𝔊, 'All things are double one against another' (see critical note), limits the reference in *vv.* 22–25 to living organisms that exist in pairs. But 𝔅 is to be preferred: in the text of 𝔅 the reference is to nature as a whole. Everything is distinct, but yet all things harmonize.

25. **The one exchangeth what is good (in it) with the other.** 'All things work together for good.' There is a constant interchange and mutual dependence.

the beauty. i.e. of the whole of nature.

(*b*) XLIII. 1–26. THE MAIN POEM.

1–5. *God's power manifested in the firmament and the sun.*

1. **The beauty of the (heavenly) height is the pure firmament . . .** There is a clear allusion (cf. 𝔅) to Exod. xxiv. 10 ('as it were the very heaven for clearness'). The subject of the verse is the firmament, as clause *b* clearly shows: clause *a* in 𝔅 (see critical note) = 'the beauty of the (heavenly) height is spread upon purity'. This, as it stands, might be interpreted of the sun; but the context forbids it.

𝔅[B] 2 [e]The sun when he goeth forth maketh heat to shine[e]—
[f]How awe-inspiring is the work of Jahveh[f]!
3 [g]At noontide[g] he bringeth the world to boiling heat,
And before [h]his scorching (ray)[h] who can maintain himself?
4 [i](Like) a glowing furnace which keepeth the casting hot,
(So) the sun's dart setteth the mountains ablaze[i]:
[j]A tongue of flame consumeth the inhabited (world)[j],
[k]And with its fire the eye is scorched[k].
5 [l]For[l] great is Jahveh that made him,
[m]And His word maketh His mighty (servant) brilliant[m].
6 [n]Moreover, the moon He made for its due season[n],
[o]To rule over periods[o] and for an everlasting sign:

[e–e] *So* 𝔅 *mg. which reads* שמש מופיע בצאתו חמה (𝔅 *text has* מביע בצרתו: ? מביע *confirms Bacher's emendation in previous clause*): 𝔊 'The sun when he appeareth bringeth tidings as he goeth forth' (ηλιος εν οπτασια διαγγελλων εν εξοδῳ) = 𝔅 *with reading* מביע בצאתו (חמה *interpreted by Aram.* חמא = 'to see') [f–f] מה נורא מעשׂי ייי 𝔅 (*read* מעשׂה): 𝔊 σκευος θαυμαστον εργον υψιστου *read* מָן *for* מה, *giving it its Aram. meaning* = σκευος [g–g] *Lit.* 'when he is at noon-tide' (בהצהירו: *denom. from* צהרים) = 𝔊 εν μεσημβρια αυτου (*so* 𝔖) [h–h] *Lit.* 'his scorching heat' (חרבו) [i–i] 𝔅 *is very difficult here* (*mg.* מוצק) כור נפוח מהם מצוק = *line* 1; *line* 2: שמש (*mg.* שלוח) שולח הרים (*mg.* יסיק) ידליק: 𝔊 καμινον φυσων (*so* א[c.a] A Sah: *for the erroneous* φυλασσων *of* B א C &c. 𝔏) εν εργοις καυματος τριπλασιως ηλιος εκκαιων ορη: 𝔖 'As the furnace which blows in the work of the smith (so) three times more doth the sun burn up the mountains': 𝔊 *suggests the reading* מחם, *and* 𝔖 *a reading* נופח (*or* נפח): *in line* 2 *both* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 *wrongly read* שלש *for* שולח *or* שליח. *A possible restoration is, perhaps:* (*vel* נוֹפֵחַ) כור נַפָּח מֻחָם מוצק שליח וגו" = '(Like) a smith's smelting-pot which keepeth the casting hot, (so) the sun's dart', &c., *or* (*with the reading* נפוח *of* 𝔅 *text*) 'Like a glowing furnace which keepeth the casting hot' (*so Smend substantially*): *perhaps* יסיק *of* 𝔅 *mg.* (= 'kindleth') *is right* (*cp. v.* 21). *In line* 2 שׁלוח = *lit.* 'what is sent', *i.e. missile, dart, is to be preferred. For other possible renderings cp. exeget. note* [j–j] 𝔅 *mg.* לשון מאור (= מֵאוּר): 𝔅 *text* לשאון (תגמר נושבת = *the two remaining words in* 𝔅): 𝔊 (*strangely*) ατμιδας πυρωδεις εκφυσων (א A C: *but* B &c. εμφυσων) = ? נשׂיאים מאור נושׂבת (𝔊 *ignores* תגמר): 𝔖 = 𝔊 [k–k] ומנורה תכוה עין 𝔅 (נוּר = 'fire' *as in Aram.: cp.* Dan. iii. 6, &c.): 𝔊 'And sending forth bright beams he dimmeth the eyes' (και εκλαμπων ακτινας αμαυροι οφθαλμους) = ? ומנירה תכהה עין: 𝔖 = 𝔊 [l–l] 𝔅 כי: 𝔊 𝔖 > [m–m] ודבריו ינצח אביריו 𝔅 (𝔅 *mg.* ינצה): 𝔊 και εν λογοις αυτου κατεσπευσεν πορειαν ('and at His word he hasteneth his course'): 𝔊 ? *due to reminiscence of* Ps. xix. 6 ('the sun rejoiceth as a mighty man to run his course'): *so Lévi* (*so that* 𝔊 *may have read* ובדבריו ירוץ ארח): *Bacher proposes to read* אבריו = 'his pinions': *cp.* Mal. iii. 20 Hebr. (*for the sun's wings*): *so Peters, who reads the whole line:* ובדבריו ינצה אבריו = 'and at His (Jahveh's) command he (*i.e.* the sun) stretcheth (*lit.* ? stirreth up) his pinions': *Smend reads the line:* ודברו ינצח אבירו = 'And His word assureth victory to His mighty servant' (*i.e.* to the sun): *this may be right.* 𝔖 = 𝔊 (*rendering* 'by the words of the Holy One he hastens his march') [n–n] 𝔅 *text* וגם ירח ירח עתות שבות (𝔅 *mg.* עת עת *and* עד עת): 𝔊 και η σεληνη εν πασιν εις καιρον αυτης (248 και σεληνην εποιησεν εις στασιν [εν πασιν *of* B, &c., *corrupt for* εποιησεν): *hence Peters restores:* וגם ירח עשׂה לעתו (*so read*): *Smend reads:* וגם ירח זָרַח עת עת = ? 'Moreover, the moon shines from season

2. **The sun . . . maketh heat to shine.** 𝔊 here (= R.V.) has misunderstood the text; see critical note.

3. **And before his scorching . . . who can . . .** Cp. Ps. xix. 7 ('there is nothing hid from the heat thereof'). The sentence may be modelled on Nahum i. 6 ('Who can stand before His indignation?')

4. **(Like) a glowing furnace which keepeth the casting hot, (So) the sun's dart setteth the mountains ablaze.** The 'glowing furnace' (lit. 'furnace blown upon', i.e. to maintain the flame and heat; for the expression cp. Jer. i. 13) keeps the metal-casting in a fluid state by its great heat; in the same way the sun's dart (lit. 'what is sent', 'projection') sets the mountains ablaze with its great heat. This rendering and explanation of the difficult text agrees with that of Ryssel and Smend; Peters less probably: 'A furnace glows with imprisoned heat; the sun, let loose, sets the mountains ablaze.' This does not yield a good comparison; and the same remark applies to other renderings (collected by Lévi).

5. **And His word maketh His mighty (servant) brilliant.** His 'mighty servant' is, of course, the sun, the most wonderful and impressive object in creation, according to ancient conceptions. The creator of such an overwhelming source of power must Himself be all-powerful. For the alternative renderings see critical notes. In the preceding description a vivid sense of the searching heat of the Oriental sun is apparent.

6–8. *The Moon.* As Edersheim has pointed out, the moon occupied an all-important place in the ancient world, and more especially among the Jews, in the reckoning of time. The year was—and is—calculated among them by the moon. Their festal calendar is also arranged on a lunar basis. Consequently the determination of the new moon—by observation—was a highly important matter for the Jewish communities. Symbolically the moon in the Haggada represents Israel (the moon is in the sky both by night and by day): while the sun, visible by day only, stands for the Gentiles, and so on.

6. **Moreover, the moon He made for its due season.** 𝔅 text has: 'Moreover, moon by moon the seasons return', which can hardly be right.

To rule over periods. Cp. Gen. i. 16, 18. The Hebr. word rendered 'period' (קץ) = strictly 'end', and is used of time in Neo-Hebr.: = the determining point which marks the end of a period of time (long or short). In Apocalyptic it bears a technical sense.

𐡄ᴮ 7 [p]By her (are determined) the feasts and times prescribed[p],
[q]A light-giver waning with her course[q]:
8 [r]Month by month she reneweth herself[r]—
How wonderful is she in her changing!
[s]The army-signal of the cloud-vessels on high[s],
[t]She paveth the firmament with her shining[t].

9 [u]The beauty of heaven, and the glory, are the stars[u],
[v]And a gleaming ornament[v] [w]in the heights[w] of God.
10 [x]At the word of the Holy One[x] [y]they take their prescribed place[y],
[z]And they sleep not[z] at their watches.
11 Behold the rainbow and bless its Maker,
[a]For[a] [b]it is majestic exceedingly in majesty[b]:
12 [c]It encompasseth the (heavenly) vault with its glory[c],
And the hand of God hath spread it out [d]in pride[d].
13 [e]His might[e] [f]marketh out the lightning[f],
[g]And maketh brilliant[g] [h]the flashes of His judgement[h].

[𝔖 omits *vv.* 11–13.]

to season' [c–c] 𐡄 מומשלת קין = 𝔊 αναδειξιν χρονων (*free rendering*) [p–p] *So* 𐡄 *text* (*read with mg.* בו) בם מועד וזמני חוק: 𐡄 *mg.* בו מועד וממנו חוק = 'by her is the appointed feast and from her is the prescribed ordinance': 𝔊 απο σεληνης σημειον εορτης: 𝔖 = 𝔊. *Smend reads* ממנו *and Peters* מירח *at beginning of line* [q–q] *So* 𝔊 φωστηρ μειουμενος επι συντελειας (𝔖 = 𝔊) = מוֹפֵעַ עיף בתקופתו (*so Peters reads*): 𐡄 בתקופתו (שיו) ע(חפץ) = ? 'and the good pleasure of her Maker by her circuit' (*Smend proposes an impossible restoration* נר חפץ עופה) [r–r] *So* 𐡄 *text:* 𐡄 *mg.* חדש כשמו והוא מתחדש ('the new moon is like its name in that it reneweth itself') = 𝔊 μην κατα το ονομα αυτης αυξανομενη (*? from an original* ανανεομενη: *so Lévi*): *this reading is a good variant on that of text* [s–s] 𐡄 כלי צבא נבלי מרום (*cp.* Job xxxviii. 37): 𝔊 σκευος παραβολων εν υψει = 𐡄 *with* נבלי *omitted:* 𝔖 = 𝔊 [t–t] 𐡄 מרצף רקיע מזהריתו: 𝔊 εν στερεωματι ουρανου εκλαμπων = ? 𐡄 *with suppression of the obscure* מרצף (𝔖 = 𝔊 *with particip. at beginning*) [u–u] *So* 𐡄 תואר שמים והדר כוכב (כוכב *collective: or ? read* כוכבים) = 𝔖 (*which has* 'stars'): 𝔊 καλλος ουρανου δοξα αστρων [v–v] 𝔊 κοσμος φωτιζων = 𐡄 *mg.* ועדי משריק (*i.e.* שׁרק√ משׁריק = 'to be bright red,' 'shine'): 𐡄 *text* ואורו מזהיר ('and her light shining') [w–w] *So* 𐡄 *text,* 𝔊: 𐡄 *mg.* במרומי (כ *for* ב): [𝔖 > 9 b] [x–x] 𝔊 εν λογοις αγιου (B αγιοις) = 𝔖: 𐡄 בדבר אל: *read* בדבר קדוש (*so Peters*) [y–y] *So* 𝔊 στησονται κατα κριμα = יעמדו חק (*so read with Smend*): 𐡄 יעמד חק [z–z] 𝔊 και ου μη εκλυθωσιν: = 𐡄 *text* ולא ישח (*i.e.* יִשָּׁחוּ = 'collapse,' 'sink down': *cp.* Lam. iii. 20, *Qeri*): 𐡄 *mg.* ישון (*read* ישנו = 'sleep [not]': *so* 𝔖 *which misunderstood* ישנו, *taking it from* שנה 'to change') [a–a] 𐡄 כי: 𝔊 > [b–b] 𐡄 מאד נאדרה (בה)ור: *so Lévi, Peters:* 𝔊 σφοδρα ωραιον εν τῳ αυγασματι αυτου (𐡄 *mg.* נהדרה *for* נאדרה) [c–c] 𐡄 הקיפה בכבודה (*l.* חוג) הוד = 𝔊 [d–d] *Reading* בגאון: 𝔊 > (*incorrectly*) [e–e] *So* 𐡄 (גבורתו): 𝔊 προσταγματι αυτου (= ? גערתו: *so Smend reads*) [f–f] *So* 𐡄 תתוה ברק: 𝔊 κατεσπευσεν (*so* B[ab] A C &c. 𝔏: κατεπαισε *in* B* א* 248 &c. *is a mistake*) χιονα (? χιονα *corrupted from* χειμωνα): 𝔊 *misunderstood* תתוה *as a syn. of* תנצח (= ταχυνει *in* 𝔊) *in next line* [g–g] 𐡄 ותנצח: 𝔊 και ταχυνει (*cp. v.* 5 κατεσπευσεν) [h–h] 𝔊 αστραπας κριματος αυτου (= ? זיקות משפטו *or, possibly,* במשפט): 𐡄 *text* . . . . . ותנצח זיקות (𐡄 *mg. for the whole verse:*

גערתו תתוה בקר } *i.e.* 'His rebuke maketh signs in the morning,
ותזנח יקום במ" } And rejecteth what exists in judgement':

but ברק *and* ותנצח *are better readings:* יקום *also seems to be a corruption from* זיקים (Prov. xxvi. 18) *or* זיקות

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7. **times prescribed.** 'dates légales' (Lévi).

8. **Month by month.** Cp. Isa. lxiii. 23 (same phrase). Note the variant to this line (cp. R.V.): see critical note. The word-play in 𐡄 is marked.

The army-signal (or beacon) **of the cloud-vessels on high.** The reference is to the fire-signal or beacon which in front of the camp or army serves to control and direct its movements. Edersheim refers to the haggadic story that the moon, because she had humbled herself to rule only by night, was, by God's appointment, to be attended by the stars as a retinue, both when she rose and when she went down. For 'cloud-vessels' (lit. 'water-skins' [of heaven] = 'clouds') cp. Job xxxviii. 37. Peters conjectures 'giants' (נְפִילֵי for נבלי = 'cloud-vessels') and renders the whole line: 'Weapons against the host of the giants on high' (the giants here = the stars as opposed to the moon).

9–10. *The Stars.*

9. **in the heights of God.** Cp. Job xxv. 2.

10. **At the word . . . prescribed place.** Cp. Ps. cxix. 91.

they sleep not . . . Cp. Baruch iii. 34 ('And the stars shined in their watches, and were glad; when He called them, they said, Here we are,' &c.).

11–12. *The Rainbow.* Cp. Ezek. i. 2.

13–17 *b. The Storm.* The storm-piece in Ps. xxix should be compared. As Smend remarks, the genuine Jewish

𝔅ᴮ 14 [i]On that account[i] [j]He hath created a treasure-house[j],
[k]And He maketh the clouds fly like birds[k].
𝔊 15 [l]By His mighty power He maketh strong the clouds,
And the hailstones are broken[l].
𝔅ᴮ 17 *a* [m]His thunder's voice maketh His earth to be in anguish[m],
16 *a* [n]And by His strength[n] [o]He shaketh mountains[o].
16 *b* [p]The terror of Him stirreth up the south wind[p],
17 *b* [q]The whirlwind of the north[q], [r]hurricane, and tempest[r];
[s]Like flocks of birds[s] He sheddeth abroad [t]His snow[t],
[u]And like settling locusts[u] [v]is the fall thereof[v].

(Is. l. 11): [זִק = 'fiery arrow, brand, *or* spark']. במשפט *may be right*) [i–i] 𝔅 *mg.* למענו = 𝔊 (𝔅 *text* למען) [j–j] 𝔅 ברא אוצר : 𝔊 (*freely*) ηνεῳχθησαν θησαυροι [k–k] 𝔅 . . . . . ויעף ע : 𝔊 και εξεπτησαν νεφελαι ως πετεινα = ויעף ענן כרשף (*Lévi*): πετεινα = רשף *in v.* 17 c. [*Peters reads* עב] [l–l] *So* 𝔊: *Peters restores* 𝔅: בגבורתו החזיק עב וישברו אבני ברד. [*In certain Greek MSS. the order of the clauses of vv.* 16–17 *is confused* (*as in Swete*)*; the first line of v.* 17 (17 a) *is wrongly placed: it should precede* 16 a *and* b: *thus the right order is* 17 a, 16 a b, 17 b c d. *The translation in text above gives the correct order, though retaining the Greek numbering of the verses*] [m–m] 𝔅 *text has this line* (*it omits the two following lines* = 16 a b) *in the following form:* קול רעמו יחול ארצו: 𝔅 *mg. supplies the missing clauses, together with* 17 a:

קול רעמו יחיל ארצו (17 a)
ובכוחו יזעים הרים (16 a)
אימתו תחרף תימן (16 b)
עלעול סופה וסערה: (17 b)
this order is also found in certain MSS. of 𝔊: *viz.* 106, 157, 248, 253.

For יחיל 𝔊 (*original reading*) *has* ωδινησεν (*so* Sah &c. *altered to* ωνειδισεν *in* B א C 70 106 157 &c.) [n–n] 𝔅 *mg.* ובכוחו: 𝔊 και εν οπτασια αυτου (= *? a different reading: ?* ובחזותו) [o–o] 𝔅 *mg.* יזעים הרים = 'He maketh mountains indignant': 𝔊 σαλευθησεται ορη (= זעים הרים): *read, perhaps,* יזיע הרים [p–p] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* (*above*): 𝔊 'at His will the south wind will blow' (εν θελημαται αυτου πνευσεται νοτος, *? reading* אמרתו *or* אותו: *probably* 𝔊 *did not understand* 𝔅) [q–q] *So* 𝔅 *text* זלעפו[ת צ]פון (*lit.* 'heats of the north') = 𝔊 καταιγις βορεου: 𝔅 *mg.* עלעול (= 'storm, whirlwind': *Aram. and Neo-Hebr.: cp. also* Job xxxvi. 33, *where* על־עולה *should probably be read* עַלְעוֹלָה 'His storm'): *read* 𝔅 *mg.* [r–r] 𝔅 סופה וסערה : 𝔊 και συστροφη πνευματος (= וסופת סערה) [s–s] 𝔅 *mg.* כרשף : 𝔊 ως πετεινα καθιπταμενα [t–t] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 χιονα [u–u] 𝔅 וכארבה ישכון : 𝔊 και ως ακρις καταλυουσα [v–v] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* = 𝔊 [w–w] 𝔅 תואר לבנה (*this may be read* לְבֻנָה = 'its whiteness') = 𝔊 καλλος λευκοτητος αυτης

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view of nature is reflected throughout. Every storm may be regarded as in a sense a foretaste and anticipation of the world-judgement.

14. **On that account.** i.e. on account of His judgement.

He hath created a treasure-house. 𝔊 suggests the reading 'the treasure-house is opened' (reading נבקע or יבקע for ברא). This certainly accords well with the context. God's treasure-house (or houses), containing the winds, storm, &c., is opened, and the storm let loose: cp. Job xxxviii. 22 ('treasuries of snow . . . hail'); Deut. xxviii. 12 ('J. shall open unto thee His good treasury, the heaven to give thee rain,' &c.); Jer. li. 16 ('When He uttereth His voice . . . He maketh lightnings . . . and bringeth forth the wind out of His treasuries'); cp. also xxxix. 30 of our book. There is a reference to the treasuries of snow, hail, &c., and the chamber of the whirlwind and the storm in *T. B. Chagigah* 12 *b*.

like birds. Cp. 17 *c* ('like flocks of birds'). The Hebr. word here used (רשף) probably = 'birds' (so 𝔊) both in this chapter (*bis*), and also in Deut. xxxii. 24 (רשף = ὄρνεις LXX, *aves* Vulg.) and Job v. 7 (בני רשף = in LXX νεοσσοὶ γυπῶν); possibly also in Ps. lxxviii. 48, לרשפים = 'to the vultures' (so it is explained in *Exod. rabbah*, § 12, in reference to the Psalm passage): '*rĕshāfîm* means birds of prey' (רשפים אלו העופות). The more common meaning of the word is 'flame', 'spark'. The conception of the clouds pictured as flying birds of prey may be due to mythological associations; cp. Ps. xviii. 10 ('And He rode upon a cherub, and did fly eagle-like upon the wings of the wind').

15. **By His mighty power He maketh strong the clouds, And the hailstones are broken.** 'On the one hand, the light and elastic particles of cloud are combined into heavy masses; and, on the other, solid blocks of ice are splintered into hailstones' (Edersheim).

17. **His thunder's voice . . . anguish.** A reminiscence of Ps. xxix. 8 ('The voice of J. bringeth anguish upon the wilderness').

16 *b*. **The terror of Him stirreth up the south wind.** Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 26.

17 *b*. **The whirlwind of the north.** So 𝔅 mg. (עלעול צפון). 𝔅 text has 'the hot north winds' (זלעפות צפון, lit. 'the heats of the north'); cp. Ps. xi. 6, 'a glowing wind,' i.e. the sirocco. But this does not suit the north, which was a cold wind.

17 *c*–22. *Snow, hoar-frost, ice.*

17 *c*. **Like flocks of birds.** For this rendering cp. note on 14 *b* above. Cowley-Neubauer render 'like darting flashes'.

sheddeth abroad (𝔅 יניף). Cp. Ps. lxviii. 9 (10), of rain (same Hebr. word).

17 *d*. **the fall thereof.** Cp. Num. xi. 9.

𝔅ᴮ 18 [w]The beauty of the whiteness[w] [x][dazzleth] the eyes[x],
And the heart [y][marvelleth][y] at the raining thereof.
19 The hoar-frost also [z]He poureth out[z] like salt,
[a][And maketh the crystals sparkle] like sapphire[a].
20 [b]The icy blast of the north wind He causeth to blow[b],
[c]And hardeneth the pond like a bottle[c].
Over every basin of water [d]He spreadeth a crust[d],
And the pond putteth on as it were a breastplate.
21 [e]It burneth up the produce of the mountains as a drought[e],
[f]And the sprouting pasture[f] as a flame.
22 [g]A healing for all such is the distillation of the clouds[g],
[h]Even the dew, alighting to bring refreshment after heat[h].
23 [i]By His counsel[i] [j]He hath stilled the deep[j],
[k]And hath planted[k] [l]the islands[l] in the ocean.

[x–x] 𝔅 *text* יגהה עינים (*? read* ינהר = 'dazzleth' [Syr. ܐܦܠ: *Afel* 'to blind', *of the sun*]: *or read* יכהה = 'dim'): 𝔊 εκθαυμασει οφθαλμος (*? reading* יתמה *and wrongly making* עין *subject of verb*): 𝔅 *mg.* יהגה (= ? 'remove, take away': *cp.* Prov. xxv. 4, 5) [y–y] *Read with* 𝔊 (εκστησεται) יִתְמַהּ: 𝔅 יהמה ('is disquieted'?) [z–z] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* ישפך = 𝔊 επι γης χεει (επι γης *an explanatory addition*): 𝔅 *text* ישכון (*copyist's mistake under influence of* 17 d) [a–a] 𝔅 ויציץ כספיר ציצים ('And maketh it to bloom with flowers like sapphire,' *Cowley-Neub.*): *emend with Peters* וַיַּצִּיץ כספיר צנינים (= *translation given above in text*): 𝔊 'and when it is congealed it is as points of thorns' (και παγεισα γινεται σκολοπων ακρα: *the last three words* = ? כסופי צנינים). *In emended text* יציץ *is Hif. of* נצץ = 'sparkle': *cp.* Ezek. i. 7 (צנינים = 'thorns' *lit.*) [b–b] 𝔅 ציגת רוח צפון ישיב (ציגת = צִנַּת *from* צִנָּה 'cold': *the word-play confirms* צנינים *in previous verse*): 𝔅 = 𝔊 'the cold north wind shall blow' (*reading* יִשּׁוֹב *for* ישיב) [c–c] *Reading with* 𝔅 *mg.* וכרקב יקפיא מקוה (𝔅 *text has* מקורו *i.e.* מְקוֹרוֹ: קוֹר = 'cold': Gen. viii. 22): 𝔊 και παγησεται κρυσταλλος εφ (*so* Syro-Hex 307 &c. Sah &c.: *but* B αφ) υδατος = [וקרח יקפיא מקוה קרח] 'ice' = κρυσταλλος Ezek. i. 22 *in* LXX]. רָקָב = Aram. רוקבא 'bottle' *probably in* Job xiii. 28. *Wellhausen and Bacher conjecture* וכרקיע ('and like a metal-plate'): *Smend suggests* וכקרם (= *Aram.* קְרָמָא 'skin', 'covering', 'surface') [d–d] 𝔅 יקרים (*Qal occurs* Ezek. xxxvii. 6, 8): 𝔊 καταλυσει (= ? יקום) [e–e] 𝔅 יבול הרים כחרב ישיק: 𝔊 καταφαγεται ορη και ερημον εκκαυσει (= יבלע הרים וחרב ישיק) [f–f] 𝔅 *text* ונוה צמחים (*cp.* נאות דשא Ps. xxiii. 2): 𝔅 *mg. has* צור 'form' (Ps. xlix. 15) *or* 'rock': 𝔊 και αποσβεσει χλοην = וְכִוָּה וגו׳ [g–g] *So* 𝔅 מרפא כל מערף ענן: 𝔊 ιασις παντων κατα σπουδην ομιχλη (*? reading* מרדף *for* מערף) [h–h] 𝔅 טל פורע לרשן (*m.* רטב)שרב: 𝔊 δροσος απαντωσα απο καυσωνος ιλαρωσει ('a dew coming after heat shall bring cheerfulness' R.V.) = *? reading* פוגע *for* פורע (*so Peters emends*) *and* (?) מְשָׁרָב *for* שרב: *read* טל פוגע לרשן משרב = 'Even the dew, alighting to bring refreshment (*or* enrichment) after heat'. 𝔅 *text* פורע *is difficult:* = ? 'hastening' (*Aram. sense* פְּרַע: 'hastening to revive') [i–i] 𝔊 λογισμῳ αυτου = במחשבתו (*so read*): 𝔅 מחשבתו, 𝔅 *mg.* משובתו (? 'from His quietness') [j–j] 𝔅 שיק רבה [יע] (*Lévi* שיק [ינ]) = ? 'overpowereth the deep' (*but Hif. of* עשק *does not otherwise occur*): *Lévi* 'he maketh an arsenal of' (ינשיק *denom. from* נשק): 𝔊 εκοπασεν αβυσσον (= השקיע רבה: *so read with Peters*). רבה *is determined by* תהום *in next clause* (= תהום רבה): *Smend alters unnecessarily to* רהב [k–k] 𝔊 και εφυτευσεν = ויטע (*so read*): 𝔅 ויט: (*Bacher proposes* ויטל 'and uplifteth islands' *after* Isa. xl. 15) [l–l] *So* 𝔅 איים (*but* 𝔅 *mg.* אוצר) = 𝔊 νησους (*so* 23 55 106 155 157 248 253 254 308),

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18. **The beauty of the whiteness.** Or 'of its whiteness' (i.e. the snow's whiteness); see critical note.

19. **The hoar-frost . . . like salt.** Cp. Ps. cxlvii. 6 ('like ashes'). Cp. Ps. cxlvii. 16–17 for *vv.* 17–19 generally.

And maketh the crystals sparkle like sapphire. The sapphire, as Peters remarks, besides blue, flashes with other colours, such as red, green, &c. The sense is: God makes the crystals of the frost sparkle with all sorts of colours. For the comparison to sapphires cp. Lam. iv. 7; Cant. v. 14. For 𝔊 see critical note. [For 𝔅 text = 'And maketh it to bloom with flowers like sapphires,' cp. Num. xvii. 8 (= 23 in Hebr. text).]

20. **The icy blast.** Lit. 'the cold' (cp. צִנָּה Prov. xxv. 13).

like a bottle. For this rendering see critical note. [In Joshua iii. 16 נֵד = 'heap' (of waters) is rendered רוקבא in the Targum (Strack): cp. ? נוֹד = 'bottle'.] For the conjectured alternatives see critical note.

as it were a breastplate. Cp. Isa. lix. 17.

21. **It burneth up the produce of the mountains as a drought.** 'It' = the north wind. The cold of the north wind is as destructive in its ravages as the heat of the east wind (sirocco). For 'produce of the mountains' cp. Job xl. 20.

22. **A healing . . . distillation of the clouds.** For the expression ('distillation') cp. Deut. xxxiii. 28.

Even the dew, alighting to bring refreshment after heat. 'Dew' (טל) and 'heat' (שָׁרָב = 'dry heat' in *NH*) are contrasted: in *NH* 'the time of dry heat' (שעת השרב), i.e. noon-day, is opposed to 'the time of dew' (שעת הטל).

23–26. *The Sea.* The passage shows reminiscences of Ps. civ. 25 ff.

23. **By His counsel He hath stilled the deep.** One of the mightiest evidences of Jahveh's power is that He tamed monsters of the deep; cp. Job ix. 13, xxvi. 12 (some scholars would read 'Rahab' in our passage for 'deep').

And hath planted the islands in the ocean. Apparently Ben-Sira shared the belief that the islands in the sea arose as the result of Jahveh's conflict with the dragon of the sea (Tiamat, Rahab). When the sea was overcome and sank, the islands appeared.

𝔅[B] 24 They that go down to the sea tell of [m]its extent[m],
[n]And[n] when our ears hear it we are astonished.
25 Therein are marvels, the most wondrous of His works,
[o]All kinds of living things[o], [p]and the monsters of Rahab[p].
26 By reason of Him [q][business] prospereth[q],
And at His word [r]what He wills is done[r].

(*c*) XLIII. 27–33. *Conclusion* (=3+2+2+1 distichs).

27 [s]More like this we will not add[s],
And [t]the conclusion of the matter[t] is: He is all.
28 [u]We will sing praises, because we cannot fathom[u];
[v]For greater is He[v] than all His works.
29 Terrible is Jahveh [w]exceedingly[w],
[x]And wonderful are His mighty acts[x].
30 [y]Ye that magnify Jahveh, [z]lift up your voice[z],
As much as ye can[a], [b]for there is still more[b]!
[c]Ye that exalt Him[c], [d]renew your strength[d],
And weary not, [e]for ye cannot fathom (Him)[e]!

which has been corrupted into Ιησους *in* B א A C Eth &c. m–m *So* 𝔅 קצהו ('its bounds': *lit.* 'its end'): 𝔊 *τον κινδυνον αυτης* (*? interpreting: Lévi suggests that* 𝔊 *read* צרתו) n–n 𝔊 + *και* (*so read*): 𝔅 > o–o 𝔅 מין כל חי = 𝔊 *ποικιλια παντος ζῳου* p–p 𝔅 וגבורות רבה: 𝔊 *κτισις κητων* (א A C *κτησις κτηνων*): *κητος* = רהב Job xxvi. 12 *in* LXX: גבורות *to be taken in a concrete sense* (*cp.* Isa. iii. 25: גבורתך = *οι ισχυοντες υμων*: *Peters*) q–q 𝔅 יצלח מלאך = *ευοδοι ο αγγελος αυτου* (*Cod.* 248): B &c. *ευωδια τελος αυτου* (*τελος arose from* ΑΠΠΕLOS *misread* ΑΤΕLOS): *? read* מלאכה 'work, business' (= מלאכה עשׂי Ps. cvii. 24) r–r 𝔅 יפעל רצון (*point* יִפְעֶל): 𝔊 *συνκειται παντα* s–s 𝔅 עוד כאלה לא נוסף: 𝔊 'we may say many things yet shall we not attain' (*πολλα ερουμεν και ου μη αφικωμεθα*), *i. e. ? reading* ולא נסוף *and interpreting this to mean* 'to attain the end' (סוף: *cp.* Dan. iv. 30): *then* 𝔅 *would* = 'even more things like these (we might say) and not attain the end' (*so Smend*): *an excellent sense, and suiting the next clause admirably: but* נסוף *is doubtful* t–t 𝔅 קין הדבר: 𝔊 *συντελεια λογων* u–u 𝔅 עוד כי לא נחקור (*mg.* נגלה) נ[גד]לה: 𝔊 *δοξαζοντες που ισχυσωμεν*; = כי לא) נגדלה כי לא נחקור *rendered by rhetorical question*): *so read with Peters:* עוד *probably intruded into* 𝔅 *text here from previous line* (𝔅 *mg.* נגלה = ? נָגִלָה 'we will exult') v–v 𝔅 והוא גדול: 𝔊 *αυτος γαρ ο μεγας* w–w 𝔅 [מ]אד מאד: 𝔊 (*freely*) *και σφοδρα μεγας* x–x 𝔅 *text* ונפלאות דבריו (𝔅 *mg.* גבורתו *read* גבורותיו, *pl. demanded by* ונפלאות): 𝔊 *και θαυμαστη η δυναστεια αυτου* = *emended text* (*δυναστεια* = גבורות xv. 18) y *here in* 𝔅 *four distichs are compressed into two lines: cp.* xlv. 26, xlvi. 17 b *foll. in same Hebr. MS.* (B) z–z 𝔅 הרימו קול: 𝔊 (*abbreviating*) *υψωσατε* a–a 𝔅 בכל תוכלו = 𝔊 *καθ οσον αν δυνησθε* b–b 𝔅 כי יש עוד: 𝔊 *freely* 'for even yet will He exceed' (*υπερεξει γαρ και ετι*) c–c 𝔅 מרומים: 𝔊 *και* (𝔏 > *και*) *υψουντες αυτον*: *read with* 𝔅 *mg.* מרוממיו (*so Peters, Smend*) d–d 𝔅 החליפו כח: 𝔊 *πληθυνατε εν ισχυι* e–e 𝔅 *mg.* [כי לא תחק[רו]: 𝔊 *translates* תחקרו *by the same word as* נוסף (= ? נסוף) *in v.* 27 *above, viz.* [*ου γαρ μη*] *αφικησθε* f–f 𝔅 (*defect.*) רוב נ . . . . . מאלה:

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24. **They that go down to the sea.** Cp. Ps. cvii. 23 (same phrase).

25. **Therein are marvels . . .** This and the following verses reflect the phraseology of Ps. cvii. 23 f. 'Therein' (שׁם) may be due to Ps. civ. 25 (which passage has also influenced Ben-Sira here).

26. **business.** A reminiscence, perhaps, of the phrase 'they that do business in great waters' (Ps. cvii. 23), and so to be interpreted here (Lévi). Cp. Wisd. xiv. 2 f. (the vessel sailing for trade). The alternative rendering (cp. 𝔅 text), 'by reason of Him angels prosper' (i.e. in their various missions, which are controlled by God), introduces a more general thought, which not inappropriately concludes the section (cp. also clause *b*). It should be noted also that the angels, as God's ministers, are referred to in the Psalm (civ) which is in the author's mind here ('who maketh His angels of the winds, His ministers of the flaming fire', *v.* 4).

(*c*) XLIII. 27–33. CONCLUSION (CP. THE EXORDIUM, xlii. 15–25).

27. **More like this we will not add.** The sense is rather lame. Note the alternative reading: 'Even more such things we might say and not attain the end,' i.e. fail to exhaust the catalogue of God's mighty works—an excellent sense.

And the conclusion of the matter is: He is all. For the phraseology cp. Eccles. xii. 12, 13. The originality of this clause is guaranteed by 𝔅, though it sounds very Hellenistic, and, in fact, was regarded by Dr. Edersheim as 'evidently a spurious addition by the younger Siracide'. The whole context shows that the words must not be interpreted in a pantheistic sense, though, taken alone, they might be so interpreted. What Ben-Sira means is that God is manifest in all His works (cp. 𝔏 'ipse est in omnibus'): cp. Col. i. 17 f.; Heb. i. 3.

28. **We will sing praises** (lit. magnify) . . . **all His works.** Cp. Ps. cxlv. 3.

29. **Terrible is Jahveh . . .** Cp. Ps. xcvi. 4 f.

30. **renew your strength.** Cp. Is. xl. 31, xli. 1.

𝔊 31 Who hath seen Him, that he may tell thereof?
And who shall magnify Him as he is?
𝔅ᴮ 32 [f]The number of things mysterious is greater (even) than these[f],
[g]And I have seen (but) few[g] of His works.
33 [h]Everything[h] hath Jahveh made,
[i]And to the pious hath He given wisdom[i].

[j]*Praise of the fathers of old*[j].

(*a*) XLIV. 1–15. *General introduction* (=2+7+3+3+3 distichs).

44 1 [k]Let me now hymn the praises[k] [l]of men of piety[l],
[m]Of our fathers[m] in their generations.
2 [n]No little glory[n] did the Most High [o]allot[o] them,
[p]And they were great[p] [q]from the days of old[q]:

𝔊 πολλα αποκρυφα εστιν μειζονα τουτων: *read* מאלה [סתרות גדול] רוב נ (*so Peters*) [g–g] 𝔅 מעט ראיתי: 𝔊 + γαρ (ολιγα γαρ κτλ.) [h–h] 𝔅 את הכל: 𝔊 παντα γαρ [i–i] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 (*defective*) ול[חסידים נתן חכמה] [j–j] *The title appears as a superscription in* 𝔅: שבח אבות עולם, *and in* 𝔊 *as* πατερων υμνος (*but Codd.* 23 [V] 106 252 *and Complut.*>): *it is probably not original* [k–k] 𝔅 אהללה נא: 𝔊 αινεσωμεν δη [l–l] 𝔅 אנשי חסד = 𝔖: 𝔊 ανδρας ενδοξους (= ? אנשי כבוד — כבוד ? *influenced by* 2 a: *but* = אנשי הוד *according to Peters, who so reads*) [m–m] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 + και [n–n] 𝔅 רב כבוד [o–o] 𝔅 חלק (*mg.* + להם) = 𝔊 εκτισεν (*see notes on* xxxix. 25). [*For* חלק עליון *of* 𝔅 *text* 𝔖 *has simply* 'He hath appointed to them' = ? חלק עליהם: *so Peters reads* + יהוה] [p–p] 𝔅 וגדלו *i.e.* וְגָדְלוּ; *but* 𝔊 την μεγαλωσυνην αυτου = גָדְלוֹ: *so Peters reads* וְגָדְלוֹ = ['No little glory did the Most High allot them] and His greatness' (𝔖 'and all their greatness') [q–q] 𝔅 מימות עולם: 𝔊 (*freely*) απ αιωνος: 𝔖 'to

31. **Who hath seen Him** . . . Only extant in 𝔊 (𝔅 omits). The verse is regarded as a gloss by Ryssel (cp. xlii. 15).
32. **The number of things mysterious** (hidden) . . . Cp. xvi. 21.
33. **Everything** . . . God has created all things; true wisdom consists in the fear of God (piety)—the two chief affirmations of the Jewish faith.

Chapters XLIV—XLIX form a well-knit and distinct division of the book, having for their theme the praise of the fathers of old. The heroes enumerated range from Enoch to Nehemiah (in a series of well-defined sections). The connexion with the preceding division is a natural one; God, whose glory is manifest in the mighty forces and phenomena of the natural world (xliii), is also worthy of praise both for and in the lives of the great heroes and pious men that shine through history. An appendix (l. 1–24) sets forth the praise of the high-priest Simon, who can hardly be reckoned, as Smend points out, with the fathers of old.

The whole forms a historical retrospect of Israel's history from the earliest age; cp. similar surveys in the O.T. in Psalms lxxviii, cv, cvi, cxxxv, cxxxvi, and Ezek. xx; in the apocryphal literature, Wisdom x ff., 1 Macc. ii. 51–60; and in the N.T., Heb. xi, &c. The subject throughout is Israel, regarded as the chosen and truly representative race. All that is best and highest in humanity is reflected in the Israelitish race, and comes to glorious expression in the long line of patriarchs, pious kings, heroes, prophets, and teachers, which stretches from the beginnings of history.

Ben-Sira lays special emphasis on the duty and privilege of the community to remember the pious of the past (cp. xliv. 9, 13, 15, xlv. 1, xlvi. 11, xlix. 1, 9, 13). He also lays stress upon the splendour of the cultus as the visible expression of Israel's unique relation to God. Thus Moses is subordinated to Aaron in importance, and David's greatest glory is that he was the founder of the Temple music and psalmody (xlvii. 8–10). This is all the more remarkable, as Ben-Sira was inclined, if anything, to depreciate the efficacy of sacrifices *per se*. Throughout Ben-Sira closely follows the narrative given in the canonical Scriptures, and reminiscences of scriptural phraseology are of frequent occurrence. It is clear that he values highly the written word (cp. xlviii. 10 = Mal. iii. 23, 24), which he obviously regards as among the most precious possessions of the chosen community of God. It is interesting to note, in this connexion, that the author shows clear indications of acquaintance not only with the Law (Pentateuch) and the Prophets (including Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings), but also with Chronicles (xlvii. 8 ff.), Nehemiah (xlix. 13), the Psalms (xliv. 5, xlvii. 8 ff.), Proverbs (xliv. 5, xlvii. 17), Job (xlix. 9), and perhaps Ecclesiastes (*Qoheleth*) (xlvii. 23). No allusion is made to Daniel, which was not yet extant when the author wrote; and it is uncertain whether Ruth, Lamentations, and Canticles were yet regarded as sacred Scripture, as he makes no clear allusion to any of them.

The whole forms a carefully articulated composition, falling into strophes, and consisting of 211 distichs.

(*a*) XLIV. 1–15 forms an introductory section to the enumeration that follows, setting forth, in general terms and under twelve categories, the different classes of eminence into which Israel's heroes fall. The reference is to Israel only, and does not include the heathen (see on *vv.* 3–6). [The title is extant in 𝔅 and 𝔊, but is absent from certain Greek MSS. (see critical note). It is probably secondary, though the possibility remains that it may be an original feature due to the author (so Smend); Peters thinks it original in the form 'Praise of the Fathers' (omitting 'of old' = עולם; cp. 𝔊).]

1. **men of piety**. So 𝔅 (probably rightly). It is piety in its broadest sense of duty rendered to God that Ben-Sira sees manifested in various types of character and achievement. For the alternative reading ('famous men') see critical note.

in their generations. i.e. in chronological order.

𝔅[B] 3 [r](Men) who wielded dominion[r] over the earth [s]in their royalty[s],
And men of renown in [t]their[t] might;
[u]Counsellors[u] in their discernment,
[v]And all-seeing in their prophetic (power)[v];
4 [w]Princes of nations[w] [x]in their statesmanship[x],
[y]And (trusted) leaders in their penetration[y];
[z]Clever of speech[z] [a]in their (scribal) instruction[a],
[b]And speakers of wise sayings in their tradition[b];

eternal generations' [r–r] 𝔅 *mg.* רודי ארץ : 𝔊 κυριευοντες [𝔖 > *v.* 3 a b c] [s–s] 𝔅 במלכותם : 𝔊 εν ταις βασιλειαις αυτων · [t–t] 𝔊 > *their* · [u–u] 𝔅 *mg.* יועצים (𝔅 *text* + *article*): 𝔊 βουλευοντες (55 106 155 157 248 254 Compl.: *v. l.* βουλευται 296 308 Eth: *the* βουλευσονται *of* B *is a mistake for* βουλευοντες): 𝔏 [prudentia sua] praediti [v–v] 𝔅 וחוזי כל בנבואתם (*cp.* וחוזה כל xv. 18): 𝔊 απηγγελκοτες εν προφητειαις (*but* א* 155 253 308 &c. *and* 𝔏 + εν προφηταις), *misreading* חוזי *as* חווי *and omitting* כל: *cp.* 𝔖 'And they declared by their prophecies signs' [w–w] 𝔅 שׂרי גוים : 𝔊 ηγουμενοι λαου : 𝔖 'and kings' (*omitting* גוים *to avoid reference to heathen: so Peters*) [x–x] 𝔅 במזמתם ('in their prudence,' *Cowley-Neub.*) = 𝔖: 𝔊 εν διαβουλιοις [y–y] 𝔅 ורוזנים במחקרותם : 𝔖 >: 𝔊 και εν (*so* 248 &c. Sah Eth: *but* B &c. > εν) συνεσει γραμματειας (א γραμματειαις: Sah Eth γραμματεις) λαου = ? ורוזני עם בחכמתם [z–z] 𝔅 חכמי שיח = 𝔊 σοφοι λογοι (*? originally* λογῳ: *note variants* λογοις 296, εν λογοις A &c.): 𝔖 'the wise taught' [a–a] 𝔅 בספרתם (*cp. Neo-Hebr.* ספרותה = 'office of scribe'): 𝔅 *mg. has* "במם *i. e.* ? במספר *or* בְּמוּסָרָם (Job xxxiii. 16) *or* בְּמוּסָרָם = 𝔊 εν παιδειᾳ αυτων : 𝔖 'in their wisdom' [b–b] 𝔅 ומושלים במשמרותם : 𝔊 > : 𝔖 (*combining* 4 d *and* 5 a) 'And the rulers have explored their praises on lutes and harps'. *For other possible renderings of* 𝔅 *cp. exeget. notes. Bacher emends second word to* במשלותם (= 'in their parables') [c–c] 𝔅 חוקרי מזמור על חוק (*note the word-play:* חוקר . . . . . חוק) ('who sought out music according to rule,' *Cowley-Neub.*): 𝔊 εκζητουντες μελη μουσικων (*ignoring* על חוק: *cp.* xxxii. [xxxv.] 6 *where* קול מזמור *is rendered* μελος μουσικων) [d–d] נושאי משל בכתב (+ ו *with best MSS. of* 𝔊: και διηγουμενοι επη εν γραφῃ) [e–e] 𝔅 אנשי חיל = 𝔊 ανδρες πλουσιοι [f–f] 𝔅 וסומכי כח : *read* וסמוכי = 𝔊 και (*so* 155 : *others* >) κεχορηγμενοι ισχυι [g–g] 𝔅 ושוקטים על מכונתם = 𝔊 (*point* מְכוֹנָתָם = 𝔊 εν παροικιαις αυτων)

3–6 (7). Twelve categories of men are here enumerated (for the number twelve in such a connexion cp. xxiv. 13–17 and l. 6–10); of men who 'were honoured in their generation and in their days had glory' (*v.* 7; it should be noticed that *vv.* 1–7 form a single logical period). It is then stated (*vv.* 8 and 9) that some of these have left a name which deserves to be honoured and remembered, while others have left no memorial. In other words, some were pious, and are remembered as such by posterity (the enumeration of these is introduced in *v.* 10), while others were not, and are deservedly forgotten (*v.* 9). Lévi and Ryssel think that the reference in *vv.* 3–6 is to heathen heroes—the great men of the pagan world—conquerors, warriors, counsellors, poets, writers, &c.; and that Ben-Sira draws a deliberate contrast between these and the heroes of Israel. The former are only partly remembered by their own people, while the memory of the pious in Israel never fades. But the terms of *v.* 3 *d* (ref. to the prophets) and *v.* 4 *c, d* (ref. to the scribes) can hardly be made to apply to the heathen; and it is doubtful whether Ben-Sira would have reckoned any heathen heroes among the truly pious. The terms used can all be applied more naturally to the heroes and great men of Israel. The absence of any specific mention of priests in these verses may be explained by supposing that Ben-Sira intends to include them among the princes and teachers.

3. **(Men) who wielded dominion . . . of renown . . .** Rulers like David and Solomon and warriors like Joshua are meant.

Counsellors . . . all-seeing in their prophetic (power). i. e. such men as Elisha and Isaiah, who were at once counsellors of the nation and prophets.

4. **Princes of nations in their statesmanship** (lit. in their devising), **And (trusted) leaders** (or potentates). 'Princes of nations' such as Joseph (a viceroy); leaders of Israel ('trusted leaders') like Zerubbabel and Nehemiah. 𝔊 misunderstands 4 *b* (rendering, according to the probable original Greek text, 'scribes of the people in understanding' (see critical note); 'scribes of the people' = שׂוטרי עם; cp. for the expression 1 Macc. v. 42). The Hebrew word rendered 'in their penetration' (בְּמֶחְקְרוֹתָם lit. 'in their searchings out') does not occur again, apparently, in this sense (in Ps. xcv. 4 מֶחְקָר = 'a place to be searched out', i.e. remotest part); but a form of the same word is used in Prov. xxv. 2 of the activities that characterize the life surrounding a royal court, 'It is the glory of God to conceal a thing: but the glory of kings is to search out a matter' (חֵקֶר דבר). Cowley-Neubauer render here 'in their care'.

Clever of speech in their (scribal) instruction. The Hebr. word here rendered '(scribal) instruction' does not occur in this sense in Biblical Hebrew (in Ps. lxxi. 15 סִפֻּרוֹת = 'numbers'; but LXX γραμματεία: סִפְרָה = ספר 'book', if it be a genuine form); but it can be justified from Neo-Hebrew (cp. סַפְּרוּתָא (סַפְּרוּתָה) = 'the office of scribe'; סִפּוּרוּת = 'the art of the scribe'). The reference in our text is doubtless to the work of the scribes as instructors, in which Ben-Sira was so deeply interested.

And speakers of wise sayings in their tradition. Lit. 'proverbialists (מוֹשְׁלִים) in their keeping' (viz. of the tradition); for the translation 'speakers of wise sayings' or 'proverbs' cp. Num. xxi. 27; and for 'keeping' used in this sense (viz. guarding a tradition) cp. Prov. iv. 21, vii. 1, xxii. 18. Lévi objects to this rendering on the ground that it anticipates *v.* 5 *b*, where 'the makers of proverbs' are the subject (thus involving an awkward repetition), but the objection is not a fatal one; in our present verse the author is thinking of the wise as a class of men who expressed their wisdom in proverbial form orally (in their teaching); in *v.* 5 *b* he refers specifically to the authors of

𝔅ᴮ 5 [c]Devisers of psalms according to rule[c],
[d]And authors of proverbs in books[d];
6 [e]Men of resource[e] [f]and supported with strength[f],
[g]And living at ease in their dwelling-places[g]:
7 All these [h]were honoured[h] [i]in their generation[i],
[j]And in their days[j] [k]had glory[k].
8 Some of them there are who have left a name,
[l]That men might tell of their praise[l]:
9 And some of them there are who have no memorial,
[m]So that there was an end of them when they came to their end[m];
[n]They were as though they had not been,
And their children after them[n].
10 [o]Nevertheless[o] these were men of piety,
[p]And their good fortune shall not come to an end[p];
11 With their seed [q]their prosperity[q] remaineth sure,
[r]And their inheritance to their children's children[r].
𝔊 12 [s]In their covenant their seed abideth,
And their children's children for their sakes[s];

[h–h] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* = 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 *text*> [i–i] 𝔅 בדורם: 𝔊 *εν γενεαις* (70 + *αυτων*): 𝔖 'in their generations' [j–j] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* (ובימיהם) = 𝔊 *and* 𝔖: 𝔅 *text* ומימיהם [k–k] 𝔅 תפארתם = 𝔖: 𝔊 *καυχημα* [l–l] 𝔊 *του εκδιηγησασθαι επαινους* = 𝔖 (+ 'their'): 𝔅 בנחלתם (*mg.* להשתענות) להשתענות ('That men might tell of it in their inheritance,' *Cowley-Neub.*): *read* להשתעות בתהלתם (*with Smend: so Peters, omitting* ב) [הִשְׁתָּעָה = *Aram.* אֶשְׁתְּעִי 'to narrate', 'tell'] [m–m] 𝔅 וישבתו כאשר שבתו: 𝔊 (*freely*) *και απωλουντο ως ουχ υπαρξοντες* (𝔖 = 𝔅) [n–n] *So* 𝔅 *and* 𝔊: 𝔖> (*? for dogmatic reasons*) [o–o] 𝔅 ואולם = 𝔊 *αλλ' η* [p–p] 𝔅 ותקותם ל[א תשב]ת: 𝔊 ('whose righteous deeds have not been forgotten') *ων αι δικαιοσυναι* (248 Sah + *αυτων*) *ουκ επελησθησαν* (*reading* וצדקתם *for* ותקותם): 𝔖 'and their goodness shall not come to an end': *reading* וצדקתם (*so emend* 𝔅) [q–q] 𝔅 טובם = טוּבָם, *i.e.* 'their prosperity' *or* 'their goods', 'property' (*parallel to* 'their possession' *next line*): 𝔊 *αγαθη* (𝔖 = 𝔅) [r–r] 𝔅 ונחלתם ל[בני בניהם] = 𝔖 ('and their root to their children's children): 𝔊 *κληρονομια εκγονα αυτων is obviously in disorder* (*? read* *κληρονομια αυτων τοις εκγονοις αυτων*): 𝔏 (*Codex Sang.*) hereditas nepotum illorum [s–s] 𝔅>; *but the verse is attested by* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖. 𝔊 *has* *εν ταις διαθηκαις* (70 + *αυτων* = 𝔖) *εστη σπερμα αυτων και τα τεκνα αυτων δι αυτους, i.e.* בבריתם יעמד זרעם ובעבורם בניהם: 𝔖 *in second line reads* ובעבודתם [הטובה] *for* ובעבורם *and* (?) בני בניהם *for* בניהם (*Peters follows* 𝔖 *in line 2, and renders* 'and their children in their works')

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certain books (Solomon and others) who have reduced this proverbial wisdom to writing. The alternative rendering adopted by Lévi and others makes the line refer to governors or officials. Thus Cowley-Neub. render 4 *c* and *d*:

'Wise of meditation in their writing,
And governing in their watchfulness.'

Lévi: 'Wise orators for their instruction,
And officials for their offices'

(the reference, according to Lévi, being to heathen orators and officers).

5. **Devisers of psalms according to rule.** Lévi, 'perfecters of poetry according to rule.' The reference is to the composition of psalms set to traditional melodies. In this connexion David and the guilds of temple-singers would be thought of primarily.

6. **Men of resource . . . living at ease in their dwelling-places.** The patriarchs, and perhaps Job, were in the writer's mind (so Smend).

8. **Some . . . have left a name.** Such are again referred to in *vv.* 10 f.

9. **And some . . . who have no memorial . . .** The reference is to godless kings, doubtless of the northern kingdom. As the Chronicler, so Ben-Sira passes these over in silence.

They were as though they had not been. For the expression cp. Job x. 19; Obad. 16.

10. **Nevertheless these were men of piety.** Cp. *v.* 1. This introduces the enumeration that follows of great and pious men in Israel.

And their good fortune shall not come to an end. Not only were they happy and fortunate in their lives, but their happy estate (reading וצדקתם with 𝔊 and 𝔖; צדקה = 'good fortune', 'prosperity' sometimes) lives on in their descendants' happy and prosperous lives (this is further developed in *vv.* 11 f.). The reading of 𝔊 affords a good sense—'their righteousness shall not be forgotten' (but anticipates *v.* 13 *b*). 𝔅 has 'their hope shall not come to an end'.

11. **With their seed their prosperity remaineth sure.** Cp. Job xxi. 8, 16; also xlv. 26 of our book.

12. **In their covenant** (or covenants) . . . Though this verse is absent from 𝔅 the variants in 𝔊 and 𝔖 (see critical note), which can only be explained by a Hebrew original, show that it must have formed part of the original Hebrew text. 'Covenant' in Ben-Sira's phraseology means always a gracious promise by God. The covenants in the author's mind are not only those with Abraham and Noah, but also those with Phineas, Aaron, and David (cp. xxiv. 25, xlv. 15). So Smend.

𝔅[b] 13 [t]Their memory[t] abideth for ever,
[u]And their righteousness shall not be forgotten[u];
14 [v]Their bodies were buried in peace[v],
[w]But their name liveth unto all generations[w].
15 [x]The assembly recounteth their wisdom,
And the congregation declareth their praise[x].

(*b*) XLIV. 16–18. *Enoch and Noah.*

16 [yz]ENOCH walked with Jahveh [*and was taken*][z],
[a]A miracle of knowledge to all generations[a].

t–t *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 *το σπερμα αυτων* (זרעם *for* זכרם) u–u 𝔅 *defective* . . . . . ל וצדקתם: 𝔊 *και η δοξα αυτων ουκ εξαλειφθησεται*: *read* (?) ח[א תשכ]ל וצדקתם: *so Lévi* (*Smend thinks there are faint traces of a* ה [*which may be* ח] *at end of line*): *Smend reads* תמחה: *Peters, following* 𝔊, וכבודם לא ינשה v–v 𝔅 *defective* [ום נאספו]ל[בש . . . . . : 𝔊 *το σωμα αυτων εν ειρηνη εταφη*: *read with Peters*: גְוִיָּתָם בשלום נאספו (*so* 𝔖) w–w 𝔅 *defective* [דור]ל . . . . . ודור: 𝔊 *και το ονομα αυτων ζη εις γενεας*: *read* ושמם חי לדור ודור = 𝔖 x–x 𝔅 *text*>: *but* 𝔅 *mg. has*: חכמתם תשנה עדה ותהלתם יספר קהל = 𝔊 (λαοι = עדה): 𝔖>*line* 1: *in line* 2 = 𝔊 *and* 𝔅 (*the whole verse* = xxxix. 10) y *v.* 16 *wanting in* 𝔖 z–z 𝔅 חנוך [נמצ]א תמים והתהלך עם יי ונלקח (*here* [נמצ]א תמים ו *must be deleted: came in from next verse*): *genuine Hebr. text*: 'Enoch walked with Jahveh [and was taken'] = 𝔊 Ενωχ ευηρεστησεν Κυριῳ (*so* LXX Gen. v. 24) *και μετετεθη* (*the last word* 'and was taken' *is probably an addition to the original text: see exeget. note*). a–a *So* 𝔅 אות דעת לדור ודור: 𝔊 'An example of repentance to all generations' (*υποδειγμα μετανοιας ταις γενεαις*) b–b 𝔅 *text* לעת כלה (𝔅 *mg.* ב' *i.e.* בעת): 𝔊 *εν καιρῳ οργης* c–c 𝔅 תחליף: 𝔊 *ανταλλαγμα* (𝔖 'he was taken in exchange for the world') d–d *So*

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13. **Their memory abideth for ever.** Cp. xxxix. *c*, *d*.
14. **But their name liveth unto all generations.** = xxxix. 9 *d*.
15. = xxxix. 10 (see notes there).

(*b*) XLIV. 16–18. ENOCH AND NOAH.

16. **Enoch walked with Jahveh [and was taken].** The phraseology is a reminiscence of Gen. v. 24 (for the text cp. critical note). The last word rendered 'and was taken' is probably an addition to the original form of the text; it overloads the line and spoils the rhythm (so Schlatter and Smend; the latter scholar points out that xlix. 10, which uses the same phrase of Enoch, implies that his being 'taken' has not previously been mentioned. See further notes on xlix. 10).

A miracle of knowledge to all generations. So 𝔅. 𝔊 has 'an example of repentance to the generations'. The translation of 𝔊 reflects in an interesting way the influence of controversy. At an early period Enoch lived in popular legend as a heroic figure whose destiny was glorified by God. These features received elaborate and exaggerated development in the circles of the apocalyptists: thus Enoch's wisdom, a feature that belongs to the oldest form of the tradition (cp. Ezek. xxviii. 3 f., where read 'Enoch' for 'Daniel'; so also in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20[1]), receives elaborate development in the apocalyptic Enochic literature (cp. especially 2 Enoch), and Enoch becomes the exemplar of piety and wisdom, the friend and confidant of God, and the accredited revealer of divine secrets to men.[2] Against this, as it seemed, exaggerated estimate there was raised a protest in Rabbinical circles which is reflected in some of the early Rabbinical literature. Thus in the *Midrash rabba* on Gen. v. 24 the idea that Enoch was translated without dying is expressly refuted[3] (contrast the Christian view in Heb. xi. 5). Another view, reflected in Wisd. iv. 10–14, was that Enoch had been inconsistent in his piety, and was removed (? by death) before his time, in order that he might not fall into further sin ('he was caught away lest wickedness should change his understanding'). Cp. also Philo, *de Abrahamo*, § 3, where 'he was not' is explained to mean that his former blameworthy life was wiped out and effaced, being no longer 'found'. In 𝔊's version of our text, therefore, the influence of a later exegesis which had made its way to Alexandria is traceable. In 𝔅, on the other hand, which represents the text of the original author, one primitive feature of the Enoch-tradition has been retained, viz. his wonderful knowledge. Ben-Sira, like some of the later Rabbis, would not have been predisposed to exaggerate unduly the claims of Enoch in the apocalyptic direction. Nor, in fact, has he done so. See further on xlix. 14, and cp. Fränkel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese*, p. 44 f.

[It should be added that in the Targ. of Pseudo-Jonathan (on Gen. v. 24) the old popular view of Enoch reappears. He is represented as a pious worshipper of the true God, who was translated to heaven, and received the names and offices of *metatron* and 'great scribe' (*Safra rabba*). This doubtless was made possible after controversy (with Christians) had ceased.]

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[1] Cp. on this point *EB*, s. v. 'Enoch'.

[2] As Cheyne points out (*EB*, s. v. 'Enoch'), the Enoch-tradition shows traces of solar origin: 'A child of the "all-seeing" sun must be wise as well as pious.' This primitive idea will account for the later developments according to which Enoch was the inventor of writing, arithmetic, and astronomy (cp. *Jubilees*, ch. iv).

[3] In the same passage it is said that he had been reckoned among sinners, and was still inconsistent in his piety, and that God said if he continued pious He would take him out of the world. Cp. Wisd. iv. 10–14. Targ. Onq. says: 'God made him to die.'

𝔅ᴮ 17 NOAH the righteous was found blameless;
[b]In the season of destruction[b] he became [c]the continuator[c];
[d]For his sake there was a remnant[d],
[e]And by reason of the covenant with him the Flood ceased[e].
18 [f]By an eternal sign[f] [g](God) concluded it[g] with him,
Not to destroy (again) all flesh[h].

(*c*) XLIV. 19–23. *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* (3 + 3 + 1 + 3 distichs).

19 ABRAHAM, 'the father[i] of a multitude of nations',
[j]Tarnished not his glory[j];
20 Who kept the commandment of the Most High,
And entered into a covenant with Him:
[k]In his flesh[k] He engraved him an ordinance,
And in trial he was found faithful.
21 Therefore with an oath [l]He promised him[l]
[m]'To bless[m] [n]the nations[n] in his seed',
𝔊 (𝔖) [o]To multiply him '[p]as the dust of the earth[p]'[o],
And to exalt his seed 'as the stars';
𝔅ᴮ [q]To cause them to inherit 'from sea to sea,
And from the River to the ends of the earth'.

𝔅 = 𝔖: 𝔊 δια τουτο (*for* δια τουτον = 𝔅 בעבורו) εγενηθη καταλιμμα τῃ γῃ (? τῃ γῃ *originally after* ανταλλαγμα: *cp.* 𝔖 *above*) [e–e] 𝔅 ובבריתו חדל מבול: 𝔊 δια τουτο (*reading* בעבורו *for* בבריתו) εγενετο κατακλυσμος (𝔖 *paraphrases*) [f–f] *So* 𝔅 באות עולם: 𝔊 διαθηκαι αιωνος (= ברית עולם) (𝔖 *may imply also* ברית: *rendering* 'oath') [g–g] 𝔅 *text* נכרת = 𝔊 επεθησαν: 𝔅 *mg.* כרת [𝔖 *renders the line*: 'an oath God sware to him in truth'] [h] 𝔊 + κατακλυσμῳ [i] 𝔊 + μεγας (μεγας πατηρ) [j–j] *So* 𝔅 (*lit.* 'Put not in his honour any blemish') לא נתן בכבודו מום: 𝔖 'and there was not put any blemish in his honour' = 𝔅: 𝔊 και ουχ ευρεθη ομοιος (*read* μωμος) εν τῃ δοξῃ [𝔅 *mg.* דופי *for* מום *cp.* Ps. l. 20] [k–k] 𝔊 + και (και εν σαρκι αυτου), *but* 𝔏 *and a number of Greek codices* (106 155 157 248 253), *also* Syro-Hex, > και (*so also* 𝔅 *and* 𝔖) [l–l] 𝔅 הקים לו = 𝔊 εστησεν αυτῳ = ? 'assured him': *in Aram.* קַיֵּם = 'to swear': *so* 𝔖 *here* 'God sware to him' [m–m] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 ενευλογηθηναι, *so* 𝔖 (*but* 248 ενευλογειν = 𝔅) [n–n] *So* 𝔅 *and* 𝔊: 𝔖 'all the peoples of the earth' [o–o] *So* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖: *but* א* > *the line with* 𝔅 [p–p] *So* 𝔊 (*cp.* Gen. xiii. 6): 𝔖 'as the sand of the sea' (*cp.* Gen. xxii. 17) [q] 𝔊 + και (*preceding*): *but* 𝔅 𝔖 > και

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17. **Noah the righteous.** Cp. Gen. vi. 9, vii. 1 (Heb. xi. 7).

In the season of destruction he became the continuator. 𝔊 renders 'he became a substitute' (ἐγένετο ἀντάλλαγμα). The exact meaning of the Hebrew word rendered 'continuator' has been the subject of much discussion. Its form (תחליף) is similar to such Hifil noun-formations as תלמיד ('disciple'), and it seems best to explain its meaning from the Hifil of the verb (החליף) as it is used in Job xiv. 7 = 'to put forth fresh branches', 'sprout again'. So here the noun would mean 'continuator', 'renewer' (one who starts the race afresh). Cowley-Neubauer render 'successor', and in the Glossary this is explained as follows: 'i. e. humanity at large perished, but Noah was spared to carry on the succession and keep the race alive': cp. xlviii. 8 (in xlvi. 12 תחליף is probably a verbal form). With this meaning cp. the use of the verb in Hebrew החליף = 'to cause to come in place of', 'to make to succeed,' Is. ix. 9; in Aram. תחלופא = 'substitute', 'representative'. S. Krauss in *JQR*, xi. 156 f., discusses the word and proposes to render our passage: 'At the time of destruction there was a change (a reward, a compensation)'. See further Cowley-Neubauer in *JQR*, ix. 563.

ceased. i. e. probably ceased to come any more, was not to be repeated (so 𝔖 understands the meaning rightly).

18. **By an eternal sign . . .** Cp. xliii. 6; Gen. ix. 12 f., xiii. 17.

Not to destroy (again) all flesh. Cp. Gen. ix. 15.

(*c*) XLIV. 19–23. ABRAHAM, ISAAC, AND JACOB.

19. **Abraham, 'the father of a multitude of nations'.** Cp. Gen. xvii. 4 f. (xii. 2 f., xv. 5). 𝔊 ('Abraham was a great father of a multitude', &c.) combines with this the other explanation of the name Abram = 'exalted father' (so Hart).

Tarnished not his glory (or honour). The same phrase (cp. critical note) occurs in xlvii. 20.

20. **And entered into a covenant with Him.** Cp. Gen. xvii. 10; and for the phrase Ezek. xvi. 8 (בא בברית).

In his flesh . . . Cp. Gen. xvii. 9–11, 24.

And in trial . . . Cp. Gen. xxii.

21. **Therefore with an oath . . . seed.** Cp. Gen. xxii. 16–18 (also xii. 3, xviii. 18): see also Gal. iii. 8.

To multiply him 'as the dust of the earth' . . . his seed 'as the stars'. Cp. Gen. xxii. 17.

. . . to inherit 'from sea to sea . . . earth'. Cp. Gen. xviii. 18; Exod. xxiii. 31; Deut. xi. 24; Joshua i. 4; Ps. lxxii. 8; and Zech. ix. 10. 'The River' (i. e. the River *par excellence*) is, of course, the Euphrates.

𝔅[B] 22 And to ISAAC also [r]He promised it[r] [s]likewise[s],
For his father Abraham's sake;
[t]And the blessing of all predecessors
23 Rested upon the head of ISRAEL[t];
[u]And He titled him with the dignity of firstborn[u],
And gave him [v]his inheritance[v];
[w]And He set him in tribes,
So as to be divided into twelve[w].

(*d*) XLIV. 23—XLV. 5. *Moses* (=2+2+2+3 distichs).

[x]And He caused to issue[x] [y]from him[y] [z]a man[z]
[a]Who found favour[a] in the sight [b]of all living[b].
45 1 [c]Beloved of God and men[c]
Was MOSES [d]of happy memory[d].

[r–r] 𝔅 הקים = 𝔊 εστησεν [s–s] 𝔅 *mg.* כן = 𝔊 ουτως: 𝔅 *text* בן *is a copyist's mistake* ('He raised up a son') [t–t] *So* 𝔖 = וברכת כל ראשונים נחה על ראש ישׂראל: 𝔊 (ευλογιαν παντων ανθρωπων και διαθηκην και κατεπαυσεν επι κεφαλην Ιακωβ) *supports the reading suggested partly:* ανθρωπων *may have displaced an earlier* αρχαιων. 𝔅 *text has*

ברית כל ראשון נתנו
וברכה נחה על ראש ישׂראל: } *i.e.*

'The covenant of every ancestor (predecessor) He gave him,
And the blessing rested on the head of Israel'.

It is noticeable that 𝔊 *like* 𝔅 *has the two words* 'covenant' *and* 'blessing', *only in the reverse order. This suggests a double reading in the Hebr. text used by* 𝔊, *viz.* ברכת *and* וברית, *the latter a variant on the former* (*perhaps originally* וברכת). *Line* 2 *of* 𝔅 *is overloaded.* ראשון *was probably written in abbreviated form for* ראשונים: נתנו, *which is not attested in either* 𝔊 *or* 𝔖, *is probably a variant on* נחה [u–u] *So* 𝔅 *mg.* ויכנהו בבכורה: 𝔅 *text* ויכוננהו בברכה 'and He confirmed (established) him in the blessing': 𝔊 επεγνω αυτον εν ευλογιαις αυτου: *reading* ויכירהו (*cp.* xv. 18) *for* ויכוננהו (*so Smend—then render*: 'and He (God) recognized him (*i.e.* singled him out) in blessing' (𝔖 = 𝔅 *mg. freely rendered*) [v–v] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 εν κληρονομια (κληρονομιαν 248 = 𝔏 𝔖) [w–w] *So* 𝔅 *may be rendered* (*see exeget. notes*): 𝔊 *misunderstanding* 𝔅 *renders:* 'and divided his portions; among twelve tribes did He part them': 𝔖 'He made him father to the tribes, and they went forth and He divided unto the twelve tribes' [x–x] *So* 𝔊 = ויוצא: *so* 𝔅 (*which is defective in this word partly*) *is to be read* (*note the assonance with* מוצא *which follows at the beginning of next line*) [y–y] *So* 𝔅 𝔊: *but* Sah Eth εξ αυτων (*sc.* 'the tribes'—*wrongly*) [z–z] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 ανδρα ελεους (=איש חסד: *so Peters*): 𝔖 'righteous men' (*but original reading probably* 'righteous man'): 𝔏 Eth *read* ανδρας ελεους (*so* 70) [a–a] 𝔅 מוצא חן (*note* מוצא *a play on* משה) [b–b] 𝔅 כל חי: 𝔊 παση σαρκος [c–c] *So* 𝔅 א[הוב א]להים ואנשים: 𝔊 ηγαπημενον . . . [Μωυσην] *wrong construction* (*making the clause dependent on preceding*): 𝔖 'beloved was he of God and also in the sight of men' [d–d] 𝔅 זכרו לטובה: 𝔊 ου το μνημοσυνον εν ευλογιαις: *Peters reads* זכרו לברכהה (*cp.* lxvi. 11); *so apparently* 𝔖 *here* (זכור לטוב *not uncommon in Neo-Hebrew*) [e–e] 𝔅 *text defective*: 𝔅 *marg.* ויכיי ייי: 𝔊 ωμοιωσεν αυτον δοξη

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22. **And to Isaac . . . likewise . . .** Cp. Gen. xxvi. 3–5, where the covenant and the promises made to Abraham are repeated.

22–23. **And the blessing of all predecessors Rested upon the head of Israel.** i.e. the blessings promised to Abraham and Isaac, and possibly also those promised to Adam and Noah. For text cp. critical note.

23. **And He titled him with the dignity of firstborn.** The foundation-passage is Exod. iv. 22 (cp. also Hos. xi. 1): cp. further xxxvi. 12 (17) of our book. See further critical note (for variant forms of the text).

And He set him in tribes, So as to be divided (לחלק = לֶחָלֵק for לְהַחֲלִיק: so Peters) **into twelve** (reading לשנים עשׂר for text, which omits ל: with Smend, Peters). Smend, however, renders substantially the same Hebrew text: 'and He assigned it (i.e. the inheritance) to the tribes to be a portion (לְחֵלֶק) for the twelve' (𝔅 ויציבה[ו] לשבטים לחלק [ל]שׂנים עשׂר). For the division by Jacob cp. Gen. xlix. But more probably God is here the subject of the sentence, in which case the laws issued by divine authority for the division of the land into twelve parts are in the writer's mind.

(*d*) XLIV. 23—XLV. 1–5 (MOSES).

He caused to issue. Cp. Isa. lxv. 9 (same verb הוציא).

from him. viz. from Jacob: Jacob's sons receive no further attention (but note the reference to Joseph, ch. xlix. 15).

found favour in the sight of all living. Cp. Exod. xi. 3. The author has also in mind, doubtless, the daughter of Pharaoh and the priest of Midian.

XLV. 1. **of happy memory.** The Hebrew expression used here (זכרו לטובה) is varied from the one commonly employed, 'his memory (be) for a blessing' (יהי זכרו לברכה), which, in an abbreviated form (ז"ל), is often used, as a pious interjection, after the mention of dead Israelites: e.g. 'our Rabbis of blessed memory' (רבותינו ז"ל), &c. The full phrase (in its usual form) occurs in xlvi. 11.

𝔅ᴮ 2 [e]And ‹He made him glorious as› God[e],
And mighty [f]in awe-inspiring deeds[f].
3 [g]By his words[g] [h]he brought[i] ‹signs›[i] swiftly to pass[h],
[j]And He emboldened him[j] in the presence [k]of the king[k].
And He gave him a charge [l]‹unto his people›[l],
And showed him [m]‹His glory›[m].
4 For his faithfulness and meekness[n]
He chose him out of all [o]‹flesh›[o].
5 [p]And[p] [q]He caused him to hear His voice[q],
And let him draw nigh [r]into the dark cloud[r].
[s]And He placed[s] [t]in his hand[t] [u]the commandment[u],
Even the Law of life [v]and discernment[v];
That he might teach [w]His statutes[w] [x]unto Jacob[x],
[y]And His testimonies and judgements[y] [z]unto Israel[z].

(*e*) XLV. 6–22. *Aaron* (3+4+4+4+4+4+4+3+2 distichs).

6 And He exalted a holy one [a]‹like unto him›[a],
Even AARON of the tribe of Levi.
7 [b]And He made him an eternal ordinance[b],
And bestowed [c]upon him His majesty[c]:

αγιων = ? ויכנהו באלהים (*so Smend: cp.* xxxvi. 17 *where* *ωμοιωσας* = כיניתה): 𝔖 *has* 'and He made him great in blessings': *Peters restores*: ויכבדהו כאלהים (*both* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 *paraphrase* 𝔅 *in order to mitigate its boldness*) [f–f] *So* 𝔅 *marg.* במוראים = 𝔖; *cp.* 𝔊 *εν φοβοις εχθρων*: 𝔅 *text* במרומים (𝔅 *text defective*) [g–g] *So* 𝔊 = בדבריו: 𝔅 *marg.* בדברו [h–h] 𝔅 מהר: 𝔊 *κατεπαυσεν* (*a mistake for* *κατεσπευσεν*) [i–i] *So* 𝔊 = אותות: 𝔅 *defective* [𝔖 >3 *a*] [j–j] 𝔅 ויחזקהו: 𝔊 *εδοξασεν* (248 *pr.* *και*): 𝔖 'and set him' [k–k] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *βασιλεων* (*but* 53 254 *βασιλεως*) = 𝔖 (*Peters reads* מלכים) [l–l] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 *defective*: 𝔖 = העם (*so Peters reads*) [m–m] *Reading* את כבודו = 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅 *defective* [𝔖+*v.* 5 *a misplacing*] [n] 𝔊+*ηγιασεν* (א 248 &c. 𝔏 Sah+*αυτον*) *wrongly* [o–o] *So* 𝔊 = בשר: 𝔖 'sons of men' [p–p] *So* 𝔅 (> 𝔊) [q–q] 𝔖>*whole line* [r–r] *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 𝔖 'His dark cloud' [s–s] 𝔅 *text* וישם, 𝔅 *marg.* ויתן [t–t] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *αυτῳ κατα προσωπον* = 𝔖 (= ? לפניו) [u–u] *So* 𝔅 מצוה: 𝔊 *εντολας*: 𝔖> [v–v] *So* 𝔅 ותבונה = 𝔊: 𝔖 'and blessings' (*misreading* 𝔅) [w–w] *So* 𝔅 חקיו: 𝔊 *διαθηκην*: 𝔖 'His laws' [x–x] *So* 𝔅 *marg.* (𝔅 *text* ביעקב): 𝔖 'those of the house of Israel' [y–y] *So* 𝔅 ועדותיו ומשפטיו: 𝔖 'and His laws and His covenants' [z–z] *So* 𝔅 𝔊: 𝔖 'unto Jacob' [a–a] *So* 𝔊 𝔖 (= +כמהו): 𝔅> [b–b] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊 *εστησεν αυτον* (*inferior reading* *αυτῳ*) *διαθηκην αιωνος*: 𝔖 *reads* עם *for* עולם (*? an intentional alteration*) [c–c] 𝔅 *text* עליו הוד: 𝔅 *marg.* לו הודו: *read with Peters* עליו הודו: 𝔊 *ιερατειαν λαου* (*explanatory paraphrase*)

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2. **And He made him glorious as God.** The author has in mind Exod. iv. 16 ('he shall be to thee a mouth, and thou shalt be to him as God'); cp. also Exod. vii. 1. 𝔅 *mg.* (which is adopted by Smend) has: 'And He titled him by the name of "God"': the boldness of the expression has led to its mitigation in the versions (see critical notes).

awe-inspiring deeds. i.e. the wonders performed in Egypt (see Exod. vii–xi); cp. Deut. iv. 34, xxvi. 8, xxxiv. 12 ('great terrors' = 'awe-inspiring deeds').

3. **he brought signs swiftly to pass.** There is a corruption here in 𝔊 which has obscured the meaning (see critical notes). As Smend points out, *vv.* 2–3 *a*, *b* set forth Moses' power in the face of the heathen.

in the presence of the king. Cp. Exod. vii. 1.

And He gave him a charge unto his people. Cp. Exod. vi. 13. In *vv.* 3 *c*, *d* and 4 the pre-eminence of Moses among his own people is set forth.

showed him His glory. Cp. Exod. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 6.

4. **his faithfulness and meekness.** Cp. Num. xii. 3, 7, also i. 27 of our book.

out of all flesh. 'All flesh' here means, apparently, all Israel (not all mankind): cp. l. 17 (𝔅): so Smend.

5. **His voice.** Cp. Deut. iv. 36.

let him draw nigh into the dark cloud. Cp. Exod. xx. 21, xxiv. 18.

placed in his hand the commandment . . . Cp. Exod. xix. 7; Exod. xxxii. 15; Deut. vi. 1. The Decalogue is referred to.

the Law of life. Cp. xvii. 11. For 'life' in this connexion cp. Ezek. xx. 11.

teach His statutes unto Jacob . . . unto Israel. Cp. Ps. cxlvii. 19.

(*e*) XLV. 6–22 (AARON). The great length of this section, which is devoted to Aaron, and the abundance of its detail, suggest that the subject of the Aaronite priesthood, as embodied in the High Priest, was one which specially interested Ben-Sira. See further the discussion in the General Introduction, § 9 ii.

6. **a holy one.** Cp. Ps. cvi. 16; Num. xvi. 3, 5, 7.

7. **And He made him an eternal ordinance.** In the Pentateuch the phrase 'an eternal ordinance' (חק עולם) is always applied to the rights, laws, and privileges of the Aaronite priesthood; here it is applied to Aaron himself; in the possession of the glorious priesthood he is himself an 'eternal ordinance'; for a similar turn of expression cp. Is. xlii. 6, xlix. 8 ('I make thee a people's covenant'): so Smend.

bestowed upon him His majesty. Cp. Num. xxvii. 20; 1 Chron. xxix. 25. 𝔊 has 'the priesthood of the people'; but such an expression is doubtful, as the 'priesthood' is always spoken of in the Bible as God's, not the people's.

𝔅[b] [d]And He blessed him[d] [e]with His glory[e],
And girded him [f]with beauteous magnificence[fg]:
8 And He clothed him [h]with the perfection of adornment[h],
[i]And adorned him[i] [j]with splendid vestments[jk]—
[l]The breeches[l], [m]the tunic and robe[mn]—
9 And encompassed him [o]with pomegranates,
And with resounding bells[o] round about,
[p]That he might make music[p] with his steps,
So as to cause the sound of him to be audible [q]in the inmost shrine[q],
For a memorial for the children of his people:
10 [r](With) the holy garments of gold and violet
And purple[r], the work of the designer;
(With) the breastplate of judgement, [s](with) the ephod and waistcloth[s],
11 [t]And (with) scarlet[t], the work of the weaver;
(With) precious stones [u]seal-engraven[u]
[v]In settings[v], [w]<the work of the stone-engraver>[wx];

[d–d] *Reading* ויאשרהו = 𝔊 *εμακαρισεν αυτον* (*so* 𝔖): 𝔅 *has* וישרתהו = 'and He ministered unto him' [e–e] *So* 𝔅 *text* בכבודו: 𝔅 *mg.* בברכה: 𝔊 *εν ευκοσμια* [f–f] *Reading with* 𝔅 *mg.* בתועפות תואר (*so Smend*): 𝔅 *text* בתועפות ראם (*? under influence of* Num. xxiii. 22, xxiv. 8): LXX *περιστολην δοξης*: 𝔖 'in the height of His glory' [g] 𝔅 +וילבישהו פעמונים (*a doublet made up of* 8 *a*+9 *a to make up stichoi of verse after* 7 *a and* 7 *b had been fused into one line*) [h–h] 𝔅 כליל תפארת = 𝔊 *συντελειαν καυχηματος*: 𝔖 'with garments of purple' [i–i] 𝔅 ויפארהו: 𝔊 *και εστερεωσεν αυτον* (*read εστεφανωσεν* = 𝔏 coronavit): 𝔖 'and honoured him' [j–j] *Reading* בכלי עוז (*for* 𝔅 בכבוד ועוז) = 𝔊 *and* 𝔖 [k] *Verses* 8 *c*–14 *b are lacking in* 𝔖 [l–l] 𝔅 מכנסים: 𝔊 *περισκελη* [m–m] *Reading* כתונת ומעיל (𝔅 כתנות): 𝔊 *και ποδηρη και επωμιδα* (*επωμις often in* LXX *for* אפוד: *Smend and Peters regard επωμιδα as an error for* (?) *διπλοιδα which often* = מעיל *in* LXX) [n] *At v.* 9 *a in the margin the note occurs in Persian*: 'This MS. reaches thus far': *see Cowley-Neub., p.* 25 [o–o] *Reading* (*Nöldeke, Peters*) רמונים ופעמוני המון: *cp.* 𝔊 *ροισκοις χρυσοις κωδωσιν πλειστοις*: 𝔅 פעמונים ורמונים המון [p–p] 𝔅 לתת נעימה: 𝔊 (*freely*) *ηχησαι φωνην* [נעימה *only again in Neo-Hebrew* = 'chant', 'music'] [q–q] 𝔅 בדביר: 𝔊 *εν ναῳ* [r–r] *So* 𝔅 (+ו *before* תכלת: *cp.* 𝔊): 𝔊 *στολῃ αγιᾳ, χρυσῳ και υακινθῳ και πορφυρᾳ αληθειας* = אורים ותמים (*so Peters reads, but* 𝔅 *to be preferred; see exeget. notes*) [t–t] 𝔅 ושני תולעת = 𝔊 *κεκλωσμενῃ κοκκῳ* (*in Bible always in reverse order,* תולעת שני) [u–u] = 𝔅 פתוחי חותם = 𝔊 *γλυμματος σφραγιδος*: *this is given in next line in* 𝔅 *which adds here the incorrect gloss* על החשן [v–v] 𝔅 במל[ואים] = 𝔊 *εν δεσει χρυσιου* (*cp.* Exod. xxxix. 13 *in* LXX) [w–w] 𝔊 *εργῳ* (*so read for εργων*) *λιθουργου* = מעשה חרש אבן (Exod. xxviii. 11): *so read with Smend* [x] 𝔅 +כל אבן יקרה (*a gloss*: 𝔊 >) [y–y] *Reading* (מצנפת) מֵעַל = 𝔊: 𝔅 מעיל ומצנפת [z–z] 𝔅 קדש . . . . . וציץ >ו. *The missing words in* 𝔊 = פתוחי חותם: *but this does not suit the traces that*

And girded him with beauteous magnificence. For text see critical note. 𝔅 text has 'and girded him about (as) with the towering horns of a wild-ox', under the influence of Num. xxiii. 22, xxiv. 8. The word rendered 'towering horns' in the Numbers passages (תועפות) means here apparently 'magnificence'—a meaning for which there is some support in the LXX rendering of the word in Numbers (viz. *δόξα*).

The breeches. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 31.

the tunic. i.e. the ordinary outer garment: cp. Exod. xxviii. 39.

robe. i.e. the violet robe (מעיל תְּכֵלֶת) which was always worn with the ephod; cp. Exod. xxviii. 31.

9. **with pomegranates, And with resounding bells.** For text see critical note. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 33 f.

to cause the sound of him . . . audible . . . i.e. 'they were to call God's attention to Aaron as the representative of his people' (McNeile on Exod. xxviii. 33); cp. Exod. xxviii. 35 ('And the sound thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not'). It has also been thought that their purpose was to apprise the people when Aaron had reached the Holy Place. They were probably a survival (some form of charm), the original meaning of which was forgotten. According to Josephus, *B. I.*, v. 5. 7, 'the bells signified thunder and the pomegranates lightning.'

10. **(With) the holy garments.** Cp. Exod. xxviii. 2–6. Here the ephod, girdle, and 'breastplate' are specially meant (see following verses).

the breastplate of judgement. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 4, 15. 'Breastplate' is a somewhat misleading translation of the Hebrew word (חֹשֶׁן), though it has become consecrated by usage. It probably denoted a bag or pouch of some kind, in which were contained the Urim and Thummim (= 'of judgement').

the ephod. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 6–12.

waistcloth. Otherwise spoken of as the 'girdle' (אבנט); cp. Exod. xxviii. 4, 39, 40.

10–11. **the designer . . . the weaver.** The division is only rhythmical—the same craftsmen are meant in each case.

scarlet . . . precious stones. Here, again, the division is rhythmical: 'scarlet' entered into the making of the 'breastplate of judgement', as well as of the ephod; and similarly precious stones (of both).

seal-engraven. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 21. The engraven stones (twelve) of the breastplate of judgement, inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, are meant.

In settings. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 17.

𝔅[B] For a memorial in graven writing,
According to the number of the tribes of Israel.
12 (With) the crown of pure gold [y]⟨(resting) upon⟩ the mitre[y],
[z]The diadem engraven, 'Holy to Jahveh'[z]—
[a]Majesty most glorious, praise most puissant[a],
[b]The desire of the eyes, and the perfection of beauty[b]!
13 [c]Before him there was nothing like them[c],
[d]And no stranger shall He clothe therewith for ever[d]:
[e]So ⟨He trusted him and⟩ his sons[e],
[f]And ⟨his sons' sons⟩[f] [g]throughout their generations[g].
14 His (Aaron's) meal-offering is wholly consumed
[h]Twice every day as a continual sacrifice[h].
15 [i]Moses consecrated him[i],
And anointed him with the holy oil;
And it became for him [j]an eternal covenant[j],
[k]And for his seed[k], [l]as long as the heavens endure[l];
[m]To minister (to God) and for Him to execute the priest's office[m],
And to bless His people [n]in His name[n].
16 He chose him out of all living,
To bring near [o]the burnt-offering and fat pieces[o],

remain in MS.: read with Lévi [וצין] חרות ליי קדש [a–a] 𝔅 הוד כבוד ותהלת עז [b–b] *Reading with* 𝔊 (*επιθυμηματα οφθαλμων κοσμουμενα ωραια*: *last word belongs to v.* 12 *not to* 13 *a—so* Syro-Hex.) מחמ[ד עין ומכלל י]ופי [c–c] *Reading* (א היה כן) ל(פניו) = 𝔊 [d–d] *Reading* ועד עולם לא יַלְבִּשֵׁם זר (*cp.* 𝔊) [e–e] 𝔅 *defective* הא . . . . . לבניו כזה: *Cowley-Neubauer suggest* האמין לו ולבניו כזה (*so read*): 𝔊 *πλην των υιων αυτου μονον* (*so Peters, reading* אך בניו לבדם) [f–f] *Reading* ולבני בניו (*cp.* 𝔊 *και τα εκγονα αυτου*): 𝔅 וכן בניו [g–g] 𝔅 (*restored*) [לדור]ותם: 𝔊 *δια παντος* [h–h] 𝔅 וכל יום תמיד פעמים (>ו *before* כל *with* 𝔊) [i–i] 𝔅 וימלא משה את־ידו = 𝔖 ('And Moses placed upon him his hand'): 𝔊 *επληρωσεν . . . . . τας χειρας* (+*αυτου* 70 248 𝔏) [j–j] 𝔅 ברית עולם: 𝔊 *εις διαθηκην αιωνιον* = לברית": *so* 𝔖 [k–k] 𝔅 ולזרעו = 𝔖: 𝔊 *και εν τῳ σπερματι αυτου* [l–l] 𝔅 כימי שמים = 𝔖: 𝔊 *εν ημεραις ουρανου* [m–m] 𝔅 לשרת ולכהן לו: 𝔊 *λειτουργειν αυτῳ αμα και ιερατευειν*: 𝔖 >ולכהן לו, '*omitting the eternal priesthood here ascribed to Aaron and his seed*' (*Hart*) [n–n] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 *εν τῳ ονοματι* (+*αυτου* א[c.a] &c. Syro-Hex. 𝔏: B א* A V 155 >*αυτου*) [o–o] *So* 𝔅: 𝔖 'burnt-offerings': 𝔊 *καρπωσιν Κυριῳ* (= ? עלה לאלהים)

For a memorial . . . According to the number of the tribes of Israel. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 21, 29 ('And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the Holy Place, for a memorial before the Lord continually').

12. **the crown of pure gold . . . The diadem.** The terms are in apposition and synonymous; the 'plate' or 'diadem' which was fastened on to the 'mitre' or turban is meant: cp. Exod. xxviii. 36 f. For text of second clause see critical note. Cp. also Josephus, *B. I.*, v. 5. 7, and *Ant.*, iii. 7. 6.

Majesty most glorious . . . This emotional touch reveals the feeling of the writer that all the majesty and glory of Israel were embodied in the High Priest.

13. **Before him.** i. e. before Aaron was thus invested.

there was nothing like them. i. e. like the holy vestments.

no stranger. i. e. no unconsecrated person of another tribe in Israel. The emphasis laid on this point is noticeable. Evidently Ben-Sira would not have tolerated any breach in the legitimate succession to the High-priesthood, such as, as a matter of fact, occurred shortly after the period when he wrote.

shall He clothe therewith. 'He,' i. e. God.

So He trusted him and his sons. The text is uncertain (see critical note). That adopted might, perhaps, be rendered (following a Neo-Hebrew usage): 'Such He entrusted to him and his sons,' i. e. such a position of honour and responsibility.

And his sons' sons . . . The High-priesthood was to be maintained perpetually by legitimate succession.

14. **His (Aaron's) meal-offering . . . as a continual sacrifice.** The daily meal-offering of the High Priest was offered half in the morning and half in the evening; and it was specially distinguished by being wholly burnt upon the altar; cp. Lev. vi. 19–23 (= vi. 12–16 in Hebrew).

15. **Moses consecrated him, And anointed him . . .** Cp. Lev. viii.

And it became for him an eternal covenant . . . The anointing with the holy oil of Aaron was a solemn guarantee that the priesthood should remain perpetually in Aaron's line.

as long as the heavens endure. The same phrase recurs in l. 24 ('as the days of heaven'); cp. also Ps. lxxxix. 30; Deut. xi. 21.

To minister . . . execute the priest's office . . . bless . . . Cp. Deut. x. 8; Exod. xxviii. 41, 43, &c.; Num. vi. 23, 27.

16. **He chose him out of all living.** Cp. *v.* 4 above; also Num. xvi. 5, 7, xvii. 20.

the burnt-offering and fat pieces. The burnt-offering was, of course, wholly consumed upon the altar; in the case of animal-sacrifices which were not wholly burnt the fat pieces were reserved for burning on the altar.

𝔅[B] [p]And to burn a sweet savour and a memorial[p],
And make atonement [q]for the children of Israel[q].
17 [r]And He gave him His commandments[r],
[s]And invested him with authority over statute and judgement[s],
[t]That he might teach His people statutes,
And judgements unto the children of Israel[t].
18 [u]But strangers were incensed against him[u],
And became jealous of him in the wilderness;
The men of Dathan and Abiram,
And the congregation of Korah [v]in their violent anger[v].
19 And Jahveh saw it [w]and was angered[w],
[xy]And consumed them[y] in His fierce wrath[x]:
[z]And He brought a sign to pass[z] upon them
[xa]And devoured them[a] [b]with His fiery flame[bx].
20 [c]And ⟨He increased⟩[c] Aaron's glory,
And gave him [d]his inheritance[d]:
g (20 *c*) [e]⟨The holy contributions⟩[e] [f]He gave him[f] for sustenance,
(21 *a*) [h]And[h] the fire-offerings of Jahveh they might eat:
(21 *d*) [i]⟨The presence-bread⟩[i] is his portion,
(21 *b*) [j]And the gift-sacrifice[j] for him and for his seed.

[p–p] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *θυμιαμα και ευωδιαν εις μνημοσυνον*: 𝔖 'and sacrifices and incense' [q–q] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *περι του λαου σου* (א* 248 > σου: 70 V 𝔏 *have* αυτου): 𝔖 'for all Israel' [r–r] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 *εδωκεν αυτον* (*so* B Syro-Hex V 253: *the other MSS., also* 𝔏, *read* αυτῳ) *εν εντολαις αυτου* [s–s] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *εξουσιαν εν διαθηκαις κριματων* (*reading* בחקי משפט): 𝔖 = 𝔅 (*though pointed as plural nouns*) [t–t] *Verses* 17 *c d* > *in* 𝔖: 𝔊 *has* διδαξαι τον Ιακωβ τα μαρτυρια (א^c.a + αυτου) και εν νομῳ αυτου φωτισαι (*inferior reading* φωνησαι) Ισραηλ: *this may be more original than* 𝔅, *and suggests*: ללמד ליעקב עדותיו ותורתו להורות את־ישראל: (*so Smend*) [u–u] *So* 𝔅 ויחרו בו בני זרים = 𝔖: 𝔊 *επισυνεστησαν αυτῳ αλλοτριοι* (*using the* LXX *word from* Num. xvi. 19, xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3) [v–v] 𝔅 בעזוז אפם: 𝔊 *εν θυμῳ και οργῃ*: 𝔖 'in strength' [w–w] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 *και ουκ ευδοκησεν* [x–x (x–x)] *These clauses are transposed in* 𝔖 [y–y] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 *και συνετελεσθησαν* (= ויכלו *for* ויכלם) [z–z] *Reading* ויברא (*for* ויבא) = 𝔊 𝔖 (*cp.* Num. xvi. 30) [𝔊 *has* τερατα: 𝔖 'a blow' *for* אות 'sign'] [a–a] *So* 𝔅 (ויאכלם) = 𝔖 *and* 𝔏 (consumsit eos): 𝔊 *καταναλωσαι αυτους* [b–b] 𝔅 בשביב אפו = *εν φλογι πυρος αυτου* (*so* 55 254 𝔏): *others* *εν πυρι φλογος αυτου*: 𝔖 'with flame' [c–c] *Reading* ויוסף (*Lévi, Peters*) = 𝔊 *και προσεθηκεν*: 𝔖 'and He put (upon Aaron)' [*Smend* וישנה 'and He doubled'] [d–d] *So* 𝔅 𝔖: 𝔊 *κληρονομιαν* [e–e] *Reading* [תרומות קד]ש: 𝔊 *απαρχας πρωτογενηματων* = ? תרומות רשית (*a conflation*): 𝔖 = ראשית קדש; *apparently there were two readings, viz.* תרומות קדש *and* ראשית קדש: *the former is supported by* Num. xix. 18 [f–f] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 *εμερισεν αυτῳ* (B *against all other MSS. and* 𝔏 *αυτοις*) [g] 𝔅 *has the clauses rightly in this order*: 𝔊 (*wrongly*) 20 *c d* 21 *a b*: 𝔖 *compresses the four clauses into two, rendering*:

'The holy first-fruits and the presence-bread
To him and to his seed.'

[h–h] *So* 𝔊: 𝔅 > [i–i] *Reading* לחם פנים *with Peters* (*Nöldeke* לחם מערכת): *cp.* 𝔖 (*the translator of* 𝔖 *apparently passed accidentally from* לחם *at end of* 20 *c to the* לחם *at beginning of* 20 *d*: 𝔊 *εν πρωτοις ητοιμασεν πλησμονην* (*pr.* εις 70 106 &c. 248 &c. Sah *εν πλησμονῃ*) = ? לפנים ערך שבע (*? the first two words a corruption of* לחם מערכת): *for* *εν πρωτοις* = לפנים: *cp.* iv. 17 [j–j] 𝔅 ומתנה: 𝔊 *ας εδωκεν* [αυτῳ] [k–k] *Reading*

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to burn a sweet savour and a memorial. The former ('to burn a sweet savour') is the technical term applied specially (but also in other connexions) to the burning of the sacrificial pieces and the fat upon the altar (cp. Lev. i. 8, 9); the latter ('a memorial') is applied specially to that portion of the meal-offering which was burnt upon the altar (cp. Lev. ii. 2, 9).

17. **And He gave him His commandments . . .** Cp. Deut. xxxiii. 10, xvii. 10 f., xxi. 5. Ben-Sira evidently applied Deut. xxxiii. 8 f. to Aaron. The divine authority of the priesthood in religious (ceremonial) enactments is emphatically asserted.

18. **But strangers were incensed against him.** In Num. xvi. 40 (Hebr. xvii. 5) 'stranger' is explained as = one 'who is not of the seed of Aaron'. Men not of the priestly tribe are here meant.

became jealous of him. Cp. Ps. cvi. 16.

The men of Dathan and Abiram. Cp. Num. xvi.

19. **with His fiery flame.** Cp. Job xviii. 5.

20. **And ⟨He increased⟩ Aaron's glory.** Not only did the abortive rebellion of Dathan and Abiram result in the Aaronite priesthood maintaining its position triumphantly (cp. Num. xvii), but the privileges of the position were strengthened (cp. Num. xviii. 1–7).

The holy contributions. Or 'offerings'. i. e. those parts of the sacrifice which were contributed to the priest (the 'heave-offerings' so called); cp. Num. xviii. 8 f.

𝔅[n] 22 Only [k]⟨in the land of the people⟩[k] might he have no heritage,
[l]And in their midst divide no inheritance[l];
[m]Whose portion and inheritance is Jahveh[m]
[n]In the midst of the children of Israel[n].

(*f*) XLV. 23–26. *Phinehas* (3+4+3 distichs).

23 Moreover PHINEHAS the son of Eleazar
[o]⟨Was glorious⟩ in might ⟨as a third⟩[o],
In that he was jealous [p]for the God of all[p],
And stood [q]in the breach for his people[q];
[r]While his heart prompted him[r],
[s]And he made atonement[s] [t]for the children of Israel[t].
24 Therefore for him, too, [u]He established an ordinance[u],
[v]A covenant of peace to maintain the sanctuary[v]:
That to him and to his seed should appertain
The High-Priesthood for ever.
25 [w]Also His covenant was[w] with David,
[x]The son of Jesse[x], of the tribe of Judah;
[y]⟨The inheritance of the king is his son's alone⟩[y],
While the inheritance of Aaron (belongs) [z]to him[z] and to his seed.

בארץ העם = 𝔊: 𝔖 'in their land' [l–l] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 και μερις ουκ εστιν αυτῳ εν λαῳ (*cp.* Num. xviii. 20): 𝔖 'And they did not divide a portion with them' [m–m] *Reading* אשר ייי חלקו ונהלתו: *cp.* 𝔊 αυτος γαρ μερις σου (248 70 Syro-Hex. 𝔏 αυτου) και (B א* 248 > και) κληρονομια: 𝔅 = 𝔖 [n–n] *So* 𝔅 (*cp.* 𝔖): 𝔊 > [o–o] 𝔅 (*defective*) :. . . . . בגבורה: 𝔊 τριτος εις δοξαν: 𝔖 'in his power received three honours' (= ? בגבורה נחל שלוש): *read* (*with Smend*) בגבורה נהדר שלישי: [p–p] *So* 𝔅 לאלוה כל: 𝔊 εν φοβῳ κυριου: 𝔖 'in the matter of the Midianitish woman and the son of Israel' (*from* Num. xxv. 6 ff.) [q–q] 𝔅 בפרץ עמו: 𝔊 εν τροπῃ λαου (155 εντροπῃ: 𝔏 reverentia): 𝔖 = בפרץ העם [r–r] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 εν αγαθοτητι προθυμιας ψυχης αυτου: 𝔖 > [s–s] *So* 𝔅 = 𝔊: 𝔖 'and he prayed' [t–t] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 περι του Ισραηλ = 𝔖 [u–u] 𝔅 הקים חק: 𝔊 εσταθη (*ignoring* חק *which is regularly rendered* διαθηκη, *in order to avoid repetition of the word* [διαθηκη]; *see following clause*): 𝔖 'with oaths God sware to him' [v–v] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 διαθηκη ειρηνης (*in previous stichus*). προστατειν (*so* 106 157 254 Sah: *other MS.* προστατην) αγιων και λαου (*so* 70 253 V אc.a &c. Sah 𝔏: *others* λαῳ) αυτου—*the last clause is an addition of* 𝔊: 𝔖 'that he should build for Him an altar' (*? explanatory paraphrase*) [w–w] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 και διαθηκην (*read* και διαθηκη ην—70 106 Sah και διαθηκη) [x–x] *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 υιῳ (70 אc.a 𝔏 + Ιεσσαι) [y–y] *Reading* נחלת מלך לבנו לבדו: 𝔅 *MS. has* נחלת אש לפני כבודו—*which is obviously corrupt*: אש *is regarded as a mis-written* איש *by some scholars: then* (*reading* לבנו *for* לפני) *the sentence means*: 'The heritage of a man (passes) to his son alone': 𝔖 *has*: 'The heritage of kings he alone inherited' [z–z] *So* 𝔖: 𝔅 *and* 𝔊 >

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21. **the fire-offerings of Jahveh they might eat.** Cp. Num. xviii. 9, 18, &c.

⟨The presence-bread⟩ is his portion. For the text see critical note. According to the Mishnah (*Sukk.* v. 7 f.), all the loaves were eaten by the priests, one half by the outgoing division for the week, the other half by the incoming division.

the gift-sacrifice. The word rendered 'gift' (מתנה) is twice applied (in the form מַתָּן) to sacrifices in the Pentateuch; cp. Num. xviii. 11 (Gen. xxxiv. 12). The usual word is *qorbān* (קרבן). It is a comprehensive term.

22. **⟨in the land of the people⟩ might he have no heritage . . .** Cp. Num. xviii. 20; Deut. xviii. 1; Joshua xiii. 14.

(*f*) XLV. 23–26 (PHINEHAS).

23. **Phinehas the son of Eleazar.** Cp. Num. xxv. 7 ff.

⟨as a third⟩. It is significant that Phinehas is set beside Moses and Aaron as 'third'; this may possibly point to disputed succession to the High-Priesthood (cp. 1 Macc. ii. 54: 'Phinehas our father . . . obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood'; cp. also 4 Macc. xviii. 12).

In that he was jealous . . . Cp. Num. xxv. 11, 13.

24. **A covenant of peace . . . High-Priesthood for ever.** Cp. Num. xxv. 12 f.

to maintain the sanctuary. 𝔊 (see critical note) has a significant addition here; it renders ['to be leader of the sanctuary] *and of his people*'; i.e. not only leader in ecclesiastical but also in political affairs. When the grandson of Ben-Sira wrote, the political power of the High Priest had been strongly asserted. The High Priest had become ethnarch. One consequence was that the office became the sport of constant political intrigues.

25. **⟨The inheritance of the king is his son's alone⟩, While . . .** For the text see critical note. It is difficult to be sure what the exact point of the couplet is. Apparently the second line forms the antithesis to line one. If so, the meaning may have been: the power and privileges of the king, as sovereign, are transmissible only to his son, viz. by direct succession; whereas the power of the priesthood belongs to, in a sense, and is inherent in every member of the priestly tribe, all Aaron's descendants, in fact, together with Aaron himself. Others (cp. 𝔊 and 𝔖) see no antithesis, but, on the contrary, a parallel statement to the effect that in each case the dignity is only transmissible in direct and

𝔅[B] [a]And now bless ye Jahveh[b],
Who has crowned you with honour[a];
26 [c]May He grant[c] you wisdom of heart,
[d]⟨To judge His people in righteousness⟩[d];
That [e]your prosperity[e] [f]may never cease[f],
[g]Nor your power[g] [h]for perpetual generations[h].

(*g*) XLVI. 1–10. *Joshua, the son of Nun, and Caleb, the son of Jephunneh* (=3+3+4+3+2+3 distichs).

46 1 [a]A mighty man of valour[a] was Joshua [b]the son of Nun[b],
[cd]A minister of Moses in the prophetical office[d],
[e]Who was formed to be[e] according to[f] his name[g]
[h]A great salvation for his chosen[hc],
[i]To take vengeance upon [j]the enemy[ji]
[k]And to give an inheritance[k] to Israel[l].
2 [m]How glorious was he when he stretched forth [n]his hand[nm],
[o]And brandished the javelin against the city[o]!
3 [p]Who was he that could stand before him?[p]
[q]For he fought the wars of Jahveh[q].

a–a *So* 𝔅: 𝔊 > [𝔖 > *last line*] b 𝔅 + הטוב: 𝔖 > c–c 𝔅 ויתן: 𝔊 δῳη = יתן (*so* 𝔅, ch. l. 23 *a*): 𝔖 'that giveth' d–d *So* 𝔊 = 𝔖 (*with* 'in His name' *for last words*): 𝔅 > : *supply text*: לשפט עמו בצדק e–e 𝔅 טובכם = 𝔖: 𝔊 *τα αγαθα αυτων* f–f 𝔅 לא ישכח *an error for* לא ישבת: *cp.* 𝔊 *ινα μη αφανισθῃ*: 𝔖 = 𝔅 g–g 𝔊 *και την δοξαν αυτων*: 𝔖 'their power': 𝔅 *defective: read* ? וגבורתכם: *Peters* ותפארתם: *Smend* אמורתכם h–h *So* 𝔅: *cp.* 𝔖 'for all generations for ever': 𝔊 *εις γενεας αυτων*

a–a 𝔊 *κραταιος εν πολεμοις* (*πολεμῳ* א A C 155 248 = 𝔏) b–b 𝔊 *Ναυη*, א* *ο Ναυη* (א^c.a 248 *ο του Ναυη*), A V 70 155 Syro-Hex Sah Eth *υιος Ναυη* (= 𝔖 𝔏) c–c 𝔖 'By prophecy he was reserved to become like Moses the great one, to bring salvation by his hand to them that love him' d–d 𝔊 *και διαδοχος Μωσῃ εν προφητειαις*: 𝔏 successor Moysi in prophetis e–e 𝔊 *ος εγενετο*: 𝔏 qui fuit magnus f 𝔊 *κατα* (= 𝔏) g *Reading, with Smend,* כשמו (= 𝔊 𝔏) *for* בימיו h–h 𝔊 *μεγας επι σωτηρια εκλεκτων αυτου*: 𝔏 Maximus in salutem electorum Dei i–i *εκδικησαι επεγειρομενους* (*reading* בקמי *for* נקמי) *εχθρους* (= 𝔏) j–j 𝔖 'the hateful men' k–k 𝔊 *οπως κληρονομησῃ* (*κατακλ.* א A 55 157 248 254 Syro-Hex): 𝔏 ut consequeretur haereditatem l 𝔖 'the children of Israel', *and adds* 'the land of promise' m–m 𝔊 *ως εδοξασθη εν τῳ επαραι χειρας αυτου* n–n 𝔖 'the spear that was in his hand' o–o 𝔊 *και τῳ εκκλιναι ρομφαιαν επι πολεις* p–p 𝔊 *τις προτερον αυτου ουτως εστη* (𝔖 = 𝔅) q–q 𝔊 *τους γαρ πολεμιους Κυριος* (V א^c.a 70 248 253

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legitimate succession, from father to son. In this case the external position and power of the High Priest is primarily thought of, not his spiritual authority. There is probably some allusion intended to contemporary events—the intrigues against the legitimate holder of the position of High Priest (Ṣimeon, who would be regarded as a descendant of Phinehas) by the Tobiadae. For the covenant with David cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 5; Jer. xxxiii. 21; Ps. lxxxix. 4; 2 Chron. xiii. 5, xxi. 7; Isa. lv. 3. See further in ch. xlvii of our book, especially *vv.* 11 and 22.

And now bless ye Jahveh. Cp. l. 22 *a*.

Who has crowned you with honour. Cp. Ps. viii. 6.

26. **May He grant you wisdom of heart.** Cp. l. 23. The reference is to the legitimate representative of Phinehas the High Priest.

(*g*) XLVI. 1–10 (JOSHUA AND CALEB).

1. **A mighty man of valour.** Cp. Judges vi. 22, and 2 Chron. xxvi. 12 (Sept. and Hebr.).

A minister of Moses. משרת משה; cp. Exod. xxxiii. 11; with 𝔊 cp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 7 (משנה המלך . . .). 𝔊 is explanatory; the prophetic minister becomes in due course his successor, as in the case of Elisha, see 1 Kings xix. 21. For the prophetic succession see further the note on xlvii. 1.

the prophetical office. נבואה may rightly be rendered here 'prophetical office', though in the O.T. it is not used in this sense; it means 'prophecy' in 2 Chron. xv. 8 (genuine prophecy), Neh. vi. 12 (false prophecy), and 'prophetical writing' in 2 Chron. ix. 29. With 𝔊 cp. xliv. 3 *d*.

Who was formed to be according to his name. The emended reading is preferable, especially as it is supported by 𝔊; Joshua (= 'Jahveh is salvation'), as the leader of the Israelites into the Promised Land, would be appropriately called the saviour of his nation. For a somewhat similar word-play in the Hebrew see xlvii. 18.

for his chosen. Cp. xlvii. 22; Num. xi. 28 (Sept.).

To take vengeance upon the enemy. The reference is to Joshua x. 13.

to give an inheritance . . . Cp. Deut. i. 38, iii. 28.

2. **How glorious.** מה נהדר; cp. l. 5.

when he stretched forth his hand. See Joshua viii. 18, 26.

against the city, i.e. Ai.

3. **Who was he . . .** Cp. Joshua i. 5. The rendering of 𝔊 seems to have been based on Joshua x. 14.

the wars of Jahveh. Cp. Joshua x. 14 *b*; 1 Sam. xviii. 17, xxv. 28; and 'the book of the wars of Jahveh', Num. xxi. 14.

𝔅ᴮ 4 Was it not through him that the sun stood still[r],
(And) one day [s]became as two?[s]
5 [t]For he called upon the Most High God[ut],
[v]When he was in sore straits (and) his enemies around him[v];
And [w]the Most High God[w] answered him[x]
[y]With hailstones and bolts[zy];
[𝔅ᴮ] 6 [a]He cast them down upon the hostile people[a],
And [b]in the going down[b] he destroyed [c]them that rose up[c],
𝔅ᴮ In order that all[d] the nations [e](devoted to) destruction[e] might know
[f]That Jahveh was watching their fighting[f]:
[g]And also because[g] he fully followed after God[h],
7 And [i]did an act of piety[i] in the days of Moses,
He and Caleb, the son of Jephunneh,
[k]In that they stoo firm when the congregation broke loose[k].
[l]To turn away wrath from the assembly[l],
[m]And to cause the evil report to cease[m]—
8 [n]Wherefore also they two[n] were set apart[o]
From among the six hundred thousand footmen[p],
To bring them into their[q] inheritance,
(Into) a land flowing with milk and honey[r].

Syro-Hex πολεμους Κυριου, A πολεμιους $\overline{\text{Κυ}}$) επηγαγεν [r] 𝔊 ανεποδισεν (A ενεποδισθη = 𝔏) [s–s] *Reading* כשנים היה (= 𝔊 𝔏, *cp.* xxv. 19) *following Smend; Peters reads* היה לשנים: 𝔖 'And one day became two days' [t–t] 𝔖 'For he prayed unto (*lit.* before) the Lord' [u] 𝔊 δυναστην [v–v] *Reading* כאכפה לו איביו מסביב (*Smend*): 𝔖 'And He heard him and put strength into his hand', *cp.* xlvii. 5 [w–w] 𝔊 μεγας Κυριος: 𝔖> [x] 𝔊ᴮ αυτων [y–y] 𝔖 'And He cast down sulphur from heaven' [z] 𝔊 δυναμεως κραταιας [a–a] *Reading* השליך על עם אויב (*cp.* 𝔊 κατερραξεν επ εθνος πολεμον [*read* πολεμιον = 𝔖 𝔏 Eth] *and see* Joshua x. 11). *In* 𝔅 *the text of this and the following clause is almost wholly obliterated* [b–b] 𝔖> [c–c] *Reading* קמים (= 𝔊 ανθεστηκοτας); *Smend reads* כנען ('Canaan'), *which* 𝔊, *he thinks, intentionally paraphrased*: 𝔖 'them all' [d] 𝔊> [e–e] חרם, *which Smend thinks that* 𝔊 *misread as* חרבו ('his sword') *and paraphrases by rendering* πανοπλιαν, *or that perhaps* πανοπλιαν *is an error for* απωλειας [f–f] 𝔊 οτι εναντιον Κυριου ο πολεμος αυτου: 𝔖 'that God Himself was fighting against them' [g–g] 𝔊 και γαρ: 𝔖 'and he also': 𝔏> [h] 𝔊 Δυναστου [i–i] 𝔊 εποιησεν ελεος [k–k] 𝔊 αντιστηναι εναντι εχθρου (V 248 253 Syro-Hex εκκλησιας) [l–l] 𝔊 κωλυσαι λαον απο αμαρτιας: 𝔖 'To turn back the assembly' ('*a compromise between* 𝔊 *and* 𝔅' [*Smend*]) [m–m] 𝔊 και κοπασαι γογγυσμον πονηριας: 𝔖+'from the land of promise' [n–n] 𝔊 και αυτοι δυο οντες: 𝔖 'and they alone' [o] 𝔅 נאצלו, *which* 𝔊 (διεσωθησαν) *read as* נצלו = 𝔖 [p] 𝔖>(*cp.* Num. i. 46) [q] 𝔊> [r] *In* 𝔅 8 c d *form a single clause*

4. **that the sun stood still.** 𝔅 follows Joshua x. 13 (Hebr. and Sept.); with 𝔊 cp. xlviii. 23; Isa. xxxviii. 8.
5. **For he called upon . . .** Cp. xlvi. 16, xlvii. 5, xlviii. 20.
the Most High God. The expression *'El 'Elyōn* occurs here, as far as we know from the Hebrew text now extant, for the first time in the book; it is used again in this verse and in xlvii. 5, 8, xlviii. 20; in l. 15 *d*, where 𝔅 is wanting, 𝔊 has . . . ὑψίστῳ πανβασιλεῖ, which probably represents *'El 'Elyōn.* The name *'Elyōn* alone occurs nine times. Both these names for God are, as far as can be seen, used only in chapters xli to the end; elsewhere in the book either *Elohim* or *Jahveh* is used; the latter is abbreviated as a rule in the MSS. thus: יי or יי̇.
When he was in sore straits. Cp. Prov. xvi. 20; Smend says that the noun אִכְּפָה in the Talmud means 'oppression' or the like.
his enemies around him. Cp. *v.* 16.
With hailstones . . . Cp. Joshua x. 11.
bolts. אלגביש, cp. xliii. 15; Ezek. xiii. 11, 13, 'lumps of ice.'
6. **He cast them down . . .** 'The Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them,' Joshua x. 11.
in the going down. Or 'descent', i.e. the pass of Beth-horon (the 'hollow way').
(devoted to) destruction. Cp. xvi. 9; Joshua vi. 17.
That Jahveh was watching their fighting. Cp. Joshua x. 14.
he fully followed after. מלא אחרי, cp. for the expression Num. xiv. 24; Joshua xiv. 8, 9, 14.
7. **did an act of piety.** עשה חסד, cp. xlix. 3; the reference is to Num. xiv. 6–10.
In that they stood firm . . . Cp. Num. xiv. 1 ff.
broke loose. Or 'cast off restraint'; for פרע cp. Exod. xxxii. 25; Prov. viii. 23, xxix. 18.
to cause the evil report to cease. Cp. Num. xlv. 3.
8. **were set apart.** For the root אצל see Ezek. xlii. 6, and cp. Gen. xxvii. 36; Num. xi. 17, 25.
the six hundred thousand. Cp. xvi. 10; Num. xi. 21, xiv. 38, xxvi. 65; Deut. i. 36, 38.
To bring them into . . . The subject, i. e. God, is understood.
their inheritance. Cp. Joshua xi. 23, where Joshua, as God's instrument, is spoken of as giving the whole land for an inheritance unto Israel.
a land flowing with milk and honey. The stereotyped description of the promised land: see Exod. iii. 8, 17, and often in the Pentateuch: cp. Jer. xi. 5, xxxii. 22; Ezek. xx. 6–15.

𝔥[b] 9 And He[s] gave strength unto Caleb,
And unto old age it remained with him,
[t]To cause him to tread[t] [u]upon the high places[u] of the land;
And also his seed obtained[v] a heritage,
10 In order that [w]all [x]the seed of Jacob[w] might know
[y]That it is good [z]to follow fully[z] after Jahveh.[y]

(*h*) XLVI. 11, 12. *The Judges* (=3 distichs).

11 Also the Judges, each with his name,
[a]All whose hearts were not beguiled[a],
Nor turned back [b]from (following) after God[b].
May their memory be [c]for a blessing[c].
𝔊 12 [d]May their bones flourish again out of their place[d],
𝔥[b] [e]And may their name sprout afresh for their children[e].

(*i*) XLVI. 13–20. *Samuel* (= 2 + 3 + 4 + 4 distichs [L] + 1 later add.]).

13 [f]Honoured by his people and loved by his Maker[f]
[g]Was [h]'he that was asked for'[h] from his mother's womb;
Sanctified [i]of Jahveh[i] in the prophetical office,—
Samuel, who acted as judge and priest.
By the word of God [k]he established the kingdom[k],
And anointed princes[l] over[m] the people[g].

[s] 𝔊 ο κυριος [t-t] *Reading* להדריכו *for* להדריכם (*cp.* 𝔊 επιβηναι αυτον) [u-u] 𝔊 επι το (B* *art.*) υψος [v] 𝔥 ירש: 𝔊 κατεσχεν: 𝔖 *has the future* [w-w] 𝔊 παντες οι υιοι Ισραηλ [x] 𝔖 > [y-y] 𝔖 'Who had fulfilled the law of Jahveh and His judgements' [z-z] 𝔊 το πορευεσθαι (*cp. v.* 6 *e where the same Hebr. word is differently rendered*) [a-a] 𝔊 οσων ουκ εξεπορνευσεν η καρδια [b-b] 𝔊 απο Κυριου: 𝔖 'from the law of God' [c-c] 𝔊 εν ευλογιαις (*cp. Sept. of* Zech. viii. 13) [d-d] *Wanting in* 𝔥 (*see, however,* xlix. 10 *b*): 𝔖 'May their bones shine like lilies' (*cp.* xxxix. 14) [e-e] 𝔊 και το ονομα αυτων αντικαταλλασσομενον εφ υιοις δεδοξασμενων αυτων: 𝔖 'And may they leave their good name behind for their children, and their glory for the whole nation': 𝔏 et nomen eorum permaneat in aeternum permanens ad filios illorum sanctorum virorum gloria. In 𝔥 11 *c d and* 12 *b form one clause* [f-f] *Reading, with Smend,* נכבד עמו ואהוב עושהו (*the text has* אוהב עמו ורצוי עושהו): 𝔊 ηγαπημενος υπο κυριου αυτου א A C + Σαμουηλ: 𝔖 'and loved by his Creator' [g-g] 𝔊 προφητης Κυριου κατεστησεν βασιλειαν (B βασιλεα) και εχρισεν αρχοντας επι τον λαον αυτου [h-h] 𝔥 המשואל, *for which Smend reads* המושאל ('he that was lent') *after* 1 Sam. i. 28 [i-i] 𝔖 > [k-k] 𝔖 'the kingdom was established' [l] 𝔖 'governors and kings'

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9. **And He gave strength . . .** Cp. Joshua xiv. 6, 11.
the high places of the land. i.e. the fortified places, cp. Deut. xxxiii. 29; and for the rendering of 𝔊 cp. Joshua xiv. 12.
And also his seed . . . Cp. Num. xiv. 24; Joshua xv. 16 ff.; Judges i. 11 ff.
10. **to follow fully.** See note on *v.* 6.

(*h*) XLVI. 11, 12 (THE JUDGES).
11. **each with his name.** Ben-Sira desires to make some reference to the names of the Judges collectively without mentioning each by name.
All whose hearts were not beguiled. Cp. Is. xix. 13; the reference is to such passages as Judges xvi. 16–18 (Samson), viii. 27 (Gideon), &c.
May their memory be for a blessing. Cp. xlv. 1 note.
12. **May their bones . . .** See xlix. 10.
And may their name . . . Cp. Tob. iv. 12, 'we are the sons of the prophets'; a spiritual relationship is, of course, meant, and in that the good example of Israel's saints and heroes is emulated by succeeding generations it can be said that their names sprout afresh. See further xliv. 9, 13, 15, xlv. 1, xlix. 1, 9, 13.
sprout afresh. For the Hebr. תחליף cp. xliv. 17.

(*i*) XLVI. 13–20 (SAMUEL).
13. **'he that was asked for'.** Note the word-play in 𝔥 המשואל ('he that was asked for') and שמואל in 13*d* ('Samuel'). Smend's emendation (see critical note) is most probably right.
Sanctified of Jahveh. נזיר ייי, cp. נזיר אלהים in Judges xiii. 5, xvi. 17; Ben-Sira interprets 1 Sam. i. 11 as though it referred to the Nazirite vow.
the prophetical office. See note on *v.* 1.
By the word of God. Cp. 1 Sam. ix. 27.
princes. נגידים; cp. 1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 1, xiii. 14, &c.

𝔅ᴮ 14 [n]By means of the commandment[n] [o]he commanded the congregation[o],
[p]And he mustered the tents of Jacob[p].
15 [q r]Because of his truthfulness they sought the prophet[r],
[s]And the seer[t] was also found reliable in his words[s q].
16 [u v]And, moreover, he called upon God[v]
[w]When his enemies surrounded him on every side[u w],
In that he offered up a sucking lamb,
[x][And cried unto the Lord][x].
17 [y]And Jahveh thundered from heaven[y],
[z]With a mighty crash His voice was heard[z],
18 [a]And He subdued the garrisons of the enemy[a],
[b]And destroyed[b] all the princes[c] of the Philistines.
19 [d]And at the time when he rested upon his bed[d],
He called [e]Jahveh and His anointed to witness[e]:
[f]'From whom have I taken a bribe, [g]even a pair of shoes?'[g f]
And no man accused him.
[h][And also to the time of his end he was found upright
In the eyes of Jahveh and in the eyes of all living[h].]
20 [i]Moreover after he died he was enquired of[i],
He declared unto the king his way[k];

[m] 𝔖 'for' [n–n] *Reading* במצוה (*the word is quite mutilated in* 𝔅): 𝔊 εν νομῳ Κυριου [o–o] 𝔊 εκρινεν συναγωγην: 𝔖 'he commanded the congregation' [p–p] 𝔊 και επεσκεψατο Κυριος τον Ιακωβ (*cp.* 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17, 2 Chron. xvii. 7 ff.): 𝔖 'And the Lord commanded Jacob': 𝔅 *reads* ויפקד אלהי יעקב ('and he visited the gods of Jacob'); *this is an obvious error which Peters emends by reading* ויפקד אלהים יעקב ('and God visited Jacob'), *but this sudden change in the subject of the sentence makes such an emendation improbable; it is better to read* ויפקד אהלי יעקב (*Lévi, Smend*); *see further exegetical note. The corruption must have found its way into the Hebr. text very early, since it was read by* 𝔊 [q–q] 𝔖 > [r–r] *The text of* 𝔅 *is considerably mutilated; Smend reconstructs it thus*: באמונת פיו דרוש חזה; *Peters would read*: באמונתו נדרש חזה ('Because of his reliability the seer was enquired of'); *but, according to Smend, there is not room for* באמונתו, *while the upper halves of the letters of* פיו *are quite visible*; דרוש *is to be seen on the MS.; the form* נדרש, *which occurs in v.* 20, *has a different meaning*: 𝔊 εν πιστει αυτου ηκριβασθη προφητης [s–s] 𝔊 και εγνωσθη εν πιστει (א A C 106 ρημασιν = 𝔏: ρηματι V 55 248 253 254 Syro-Hex) αυτου πιστος ορασεως [t] *Reading* רואה (*for* רועה) [u–u] 𝔖 'And moreover he conquered the enemies on all sides' [v–v] 𝔊 και επεκαλεσατο τον κυριον δυναστην [w–w] 𝔊 εν τῳ θλιψαι (70 248 Sah Eth + αυτον: א* + αυτου) εχθρους αυτου (א* > αυτου) κυκλοθεν [x–x] *A fourth clause is required, but it is wanting in* 𝔅 *as well as in all the Versions; the above is supplied from* 1 Sam. vii. 9 [y–y] *This clause is almost wholly mutilated; Smend reconstructs it thus*: וירעם מן השמים ייי *from* 𝔊 και εβροντησεν απ ουρανου Κυριος [z–z] 𝔊 και εν ηχῳ μεγαλῳ ακουστην εποιησεν την φωνην αυτου [a–a] 𝔊 και εξετριψεν ηγουμενους Τυριων (*reading* ציר [= 𝔖] *for* צר) [b–b] 𝔊 > [c] 𝔊 αρχοντας (*in the Sept.* σατραπης *is used for* סרן). *In* 𝔅 17 *b and* 18 *form one clause* [d–d] 𝔊 και προ καιρου κοιμησεως αιωνος [e–e] 𝔊 εναντι Κυριου και χριστου (= 𝔖): + αυτου א^c.a 70 248 [f–f] 𝔊 χρηματα και εως υποδηματων απο παση σαρκος ουκ ειληφα [g–g] 𝔖 > [h–h] 𝔊 𝔖 >; *a later glossator added these two clauses* (*cp.* 1 Sam. xiii. 8–15, xvi. 1 ff., xix. 18 ff.) [i–i] 𝔊 και μετα το υπνωσαι αυτον επροφητευσεν (B προεφητευσεν) [k] 𝔊 την τελευτην αυτου

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14. **By means of the commandment.** 𝔅 במצוה, cp. xliv. 20; the reference is to 1 Sam. vii. 2 ff.
the tents of Jacob. Cp. Num. xxiv. 5, 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob.'
15. **truthfulness.** i.e. reliability; cp. 1 Sam. ix. 6.
prophet . . . seer. See 1 Sam. ix. 9.
in his words. Cp. 1 Sam. iii. 19.
16. **he called upon God . . .** Cp. 1 Sam. vii. 5, 8, 9.
he offered up a sucking lamb. Cp. 1 Sam. vii. 9.
17. **And Jahveh thundered . . .** Cp. 1 Sam. vii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 14.
crash. פקע is Neo-Hebraic; it does not occur in the O. T.
18. **He subdued.** Cp. 1 Sam. vii. 13.
the garrisons. נְצִיב means in the first instance a 'pillar' (Gen. xix. 19), and then a small garrison or fore-post of which a pillar marks the site; cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 1, 4, 6, 11, 12, 15.
the princes. סרן is the special term used especially in Judges and 1 Samuel of the Philistine 'lords' or 'tyrants', five in number, who ruled over the five chief Philistine cities; cp. Judges iii. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 17.
19. **And at the time . . . his bed.** The identical words occur in xl. 5 *c*. Cp. 1 Sam. xii. 2 ff.
Jahveh and His anointed. See 1 Sam. xii. 5.
even a pair of shoes. i.e. something of a trifling nature; cp. Amos ii. 6, viii. 6. Both 𝔅 and 𝔊 follow the Sept. of 1 Sam. xii. 3, and depart from the Massoretic text.
20. **he was enquired of.** Cp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 7 ff.
his way. i.e. his destiny.

𝔅[B] And he lifted his voice from the earth,
[1]To blot out iniquity by prophecy[1].

(*j*) XLVII. 1–11. *David* (= 2 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 distichs).

47 1 [a]And moreover after him[a] stood up Nathan,
To serve[b] [c]in the presence of[c] David.
2 [d]For as[d] the fat is separated[e] [f]from the offering[f],
So was David (separated)[ff] from[g] Israel.
3 He played[h] with lions as with kids[i],
And with bears as [j]with calves of Bashan[j].

1–1 *In* 𝔅 *only one word* (בנבואה) *is preserved in this clause*: 𝔊 εν προφετειᾳ εξαλειψαι ανομιαν λαου: 𝔖 'to destroy sins by prophecy' a–a 𝔊 και μετα τουτον (C 55 248 254 τουτο): 𝔏 post haec (= Sah) b 𝔊 προφητευειν (70 248 ο προφητης = 𝔖 𝔏): 𝔖 'to cause to hear' c–c 𝔊 εν ημεραις (𝔖 = 𝔅) d–d 𝔊 ωσπερ: 𝔏 et quasi e מורם *lit.* 'lifted up': 𝔊 αφωρισμενον: 𝔏 separatus (𝔊 𝔏 = 𝔅) f–f 𝔊 απο σωτηριου (= שלם, *cp.* Lev. vi. 12): 𝔏 a carne ff *Expressed in* 𝔖 g 𝔊 𝔏 + των υιων h 𝔊 επαιζεν (B[ab] א επαιξεν, C επαισεν, 70 248 254 επεξενωσεν): 𝔖 'he slew': 𝔏 lusit i *Reading* גדיים (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* גדי; *the plur. is required to correspond with the plur. in the next clause* j–j בני בשן *which Halévy, Peters, Smend, and others emend to* בני צאן; *cp.* 𝔊 εν αρνασι προβατων (*cp.* LXX *of* Ps. cxiv. 14,

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To blot out . . . The reference is to the fact that by announcing the approaching death of Saul, Samuel prophesied the blotting out of the sins of the people, of whom Saul was the representative; Saul's death atoned for the sins of the people as well as for his own sins.

(*j*) XLVII. 1–11 (DAVID).

1. **stood up.** עמד, as in *v.* 12, in the sense of 'appear upon the scene'; this is also frequently the force of the word as used in the later books of the O. T., especially in Daniel; see e.g. viii. 22, '. . . four kingdoms shall stand up [i.e. appear] out of the nation' (cp. Dan. xi. 2–4, xii. 1), almost equivalent to 'arise up' (קום); see also Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65; Ps. cvi. 30.

Nathan. It is noticeable that Ben-Sira lays stress on the succession of the prophets, cp. xlvi. 1, xlviii. 1, 12, 22, xlix. 8; his is the conviction of earlier writers and prophets, that the line of prophetical teachers in Israel has been uninterrupted since the time of Moses (cp. Amos ii. 10, iii. 7, 8; Hos. xii. 13; Jer. vii. 25, xv. 1, &c. &c.). As A. B. Davidson well says (*Old Testament Prophecy*, p. 16 f.): 'The real history of Israel is a history in which men of prophetic rank and name stand at the great turning-points of the people's life, and direct the movements. The inner progress of the people was throughout guided by prophets who fertilized the religious life of the nation with new thoughts, or nourished the seeds of truth and higher aspirations already planted in the heart of the people into fuller growth and fruitfulness. . . .' This offers a good comment on Ben-Sira's point of view in these chapters.

To serve in the presence of David. . . . להיצב לפני, lit. 'to present oneself before' some one with the implication of readiness for service (cp. e.g. Job i. 6, ii. 1; Zech. vi. 5). In 1 Kings i. 26 Nathan speaks of himself as the 'servant' of David; but this is exceptional: the true prophets are normally not the servants of any one but Jahveh; their unfettered freedom of speech and independent attitude towards those in authority were among their leading characteristics. It is probably owing to this that the Greek renders 'prophesy' instead of 'serve'. The reading of 𝔅 is, however, to be retained, as it more literally accords with the O. T. narrative. On the verse generally see 2 Sam. vii. 2 ff.

2. **as the fat is separated.** The reference is to the intestinal fat of the sacrificial victims (oxen, sheep, and goats), cp. Exod. xxix. 13, 22; Lev. iii. 3 ff., vii. 22 ff.; see also 1 Sam. ii. 15 ff. It is this part of the victim, 'the fat of the omentum with the kidneys and the lobe of the liver, which the Hebrews were forbidden to eat, and, in the case of sacrifice, burned on the altar. . . . The point of view from which we are to regard the reluctance to eat of them is that, being more vital, they are more holy than other parts, and therefore at once more potent and more dangerous' (Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*[2], p. 380 f.) The prohibition is only in regard to the fat about these more holy parts, and does not extend to the ordinary fat of an animal referred to in Neh. viii. 10, 'Go your way, eat the fat (מִשְׁמַנִּים, i.e. the tasty fatty morsels), and drink the sweet . . .'

separated. Lit. 'lifted up', the technical term used in Lev. iv. 8, 10, 19, &c. for separating the fat from the flesh. Schechter (*The Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, p. 31) pointedly refers to Ps. lxxxix. 20 (19 in EV): הרימותי בחור מעם, which may well have been in the mind of Ben-Sira.

from the offering. Lit. 'from the holy thing', cp. Lev. iii. 3 ff., xxi. 22; Num. v. 9, xviii. 17, 2 Chron. xxix. 33; Ezek. xxxvi. 38.

So was David . . . Cp. 1 Sam. xvi. 4–13.

from Israel. With the rendering of 𝔊 (see critical note) cp. l. 20.

3. **He played . . .** שחק ל in the O. T. means to 'laugh', usually in derision (cp. Ps. xxxvii. 13, lix. 9), whereas שחק ב means to 'play'; e.g. with beasts, in Job xli. 5 (xl. 29 in Hebr.). With the verse before us cp. 1 Sam. xvii. 34–36; Is. xi. 6 ff.

calves of Bashan. Properly 'bull-calves of Bashan', which is inappropriate as the parallelism requires a harmless and weak animal of some kind to correspond with 'kids'; it is scarcely to be doubted that 𝔊 𝔖 reflect the right text here.

𝔅[B] 4 In his youth[k] he slew the giant[k],
[l]And took away[ll] the reproach from the[m] people[l],
[n]When he swung his hand with[o] the sling[n],
And broke[p] the pride[q] of Goliath.
5 For [r]he called unto God[s] Most High[r],
And He gave strength to[ss] his right[t] hand,
So that he struck down[u] [v]the hero versed in war[v],
[w]And[ww] exalted[w] the horn of his people[x].
6 [y z]Therefore the daughters sang of him,
And honoured him with: '[Slayer] of ten thousand'[z].
When he had put on the diadem[zz] he fought,
7 And subdued the enemies on all sides,
[a]And plundered[a] the Philistine cities[b y],
And broke their horn unto this day[c].

16): 𝔖 'with lambs': 𝔏 cum agnis [k–k] 𝔊 ουχι απεκτεινεν γιγαντα (= 𝔏): 70 248 > ουχι: 𝔖 = 𝔅 [l–l] *Reading* ויסר חרפה מעל עם (*following* 1 Sam. xvii. 26 והסיר חרפה מעל ישראל); *the text, somewhat mutilated, reads apparently* חרפת עולם . . . (*cp.* Jer. xxiii. 40 ונתתי עליכם חרפת עולם *and the same in* Ps. lxxviii. 66) [ll] 𝔊 εξηρεν [m] 𝔖 'his' [n–n] 𝔊 εν τῳ επαραι χειρα (A V χειρας) εν λιθῳ σφενδονης [o] *Lit.* 'upon' [p] 𝔊 καταβαλειν (א C 155 κατεβαλεν = 𝔏) [q] 𝔊 γαυριαμα: 𝔖 'the whole (pride)' [r–r] 𝔖 'he prayed in the sight of God' (*perhaps in reference to* 1 Sam. xvii. 45, 47), *cp.* 𝔏 invocavit Dominum (*al.* Deum) omnipotentem [s] 𝔊 Κυριον [ss] *Lit.* 'into' [t] 𝔖 > [u] 𝔊 εξαραι [v–v] 𝔅 איש יודע מלחמות: 𝔊 ανθρωπον δυνατον (B* > δυνατον) εν πολεμῳ (Sah πολεμοις): 𝔖 'the mighty man' [w–w] 𝔊 ανυψωσαι (B ανυψωσει) [ww] 𝔊 𝔖 > (*expressed in* 254 𝔏) [x] 𝔖 + 'Israel' [y–y] 𝔊 *has mistaken the connexion between these verses and renders freely:*

ουτως εν μυριασιν εδοξασεν αυτον
και ηνεσεν αυτον εν ευλογιαις Κυριου
εν τῳ φερεσθαι αυτῳ διαδημα δοξης.
εξετριψεν γαρ εχθρους κυκλοθεν
και εξουδενωσεν Φυλιστιειμ τους υπεναντιους . . .

In the last clause 𝔊 = 𝔅 [z–z] 𝔖 'Therefore the women praised him in myriads' [zz] 𝔖 'crown' [a–a] *Reading* ויבז (*so Peters*): 𝔅 *text has* ויתן *which Lévy adopts, as well as Cowley-Neubauer* ('and set nakedness among the Philistines'); *but the clause is corrupt; Halévy suggests* ויאבד. *See further exegetical note:* 𝔏 extirpavit: 𝔖 'he took vengeance on' [b] ערים (𝔊 *read* צרים, *which Smend and Halévy adopt, Cowley-Neubauer emend to* ערום 'naked') [c] 𝔏 in aeternum

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4. **In his youth he slew the giant.** Cp. 1 Sam. xvii. 40 ff.
And took away . . . Cp. in addition to the references in the critical note, Isa. xxv. 8.
When he swung . . . Cp. 1 Sam. xvii. 49, 50.
And broke . . . Lit. 'broke in pieces'; referring to the cutting off of Goliath's head and the taking of his armour.

5. **he struck down.** In the O. T. הדף means to 'thrust out' or 'push away' (cp. 2 Kings iv. 27); in Is. xxii. 19, to 'depose' (in reference to Shebna).
the hero versed in war. With the Hebrew (see critical note) cp. the words in 1 Sam. xvii. 33 איש מלחמה מנעריו.
And exalted the horn of his people. The figure is taken originally from that of the wild-ox holding up his head in conscious strength, well illustrated, e. g., in the oracle of Balaam (Num. xxiii. 22), 'He hath as it were the horns of the wild-ox'; cp. for the expression 1 Sam. ii. 1; Ps. lxxxix. 17, cxlviii. 14; 1 Macc. ii. 48.

6. **Therefore the daughters . . .** Cp. 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7; Ps. lxviii. 12 (Hebr.).
And honoured him. For כנה ב cp. xlv. 2; the word means properly to 'give a title', cp. Job xxxii. 21; Is. xliv. 5, xlv. 4; this seems to be the way in which it is used here.
When he had put on the diadem. צָנִיף is used in the O. T. of the high-priestly 'turban', see Zech. iii. 5; it is not used of a king's crown (the nearest to this being the metaphorical phrase צניף מלוכה, 'a royal diadem,' in Is. lxii. 3), for which the words עֲטָרָה (e.g. 2 Sam. xii. 30; 1 Chron. xx. 2; Esther viii. 15) and נֵזֶר (e.g. 2 Sam. i. 10; 2 Kings xi. 12; 2 Chron. xxiii. 11; Ps. cxxxii. 18) are used. It is possible that the term which Ben-Sira employs points to the idea of the high-priestly as well as the royal character of David, and this is not without significance from the point of view of the Messianic thought of his times. On the other hand צָנִיף is used quite generally in xi. 5, xl. 4.
he fought. i. e. he fought as the leader of the armies of Israel; he had, of course, fought before this on his own account many times (e.g. 1 Sam. xxiii. 1–5, xxvii. 7–12, xxx. 17–20); but Ben-Sira lays stress on the fact of David having fought because he was essentially a fighting king (cp. 1 Chron. xxii. 8).

7. **And subdued the enemies on all sides.** Viz. the Philistines (2 Sam. v. 17–25, viii. 1, xxi. 15–22); the Moabites (2 Sam. viii. 2); the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 5–13, x. 1 ff., xii. 26–31); the Edomites (2 Sam. viii. 14); the Ammonites (2 Sam. x. 1 ff., xi. 1).
And plundered the Philistine cities. See critical note. The Philistines were the most inveterate foes of the Israelites during the early days of the monarchy; hence the special mention of them here.
unto this day. O. T. phraseology. The rendering of 𝔏 (see critical note) would be really more to the point.

𝔥ᴮ 8 [d-e]In all that he did[e] [f]he gave thanks[f]
[g]Unto God Most High[g] [h]with words of glory[h d].
[i]With his whole heart he loved[j] his Maker[i],
[k]And sang praise every day continually[k].
9 [l]Music of stringed instruments he ordained[m] before the altar,
And set [n]the singing[o] of psalms to harps[n l].
𝔊 10 [p]He gave comeliness to the feasts,
And set in order the seasons throughout the year
𝔥ᴮ [pp q]For that he gave praise[q] to His Holy Name;
[r]Before morning[r] the sanctuary[s] resounded[t] (therewith)[pp].
11 Jahveh also[u] put away his sin[v],
And lifted up his horn for ever.

[d-d] *In the margin of* 𝔥 'David' *is inserted*: 𝔖 'Therefore he gave forth his voice in words of thanksgiving and honour' [e-e] *Lit.* 'in every work of his' (= 𝔊) [f-f] *Reading* נתן תודות *for* הודות . . .: 𝔊 εδωκεν εξομολογησιν (= 𝔏) [g-g] 𝔊 αγιῳ Υψιστῳ (= 𝔏) [h-h] *The text is mutilated; reading* באמרי כבוד (*Smend*) *following* 𝔊 ρηματι (155 ρημασιν) δοξης [i-i] 𝔏 laudavit dominum et dilexit deum, qui fecit illum et dedit illi contra inimicos potentiam [j] *Read* אהב *for* אוהב: 𝔊 υμνησε και ηγαπησε: 70 + κυριον [k-k] *The Hebrew text is much mutilated; Smend emends as follows*: ובכל יום יהלל תמיד (*of which the text above is the rendering*); *Peters emends* ובכל יום הלל בשיריו *which is based on the addition of* 70 248 *to v.* 9, *an addition which, as Schlatter has shown, belongs here, viz.* και καθ ημεραν αινεσουσιν εν ᾠδαις αυτων: 𝔊 > *the whole clause, unless we are to discern a remnant of it in* υμνησε και: 𝔖 *joins the clause on to v.* 9, *see next note* [l-l] 𝔖 'and every day he sang praise (= 8 *d*) in a continual offering'; *perhaps in reference to* 1 Chron. xvi. 6, 37 . . . תמיד לפני ארון, *and* תמיד לדבר יום ביומו (*Smend*): 𝔊 *has*:

και εστησεν ψαλτῳδους κατεναντι του θυσιαστηριου
και εξ ηχους αυτων γλυκαινειν μελη

(*For the addition here of* 70 248 *see preceding note*) [m] *So the marg. of* 𝔥 [n-n] 𝔥 *marg.* קול מזמור הנעים [o] *Lit.* 'voice' [p-p] *The text of* 𝔥 *is wholly mutilated; Peters, on the basis of* 𝔊, *reconstructs it as follows*:

נתן לחגים הדר (εδωκεν εν εορταις ευπρεπειαν)
ויתקן מועדי תקופת שנה (και εκοσμησεν καιρους μεχρι συντελειας (= שנה בשנה))

𝔖 'he offered (*lit.* gave) great songs of praise year by year' [pp-pp] 𝔖 > [q-q] 𝔊 εν τῳ αινειν αυτους (Eth αυτου): 𝔏 laudarent [r-r] 𝔊ᴮ και απο πρωι (πρωιας א A C &c.): + φωνη אᶜ·ᵃ [s] 248 + αυτου: 𝔏 dei sanctitatem [t] 𝔊 ηχειν (70 ηχει): 𝔏 amplificarent [u] 𝔊 𝔏 > [v] 𝔊 τας αμαρτιας (= 𝔖) [w-w] 𝔊 διαθηκην βασιλεων (55

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8. **he gave thanks.** Cp. Joshua vii. 19 נתן תודה.
With his whole heart. Cp. Deut. vi. 5.
every day continually. For the phrase cp. xlv. 14 (Hebr.).

9. **Music of stringed instruments.** נגינות שיר; cp. the titles to Ps. iv, vi, liv, lv, lxi, lxvii, lxxvi, and cp. Is. xxxviii. 20; Hab. iii. 19. Cp. כלי שיר in 1 Chron. xvi. 42, and שירות נבל in xxxix. 15 above. From the time of David onwards stringed instruments seem to have occupied the most important place among musical instruments in the Temple worship; the *kinnor* ('lyre') and *nebel* ('harp') are the only two stringed instruments mentioned in the O. T. outside the Book of Daniel.

And set the singing of psalms to harps. Cp. 2 Chron. xvi. 4, 5. The meaning seems to be that David composed, or at all events introduced, harp accompaniments to the psalms when sung; תיקן means lit. to 'arrange' or 'put in order'; cp. Eccles. xii. 9, '. . . he set in order (תִּקֵּן) many proverbs.'

10. **He gave comeliness to the feasts.** The Zadokites of this period had become lax in the conduct of public worship; it was probably for this reason that Ben-Sira laid stress on David's work in this direction, and made special mention of the feasts (Smend).

And set in order the seasons. Cp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31; i. e. the festive seasons. It is probable that Ben-Sira is reading back into earlier times the developed musical service in the Temple, of which details are given in the Mishnah; in *Yoma* iii. 11, *Tamid* vii. 3, e.g., we are told that there was a special Temple official whose duty it was to superintend the psalmody; there were under him a large number of musicians, including singers and instrumentalists; these had to accompany the daily burnt-offerings, as well as the solemn festival services, with the singing of psalms and playing on stringed instruments.

Before morning . . . Cp. Ps. lvii. 8 (9 in Hebr.), 'I will awake the dawn'; cxix. 62, 'At midnight I will rise to give thanks to Thee.' In reference to Ps. lxxii. 5 ('They shall fear Thee while the sun endureth') R. Jochanan taught that it was meritorious to worship at dawn. 'The *Wetiqin* (ותיקין = "the ancient pious") watched for the first rays of the sun to begin the '*Amidah* (*Berakhoth* 9 *b*, 29 *b*). There are now several societies of *Wetiqin* in Jerusalem who worship at that hour. They have prepared tables of the sunrise for the year round from special observations taken from Mount Olivet.' *JE*, x. 168 *a*.

11. **put away.** העביר, lit. to 'cause to pass away'; see 2 Sam. xii. 13, וגם יהוה העביר פשעו, which is quoted here almost verbatim, and cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 10 (= 1 Chron. xxi. 8).
his horn. Cp. Ps. lxxxix. 23, cxxxii. 17.

𝔥[B] Also He gave to him [w]the decree of the kingdom[w],
[x]And established his throne[x] over Israel[y].

(*k*) XLVII. 12–22. *Solomon* (= 3+4+1+3+2+3 distichs).

12 [z]And [a]for his sake[a] there stood up after him[z]
[b]A wise son who dwelt in safety[b].
13 Solomon reigned in days of peace[c],
[d]And[dd] God gave him[e] rest round about[d],
[f]Who prepared[f] a house for [ff]His name[g],
[h]And set up[hh] a sanctuary for ever[h].
14 How wise wast thou in thy youth[i],
[j]And didst overflow like the Nile with instruction[kj]!
15 [lm]Thou didst cover the earth with thy soul[l],
[n]And didst gather parables like the sea[nm].
𝔊 16 [op]Thy name reached unto the isles afar off[p],
𝔖 [q]And they listened[r] for the report of thee[qo].

254 βασιλεως, 70 248 βασιλειας = Syro-Hex 𝔏): 𝔖 'the throne of kingship' [x–x] 𝔊 και θρονον δοξης (*cp.* 1 Sam. ii. 8, Is. xxii. 23, Jer. xiv. 21, xvii. 12): 𝔖> [y] *So* 𝔊 𝔖 𝔏 (𝔥 'Jerusalem'): 𝔖+'for ever a mighty king' [z–z] 𝔊 μετα τουτον ανεστη υιος επιστημων (= 𝔏) [a–a] 𝔖> [b–b] 𝔊 και δι αυτον κατελυσεν (א 70 κατεπαυσεν, *cp. v.* 13) εν πλατυσμῳ (= ? במרחב, *cp.* Ps. cxviii. 5): 𝔏 et propter illum deiecit omnem potentiam inimicorum, *cp. v.* 8 (*critical note*): 𝔖 'and Solomon dwelt in peace', *joining this verse to* 13 *a* [c] 70 248+και εδοξασθη [d–d] 𝔏 cui subiecit deus omnes hostes: 248+αυτον [dd] 𝔊> [e] א* ως (𝔊 ῳ) [f–f] 𝔊 ινα στηση [ff] 𝔊 επ: 𝔏 in [g] 𝔖+'for ever' [h–h] 𝔖> [hh] 𝔊 ετοιμασῃ [i] 𝔖+'Solomon' [j–j] 𝔊 και ενεπλησθης (εσοφισθη C*, -σθης C[a]) ως ποταμος συνεσεως [k] 𝔖 'wisdom' [l–l] 𝔊 *alters the construction,* γην επεκαλυψεν η ψυχη σου (70 248+πασαν) [m–m] 𝔖, *joining this verse on to v.* 16, 'through thine understanding and through the height of the honour of kings' [n–n] *Reading* ותקלט כמו ים שיחה (*Smend*) *for* ותקלט במרום שירה ('And didst gather songs in the height'); *the Hebr. text is mutilated; Peters, following* 𝔊, *would read* ותמלא במשלי חידה ('And didst fill it with dark speeches'): 𝔊 και ενεπλησας εν (248>) παραβολαις αινιγματων [o–o] 𝔥> [p–p] 𝔖 = 𝔊 [q–q] 𝔊 και ηγαπηθης (*probably mistaking* יאב *for* אהב) εν τῃ ειρηνῃ σου (*mistaking* לשמעך *for* לשלומך) [r] *Lit.* 'yearned for'

the decree of the kingdom. i.e. the decree of perpetual sovereignty to David and his house; cp. *v.* 22; 2 Sam. vii. 12 ff.; Ps. ii. 7, lxxxix. 28, 29.

And established his throne. It is possible that 𝔊 read וכסא כבוד (see critical note).

over Israel. This is preferable to 'over Jerusalem' of the Hebrew text, which is possibly due to the influence of Messianic thought; cp. Is. xxiv. 23.

(*k*) XLVII. 12–22 (SOLOMON).

12. **And for his sake.** i.e. for his father David's sake; cp. xliv. 12, 22. As Solomon was not truly faithful to Jahveh (cp. 1 Kings iii. 3, xi. 1–8) his prosperous and peaceful reign is ascribed to the merits of his father David (cp. 1 Kings xi. 12, 13, 32–6). This doctrine of the merits of the fathers (זכות אבות) was much developed in later Jewish teaching, though one can see from a passage like that before us that the essence of the later teaching was already in existence long before. The thought of the solidarity of Israel often finds expression in Rabbinical writings; Israel is one self-contained organism, all the component parts of which are dependent upon each other in spiritual things, so that whatever may be lacking in righteousness to one can be supplied by others who are more righteous. Naturally those who were regarded above all others as righteous were the patriarchs of old, whose good deeds were so great and so many in number that some of them could be imputed to men of later generations, whose lives were not so rich in well-doing; cp. e.g. the words in the Midrash *Shir ha-shirim* ('Song of Songs') on i. 5 ('I am black but comely'): 'The congregation of Israel says, "I am black through my own deeds, but comely through the work of my fathers".' It is said of Solomon that before he sinned he had accumulated much merit; but after he sinned all the blessings which he received were due to the merits of his fathers (Midrash *Qoheleth rabba* to i. 1); it is precisely the same thought which lies at the base of the verse before us.

A wise son. Cp. 1 Kings ii. 3, iv. 21 (v. 1 in Hebr.).

who dwelt in safety. Cp. 1 Kings v. 4 (v. 18 in Hebr.).

13. **peace.** שלוה, lit. 'prosperity' (cp. Job xii. 5; Ps. cxxii. 6; Jer. xii. 1), but peace and prosperity are closely allied; the peace which Solomon enjoyed owing to his father's victories enabled him to live in prosperity.

And God gave him rest. Cp. 1 Kings v. 4 (v. 18 in Hebr.).

And set up a sanctuary for ever. Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 69, 70.

14. **How wise wast thou . . .** For this direct address cp. xlviii. 4–11; with the words cp. 1 Kings iii. 12, iv. 29 ff., x. 1.

like the Nile. Cp. xxiv. 27, xxxix. 22.

15. A continuation of the simile in the preceding verse.

with thy soul. i.e. with his influence; Smend compares the phrase שפך נפש ('to pour out the soul') in 1 Sam. i. 15; Ps. xlii. 5. Cp. also the words of the queen of Sheba in 1 Kings x. 6; 2 Chron. ix. 5.

16. **the isles afar off.** Cp. Is. xli. 5, and especially lxvi. 19 איים רחוקים; אִי is not necessarily an island in the usual sense, indeed very rarely so in the O. T. (cp., however, Is. xl. 15); it refers originally to any land which a mariner can make for in order to gain shelter and rest; later on in the more general sense of 'border' or 'region'.

the report of thee. Cp. 1 Kings x. 1.

𝔓[B] 17 [s]By thy songs, parables, dark speeches[s],
[t]And satires[u] thou didst cause astonishment to the peoples[t].
18 [v]Thou wast called by the glorious name
Which is called over Israel[v].

Thou didst heap up gold like tin[w],
And [x]abundance of[x] silver like lead[y].
19 [z]But thou gavest[z] thy loins[a] unto women,
[b]And didst give them to rule over thy body[b].
20 Yea[c], thou broughtest a blemish upon thine honour,
And didst defile [d]thy bed[d],
So as to bring wrath upon thy progeny[e],
[f]And sighing concerning thy bed[f];
21 [g]So the people became[gg] two sceptres[hg],
And out of Ephraim [i](arose) a sinful[j] kingdom[i].
22 Nevertheless[k] God[l] did not forsake His[m] mercy,
[n]Nor did He suffer any of His words to fall to the ground[n].
[o]He will not cut off [p]the posterity of His chosen[po],
Nor will He destroy [q]the offspring[r] of them that love Him[q];

[s–s] 𝔊 εν ῳδαις και παροιμιαις και παραβολαις : 𝔖 'he interpreted proverbs of wisdom in a book' [t–t] 𝔊 και εν (248 𝔏>) ερμηνια (א C -ιαις) απεθαυμασαν σε (248>) χωραι [u] *In the text of* 𝔓 *this is joined to the first clause* [v–v] 𝔊 εν ονοματι Κυριου του θεου (70 248 Κυριου παση της γης) του επικεκλημενου Θεου Ισραηλ, *joining it on to the rest of the verse*: 𝔖 'Thou wast called by the name of God, whose is the glory' [w] *Reading* כברזיל (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* כברזל ('like iron') [x–x] 𝔖> [y] 𝔖 'like dust' (*cp.* Job xxvii. 16, Zech. ix. 3) [z–z] 𝔊 παρανεκλινας [a] 248 τα σπλαγχνα σου : 𝔖 'thy strength' (*cp.* Prov. xxxi. 3) [b–b] 𝔊 και ενεξουσιασθης εν τῳ σωματι σου : 𝔏 potestatem habuisti in corpore tuo [c] 𝔊>(*hab* 253 Syro-Hex) [d–d] 𝔊 το σπερμα σου (*reading* זרעך *for* יצועיך, *but cp.* Ezra ix. 2, Mal. ii. 15) [e] 𝔖 'thy children's children' [f–f] 𝔊 και κατεννυγην επι τη αφροσυνη σου [g–g] 𝔊 γενεσθαι διχα τυραννιδα [gg] 𝔖 'divided itself into' [h] 𝔖 'kingdoms' [i–i] 𝔊 αρξαι βασιλειαν απειθη [j] 𝔖 'heathen' [k] *Reading* אולם (*cp.* xliv. 10): 𝔊> [l] 𝔊 ο δε Κυριος [m] 𝔓> (*hab* 𝔊 𝔖) [n–n] 𝔊 και ου μη διαφθαρη (A אc.a διαφθειρη) απο των εργων αυτου : 𝔏 et non corrumpet nec delebit opera sua [o–o] *Reading* לא יכרית לבחיריו נין (*Smend*); *Peter's reconstruction runs:* ולא יאביד בחירו נין ונכד; *the text of* 𝔓 *is much mutilated*: 𝔊 ουδε μη εξαλειψη εκλεκτου αυτου εκγονα [p–p] 𝔖 'the seed of those that love Him' [q–q] 𝔊 σπερμα του αγαπησαντος αυτον : 𝔖 'the sons of His pious ones' [r] *In the text of* 𝔓 *this is joined to the preceding clause* [s–s] *Reading with Smend* ויתן ליעקב

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17. **By thy songs . . .** Evidently Prov. i. 6 was in the mind of Ben-Sira, where several of the same words occur (חידה, מליצה, משל).

thy songs. Cp. Cant. i. 1, 'The Song of songs, which is Solomon's'; 1 Kings iv. 32, 'and his songs were a thousand and five.' שיר is used of both secular (e.g. Amos v. 23; Isa. xxiv. 9) and religious songs (e.g. Ps. xlii. 9, lxix. 31, &c.), and also specifically of the songs of the Levitical choirs in the Temple worship with musical accompaniment (e.g. 1 Chron. vi. 16, 17, xiii. 8; Neh. xii. 27, &c.).

parables. Cp. Prov. x. 1, xxv. 1 (משלי שלמה); משל is 'a sentence constructed in parallelism, usually of Hebrew Wisdom, but occasionally of other types' (*BDB*, s. v.).

dark speeches. חידה is a saying the meaning of which is not apparent on the surface; cp. Judges xiv. 12 ff.; 1 Kings x. 1; in Ezek. xvii. 2 it has the sense of 'allegory'; something that needs interpretation.

satires. מליצה; cp. Hab. ii. 6 ('a taunting riddle', מליצה חידות); the root ליץ means to 'scorn'.

18. **Thou wast called by the glorious name . . .** Cp. Deut. xxviii. 10; Amos ix. 12; and the Greek of James ii. 7. The reference here is to the original name given to Solomon, according to 2 Sam. xii. 25, viz. Jedidiah, 'Beloved of Jahveh'; see Ryssel *in loc.* 𝔊 did not see the point, and probably altered the phrase deliberately, which it regarded as irreverent.

Thou didst heap up . . . Cp. 1 Kings x. 21, 27.

like lead. 'Like stones' in 1 Kings x. 27.

19. **But thou gavest . . .** Cp. 1 Kings xi. 1–3.

20. **thou broughtest a blemish . . .** Cp. xliv. 19.

And didst defile . . . Cp. Gen. xlix. 4.

And sighing concerning . . . i.e. Solomon's lax morality caused grief to men. It is strange that Ben-Sira makes no direct reference to Solomon's idolatry (cp. 1 Kings xi. 4–8), though it is implied by 21 *a*.

21. **So the people became two sceptres.** Cp. 1 Kings xii.

a sinful kingdom. Lit. 'violent'; in Amos ix. 8 occurs הממלכה החטאה.

22. **did not forsake His mercy.** Cp. 2 Sam. vii. 15; Ps. lxxxix. 33 (34 in Hebr.).

Nor did He suffer any of His words . . . For the phrase cp. e.g. 1 Sam. iii. 19; 2 Kings x. 10, &c.

posterity. נין, cp. xli. 5; the word is a rare one, occurring only three times in the O.T. (Gen. xxi. 23; Job xviii. 19; Is. xiv. 22).

His chosen. בחיריו is used in reference to Israel in xlvi. 1.

𝔅[B] [s]And He will give to Jacob a remnant[s],
[t]And to the house of David [u]a root from him[u t].

(*l*) XLVII. 23–25. *The wickedness of the people under the kings who succeeded Solomon* (= 2 + 3 distichs).

23 And Solomon slept[v] [w]in Jerusalem[w],
And left after him [x]one that was overbearing[x].
[y]Great in folly[y] and lacking in understanding
[z](Was) he who[z] by his counsel made the people revolt.
[a]And (then) he arose—of him let there be no memorial[a]—
[b]Who sinned and made Israel to sin[b],
[c]And put [d]a stumbling-block (in the way)[d] of Ephraim[e c],
24 [f]To drive them from their land;
[g]And their sin became very great[g f],
[h]And they sold themselves to (do) all manner of evil[h].

(*m*) XLVIII. 1–11. *Elijah* (= 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 distichs).

48 1 Until[a] there arose[b] a prophet like fire,
Whose[c] word[d] was [e]like a burning furnace[e].

שארית (*the text of* 𝔅 *is much mutilated*) = 𝔊 [t–t] *Reading with Smend* ולבית דויד ממנו שורש (*the text of* 𝔅 *is again almost wholly obliterated*): 𝔊 και τῳ Δαυειδ εξ αυτου ριζαν [u–u] 𝔖 'a great kingdom' [v] 𝔊 ανεπαυσατο [w–w] *Reading with Peters* "בירוש (*abbreviation for* בירושלים, *see exegetical note below*); *only the last letter* (ש) *of the word is preserved; Smend proposes* מיואש ('despairing', *cp.* Eccles. ii. 20): 𝔊 μετα των πατερων (+αυτου 𝔄 A Sah 𝔏 = עם אבותיו): 𝔖> [x–x] *Reading* מנון (*see Hebr. of* Prov. xxix. 21 [*Smend*]): 𝔊 εκ του σπερματος αυτου (*cp.* LXX *of* Gen. xxi. 23 = מנין [*Smend*]): 𝔖> [y–y] 𝔊 λαου αφροσυνην (Syro-Hex λαον αφροσυνης) [z–z] *Reading* אשר; *the present text has* רחבעם, *but this cannot have been the original reading as clauses c and d are enclosed within* רחב *and* עם; *this play on the name of Rehoboam makes it in the highest degree improbable that the name itself would also appear*: 𝔊 *reads* ος, *which reflects the original text, but places before it* 'Rehoboam'. *For another word-play see* xlviii. 17, 22 [a–a] *Reading with Smend* ויקם אל יהי לו זכר *for* עד אשר קם אל יהי לו זכר ירבעם בן נבט; *apart from the fact that this makes the clause too long, the mention of* 'Jeroboam the son of Nebat' *can hardly have originally stood together with* 'of him let there be no memorial'. *The words* עד אשר קם *presuppose a connexion with the preceding clauses which would give no sense; they are evidently taken from* xlviii. 1. *The present text has clearly suffered at the hands of a glossator*: 𝔊 και Ιεροβοαμ υιον (𝔄 υιος) Ναβατ: 𝔖 'let there be no memorial to him, (even) to Jeroboam the son of Nebat' [b–b] 𝔊 ος εξημαρτεν τον Ισραηλ [c–c] *Although these words are considerably mutilated in the text of* 𝔅 *sufficient remains to decipher them with reasonable certainty* [d–d] 𝔊 οδον αμαρτιας [e] 𝔖 'the house of Ephraim' [f–f] 𝔊 *wrongly transposes these two clauses* [g–g] 𝔊 και επληθυνθησαν αι αμαρτιαι αυτων σφοδρα: 𝔖 'And he made their sins many' [h–h] 𝔊 και πασαν πονηριαν εξεζητησαν + εως (A ως) εκδικησις ελθῃ επ αυτους: 70 248 + οργη και εκδικησις: 𝔏 + usque dum perveniret ad illos defensio et ab omnibus peccatis liberavit eos (dominus), *cp. v.* 11 *and* xlviii. 1–15 [a] 𝔊 'and' [b] 𝔊 + 'Elijah' [c] *Lit.* 'And his' [d] *Reading* דברו (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* דבריו [e–e] 𝔊 ως λαμπας εκαιετο: 𝔖 *combines* 𝔊 𝔅 'burned like

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a remnant. Cp. xliv. 17.

. . . a root. Cp. Is. xi. 1, 10; a reference to the Messianic hope, cp. 1 Kings xi. 39.

(*l*) XLVII. 23–25.

23. **slept.** שכב standing alone as here never has the sense of 'dying' in the O. T.; it is always followed by some words which explain it as referring to death, e.g. in 1 Kings xi. 43, 'he slept with his fathers'; in Isa. xiv. 8 the context shows that death is meant; otherwise it means simply to 'sleep' or 'lie down', &c.

in Jerusalem. Every suggested emendation must from the nature of the case be hypothetical; the one adopted in the text is that proposed by Peters; it commends itself on account of 1 Kings xi. 42, 43: 'And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem . . . And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David . . .' The abbreviation "ירוש might, apart from other reasons, conceivably have been suggested by the false etymology ירוש שלם ('possession of peace'), which has been one of the etymologies put forward in the past (cp. *JE*, vii. 119 *a*). The rendering of 𝔊 (see critical note), which would commend itself on account of the phraseology, is ruled out because of the absence of a final ש involved, which is clear in the text; the omission of μετὰ τῶν πατέρων in 𝔖 is also against these words representing the original.

made . . . revolt. Lit. 'throw off restraint; cp. Prov. xxix. 18; with the whole clause cp. 1 Kings xii. 8, 13, 14.

and made Israel to sin. Cp. 1 Kings xiv. 16.

And put a stumbling-block . . . Cp. 1 Kings xii. 28.

24. **To drive them from their land.** Cp. 2 Kings xvii. 22, 23; Jer. xxvii. 10.

And they sold themselves . . . Cp. 1 Kings xxi. 20.

(*m*) XLVIII. 1–11 (ELIJAH).

1. **a prophet like fire.** Cp. Mal. iv. 1, 5 (iii. 19, 23 in Hebr.).

like a burning furnace. Cp. 2 Kings i. 10 ff.

𝔅ᴮ 2 [f]And he broke for them the staff of bread[f],
[g]And by his zeal[h] [i]made them few in number[i g].
3 By the word of God[k] [l]he shut up the heavens[l];
Fire[m] also[n] descended thrice[o].
4 [p]How terrible wast thou, Elijah[p]!
And he who is like thee shall be glorified[q].
5 Who didst raise up a dead man [r]from death[r],
And[s] from Sheol[t], [u]according to the good pleasure[u] of Jahveh[v];
6 Who broughtest down [w]kings to the Pit[x],
And[w] them that were honoured from their beds[y] [of sickness];
7 [z]Who heardest[a] rebukes[b] in Sinai,
[c]And judgements of vengeance in Horeb[c].
8 Who anointedst kings[d] [e]for retribution[e],
[f]And a prophet as successor in thy place[f].
9 Who wast taken upwards [g]in a whirlwind[g],
[h]And by fiery troops to the heavens[h].
10 [i]Who art ready for the time, as it is written[i],
[k]To still wrath before the fierce anger of God[l k],

a burning furnace' [f–f] 𝔊 (= 𝔖) ος (𝔖 και) επηγαγεν επ αυτους λιμον (+ ισχυρον 248) [g–g] 𝔏 et inritantes illum invidia sua pauci facti sunt + non poterant enim sustinere praecepta domini [h] + ισχυρῳ 70 [i–i] 𝔖 'he rent them asunder' [k] 𝔊 Κυριου [l–l] 𝔊 ανεσχεν ουρανον [m] 70 248: 𝔖 Syro-Hex Eth + 'from heaven': 𝔏 + terrae [n] 𝔊 ουτως (> ℵ[c.a] 70 248 253) [o] 𝔖 + 'upon the altar and upon the godless men' [p–p] 𝔊 ως εδοξασθης Ηλεια εν τοις θαυμασιοις σου: 𝔏 sic amplificatus est Elias in mirabilibus suis [q] *Lit.* 'shall glorify himself': 𝔊 καυχασθαι (ℵ A 106 155 296 καυχησεται = 𝔅): 𝔏 potest gloriari [r–r] 𝔖 > [s] 𝔖 > [t] 70 248 253 Syro-Hex + ψυχην [u–u] *It is possible that* 𝔅 *read* ב *instead of* כ (= 𝔖): 𝔊 εν λογῳ, *cp. v.* 3 [v] 𝔖 𝔊 'the Most High': 𝔏 domini dei [w–w] 𝔖 > [x] 𝔊 εις απωλιαν: 𝔏 + et confregisti facile potentiam ipsorum [y] 𝔖 'thrones': 𝔊 κλινης [z] 𝔅 *transposes vv.* 7, 8 [a] *Reading* השומע (= 𝔊) *for* השמיע (= 𝔖 'who proclaimed') [b] 𝔖 'in his temptation' (*misunderstanding the whole verse*): 𝔊 ελεγμον: 70 248 253 Syro-Hex + Κυριου [c–c] 𝔖 > [d] *Reading* מלכי (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* מלא [e–e] *So* 𝔊 εις ανταποδομα (𝔅 תשלומות . . .) [f–f] 𝔊 και προφητας διαδοχους μετ αυτον: 𝔏 et prophetas facis successores post te [g–g] 𝔊 εν λαιλαπι πυρος [h–h] 𝔊 εν αρματι ιππων πυρινων: 𝔖 'by fiery horses to heaven': 𝔅 *is mutilated at the end of the verse,* 'to the heavens' *is added on the basis of* 𝔖 (*cp.* 2 Kings ii. 11 בסערה השמים) [i–i] 𝔅 *lit.* 'Who art written (as) ready for the time': 𝔊 ο καταγραφεις εν ελεγμοις (ελλεγμουις (*sic*) ℵ, ελεγμους 248, ελεγμος A) εις καιρους (V 55 254 Syro-Hex καιρον = 𝔅); εν ελεγμοις *is probably a corruption of* ετοιμος: 𝔖 'And he who is ready to come' [k–k] *The end of this line in* 𝔅 *is mutilated, though the* ל *of* אל *is visible according to Smend and Peters*: 𝔊 κοπασαι οργην (+ κρισεως Κυριου 70 248) προ θυμου: 𝔖 'before the day of Jahveh comes' (= Mal. iii. 23 [iv. 5 *in* EV]) [l] 𝔏 domini [m–m] 𝔖 > [n–n] 𝔊 πατρος προς υιον: 𝔖 'the children unto the fathers' [o–o] 𝔖 *lit.* 'to proclaim'

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2. **he broke for them . . .** Cp. Is. iii. 1; Ezek. iv. 16; Ps. civ. (cv.) 16.
And by his zeal . . . Cp. 1 Kings xix. 10, 14, 18.
3. **he shut up the heavens.** Cp. 1 Kings xvii. 1; James v. 17.
Fire also descended thrice. Cp. 1 Kings xviii. 38; 2 Kings i. 10, 12. For the addition of 𝔖 (see critical note) cp. 1 Kings xix. 38.
4. **How terrible wast thou . . .** For this direct address cp. xlvii. 14.
5. **Who didst raise up . . .** Cp. 1 Kings xvii. 17–24.
a dead man. For the Hebr. גוע cp. viii. 7.
6. **Who broughtest down kings . . .** Cp. 1 Kings xix. 17, xxi. 19 ff.
the Pit. See ix. 9, li. 2 (Hebr. and Gr.); cp. Ezek. xxviii. 7.
And them that were honoured . . . i.e. these he brought down to the Pit; the reference is to Ahaziah, 2 Kings i. 4, 16, 17.
7. **Who heardest rebukes . . .** Cp. 1 Kings xix. 9 ff., 15 ff. As in *v.* 6 the two clauses say the same thing in a different way. Ben-Sira regards Sinai and Horeb as identical, but it is questionable whether he was correct in this, though many modern scholars regard the two as identical. On the other hand, Cheyne (*EB*, iv. 4643) says that originally they were distinct: 'Horeb lay in the Sinaitic peninsula, Sinai in Midian, on the west coast of Arabia' (cp. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*[3], p. 359; Moore, *Judges*, pp. 140, 179; Stade, *Entstehung des Volkes Israel*, p. 12). Von Gall regards the identification of the two as 'a post-exilic confusion' (*Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, p. 15). See further Driver on Exod. iii. 1.
8. **Who anointedst kings.** i.e. Hazael and Jehu; cp. 1 Kings xix. 15, 16.
retribution. Cp. xii. 2, where the Hebr. word is used in the sense of 'recompense'.
a prophet. Cp. 1 Kings xix. 19–21.
as successor. Cp. xliv. 17 (Hebr. and Gr.).
in thy place. Cp. 1 Kings xix. 16, 'and Elisha . . . shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room.'
9. **Who wast taken . . .** Cp. 2 Kings ii. 1, 11.
10. **Who art ready . . .** Cp. Mal. iii. 23, 24 (iv. 5, 6 in EV).

𝔓[B] To [m]turn the heart of[m] the [n]fathers unto the children[n],
And [o]to restore the[o] tribes of Israel[p].
11 [q]Blessed is he that seeth thee, and dieth[q],
[r]. . . . . .[r]

(*n*) XLVIII. 12–16. *Elisha. The sinfulness of the people and their punishment* (= 2 + 3 + 4 distichs).

𝔖 𝔊 12 [s]Elijah was hidden in the [heavenly] chambers[s],
𝔊 [t]Then was Elisha filled with his spirit[t u].
𝔓[B] [v]In double measure did he multiply signs,
And marvellous was all that went forth out of his mouth[v].
All his days he moved [w]before no man[w],
[x]And no flesh[x] exercised authority over his spirit[y];

(*i. e. to preach the Gospel to; due to Christian influence*) p 𝔊 Ιακωβ (= 𝔖), *cp.* Isa. xlix. 6 q–q 𝔊 μακαριοι οι ιδοντες σε και οι εν αγαπησει (*read* εν αναπαυσει) κεκοσμημενοι (248 253 254 κεοιμημενοι): 𝔖 'Blessed is he that hath seen thee and is dead' r–r *This line is almost wholly obliterated in* 𝔓; *Smend, on the basis of* 𝔊 𝔖, *proposes to read*: ואשריך כי חיה תחיה ('And [more] blessed art thou thyself, for thou livest'), *making the words refer to Elijah; Peters, also following* 𝔊, *would read*: כי גם אנחנו חיה נחיה ('For we too shall live [again]'), *as though the words referred to Ben-Sira's readers* (*see further exegetical note*): 𝔊 και γαρ ημεις ζωη (א*A ζωης, 70 ζωην) ζησομεθα: 𝔖 'nay, he dies not but lives': 𝔏 post mortem autem non erit tale nomen nostrum (*in reference to Elijah*) s–s 𝔓 *is much mutilated, the text represents Smend's reconstruction*: אליהו שבאוצר נסתר, *based in part on* 𝔊 *and* 𝔖; Ηλειας ος (70 >) εν λαιλαπι εσκεπασθη (*in* LXX σκεπαζειν = סתר): 𝔖 'Elijah was gathered into the chambers in Heaven': *Peters reconstructs*: אליהו אשר בסערה נסתר t–t 𝔓 *is again almost entirely obliterated, only three letters remaining; the above is the rendering of* 𝔊: 𝔖 'And Elisha received a double (portion) of prophecy' u A 70 248 Syro-Hex + αγιου v–v 𝔊 >: 𝔖 'And many wonders and signs did his mouth utter' w–w 𝔊 υπο (55 248 απο) αρχοντος (70 248 αρχοντων) x–x 𝔊 και . . . ουδεις y 𝔊 αυτον (= 𝔖)

. . . **And to restore the tribes of Israel.** With 𝔊 καταστῆσαι φυλὰς Ἰακώβ cp. Mark ix. 12 ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτοῖς Ἠλείας μὲν ἐλθὼν πρῶτον ἀποκατιστάνει πάντα, with which Weber compares the מְתַקֵּן האומה by which Rabbi Saʿadya Gaon expresses Elijah's activity preparatory to the coming of the Day of Jahveh (*Jüdische Theologie*, p. 353).

This is one of the few passages in which Ben-Sira refers to the Messianic Hope (see also xliv. 21, xlv. 25, xlvii. 11, 22, xlviii. 24, 25, xlix. 12, l. 24, li. 12); but neither the nature of the book nor the historical circumstances of the time, by which Messianic conceptions were always conditioned, were such as to lead one to expect much stress to be laid on this subject. During the third century B.C. the Jews lived in quietude and prosperity, and the hopes concerning the Messianic Age seem to have dropped into the background; not that the Jews ever really abandoned (until quite modern times) their Messianic expectations; these only ceased, for the time being, to play an important part.

11. **Blessed is he . . .** i.e. those that saw Elijah in the flesh were blessed, though they died. The next line of this verse is almost entirely obliterated in 𝔓 (see critical notes). Peter's suggested reading can scarcely be right, as it presupposes conceptions concerning the future life which are too advanced for the time of Ben-Sira. By the time the Greek translation was made the beliefs regarding this subject had greatly developed. The rendering of 𝔖 is due to Christian influence. As regards Smend's proposed reading, the point is that Elijah was still alive, i.e. he had never died; the reference is not to life after death.

Elijah has been glorified in Jewish legend more than any other biblical personage. 'The Haggadah which makes this prophet the hero of its description has not been content, as in the case of others, to describe merely his earthly life and to elaborate it in its own way, but has created a new history of him, which, beginning with his death, or "translation", ends only with the close of the history of the human race. From the day of the prophet Malachi, who says of Elijah that God will send him before "the great and dreadful day", down to the later marvellous stories of the Ḥasidic rabbis, reverence and love, expectation and hope, were always connected in the Jewish consciousness with the person of Elijah. As in the case of most figures of Jewish legend, so in the case of Elijah, the biblical account became the basis of later legend. Elijah the precursor of the Messiah, Elijah zealous in the cause of God, Elijah the helper in distress—these are the three leading notes struck by the Haggadah, endeavouring to complete the biblical picture with the Elijah legends' (*JE*, v. 122 *a*).

(*n*) XLVIII. 12–16 (ELISHA, &c.).

12. **hidden in the [heavenly] chambers.** Smend is probably right in his reconstruction of the Hebrew text; the 'chambers in Heaven' of 𝔖 doubtless reflects the original Hebrew, though 'in Heaven' may well be an explanatory addition, and 'chambers' was most likely in the singular in the Hebrew as Ben-Sira speaks elsewhere of only a single 'chamber' in the realms above (see xxxix. 17, 30, xliii. 14); the division of the heavens into various departments of which the innermost is the *Mehiza*, or dwelling-place of the Almighty, is a later development (cp. 1 Enoch xxii. 9–12, 4 Ezra iv. 35, 41, v. 37, vi. 22; see also 2 Cor. xii. 14; *Nedarim* 32 *a* [T.B.], *Shabbath* vi. 8 *d* [T.J.], Midrash *Bereshith Rabbah*, I. lxviii).

was Elisha filled . . . Cp. 2 Kings ii. 9, 13.

In double measure . . . Cp. 2 Kings ii. 9, 20–22. Peters thinks that the omission of these two lines in 𝔊 (see critical note) may be due to the fact that they seem to give more honour to Elisha than to Elijah; the omission may, however, be merely due to an oversight.

All his days . . . Cp. 2 Kings iii. 13–15, vi. 15, 16, 30 ff.

moved. Cp. Esther v. 9, '. . . that he stood not up nor moved for him.'

𝔅[β] 13 Nothing was [z]too wonderful for him[z],
[zz]And [a]from his grave[a] his flesh[aa] prophesied[bzz].
14 In[c] his life he did wonderful acts,
And in his[d] death marvellous works.

15 For all this the people turned[e] not,
And ceased[f] not from their[g] sins[gg];
Until they were plucked[h] from their land,
And were scattered in all the earth.
[i]And there were left [k]unto Judah but a few[ki];
[l]But still a prince was left unto the house of David[l].
16 Some among them did [m]that which was right[m],
And some [n]among them[n] [o]committed fearful sin[o].

(*o*) XLVIII. 17–25. *Hezekiah and Isaiah* (= 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 distichs).

17 Hezekiah fortified[p] his[q] city,
[r]In that he brought[r] water[s] into the midst thereof,
[t]And hewed through the rocks with iron[t],
[u]And dammed up the pool with mountains[u].
18 In his days Sennacherib came up[v],
And sent Rabshakeh[w],
[x]And stretched forth[x] his hand[y] against Zion,
And blasphemed[z] God in[a] his arrogancy.

z–z 𝔊 υπερηρεν αυτον: 𝔖 'was hidden from him' zz–zz 𝔖 > a–a מתחתיו, *lit.* 'from his place beneath': 𝔊 εν κοιμησει aa 𝔊 το σωμα αυτου b *Reading with Smend and Peters* נבא (= 𝔊) *for* נברא c 𝔊 και (70 >) εν d 𝔊 > (70 248 = 𝔅) *but* + αυτου *after* 'works' e 𝔊 μετενοησεν (*cp.* xvii. 4) f 𝔊 απεστησαν g B A C > gg 𝔖 'evil deeds' h 𝔊 επρονομευθησαν: 𝔖 'went into captivity i–i 𝔖 'And Judah alone remained a small dominion to the house of David' k–k 𝔊 ο λαος ολιγοστος l–l 𝔊 και αρχων (א[c.a] αρχοντες) εν (> B C 55) τῳ οικῳ Δαυειδ m–m 𝔊 τα αρεστον: 𝔖 repentance' n–n 𝔊 > o–o 𝔅 *lit.* 'did iniquity wondrously': 𝔖 'added sins unto sins': 𝔊 επληθυναν αμαρτιας p 𝔖 'built' q 𝔖 > r–r 𝔊 και εισηγαγεν (= 𝔖) s B C τον γωγ, א* V 253 τον ηωγ (א[c.a] τον αγωγον), 70 Syro-Hex τον νηωρ (A 248 = 𝔅); *probably corruptions of* υδραγωγον ('a conduit') t–t 𝔖 >: 𝔊 ωρυξεν σιδηρῳ ακροτομον u–u 𝔖 >: 𝔊 και ωκοδομησεν κρηνας (*l.* κρημνους) εις υδατα v 𝔖 + 'against them' w 70 248 + εκ Λαχεις (*cp.* 2 Kings xviii. 17, xix. 8): 𝔊 + και απηρεν (*dittography*): 𝔏 + et sustulit manum suam contra illos (*a variant of the third clause*) x–x 𝔊 και επηρεν y B א C η χειρ (A 70 248 χειρα [= 𝔏 Syro-Hex Sah Eth]) z 𝔊 εμεγαλαυχησεν a 𝔊 > (*hab* V 70 &c.) b–b 𝔖 > c *So* 𝔊, *and*

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13. **Nothing was too wonderful . . .** i.e. too hard; cp. Gen. xviii. 14, 'Is any thing too hard (lit. too wonderful) for the Lord?'

And from his grave . . . Cp. 2 Kings xiii. 20, 21.

prophesied. i.e. exercised prophetic powers, though of course in a different way from that recorded of Samuel in xlvi. 20 *d*.

14. Practically a repetition of the preceding verse.

15. **For all this . . .** Cp. Is. ix. 12.

And ceased not from their sins. The repentance recorded in 1 Kings xviii. 39 was but of short duration.

Until they were plucked . . . Cp. Deut. xxviii. 63.

there were left unto Judah but a few. Cp. Is. xxiv. 6.

16. **did that which was right.** Cp. the oft-repeated formula in Kings, e.g. 1 Kings xv. 11, &c.

(*o*) XLVIII. 17–25 (HEZEKIAH AND ISAIAH).

17. **Hezekiah fortified.** Note the word-play in Hebrew יחזקיהו חזק. Cp. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5, 30.

In that he brought water . . . Cp. 2 Kings xx. 20; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 30.

And hewed through the rocks. The reference is evidently to the boring of the tunnel from the Gihon to the Pool of Siloam; see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. xv, xvi, who says in reference to the inscription in the tunnel which leads to the Pool: 'The inscription will not be later than the time of Hezekiah, who is stated to have "made the pool, and the conduit, and brought water into the city", in terms which appear exactly to describe the function of the tunnel in which the inscription is.' On the inscription the word חצב, 'hew through', here used occurs twice in the sense of cutting through a rock; and צור, 'rock', which likewise occurs twice on the inscription, is the word used in the text.

And dammed up . . . Cp. Is. xxii. 11; Ezek. xxxix. 11.

18. **Sennacherib.** Cp. 2 Kings xviii. 13 ff.; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1 ff.; Is. xxxvi. 1 ff.

stretched forth his hand . . . Cp. Is. x. 32; and for the expression see Job xv. 25.

blasphemed God . . . Cp. 2 Kings xviii. 22; Is. xxxvii. 6, 23.

𝔅ᴮ 19 [b]Then[c] were they shaken [d]in the pride of their heart[d],
And they writhed as [e]a woman in travail[eb];
20 [f]And they called unto [g]God Most High[gf],
[h]And spread out their hands unto Him[h];
[i]And He heard [k]the voice of their prayer[ki],
And saved[l] them by the hand of Isaiah[m];
21 And He smote[n] the army of Assyria,
[o]And discomfited them by the plague[o].

22 [p]For Hezekiah did[p] [q]that which was good[q],
—And was strong[r] in the ways of David[s]—
𝔊 [t]Which Isaiah the prophet[u] commanded him[v],
Who was great and faithful in his vision.
23 [w]In his days the sun went backward[w],
And he added life unto the king.
𝔅ᴮ 24 By a spirit of might he saw the future[x],
And comforted [y]the mourners of Zion[y].
25 [z]Unto eternity he declared the things that shall be,
And hidden things before they came to pass[z].

(*p*) XLIX. 1–3. *Josiah* (2 + 2 distichs).

49 1 The name[a] of Josiah is as sweet-smelling incense,
That is well mixed, the work[b] of the apothecary.
[c]The mention of him[c] is sweet [d]in the palate[d] as honey,
And as music at a banquet of wine.

probably 𝔅, *but the text is mutilated* d–d 𝔊 καρδιαι και χειρες αυτων e–e 𝔊 αι τικτουσαι f–f 𝔖 > g–g 𝔊 τον κυριον τον ελεημονα h–h 𝔖 'And Hezekiah spread out his hands before the Lord' i–i 𝔊 και ο αγιος εξ ουρανου ταχυ (V 248 >) επηκουσεν αυτων k–k 𝔖 'And God quickly heard their prayer': 𝔏 vocem ipsorum + non est commemoratus peccatorum illorum neque dedit illos inimicis suis l 𝔏 purgavit m 𝔏 + sancti prophetae n 𝔖 'broke up' o–o 𝔊 και εξετριψεν αυτους ο αγγελος αυτου: 𝔖 'And smote them with a great blow' p–p *So* 𝔊 𝔖; *the text of* 𝔅 *is mutilated* q–q 𝔊 το αρεστον Κυριῳ (ℵ* >) r 𝔖 'walked' s 𝔊 (ℵ* >) + του πατρος αυτου (*cp.* 2 Kings xviii. 3) t *In* 𝔅 *the remainder of this verse and v.* 23 *is wholly mutilated* u 𝔖 + 'the most praiseworthy of the prophets' v *So* 𝔖 𝔏 (𝔊 >) w–w 𝔖 'For by his hand the sun stood still' x 𝔊 τα εσχατα y–y 𝔊 τους πενθουντας εν Σειων z–z 𝔖 'And as long as he was in the world he saw signs and wonders before they came to pass' (*a misunderstanding, or conscious alteration of, the Hebrew text*): 𝔊 = 𝔅 a 𝔊 μνημοσυνον: 𝔏 memoria b ℵ B 'by the work' (A = 𝔅) c–c 𝔊 > d–d 𝔊 εν παντι στοματι

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19. **they writhed . . .** Cp. 2 Kings xix. 3; Isa. xiii. 8.
20. **spread out their hands.** Cp. 2 Kings xix. 14, 15, where, however, only Hezekiah does so.
He heard the voice . . . Cp. 2 Kings xix. 20.
And saved them . . . Cp. 2 Kings xix. 20 ff.
21. **And He smote . . .** Cp. 2 Kings xix. 35.
And discomfited them . . . For 𝔊 (cp. critical note), which has perhaps the better reading, see 2 Kings xix. 35 (Hebr. and Sept.), and cp. 1 Macc. vii. 41, 2 Macc. viii. 19.
22. **Who was great . . .** Cp. Is. vii.
23. **the sun went backward.** Cp. 2 Kings xx. 9–11; Is. xxxviii. 7, 8.
he added life unto the king. Cp. 2 Kings xx. 5, 6; Is. xxxviii. 5.
24. **a spirit of might.** רוח גבורה, cp. Is. xi. 2 רוח עצה וגבורה.
the future. אחרית, lit. 'the end'; the reference is to the return from the Exile (Is. xl. 3–11), and to the glorious future in store for Jerusalem (Is. lxi. 1–7).
And comforted the mourners . . . Cp. Is. xl. 1, lxi. 2, 3.
25. With this and the preceding verse compare what is said in *The Martyrdom of Isaiah*, ch. iv.
(*p*) XLIX. 1–3 (JOSIAH).
1. **as sweet-smelling incense.** Lit. 'incense of spices', cp. Exod. xxxvii. 29.
That is well mixed. Lit. 'that is salted', cp. Exod. xxx. 35. For the use of salt in the cultus cp. Lev. ii. 13 ('With all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt'), see *EB*, iv. 4249.
in the palate. Cp. Prov. xxiv. 13.
as music . . . Cp. xxxii. 5, 6 (= 𝔊 xxxv. 5, 6).

𝔅[B] 2 [e]For he was grieved[f] at our backsliding[e],
And put an end to [g]the vain abominations[g];
3 And he [h]gave his heart wholly[h] unto God[i],
And in days of violence[k] [l]he practised piety[l].

(*q*) XLIX. 4–7. *Judah's evil kings; the persecution of Jeremiah* (2 + 2 + 2 distichs).

4 Except David[m], Hezekiah, [n]and Josiah,
They all dealt utterly corruptly[n],
And[o] forsook the Law [p]of the Most High[p]—
The kings of Judah, till [they came to] their end;
5 And their might[q] was given[r] unto others[s],
And their glory to a strange[t] nation;
6 And so [u]the Holy City[u] was burned,
And the ways thereof laid waste
Through[v] Jeremiah; 7. because they had persecuted[x] him,
And he a prophet formed[y] from the womb,

[e–e] αυτος κατευθυνθη εν επιστροφη λαου (𝔄 αυτου) 𝔊 [f] *Reading* נחלה *for* נחל (*Smend*) [g–g] 𝔊 βδελυγματα ανομιας [h–h] 𝔊 κατευθυνεν την καρδιαν αυτου: 𝔏 et gubernavit, &c. [i] 𝔊 𝔏 'the Lord' [k] 𝔊 ανομων (= 𝔏) [l–l] 𝔊 κατισχυσεν την ευσεβειαν (= 𝔏) [m] 𝔊 𝔖 + και (*so Peters*) [n–n] 𝔅 *text makes the second line begin with* 'and Josiah' (ויאשיהו כלם השחיתו), *but it is better to keep* 'and Josiah' *in the previous line and emend the second line by adding inf. abs.* (= 𝔊), *reading* כלם השחת השחיתו (*so Peters*) [o] 𝔊 'For' [p–p] 𝔖 > [q] *Lit.* 'horn' [r] *Lit.* 'he gave' [s] *Reading* אחרים (*instead of* לאחור) = 𝔊 𝔖 [t] 𝔅 + נבל (*variant from* l. 26 (?)) [u–u] 𝔊 εκλεκτην πολιν αγιασματος [v] *Lit.* 'By the hand of' (= 𝔊); 'In the days of' 𝔖, *a correction from* xlviii. 18, 23 [x] 𝔅 ענוהו: 𝔊 εκακωσαν [y] 𝔊 'sanctified (*cp.* Jer. i. 5) [z] 𝔊 'to harm'

2. **he was grieved . . .** 𝔅 (נחל) = 'he entered upon his inheritance' (?), yields no satisfactory sense; the reference is doubtless to the effect produced on Josiah by the newly-discovered Book of the Law, cp. 2 Kings xxii. 11 ff. For the Hebrew as emended cp. Amos vi. 6. The Greek ('He behaved himself uprightly in the conversion of the people') means that he showed his uprightness by converting the people to obedience to the Law; but possibly 𝔊 should be emended, ἀποστροφῇ for ἐπιστροφῇ (= 𝔅).

put an end to. Cp. 2 Kings xxiii. 5, 11.

abominations. Cp. 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

3. **gave his heart wholly.** Or 'perfectly'; the expression is formed on the model of such expressions as 'integrity of heart', cp. Gen. xx. 5. For the verb (Hiph'il form) cp. Job xxii. 3.

he practised piety. For the term as applied to Josiah see 2 Kings xxiii. 3, 25.

(*q*) XLIX. 4–7 (JUDAH'S EVIL KINGS).

4. **Except David . . .** Ben-Sira definitely excludes all other kings except the three mentioned; contrast, however, the representation of the Chronicler, according to whom Asa (2 Chron. xv. 8 ff.) and Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii. 5 ff.) ought to be reckoned among the pious reforming monarchs. The Book of Kings also speaks favourably, though not with such marked emphasis, of these two rulers (see 1 Kings xv. 11 ff., xxii. 43).

the Law of the Most High. For Ben-Sira's attitude towards the Law see Introduction, § 9 ii.

till [they came to] their end. i.e. until their death, or, perhaps, until their line came to an end. The Hebrew is ambiguous; the context (see next verse) rather favours the latter.

5. **And their might was given.** 𝔊 ἔδωκαν γὰρ τὸ κέρας αὐτῶν; for the phrase cp. 1 Macc. ii. 48, also Ps. lxxv. 5.

others . . . strange nation. i.e. the Babylonians. By their sins the kings brought about the ruin of the nation, culminating in the Babylonian Exile.

a strange nation. גוי נכרי; cp. עם נכרי, Exod. xxi. 8; apparently the combination גוי נכרי does not occur in the O. T. elsewhere.

6. **the Holy City.** קרית קדש; the designation of Jerusalem as the Holy City (עיר הקדש) occurs first in Is. xlviii. 2, lii. 1, also in Neh. xi. 1, 18; cp. Dan. ix. 24; קרית is a poetical variation on the common עיר ('city'). For 𝔊 (a refinement) see crit. note.

was burned. Cp. 2 Kings xxv. 9.

the ways thereof. Cp. 'the ways of Zion', Lam. i. 4.

laid waste. Cp. 2 Kings xxv. 10; the same root is used in reference to the gates of the city in Lam. i. 4.

Through Jeremiah. Jeremiah prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, cp. e.g. Jer. xxxvi. 29; the actual fulfilment of this prophecy is regarded by Ben-Sira as the inevitable result of the prophet's prediction; the prophecy produced its own fulfilment. From another point of view the prophet may be regarded as having been inspired to foresee the result which was inevitable from other causes. Ben-Sira here seems to regard the prophecy of woe as being invested with the same fatal power which, according to ancient ideas, belonged to the uttered curse.

7. **because they had persecuted him.** For the persecution of Jeremiah see Jer. xxxi–xxxviii. Because they persecuted God's chosen representative and servant (the prophet) they brought upon themselves destruction.

And he a prophet . . . Cp. Jer. i. 5.

𝔅ᴮ 'To pluck up, to break down[z], and to destroy,
And likewise to build, and to plant,' [a]and to strengthen[a].

(*r*) XLIX. 8–10. *Ezekiel, Job, and the Twelve Prophets* (2 + 2 distichs).

8 Ezekiel saw a vision,
And described the different beings of the chariot.
9 [b]He also made mention of Job [c]⟨among the prophets⟩[cb]
[de]Who maintained[e] [f]all the ways of righteousness[fd].
10 And, moreover, as for the Twelve Prophets,—
[g]May their bones ⟨flourish in their place⟩[g],
[h]Who recovered Jacob to health[h],
[i]And delivered him ⟨by confident hope⟩[i].

(= להרע, *cp.* Jer. xxxi. 28) [a–a] 𝔊 > [b–b] 𝔊 *και γαρ εμνησθη των εχθρων εν ομβρῳ* [c–c] *Restoring* "בנביא" i.e. בנבאים: 𝔊 *misread* בנבע, *cp.* Aquila, Ps. lxxvii. 2 *for* ομβριω (= הביע); 𝔅 *MS. has space for this but is illegible:* 𝔖 > [d–d] 𝔖 'Whose ways were all righteousness' [e–e] 𝔊 *και αγαθωσαι, but* V *κατορθωσαι*, 248 &c. *κατωρθωσε* (= Syro-Hex.) [f–f] 𝔊 *τους ευθυνοντας οδους* [g–g] 𝔅 (*defective*) . . . תהי עצמתם; *supply* פרחת תחתם (*so Smend and Peters*) = 𝔊 *τα οστα αναθαλοι εκ του τοπου αυτων* (= 𝔖) [h–h] 𝔊 *παρεκαλεσεν* (-*σαν* A 55 155) *δε τον Ιακωβ* (70 𝔖 Ισραηλ) [i–i] 𝔅 (*defective*) . . . וישעוהו: 𝔊 *και ελυτρωσατο* (-*σαντο* A 254 𝔏) *αυτους εν πιστει ελπιδος* (*the*

'To pluck up . . .' Cp. Jer. i. 10.
and to strengthen. These words were added to the citation by Ben-Sira in order to fill up the line.

(*r*) XLIX. 8–10 (EZEKIEL, JOB, AND THE TWELVE PROPHETS).

8. . . . **vision.** Cp. Ezek. i; see also Ezek. x.

the different beings of the chariot. Lit. 'the sorts, or kinds, of the chariot'. The term 'chariot' here is a technical one to denote Ezekiel's picture of the heavenly beings who support Jahveh's throne-chariot. This is the earliest use of the term (מרכבה) in this technical sense of a sacred mystery. In early Rabbinical literature the term employed is מעשה מרכבה, and it was laid down that it 'should not be taught to any one except he be wise and able to deduce knowledge through wisdom of his own' (Mishnah, *Megillah* iv. 10, *Ḥagigah* ii. 1). The study of it was later developed into a whole system of theosophy. In its earliest form the conception of Jahveh riding on Cherubim upon the clouds seems to be a genuinely Hebrew one; cp. Ps. xviii. 11, lviii. 5; Deut. xxxiii. 26. In 1 Chron. xxviii. 15 the Ark with the Cherubim is called the 'Chariot'; the story of Elijah riding to heaven (2 Kings ii. 11) may have been suggested by the Assyrian sun-chariot drawn by horses (cp. 2 Kings xxiii. 11). Ezekiel, in his vision, apparently saw Jahveh riding on the throned chariot, supported by the Cherubim, when leaving the doomed Temple at Jerusalem. It is worth noting that the term 'chariot' does not actually occur in Ezekiel's vision, though it became the technical term describing it; nor must a chariot in the ordinary sense be thought of in this connexion. The divine 'chariot-throne' represents a transformation of the original conception, and has become something quite transcendental.

9. **He also made mention of . . .** Ezekiel (xiv. 14, 20) mentions Job in company with Noah and Daniel as one of the prophets, if this reading can be accepted as correct (see critical note). It is significant that Ben-Sira brings in the mention of Job in this way; he deliberately calls attention to the Job of older tradition as this is embodied in Ezekiel; in this tradition Job figures with Noah and Daniel, or possibly, in the original text of Ezekiel, Enoch (instead of Daniel). In the apocalyptic sense Noah and Enoch were certainly 'prophets', and a reflection of this view may perhaps be seen in the opinion held by some Rabbis that Job was one of the prophets of the Gentiles (*Seder Olam Rabba* xxi). A possible inference from the way and the position in which Ben-Sira mentions Job is that he was not acquainted with a canonical Book of Job, though he may have known some form of our Book of Job not yet canonical.

. . . all the ways of righteousness. Ezekiel in the two passages referred to above speaks of Job, in company with Noah and Daniel, expressly as a type of righteousness ('. . . by their righteousness').

10. **the Twelve Prophets.** It is interesting to note that the Twelve Prophets are treated as a single book; this implies, probably, that they had already assumed essentially the form in which they appear in the Canon; note, too, that they follow Ezekiel, as in the Hebrew Canon.

May their bones⟨flourish . . .⟩ Cp. xlvi. 12, where this curious expression also occurs; there is, of course, no reference to a resurrection here. The word means literally 'to send out shoots'; here it has, no doubt, a metaphorical meaning such as, 'May their memory flourish,' or the like; but originally the idea of the bones 'sprouting' must be connected with some old-world superstition. Among the ancient Semites it was a regular custom to pour water on the graves, which suggests the idea of causing something to grow. Among the Arabs one of the usual prayers for the dead was that Heaven might send rain upon their graves (cp. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, pp. 182 ff.). For the belief that the life of the deceased lies dormant in his bones, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii, pp. 150 ff.; Jevons, *Intr. to the Hist. of Rel.*, p. 56; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 530 ff.

Who recovered . . . ⟨hope⟩. This is an interesting summary of the outstanding teaching of the book of the Twelve Prophets, as Ben-Sira conceived it. Their book is to him essentially one of consolation and hope. This was also the view of the Rabbinic teachers who, in order to avoid a gloomy and threatening conclusion to the whole book (Malachi ends with the words, 'Lest I come and smite the earth with a curse'), directed (see the Massorah) that the last verse but one should be repeated in reading.[1] This is also the case with the books of Isaiah, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes.

[1] So as to follow the actual last verse.

(*s*) XLIX. 11–13. *Zerubbabel, Joshua the son of Joṣedeq, and Nehemiah* (3 + 2 distichs).

𝔊 11 [k]How shall we magnify Zerubbabel—
He, indeed was as a signet on the right hand;—
12 [l]And also[l] Jesus, the son of Joṣedeq?
Who in their days[n] built the House[mk],
𝔅[B] And set up on high [o]the Holy Temple[o],
Which was prepared for everlasting glory.
13 [p]Nehemiah,—glorious is his memory[p]!
Who raised up [q]our ruins[q],
[r]And healed our breaches,
And set up gates and bars[r].

(*t*) XLIX. 14–16. *Conclusion* (*Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enoch, and Adam*) (3 distichs).

14 [s]Few like[s] Enoch have been created on earth;
[t]He also was taken up[u] [v]⟨from off the face thereof⟩[vt].
15 [w]Like Joseph was ever a man born?[w]
His body[x] also [y]endured a visitation[y].
16 [z]Shem, Seth[z], [a]and Enoch were ⟨*highly* honoured⟩[a];
But above every living thing [b]was the beauteous glory of[b] Adam.

last words perhaps = בתקות אמת [*Smend*] *or* באמונת תקוה [*Peters*]) [k–k] 𝔅 *MS. damaged; restore with Smend* (*cp. Peters*) = 𝔊 *substantially:*

מה נגדלה את זרבבל
והוא כחותם על יד ימין:
וגם את ישוע בן יוצדק
אשר בימיהם בנו בית:

[l–l] *So* 𝔖: 𝔊 *and* Sah υυτως [m] A B* πυργον (?) (B[1] οικον) [n] 𝔖 'who in their poverty' [o–o] 𝔊 λαον (A ναον) αγιον Κυριῳ [p–p] 𝔊 και νεμουσιν (ℵ[c.a] A Νεεμιου) επι πολυ το μνημοσυνον, 70 248 και εν εκλεκτοις ην Νεεμιας (70 Ιερεμιας) ου επι πολυ το μνημοσυνον αυτου (70 αυτων) [q–q] 𝔊 ημιν (ℵ ημων) τειχη (ℵ* χειλη, ℵ[c.a] τειχη) πεπτωκοτα [r–r] 𝔊 *transposes these two clauses* [s–s] 𝔊 ουδε εις [t–t] 𝔖 > [u] A μετετεθη (𝔊 ανελημφθη) [v–v] *Reading with Bacher* (*JQR*, xii. 281) מעל פניה (*cp.* 𝔊 απο της γης) *for* פנים (= ? 'in person' [*Smend*] *or* 'within' [*Schechter*]) [w–w] 𝔊 ουδε ως (B 68 ο δε) Ιωσηφ εγενηθη (Textus Receptus εγεννηθη) ανηρ: 𝔖 'A mother' (*misunderstanding* אם) 'like Joseph was not born': 𝔊 +ηγουμενος αδελφων στηριγμα λαου (= l. 1 *a*, 𝔅 𝔖) [x] 𝔊 τα οστα [y–y] 70 248

(*s*) XLIX. 11–13 (ZERUBBABEL, JOSHUA, AND NEHEMIAH).

11. **as a signet . . .** See Hag. ii. 23; cp. Jer. xxii. 24 for the full phrase.

12. **Jesus.** Or Joshua, cp. Ezra iii. 2, 3.

the House. As Smend points out, οἶκον may be a correction of πύργον, which can be used of any lofty building; cp. Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* vii. 10. 3), who speaks of the temple of Heliopolis as πύργῳ (παραπλήσιος).

set up on high . . . For the Hebrew phrase cp. Ezra ix. 9.

. . . for everlasting glory. An echo of the Messianic Hope, cp. Hag. ii. 7, 9.

13. **glorious is his memory.** The warmth of the terms with which Ben-Sira speaks of Nehemiah contrasts significantly with his silence regarding Ezra; apparently the latter did not occupy so high a place of estimation within the circle of the scribes to whom Ben-Sira belonged as was the case with the later scribes. These earlier *Sopherim* were profoundly affected by the spirit of the Wisdom-Literature, and had an altogether wider outlook. There is a marked contrast in this respect between Ben-Sira and the generality of the later Rabbis, with whom in so many other respects he has such striking marks of affinity. It would seem that Nehemiah's pious aspiration that he might be remembered for good (Neh. xiii. 14, xxii. 31) has met with a sympathetic response on the part of Ben-Sira.

Who raised up our ruins. See Neh. iii, *passim.*

gates and bars. Cp. Neh. vi. 1, vii. 1.

(*t*) XLIX. 14–16 (CONCLUSION).

14–16. In order to provide a fitting conclusion to the Praise of the Fathers, and at the same time to mark it off from the hymn in praise of Simeon which follows (ch. l.), Ben-Sira reverts to the most glorious of the Fathers of old. With the object of enhancing Israel's glory, Joseph is bracketed with Enoch, and Shem, Seth, and Enoch with Adam,—Israel's ancestors with those of the human race (Smend).

14. **Few like Enoch.** Enoch has already been referred to in xliv. 16. 𝔊 'not one . . .' involves a difficulty, seeing that Elijah was also taken up without dying (2 Kings ii. 11); 𝔅 removes the difficulty ('Few . . .').

He also was taken up. Cp. Gen. v. 24. The omission of this whole clause by 𝔖 (see crit. note) may be due to dogmatic reasons (𝔖 also omits xliv. 16, see notes *in loc.*).

15. **His body also . . .** i.e. a providential visitation in being transported from Egypt to the land of promise (cp. Gen. l. 25; Exod. xiii. 19; Joshua xxiv. 32). Enoch was translated into heaven in a wonderful way, but shared this distinction with Elijah; Joseph, however, enjoyed the unique distinction of having his body transported long after death from a foreign country to the Holy Land.

XLIX. 15 *b* and L. 1–24. *In praise of the High-Priest, Simeon, the son of Jochanan*
(1 + 3 + 1 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 1 + 2 + 3 distichs).

𝔅ᴮ 15 *b* [a]Great among his brethren and the glory[b] of his people
50 1 Was Simeon, the son of Jochanan[c] the priest[da].
[e]In whose time[f] the House was renovated[ge],
And in whose days the Temple was fortified;
2 [hi]In whose days the wall was built[i],
[k](Having) [l]turrets for protection[l] like[m] a king's palace[k];
3 [mm]In whose time a reservoir was dug,
A water-cistern[n] [o]like the sea[o] in its abundance[mm].
4 [p]He took thought for his people [to preserve them] [q]from robbers[q],
And fortified his city against the enemy[rp].

+ υπο Κυριου: 𝔖 'was buried in peace' [z–z] *tr.* 𝔖 𝔏 [a–a] 𝔊 εν ανθρωποις εδοξασθησαν: 𝔖 'and Enoch among men were created': 𝔅 נפקדו (*v.* 15) ואנוש, *for which read* נכבדו . . .: 𝔖 *combines* 𝔊 *and* 𝔅 *and misreads* נכבדו *as* נבר(א)ו [b–b] 𝔊 εν τῃ κτισει (= בבריאת *for* תפארת)
[a–a] . . . ηγουμενος αδελφων στηριγμα λαου Σιμων Ονιου (B* א* Ιονιου) υιος ιερευς ο μεγας [b] 𝔅 תפארת: 𝔖 כלילא (= עטרת 'crown') [c] 𝔖 Syro-Hex נתניא [d] 𝔖 + רבא (= 𝔊) [e–e] 𝔊 ος εν ζωῃ αυτου υπεραψεν οικον [f] 𝔖 *lit.* 'generation; in his days' [g] *Reading* נבדק (*Schechter*) *for* נפקד ('visited'): 𝔖 נבנה ('was built') [h] 𝔅 *places v.* 3 *before v.* 2 [i–i] 𝔊 και υπ αυτου εθεμελιωθη υψος διπλης [k–k] 𝔊 αναλημμα υψηλον περιβολου ιερου [l–l] *Reading* פנות מעוז *for* פ" מעון [m] *Reading* כ *for* ב ('in') [mm–mm] 𝔊 εν ημεραις αυτου ηλαττωθη (*read* ελατυμηθη *with Fritzsche*) αποδοχειον υδατων χαλκος ωσει θαλασσης το περιμετρον: 𝔖 'He dug a well' [n] *Reading* אשוח *for* אשיח [o–o] *Reading* כים (= 𝔊) *for* בם [p–p] 𝔖 'And he saved his people from the enemy' [q–q] 𝔊 απο πτωσεως: 𝔏 a perditione [r] . . . ενπολιορκησαι ('to besiege')

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16. **Shem . . .** For this juxtaposition of Shem, Seth, and Adam, cp. 1 Chron. i. 1. Shem, Seth (and Enoch) 'represent the ancestors of the pious part of the post-diluvian and antediluvian world respectively' (Edersheim).

But above every living thing. The thought implicit here seems to be that Adam, in virtue of having been directly created by God without human parentage, enjoys a glory which is not shared by any other member of the human race (cp. Luke iii. 38). This idealization of Adam is a notable feature, and occurs here for the first time in Jewish literature; it played later an important part in the development of Messianic doctrine (the Second Adam); but it is precarious to impute such an idea to Ben-Sira, whose thought here may merely have been that Adam in his ideal aspect was only adequately and worthily represented in his pious descendants, i.e. the Chosen People.

XLIX. 15 *b* + L. 1–24 (In praise of the High-Priest Simeon).

XLIX. 15 *b*. **Great among his brethren.** Cp. Lev. xxi. 10, 'He that is the high-priest among his brethren . . .'

the glory of his people. תפארה is used in Esther i. 4 in reference to the majesty of King Ahasuerus.

L. 1. **Simeon.** The second of the name, who lived at the beginning of the second century B.C.; it was this Simeon, not Simeon I, who was surnamed 'the Righteous', a title given, according to Smend, because he was the last of the house of Zadok to observe the Law. Josephus speaks of his father as Onias (*Antiq.* xii. 4. 10).

Jochanan. יוֹחָנָן is a shortened form of יְהוֹחָנָן; cp. יוֹיָכִין (Ezek. i. 2) for יְהוֹיָכִין, which is also contracted to יְכוֹנְיָה (Jer. xxvii. 20) and כָּנְיָהוּ (Jer. xxii. 24, 28). For the Greek Ἰονίας cp. the form יחוני, which occurs on an ossuary inscription found at Gezer (see *PEFQ*, 1904, p. 342).

In whose time. i.e. Simeon was no more living when this was written; the Greek makes this still clearer, see crit. note.

the House. Used in reference to the Temple in Ezek. xl. In the earlier literature it does not, as a rule, stand alone, but 'of God' or 'of Jahveh' is added; in 1 Kings vi (cp. also 2 Chron. i. 18, ii. 3, &c.), however, it stands alone.

renovated. Lit., according to the emended reading (see crit. note), 'to breach up'; the verb occurs in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 10 as parallel to חִזֵּק 'to repair', also in reference to the 'House'; this is its only occurrence in the O.T., though the noun בֶּדֶק ('a breach') is found fairly frequently.

the Temple was fortified. Cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3.

2. **turrets for protection.** i.e. battlements placed at intervals along a wall, cp. *v.* 4 *b*.

like . . . i.e. as in a king's palace.

3. **a reservoir.** מקוה, cp. Isa. xxii. 11.

A water-cistern. The Hebrew as it stands has אָשִׂיחַ ('I will talk'), which is clearly corrupt. Schechter, followed by Ryssel, reads שִׂיחָה, as in Jer. xviii. 22 (the *Qĕrî* has שׂוּחָה); but this does not account for the presence of the א. Bevan, followed by Smend, suggests אָשׂוּחַ, citing line 9 of the Mesha Inscription (ואבן את בעלמען ואעש בה האשוח, 'And I built Baal-Meon and made therein a reservoir'; cp. also line 23: ואנך עשתי כלאי האשו[ח למ]ין, 'And I made sluices (?) for the reservoir for water'); this seems to be preferable. The word does not occur in the O.T.; cp., however, שׂוּחָה 'a pit', Jer. ii. 6, xviii. 20, and שִׂיחָה, with the same meaning, in Ps. lvii. 7, cxix. 85.

in its abundance. הָמוֹן in reference to a mass of water occurs in Jer. x. 13, li. 16; cp. also 1 Kings xviii. 41.

4. **He took thought.** For the expression דאג מן in the sense of being concerned about something cp. Ps. xxxviii. 19.

from robbers. מִחֶתֶף lit. 'from (becoming) a prey'; cp. Prov. xxiii. 28, the only other occurrence of the word in the O.T.

fortified his city. Cp. xlviii. 17.

against the enemy. Smend, on the basis of what was probably the text before the Greek translator, reads

𝔅 5 How glorious was he [s]when he looked forth from the Tent[ts],
And[u] when he came out from the sanctuary!
6 Like a morning-star [v]from between the clouds[v],
And like the full moon [w]on the feast-days[w];
7 [xy]Like the sun shining upon the Temple of the Most High[z],
And like the rainbow [ab]becoming visible[b] in the cloud[ay];
8 [c]Like a flower on the branches[c] in the days of [d]the first-fruits[d],
[e]And as a lily by the water-brooks[e],
As the sprout[f] of Lebanon on summer days,
9 And [g]as the fire of incense[g] in the censer[h];
Like a golden vessel[i] [k]beautifully wrought[lk],
Adorned with [m]all manner[m] of precious stones;
10 Like a luxuriant[n] olive-tree [o]full of berries[o],
And like an oleaster[p] [q]abounding in branches[q].
11 [r]When he put on his glorious[s] robes[r],
And clothed himself in perfect[t] splendour,

[s–s] 𝔊 εν περιστροφη λαου [t] 𝔖 'Temple' [u] 𝔖 𝔊 > [v–v] 𝔊 εν μεσῳ νεφελης [w–w] 𝔊 εν ημεραις: 70 248 + αυτης (*leg.* εορτης): 𝔖 'in the days of Nisan' [x] 𝔓 𝔏 *insert* 'and' [y–y] *The clauses are transposed in* V 70 248 253 Syro-Hex [z] So 𝔊: 𝔓 'king': 𝔖 > [a–a] 𝔊 φωτιζον εν νεφελαις δοξης [b–b] 𝔖 > [c–c] *Reading* כנץ בענפים (*instead of* כנצפענפי): 𝔊 ως ανθος ροδων: 𝔖 'like spikenard' [d–d] *Reading* הבכורים (*Peters*) *for* מועד: 𝔊 νεων: 𝔖 'of the field': 𝔏 vernis [e–e] 𝔊 ως κρινα επ εξοδων υδατος [f] 𝔖 'trees' [g–g] 𝔊 ως πυρ και λιβανος: 𝔖 'as the smell of incense' [h] *Reading* המחתה (= 𝔖 𝔊) *for* המנחה [i] 𝔖 'necklace' [k–k] So 𝔖: *the Hebrew text is much mutilated*: 𝔊 ολοσφυρητον ('all of beaten [gold]') [l] *Lit.* 'enamelled' [m–m] *Reading* כל *for* על [n] 𝔊 >: 70 248 ευπρεπης (= 𝔖) [o–o] 𝔊 αναθαλλουσα καρπους: 𝔖 'great with branches' [p] 𝔊 κυπαρισσος [q–q] *Reading* מרבה ענף *instead of* מרוה ענף ('giving its branches to drink' = 𝔖): 𝔊 υψουμενη

'against a siege' (reading ממצור instead of מצר). 𝔖 renders according to the present Hebrew text. With regard to the text of 𝔊 Smend says: 'The infinitive is meaningless, for ἐμπολιορκῆσαι cannot well = τοῦ μὴ ἐμπολιορκηθῆναι.' It is true πολιόρκησις does not occur elsewhere, but ἐμπολιορκεῖν is also rare and is not found in the Bible. In any case 𝔊 did not read מצר, but מצור, i.e. במצור or ממצור.

5. **How glorious.** Cp. xlvi. 2.

when he came out. Ben-Sira is referring to the moment when the High-Priest, after having taken the ritual bath and being robed in the special garments, comes forth to offer the burnt-offering in atonement for himself and the people. It is the Day of Atonement that is referred to, the ritual of which is described in Lev. xvi; see especially *vv.* 23–25. Many further details of this ceremony are to be found in the Mishnic tractate *Yoma*; an English translation of this tractate with full notes by G. H. Box is published in *Church and Synagogue*, xi. 139 ff., xii. 49 ff.

from the sanctuary. מבית הפרכת, lit. 'from the house of the veil' (i.e. the Holy of Holies), so called because of the veil of blue, purple, and crimson which separated the Holy of Holies (*Debir*) from the Holy Place (*Hêkhāl*); but there was also a veil in front of this latter, separating it from the Court of the Priests; it must, however, be the former to which reference is made here, because the veil is spoken of as the *Paroketh*, whereas the veil before the Holy Place was known as the *Māsākh*.

6. **a morning-star.** Lit. 'a shining star'; cp. Ps. cxlviii. 3.

. . . feast-days. It was full moon at the two chief feasts, Passover and Tabernacles.

7. **Like the sun shining.** The Neo-Hebrew word (שׁרק Hiph.) occurs in xliii. 9 in the margin; it is not found in the O.T. Josephus thus describes the effect of the sun shining on the Temple: 'Now the outward face of the Temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either the minds or the eyes of men; for it was wholly covered with plates of gold of great weight; and when the sun arose it reflected back a truly fiery splendour, and caused those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn away their eyes, just as they would have done at the rays of the sun itself' (*Bell. Iud.* v. 5. 6).

And like the rainbow . . . Ben-Sira evidently had the words of Ezek. i. 28 in mind: 'As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain.'

8. **Like a flower on the branches.** Cp. the Midrash *Shir ha-Shirim* to ii. 3: 'Just as the apple-tree first brings forth the bloom and then its leaves.'

in the days of the first-fruits. Cp. Num. xxviii. 26 (Hebr. and Sept.).

as a lily. Cp. xxxix. 14.

by the water-brooks. Cp. Is. xxx. 25, xliv. 4.

the sprout of Lebanon. The same words (פֶּרַח לְבָנוֹן) occur in Nahum i. 4; the reference is to the cedars on Mount Lebanon.

9. **as . . . fire . . .** Cp. Lev. ii. 1, vi. 8; see also xlix. 1.

Adorned . . . Cp. xlv. 11.

10. **a luxuriant olive-tree.** Cp. Ps. lii. 10; Isa. xi. 16.

full of berries. Cp. Is. xvii. 6.

oleaster. In Neh. viii. 15 the oleaster (the wild olive-tree) and the olive-tree are also mentioned together. See further Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*, i, pp. 66, 238.

𝔅ᴮ When he went up [u]to the altar of majesty[u v],
[x]And made glorious the court of the sanctuary[x];
12 When he took the portions[y] from [z]the hand of his brethren[z],
While standing [a]by the blocks of wood[a],
Around him the garland[b] of his sons[c],
[d e]Like young cedar-trees[e] in Lebanon;
And [f]like willows by the brook[f] did they surround him[d],
13 [h]All the sons of Aaron in their glory,
And the Lord's[i] fire-offering[k] in their hands,
In the presence of the whole congregation[l] of Israel.

14 [m]Until he had finished the service of the altar[m]
[n]And arranging the rows of wood of the Most High[n],
𝔊 15 [o](And) stretched forth his hand to the cup,
[p]And poured out of the blood of the grape[p];
Yea, poured (it) out at the foot[q] of the altar,
A sweet-smelling savour [r]to the Most High, the All-King[r o].

εν (248>) νεφελαις (= מרומם ענן) [r–r] 𝔊 εν τῳ αναλαμβανειν αυτον στολην δοξης [s] 𝔖 + 'holy' [t] *Reading* כליל *for* בגדי (*Smend*) [u–u] 𝔖 'to receive the songs of praise' [v] 𝔊 'holy (altar)' [x–x] 𝔖 'In the beauty of the might of the sanctuary' [y] 𝔖 'the pieces of flesh' [z–z] 𝔊 εκ χειρων ιερων [a–a] 𝔊 παρ εσχαρᾳ βωμου [b] *Lit.* 'crown' [c] 𝔖 𝔊 'brethren' [d–d] 𝔖> [e–e] 𝔊 ως βλαστημα κεδρου (*referring to the High-Priest*) [f–f] 𝔊 στελεχη φοινικων ('stems of palm-trees') [h] 𝔊 + και [i] 𝔖> [k] 𝔊 προσφορα [l] 𝔖 'people' [m–m] 𝔊 και συντελειαν λειτουργων επι βωμων [n–n] 𝔊 κοσμησαι προσφοραν Υψιστου Παντοκρατορος: 𝔖 'and to serve the Most High with holy joy' [o–o] 𝔅> *through homoioteleuton, both this and the preceding verse ending presumably with* עליון ('Most High'). [p–p] 𝔖 'And took old wine' [q] *Lit.* 'foundations'; 𝔖 'side' [r–r] 𝔖>

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11. **glorious robes.** For the description of the High-Priest's attire see Exod. xxviii. 36–42, xxix; cp. Sirach xlv. 6–13; *Yoma* vii. 5; also Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 4–7, *Bell. Iud.* v. 5. 7.

When he went up . . . Cp. Lev. xvi. 18, 'And he shall go out unto the altar that is before the . . .'

the altar of majesty. הוד ('majesty') is not used in the O. T. in reference to the altar.

And made glorious the court of the sanctuary. עֲזָרָה (= περιβολή, precincts') is used of the ledge (R. V: 'settle') surrounding the altar of Ezekiel, see Ezek. xliii. 14, 17, 20, xlv. 19; but מקדש is never used of the altar, always meaning 'sanctuary'; we must, therefore, take עֲזָרָה in its later meaning, as in 2 Chron. iv. 9, where it is used in reference to the great, i.e. the outer, court; it is also used in this sense in the Mishnic tractate *Yoma*, where details concerning the ritual on the Day of Atonement are given; e.g. in i. 8 mention is made of the עֲזָרָה being 'full of Israelites', and in iv. 3 there is a reference to 'the pavement which is in the court' (הָרוֹבֵד שֶׁבָּעֲזָרָה).

12. **When he took the portions.** i.e. of the animals to be sacrificed; see the details in *Yoma* ii. 5–7. For נְתַח used in the sense of portions of sacrificed animals cp. Exod. xxix. 17; Lev. i. 8, viii. 20, ix. 13.

blocks of wood. מערכות, lit. 'rows', i.e. the pieces of wood laid ready for use. The word comes from the root ערך 'to lay in order', which is used technically for laying the wood in order for the burning of the sacrifice; cp. Gen. xxii. 9; 1 Kings xviii. 23. According to Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrqanus, who lived during the first century A.D. (*Megillath Ta'anith* v), the fifteenth day of Ab was the great day for wood-offering, 'when both priests and people brought kindling-wood in large quantities to the altar, for use in the burning of sacrifices during the whole year' (*EB*, i. 26 *a*). Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* ii. 17. 6) refers to this when he says: 'Now the next day was the festival of *Xylophoria*, upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar, that there might never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable and always burning.'

Like young cedar-trees. Cp. the somewhat similar expression in Ps. cxxviii. 3 כשתילי זיתים.

like willows by the brook. Cp. Lev. xxiii. 40; Job xl. 22; Is. xliv. 4; for the rendering of 𝔊 (see critical note) cp. Exod. xv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 6; Ps. xcii. 12, 13.

13. **In the presence of . . .** Cp. the same phrase in 1 Kings viii. 22.

14. **the service of the altar.** Lit. 'to serve the altar' לשרת מזבח; cp. the similar phrase in Joel i. 13 משרתי מזבח.

the rows of wood. See note on *v.* 12 *b*.

15. **poured out of the . . .** Cp. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 9. 4: 'They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar.' See Num. xxviii. 1–8; cp. *Yoma* iii. 4. For the expression 'blood of the grape' cp. xxxix. 26; Gen. xlix. 11; Deut. xxxii. 14. The stress laid upon the drink-offering is noteworthy; in the Mishna (*Yoma*) it is merely mentioned, nothing more.

A sweet-smelling savour = רֵיחַ נִיחֹחַ, the technical term for an odour soothing to God; it is usually employed in reference to burnt-offerings (cp. Gen. viii. 21; Exod. xxix. 18; Lev. i. 9; Num. xv, &c., &c.); in, e.g., Exod. xxix. 41 the drink-offering is mentioned together with it; in Ezek. xvi. 19 it occurs in reference to offerings of flour, oil, and honey to idols; but in Ezek. xx. 28 it says: '. . . there they presented the provocation of their offering, there also they made their sweet savour, and they poured out there their drink-offerings.'

𝔅ᴮ 16 Then the sons of Aaron[s] sounded
With the trumpets [t]of beaten work[t];
Yea, they sounded and caused a mighty blast to be heard
[u]For a remembrance before the Most High[u].
17 [v](Then) all flesh[w] hasted together[v]
And fell upon their faces to the earth,
To worship [x]before [y]the Most High[x],
[z]Before the Holy One of Israel[zy].
18 [a]And the sound of the song was heard[a],
And [b]over the multitude[b] [c]they made sweet melody[c];
19 [de]And all the people of the land cried[d]
In prayer before the Merciful,
[f]Until he had finished [g]the service of the altar[gf],
[h]And His ordinances had brought him nigh unto Him[h].
20 Then he descended, and lifted up his hands
Upon the whole congregation of Israel[i],
[k]And the blessing of the Lord (was) upon his lips[k],
And he glorified himself with the name of the Lord[l].
21 [m]And again they fell down[m], (now) to receive[n]
[o]The pardon[p] of God from him[oe].

[s] 𝔅+'the priests'; 𝔊+'shouted and' [t-t] 𝔖 'before all the people of Israel' [u-u] 𝔖 'in order to bless before all the people' [v-v] 𝔖> [w] 𝔊 'the people' [x-x] 𝔊 'their Lord' [y-y] 𝔖 'God' [z-z] 𝔊 'the Almighty God Most High' [a-a] 𝔅 *lit.* 'And the song gave its voice': 𝔊 'And the singers praised (Him) with their voices': 𝔖 'They gave their voice to thanksgiving' [b-b] 𝔊 εν πλειστῳ οικῳ [c-c] *Reading* העריבו רנן (= 𝔊) *instead of* העריבו נרו ('they arranged his lamp') [d-d] 𝔊 'And the people besought the Lord Most High' [e-e] 𝔖> [f-f] *See note on* 14 *a above* [g-g] 𝔊 κοσμος Κυριου [h-h] 𝔊 και την λειτουργιαν αυτου ετελειωσαν [i] 𝔊 υιων Ισραηλ [k-k] 𝔊 δουναι ευλογιαν κυριῳ (א V 70 253 Syro-Hex κυριου) εκ χειλεων αυτου [l] 𝔊 αυτου (157 κυριου) [m-m] 𝔊 και εδευτερωσεν εν προσκυνησει [n] *Reading* לשאת (= 𝔊) *for* שנית (*Smend*) [o-o] 𝔊 την ευλογιαν παρα Υψιστου [p] *Reading* זכיות (*Smend*); *the text is somewhat mutilated, but Smend says that the letters* 'כיו, namentlich יו, sind kaum zweifelhaft; von ת ist anscheinend der linke Fuss

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16. **With the trumpets . . .** Cf. Num. x. 2 (R. V. marg.); for מקשה ('beaten work') cp. Is. iii. 24.
For a remembrance . . . Cp. Num. x. 10.
17. **To worship . . .** Cp. 2 Chron. xxix. 28.
18. **over the multitude . . .** i. e. the prostrate congregation.
19. **And His ordinances . . .** The Hebrew word משפט, which often has the sense of 'judgement', is also used as a technical term expressive of something that is due to somebody; thus in Deut. xviii. 3, 'this shall be the priest's *due* from the people . . .', cp. Deut. xxi. 17; in Num. xv. 24 reference is made to the offerings to the Lord 'in accordance with what is due', or, as the R. V. renders it, 'according to the ordinance' (כמשפט), cp. Job xxxvi. 6, Prov. xviii. 5.
20. **Then he descended.** According to Lev. ix. 22, Aaron does not descend from the altar until after he has pronounced the Blessing, and *Yoma* vi. 2 seems to agree with this.
And the blessing of the Lord . . . Cf. *Yoma* vi. 2, 'And the priests and the people who are standing in the court (בְּעַזָּרָה), when they hear the "Ineffable Name" (שֵׁם הַמְּפֹרָשׁ) proceeding out of the mouth of the High-Priest, then they bow themselves down and worship, falling down upon their faces, and say: "Blessed be the Name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever and ever."' This was the only occasion on which the Holy Name was pronounced. As is well known, in the Hebrew text of the O. T. the name יהוה ('Jehovah'=*Jahveh*) is written with the vowels of *Adonai* ('Lord'), and pronounced so; if the title *Adonai* precedes יהוה (i.e. if the text has 'the Lord Jahveh') it is written with the vowels of *Elohim* ('God'). This was done in order to avoid pronouncing the Holy Name. In the Hebrew of Sirach, Jahveh is always written יי or יי. This non-uttering of the Holy Name was not always due to reverential fear, but often also because of superstitious dread. 'The names of supernatural beings, such as gods and spirits, are commonly believed to be endowed with marvellous virtues, and the mere utterance of them may work wonders and disturb the course of nature' (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*², i, p. 441). This must certainly have applied at one time to the mass of the uncultured among the Israelites. There is a curious passage in *Pirqe Aboth* v. 14, where it is said that 'Noisome beasts come into the world for vain swearing, and for the profanation of the (divine) Name'.
he glorified himself. i.e. because he was privileged to utter the Holy Name.
21. **And again they fell down . . .** The verse presents us with the picture of the whole congregation falling down for the second time; the first time it was in order to receive the High-priestly blessing, now it is in order to receive divine justification, implying pardon for sin, through God's minister; cp. the somewhat similar thing mentioned in Lev. ix. 24, 'And there came forth fire from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat; and when all the people saw it, they shouted, and fell down on their faces'; the acceptance of the offering was an earnest of divine forgiveness which the whole congregation received prostrate. In Ben-Sira's day, apparently, the 'absolution' was pronounced by the High-Priest.

𝔓 22 Now [pp]bless [q]the God of all[qpp],
[r]Who doeth wondrously[s] on earth[r],
Who exalteth man[t] from the womb,
And dealeth with him according to His will[u].
23 May He grant you wisdom[v] of heart,
And may there be peace [w]among you[w].
24 May His mercy be established [x]with Simeon[x],
[xxy]And may He raise up for him the covenant of Phinehas;
May one never be cut off from him[y];
[z]And as to his seed[xx], (may it be) as the days of heaven[zxx].

L. 25, 26. *Three Detested Nations* (2 distichs).

25 For two nations doth my soul feel abhorrence,
(Yea), and (for) a third, which is not a people;
26 [a]The inhabitants of Seir[b] and[a] Philistia,
And that foolish nation that dwelleth in Sichem[c].

SUBSCRIPTION TO THE BOOK

L. 27–29. *The Concluding Words of Jeshua', the son of Eleazar, the son of Sira* (2 + 2 distichs).

27 [d]Wise instruction and apt proverbs[ed]
[eefg]Of Jeshua', [gg]the son of Eleazar[gg], the son of Sira[g],

erhalten': 𝔊 *την ευλογιαν*: 𝔏 virtutem [pp–pp] 𝔊 'bless ye all God' [q–q] 𝔓 'the Lord God of Israel': 𝔖 'and the people of the land praised God' [r–r] 𝔊 *τῳ μεγαλοποιουντι παντη* [s] *Reading* המפליא *for* המפלא [t] 𝔊 'our days' [u] *Lit.* 'favour': 𝔊 'mercy' [v] 𝔊 'joyfulness' [w–w] 𝔊 'in our days in Israel (70> in Israel) for the days of eternity' [x–x] 𝔊 *μεθ ημων* [xx–xx] 𝔖 'and with his seed' [y–y] 𝔊 > [z–z] 𝔊 *και εν ταις ημεραις αυτου λυτρωσασθω ημας* (70>) [a–a] 𝔊 *οι καθημενοι εν ορει Σαμαρειας* (A 155 + *και*): 𝔏 in monte Seir [b] 𝔖 'Gebal': 70 248 Syro-Hex + *και ανδρες οι κατοικουντες* [c] 𝔊 *εν Σικιμοις* [d–d] 𝔊 *παιδειαν συνεσεως και επιστημης*: 𝔖 'all the proverbs of the wise and their riddles' [e] *Reading* משלי *for* מושל [ee–ee] 𝔖 'are written in this book', *omitting all the rest of vv.* 27 *b c d* [f] 𝔓 *pr.* 'of Simeon the son of' [g–g] 𝔊 'Jesus the son of Sirach, Eleazar the Jerusalemite': *in* 𝔊 *this and the next line are transposed* [gg–gg] 70 248 𝔏 >

The pardon. See crit. note. The reading of 𝔊, 'blessing,' can scarcely be right, as the preceding verse has just dealt with the High-priestly blessing.

22. **Now bless . . .** Martin Rinckart composed his hymn 'Nun danket alle Gott' ('Now thank we all our God') on the basis of this text.

doeth wondrously. Cp. Judges xiii. 19 (reading הַמַּפְלִא = Sept.).

23. **May He grant . . .** The clause also occurs as xlv. 26 *a*.

24. **with Simeon.** The alteration in 𝔊 is evidently intentional, and the same applies to the omission of the two next lines; the 'covenant of Phinehas' had come to an end by the time that Ben-Sira's grandson made his translation, so that the passage as found in 𝔓 would have appeared inappropriate. The mention of Simeon does not necessarily mean that he was still living when Ben-Sira wrote (see note on *v.* 1); 'Simeon' stands here for his house and lineage.

the covenant of Phinehas. Cp. xlv. 24, 25.

May one never be cut off . . . i. e. May his line always have a successor.

as the days of heaven. i. e. endless.

L. 25, 26 (Three Detested Nations).

25, 26. These verses must probably have been added at the close of the book (if not by the author himself, which, however, is likely enough, then by a contemporary) with the special object of warning readers against those belonging to the three races mentioned. There was ample ground for the utterance of these words; the inhabitants of Seir, i. e. the Idumaeans (Edom), had been the bitter enemies of the Jews ever since the Return from Babylon; see e.g. Obad. 11–14; Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Lam. iv. 21; Ezek. xxv. 12–14, xxxv. 14, xxxvi. 3; Mal. i. 2–5; Judith vii. 8, 18: according to 1 Macc. v. 65 Hebron, and the villages thereof, were in possession of the Edomites ('the children of Esau') in the days of Judas Maccabaeus, cp. Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 8. 6, *Bell. Iud.* iv. 9. 7; they had probably occupied this territory, which was less unfertile than their own land, ever since the Captivity. The antipathy which Ben-Sira had for the Philistines is easily understood when it is remembered how strongly Hellenized their country had become; in the centuries following the Macedonian conquest the influence of Greek civilization was profound and wide-reaching (for details see *EB*, iii. 3725). But the most hated of all were the people of Sichem, i. e. the Samaritans, as is well known; they were, as Smend points out, especially dangerous to their neighbours at this time, because the Seleucidae had made common cause with them against the Jews.

that foolish nation. גוי נבל, cp. xlix. 5; Deut. xxxii. 21.

L. 27–29. Subscription to the Book.

27. **apt.** אופנים; cp. Prov. xxv. 11, דָּבָר דָּבֵר עַל־אָפְנָיו 'a word aptly spoken' (Symmachus renders it *ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ*). Smend thinks that both here and in Prov. xxv. 11 the reference is to metrical form.

Jeshua' . . . 𝔓 inserts 'Simeon the son of', so also in the two subscriptions at the end of the book; but

𝔅ᴮ [hi]Which he declared in the explanation of his heart[h],
And which he taught with understanding[iee].
28 Blessed is the man[ii] who meditateth[k] on these things[l],
[m]And he that layeth them up in his heart shall become wise[m].
𝔊 29 [n]For if he do them, [o]he shall be strong for all things[n],
𝔅ᴮ [p]For the fear of the Lord is life[po].

APPENDIX TO THE BOOK (LI. 1–30)

(*a*) LI. 1–12. *A Prayer* (2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 distichs).

51 1 [qab]I will thank Thee, [c]Jahveh, O King,[c]
[d]I will praise Thee, O God [e]of my salvation[eda],
I will declare Thy Name[f], [g](Thou) strength of my life[g];
2 [h]For Thou hast redeemed my soul from death[h],
[i]Thou didst keep back my flesh from the Pit[i],
[k]And from the power of Sheol Thou didst deliver my foot[k];
[l]Thou didst preserve me[m] from the scourge of a slanderous tongue,
And from the lips [n]of them that turn aside to lies[nl];
[o]Thou wast [p]on my side[po] in the face of those that rose up against me;
3 [q]Thou didst help me, according to the abundance of Thy mercy,
Out of the snare [r]of those that watch for my stumbling[r],
And from the hand of those that seek my life;
From manifold troubles didst Thou save me[q],

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h–h *Reading* בפתור (*so Smend for* ניבע) אשר לבו ניבא *os ανωμβρησεν σοφιαν απο καρδιας αυτου* ii 𝔊 *os* i–i 𝔊 *εχαραξα τῳ βιβλιῳ τουτῳ* [*here follows* 27 *b*], k 𝔊 *αναστραφησεται* l 𝔏 + bonis m–m 𝔖 'and learneth them and becometh wise in them' n–n 𝔅ᴴ > o–o 𝔖 'the height of the fear of the Lord is excellent above all things; take hold thereof, my son, and let it not go' p–p *In* 𝔅ᴴ *these words form one line with* li. 1 *b a*; 𝔊 *οτι φως* (106 *φοβος*) *Κυριου το ιχνος αυτου*: 55 70 248 254 Syro-Hex + *και τοις ευσεβεσιν εδωκε σοφιαν*: 55 70 248 254 + *ευλογητος κυριος εις τον αιωνα γενοιτο γενοιτο*: 70 + *δοξα σοι ο θεος ημων δοξα σοι* q 70 Syro-Hex > *ch.* li.

a–a *Transposed in* 𝔅ᴴ b *προσευχη Ιησου υιου Σειραχ inserted as title by* 𝔊 c–c *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔅ᴴ 'my God, my Father' d–d 𝔖 'Every day will I praise Thy Name, O Lord', *misplaced after v.* 11 e–e 𝔊 'my Saviour' f 𝔖 + 'in praises' g–g 𝔊 > : 𝔖 'my trust is (in) the Most High from everlasting' h–h 𝔊 *οτι σκεπαστης και βοηθος εγενου μοι* i–i 𝔊 *και ελυτρωσω το σωμα μου εξ απωλιας* k–k 𝔊 > l–l 𝔖 >: 𝔊 *και εκ παγιδος διαβολης γλωσσης* m 𝔅ᴴ + 'from the slander of the people' n–n 𝔊 *εργαζομενων ψευδος* o–o 𝔊 > p–p *Lit.* 'for me' q–q 𝔊 *εγενου βοηθος, και ελυτρωσω με κατα το πληθος ελεου και ονοματος σου εκ βρυγμων ετοιμος εις βρωμα, (*𝔄 *και) εκ χειρος ζητουντων την ψυχην μου εκ πλειονων θλιψεων ων εσχον* r–r *Reading* צופי צלעי (*Schechter*)

Ben-Sira's grandson, in the Prologue to his Greek translation of the book, calls the writer Jeshua', the son of Sirach. It is probable that the mention of Simeon here is due to the occurrence of this name in *vv.* 1, 24.

28. **Blessed is . . .** Cp. Ps. i. 1.

29. **For if he . . .** There can be no doubt that originally 𝔅ᴴ had this clause in some form.

. . . **life.** Cp. Prov. xiv. 27, xix. 23.

LI. 1–30 (APPENDIX TO THE BOOK).

(*a*) LI. 1–12 (A PRAYER).

LI. 1. **Jahveh, O King.** Cp. Ps. cxlv. 1. The consensus of both 𝔊 and 𝔖 against 𝔅ᴴ favours the reading in the text; for *my God, my Father* of 𝔅ᴴ cp. Exod. xv. 2, and the *Abinu Malkenu* prayer in the Jewish Liturgy (Singer's ed., pp. 55–57), as well as the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* ('The Eighteen Benedictions') (see, further, Taylor's edition of *Pirqe Aboth*, Excursus v, p. 124; the Hebrew text of *Shemoneh 'Esreh* is given by Dalman in *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 299–304).

O God of my salvation. Cp. Ps. xviii. 46, xxv. 5.

I will declare Thy Name. Cp. Ps. xxii. 22, cii. 21.

(Thou) strength . . . Cp. Ps. xxvii. 1.

2. **Thou hast redeemed.** Cp. Ps. xlix. 15, lv. 18, lvi. 13, lxix. 18.

Thou didst keep back . . . Cp. Job xxxiii. 18; Ps. lxxviii. 50.

Thou didst deliver my foot. Cp. Ps. xxv. 15.

that turn aside to lies. Cp. Ps. xl. 5.

. . . that rose up against me. Cp. Ps. iii. 1, lvi. 9.

3. **the abundance of Thy mercy.** Cp. Ps. v. 7, lxix. 13, cvi. 7, 45.

of those that watch for . . . For the Hebrew (see crit. note) cp. Jer. xx. 10.

that seek my life. Cp. Ps. xxxv. 4, xl. 14, lxiii. 9, lxx. 2.

𝔥ᴮ 4 And from the straits of the flame round about (me),
[st]From the midst of the fire that I kindled not[t],
5 [u]From the deep of the belly of Sheol[us],
[v]From the lips of wickedness, and from the framers of lies[v],
6 [x]And the arrows[x] of a deceitful tongue.
My soul drew nigh[y] unto death,
And my life[z] to the nethermost[a] Sheol[b].
7 [c]And I turned about on every side[c], [d]yet there was none to help me[ed],
[ee]And I looked for one to uphold[ee], but there was none.
8 Then did I remember [f]the loving-kindnesses of Jahveh[f],
And [g]His mercies[g] which have been from of old,
[h]Who delivereth them that trust in Him[h],
[i]And redeemeth them [k]from all evil[ki].
9 And I lifted up my voice[l] [m]from the earth[m],
[n]And cried out for help from the gates of Sheol[n].
10 [o]Yea, I cried[oo]: 'O Jahveh[p], my Father [q]art Thou[qo],
[r]For Thou art the hero of my salvation[r];
[rr]Forsake me not[rr] in the day[s] of trouble,
[t]In the day of wasteness and desolation[t].
11 I will praise Thy Name continually,
[u]And will sing Thy praise[u] in prayer[v].'

s–s 𝔖 > t–t *Reading* (*lit.* 'that was not kindled') מבתוך אש לא נפחה : 𝔊 *και εκ μεσου πυρος ου ουκ εξεκαυσα* u–u *Reading* מתהום רחם שאול (= 𝔊) v–v 𝔊 *και απο γλωσσης ακαθαρτου και λογου ψευδους* x–x 𝔊 *βασιλει διαβολη*: '*which presents a gloss* ("arrows of the tongue" = slander) *together with a corruption of an original βολιδες* (Jer. ix. 8) *or βελη* (*cp.* Job xxxix. 22, *βασιλει* B: *βελει* אc.a A = 𝔥)' (*Hart*) y B *ηνεσεν* (אA V = 𝔥 𝔖): 𝔏 laudabit dominum z 𝔖 'spirit': 𝔊 + *ην συνεγγυς* a אc.a 248 *κατωτατου* (𝔊 *κατω*) b 𝔖 + 'and my spirit draweth near unto death' c–c 𝔊 *περιεσχον με παντοθεν* d–d 𝔖 'in order that I might be upheld' e 𝔊 𝔖 > 'me' ee–ee 𝔊 *εμβλεπων* (A *εβλεπον*, 248 *επεβλεπον*) *εις αντιλημψιν ανθρωπων* f–f 𝔊 *του ελεους σου κυριε* g–g 𝔊 *της εργασιας σου* h–h 𝔊 *οτι εξελη τους υπομενοντας σε* i–i 𝔊 *και σωζεις αυτους εκ χειρος εθνων* (אA *εχθρων*, V *πονηρων*) k–k 𝔖 'from him that is stronger than they' l 𝔊 *ικετειαν* m–m B *επι γην*, אA *απο γης* (*cp.* 248 *απο οργης*) n–n 𝔊 *και υπερ θανατου* (A *απο αθανατου*) *ρυσεως εδεηθην*: 𝔖 'and I made supplication' o–o 𝔊 *επεκαλεσαμην κυριον πατερα κυριου μου* oo *Reading* ואקרא (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* וארומם ('Yea, I exalted') p 𝔖 > q–q 𝔖 'from on high' r–r 𝔊 >: 𝔖 'mighty Lord and Saviour' rr–rr 𝔊 *μη με εγκαταλιπειν* s 𝔊 *εν ημεραις* (248 253 *εν ημερᾳ* = 𝔏) t–t 𝔊 *εν καιρῳ υπερηφανιων αβοηθησιας*: 𝔖 > u–u *Reading* ואזמרך (*Smend*) = 𝔊 *for* ואזכרך ('And I will remember thee') v 𝔊 *εν εξομολογησει*: 𝔖 'in praises'

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4. **the straits of the flame.** Cp. Is. xlvii. 14.
that I kindled not. Cp. Job xx. 26; a figurative way of expressing the presence of troubles not of one's own making.
5. **From the deep . . .** This rendering is uncertain, as רחם does not occur in this connexion in the O. T.; cp. Jonah ii. 3; note, however, בטן ('belly') is not used elsewhere in a similar connexion.
the framers of lies. Lit. 'them that plaster lies', cp. Job xiii. 4; Ps. cxix. 69.
6. **And the arrows . . .** See crit. note. Cp. Ps. lii. 2.
My soul drew nigh . . . Cp. Ps. lxxxviii. 3.
to the nethermost Sheol. Cp. Ps. lxxxvi. 13, lxxxviii. 6.
7. **I turned about . . .** Cp. Ps. cvii. 12; Is. lxiii. 5.
8. **. . . the loving-kindnesses . . .** Cp. Ps. xxv. 6.
. . . them that trust in Him. Cp. Ps. xvi. 1.
And redeemeth them . . . Cp. Gen. xlviii. 16; Ps. cxxi. 7.
from all evil. מכל רע, for which Smend would read מכף רע (=𝔊) 'from the hand of evil', cp. Hab. ii. 9; which Peters reads מיד צר ('from the power of the enemy'); 𝔊 possibly read this, cp. 1 Kings xxviii. 18.
9. **from the gates of Sheol.** Cp. Is. xxxviii. 10; Jonah ii. 3.
10. **. . . my Father art Thou.** See note on *v.* 1; cp. Ps. lxxxix. 26. The rendering of 𝔊 (see crit. note) is probably due to Christian influence. Cp. Ps. ii. 7, cx. 1.
the hero of my salvation. Cp. 'the rock of my salvation' in Ps. lxxxix. 26 (cp. Ps. lxii. 2), and 'the strength of my salvation' in Ps. cxl. 7 (cp. Isa. xxxiii. 6).
In the day of wasteness . . . See Zeph. i. 15, from which this is quoted.
11. **I will praise . . .** Cp. Ps. cxlv. 2.
And will sing Thy praise. This rendering of 𝔊 is preferable to that of 𝔥 𝔖; the two verbs זמר and הלל occur together in Ps. cxxxv. 3.
in prayer. Cp. l. 19.

𝔅[B] [vv]Then did Jahveh hear my voice[vv],
And gave heed to my supplication;
12 [w]And He redeemed me from all evil[w]
[x]And delivered me[x] [y]in the day of trouble[y].
Therefore will I give and offer praise[z],
And bless [zz]the Name of Jahveh[zz]:—

(*b*) 12[i–xvi] (*Extant only in Hebrew*): *A Thanksgiving* (=1+4+4+4+3 distichs).

i. Give thanks unto Jahveh, for He is good;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
ii. Give thanks to the God of praises;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
iii. Give thanks unto Him that keepeth Israel;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
iv. Give thanks unto Him that formeth all;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
v. Give thanks unto the Redeemer of Israel;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
vi. Give thanks unto Him that gathereth the outcasts of Israel;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
vii. Give thanks unto Him that buildeth His city and His Sanctuary;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
viii. Give thanks unto Him that maketh a horn to sprout for the house of David;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
ix. Give thanks unto Him that chooseth the sons of Zadok to be priests;
For His mercy endureth for ever.

vv–vv 𝔊 > w–w 𝔊 εσωσας γαρ με εξ απωλειας x–x 𝔊 και εξειλου με: V και εξελου μαι y–y 𝔊 εκ καιρου πονηρου A + και εξιλου (*sic*) μαι: 𝔖 'from all trouble' z 𝔊 + σοι zz–zz 248 'Thy Name, O Lord': 𝔖 'Thy holy Name'

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gave heed to my supplication. Cp. Ps. cxl. 6, cxliii. 1.

12. **from all evil.** Cp. *v.* 8 *d.*

in the day of trouble. Cp. *v.* 10 *c*; Ps. xli. 1.

(*b*). I[i–xvi]. (EXTANT ONLY IN HEBREW): A THANKSGIVING.

The Psalm which is here inserted is formed on the pattern of Ps. cxxxvi, that is, if this latter is prior in date; the possibility, however, of both having been composed on an earlier pattern (Peters) must be allowed for. It is probable that this Psalm is an amalgamation of two poems, a shorter one, *vv.* vi–ix, and a longer one, *vv.* i–v, x–xvi (=twelve verses). The first clause of each verse of the shorter poem is longer than the corresponding clauses of the longer poem. The place in which *vv.* vi–ix are inserted is the natural one, the word 'Israel' being the point of attachment. The omission of the whole by 𝔊 𝔖 favours the opinion that it did not form part of the original book; but Smend, who regards the whole as original, accounts for the omission by saying that 𝔊 took exception to its 'un-Greek character', as well as to the words in *v.* ix, while 𝔖 followed 𝔊 in omitting it because of the anti-Jewish tendency which is characteristic of 𝔖. This explanation seems inadequate, for the 'un-Greek character' would apply to the whole book, while the natural objection to *v.* ix (the downfall of the house of Zadok had taken place by the time the translation was made) would not account for the omission of the whole section. It seems more likely that *vv.* vi–ix are original, and that the rest was subsequently added, the amalgamation of the two taking place as suggested above. See, however, the discussion in the Introduction, § 3, iii.

i. **Give thanks . . .** This verse is identical with Ps. cxxxvi. 1; cp. the refrain at the end of each verse in this psalm as well as in Ps. cxxxvi.

ii. **the God of praises.** Cp. Ps. xxii. 3, lxxi. 6; and see also the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* (cp. note on *v.* 1 above) iii: 'The holy ones praise Thee every day.'

iii. **that keepeth Israel.** Cp. Ps. cxxi. 3–8.

iv. **that formeth all.** Cp. Jer. x. 16, li. 19.

v. **the Redeemer of Israel.** Cp. Is. xliv. 6, xlix. 7, and *Shemoneh 'Esreh* vii: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.'

vi. **that gathereth the outcasts . . .** Cp. Ps. cxlvii. 2; Is. xi. 12, xxvii. 13, lvi. 8; and *Shemoneh 'Esreh* x: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who gatherest the outcasts of Thy people Israel.'

vii. **that buildeth . . .** Cp. Ps. cxlvii. 2; Isa. xliv. 28; and *Shemoneh 'Esreh* xiv: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Builder of Jerusalem.'

viii. **that maketh a horn to sprout . . .** Cp. Ps. cxxxii. 17; Ezek. xxix. 21; and *Shemoneh 'Esreh* xv: 'Do Thou speedily cause the shoot of David to sprout forth, and do Thou lift up his horn through Thy victorious salvation; every day do we hope for Thy salvation. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who causeth the horn of salvation to sprout forth.'

ix. **that chooseth the sons of Zadok . . .** Cp. l. 24 (𝔅); 2 Sam. viii. 17; 1 Kings i. 26; 1 Chron. vi. 8 (v. 34 in Hebrew), xxix. 22; Ezek. xl. 46, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11.

𝔅[B] x. Give thanks unto the Shield of Abraham;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
xi. Give thanks unto the Rock of Isaac;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
xii. Give thanks unto the Mighty One of Jacob;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
xiii. Give thanks unto Him that hath chosen Zion;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
xiv. Give thanks unto the King of the kings of kings;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
xv. And He hath lifted up the horn for His people;
The praise of all His pious ones,
xvi. For the children of Israel, a people nigh unto Him,
Hallelujah.

(*c*) LI. 13–30. *A Poem describing how Ben-Sira acquired Wisdom* (= 14+9 distichs).

𝔊 13 [a]When I was yet young, before I wandered abroad[a],
𝔅[B] [b]I desired her and sought her out[b].
14 [c]In my youth I made supplication in prayer[c];
𝔊 [d]And I will seek her out even to the end.
15 [e]She blossomed like a ripening grape[e],
My heart rejoiced in her[d].
𝔅[B] My foot trod [f]in her footstep[f],
From my youth [g]I learned Wisdom[g].

[a–a] 𝔅 *is mutilated; all that is left is* אני נער הייתי ('I was young') = 𝔖. *From here to v.* 15 *a incl.* 𝔖 *is wanting* [b–b] 𝔊 εζητησα σοφιαν προφανως εν προσευχη μου [c–c] *In* 𝔅 *this clause stands as v.* 16 *a, which it has displaced*: 𝔊 εναντι ναου ηξιουν περι αυτης [d–d] *Wanting in* 𝔅 [e–e] *Reading* ἐξήνθησεν ὡς περκάζουσα σταφυλή (*Bickell, cp. Sept. of* Amos ix. 13) *for* εξ ανθους ως περκαζουσης σταφυλης: *cp.* 𝔏 et effloruit tanquam praecox uva [f–f] *Reading* באשרה (*Smend*) *for* באמתה: 𝔊 εν ευθυτητι: 𝔅 𝔖 + 'O Lord' [g–g] 𝔊 ιχνευον αυτην

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x. **the Shield of Abraham.** Cp. Gen. xv. 1; Ps. xviii. 2, and *Shemoneh 'Esreh* i: 'Blessed art Thou, the Shield of Abraham.'

xi. **the Rock of Isaac.** Cp. Deut. xxxii. 4; 2 Sam. xxiii. 3; Ps. xviii. 2, xlii. 9, lxxi. 3; Is. xxx. 29, li. 1; in *Shemoneh 'Esreh* xviii the expression 'Rock of our life' occurs.

xii. **the Mighty One of Jacob.** Cp. Gen. xlix. 24; Ps. cxxxii. 2, 5; Isa. i. 24, xlix. 26, lx. 16, and *Shemoneh 'Esreh* i: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, and God of our fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, the great, the mighty, and the fearful God.'

xiii. **that hath chosen Zion.** Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 68, cxxxii. 13, cxxxv. 21, and *Shemoneh 'Esreh* xvii: 'Be pleased, O Lord our God, with Thy people Israel, and their prayer; and set up again the sacrificial service for the altar of Thine House . . . And may our eyes behold Thy merciful return to Zion. Blessed art Thou who restorest Thy *Shekinah* to Zion.' (On the withdrawal of the *Shekinah* from earth, and the reasons for this, see the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, c. 19; the passage is given in the authors' *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*[2], p. 219.)

xiv. **King of the kings of kings.** Cp. the title 'God of gods, and Lord of lords' in Deut. x. 17. In *Shemoneh 'Esreh* the title 'King' is applied to God five times, and in xi occur the words: 'Reign Thou over us, O Lord, alone in loving-kindness and mercy.' In *Pirqe Aboth* iv. 32 occurs the expression: 'The King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.'

xv, xvi. These two verses are identical with Ps. cxlviii. 14.

(*c*) LI. 13–30 (A Poem).

The Poem (*vv.* 13–30) which follows is an acrostic, each verse beginning with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their order; this had already been discerned by Bickell before the discovery of the Hebrew text (see the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, vi. 326–330; 1882).

13. **When I was yet young.** Cp. vi. 18; Wisd. viii. 2.

before I wandered abroad. For this use of πλανᾶσθαι cp. xxxiv. 11 (= 𝔊 xxxi. 12); Ben-Sira refers to his travels also in xxxix. 4.

14. **In my youth.** Smend is probably right in regarding ἔναντι ναοῦ of 𝔊 as a mistake for ἐν νεότητί μου (= 𝔅).

in prayer. ἐν προσευχῇ μου of 𝔊 belongs here, not in *v.* 13 *b*.

15. **My heart . . .** This clause was probably longer originally; it is unduly short as it stands.

in her footstep. See critical note; 𝔊, as Smend points out, may have read באשרה ('in her footstep') but misunderstood it; cp. Job xxiii. 11, 'My foot hath held fast to His steps'; for 𝔅 as it stands cp. Ps. xxv. 5, xxvi. 3.

I learned. Smend suggests the reading חקרתי ('I tracked'); cp. 𝔊, which certainly gives a better parallel to the preceding clause. For 𝔅 as it stands cp. Ps. lxxi. 17; Prov. xxx. 3.

𝔊 16 [h]I bowed down mine ear a little and received her[h],
𝔥[B] And much knowledge did I find[i];
17 [k]And[l] her yoke was glorious to me[k],
[m]And to my Teacher do I offer thanks[m].
18 [n]I purposed to do good[n] ‹with her›[o],
[oo]And [p]I was not put to shame[p], for I found her[oo].
19 My soul was attached[q] to her,
[r]And I turned not away my face from her[r];
𝔊 [s]I spread forth my hands to the heaven above[s],
𝔥[B] [t]And for ever and ever I will not go astray from her[t].
[u]My hand opened her gates,
And I entered unto her, and looked upon her[u].
20 [v]I set my soul aright[v] [w]after her[w],
[x]And I found her in her[y] purity[x];
I gat me understanding [z]through her guidance[z].
𝔊 [a]Therefore [b]I shall not be forsaken[ba].
𝔥[B] 21 My inward part was troubled[c] [cc]like an oven[cc] [d]to look upon her[d],
Therefore have I gotten[e] a good possession.
22 Jahveh gave [f]me the reward of my lips[f],
And [g]with my tongue[g] do I praise Him.

23 Turn in[h] unto me, ye unlearned,
And lodge in my house of instruction.

h–h *This clause has been displaced by* 14 *a in* 𝔥 i 𝔊 + εμαυτῳ: Sah + 'because of her' (*Smend*) k–k 𝔊 προκοπη εγενετο μοι εν αυτη l 𝔥 >, *but the* ו *is required as the sixth letter of the alphabet, this being the sixth clause* m–m 𝔊 τῳ διδοντι μοι σοφιαν δωσω δοξαν n–n 𝔊 διενοηθην γαρ του ποιησαι αυτην o *A word has fallen out here* oo–oo 𝔊 και εζηλωσα (*perhaps a mistake for* εζητησα = 𝔥) το αγαθον και ου μη αισχυνθω p–p *Reading* אבוש (= 𝔊) *for* לא אהפך ('I will not turn back') q 𝔊 διαμεμαχισται (*reading* עשקה *for* חשקה): 𝔖 'clave'. r–r 𝔊 και εν ποιησει λιμου διηκριβασαμην s–s *Wanting in* 𝔥, 20 *a stands in place of it* t–t 𝔊 και τα αγνοημματα αυτης επενθησα u–u 𝔊 > v–v *Reading* כוננתי נפשי (= 𝔊) *for* "נתתי נ w–w 𝔊 εις αυτην x–x 𝔊[B] *wrongly transposes this and the next clause* y 𝔊 𝔖 > 'her' z–z *Reading, with Smend,* מתחבלתה *for* מתחלתה ('from the beginning' = 𝔊 𝔖) a–a *Only the first word and one letter of the second word are left in* 𝔥 b–b 𝔖 'I shall not forsake her' c 𝔖 'burned' cc–cc 𝔊 > d–d 𝔊 εκζητησαι αυτην e 𝔥 𝔖 + 'in her' f–f 𝔊 γλωσσαν μοι μισθον μου g–g 𝔊 εν αυτη h *Reading* סורו (= 𝔖) *for* פנו: 𝔊 εγγισατε

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16. **I bowed down mine ear.** Cp. iv. 8, vi. 53.
17. **her yoke . . .** Cp. vi. 24, 30, and *v.* 26 of this chapter.
to my Teacher. The Teacher is, of course, God.
18. The text is very corrupt here, and must be emended with the help of 𝔊.
19. In this verse 𝔊 apparently had a text before it which in part differed from that of 𝔥 as now extant.
My hand opened her gates. For the thought of Wisdom having her dwelling-house cp. xiv. 23–25, Prov. ix. 1 ff.
and looked upon her. Cp. xv. 7, 'Sinners shall not see her.'
20. **understanding.** Lit. 'heart'; cp. Prov. xv. 32, xix. 8, where the same verb as here is used (קנה).
21. **My inward part was troubled.** Cp. Jer. xxxi. 20.
Therefore have I gotten . . . Cp. Prov. iv. 7.
22. **the reward of my lips.** i. e. success as a teacher.
23. **Turn in . . .** Cp. Prov. ix. 4, 16.
house of instruction. The *Beth ha-Midrash*, or *Beth Midrash*, is the technical name for the 'house' where students gathered together for instruction in the Law. Great scholars had their own 'houses' where they gathered pupils together. The *Beth ha-Midrash* of Ben-Sira is the earliest of which we know; in *Yoma* 35 *b* (T. Babli) mention is made of the one in which Shemaiah and Abtalion taught, and which Hillel, when a youth, could attend only after having paid an admission-fee to the janitor; 'whether or not this charge of a fee, so contradictory to the maxim of the men of the Great Synagogue (*Aboth* i. 1, "Raise up many disciples"), was a political measure of the time, it seemingly stands in connexion with a principle pronounced by the Shammaites (*Ab. R. N.*, A. iii, B. iv, ed. Schechter, p. 14) that "only those who are wise, humble, and of goodly, well-to-do parentage should be taught the Law". On the other hand, the Hillelites insisted that "all, without exception, should partake of the privilege, inasmuch as many transgressors in Israel, when brought nigh to the Law, brought forth righteous, pious, and perfect men"' (*JE*, iii. 117 *b*). Ben-Sira says distinctly that the wisdom was to be acquired 'without money'; see *v.* 25 and cp. *Nedarim* 36 *a* (T. Babli): 'As I have taught you without payment, saith God, so must you do likewise.' Reference is made (*Tanna debe Eliyahu R.* ix [x], xvi, and elsewhere) to the *Beth ha-Midrash* in the Temple (cp. Matt. xxi. 23, xxvi. 55; Luke ii. 46, xx. 1, xxi. 37; John xviii. 20), which was called *Beth ha-Midrash ha-gadol*, 'the Great house of instruction.'

𝔅ᴮ 24 [i]How long will ye lack [k]these things[k i]?
And (how long) shall your soul be so[l] athirst?
25 I open my mouth and speak [m]of her[m],
Acquire Wisdom[n] for yourselves without money.
26 Bring[o] your necks under her yoke,
[p]And her burden let your soul bear[p];
[q]She is nigh unto them that seek her[q],
[r]And he that is intent (upon her) findeth her[r].
27 Behold with your eyes that [s]I laboured but (little)[s] therein[t],
[u]And abundance of peace[v] have I found[u].
28 [w]Hearken to my teaching, (though ye be but) a few[x w],
And much [y]silver and[y] gold shall ye acquire thereby.
29 May my[z] soul delight [a]in my *Yeshibah*[a];
And ye shall not be put to shame [b]in singing my praise[b].
30 Work your work [c]in righteousness[c],
And He will give you[d] your reward in its time.

[e][Blessed be Jahveh; and praised be His Name to generations.
Thus far the words of Simeon the son of Jeshua', who is called Ben-Sira.
The Wisdom of Simeon, the son of Jeshua', the son of Eleazar, the son of Sira.
May the Name of Jahveh be blessed from now and unto eternity.][e]

i–i 𝔊 και (τι א A) οτι υστερεισθαι (υστερειτε א A) λεγετε εν τουτοις k–k *Lit.* 'from these things and those things' l *Lit.* 'very.' m–m 𝔊 > n 𝔊 > o 𝔊 υποθετε p–p 𝔊 και επιδεξασθω η ψυχη υμων παιδειαν (= 𝔖) q–q 𝔊 εγγυς εστιν ευρειν αυτην r–r 𝔊 > s–s *Reading, with Smend,* קטן עמלתי (= 𝔊 𝔖) *for* קטן הייתי ועמדתי ('I was small and I persisted') t 𝔊 > u–u *Reading, with Smend,* והרבה מצאתי מנוחה *for* . . . ומצאתיה ('and I found her,—peace') v 𝔊 + εμαυτῳ w–w 𝔅 *pr* רבים ('many'): 𝔊 μετασχετε παιδειαν εν πολλῳ αριθμῳ αργυριου x *Reading* במספר (= 𝔖) *for* בנעורותי ('in my youth') y–y 𝔊 > z 𝔊 𝔖 'your' a–a 𝔊 εν τῃ ελεει αυτου: 𝔖 'in my repentance' b–b 𝔊 εν αινεσει αυτου c–c *Smend would read* בלא עת, *Peters* לפני עת (= 𝔊 𝔖) d *So* 𝔊 𝔖: 𝔏 > e–e 𝔊 'Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach': 55 70 248 254 'Blessed be the Lord for ever; Amen, Amen': 𝔖 'Blessed be God for ever, and praised be His Name to generations. Thus far the words of Jeshua' the son of Simeon that is called the son of Asira [*so also Syro-Hex, but some Syriac MSS. read* Sirach]. The writing of the Wisdom of Bar Sira is ended'. *The subscription varies in the Syriac MSS.*

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24. **shall your soul be so athirst.** Cp. Is. lv. 1; Amos viii. 11. Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* i. 4: 'Let thy house be a meeting-house for the wise, and powder thyself in the dust of their feet; and drink their words with thirstiness.'

25. **without money.** Cp. Is. lv. 1, 2, and the Talmudic quotation in the note on *v.* 23.

26. **her yoke.** Cp. *v.* 17, vi. 25.

he that is intent. נותן נפשו, lit. 'that giveth his soul'.

27. **(little).** For the use of קטן in a temporal sense cp. Is. liv. 7.

28. **(though ye be but) a few.** For this use of במספר cp. Gen. xxxiv. 30; Deut. iv. 27.

And much silver . . . Cp. *Pirqe Aboth* ii. 19: 'If thou hast learned much Torah, they give thee much reward; and faithful is the maker of thy work, who will pay thee the reward of thy work; and know that the recompense of the reward of the righteous is for the time to come.'

29. *Yeshibah.* i.e. Circle of hearers, later an Academy of learning. 'At first the *Beth ha-Midrash* was the place where the *Yeshibah* assembled. . . . Later, when the number of students increased, it became necessary to hold the sessions in a separate large hall adjoining the *Beth ha-Midrash*, and this hall was known by the name of *Yeshibah*' (*JE*, xii. 595 *a*). For בישיבתי 𝔊 read בישועתי ('in His salvation,' referring it to God), while 𝔖 read בשיבתי ('in my repentance'), neither understanding, presumably, what was meant by the *Yeshibah*.

in singing my praise. בשירתי.

30. **Work your work.** i.e. the work of seeking wisdom.

in righteousness. The reading of 𝔊 𝔖, 'before the time,' is probably the correct one, the reference being to the time of final reckoning; cp. John ix. 4.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Book of Wisdom has long enjoyed the reputation of being the most attractive and interesting book in the Apocrypha. Nor is the reputation undeserved if attention is confined to the first ten or eleven chapters. In these chapters both thought and expression are of a high order. The thought, it is true, is not that of a systematic or consistent thinker, but of a writer imbued with a strongly religious spirit; one who felt the stress and perplexity of life and suffering, and yet resisted the temptation to abandon—like many of his co-religionists—his ancestral belief in a God of righteousness. These thoughts are expressed in the ancient Hebrew style of parallelism: in spite of rare words, the language is vigorous and the construction simple: the impression that he was well acquainted with the literature and philosophy of Greece grows upon one the more the book is studied, and he is not without boldness in revising some of the traditional beliefs of his religion.

The work falls naturally into three sections: (1) cc. i to vi. 8; (2) vi. 9 to xi. 1; (3) xi. 2 to xix. The first section has been well called 'the book of eschatology'; it portrays in vivid contrast the different destinies which await the righteous and the ungodly who oppress them. The impious and defiant speech of the ungodly, the picture of their despair and remorse after death, and the description of the divine vengeance upon them are the outstanding literary features in this part of the book. The religious teaching also of this section is interesting and important. The writer enunciates the doctrine of immortality immediately after death, denies that suffering presupposes sin, refuses to admit that early death is necessarily a calamity, or that childlessness is a mark of divine displeasure. It would be difficult to find five other chapters in the Old Testament Scriptures with so much departure from traditional views.

The second section consists of the panegyric on Wisdom which gives its name to the book. In beautiful and eloquent language the attractions of Wisdom as a heavenly Being are set forth. 'Wisdom is radiant and fadeth not away'; she seeks to know those that are worthy of her, and leads them to the enjoyment of immortality in the presence of God. According to the testimony of Solomon, who now speaks, her treasures are bestowed upon mankind in answer to prayer. The fine description of Wisdom is continued, and culminates in the statement that 'she is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty' (vii. 25). Solomon is not the only one who has been favoured by her. She guided the great ones of old, rescued them from all their troubles, and finally brought the holy nation itself out of captivity and 'prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet' (xi. 1).

From this point onward a great change takes place. We have no longer a poem extolling goodness and celebrating Wisdom, but a Midrash in glorification of the Jews.

From xi. 2 to the end of the book we have an historical retrospect of Israel in Egypt and in the wilderness, broken by a dissertation on the origin and evils of idolatry in cc. xiii, xiv, xv. Chapters xi and xii with xvi to xix contrast the lot of Israel in the wilderness with that experienced by the Egyptians during the plagues. The writer sets himself to prove the two propositions that 'By what things a man sins, by these he is punished' (xi. 16), and 'By what things their foes were punished, by these they in their need were benefited' (xi. 5). First, the punishments of the Egyptians are said to have been framed in accordance with a variety of the *lex talionis*. This is shown most clearly in the plagues of frogs, lice, and flies. Because the Egyptians worshipped despicable animals, by despicable animals they were punished. But the writer's power of drawing parallels does not end here. He goes further and gives examples to prove his other contention that what was noxious to the Egyptians was beneficial to Israel. Historical facts are ingeniously selected and opposed to one another; if the main facts are intractable, the details are made to furnish the required lesson. If he cannot get a positive comparison, a negative one will do. The comparisons are mostly forced, except in the case of the last plague, where the slaying of the firstborn had a double effect. It punished the Egyptians and at the same time freed Israel. The first of these ideas, appropriateness of retribution, was doubtless based on Exod. iv. 22–23: 'Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, my firstborn: . . . (because) thou hast refused to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, thy firstborn.' The second seems to be peculiar to this book.

In cc. xiii–xv the author discourses on idolatry and its attendant evils. He treats the worship of the heavenly bodies with some leniency, only marvelling that the worshippers did not go a step farther and find the Sovereign Lord of all through His works. He then turns to idolatry proper, and following Isa. xl pours scorn and sarcasm on those who worship a crooked piece of wood for which the workman can find no use save as an object of worship: a piece of wood not sound enough to be used for the building of a ship. The origin of idolatry is sketched after the manner of Euhemerus, and the methods of a second idol-maker—the worker in clay—held up to derision.

After this digression the writer turns once more to the Egyptians; and from here to the end the contrast between Egypt and Israel is resumed. The work concludes with a repetition of a favourite theme of the writer, that the world fights for the righteous: the elements by their transmutation into one another are used by God to punish the Egyptians and defend Israel.

The book is included in the so-called Wisdom Literature of the Hebrews, the chief object of which is to discuss the problem of life and its conditions. Some of the writers limited their teaching to directing men aright in their social relations. They saw that much of the failure and unhappiness of life arose from disregard of prudential considerations and rightly laid emphasis on this. Small troubles were the result of imprudence; serious troubles the result of deliberate wrongdoing; therefore, to avoid trouble small or great, be prudent and abstain from wrongdoing. We have examples of this teaching in Proverbs and Sirach. But the teaching of experience showed that this doctrine was very imperfect. The rich oppressed the poor, however prudent and pious the poor might be; and in times of religious persecution or national trial the theory broke down utterly. Some teachers faced these perplexing facts and tried to account otherwise for the mystery of suffering. Here they deserted the rôle of the sage inculcating prudential precepts, and became religious rather than moral teachers (though the difference would hardly be recognized by a Jew), endeavouring to penetrate the mysteries of God and explain them to suffering humanity. We have examples of this in Job, Ecclesiastes, and the well-known Psalms, xxxvii, xlix, and lxxiii. It is to this last division that the writer of Wisdom, cc. i–x, belongs: the later chapters, xi to xix, have nothing in common with either class of Wisdom literature.

The authorship of the book is unknown. It is perhaps the work of more than one writer, and dates probably from after 50 B.C. St. Paul undoubtedly knew and used the book, Romans and Ephesians showing clear traces of its influence; some other parts of the New Testament also show points of contact with it.

§ 2. Title.

The earliest mention of the book is perhaps found in p. 11 *a*, line 8 of the Muratorian Canon (A.D. 200). There the title is 'Sapientia', with the added words 'ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta'. Clement of Alexandria, head of the Catechetical School A.D. 190–203, speaks of it under the title Wisdom of Solomon. Tertullian (*circa* 200) quotes it as the Wisdom of Solomon. Origen (d. 250) speaks of it in the same way as Clement. Cyprian (d. 258) quotes it as Solomon or the Wisdom of Solomon. The Latin version has 'Liber Sapientiae'; the Peshitta, 'The great Wisdom of Solomon.'

In the fourth-century MSS. ℵ and B the title is Σαλομωντος and Σαλωμωνος respectively. The Alexandrine fifth-century MS. has Σολομωντος. Jerome (d. 420), who recognizes that the book is pseudepigraphic, says it was entitled 'Sapientia Salomonis'. Only the Latin omits the name of Solomon, and this may be due to Jerome's influence: although he did not alter the translation—'calamo temperavi' he says—he may have altered the title.

§ 3. The MSS.

The most important uncials, ℵ A and B, contain the book in its entirety. C (Codex Ephraim) contains viii. 5–xii. 10, xiv. 19–xvii. 18, xviii. 24–xix. 22. V (23), eighth-ninth century, contains the whole. The cursives mentioned in Holmes and Parsons are numbered 23 (but this is a mistake: 23 is an uncial and is now called V), 55, 68, 106, 155 (omits vi. 22–xvi. 19), 157, 248, 253, 254, 261, 296. According to Klostermann (*Analecta*, Leipzig, 1895) 55 does not contain Wisdom. Klostermann has examined 248 and 253, while Nestle (*Urtext und Übersetzungen*) has investigated the readings of 68, 106, 157, 253, and 296. Of the cursives 248 seems to be the most important. It is frequently quoted by Prof. Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1890, and Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. 51 note) say, 'Cod. 248 embodies very ancient elements.' Grimm and Feldmann quote certain Parisian MSS. collated by Thilo of Halle, who contemplated an edition of the book (*c.* 1825).

The text of B is given in Swete, *O.T. in Greek*, with the variants of ℵ A and C. Many interesting variants in the cursives are given in Grimm, Holtzmann, and especially Feldmann. Feldmann's

investigation (*Textmaterialien z. B. der W.*, Freiburg im B., 1902) is by far the most thorough yet published.

§ 4. The Versions.

The Latin version is the Old Latin; Jerome did not touch it: he says 'calamo temperavi'. It is generally faithful to the Greek, but includes several lines not in any Greek MS., one of which (ii. 8) is undoubtedly, another (i. 15) possibly, genuine; a third (v. 14) a very intelligent gloss: others, e.g. ii. 17, vi. 1, 23, viii. 11, ix. 19, xi. 5, are glosses pure and simple. The text has been exhaustively examined by Thielmann in the *Archiv für lat. Lex. und Gram.*, 1893, pp. 235–277.[1] Like previous investigators, Thielmann comes to the conclusion that the home of the version is North Africa. This he proves by full lists of words and constructions in Wisdom, only found elsewhere in North African Latin. A short list of such words is given in § 4 of Westcott's article on Wisdom in Smith's *DB*; a longer list may be found in Deane, *Index II.* As Tertullian and Cyprian used it, the version is placed by Thielmann in the latter half of the second century.

The Syriac (Peshitta) version is full of mistakes and paraphrases, but is of great interest on account of its striking relationship to the Latin. Prof. Margoliouth points out that the Peshitta agrees with the Latin 'in a way which cannot be the result of chance'. This relationship is probably that of assistant to the Latin translator. The reverse could not be the case, since, if the Syriac translator had had the Latin to refer to, he would have made far fewer mistakes. Both the Latin and the Syriac are from earlier Greek MSS. than any we now possess.

Some interesting instances of agreement between the Syriac and Latin, besides those mentioned by Prof. Margoliouth on p. 279, *JRAS*, 1890, are as follows: v. 14, x. 5, 12 (see note), xiv. 2, and especially xiv. 19, of which Prof. Margoliouth says 'the Latin rendering can only be accounted for as a rendering of either the Syriac or the (supposed Hebrew) original'.

There are numerous additions in the form of explanatory glosses, e.g. the proper names in c. x, Cain, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob and Joseph, are inserted, and in xix. 17 (Syr. 16) ἐκεῖνοι rightly explained as the men of Sodom.

The text has been thoroughly examined by Joseph Holtzmann, *Die Pesch. z. B. der W.*, pp. 152, Freiburg im B., 1903. Of his conclusions, the two following deserve mention here: (1) the language of the copy before the translator was Greek, as is shown by mistranslations which could only have arisen from a misunderstanding of the Greek; (2) the Syriac version was used by the translator of the Latin version, therefore its date must be earlier.

The other versions (except the Arabic—which is said to be very late,—twelfth century or later) have been examined by Feldmann, who has collated the Coptic (Sahidic), Syro-Hexaplaric, and Armenian, and given the variants of each. He then (pp. 41–84) gives a most useful enumeration, with frequent discussions, of the various readings throughout the book.

§ 5. Date.

The difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory date for the book is seen from the differences which exist between scholars as to the period of its composition. Grimm dates it 145–50 B.C., Thackeray 130–100 B.C., Gregg 125–100 B.C., Gfrörer 100 B.C., Bousset under the Empire, Farrar 40 A.D.

An indisputable *terminus a quo* is obtained from the fact that the writer made use of the LXX version of Isaiah, but that may be no later than 200 B.C. By common consent this date is far too early. It is, however, possible to get a later date for the *terminus a quo.* If the line in 1 Enoch v. 7 is the source of Wisd. iii. 9 the book must be later than the translation of Enoch into Greek, which was probably undertaken as a whole, seeing that the fragments which survive include chapter lxxxix. The latest part of Enoch consists of chapters xxxvii to lxxi, and the date of this according to Charles is 94–79 B.C. We may suppose Enoch to have been translated at some date between 70 and 50 B.C. and adopt this period as the *terminus a quo.*

Mr. Thackeray dates the book 130–100 B.C. on the ground that the two forms οὐδείς and οὐθείς occur in it, a characteristic which he would assign to that period (*Gr. of O. T. Gk.*, p. 62). On the ground, however, that only the δ forms of οὐδείς occur in LXX Proverbs, he assigns that book to about 100 B.C., making it later than Wisdom. But it is difficult to believe that the author of Wisd. i–xi was not acquainted with LXX Proverbs. If he was not, we must delete iii. 11 and vi. 12 *c* as interpolations based on Prov. i. 7 and viii. 12 *b*. It is no doubt possible that these lines may be interpolations, but it is more difficult to get rid of πάρεδρον γὰρ εὑρήσει τῶν πυλῶν αὐτοῦ (vi. 14), which seems to be a reminiscence of Prov. i. 21 ἐπὶ δὲ πύλαις δυναστῶν παρεδρεύει, and viii. 2 παρὰ γὰρ πύλαις δυναστῶν παρεδρεύει. Possibly, too, ἀγρυπνέω in Wisd. vi. 15 is a reminiscence of the

[1] There is an earlier work by Thielmann, *Die lat. Übers. d. Buches der Weisheit* (Leipzig, 1872).

same word in Prov. viii. 34. Moreover, the general description of Wisdom in c. vi. 9–16 seems based on that in Prov. i and viii.

Further, if the LXX version of Proverbs was not in existence when Wisdom was written—and this would be the case if Mr. Thackeray's dates are accepted—we must assume that the author was able to consult Proverbs in the Hebrew, and yet that he resorted to the Greek for such an important book as Isaiah. It seems impossible to deny that in c. ii. 12 he accepted the erroneous LXX translation of Isa. iii. 10 (as the writer of the second part accepted that of Isa. xliv. 20). This would be a strange circumstance if he were able to read the original.

The evidence, therefore, is strongly in favour of assuming the dependence of Wisdom on LXX Proverbs. We may, however, with Mr. Thackeray accept a date for Proverbs subsequent to Sirach, i. e. subsequent to 130 B. C., and take the order as Sirach, Proverbs, Wisdom. This would strengthen the conjecture made above that the date of Wisdom is not earlier than the middle of the first century B. C.

The *terminus ad quem* depends on the undoubted use made of the book by St. Paul: this would require a date not later than the first few years of our era: it would take some little time for the book to acquire a reputation and get into circulation. Grimm points out (page 34) that the writer's apparent ignorance of the Alexandrine doctrine of the Logos points to a date earlier than Philo. More than that, as Philo did not expound his doctrine of the Logos as though it originated with him, the date of Wisdom must be earlier than the acceptance of this doctrine by the Jewish scholars of Alexandria. This argument is no doubt valid, but it only means that the book must be earlier than the student life of Philo, which may be placed from 5 B. C. to A. D. 5. To place the book on this account a hundred years earlier than Philo, as Gregg does, seems quite uncalled for. But ignorance of the Alexandrine Logos doctrine can only affect the date of the first part of the book; the second part may with Bousset (*Religion des Judenthums*, p. 35) be dated after the beginning of the Empire (say 30 B. C.), on account of xiv. 17, where the likeness of an *absent* ruler is mentioned.

The present writer inclines to a date between 50 and 30 B. C. for the first part of the book, and 30 B. C. to A. D. 10 for the second part, which was written in continuation of part 1.

§ 6. Composite Nature.

The unity of the book was early disputed. In the eighteenth century the French scholar Houbigant pronounced the work to be composite, and was followed by Eichhorn, Bretschneider, and others. Houbigant divided the book at the end of ch. ix; Eichhorn, whose position is here adopted, at xi 1; Bretschneider, at vi. 8 and xii, taking ch. xi as the work of a redactor. Gfrörer (1835) and Grimm (1860) upheld the unity of the book, the former speaking with scorn of Eichhorn, the latter with respect; and the deservedly great influence of Grimm caused subsequent scholars to accept his decision. In 1900 Siegfried called it 'the well-arranged product of a single author'.

In 1903, however, Lincke in *Samaria und seine Propheten* divided the book into two parts. He attributed cc. i–xii. 8 to a writer living in Samaria in the time of the Seleucidae. It was a polemic against the hierocracy at Jerusalem. Ch. xii. 9 to the end is Alexandrian.

In the same year Stevenson, in *Wisdom and the Jewish Apoc. Writings*, a little volume in the Temple Bible Series, offered another division of the book. He agrees very nearly with Eichhorn in making the first part end at xi. 4; but in the remainder of the book he sees three different compositions—viz. (1) cc. xiii–xv, the section on idolatry; (2) xi. 21–xii. 22, the section on the love and mercy of God; (3) the strictly historical part, xi. 5–20, xii. 23–27, xvi–xix.

In 1904 Weber, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, attempted another analysis. He also divided the book into four parts: cc. i–v, the book of eschatology; cc. vi–x, the Book of Wisdom proper; c. xi to the end, the book of the method of retribution; in this last part the chapters on idolatry (xiii–xv) are an insertion. Feldmann, in *Bib. Zeitsch.* 1909, pp. 140–150, criticized and rejected Weber's attempt, scarcely noticing Lincke's work.

Kohler in the *Jewish Encycl.* maintains the composite authorship, apparently following Eichhorn. Toy in the *Ency. Bib.* and *Ency. Brit.* thinks that the question admits of no certain answer.

The arguments for the unity of the book (some of which are given by Grimm) may be set forth as follows: (1) Use of certain unusual words and expressions throughout the book—e. g. the word μεταλλεύω is used in the same *erroneous* meaning in both parts, iv. 12 and xvi. 25; ἀπότομος, a word which occurs nowhere else in the Greek Bible, is found in v. 20, 22, vi. 5, xi. 10, xii. 9, xviii. 15; ἀνυπόκριτος in v. 18, xviii. 16, nowhere else in the Greek Bible; κίβδηλος, ii. 16, xv. 9, only twice besides in the Greek Bible; συγγνωστός, vi. 6, xiii. 8, nowhere else in the Greek Bible. The phrase ἐν ὄψει is found in iii. 4, vii. 9, viii. 11, xiv. 17, xv. 19, but nowhere else in the Greek Bible (but see below); θηρίων θυμοί, vii. 20, xvi. 5, and λογισμοὶ ἀσύνετοι, i. 5 and xi. 15, both seem to be unique

phrases; *παντοδύναμος*, vii. 23, xi. 17, xviii. 15, *γεώδης*, ix. 15, xv. 13, *διέπω*, ix. 3, xii. 15, *διερευνάω*, vi. 3, xiii. 7, occur nowhere else in the Greek Bible; *κακότεχνος*, i. 4, xv. 4, only once besides, 4 Macc. vi. 14. (2) The same extensive vocabulary, the similar use of compound and poetical words, assonances, and the like. (3) The rhythmical structure (see Thackeray, *JTS*, vol. vi, p. 232) throughout the book. (4) The use of philosophic theories in both parts—e.g. in part 1 the Stoic doctrine of the world-soul, in part 2 the Stoic doctrine of the metabolism of the four elements. (5) Omission of proper names in both parts.[1] (6) The occurrence in both parts of the striking conception of the 'world fighting for the righteous', which is found in v. 17, 20, xvi. 17, 24, xviii. 24 (perhaps), and xix. 6. The most formidable argument is the first. Many scholars would feel that the use of *μεταλλεύω* alone decides the question.

The arguments for the composite nature of the book are:—

(1) The difference in style, presentation, and tone.

(2) The omission of all reference to Wisdom in xi. 2 to the end, except in one doubtful passage.

(3) The abandonment of the transcendental view of the Deity.

(4) The absence of any reference to the doctrine of immortality, except a passing reference in xv. 3.

(5) Abandonment of parallelism.

(6) The numerous and striking linguistic differences.

The first five points may be explained away; it may be said that the writer is a philosopher in the first part, a preacher in the second; the sixth point, however, is more troublesome.

The most striking linguistic difference is found in the very different proportions in which certain particles are used[2] in the two parts—e.g. *μέν* is used three times only in the first part, v. 13, vii. 1, 30, and twenty-seven times (according to Swete's text) in the second, xi. 6, 10, xiii. 1, 3, 16, 17, xiv. 2, 8, 19, xv. 9, 17, xvi. 3, 9, 14, 18, 21, xvii. 5, 15, xviii. 1, 3, 4, 7, 16, 17, xix. 5, 10, 14. *δέ* is also unequally distributed, with fifty-two occurrences in part 1, eighty-two in part 2. *ἵνα* occurs seven times in the first part, viz. ii. 19, vi. 9, 21, ix. 2, 10, x. 8, 12, and twenty-one times in part 2—e.g. xi. 16, xii. 2, 7, 8, 13, 22, xiii. 9, 16, xiv. 4, 17, xvi. 3, 11, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26, xviii. 6, 19, xix. 4, 6. *ἀλλά* occurs four times in the first part, vi. 22, viii. 16, x. 8, 13, and seventeen times in part 2, viz. xi. 19, 20, xii. 8, xiii. 2, 6, xiv. 22, 31, xv. 7, 9, 12, xvi. 7, 12, 18, 26, xviii. 20, 22, xix. 15, and in connexion with this *μόνον* is of course more frequent in the second part than in the first. *γάρ* occurs 52 times in the first part, as against 102 in the second; *καὶ γάρ* twice in the first part, twelve times in the second.

In addition to these considerable differences the following smaller differences in the use of particles exist:—

ἄνευ, xiv. 4, xix. 13.
εἶτα, xiv. 16, 22, xvii. 16.
ἐπεί, xviii. 12, xix. 15.
ἔτι, x. 7, xiii. 6, xiv. 24, xix. 3, 10.

ὅτε, ix. 9, xi. 9, 13, xvi. 5, xix. 11, 17.
ποτε, v. 3, xiv. 15, xvi. 18, 19, xviii. 20.
τότε, v. 1, xi. 8, xiv. 15, xvi. 25, xviii. 17, 20.
πῶς, v. 5, vi. 22, xi. 8, 9, 25, xiii. 9, xvi. 4, xix. 10.
πάλιν, x. 4, xiii. 8, xiv. 1, xvi. 23, xix. 6.
ἀνάπαλιν, xix. 21.

This gives seven of these particles in part 1 to thirty-six in part 2.

The distribution of some other words is worthy of notice. The following occur only in the first part:—

ἀρετή, iv. 1, v. 13, viii. 7.
παιδεία, i. 5, ii. 12, iii. 11, vi. 17, vii. 14.
τρίβοι, in a metaphorical sense, ii. 15, v. 7, vi. 16, ix. 18, x. 10 (in xiv. 3 the singular is used in a literal sense).
ἐνθυμέομαι, iii. 14, vi. 15, vii. 15, ix. 13.
ἔσχατος, ii. 16, iii. 17, iv. 19.
συνίημι, iii. 9, vi. 1, ix. 11.
σύνεσις, iv. 11, ix. 5.

σημεῖον, v. 11, 13, viii. 8, x. 16.
κινέω, v. 11.
κίνησις, ii. 2, vii. 24.
κινητικός, vii. 24.
εὐκίνητος is in both parts, vii. 22 applied to Wisdom, xiii. 11 applied to a tree, nowhere else in the Greek Bible.
παροδεύω, i. 8, ii. 7, v. 14, vi. 22, x. 8.

πολύς is evenly distributed, but the compounds (seven) are all in part 1: *πολυτελής* ii. 7,

[1] The singularity of this largely disappears when we notice that Philo often omits the names of historical characters: see *Vita Mosis*, Bk. i, c. 42 (Caleb and Joshua), 43 (Edom), 59 (Reuben and Gad); Bk. ii, c. 10 (Lot); Bk. iii, cc. 21 and 38 (Korah, Dathan, and Abiram).

[2] It must be stated that the proportion of matter in the two parts is $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 13, or 23 to 26: the second part may be taken as one-eighth longer than the first: but in considering the particles it should be noticed that there are in B 556 stichoi in part 1, to 568 in part 2.

πολύγονος iv. 3, πολυετής iv. 16, πολυμερής vii. 22, πολυπειρία viii. 8, πολύφρονις ix. 15, πολυχρόνιος ii. 10, iv. 8.

The following words occur in the second part only :—

ἁμαρτάνω, xi. 16, xii. 2, 11, xiv. 31, xv. 2, 13.
ἀρνέομαι, xii. 27, xvi. 16, xvii. 10.
δεῖ, *necesse est*, xii. 19, xv. 12, xvi. 4, 28.
ἐπιταγή, xiv. 16, xviii. 16, xix. 6.
ἰσχύω, xi. 21, xiii. 1, 9, xv. 16, xvi. 20, xix. 20.
μεγαλύνω, xix. 22, μεγάλως, xi. 21, xiv. 22, μεγαλωσύνη xviii. 24.
τρύχειν, xi. 11, xiv. 15.

The following differences occur in the two parts :—

ἐπισκοπή, ii. 20, iii. 7, 9, 13, iv. 15, all in a favourable sense ; xiv. 11, xix. 15, in an unfavourable sense (pointed out first by Weber).
κἂν γάρ, iv. 4, ix. 6 ; καὶ γὰρ ἐάν, xv. 2.

ἴδιος occurs eleven or twelve times: two of these occurrences being in part 1, the remaining nine or ten in part 2. This difference could hardly be connected with difference in subject-matter.

The word ὄψις occurs three times in the first part, eight times in the second. In the first part it is used in a metaphorical sense in the phrase ἐν ὄψει; in the second, seven times literally, the eighth being doubtful. This should be considered with the similar cases of ἐπισκοπή and τρίβος.

The distribution of βίος and ζωή is worth noticing. βίος occurs ten times in the first part and five times in the second, ζωή once in the first part and six times in the second. ἐξετάζω and ἐτάζω and its derivatives five times in the first part, once in the second; κολάζω is a favourite word in part 2, eleven times as against once in part 1. This last, no doubt, is due to difference of subject-matter. The same reason holds good for σοφία, which occurs twenty-eight times in part 1 and twice in part 2.

The use of compound words is considerable in both parts, but there are differences to be observed. Of compounds of ἐπί there are nineteen in part 1 as against forty in part 2 ; compounds of πρό have nine instances in part 1 as against twenty-two in part 2 ; πρός seven in part 1 as against twenty in part 2 ; and ὑπό five in part 1 as against twenty-five in part 2. Compounds of κατά are twenty-one in part 1 to thirty-four in part 2, of μετά seven in part 1 to twelve in part 2. This gives sixty-eight of these compounds in part 1 to 153 in part 2. If the cumulative argument is worth anything, it should certainly be considered in deciding what weight should be assigned to these linguistic differences.

The difference in style, presentation, and tone between the two parts is undeniable. In style, as Eichhorn says, 'the first part is appropriate and concise, the second inappropriate, diffuse, exaggerated, and bombastic' (p. 145); though a few passages in part 2 may escape this censure.

With the exception of iv. 15–17, where the text is in disorder, there are no specially difficult or doubtful passages in the first part, while there are serious difficulties in xii. 5, 24, xv. 17 *c*, 18 *b*, 19 *a*, xvii. 6, 13, and xviii. 1, 2. It is also worth noting that the difference in style between the two parts led Siegfried, who accepts the unity of the book, to print his translation from xii. 19 to the end in prose. The presentation in the first part is varied: we have the author's own words, the speech of the apostates, Solomon's address and his prayer ; part 2 is one continuous apostrophe to the Deity. In tone the second part is pervaded by a narrow and bitter Jewish spirit, which is markedly absent from part 1.

In answer to this latter point, it may be said that part 1 deals with Jews only ; that there was no opportunity of displaying narrow national feeling towards the Gentiles. It must then be asked what, on the supposition of its unity, was the object of the second part of the book? how does it fit in with the object of the first part? The first part is a polemic against the apostate Jews of Alexandria, and an appeal to them, by the example of the wise king, to return to the worship of Jehovah. But this object could hardly be helped forward by the contents of part 2. The teaching that by what things a man sins, by these he is punished, appears to be pointless with regard to the sins of the apostates. It is very far-fetched on the part of Bois to find this teaching in iii. 10. Again, these apostates who had adopted Greek or Epicurean views of life were in no danger of falling into idolatry ; they could scoff at the worshippers of a 'rotten piece of wood' as well as the author. The only way in which the appeal to history could be thought to influence them would be by pointing out that in plaguing the Egyptians and delivering Israel, Jehovah had shown Himself to be the true God, and that the Egyptians themselves had confessed Him to be so; but in view of the sceptical and scoffing attitude of the apostates towards the miraculous, as recorded by Philo (see end of note on i. 1), such an appeal could have no effect. It might uphold the courage of the faithful ; it could have no effect on unbelievers except to make them scoff the more.

The difference in the view of the action of the Deity adopted in the two parts (pointed out in the note on xi. 2) is seen most plainly in two parallel passages, where the very functions assigned to Wisdom in part 1 are assigned directly to God in part 2. In vii. 22 Wisdom is πάντων τεχνῖτις, in viii. 6 τῶν ὄντων . . . τεχνῖτις, while in xiii. 1 God Himself is called τεχνίτης. In viii. 1 it is said of Wisdom διοικεῖ τὰ πάντα, in xv. 1 God is addressed directly as διοικῶν τὰ πάντα. Moreover, when Heinisch (p. 47) affirms the God of the Book of Wisdom to be the living personal and almighty God of Israel, the passages he quotes in support of this position are drawn entirely from the second part of the book. He adduces xii. 18, xi. 17, 23, xvi. 13, 15, xi. 22, xiii. 1–7. This testimony is all the more valuable as it is given quite unwittingly. It shows plainly what part of the book a writer must resort to in order to find the action of the Deity portrayed in Jewish fashion.

In truth there are considerable difficulties in the way of accepting the unity of authorship which have not been met by its upholders. If we could assume that the writer of the second part had studied the first part carefully and wished to write a supplement to it, both resemblances and differences could be accounted for.

The proofs adduced by Thackeray (*JTS*, vi, pp. 232 ff.) and approved by Blass seem to show that the writer of the second part endeavoured to keep up the poetical form of the first: for this reason, although the second part is very prosaic, it has been thought well to keep the verse form of the Revised Version throughout.

§ 7. Authorship and Language.

The author of the book is generally assumed to be an Alexandrian Jew. But the opinion of scholars is not unanimous on the point. Bretschneider considered the first section, i–vi. 8, to have been written by a Palestinian Jew. Grimm in 1833 wrote a thesis entitled 'de Sap. libri indole Alexandrina perperam asserta', but he withdrew from this position in his great commentary of 1860, where the Alexandrian origin of the book is maintained. Grimm's later position was unanimously accepted till the appearance of Prof. Margoliouth's article in *JRAS*, 1890, entitled 'Was the Book of Wisdom written in Hebrew?'[1] He there maintains that 'the writer shows no acquaintance with Egypt beyond what he might have got from the Bible, and that he shows a familiarity with the interpretation of the Midrash which points to the Palestinian School'. This last clause can refer to the second part only, cc. xi–xix.

In 1903 Lincke, while accepting Greek as the original language, maintained that cc. i–xii were written in Palestine, and Bousset in *Die Religion des Judenthums* (1906), p. 212, writes, 'The early chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon are probably of Palestinian origin.' (He thus admits the composite authorship; see also p. 501, where he speaks of the second and third parts of the book.)

It seems difficult to accept the proposition that the book was written in Hebrew in face of the numerous instances where dependence on LXX seems undeniable, e. g.:—

ii. 12 ἐνεδρεύσωμεν δὲ τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστιν. Isa. iii. 10 δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστι. These passages have only to be put side by side to show the dependence of one upon the other (the fact that the passage from Isaiah is corrupt in the present Hebrew text, which should doubtless read אשרי צדיק כי טוב, does not enter into consideration here; though it shows how the LXX got δήσωμεν).

xi. 4 καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου ὕδωρ. Deut. viii. 15 τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σοι ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος. Here the fact that ἀκρότομος, 'steep', is an incorrect translation of חלמיש, 'flint', makes for an undoubted connexion between the two passages.

xi. 22 ὅτι ὡς ῥοπὴ ἐκ πλαστίγγων ὅλος ὁ κόσμος ἐναντίον σου. Isa. xl. 15 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη . . . ὡς ῥοπὴ ζυγοῦ ἐλογίσθησαν. The thought is identical, and the writer could not have got it from the Hebrew, which has 'dust שחק of the balance'.

xv. 7 and Isa. xliv. 20 both refer to the idolater. The Hebrew has 'he feedeth on ashes, a heart deceived hath misled him'. The LXX divided the words in the Hebrew text wrongly and translated σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν. The writer of Wisdom followed this and wrote σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ.

xvi. 22 πῦρ φλεγόμενον ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ. Exod. ix. 24 τὸ πῦρ φλογίζον ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ. The LXX translator was perhaps puzzled at the meaning to be assigned to the Hebrew word מתהלך, 'darting hither and thither'; at any rate he did not translate it literally, but put another word which would make sense: the writer of Wisdom borrowed directly from the LXX.

These examples seem to make it plain that Pseudo-Sol. did not use the Hebrew Bible and that he drew his quotations directly from the LXX.

The following resemblances also show the writer's acquaintance with LXX:

iii. 11 σοφίαν γὰρ καὶ παιδείαν ὁ ἐξουθενῶν ταλαίπωρος. Prov. i. 7 σοφίαν δὲ καὶ παιδείαν ἀσεβεῖς ἐξουθενήσουσιν.

[1] Prof. Margoliouth's thesis was contested by Freudenthal in an article entitled 'What is the Original Language of the Wisdom of Solomon?' *JQR*, iii. 722–53.

vi. 12 (if genuine) καὶ εὑρίσκεται ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων αὐτήν. Prov. viii. 17 οἱ δὲ ἐμὲ ζητοῦντες εὑρήσουσιν.
vi. 14 πάρεδρον γὰρ εὑρήσει τῶν πυλῶν αὐτοῦ. Prov. i. 21 ἐπὶ δὲ πύλαις δυναστῶν παρεδρεύει.
Compare also v. 17 with Isa. lix. 17, quoted below, p. 527. See also notes on vi. 7, xii. 26, and xiv. 8.

Again, throughout the book, compound words abound—a mark of Alexandrian Greek. Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 311, gives over fifty from the first six chapters.

Further, the knowledge of Greek philosophy displayed in the book speaks for its Alexandrine origin; though this is not absolutely decisive, as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are supposed by some scholars to show traces of Greek philosophical influence. Moreover, the doctrine of immortality in all probability, and the doctrine of the transcendence of God certainly, are Alexandrian, not Palestinian. Finally, it seems likely that iii. 9 *c* is borrowed from the Greek translation of Enoch. As we cannot imagine a Palestinian writer borrowing from the Greek translation of a book originally written in Hebrew, the borrowing must have taken place outside Palestine, and the only possible alternative seems to be Alexandria.

But wherever the book originated the writer is unknown. In part 1 he plainly speaks in the name of Solomon, though the name itself is not mentioned, any more than it is in Ecclesiastes (where, accordng to McNeile, i. 1 is no part of the original text). The speaker is said to be of royal birth (vii. 5); he prays for wisdom (viii. 21), and says 'thou hast chosen me to be a king' (ix. 7). This is, of course, a literary device and would deceive no one. But it made the book anonymous, and anonymous it still remains.

The earliest record of any conjecture as to its authorship is given by Jerome, who says that some of the ancient writers affirm the author to be Philo. This may also have been the opinion of the writer of the document known as the Muratorian Canon. An interesting suggestion was made by Tregelles that in the Muratorian Canon, p. 11 *a*, lines 7 and 8, where the Latin has 'Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta', there may have originally stood ὑπὸ φίλωνος instead of ὑπὸ φίλων. But though Jerome's testimony is interesting as showing that at an early period many saw the impossibility of ascribing the book to Solomon as Origen also did (*Contra Cels.* v. 29), the authorship of Philo does not recommend itself to modern scholars. The Philonian doctrine of the Logos, the pronounced dualism which said σῶμα = σῆμα, and almost certainly the doctrine of ideas, are all absent from Wisdom; while the personality of the devil is accepted as a fact in Wisdom, whereas in Philo it is allegorized into pleasure.

The suggestion that Apollos was the author (Noach, Plumptre) is generally rejected.

Like many other books in the Canon, both Hebrew and Greek, its authorship must remain unknown.

§ 8. Relationship to other Books in the Old and New Testaments.

The relationship of the Book of Wisdom to Ecclesiastes is generally admitted. The first section of Wisdom might be said to be a polemic against the words of Eccles. vii. 15, 'There is a righteous man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his evil doing.' That one book could be written in answer to another (both now sacred) is seen from Ecclesiastes itself, which was doubtless written in antagonism to the view propounded by Ezekiel and his followers that righteousness and unrighteousness were both rewarded in this life, a view which the author of Job also contests. Ruth, also, was probably written as a protest against the endeavours of Ezra and Nehemiah to enforce the Deuteronomic law (xxiii. 3) against mixed marriages. The first part of Wisdom, therefore, may have been written to oppose the despairing philosophy of Ecclesiastes and the opinions and practices of the apostates, who may have quoted it to support their views. The most striking passages, a full list of which is given in Grimm, p. 30, and McNeile, p. 38, are the following:—

Wisd. ii. 1, 'Short and sorrowful is our life.' Eccles. ii. 23, 'All his days are but sorrow, and his labour is grief.'

Wisd. ii. 2, 'By mere chance (αὐτοσχεδίως) were we born.' Eccles. iii. 19, 'The sons of men are a chance' (R.V. margin).

Wisd. ii. 4, 'Our name shall be forgotten and no one shall remember our works.' Eccles. i. 11, 'There is no remembrance of the former generations.' Eccles. ii. 16, 'For of a wise man, as of a fool, there is no remembrance for ever.' Eccles. ix. 5, 'The memory of them (i. e. the dead) is forgotten.'

Wisd. ii. 6–10 and Eccles. ix. 7–9 show a great similarity, the difference being only in tone. The tone of the apostates' words in Wisdom is defiant, that of Ecclesiastes is sad: 'Go eat thy bread in gladness, and drink thy wine with a cheerful heart. . . . At all times let thy garments be white, and let not oil on thy head be lacking. Enjoy life with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of thy transient life, which he hath given

thee under the sun; for that is thy portion in life. . . . There is no work nor device nor knowledge nor wisdom in Sheol, whither thou goest.'

(The phrase 'this is our portion', Wisd. ii. 9*c*, is probably an echo of the words 'this is his or thy portion', which recur in Eccles. iii. 22, v. 18, ix. 9.)

Hitzig in his edition of Ecclesiastes (1847) refused to admit any connexion between the two books. According to Grimm, Hitzig did not give any reasons for his assertion. Mr. Gregg, in *CBS*, also rejects the idea of any connexion, and gives reasons, but they do not seem convincing. It is true that Epicureanism and Sadduceeism did not require Ecclesiastes to appeal to. The Sadducees in 1 Enoch cii. 6 say, 'As we die so die the righteous, and what benefit do they reap for their deeds? Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness, and what have they more than we? from henceforth we are equal.' These are the very same sentiments as those found in the speech of the apostates in Wisdom ii. Sadduceeism was a disease of the time, and the author of the first part of Wisdom combated it. That he would have opposed it had Ecclesiastes never been written is quite likely, but for all that the form of Wisdom ii. 6–10 probably owes something to Ecclesiastes ix. 7–9.

The influence of the Book of Wisdom upon the New Testament has been differently estimated. Eichhorn (p. 202) first pointed out resemblances in Romans and Ephesians, but Grimm declined to admit any direct connexion even in the case of Wisd. xv. 7 and Rom. ix. 21. Other scholars, however, maintain a direct connexion not only with St. Paul but with the Gospel of St. John, the Epistle of St. James, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.

In his commentary Grimm gives, on p. 36, a large number of passages where connexion between Wisdom and the New Testament was affirmed by Nachtigal, Stier, and others; but all earlier investigations with regard to St. Paul's use of the book have been superseded by that of Grafe, *Das Verhältniss der Paulinischen Schriften zur Sapientia Salomonis*, Theol. Abhandl. in honour of Weizäcker, 1892, pp. 253–86.

Seeing that St. Paul nowhere quotes Wisdom by name, it is almost impossible to adduce a proof of connexion which will satisfy everybody; a parallel in expression or thought may be only a coincidence or go back to a common source. Take, for instance, passages that would occur to any one who knows both books, Rom. i. 20 and Wisd. xiii. 1, where the possibility of knowing God through His works is affirmed: here both writers might be independently using a well-known argument of the Stoics. The argument of course is cumulative: one or two resemblances would be of no value for proving connexion: but when in two short books like Wisdom and Romans a large number of parallelisms are found (Sanday and Headlam, p. 51, quote ten verses from the first chapter of Romans which have points of resemblance to Wisdom) it seems perverse to deny connexion. The most striking parallelism between Wisdom and Romans is found in the passages where St. Paul expounds his doctrine of predestination.

In Wisd. xii. 12 ff. and Rom. ix. 21–3 Grafe (p. 265) traces three thoughts:—

(1) The idea of the infinite power of God, which admittedly by itself proves nothing. Wisd. xii. 12; Rom. ix. 19–23.

(2) In the same context, however, both writers dwell upon the fact of God being longsuffering towards His enemies although He knows it will be unavailing. Wisd. xii. 8–10, 11*a*, 20*a*; Rom. ix. 22.

(3) In the same context also is found a contrast between the enemies and the sons of God in relation to their respective destinies. Wisd. xii. 20–2; Rom. ix. 22, 23.

The point to be noticed is that these three ideas occur in close connexion both in Wisdom and Romans.

In addition to the parallelism of thought there are also resemblances in language.

Wisd. xii. 12.	Rom. ix. 19, 20.
τίς γὰρ ἐρεῖ τί ἐποίησας; ἢ τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κρίματί σου;	μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι· τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως . . . τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν;

Again, there is the parallel between Wisd. xv. 7 and Rom. ix. 21.

Here St. Paul uses in O.T. fashion the image of the potter and the clay as an illustration of God's dealings with man, but in addition to this he introduces the thought which is not found in the O.T. of the potter making out of the same clay some vessels for noble and others for ignoble purposes. The latter point is found only in Romans and Wisdom. But even here Grimm will not admit direct connexion. He thinks that both writers may have independently hit upon the same illustration. Here Grimm seems to be quite alone; all other expositors recognize the connexion.

Grafe was the first to point out in full the connexion between St. Paul's views on idolatry and

those expressed in Wisdom, especially in regard to the lighter judgement passed on the more refined form of idolatry found in the worshippers of natural phenomena.

Taking στοιχεῖα[1] in Gal. iv. 3 as referring to the heavenly bodies, Grafe points out the lenient judgement passed by St. Paul here, and compares the lenient judgement on the same kind of worship in Wisd. xiii. 6. Against the grosser forms of idolatry St. Paul is scathingly severe, and the same attitude is found in Wisdom.

Again, after discussing the nature and folly of idol worship, both the writer of Wisdom and St. Paul dwell upon the immorality which they affirm to be the direct result of idolatry. Both give a long catalogue of vices, St. Paul 24, Wisdom 14, which naturally tally in several points.

Another similarity worth noticing is that between the striking and original thought in xi. 23 *b* that God's longsuffering is meant to lead sinners to repentance, and Rom. ii. 4 'not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance.'

An interesting comparison between Wisd. ix. 15 and 2 Cor. v. 1 ff. is pointed out by E. Pfleiderer (p. 317 note). He there shows the similarity both of thought and language. With reference to this, Otto Pfleiderer remarks (*Prim. Christianity*, vol. i. p. 454): 'It is true that 2 Cor. v. 1–5 has such close affinities with Wisd. ix. 15 that the conjecture is legitimate that this passage may have hovered before his (St. Paul's) mind and perhaps even suggested the choice of his words. But this close affinity by no means proves a direct borrowing of the Pauline doctrine from the Book of Wisdom.'

The connexion of Wisd. v. 17 ff. with Eph. vi. 11ff. is denied by Grimm on the ground that Isa. lix. 17 is the source of both. The passages are as follows:

Isa. lix. 17.	Wisd. v. 17 ff.	Eph. vi. 11.
καὶ ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα, καὶ περιέθετο περικεφαλαίαν σωτηρίου ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς.	λήψεται πανοπλίαν τὸν ζῆλον αὐτοῦ . . . ἐνδύσεται θώρακα δικαιοσύνην καὶ περιθήσεται κόρυθα κρίσιν ἀνυπόκριτον· λήψεται ἀσπίδα . . . ὀξυνεῖ δὲ ἀπότομον ὀργὴν εἰς ῥομφαίαν.	ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα δικαιοσύνης . . . ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως . . . καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν.

The decisive point for those who accept direct connexion is the fact that πανοπλία occurs in both Wisdom and St. Paul, but not in Isaiah: also 'shield' and 'sword' are in Wisdom and St. Paul, but not in Isaiah. On the other hand, περικεφαλαίαν σωτηρίου in Isaiah corresponds to περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου in St. Paul.

The fact that St. Paul knew and used the Book of Wisdom makes it far easier to admit its influence on other parts of the New Testament. The parallels to St. John and St. James adduced by other scholars and rejected by Grimm have now more to be said for them. Mr. Gregg quotes a large number of parallels to St. John, the most interesting being 'This is life eternal, that they should know thee' (St. John xvii. 3) and Wisd. xv. 3. Prof. J. B. Mayor in his commentary on St. James, p. lxxv, gives twelve passages from Wisdom, echoes of which may be found in the epistle.

§ 9. Theology and Philosophy of the Book.

The theology of the Book of Wisdom is Alexandrine, a combination of Jewish religion with Greek philosophy.

The first part, cc. i–xi. 1, is more Greek than Jewish, and in nothing is this shown more clearly than in the idea of God presented by the two parts respectively. The idea of God in part 1 is that of Greek philosophy—a transcendent God who has no immediate contact with the world. It is true that in the later parts of the O. T. the writers had largely abandoned the conception of Jahveh as a God who had direct dealings with mankind. The theophanies which took place under the guise of the 'Angel of Jahveh' disappear, and in Daniel, for instance, the angel Gabriel gives to the seer the revelation which would have been given in earlier times by the 'Angel of Jahveh', i.e. by Jahveh Himself. God gradually became thought of as more and more remote, though even in Daniel the scene where the Ancient of Days sits in judgement on the nations shows that God could still be thought of as having immediate dealings with mankind. In Wisdom, however, in cc. i–x, we find that the author conceives God to be so remote, that He performs His will by means of an intermediary, whom He sends forth into the world (ix. 10). This intermediary is Wisdom, and possesses all the attributes of Deity. She is omnipotent (vii. 27), omniscient (viii. 8 and ix. 11), and puts these attributes into action: she administers all things well (viii. 1). At the Creation Wisdom stood by God and chose His works; the subsequent administration of the world was committed to her, since her relationship to God at the Creation ensured to her complete knowledge

[1] That R. V. here, following Lightfoot, must be given up, see the article 'Elements' in *Hastings' DB.*

of His commands (ix. 9). If God knows all things, it is because Wisdom takes her report to Him (i. 9–10). If for a moment it is said that God gave Solomon knowledge of things that are (vii. 17), it is immediately corrected by the statement, 'For she that is the artificer of all things taught me, even Wisdom' (vii. 21). In ix. 1 the direct action of God is not spoken of *simpliciter*; it is softened by the expressions 'word' and 'wisdom'—'who madest all things by thy word, and by thy wisdom formedst man.'

It must be admitted that the passages in which the writer speaks of the author of Creation are not at first sight consistent. We seem to have three views: (1) God as Creator, i. 14, vi. 7, ix. 1, ix. 9; (2) God as Creator while Wisdom is present and exercises the prerogative of choice, viii. 4, ix. 9; (3) Wisdom as creator, vii. 22, viii. 5 and 6, and by implication in vii. 23 (all-powerful), and vii. 27 (hath power to do all things). The only possible way of reconciling these utterances is to take (3) as representing the philosophic view of the writer, while in (1) God is spoken of as Creator on the principle that 'qui facit per alium facit per se'. No. 2 may represent the means by which the writer endeavoured to reconcile the biblical with his philosophic view of Creation. That the view expressed in vii. 22 and viii. 5 and 6 was deliberately adopted by the writer may be inferred by comparing vii. 22 with vii. 19, where he corrects an expression which might have been taken as attributing unmediated action to God. Yet it would appear that the writer felt unwilling to deny that man can have direct access to God. Solomon's prayer in c. ix presupposes that God hears man directly, and the belief in God as real, and not as a philosophical abstraction—to say nothing of the influence of the psalmists—caused the author, as it did Origen, to believe in direct access to God in prayer. This, it may be said, is inconsistent with a strictly philosophical belief in the abstract transcendence of God as ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ οὐσίας, but it is an inconsistency our author shares in good company. On the other hand, the doctrine of the transcendence of God entirely disappears in part 2, where He is repeatedly spoken of as acting directly on the world (see note on xi. 2).

It is generally agreed that 'Wisdom' is not a 'person', i. e. a being capable of exercising understanding and will—a self-determining intelligence. What, then, is it? Is it an attribute of God personified? Personification is difficult to us: it is a device of the poet; but to the Oriental mind it came easily enough. The O. T. contains numerous instances of the personification of the nation: Rachel is pictured as weeping for her children: 'Ephraim hath grey hairs upon him, and he knoweth it not,' says Hosea; the nation is personified as the suffering servant in 2 Isaiah. The personification of an attribute or power would naturally come later. We perhaps see the first beginnings of it in 2 Isaiah (see the commentators on lxxiii. 10) with respect to the Spirit of God. The belief in subordinate heavenly powers present at Creation (Gen. i. 26, Job xxxviii. 7) would help to give Wisdom its position in Prov. viii and Sir. xxiv; though probably without Greek influence Wisdom would never have been personified as it is there (Siegfried, *Hastings' DB*, iv, p. 925). In answering the question whether our author regarded Wisdom as personal or impersonal, we must remember that to the ancients, to whom even the stars were persons, the modern idea of personality was quite foreign, and that the same question with regard to the Logos of Philo cannot be satisfactorily answered (Caird, vol. ii, *Evol. of Theol.*, p. 200). But Philo did answer a somewhat similar question—was the Logos created or uncreated? 'The Logos, he declares, is neither uncreated like God nor created like us; but he is at equal distance between the extremes' (Caird, p. 202). 'The Logos is not unbegotten as God.' 'On the other hand it is not begotten as man' (Drummond, *Philo*, ii. 192). We shall perhaps not be far wrong if we attribute the same idea to our author with regard to the personality of Wisdom.

God created the world by means of Wisdom, and as Wisdom is φιλάνθρωπος, i. 6, vii. 23, the motive of Creation, though not explicitly stated, can be assumed to be God's love to man. This is expressed in both parts of the book, but with far greater emphasis on His love in part 2. 'It is he that made both small and great, and alike he taketh thought (προνοεῖ) for all' (vi. 7). 'But thou sparest all things, O Sovereign Lord, thou lover of souls' (xi. 26). But though there is more stress placed on love in the second part, in part 1 God assigns to man a higher destiny. In ii. 23 it is said, 'He made him an image of his own being,' while in xv. 11 He simply bestows on man the gift of life: accordingly, in part 1, a higher standard is demanded from man if he is to be worthy of His love: 'For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with Wisdom,' vii. 28; while in part 2 no such high demand is made; mere existence ensures God's love: 'For thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest none of the things that thou didst make,' xi. 24. The Creator made man in His love, bestowed upon him the gift of likeness to Himself. From this being He looks for conduct worthy of his privileges, and therefore demands wisdom and righteousness (i. 6–8). In accordance with this demand Justice punishes those that sin (i. 8), while the righteous are rewarded with the 'wages of holiness' and the 'prize for blameless souls' (ii. 22). The reward is life, the punishment is death. But it is spiritual life, not so much upon earth—though the writer recog-

nizes that as is seen from the blessings of Wisdom recounted in cc. vi and vii—as in the future; a blessed immortality with God entered upon immediately after death.

It is doubtful, however, whether the writer had realized that this belief involved the abandonment of the traditional Jewish eschatology. It certainly seems as though he could not give up the old Jewish idea of a visible triumph of the righteous over their enemies. The day of judgement also is mentioned more than once (iii. 18, iv. 20), and this is inconsistent with the belief that the soul immediately after death receives its full reward, happiness or misery, life or death. Again, ch. iii. 7 ff. clearly reflects ideas of a distinctly Jewish type. The righteous shall 'run to and fro like sparks amongst the stubble'. Here we seem to have an echo of the judgement by the sword inaugurating the Messianic Kingdom: then it is said, 'they shall judge nations and have dominion over peoples,' indicating a belief in a Messianic Kingdom which would naturally succeed the judgement. In v. 17, however, the conception is somewhat different. There it is Jehovah Himself who is to overthrow the ungodly by means of the forces of nature, while the spirits of the righteous are safe in His keeping. Probably iv. 18 *b* ff. is also equivalent to this.

With regard then to the future destiny of the righteous we must ask, what did the writer contemplate for them? The alternatives are (1) an everlasting Messianic Kingdom on earth, (2) a temporary Messianic Kingdom with heaven afterwards, or (3) immortality immediately after death—a purely Greek idea. If the first alternative is taken, he must have considered that the righteous were to descend from heaven at the day of judgement or decision and take up their position as rulers in an everlasting Messianic Kingdom. The mournful retrospect of the ungodly is said to take place when their sins are reckoned up, that is, on the day of decision. After this day of decision there will come for the righteous the time of their triumph, which is described in iii. 7. Against this arrangement of events Grimm affirms that in no known Jewish system of eschatology does this descent of spirits with (it is to be presumed) heavenly bodies take place: though Charles's translation of 1 Enoch cviii. 12 should be considered, 'And I will bring clad in shining light those who have loved my holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour.' And it may be urged that a writer who could in these chapters propound four novel beliefs might have entertained a fifth.

The second alternative of a temporary Messianic Kingdom is found in 1 Enoch xci–civ, a book that has many points of contact with Wisd. i–x. There we find the wicked oppressing the righteous, encouragement given to the suffering righteous by the promise of reward in the next world: after their death their souls are guarded by angels: a temporary Messianic Kingdom comes into existence at the appointed time: at the close of this Messianic Kingdom the last judgement takes place, and all the righteous, including those whose souls had been kept in safety, enjoy everlasting life in heaven (see Charles's 1 *Enoch*[2], pp. 219–23). Wisd. iii. 7 deviates from this scheme, it is true, but v. 17 does not, nor perhaps iv. 18 *b* ff. Enoch makes it plain that the punishment of the unrighteous in the Messianic Kingdom is not effected by means of the righteous who have died; their souls are still in the keeping of angels; while in Wisd. iii. 7 it is the very same righteous who have suffered who are to 'run to and fro like sparks in the stubble', i. e. to consume their enemies. But in v. 17 Jehovah Himself overthrows the ungodly, the righteous being covered by His Hand. Thus iii. 7 fits in with the first alternative, v. 17 with the second.

The comparison of these different schemes of eschatology with Wisdom forces one to the belief that the writer simply added the idea of the immortality of the soul immediately after death to one or other of the current forms of Jewish eschatology, and did not, or rather could not, make them consistent. It is perhaps doubtful whether he felt the difficulty. Indeed, a much greater Alexandrian, Philo, found it impossible to have a consistent eschatology. He accepted the idea of a Messianic Kingdom though it was entirely 'foreign to his system' (Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 260): and with regard to a greater than either—St. Paul—we are told that it is impossible to get a systematic scheme of eschatology out of his writings (Stevens, *Theol. of New Test.*, p. 482).[1]

Lastly, it is no doubt just possible that the writer adopted a purely Greek view of immortality: that iii. 7 ff., iv. 18 *b* ff., and v. 17 ff. are survivals of a former method of thinking which he had discarded, traces of which, however, remain in his language: but the expressions used seem to be too forcible for this explanation to hold good.

But the belief in the future blessedness of the righteous cannot do away with the perplexing fact that at present they suffer, and suffer undeservedly. Death, and even premature death, seems to be their portion. How is this to be explained? This brings us to the discussion of the problem of undeserved suffering and the solution offered by the writer.

In the greater part of the Old Testament the problem of undeserved suffering does not appear.

[1] The reason in the last case is obviously that St. Paul's eschatological views advanced with his own spiritual experience and development.—General Editor.

Affliction is punishment, and the punishment is retributive. In Amos there is a hint given that punishment may be disciplinary and remedial. The Israelites have been punished, 'Yet ye have not returned unto me.' In one solitary place in Prov. iii. 12, 'Whom the Lord loveth he reproveth,' and in Job v. 17, 'Happy is the man whom God reproveth,' this idea recurs; in the Elihu speeches also (Job xxxv. 15 and xxxvi. 8) suffering is regarded as disciplinary and remedial; but the problem of undeserved suffering which gave rise to the book is apparently abandoned as insoluble. How great the perplexity continued to be is seen from the desperate argument in 2 Macc. vi. 12–17. There the writer says that the afflictions which came upon the Jews 'were not for the destruction but for the chastening of our race', and are 'a sign of great beneficence', while the reason of the heathen escaping such afflictions is that they may be punished 'when they have attained unto the full measure of their sins'.

In the first part of Wisdom a solution of the problem is offered in the theory that suffering is meant to test the righteous and prove them worthy of immortality and communion with God. 'As gold in the furnace, he proved them' (iii. 6). This corresponds to the conception in 1 Enoch cviii. 9: 'The righteous were much tried by the Lord and their spirits were found pure.' This world is not all: there is recompense and reward in the future. This belief may be said to be consoling, though it cannot be taken as a complete solution of the difficulty, which is perhaps to be found in the deeper thought suggested in Isa. liii. But even if the solution attempted is not quite satisfactory, the problem of the undeserved suffering of the righteous is fairly faced and an endeavour made to answer it. They will eventually be rewarded with life, while the wicked are punished with death.

The meaning of the word 'death', as used in part 1, is not at first sight apparent. Does it mean physical death only, or physical death in the first place and spiritual death afterwards? Or does the author always use it to denote spiritual death? He says 'God made not death; . . . for he created all things that they might have being: and all the created things of the world are serviceable to life, and there is no poison of destruction in them' (i. 13 ff.). From this it follows that our author, in accordance with ideas found in other writers (1 Enoch lxix. 11), probably held that death did not belong to the original purpose of Creation and that man would have been immortal if Adam had not sinned. This conclusion seems to follow also from ii. 23, 'God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own being,' i.e. immortal. 'By the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and those who belong to him experience it.' But what of those who do not belong to him? Do not they experience death? No, says our author; they only seem to die (iii. 2). The fact of physical death is passed over and attention directed solely to spiritual death. Other writers—St. Paul, for instance,—did not pass over physical death in this way; they accounted for it by saying that physical death came upon all men, good and bad, on account of Adam's transgression. We may suppose that our author would have accepted this theory: it is quite consistent with his views, and was a common belief of the time.

Physical death, however, is practically disregarded by our author: he fixes his attention upon spiritual death, and this can take place even on earth. The wicked are made to say, 'as soon as we were born we ceased to be' (v. 13). According to this statement spiritual death does not mean annihilation; the wicked are spiritually dead even on earth; and in the next world this miserable condition continues, with the additional fact that they are now conscious of their condition. That they are likened to a city razed to the ground, the very name of which is forgotten, does not mean that they are to be annihilated. They are still to be 'in anguish' (iv. 19 *c*). We can compare this with 1 Enoch cviii. 3, where we read 'their names shall be blotted out of the book of life . . . and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness'. This seems to give exactly the view of the author of Wisdom. The opinion of Bois, therefore, reviving that of Bretschneider, that the writer believed the wicked suffered for a time and were then annihilated, must be rejected. An existence which was nothing but pain and misery could rightly be called 'death.'

The doctrine of retribution in part 1 is Life for the righteous, Death for the unrighteous, with the additional threat that the latter may be punished in this world and in their children. Suffering in the case of the righteous tests their goodness, while in the case of the unrighteous it is purely retributive.

In part 2 a different attitude is adopted. Undeserved suffering appears not to be thought of. Punishment is deserved, but it is remedial—God loves all men, otherwise He would not have created them; hence punishment inflicted by a God of love must be for the benefit of His creatures. In applying this theory to the Israelites the author, by means of ignoring much of the traditional narrative, is apparently consistent; but not so when he deals with the fate of the heathen, in xi. 16 and xii. 22. In truth, he adopts a very difficult rôle. He wishes to reconcile the O.T. statements of the action of God in exterminating the Canaanites with the higher view of the Deity due to

Ethical Monotheism. Ethical Monotheism cannot regard punishment as arbitrary or merely retributive; it must be reformative. Accordingly the writer ignores the biblical account and affirms that punishment in the case both of the Egyptians and the Canaanites was inflicted to give them the opportunity of repentance. But the fact remains that they did not repent. This is accounted for in the case of the Canaanites by saying that they were incorrigible. 'They were a seed accursed from the beginning;' while the Egyptians are punished because, when they knew the true God, they refused to obey Him; though subsequently they are placed in the same position as the Canaanites by the statement that Destiny (ἀνάγκη) was dragging them to their doom (xix. 4).

In addition to the eschatology in part 1, the anthropology differs from that of the Old Testament, in that it assumes the existence of the soul before birth. The question as to whether the writer accepted this belief at first sight admits of no dispute. In viii. 19, 20 he says, 'Now I was a child good by nature and a good soul fell to my lot; nay, rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.' These words seem decisive. But granted that the writer believed in the pre-existence of the soul the question may be asked, What kind of pre-existence? Do the words of viii. 19 mean in his mouth, as they would in the mouth of Philo, not mere existence but self-conscious existence? It may help to answer this question, if we remind ourselves of the writer's attitude towards some other Greek ideas which he adopts, and ask whether they meant to him what they meant to the philosophers. We have seen that he adopted the Greek idea of immortality, but that it cannot be said that he did so fully and completely, since it is probable that he believed in a final day of judgement (iii. 18) to be followed or preceded by a Messianic Kingdom on earth. Again, he knew something of the philosophic theory of the inherent evil of matter, and says with reference to the body, that it 'weighs down the soul'; but there is no indication that he adopted the opinion that the body was no better than a tomb; i. 14 shows that he is very far from accepting the philosophical belief in the evil of matter as Philo subsequently did. It may therefore be fairly argued that as the writer perhaps did not accept the Greek philosophical belief in immortality, and certainly did not accept the belief in the evil of matter, without modification, it is quite possible that he also modified the philosophical belief in the pre-existence of the soul. In the case of the two former beliefs, however, it must be remembered that it would have been contrary to Jewish feeling to admit them completely. The complete and formal abandonment of the Messianic hope and the absolute worthlessness of the body were opinions too much opposed to Jewish tradition to be accepted by a writer who, though he had no great feeling for strict consistency, yet desired not to deviate too far from his ancestral beliefs. But there is no reason for thinking that the Greek doctrine of pre-existence was antagonistic to Jewish religious feeling. According to Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, vol. i, pp. 319 ff.), the early idea of some sacred object on earth being a copy of the original in heaven underwent development in the time of the Maccabees and the following decades. The conception became 'applied to persons'. Moreover, the Rabbis themselves adopted and worked it out, locating the unborn souls in the seventh heaven.[1] According to Porter[2] (p. 267), this Rabbinic idea of pre-existence is 'impersonal or half personal', and it is belief in this kind of pre-existence which he would ascribe to the author of our book. But it is doubtful if we have any more right to ascribe to the writer subsequent rabbinic than subsequent philosophic ideas; indeed, as the writer is an Alexandrian, it would seem less unjustifiable to ascribe to him the subsequent Philonic method of thinking on this point. Probably the writer of part 1 adopted the idea of the pre-existence of the soul without asking himself whether he was thinking of a mere vague general notion of existence, or a definite idea of self-conscious existence; it is worth noting, however, that he is far more definite than the writer of part 2 in xv. 8 and 11.

In regard to the writer's philosophical beliefs, it is generally agreed that he was well acquainted with the theories of the Greek philosophers, but whether his knowledge was first- or second-hand is a matter of dispute. Grimm considers that the writer's knowledge did not go beyond that possessed by every educated Alexandrian of the time: that he had no first-hand acquaintance with Platonism he infers from the absence of all reference to the doctrine of ideas, though it appears quite legitimate to ask whether a writer who admittedly had considerably more than a bowing acquaintance with Greek philosophy could have been ignorant of such a celebrated theory. Whether the writer's knowledge was first- or second-hand, it was certainly extensive. The views of the Stoics, of Plato, and of Heraclitus (to take them in order of importance) can all be traced in the book. In vii. 17 ff. he claims for his hero acquaintance with the whole range of philosophy and science; and he can hardly have failed to possess some of the knowledge which he attributes to Solomon.

[1] Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 1897, p. 205.

[2] 'The pre-existence of the Soul in the Book of Wisdom,' see below, p. 534. Porter takes viii. 19 to be by the same writer as xv. 11. Much of his argument would require restating if these are from different authors.

The influence of the Stoic philosophy appears in the idea of the world soul in i. 7, vii. 27, viii. 1. It is seen in the epithets 'alone in kind' (*μονογενής*) and 'manifold' (*πολυμερής*) applied to Wisdom in vii. 22, where the one world soul and its different manifestations are referred to, and especially in the use of technical Stoical terms. The reader can satisfy himself of this by referring to Ritter and Preller,[1] extract 513 (taken from Diog. Laertius' life of Zeno), where in the first few lines we find *νοερός, τὸ διῆκον διὰ πάντων, διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν*, all referring to the Deity. Like expressions are applied in c. vii to Wisdom. The four Cardinal Virtues (viii. 7) are Stoic, and also the metabolism of the elements, by the help of which the writer of part 2 endeavours to rationalize the miracles of the Exodus. The Sorites, a favourite figure of the Stoics, is used in vi. 17–20.

The influence of Platonism in the book is just as undeniable: the transcendence of God, the pre-existence of souls, the depreciation of the body (in part 2 also the pre-existence of matter (xi. 17)), all show platonic influence. Moreover, it seems difficult to deny a first-hand knowledge of Plato when we compare ix. 15 *φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχήν, καὶ βρίθει τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος νοῦν πολυφρόντιδα*, with the passage from the *Phaedo* 81 C *Ἐμβριθὲς δέ γε τοῦτο* (i. e. *σωματοειδές*) *οἴεσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὁρατόν. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔχουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ βαρύνεται.* The three points of connexion, *βρίθει, γεῶδες*, and *βαρύνει*, in one and the same sentence would be striking if they were all ordinary words; but when it is remembered that *βρίθω* occurs nowhere else in the Greek Bible, and that *γεώδης* occurs only here and in xv. 13, the argument for direct connexion seems very strong. Porter, who denies direct dependence, admits the probability of some indirect connexion. It should also be noticed that the Platonic classification of the Virtues is implicitly rejected in vii. 12.

With regard to Heraclitus, we have to remember that, as Zeller (*Stoics*, p. 371) says, 'there is hardly a single point in the Heraclitean theory of nature which the Stoics did not appropriate.' This increases the difficulty of deciding. His influence, direct or indirect, is to be found in ii. 3, 'reason is a spark kindled by the beating of our heart'; but, as mentioned in the note on the passage, the Stoics took up the idea. It is true that the Stoics considered that souls lived after death until the great conflagration, and our author puts into the mouth of the ungodly the exact view of Heraclitus—the belief in extinction immediately after death.[2] This, however, was also the view of the Epicureans, so we cannot be sure of the direct influence of Heraclitus here.

In vi. 24 the author announces his intention of making known the secrets of Wisdom, and apparently declaims against those who enviously keep knowledge to themselves: here all the commentators see a reference to the pagan mysteries, but E. Pfleiderer[3] wishes to see a reference to an individual philosopher—Heraclitus; the reference, however, seems quite general; the quotation from Philo by Grimm (see note) shows that the heathen mysteries were not identified with any individual. Our author's statement that 'a multitude of wise men is salvation to the world' is said by Pfleiderer to stand in direct opposition to the saying of Heraclitus, 'To me, one is ten thousand if he be the best' (Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Phil.* ii, p. 10), but neither observation is very original. The first is surely a commonplace, and as for the second, Milton's 'fit audience, though few', does not depend on Heraclitus.

The metabolism of the elements at the end of part 2 is traced by E. Pfleiderer to Heraclitus, and to him directly, rather than indirectly through the Stoics, on account of the allusion in c. xix to three elements only—fire, water, earth—since Heraclitus recognized only three. But it is difficult to see how the author could have brought in the idea of air changing into anything else: water changes into earth in the passage through the Red Sea, and earth becomes water again to overwhelm the Egyptians; fire lost its power and was unable to melt the heavenly food; what need or opportunity was there for adducing the change of air into another element? In this connexion it is worth noticing that Philo in *Vita Mosis*, iii, § 2, in speaking of the High Priest's robe (see note on xviii. 24) only mentions three elements and calls them 'the three elements', air, water, and earth, so that if we had no other passage to go by, we should be unable to prove that he accepted, as he certainly did, the doctrine of the four elements. It must, no doubt, be admitted that the Book of Wisdom has points of connexion with the system of Heraclitus, who was highly esteemed in Alexandria, but whether directly or indirectly it is impossible to say.

Heinisch,[4] who denies to the writer of Wisdom anything beyond a superficial knowledge of Greek philosophy, admits, or rather affirms, that he had read Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. He quotes *Mem.* 2. 1 (the choice of Hercules) side by side with Wisd. viii. 2–18, and points out that in nearly every one of these verses there is an echo of the passage in the *Memorabilia*. It is not merely that the writer knew the story of the choice of Hercules, but that he had read it in Xenophon, to which Heinisch commits himself. This is highly probable, but it is difficult to reconcile it with

[1] Eighth ed., 1898. [2] See Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* ii, p. 105. [3] *Die Phil. des Heraclitus*, see below, p. 533. [4] *Die griech. Phil. im B. der Weisheit*, see below, p. 534.

Heinisch's denial of any direct acquaintance on the part of the author with other Greek writers. One who had studied the *Memorabilia* carefully enough to reproduce from memory a large number of the sentiments put into the mouth of Virtue in 2. 1 would not be a superficial student of the book; and if he had studied the *Memorabilia* carefully it is probable that he had paid the same attention to much more celebrated works such as the *Phaedo*. It may be added that Heinisch was the first to notice the close resemblance between these passages of Wisdom and Xenophon. It shakes one's confidence in a scholar to find that a resemblance discovered by himself is maintained to be the result of direct connexion, while those pointed out by other scholars are minimized or denied.

With reference to the general question of the indebtedness of our author to other thinkers, it may be noticed that Menzel[1] gives 135 places where connexion has been traced by one scholar or another. Most writers are children of their time, and their work cannot but show traces of the intellectual atmosphere which they breathed. We can admire the language and thought of the Book of Wisdom (i. e. cc. i–x), and yet admit that the parallels pointed out by the critics are valid.

In its method of interpretation of O.T. Scripture the book contains both haggadah and allegory. The haggadic treatment of the plague of darkness is equal to anything in the Rabbis, the allegory is of a milder type. We do not meet with that thoroughgoing kind of allegory where the literal truth of the narrative is denied as in Philo. The nearest approach to this is in the treatment of the serpent in Eden and the cloud which accompanied the Israelites on their wanderings. According to our author the serpent was not really a serpent but the devil, the cloud was not really a cloud but the form which Wisdom assumed. In some other instances historical events are regarded as parables. Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt as a warning against unbelief. The victory of Jacob in his struggle with the angel shows that piety is more powerful than even a supernatural opponent. That the manna was to be gathered before sunrise shows that prayer must be offered betimes: that it melted after sunrise shows that the hopes of the ungrateful come to naught. The successful intercession of Aaron, with his symbolical garments which represented the world, probably illustrates the truth that the world fighteth for the righteous. The ark of Noah shows that God blesses natural productions when they are put to a beneficial use, e. g. wood for the building of ships; and perhaps that He will protect men venturing on the high seas for the beneficent purposes of commerce. The narrative of the brazen serpent in the wilderness and its healing power is taken as historical; but the serpent has no magical power: it acts as a reminder to the Israelites who had forgotten God. This can hardly be called allegorical treatment unless allegory is taken to mean any interpretation of the narrative which goes beyond the literal one.

The allegorical traits in the book are not nearly so strong as the haggadic, but though the latter is generally associated with the methods of the Rabbis, both flourished vigorously amongst the Hellenistic Jews (Schürer, ii. 1, p. 341).

§ 10. Chief Critical Inquiries.

Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die apokryph. Schriften des A. T.*, pp. 86–207. Leipzig, 1795.

Gfrörer, *Philo*, vol. ii (1831), pp. 200–72. An interesting review of the whole book.

Edmund Pfleiderer, *Die Phil. des Heraclitus*, 1886, pp. 289–348. Pfleiderer affirms that the writer of Wisdom had an intimate knowledge of Greek philosophy and in especial a direct acquaintance with Heraclitus. Heinisch (see below), pp. 18–30, subjects Pfleiderer's contention to a searching criticism. He denies that the writer of Wisdom had even a superficial knowledge of the system of Heraclitus.

Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, 1888, vol. i, pp. 177–229. As a preliminary to his exposition of Philo's philosophy Dr. Drummond gives a most valuable discussion of the theology of the Book of Wisdom. The following statement deserves attention: 'There is little connected reasoning of any kind in the work. . . . It is as though the process of investigation had been conducted elsewhere, and led to results esteemed satisfactory by an important section of the Jewish community' (p. 186).

P. Menzel, *Der griech. Einfluss auf Prediger und Weisheit Salomos*, 1889, pp. 39–70. Menzel gives a useful table of passages (135)—which Professor Margoliouth says 'might be considerably reduced without disadvantage'—where connexion between Wisdom and Greek philosophy has been pointed out by Grimm and Pfleiderer. He has coined a somewhat question-begging epithet in the word 'parallelomania' which shows his attitude towards those who would trace the ideas of the author to their source. He admits, however, some of Pfleiderer's positions. Menzel is severely criticized by Heinisch, pp. 9 ff. Cheyne (*Origin of Psalter*, p. 423) calls the work 'a painstaking dissertation'.

H. Bois, *Essai sur les origines de la philosophie Judéo-Alexandrine*, 1890, pp. 211–311. Notes on the text 373–411. Bois undertakes a thorough examination of the theological principles in the Book of Wisdom, in a fresh and stimulating manner. In his notes on the text he suggests the rearrangement of certain passages, one of which is most probably right (see note on iv. 15). He also suggests several emendations, some of which are accepted by Siegfried. His exposition of the transmutation of the elements alluded to in ch. xix *ad fin.* deserves special attention.

Margoliouth. In the *JRAS* for 1890, pp. 263–97, Professor Margoliouth maintained that Bretschneider was on the right track in suggesting that the Book of Wisdom was originally written in Hebrew; and adduced many passages where he affirms that traces of mistranslation can be proved. This theory has not, however, found acceptance. Freudenthal in the *JQR*, 1901, contested it.

[1] *Der griech. Einfluss*, &c., see below, § 10.

Grafe. In 1892, in *Theol. Abhandl.* in honour of Weizäcker, pp. 253–86, Grafe published a convincing paper on the question of St. Paul's use of the Book of Wisdom.

Thielmann. In 1893 Thielmann published an exhaustive inquiry into the Latinity of the Latin version of the book in *Archiv für lat. Lex. und Gram.*, pp. 235–77.

Feldmann, *Textkritische Mat. zum B. der Weisheit gesammelt aus der sahidischen syrohexaplarischen und armenischen Übersetzung*, Freiburg im B., 1902, pp. 84. A most valuable contribution to the criticism of the text.

Joseph Holtzmann, *Die Peschitta zum B. der Weisheit*, Freiburg im B., 1903, pp. 152. A thorough investigation of the Syriac version.

Weber, in *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol.*, 1904, upholds the composite authorship, tracing four different hands in the work. Feldmann in *Bibl. Zeitschrift*, Freiburg im B., 1909, contests this view.

Heinisch, *Die griech. Phil. im B. der Weisheit*, Münster i. W., 1908, pp. 158. An exhaustive inquiry into the relationship between the book and Greek philosophy; a work of great learning and ability. Unfortunately the writer, a Roman Catholic, seems to have made up his mind to prove that the author of the Book of Wisdom 'taught nothing which contradicted the faith inherited from his fathers. That which was new, which he expounded in his speculations on Wisdom and in his Eschatology, made no breach with the ideas of the O. T. . . . and if it has found acceptance in the N.T., that is only a proof that the sacred writer in his literary activity was under the guidance of divine inspiration' (p. 156). The author's knowledge of Greek philosophy was, according to Heinisch, 'very superficial.'

Porter, 'The pre-existence of the Soul in the Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical writings.' (In *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of William Rainey Harper*, 1908, pp. 208–69.) A vigorous onslaught upon the prevalent view that the writer of Wisdom accepted the Greek doctrine of the pre-existence of souls. In this he is upheld by Heinisch (p. 86); though as Heinisch will not admit that Wisdom contains anything contrary to the doctrine of the Church, i.e. the Roman Catholic Church, his judgement is biased. An admirable summary of Porter's position is given by Prof. W. B. Stevenson in the *International Journal of Apocrypha*, April, 1912. Prof. Stevenson affirms that 'the argument is convincing'.

Editions.

(The earlier editions of the book may be found in Grimm, p. 45, or Deane, p. 42.)

Grimm, 1860. In *Kurzgefasstes exeg. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, pp. 300. It is difficult to speak too highly of this masterly work. Grimm first published a commentary in 1837. For the next twenty-three years he was collecting additional materials, and the result was the work of 1860, which is and will probably long remain an indispensable quarry for all students of the book.

Deane, W. J., 1881, prints the Greek, Latin, and English A. V. in parallel columns. It contains very useful linguistic notes both on the Greek and the Latin.

Farrar, *Speaker's Comm.*, 1888. Abounds in apt illustrations from classical and English literature.

Zöckler, *Apocryphen und Pseud. des Alt. Test.*, 1891, pp. 355–95. Short introduction, translation, and notes.

Siegfried in Kautzsch's *Apocrypha*, 1900, gives a new and excellent translation, generally following Grimm. The notes, however, are very short.

Gregg, *Camb. Bible for Schools*, 1909. This is, perhaps, the best edition in English.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

True religion leads to a blessed immortality: irreligion and apostasy to destruction.

Seek the knowledge of God by purity of life: such knowledge (i.e. wisdom) cannot be attained by the slaves of sin.

1 1 LOVE righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth,
Think ye of the Lord with a good mind,
And in singleness of heart seek ye him;
2 Because he is found of them that tempt him not,
And is manifested to them that do not distrust him.
3 For crooked thoughts separate from God;
And the *supreme* Power, when it is brought to the proof, putteth to confusion the foolish:
4 Because wisdom will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil,
Nor dwell in a body held in pledge by sin.
5 For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit,
And will start away from thoughts that are without understanding,
And will be scared away when unrighteousness approacheth.

The sinner cannot escape punishment: his very words are known.

6 For wisdom is a spirit that loveth man,
And she will not hold a blasphemer guiltless for his lips;

I. 1. **judges of the earth.** It is in his assumed character of Solomon that the writer speaks of 'judges of the *earth*'; in all probability, however, the judges really aimed at are the rulers of the Jewish community in Alexandria. As in the time of Philo the Jews in Egypt amounted to a million souls, we may presume that at least half a million lived in the capital. Strabo (died A.D. 21), quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 7, says: 'There is also an ethnarch at their head who rules the people and dispenses justice, and sees that obligations are fulfilled and statutes observed, like the archon of an independent state.'

Doubtless many of the ruling classes in Alexandria, like those in Palestine, were of a Sadducean type and inclined to Hellenize. Indeed, some Jews, like Tiberius Julius Alexander who held high office under Nero, went over to the Gentiles completely. Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.* (p. 81, note 1), thinks that complete apostasy of this kind only rarely took place. The persecution of the pious by the freethinkers spoken of in ii. 10 may be paralleled by the oppression of the Pharisees under Alex. Jannaeus about 94 B.C. See Charles, 1 *Enoch*, p. 297. 'The rulers appear as the aiders and abettors of the enemies of the righteous. These enemies are the Sadducees, sinners, apostates, and paganizers.' Ch. ii. 12 shows that apostates are the object of the polemic: 'He upbraideth us with sins against the law.' Philo alludes to apostate Jews, *De Conf. Ling.*, ch. ii: 'Those who are discontented at the constitution under which their fathers have lived, being always eager to blame and accuse the laws, say—Do you boast of your precepts as if they contained truth itself? Behold, the books which you call sacred scriptures contain fables at which you are accustomed to laugh when you hear others relating them.' See also *Vita Mos.* i. 6.

Intermarriage with the Gentiles would facilitate apostasy, and as an act is not censured unless it has taken place, we may infer the existence of such marriages from Jubilees xxx. 7, 'If there is any man in Israel who wishes to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles, he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones, for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel.'

with a good mind, Greek 'in goodness'. What a pious Jew would consider to be right thoughts about God may be gathered from Exod. xxxiv. 6–7, especially the last clause, 'Jahveh is a God full of compassion and gracious . . . forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty.' The opposite is seen in Ps. l. 21, 'Thou thoughtest that I was even such a one as thyself.'

singleness of heart. A Hebraism: straightness of mind as opposed to crookedness; see *v.* 3, 'crooked thoughts.' The heart is the seat of the intellect in Hebrew; the reins (see *v.* 6) the seat of the emotions.

5. **discipline:** A. V. and R. V., but the idea of instruction must be included.

scared away: ἐλεγχθήσεται is a difficulty of long standing. Schultess (1820) declared the word to be corrupt. R. V. 'put to confusion', margin 'convicted'; Grimm, from a use of the word in Byzantine Greek, 'is scared away. Siegfried, 'is filled with a spirit of reproof,' a very satisfactory meaning if allowable. The idea of being 'put to shame' like purity in the presence of iniquity is possible. This use of the word is found only in Homer, according to Liddell and Scott; and the book is admittedly full of poetical words.

6. **For wisdom,** &c. This line, which appears to have no connexion with what precedes or follows, has given great trouble to the commentators. Grimm takes the sense to be 'Wisdom is a spirit that loves mankind, and for that very reason will not leave wickedness unpunished'. The earlier commentators took φιλάνθρωπος in the sense of 'mild',

Because God is witness of his reins,
And is a true overseer of his heart,
And a hearer of his tongue:
7 Because the spirit of the Lord filleth the world,
And that which holdeth all things together hath knowledge of *every* voice.
8 Therefore no man that uttereth unrighteous things shall be unseen;
Neither shall Justice, when it punisheth, pass him by.
9 For the counsels of the ungodly shall be searched out;
And the report of his words shall come unto the Lord
For the punishment of his lawless deeds:
10 Because *there* is an ear of jealousy *that* listeneth to all things,
And the noise of murmurings is not hid.
11 Beware then of unprofitable murmuring,
And refrain your tongue from blasphemy;
Because no secret utterance shall go forth with impunity,
And a mouth that lieth destroyeth the soul.

God does not willingly afflict men: they bring punishment and death upon themselves.

12 Court not death in the error of your life;
Neither draw upon yourselves destruction by the works of your hands:
13 Because God made not death;
Neither delighteth he when the living perish:
14 For he created all things that they might have being:
And the products of the world *are* healthsome,
And there is no poison of destruction in them:
Nor hath Hades royal dominion upon earth;
15 For righteousness is immortal,
⟨But the gain of unrighteousness is death⟩.
16 But the ungodly by their hands and words called him unto them:
Deeming him a friend they were consumed with love of him,
And they made a covenant with him,
Because they are worthy to be of his portion.

'gentle', and connected it with preceding verse. The meaning then would be: 'Wisdom is put to confusion or scared away when wickedness enters in, because it is a mild and kindly spirit and cannot stay in the same abode as injustice.' Bois, p. 379, seeing that these explanations are unsatisfactory would transpose the line to the end of *v.* 13, and in this alteration Siegfried concurs. But the close connexion between the last line of *v.* 13 and the beginning of *v.* 14 militates against this. In face of these difficulties it does not seem rash to suggest that the line may be an interpolation on the basis of vii. 22–3, where Wisdom is said to be a πνεῦμα and φιλάνθρωπος.

Further, the fact that this line is out of harmony with its surroundings gives force to Weber's suggestion that *vv.* 4, 5, together with this line, have been interpolated; the connexion obtained after their omission is quite satisfactory. *v.* 3. 'The Power, when brought to the proof, chastiseth fools and (6) will not hold the blasphemer guiltless for his lips. For God, &c.'

7. **filleth**, as A.V.; R.V. 'hath filled'; but see Grimm's note, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, § 76, and cf. St. John xi. 11.

holdeth all things together. We have here the Stoic idea of the world soul. The Stoics said of the world, εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος διήκοντος τοῦ νοῦ, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς. See Dio. Laert. in Ritter and Preller, § 493; Zeller, *Stoics*, &c., p. 142.

8. For examples of **unrighteous things** see the quotation from *De Conf. Ling.* in the note on *v.* 1.

11. **blasphemy.** καταλαλιά in parallelism with murmuring, γογγυσμός, plainly means speaking against God: γογγυσμός is the word used in LXX Exod. xvi. 7, 8, 9, for the murmuring of the Israelites.

13–16. Man lost his uprightness and immortality through his own act according to this passage; in ii. 24, through the envy of the devil.

15. **For righteousness.** Either this line is in its wrong place and should be transferred perhaps to a position between *vv.* 22 and 23 of ch. ii, where it would be in a satisfactory context, or we must with Grimm accept the succeeding line found in some Latin MSS., 'iniustitia autem mortis acquisitio est.' Grimm renders this by ἀδικία δὲ θανάτου περιποίησις ἐστιν (the word περιποίησις is not found in the LXX with this meaning). As the line stands it has no connexion with what precedes or follows, and if the extra line is not accepted deletion or transference to the end of ii. 22 would seem to be justified. It should be noticed that the line summarizes the teaching of this part of the book, and may originally have been a marginal note. The Latin line *iniustitia autem* would then be a gloss like ii. 17, vi. 1, &c., and αὐτόν in the next line, referring to Hades, would not be separated from its antecedent.

16. Seems to be based verbally on Isa. xxviii. 15, though the context is quite different. There the covenant is that Death should spare the other contracting parties, while here they give themselves into the arms of Death. For τήκω used to denote a state of mind, see vi. 23, '*pining* envy.' E. Pfleiderer, followed by Bois, takes this verse as referring to the pagan mysteries, especially to the identification of Hades the God of death with Dionysus the God of life.

Some men even prefer the ways of death: they affirm that their souls are even as their bodies, that after this life nothing remains.

2 1 For they said within themselves, reasoning not aright,
Short and sorrowful is our life;
And there is no remedy when a man cometh to his end,
And none was ever known that returned from Hades.
2 Because by mere chance were we born,
And hereafter we shall be as though we had never been:
Because the breath in our nostrils is smoke,
And reason is a spark kindled by the beating of our heart,
3 Which being extinguished, the body shall be turned into ashes,
And the spirit dispersed as thin air;
4 And our name shall be forgotten in time,
And no man shall remember our works;
And our life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud,
And shall be scattered as is a mist,
When it is chased by the beams of the sun,
And overcome by the heat thereof.
5 For our allotted time is the passing of a shadow,
And there is no putting back of our end;
Because it is fast sealed, and none reverseth it.

They therefore will enjoy this life to the full, and crush those whose lives reprove their own.

6 Come therefore and let us enjoy the good things that *now* are;
And let us use creation with all earnestness as youth's *possession.*
7 Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and perfumes;
And let no flower of spring pass us by:
8 Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they wither:
9 Let there be no ⟨meadow⟩ without traces of our proud revelry:
Everywhere let us leave tokens of *our* mirth:
Because this is our portion, and our lot is this.

Heraclitus had said ὡυτὸς δὲ Ἀΐδης καὶ Διόνυσος (Ritter and Preller, § 49, Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Phil.*, ii, p. 100). If this is accepted and we assume that the writer is referring to the apostate Jews, we must infer that they had gone so far as to take part in the pagan mysteries. His 'portion' is the realm assigned to him.

II. The opinions here put into the mouth of the godless may easily have been known to the writer from his personal experience of Jews who adopted the tenets of Epicurus; most scholars also see a reference to Ecclesiastes, see Introduction, p. 525. It should, however, be noticed that the same sentiments are put into the mouth of the ungodly in 1 Enoch cii. 6–8.

1. It is impossible to say whether ὁ ἀναλύσας is transitive or intransitive. Grimm on 2 Macc. viii–xxv gives eight places where ἀναλύω = 'to return'; but it is used in the passive in iv. 12, so that if we take this as deciding the author's usage, it should be transitive here. Against this it may be urged, that in view of the liberties which the author allows himself to take with the Greek language, it is quite possible that he used the active and passive forms of an intransitive verb without any appreciable difference of meaning.

2. **reason is a spark.** A reference to the view of Heraclitus and others that fire (see note on xiii. 2) is the primitive substance. 'The soul of man is a part of this divine fire' (Zeller, *Outlines*, p. 70). 'It was conceived . . . as a transient individualization of the one primitive substance or force, and this individualization terminated at death' (Charles, *Eschat.*, p. 143). The Stoics adopted this view. 'The soul is . . . a part of the divine fire which descended into the bodies of men when they first arose out of the aether' (Zeller, *Outlines*, p. 244). Cic. *Tusc.* i. 19 'Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur'.

4. **overcome.** This is perhaps a justifiable paraphrase. The Greek means 'weighed down', which is incorrect from the point of view of Natural Science. But the writer merely wanted a parallel expression to 'chased away', and being unscientific chose an incorrect term.

5. **allotted time**, reading καιρός with ℵ A and Latin, as against βίος, B*. So most editors.

putting back. The explanation adopted by Grimm, Siegfried, and others, that no man can die twice, is not satisfactory. Gregg's reference to the shadow on a sundial is more acceptable, though there is a sudden change of metaphor in the next line in the word 'sealed'; the end is fast sealed = the end is predetermined.

The sense probably is 'while we are young', and Grimm gets this by reading ὡς ἐν νεότητι on the authority of 157, 248, 253, and the Complutensian polyglot. B reads ὡς νεότητι, ℵ and A ὡς νεότητος.

7. **spring**, reading ἔαρος for ἄερος. So A, Latin, and most editions.

9*a*. The Greek here has one line, μηδεὶς ἡμῶν ἄμοιρος ἔστω τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀγερωχίας; the Latin has two: 'nemo nostrum exors sit luxuriae nostrae', and 'nullum pratum sit quod non pertranseat luxuria nostra'. This is a doublet of the Greek line with λειμών in line 2 for ἡμῶν. As an old glossary to the book shows that it originally contained the word λειμών, this must be restored in place of ἡμῶν, and μηδεὶς λειμών κτλ. accepted as the true reading. See Feldmann.

proud revelry: ἀγερωχία, may be an allusion to the heathen mysteries (Bois, p. 295).

our portion; our only portion and lot. For connexion with Ecclesiastes see Introd., p. 525.

10 Let us oppress the righteous poor;
Let us not spare the widow,
Nor reverence the hairs of the old man grey for length of years.
11 But let our strength be *to us* a law of righteousness;
For that which is weak is found to be of no service.
12 But let us lie in wait for the righteous man,
Because he is of disservice to us,
And is contrary to our works,
And upbraideth us with sins against the law,
And layeth to our charge sins against our discipline.
13 He professeth to have knowledge of God,
And nameth himself servant of the Lord.
14 He became to us a reproof of our thoughts.
15 He is grievous unto us even to behold,
Because his life is unlike other men's,
And his paths are of strange fashion.
16 We were accounted of him as base metal,
And he abstaineth from our ways as from uncleannesses.
The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy;
And he vaunteth that God is his father.
17 Let us see if his words be true;
And let us try what shall befall in the ending of his *life*.
18 For if the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him,
And he will deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries.
19 With outrage and torture let us put him to the test,
That we may learn his gentleness,
And may prove his patience under wrong.
20 Let us condemn him to a shameful death;
For according to his words he will be visited.

But they are wrong: a future life is in store for the righteous, who shall then triumph over the ungodly.

21 Thus reasoned they, being far astray,
For their wickedness blinded them,
22 And they knew not the mysteries of God,
Neither hoped they for wages of holiness,
Nor did they judge *that there is* a prize for blameless souls.
23 Because God created man for incorruption,
And made him an image of his own proper being;
24 But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world,
And they that belong to his realm experience it.
3 1 But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
And no torment shall touch them.

12. The translation of παιδεία in the last line is difficult. Weber gives 'and reproaches us on account of the sins of our method of life' (*Bildung*). Mr. Gregg would omit. The line certainly looks like an addition.

let us lie in wait. Cf. LXX rendering of Isa. iii. 10, see Introd., p. 524.

20. **according to his words,** i.e. 'if what he says is true.'

visited. ἐπισκοπή is always used in a good sense in this part of the book, see Introd., p. 523. The word ἐπισκοπή is said to be used only once outside biblical and ecclesiastical Greek. It is a translation of the Hebrew word פְּקֻדָּה, which means a visitation to deliver, LXX Gen. l. 24, 25, Exod. iii. 16, or a visitation to punish, LXX Isa. xxiv. 22, xxix. 6. See Hort's full note on 1 Pet. ii. 12, and Charles's *Apoc. Bar.* xx. 2, note.

22. At the end of this verse i. 15 would be appropriate. There is a prize for blameless souls, viz. immortality.

mysteries of God, i.e. that suffering is not necessarily punishment, but is often a test of goodness which will be rewarded after death by immortality.

23. The difference between the author and Philo is seen very plainly here. In Philo, man is the image of the Logos (Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, ii. 186–7).

his own proper being, ἰδιότητος, ℵ A and B. ἀϊδιότητος, 248, 253, and most of the patristic writers. But Gen. i. 26 seems to decide for the former, though Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. 51) are doubtful, while Prof. Margoliouth prefers ἀϊδιότητος. He also suggests κατ' εἰκόνα, which is now upheld by Feldmann.

24. Bois (p. 297) suggests that the reference here is to Cain, the first murderer, and Mr. Gregg adduces additional arguments for this. All other expositors take it to refer to the temptation of Eve. In 1 Enoch lxix. 6 it is said that a Satan led Eve astray. This seems to favour the latter view.

2 In the eyes of fools they seemed to die;
And their departure was accounted *to be their* hurt,
3 And their going from us *to be their* ruin:
But they are in peace.
4 For though in the sight of men they be punished,
Their hope is full of immortality;
5 And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good;
Because God tested them, and found them worthy of himself.
6 As gold in the furnace he proved them,
And as a whole burnt offering he accepted them.
7 And in the time of their visitation they shall shine forth,
And like sparks among stubble they shall run to and fro.
8 They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples;
And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore.
9 They that trust on him shall understand truth,
And the faithful shall abide with him in love;
Because grace and mercy are to his chosen,
And he will graciously visit his holy ones.

But the unrighteous shall be punished, both they and their ungodly offspring, while the righteous though childless shall be rewarded.

10 But the ungodly shall be requited even as they reasoned,
They which lightly regarded the righteous *man*, and revolted from the Lord
11 (For he that setteth at naught wisdom and discipline is miserable;)
And void is their hope and their toils unprofitable,
And useless are their works:
12 Their wives are foolish, and wicked are their children;
13 Accursed is their begetting.
Because happy is the barren that is undefiled,
She who hath not conceived in transgression;
She shall have fruit when *God* visiteth souls.

III. 2. **seemed.** The righteous cannot die. For this spiritual idea of life and death see v. 13 and x. 3. Philo says (*Quod det. pot.* § 15), 'The wise man who appears to have departed from this mortal life lives in a life immortal.'

5. **tested.** The object of affliction is testing, proving; not punishment. Cf. 1 Enoch cviii. 9: The righteous 'were much tried by the Lord and their spirits were found pure'.

7. **visitation.** Cf. Ps. cvi. 4, 'visit me with thy salvation.' Salvation in the O. T. always means deliverance—deliverance from one's foes and triumph over them. So here; the writer cannot refrain from picturing the visible triumph of the godly over the wicked, though it is quite inconsistent with the idea of reward or retribution coming immediately after death. For the figure cf. Obad. 18 upon the destruction of Edom: 'The house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble.'

8. In the Messianic Kingdom. Cp. St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 2, 'Know ye not that we shall judge angels.'

9. **understand truth,** i. e. God's methods in governing the world.

9*b*. With ὅτι χάρις καὶ ἔλεος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ compare 1 Enoch v. 7 καὶ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς ἔσται φῶς καὶ χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη. 1 Enoch i–xxxvi was written before the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes; but the translation of Enoch into Greek was probably undertaken as a whole. If this is later than the latest part of 1 Enoch (cc. xxxvii–lxxi) it must be subsequent to 94 B.C., and so has a bearing on the date of Wisdom itself, see Introd., p. 520.

9*d*. So ℵ A and Syriac, καὶ ἐπισκοπὴ ἐν τοῖς ὁσίοις (ἐκλεκτοῖς ℵ) αὐτοῦ, which B Latin and R. V. omit. For justification of this see note on iv. 15. In addition, the line is suitable here as a rejoinder to ii. 20*b*.

10. **reasoned.** This means that the annihilation after death proclaimed by the godless shall indeed be their lot, only the writer's idea of annihilation is different from that of the apostates.

11. **he that setteth,** &c. This line is almost a verbal reproduction of Prov. i. 7, 'The ungodly set at naught wisdom and discipline.'

13. **happy.** The reference here may simply be general; but it is difficult to read Philo's account of the Therapeutae without feeling that the writer of these lines had them in mind. Of the virgins who were enrolled amongst the Therapeutae, Philo (*De Vit. Con.* § 8) says they 'yearn not for mortal but for immortal offspring', οὐ θνητῶν ἐκγόνων ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθεῖσαι. This, and the statement in the text 'She shall have fruit when God visiteth souls', seem to belong to the same circle of ideas. It is not necessary to infer that the writer belonged to the sect; Philo, in spite of his admiration for them, was not one of them. Whether he is referring to the Therapeutae or not the writer shows considerable independence in discarding the strong Jewish belief that a numerous offspring was the greatest blessing of mankind.

transgression. This refers to unlawful marriages with the heathen. See Jubilees xxx. 7, quoted on i. 1.

fruit. This may be a vague phrase for reward. Philo works out the idea contained in the words 'immortal offspring' as that 'which the soul that is attached to God is alone able to produce by itself and from itself', meaning perhaps what the Christian sums up in the word 'bliss'. This is subjective and may be contrasted with the more objective statement as to the reward of the childless man, which is to be a blissful position in the heavenly sanctuary.

14 And *happy is* the eunuch which hath wrought no lawless deed with his hands,
Nor imagined wicked things against the Lord ;
For there shall be given him for his faithfulness a peculiar favour,
And a lot in the sanctuary of the Lord of great delight.
15 For good labours have fruit of great renown ;
And wisdom's root cannot fail.
16 But children of adulterers shall not come to maturity,
And the seed of an unlawful union shall perish.
17 For if they live long, they shall be held in no account,
And at the last their old age shall be without honour.
18 And if they die early, they shall have no hope,
Nor in the day of decision *shall they have* consolation.
19 For the end of an unrighteous generation is always grievous.
4 1 Better *than this* is childlessness with virtue ;
For in the memory of virtue is immortality :
Because it is recognized both by God and man.
2 When it is present, *men* imitate it ;
And they long after it when it is departed :
And throughout all time it marcheth crowned in triumph,
Victorious in the strife for prizes undefiled.
3 But the multiplying brood of the ungodly shall be of no profit,
And with bastard slips they shall not strike deep root,
Nor shall they establish a sure hold.
4 For even if these put forth boughs and flourish for a season,
Yet, standing unsure, they shall be shaken by the wind,
And by the violence of winds they shall be rooted out.
5 *Their* branches shall be broken off ere they come to maturity,
And their fruit *shall be* useless,
Not ripe to eat, and meet for nothing.
6 For children unlawfully begotten are witnesses of wickedness
Against parents when *God* searcheth them out.

The premature death of the righteous is followed by immortality, but the very memory of the ungodly shall perish.

7 But the righteous, though he die before his time, shall be at rest.
8 (For honourable old age is not that which standeth in length of time,

14. **sanctuary.** Where is this sanctuary to be? In the Jerusalem which the seer saw 'descending out of heaven from God' (Rev. xxi. 10) or in heaven itself?

of great delight. θυμηρέστερος in an elative or intensive sense. Thackeray, *Gr.*, p. 181 ; Blass, *Gr. of N. T. Gk.*, p. 141.

15. **cannot fail.** These two lines are merely a variation of i. 15, 'For righteousness is immortal'; and iv. 1, 'For in the memory of virtue is immortality'; see also viii. 13. It may be that the writer could not get rid of the old Jewish idea of subjective immortality, Ps. cxii. 6, Prov. x. 7, or that he wished to oppose the repeated statement in Ecclesiastes i. 11, ii. 16, ix. 5, that there is no remembrance of the dead, righteous or unrighteous. See Introd., p. 525.

16. **adulterers.** Those who had contracted unlawful marriages, as is plain from the next line and from iv. 6.

17. In denying that affliction necessarily indicates God's displeasure and is therefore punishment, the writer advances beyond the view of Ezekiel and his followers. Here, in affirming that the children shall be punished for the parents' sins, he falls behind it. See also iv. 4.

18. Reading οὐκ ἕξουσιν with ℵ A Latin ; οὐκ ἔχουσιν B.

hope. The idea seems to be that even if the children of the godless die young, before they have had much time to sin, they will have no hope of future happiness.

19. An involuntary and instinctive utterance of the old view that wickedness is always punished in this life.

IV. 3-6. This is taken by Grimm as referring not to a material but to a spiritual state. The children of the ungodly have an ineradicable taint. Here again the writer falls below Ezekiel and displays the spirit of the imprecatory psalms.

6. **witnesses of wickedness.** Their sufferings are a proof of the sin of their parents. Cf. St. John ix. 2.

8. **old age is not that**, &c. The writer has already departed from the traditional view that life without offspring cannot be regarded as happy ; he now departs from the belief that length of days is necessary to the happiness of a godly man. Here again one cannot fail to be struck with the correspondence of the author's views with those of the Therapeutae. Philo (*De Vita Cont.*, ch. 8) writes : 'For they do not regard those as elders who are advanced in years and aged, but as mere youths if they have only lately devoted themselves to the vocation ; but they call those elders who from their earliest years have spent time and strength in the contemplative part of philosophy.' Grimm gives a whole series of

Nor is its measure given by number of years:
9 But understanding is grey hairs unto men,
And an unspotted life is ripe old age.)
10 Being found well-pleasing unto God he was beloved *of him*,
And while living among sinners he was translated:
11 He was caught away, lest wickedness should change his understanding,
Or guile deceive his soul.
12 (For the fascination of wickedness bedimmeth the things which are good,
And the frenzy of desire perverteth an innocent mind.)
13 Being made perfect in a little while, he fulfilled long years;
14 For his soul was pleasing unto the Lord:
Therefore He hastened him out of the midst of wickedness.
16 But a righteous man that is dead shall condemn the ungodly that are living,
And youth that is quickly perfected the many years of an unrighteous man's age.
15 But as for the peoples, seeing and understanding not,
Neither laying this to heart:—
17 For they will see the wise man's end,
And not understand what the Lord purposed concerning him,
And for what he safely kept him:—
18 They will see, and despise;
But them the Lord shall laugh to scorn.
And after this they shall become a dishonoured carcase,
And a reproach among the dead for ever:
19 Because he shall dash them speechless to the ground,
And shall shake them from the foundations,

quotations from Greek and Latin authors emphasizing this thought. Perhaps the quotation from Bailey's *Festus* given by Farrar is as good as any:

> 'We live in deeds not years; in thoughts not breaths,
> In feelings not in figures on a dial;
> We should count time by heart-throbs.'

10. εὐάρεστος, &c. This looks like tautology. But reference to the LXX shows that the writer is thinking of Gen. v. 22, 24 (of Enoch); vi. 9; xvii. 1; and other places where εὐαρεστέω, a translation of הִתְהַלֵּךְ 'to walk', plainly refers to the spiritual condition of the person mentioned. In xvii. 1 εὐαρέστει ἐναντίον μοῦ addressed to Abraham shows this very clearly. Gen. v. 22, 24, shows that Enoch is referred to here. No one could say that Enoch's comparatively early removal was a punishment; it was plainly a blessing, and this supports the author's contention in *v.* 8 as to the early death of other righteous men.

12. **bedimmeth.** The editors point out that the word ἀμαυρόω was used by Greek philosophers to express the darkening of the moral sense.

things which are good, τὰ καλά. Moral and spiritual qualities.

perverteth. Greek μεταλλεύει, so again in xvi. 25. The word properly means 'to mine'. Here the author gives it the meaning of 'change', deriving it no doubt from ἄλλος. Commentators compare this mistake with that in St. Mark xii. 4.

13. **he fulfilled long years.** Of a Rabbi who died young it was said, 'In the twenty-eight years of his life he has learned more than others learn in a hundred years' (Oesterley and Box, *Rel. of Syn.*, p. 97).

14–16. The passage reads as follows in the R. V. according to B:—

> 14. For his soul was pleasing unto the Lord:
> Therefore hasted he out of the midst of wickedness.
> 15. But as for the peoples, seeing and understanding not,
> Neither laying this to heart,
> That grace and mercy are with his chosen,
> And that he visiteth his holy ones:—
> 16. But a righteous man that is dead shall condemn the ungodly that are living
> And youth that is quickly perfected, the many years of an unrighteous man's old age.

Some rearrangement is plainly necessary. For (1) the passage is now impossible as it stands in B. (2) The MSS. show that there has been some transference to or from iii. 9. (3) Transference of 15 *c*, *d* to iii. 9 relieves this passage. (4) After 15 *c*, *d* have been returned to their proper place, the necessity of placing *v.* 16 before 15 is obvious. Bois (p. 387) would make a much more thoroughgoing rearrangement, but it has been thought better to be content with the minimum of alteration.

15. **the peoples.** *vv.* 17 ff. show that the ungodly are meant. ℵ B Latin give λαοί, A ἄλλοι. Mr. Gregg, on the basis of the latter, would emend to ἄνομοι. It looks, however, like a reminiscence of LXX Isa. vi. 9: 'Go, tell this people (λαός) . . . seeing ye shall see and not understand.'

18. This is best explained as the judgement by the sword at the beginning of the Messianic age, like *vv.* 17 ff.

19. **foundations.** The figure in the mind of the writer was probably that of a city razed to the ground. Cf. Ps. ix. 6: 'The enemy are come to an end, they are desolations for ever; and the cities which thou didst uproot, their memory is perished' (Driver, *Parallel Psalter*).

And they shall lie utterly waste, and be in anguish,
And their memory shall perish.

The remorse of the ungodly at the judgement. Their retrospect.

20 They shall come, when their sins are reckoned up, with coward fear;
And their lawless deeds shall convict them to their face.
5 1 Then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness
Before the face of them that afflicted him,
And them that make his labours of no account.
2 When they see *it*, they shall be troubled with terrible fear,
And shall be amazed at the marvel of his salvation.
3 They shall say within themselves repenting,
And for distress of spirit shall they groan,
This was he whom aforetime we had in derision,
And *made* a byword of reproach:
4 We fools accounted his life madness,
And his end without honour:
5 How was he numbered among sons of God!
And *how* is his lot among saints!
6 Verily we went astray from the way of truth,
And the light of righteousness shined not for us,
And the sun rose not for us.
7 We took our fill of the paths of lawlessness and destruction,
And we journeyed through trackless deserts,
But the way of the Lord we knew not.
8 What did our arrogancy profit us?
And what good have riches and vaunting brought us?
9 Those things all passed away as a shadow,
And as a message that runneth by:
10 As a ship passing through the billowy water,
Whereof, when it is gone by, there is no trace to be found,
Neither pathway of its keel in the billows:
11 Or as when a bird flieth through the air,
No token of *her* passage is found,
But the light wind, lashed with the stroke of her pinions,
And rent asunder with the violent rush of the moving wings, is passed through,
And afterwards no sign of *her* coming is found therein:
12 Or as when an arrow is shot at a mark,
The air disparted closeth up again immediately,
So that men know not where it passed through:
13 So we also, as soon as we were born, ceased to be;
And of virtue we had no sign to show,
But were utterly consumed in our wickedness.

V. 2. **When they see it.** Cf. 1 Enoch cviii. 15: 'And the sinners will cry aloud and see them (i.e. the righteous) as they shine, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed for them.'

4. **madness.** See ii. 15. The refusal to purchase material advantage at the price of apostasy.

6. **Verily,** ἄρα = 'as it now seems'. 'Hence it amounts sometimes to an expression of regret' (Donaldson, *Gk. Gr.*, p. 567).

7. **trackless deserts.** They now see that the 'primrose path of dalliance' is better described as 'a dry and weary land where no water is' (Ps. lxiii. 1).

knew: in a practical sense = 'pay heed to'. So frequently in the O. T. See especially Amos iii. 2, 'You only have I known (= regarded with favour) of all the nations of the earth'. See also Ps. i. 6.

9 ff. The images here used to denote the transitory nature of life are vivid and poetical: whether they are quite appropriate in the mouth of those in whom the agony of remorse is supposed to be working, is another question. The passage forms, however, an effective contrast to their defiant boasting in ch. ii.

12. **closeth,** ἀνελύθη. The active is used in ii. 1 and has been translated there as intransitive (see note). 'Various explanations are given of ἀνελύθη, but it seems most simple to take it in the sense of "returns" as ii. 1' (Deane). ἀνέλυσεν is read by 23 (V) and 253.

13. **ceased to be.** Another proof that the writer's view of life and death is spiritual.

At the end of *v.* 13 the Latin adds 'Talia dixerunt in inferno hi, qui peccaverunt'. This, if not genuine, is appropriate, as showing that the following verse is a reflection of the author and no part of the words of the ungodly.

14 Because the hope of the ungodly is like chaff carried off by the wind,
And like a thin spider's web driven away by a tempest;
And like smoke which is scattered by the wind,
And passeth away as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day.

The bliss of the righteous and the miserable fate of the ungodly.

15 But the righteous live for ever,
And in the Lord is their reward,
And the care for them with the Most High.
16 Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom,
And a diadem of beauty from the Lord's hand;
Because with his right hand shall he cover them,
And with his arm shall he shield them.
17 He shall take his jealousy as complete armour,
And shall make the *whole* creation his weapons for vengeance on *his* enemies:
18 He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate,
And shall take judgement unfeigned as a helmet;
19 He shall take holiness as an invincible shield,
20 And shall sharpen stern wrath for a sword:
And the world shall go forth with him to fight against *his* insensate *foes.*
21 Shafts of lightning shall fly with true aim,
And from the clouds, as from a well drawn bow, shall they leap to the mark.
22 And *as* from an engine of war shall be hurled hailstones full of wrath;
The water of the sea shall rage against them,
And rivers shall sternly overwhelm them;
23 A mighty blast shall encounter them,
And as a tempest shall it winnow them away:
So shall lawlessness make all the land desolate,
And their evil-doing shall overturn the thrones of princes.

Admonition to the rulers.

6 1 Hear therefore, ye kings, and understand;
Learn, ye judges of the ends of the earth:

14. **hope.** The object of their hope or that on which they found their hope, e.g. riches, &c.

spider's web. So Cursives 23, 106, reading ἀράχνη, and also R.V. margin. ℵ A B read πάχνη, 'hoar-frost', which is quite unsuitable. Some MSS. give ἄχνη, which was no doubt the reading of the Syriac (ܚܘܪܝܐ), and of the Latin *spuma.* Both πάχνη and ἄχνη can be explained from ἀράχνη better than ἀράχνη from the others. The strange mistranslation in LXX Ps. xc. 9 may be compared, τὰ ἔτη ἡμῶν ὡς ἀράχνη, 'our years are like a spider's web'.

16. **a glorious kingdom,** βασίλειον, occurs in i. 14 and here. In i. 14 it undoubtedly means kingdom, and there is no reason to adopt a different meaning here. In Dan. vii. 18 and 22 the kingdom is given to the saints.

17–23. These verses are not quite consistent with the similar passage in iii. 7 ff. There the righteous execute iudgement on the ungodly: here, Jehovah Himself rouses the forces of Nature to fight against them. See Introd., p. 529.

17 *b.* See in note on xix. 18 the quotation there given from Philo.

18–20. Compare Eph. vi. 11–17, and see Introd., p. 527. The πανοπλία found both here and in St. Paul, which is taken by some scholars as conclusive evidence of direct connexion between the two writers, consisted of helmet, breastplate, greaves, and shield, as defensive, sword and lance as offensive armour.

18. **judgement unfeigned,** without respect of persons.

20. **stern,** or relentless, Greek ἀπότομος, also vi. 5, xi. 10, xii. 9, xviii. 15 and the adverb v. 22.

21. Possibly the rainbow is referred to: if so the translation should be, 'And from the well-drawn bow of the clouds' as in the Latin 'a bene curvato arcu nubium'. The association of Jahveh with a thunderstorm is frequent in Hebrew poetry, see Ps. lxxix. 17–20, xcvii. 3–5; Hab. iii.

15–23 *b.* This passage is 'eschatological'. 23 *c* suddenly brings the reader back to the present age.

23 *b.* Feldmann would omit ὡς on the authority of the Coptic. It is certainly better away. A 'mighty blast' is a tempest.

So shall lawlessness. The writer returns to the idea of i. 1. Those who follow these ungodly and lawless ways are in high positions in the community, and without any exaggeration may be addressed as judges and princes.

VI. The writer now apparently takes a wider outlook than in i. 1. Having dealt with the misdeeds of the governing body of the Jews in Alexandria, he turns in the manner of the prophets, e.g. Isa. viii. 9, Ps. ii. 10, to the rulers of the outside world. They too have a law which they have not kept, for the transgression of which they will be punished. It is not necessary to suppose that the writer ever thought of his words reaching the 'rulers of the ends of the earth', any more than Isaiah or the writer of Psalm ii imagined that their words would come to the ears of the foreign nations or rulers whom they apostrophized. The Jewish magnates at Alexandria are still the real object of the address.

1. The Latin begins the chapter with the words 'Melior est sapientia quam vires, et vir prudens quam fortis', a good introduction to the section.

2 Give ear, ye that have dominion over much people,
And make your boast in multitudes of nations.
3 Because your dominion was given you from the Lord,
And your sovereignty from the Most High;
Who shall search out your works,
And shall make inquisition of your counsels:
4 Because being officers of his kingdom ye did not judge aright,
Neither kept ye the law, nor walked after the counsel of God.
5 Awfully and swiftly shall he come upon you;
For a stern judgement befalleth them that be in high places:
6 For the man of low estate may be pardoned in mercy,
But mighty men shall be searched out mightily.
7 For the Sovereign Lord of all will not regard any *man's* person.
Neither will he stand in awe of greatness;
Because it is he that made *both* small and great,
And alike he taketh thought for all;
8 But strict is the scrutiny that cometh upon the powerful.
9 Unto you therefore, O princes, are my words,
That ye may learn wisdom and not fall away.
10 For they that have kept holily the things that are holy shall *themselves* be accounted holy;
And they that have been taught them shall find what to answer;
11 Set your desire therefore upon my words;
Long for *them*, and ye shall be instructed.

Wisdom desires to be found.

12 Wisdom is radiant and fadeth not away;
And easily is she beheld of them that love her,
And found of them that seek her.
13 She forestalleth them that desire *to know her*, making herself first known.
14 He that riseth up early to *seek* her shall have no toil,
For he shall find her sitting at his gates.
15 For to think upon her is perfection of understanding,
And he that keepeth vigil for her sake shall quickly be free from care.
16 For she goeth about, seeking them that are worthy of her,
And in their paths she appeareth unto them graciously,
And in every purpose she meeteth them.

The Sorites.

17 For her true beginning is desire of instruction;
And the care for instruction is love of *her*;

6. **searched out,** Greek ἐτάζω. The same word in ii. 19 probably means 'torture', so perhaps the A. V. and Latin are right in their interpretation, 'tormented', 'tormenta patientur'.

7. **regard any man's person,** R. V. 'refrain himself for'. The Greek ὑποστελεῖται πρόσωπον here is probably an echo of Deut. i. 17 LXX, where ὑποστείλῃ πρόσωπον is used to translate the Hebrew הַכִּיר פָּנִים, to show partiality to any one. The injunction to Moses to make no difference between small and great appears in the same context.

12. This description of Wisdom is based on Prov. viii.

And found. This line looks so much like a variant of Prov. viii. 17 that some scholars have suspected it of being an insertion. But the writer probably had the chapter in Proverbs before his mind, so in spite of its omission in B* it may be genuine. It is found in ℵ B[a] and A.

15. **to think upon her.** Through the contemplation of Wisdom, a man gains a high moral standard: cf. 'His (i. e. Plato's) theory of education is dominated by the thought that the mind itself inevitably "imitates" the character of the things it habitually contemplates. Just because the aspiration after wisdom is the fundamental expression of the mind's true nature, it cannot be followed persistently without resulting in a transfiguration of our whole character' (A. E. Taylor, *Plato*, p. 35).

17–20. An instance of the logical figure called Sorites, or Chain-inference, of which the Stoics were very fond (Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 216 note). *v.* 20 contains the main conclusion consisting of the first and last step: Desire for wisdom promoteth to a kingdom. But the first premiss is not expressed in *v.* 17 and must be supplied, and another member is omitted in *v.* 19.

[The desire for wisdom is the beginning of wisdom;]
17. The true beginning of wisdom is the desire for instruction;
The care for instruction is love of wisdom;

18 And love *of her* is observance of her laws;
And to give heed to *her* laws is the assurance of incorruption;
19 And incorruption bringeth near unto God;
20 So then desire of wisdom promoteth to a kingdom.

Solomon promises to declare the nature of wisdom.

21 If therefore ye delight in thrones and sceptres, ye princes of peoples,
Honour wisdom, that ye may reign for ever.
22 But what wisdom is, and how she came *to me*, I will declare,
And I will not hide *her* mysteries from you;
But I will trace *her* out from her first beginning
And bring the knowledge of her into clear light,
And I will not pass by the truth;
23 Neither indeed will I take pining envy for my companion,
Because envy shall have no fellowship with wisdom.
24 But a multitude of wise men is salvation to the world,
And an understanding king is tranquillity to *his* people.
25 Wherefore be ye instructed by my words, and *thereby* shall ye profit.

Solomon at first like other men: wisdom given to him in answer to prayer.

7 1 I myself also am mortal, like to all,
And am sprung from one born of the earth, *the man* first formed,
2 And in the womb of a mother was I moulded into flesh in the time of ten months,
Being compacted in blood of the seed of man and pleasure that came with sleep.
3 And I also, when I was born, drew in the common air,
And fell upon the kindred earth,
Uttering, like all, for my first voice, the self-same wail:
4 In swaddling clothes was I nursed, and with *watchful* cares.
5 For no king had any other first beginning;
6 But all men have one entrance into life, and a like departure.
7 For this cause I prayed, and understanding was given me:
I called upon *God*, and there came to me a spirit of wisdom.

The value of wisdom.

8 I preferred her before sceptres and thrones,
And riches I esteemed nothing in comparison of her.
9 Neither did I liken to her any priceless gem,
Because all the gold *of the earth* in her sight is but a little sand,
And silver shall be accounted as clay before her.

18. Love of wisdom is the keeping of her laws;
The keeping of her laws is immortality;
19. Immortality bringeth near to God;
[To be near to God is to be a king;]
So the desire for wisdom promoteth to a kingdom.

There is remarkably little deviation from the exact logical form: what there is is justified by the poetical character of the composition.

22. **to me.** Ewald and Bois understand μοί after ἐγένετο.

from her first beginning. This (the A.V. and Latin) is the better translation; not 'from the beginning of creation', R.V.; as is seen from vii. 5, 'no king had any other first beginning,' where the Greek is practically the same.

mysteries. The Alexandrian Jews regarded their syncretism of Greek philosophy and Hebrew religion as a mystery, which, however, they were anxious to propagate in contrast to the heathen who kept their mysteries secret. Cf. Philo, *de Sacrificantibus*, 12 'Why, ye initiates, if these things are good and profitable, do ye shut yourselves up in darkness and benefit three or four only, instead of bringing the advantages into the market-place for all men, so that every one might enjoy a better and happier life? For envy does not dwell with virtue.' See vii. 13.

23. Cf. the last clause of the preceding quotation which strikingly resembles 23 *b*. The pride of the philosophers is no doubt referred to and perhaps the greed of the Sophists. For the Sophists see Philo, *de Congressu*, 23.

24. **a multitude of wise men.** This is a sounder view than that of Ecclesiastes i. 18, 'In much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.'

VII. 1. **first formed.** The word πρωτόπλαστος first occurs here.

2. **was I moulded.** The man is here identified with the body in contrast to the soul which pre-existed, see viii. 19.

3. **kindred,** ὁμοιοπαθής. This is the usual significance of the word. But the commentators point out that the affinity is not between Solomon and the earth but between Solomon and the rest of mankind. Grimm gives 'equally trodden by all'. It is, perhaps, another instance of the author's free use of the language.

10 Above health and comeliness I loved her,
And I chose to have her rather than light,
Because her bright shining is never laid to sleep.
11 But with her there came to me all good things together,
And in her hands innumerable riches:
12 And I rejoiced over *them* all because wisdom leadeth them;
Though I knew not that she was the mother of them.
13 As I learned without guile, I impart without grudging;
I do not hide her riches.
14 For she is unto men a treasure that faileth not,
And they that use it obtain friendship with God,
Commended *to him* by the gifts which come through discipline.

Solomon's own great knowledge came from this gift of wisdom.

15 But to me may God give to speak with judgement,
And to conceive thoughts worthy of what hath been given *me*;
Because himself is one that guideth even wisdom and correcteth the wise.
16 For in his hand are both we and our words;
All understanding, and *all* acquaintance with divers crafts.
17 For he hath given me an unerring knowledge of the things that are,
To know the constitution of the world, and the operation of the elements;
18 The beginning and end and middle of times,
The alternations of the solstices and the changes of seasons,
19 The circuits of years and the positions of stars;
20 The natures of living creatures and the ragings of wild beasts,
The powers of spirits and the thoughts of men,
The diversities of plants and the virtues of roots:
21 All things that are either secret or manifest I learned,
22 For she that is the artificer of all things taught me, *even* wisdom.

The attributes of wisdom: her source: her activity.

For there is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy,
Alone in kind, manifold,
Subtil, freely moving,

11. Cf. Matt. vi. 33, 'and all these things shall be added unto you.'

12. **mother,** γενέτιν (hapax); ℵ and B give γένεσιν, but γένεσις has already been used in vi. 22 and again in *v.* 5 in the abstract, and therefore is hardly likely to be used here with a concrete meaning. Wisdom is the 'mother' or root of all 'good things', not merely the chief. Plato's classification of the Virtues is rejected. See on viii. 7.

13. **without grudging.** See notes on vi. 22 and 23.

14. **friendship with God.** See on *v.* 27.

given. These gifts would be called 'graces' by the Christian. The R.V. takes the gifts as offered to God to win His favour.

15. **judgement,** or as R.V. margin, 'according to his (i.e. God's) mind', κατὰ γνώμην.

what hath been given. There are three readings here given by Feldmann. (1) δεδομένων: B, and three cursives, including 248; (2) λεγομένων: ℵ A, six cursives, Syriac and other versions; (3) διδομένων: comp. Latin (*quae mihi dantur*), Coptic, and Ethiopic. λεγομένων is generally rejected. διδομένων is preferred by Grimm and Feldmann. This reading, as Farrar points out, emphasizes the fact that the gift of Wisdom is continuous.

17–20. In these verses the writer shows his knowledge of the technical terms of Greek science. He highly esteems all branches of learning, including astronomy; which Philo, in spite of the remarkable contributions made by Alexandrian astronomers to the advancement of the science, strangely depreciated (Drummond, *Philo*, i. 264).

17. **things that are,** τῶν ὄντων γνῶσιν = 'philosophy'.

constitution of the world = 'cosmology'.

18. **beginning,** &c., **of times** = 'chronology'.

alternations, &c. = 'astronomy'.

19. **circuits,** i.e. cycles, e.g. the metonic and solar cycles.

20. **natures,** &c. = zoology.

powers of spirits. Latin gives *vim ventorum*, but Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 2, says that Solomon is said to have had power over spirits, so that demonology and not meteorology may be meant.

thoughts of men. The desires and passions which agitate the soul; part of the modern science of psychology.

22. The writer here takes care to emphasize his belief that the action of God is only indirect; thus differing from the presentation in the second part.

artificer, τεχνῖτις. It is suggested by Toy, following Grimm, that this is founded on Prov. viii. 30, where Wisdom is said to be אמון and where the LXX gives ἁρμόζουσα. It is doubtful, however, whether this can be accepted. It would involve the correction of LXX by the writer.

Clear in utterance, unpolluted,
Distinct, that cannot be harmed,
Loving what is good, keen, unhindered,
23 Beneficent, loving toward man,
Steadfast, sure, free from care,
All-powerful, all-surveying,
And penetrating through all spirits
That are quick of understanding, pure, subtil:
24 For wisdom is more mobile than any motion;
Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness.
25 For she is a breath of the power of God,
And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty;
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
26 For she is an effulgence from everlasting light
And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
And an image of his goodness.
27 And she, though but one, hath power to do all things;
And remaining in herself, reneweth all things:
And from generation to generation passing into holy souls
She maketh them friends of God and prophets.
28 For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with wisdom.
29 For she is fairer than the sun,
And above all the constellations of the stars:
Being compared with light, she is found *to be* before it;

22, 23. Wisdom has twenty-one qualities, the number no doubt being purposely chosen as a multiple of the two sacred numbers, seven and three. Philo calls Wisdom πολυώνυμος.

Grimm quotes a fragment ascribed to Cleanthes the Stoic: τἀγαθὸν ἐρωτᾶς μ' οἷον ἐστ'; ἄκουε δή· τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, εὐσεβές, κρατοῦν ἑαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλόν, δέον, αὐστηρόν, αὐθεκάστατον, αἰεὶ συμφέρον, ἄφοβον, ἄλυπον, λυσιτελές, ἀνώδυνον, ὠφέλιμον, εὐάρεστον, ὁμολογούμενον, εὐκλεές, ἄτυφον, ἐπιμελές, πρᾶον, σφοδρόν, χρονιζόμενον, ἄμεμπτον, αἰεὶ διαμένον.

22. **in her,** ἐν αὐτῇ ℵ B Latin. αὐτή = 'She is a spirit' A. If ἐν αὐτῇ is right this is the nearest approach the author makes towards giving a distinct personality to Wisdom. But in ix. 17 he plainly makes Wisdom equivalent to the Holy Spirit.

quick of understanding. νοερός, a technical term of the Stoics applied to the world soul, see on i. 7. Other Stoical terms in this passage are φιλάνθρωπος (23), χωρεῖν (23), διήκειν (24), διοικεῖν (viii. 1). Three of these are found in one passage of Dio. Laert. quoted by Ritter and Preller, § 513. ἀπόρροια ('effluence') is also a philosophical term.

Alone in kind = 'the only one of its kind', μονογενές; **manifold,** πολυμερές, are opposed to one another and correspond to the Stoic idea of the world soul and its different manifestations. Compare St. Paul on the Holy Spirit, 1 Cor. xii. 4.

keen, unhindered. These words go together. Most commentators compare the λόγος τομεύς of Philo which divides, arranges, and unites the unarranged matter of chaos. Heinisch (p. 134) refuses to accept this.

23. **free from care,** ἀμέριμνον. This may be equivalent to the Aristotelian word αὐτάρκης applied to virtue in *Ethics Nic.* i. 7. 6.

subtil. R. V. 'most subtil', Latin *subtilis*, Greek λεπτοτάτων. λεπτός probably = 'ethereal'. In *v.* 22 Wisdom is said to be a πνεῦμα λεπτόν. Here it is said to penetrate spirits like itself intellectual, pure, and λεπτοτάτων. This can hardly mean that the spirits through which Wisdom penetrates must be λεπτά in a superlative degree, while Wisdom possesses the quality only in a positive degree. If it is not a mere rhetorical use of the superlative it must mean spirits which have the quality in as high a degree as is possible for men to possess it: an elative use of the superlative.

26. **effulgence,** ἀπαύγασμα. Cf. Heb. i. 3. The word can mean either (1) effulgence, radiance, or (2) reflection. The word 'effluence', ἀπόρροια, *v.* 26, upholds the first, the words 'unspotted mirror' uphold the second. Since the word 'mirror' seems to be in parallelism with ἀπαύγασμα the meaning 'reflection' is the more probable. Heinisch (p. 133) decides for 'effulgence' on the ground of Sir. i. 9, where it is said of Wisdom that God 'poured her out upon all his works'. So does Westcott on Heb. i. 3. Grimm and Gregg favour the rendering 'reflection'.

27. **all things.** Omnipotence is here ascribed to Wisdom.

remaining in herself, &c. Bois (p. 391) argues that this line contains a philosophical idea to be traced to Heraclitus or the Stoics. The primaeval fire, or the Logos, remains the same in its essence in spite of all its various manifestations in nature (see note on πολυμερές, *v.* 22). Grimm and Heinisch are content with a reference to Ps. cii. 27–28.

friends of God. See *v.* 15. Deissmann, *Bib. St.*, p. 167, thinks the word means favourites. 'Friend was the title of honour given at the court of the Ptolemies to the highest royal officials.' 'φίλος θεοῦ denotes high honour in the sight of God, nothing more nor less.' But the thought was not peculiar to Egypt. If Heinisch is right in seeing direct connexion between ch. viii and the fable of the choice of Hercules (see note on viii. 2) the words may be an echo of δι' ἐμὲ φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς ὄντες in that passage. Compare also Plato, *Leg.* iv. 716 D ὁ μὲν σώφρων θεῷ φίλος. Philodemus (about 50 B.C.) quotes a *Stoic* saying 'that the wise are the friends of God and God of the wise' (Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 254 note).

and prophets. The Stoics also believed in prophecy and said that only a wise man could be a prophet. Cic. *De Div.* ii. 63 'Stoici negant quemquam nisi sapientem divinum esse posse.'

30 For to the light *of day* succeedeth night,
But against wisdom evil doth not prevail;
8 1 But she reacheth from one end *of the world* to the other with full strength,
And ordereth all things well.

Solomon desired wisdom for a bride to assist him both in public and private matters: but only God could give her.

2 Her I loved and sought out from my youth,
And I sought to take her for my bride.
And I became enamoured of her beauty.
3 She proclaimeth *her* noble birth in that it is given her to live with God,
And the Sovereign Lord of all loved her.
4 For she is initiated into the knowledge of God,
And she chooseth out *for him* his works.
5 But if riches are a desired possession in life,
What is richer than wisdom, which worketh all things?
6 And if understanding worketh,
Who more than wisdom is an artificer of the things that are?
7 And if a man loveth righteousness,
The fruits of wisdom's labour are virtues,
For she teacheth self-control and understanding, righteousness, and courage;
And there is nothing in life for men more profitable than these.
8 And if a man longeth even for much experience,
She knoweth the things of old, and divineth the things to come:
She understandeth subtilties of speeches and interpretations of dark sayings:
She foreseeth signs and wonders, and the issues of seasons and times.
9 I determined therefore to take her unto me to live with me,
Knowing that she is one who would give me good *thoughts* for counsel,
And encourage me in cares and grief.
10 Because of her I shall have glory among multitudes,
And honour in the sight of elders, though I be young.
11 I shall be found of a quick discernment when I give judgement,
And in the presence of princes I shall be admired.
12 When I am silent, they shall wait for me;
And when I open my lips, they shall give heed unto me;

VIII. 1. **ordereth**, διοικεῖ. A favourite term of the Stoics. They said τὸν δὲ κόσμον διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν (Dio. Laert. 133, in Ritter and Preller, § 493).

2–18. In every one of these verses except 14 Heinisch finds an echo of the speech of Virtue in the apologue of the choice of Hercules in Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 1. The fable was no doubt well known, but Heinisch insists that Pseudo-Sol. had a first-hand acquaintance with Xenophon's work. The passage runs as follows:—

Virtue says: 'I associate with gods and I associate with men who are good (cf. *v.* 3, it is given her to live with God), and no noble work divine or human is done without me (cf. *v.* 4, she is initiated into the knowledge of God, and she chooseth out for him his works). I am a beloved co-worker with artificers (cf. *v.* 6, Who more than wisdom is an artificer?) . . . a steadfast ally in the work of war (cf. *v.* 15, . . . I shall show myself a good ruler, and in war courageous), and the best companion in friendship (*v.* 18, in her friendship is good delight). . . . And the young rejoice in the praises of their elders, and those who are older are delighted with honour from the young (cf. *v.* 10). And when their destined end shall come they will not lie unhonoured in forgetfulness, but be celebrated in song and flourish in memory for all time' (cf. *vv.* 13 and 17).

In this case, as in that of the connexion between Rom. ix and Wisd. xii, it should be noticed that the resemblances are all found in one continuous passage in both authors.

3. **proclaimeth**, R.V. 'glorifieth'. δοξάζω = to cause the dignity and worth of some person or thing to become manifest and acknowledged, cf. 2 Thess. iii. 1. See Thayer's edition of Grimm's *N. T. Lexicon*. Does a man desire noble birth in a bride? Wisdom is noble enough to be the bride of God. Philo (*de Cherub.* 13. 14) calls God the husband of Wisdom.

6. ἐργάζεται has a pregnant meaning 'to work effectually or successfully'. If φρόνησις—earthly wisdom—works with success, much more does σοφία, the divine wisdom.

7. **self-control**, &c. The four cardinal virtues; a well-known philosophical classification originating with Plato and taken up by the Stoics. Zeller (iii. 2, p. 230, note) affirms direct Stoic influence here, since Chrysippus made Wisdom the root of the four virtues, whereas Plato made Wisdom one of them. See also note on vii. 12.

8. **dark sayings**, parables or allegories. The writer probably had Prov. i. 6 in mind, where the αἰνίγματα of the wise are spoken of.

signs and wonders. Probably a reference to the prediction of eclipses, &c., by astronomers.

12. See Job xxix. 9.

And if I continue speaking, they shall lay their hand upon their mouth.
13 Because of her I shall have immortality,
And leave behind an eternal memory to them that come after me.
14 I shall govern peoples,
And nations shall be subjected to me.
15 Dread princes shall fear me when they hear *of me* :
Among *my* people I shall show myself a good *ruler*, and in war courageous.
16 When I come into my house, I shall find rest with her ;
For converse with her hath no bitterness.
And to live with her hath no pain, but gladness and joy.
17 When I considered these things in myself,
And took thought in my heart how that in kinship unto wisdom is immortality,
18 And in her friendship is good delight,
And in the labours of her hands is wealth that faileth not,
And in assiduous communing with her is understanding,
And great renown in having fellowship with her words,
I went about seeking how to take her unto myself.
19 Now I was a child good by nature and a good soul fell to my lot ;
20 Nay rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.
21 But perceiving that I could not possess *wisdom* except God gave *her* to me
(Yea and to know by whom the grace is given, this *too* came of understanding),
I pleaded with the Lord and besought him,
And with my whole heart I said.

He prays to God for this gift, pleading his own human weakness and the greatness of his task.

9 1 O God of the fathers, and Lord who keepest thy mercy,
Who madest all things by thy word ;
2 And by thy wisdom formedst man,
That he should have dominion over the creatures that were made by thee,
3 And rule the world in holiness and righteousness,
And execute judgement in uprightness of soul ;
4 Give me wisdom, her that sitteth by thee on thy throne ;
And reject me not from among thy servants ;
5 Because I am thy bondman and the son of thy handmaid,
A man weak and short-lived,
And of small power to understand judgement and laws.
6 For even if a man be perfect among the sons of men,
Yet if the wisdom that cometh from thee be not with him, he shall be held in no account.
7 Thou didst choose me before *my brethren* to be king of thy people,
And to do judgement for thy sons and daughters.
8 Thou gavest command to build a sanctuary in thy holy mountain,
And an altar in the city of thy habitation,
A copy of the holy tabernacle which thou preparedst aforehand from the beginning.

17. Wisdom is immortal. Those akin to her share her immortality. But in xv. 3 knowledge of the might of God is immortality. It may, however, be said that this knowledge could only arise from kinship with or the possession of Wisdom.

19. See Introd., p. 531, for the doctrine of pre-existence in the book. For the difference between the Jewish and Greek conception of pre-existence, see Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. i, pp. 318 ff.

20. This verse is a correction of *v.* 19. If *v.* 19 stood alone it would mean that the writer identified the Ego with the body or perhaps with the compound organism body and soul. But, strictly speaking, the soul is the Ego, hence the correction. In *v.* 19, as in vii. 2, the writer uses ordinary everyday language such as we find in the second part, 'the soul which was lent him', xv. 8, or in the N. T., 'this night thy soul shall be required of thee' (Luke xii. 20), where the soul seems to be regarded as distinct from the personality. It is generally accepted that the writer deliberately corrects himself in view of his doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul; but see Porter. Cf. note on xv. 8.

21. **possess wisdom**, i. e. ἐγκρατής in the sense of the Latin *compos*, understanding σοφίας. Grimm takes it in the sense of 'continent', but all other moderns take it as in the text.

IX. 1. **by thy word . . . by thy wisdom.** We may, perhaps, see here the truth of the statement that the writer of Wisdom was a forerunner of Philo. Word and Wisdom are here synonymous. Our author chose Wisdom, Philo chose the Word as the intermediary between God and the world.

3. God's purpose in Creation beneficent, see i. 13.

8. **A copy.** In Ps. cxxxv. 16, Exod. xxv. 9 we have the idea of heavenly archetypes of certain things on earth. This seems to have been a common Semitic idea. The temple of the goddess Nina was built by Gudea, King of

9 And with thee is wisdom, which knoweth thy works,
And was present when thou wast making the world,
And which understandeth what is pleasing in thine eyes,
And what is right according to thy commandments.
10 Send her forth out of the holy heavens,
And from the throne of thy glory bid her come,
That being present with me she may toil *with me*,
And *that* I may learn what is well-pleasing before thee.
11 For she knoweth all things and hath understanding *thereof*,
And in my doings she shall guide me in *ways of* soberness,
And she shall guard me in her glory.
12 And *so* shall my works be acceptable,
And I shall judge thy people righteously,
And I shall be worthy of my father's throne.
13 For what man shall know the counsel of God?
Or who shall conceive what the Lord willeth?
14 For the thoughts of mortals are timorous,
And our devices are prone to fail.
15 For a corruptible body weigheth down the soul,
And the earthy frame lieth heavy on the mind that is full of cares.
16 And hardly do we divine the things that are on earth,
And the things that are close at hand we find with labour;
But the things that are in the heavens who *ever yet* traced out?
17 And who *ever* gained knowledge of thy counsel, except thou gavest wisdom,
And sentest thy holy spirit from on high?
18 And it was thus that the ways of them which are on earth were corrected,
And men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee;
And through wisdom were they saved.

The work of wisdom in history from Adam to Moses.

10 1 She guarded to the end the first formed father of the world, that was created alone,
And delivered him out of his transgression,

Lagash (3000 B.C.), after he had been shown a model of it in a dream (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 610). It is, therefore, not necessary to resort to the Platonic doctrine of ideas as Gfrörer does. Grimm prefers to take ἁγία σκηνή, as heaven itself. The temple would then represent the higher just as the high-priest's garments represented the lower world. Cf. xviii. 24.

9. Here Wisdom is only present as a spectator at the Creation in accordance with Prov. viii. 30. His devotion to Scripture in this place overcomes the writer's philosophical theories.

11. **glory.** The meaning of this is difficult. The Latin cuts the knot by translating *potentia*. Certain scholars follow this and refer to Rom. vi. 4. If, however, 'guard' can be taken as carrying on the idea in 'guide' in the preceding line, then 'glory' may, as Grimm suggests, refer to the brightness which Wisdom sheds over the path of her followers. As the author places great stress on the superiority of Wisdom to Light (see vi. 12, vii. 10, 26, 29) this interpretation seems most probable.

15. The writer was no doubt somewhat influenced by the Greek idea of the inherent evil of matter, though he probably did not accept it. It is quite possible to admit that the body is the occasion of evil without accepting the dualistic theory that it is the cause of evil. For the connexion of this verse with Plato's *Phaedo* see Introduction, p. 532.

cares. The cares are mentioned in the next verse. Grimm prefers the rendering which is given in R.V. margin, 'that museth on many things.' The thought is a common one in literature, sacred and profane. See St. Paul, 2 Cor. v. 4, 'For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened'; Seneca, *Ep.* 65 'Corpus hoc animi pondus ac poena est.' Philo made the body equivalent to a tomb, but according to Ritter and Preller, § 46, note b, he did not, as is sometimes said, get this from Heraclitus: 'Sed quod aiunt σῶμα esse quasi σῆμα, non est ab Her. inventum.'

16. **hardly.** If the mind were not weighed down by the body, knowledge would be easily acquired.

close at hand, τὰ ἐν χερσίν. ℵ 23 read ποσίν, also the Armenian according to Feldmann.

17. Here 'thy holy spirit' is plainly equivalent to Wisdom: this may have some bearing on the reading of vii. 22.

18. **through wisdom were they saved.** Houbigant divided the book here, and it must be admitted that it is a very good ending. It is in striking contrast to the ending of ch. xix.

X. 1. **alone.** According to Gen. ii. 7, Adam was created before anything was ready for him, therefore he required protection. The ingenious emendation of Bois, οὐ μόνον, the οὐ having dropped out after κόσμου, is accepted by Siegfried and Heinisch (p. 147). He would translate 'Wisdom not only guarded and delivered, but gave him', &c. For τέ used in this way he quotes Esther v. 3 (Bois, p. 399).

his, ἰδίου. This is doubtless, as already pointed out by Grimm, an instance of the 'use of the exhausted ἴδιος, which is confirmed by the Apocryphal books, especially by those in Greek from the first' (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 123–4). In ch. xviii, *vv.* 13 and 21, there seem to be undoubted examples of this use. Opinions may differ as to the other cases, ii. 23, xi. 13, xii. 23, xvi. 23, xvii. 11, xix. 6, 13, 20, though Deissmann says the best course is 'to take

2 And gave him strength to get dominion over all things.
3 But when an unrighteous man fell away from her in his anger,
He perished himself in the rage wherewith he slew his brother.
4 And when for his cause the earth was drowning with a flood,
Wisdom again saved it,
Guiding the righteous man's course by a poor piece of wood.

5 Moreover, when nations consenting together in wickedness had been confounded,
Wisdom knew the righteous man, and preserved him blameless unto God,
And kept him strong when his heart yearned toward his child.

6 While the ungodly were perishing, wisdom delivered a righteous man,
When he fled from the fire that descended out of heaven on Pentapolis.
7 To whose wickedness a smoking waste still witnesseth,
And plants bearing fair fruit that cometh not to ripeness;
(*Yea and* a disbelieving soul hath a memorial *there*, a pillar of salt *still* standing.)
8 For having passed wisdom by,
Not only were they disabled from recognizing the things which are good,
But they also left behind them for *human* life a monument of their folly;
So that wherein they had offended could not but be known:
9 But wisdom delivered out of troubles those that waited on her.

10 When a righteous man was a fugitive from a brother's wrath, wisdom guided him in straight paths;
She showed him God's kingdom, and gave him knowledge of holy things;
She prospered him in his toils, and multiplied the fruits of his labour;
11 When in their covetousness *men* dealt hardly with him,
She stood by him and made him rich;
12 She guarded him from enemies,
And from those that lay in wait she kept him safe,
And in his sore conflict she guided him to victory,
That he might know that godliness is more powerful than all.

13 When a righteous man was sold, wisdom forsook him not,
But from sin she delivered him;
She went down with him into a dungeon,
14 And in bonds she left him not,
Till she brought him the sceptre of a kingdom,
And authority over those that dealt tyrannously with him;
She showed them also to be false that had accused him,
And gave him eternal glory.

ἴδιος in the old sense only when the context absolutely requires it'. See also Bois, p. 409. In xix. 13 ἴδιος is fortified by αὐτῶν and is certainly emphatic.

3. This is generally taken to mean that Cain underwent spiritual death when he slew his brother. Compare v. 13, 'As soon as we were born we ceased to be.' The writer's idea of life and death is a spiritual one. We find the same idea in Philo: 'Cain rose up and killed himself. . . . For the soul which destroys out of itself the virtue-loving and God-loving principle has died to the life of virtue' (*Quod det. pot.* § 14). There are two traditions as to the death of Cain, one that he was slain accidentally by Lamech who was blind, the other that he was overwhelmed in the fall of a house. See note on xi. 16.

4. **for his cause.** Like the author of the 'prophetic' narrative in Genesis, Pseudo-Sol. considers the evil on the earth before the flood to be due to the descendants of Cain.

5. **knew**, reading ἔγνω ℵ A C Latin and Syriac. B gives εὗρεν.
the righteous man. Abraham.

6. Lot.

7. Cf. 'Apples of Sodom'. See Josephus in his account of the Dead Sea, *Bell. Iud.* iv. 8. 4.
still standing. Josephus says 'I have seen it, for it remains even now' (*Ant.* i. 11. 4). 'Robinson (ii. 108) remarks that during the rainy season such pillars are constantly in the process of formation and destruction' (Driver, in *Hastings' DB*, vol. iii, p. 152).

8. **disabled**, i. e. they incur 'judicial blindness'.

10. Jacob.
holy things, or holy ones, i. e. the angels ascending and descending.

12. **guided him to victory.** Latin 'dedit ut vinceret'. R. V. 'watched as iudge', but see βραβεύω in Liddell and Scott, ii. 2. The Syriac agrees in this interpretation.

13. Joseph.

15 She delivered a holy people and a blameless seed from a nation of oppressors.
16 She entered into the soul of a servant of the Lord,
And withstood terrible kings in wonders and signs.
17 She rendered unto holy men a reward of their toils;
She guided them along a marvellous way,
And became unto them a covering in the daytime,
And a light of stars through the night.
18 She brought them over the Red sea,
And led them through much water;
19 But their enemies she drowned,
And out of the bottom of the deep she cast them up.
20 Therefore the righteous spoiled the ungodly;
And they sang praise to thy holy name, O Lord,
And extolled with one accord thy hand that fought for them:
21 Because wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb,
And made the tongues of babes to speak clearly.

11 1 She prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet.

Contrast between the fortunes of Israel and Egypt; the instrument of punishment to the Egyptians became the instrument of benefit to Israel.

2 They journeyed through a desert without inhabitant,
And in trackless regions they pitched their tents.
3 They withstood enemies, and repelled foes.
4 They thirsted, and they called upon thee,
And there was given them water out of the flinty rock,
And healing of their thirst out of the hard stone.
5 For by what things their foes were punished,
By these they in their need were benefited.
6 When *the enemy* were troubled with clotted blood instead of a river's ever-flowing fountain,
To punish the decree for the slaying of babes,
7 Thou gavest them abundant water beyond all hope,
8 Having shown *them* by the thirst which they had suffered how thou didst punish the adversaries.
9 For when they were tried, albeit but in mercy chastened,
They learned how the ungodly were tormented, being judged with wrath:
10 For these, as a father, admonishing them, thou didst prove;
But those, as a stern king, condemning them, thou didst search out.
11 Yea and whether they were far off *from the righteous* or near *them*, they were alike distressed;
12 For a double grief took hold on them,
And a groaning at the remembrance of things past.

15. **a holy people and a blameless seed.** This idealization of Israel is in strong contrast with Exod. xxxii. 9, Deut. ix. 6, and other similar passages. But the moral and spiritual superiority of the Jews to the heathen in the first century B.C. (see Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.*, p. 83) would naturally be carried back to their ancestors in a heightened degree.

17. This is the strongest instance of allegory in the book. It is quite of a piece with 'Philo's habit of allegorizing an angel into a Logos' (Drummond, ii, p. 268).

20. **spoiled.** According to a tradition mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 16. 6) the arms of the Egyptians were washed up on the shore and so provided the Israelites with weapons.

21. **dumb.** In Exod. iv. 10 Moses says 'I am slow of speech'.

XI. 2. Here the second part of the book begins. In *v.* 7 the writer speaks of the direct action of God, and continues to do so in *vv.* 10, 15, 17. In *v.* 20, it is true, he speaks of 'Justice', and the 'breath of thy power': but reverts to the idea of the direct action of the Deity. Wisdom has disappeared and with it the Greek view of God as transcendant.

4. **called upon thee.** The writer prefers to follow Ps. cvii. 5 rather than Exod. xvii. 1–7.

ἀκρότομος = 'abrupt', 'precipitous': the LXX translation of חלמיש ('flint') in Deut. viii. 15. This shows direct dependence on the LXX.

5. The principles enunciated here and in *v.* 16 (appropriateness of retribution) are dwelt upon at considerable length in the rest of the book. The first point (elaborated in cc. xvi–xix), viz. that what injured the Egyptians benefited Israel, seems to be peculiar to the author. It appears later in Philo (*Vita Contem.* cii), 'For by the commandment of God the sea became to one party the cause of safety and to the other that of utter destruction'.

6. The R.V. margin says 'The text of this verse is perhaps corrupt'. B and C upheld by the Latin read ταραχθέντες: ℵ A ταραχθέντος. If the nominative is read, a subject must be supplied—'the enemy', as in R.V.; if the genitive, the translation must be 'Instead of a perennial fountain of a river turbid with clotted blood thou gavest them', &c. R. V. (i. e. Hort) takes the first; Grimm, Feldmann, and others adopt the second.

12. **things past**, reading παρελθόντων ℵ A. παρελθουσῶν is given by B and C agreeing with μνημῶν. Feldmann has a long discussion of the passage: he would emend to μνήμονας agreeing with αὐτούς.

13 For when they heard that by the very means wherewith they had been punished the others had been benefited,
They felt *the presence* of the Lord;
14 For him who long before was driven forth in hatred they left off mocking:
And marvelled at the events that had come to pass,
Having thirsted in another manner than the righteous.

Appropriateness of retribution shown to be the purpose of God.

15 But in requital of the senseless imaginings of their unrighteousness,
Wherein they were led astray to worship irrational reptiles and wretched vermin,
Thou didst send upon them a multitude of irrational creatures for vengeance;
16 That they might learn, that by what things a man sinneth, by these he is punished.
17 For thine all-powerful hand,
That created the world out of formless matter,
Lacked not means to send upon them a multitude of bears, or fierce lions,
18 Or new-created wild beasts, full of rage, *of* unknown *kind*,
Either breathing out a blast of fiery breath,
Or blowing forth *from their nostrils* noisome smoke,
Or flashing dreadful sparkles from their eyes;
19 Which had power not only to consume them by their violence,
But to destroy them even by the terror of their sight.
20 Yea and without these might they have fallen by a single breath,
Being pursued by Justice, and scattered abroad by the breath of thy power.
But by measure and number and weight thou didst order all things.

God, though almighty, is full of mercy and compassion.

21 For to be greatly strong is thine at all times;
And the might of thine arm who shall withstand?
22 Because the whole world before thee is as a grain in a balance,
And as a drop of dew that at morning cometh down upon the earth.

14. **in hatred**, reading ἐν ἔχθεσι with ℵ A C: B gives ἐν ἐκθέσει.

16. For the idea see Ps. vii. 15, 16 ('He hath made a pit,' &c.) and numerous other passages in the O. T. Jub. iv. 31 puts it very plainly: 'For with a stone he (Cain) had killed Abel and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgement.' As usual the writer does not trouble himself about literal accuracy. The Egyptians were punished, not by the identical animals which they worshipped, though in one district or another almost all animals were sacred, but by others, i.e. frogs and lice, quite as irrational and disgusting. Philo (*Vita Mos.* i. 17) says, 'For as the Egyptians used to honour the water in an especial degree . . . he thought it fitting to summon that first to the affliction and correction of those who honoured it.'

17. **That created.** Reading with all the versions, Lat., Syr., Arm., Kopt., ἡ for καί. B ℵ* A C all read καὶ κτίσασα. ℵ^a exhibits a conflate reading ἡ καὶ κτίσασα. For the confusion between η and κ see Cobet, *Variae Lectiones*, p. 5, 'η et κ in veteri scriptura nil differunt.'

formless matter. As the words stand they convey a purely Greek philosophical idea. Matter was in existence from all eternity and God moulded it to His purpose. The question then arises—Did our author also conceive of matter as increate or did he assume that God first created formless matter and then brought it into order and arrangement? Grimm points out that the author's object was to adduce as great a proof as possible of the power of God. Creation *ex nihilo* would be even a greater marvel than the organization of matter; as the author does not mention this greater marvel it is urged that he did not accept it. Siegfried (*Philo*, p. 230) thinks that as Philo assumes the doctrine of the eternity of matter to be true and to require no proof, the Alexandrian Jews had accepted it before him. But even Philo, philosopher as he is, seems to waver in his acceptance of the belief (Siegfried, p. 232): 'God, when he begat all things, not only brought them into manifestation, but made things which did not exist before, being himself not only a Demiurge but also a Creator,' *De Somn.* i. 13. Caird (*Evolution of Theol.*, vol. ii, p. 191), speaking of Philo's views, says, 'In accommodation to Jewish notions God must be supposed to create the matter in which his ideas are realized.'

bears, or fierce lions. In *Vita Mosis*, i. 19, Philo says, 'Some one may ask why God punished the land with such insignificant and despised animals and not rather by bears, lions, and panthers . . . who devour human flesh.' The answer he gives bears a striking similarity to that in Wisd. xii. 20–25, 'God was desirous rather to admonish the Egyptians than to destroy them.'

18. **noisome smoke.** R. V. taking βρόμος, 'roaring', as a misspelling of βρῶμος, 'stench'.

19. The basilisk was supposed to kill by a glance.

20. **measure and number and weight.** Hence God deals out appropriate, not arbitrary retribution. This passage is referred to in Charles's *Testaments Naph.* ii. 3, where we read, 'By weight, measure, and rule was all the creation made.'

22. **a grain**: cf. Isa. xl. 15. Another indication of direct dependence on LXX.

23 But thou hast mercy on all men, because thou hast power to do all things,
And thou overlookest the sins of men to the end they may repent.
24 For thou lovest all things that are,
And abhorrest none of the things which thou didst make;
For never wouldst thou have formed anything if thou didst hate it.
25 And how would anything have endured, except thou hadst willed it?
Or that which was not called by thee, *how would* it have been preserved?
26 But thou sparest all things, because they are thine,
O Sovereign Lord, thou lover of souls;
12 1 For thine incorruptible spirit is in all things.
2 Wherefore thou dost chastise by little and little them that fall from the right way,
And, putting them in remembrance by the *very* things wherein they sin, dost thou admonish them,
That escaping from their wickedness they may believe on thee, O Lord.

As shown by his patience with the Canaanites.

3 For verily the old inhabitants of thy holy land,
4 Whom thou didst hate because they practised detestable works of enchantments and unholy rites,
5 Merciless slaughterers of children,
And sacrificial banqueters on men's flesh and blood,
6 Confederates in an impious fellowship
And murderers of their own helpless babes,
It was thy counsel to destroy by the hands of our fathers;
7 That the land which in thy sight is most precious of all *lands*
Might receive a worthy colony of God's servants.
8 Nevertheless even these thou didst spare as *being* men,
And thou sentest hornets as forerunners of thy host,
To cause them to perish by little and little;
9 Not that thou wast unable to subdue the ungodly under the hand of the righteous in battle,
Or by terrible beasts or by *one* stern word to destroy them at once;
10 But judging them by little and little thou gavest them a place of repentance,
Though thou knewest their nature was evil, and their wickedness inborn,
And that their manner of thought would in no wise ever be changed,
11 For they were a seed accursed from the beginning:
Neither was it through fear of any that thou didst pass over their sins.

23. **repent.** The thought that the goodness and mercy of God are calls to repentance does not seem to occur earlier than this. It was taken up by St. Paul, Rom. ii. 4, and is found in 2 Pet. iii. 9.

24 to xii. 2. This beautiful passage has nothing to compare with it in cc. i–x. Ch. i. 13, 14 do not speak of the love of God in the fervent way that the writer does here: while vi. 6–7 refer rather to God's compassion.

24. In Philo, as in his master Plato, the goodness of God is the motive of Creation. But we have not quite got this idea here. It only needs another step, it is true, but the author did not take it. He does not go beyond the O.T. The Jews did not ask what motive God had in creating man. The nearest approach to alleging a motive is found in Isa. xliii. 7, where the creation of Israel for the 'glory' of Jehovah is spoken of.

25. **called** = 'created'. A Hebraism, cf. Isa. xli. 4. 'Calleth' in Rom. iv. 17 is not quite the same, but probably = 'issues commands to'.

26. **lover of souls.** φιλόψυχος, in classical Greek, means 'cowardly'.

XII. The writer has set forth a very high ideal of God in xi. 24, and endeavours to illustrate it not only by His action towards the chosen people, but even by the treatment extended to His enemies, the Egyptians and Canaanites. He can only achieve his purpose by disregarding certain parts of the Biblical tradition. The Egyptians, according to the writer, were treated mercifully, in being afflicted at first with lighter plagues as a means of correction and admonition. It was only when they refused to be admonished and to obey the God whom they recognized to be the true God, that the punishment of death was inflicted. The difference between this view and that found in Exodus is considerable. There Jahveh hardens Pharaoh's heart to prevent the plagues from having a reformative effect. Again, the Canaanites, who, in spite of xi. 24, are described in xii. 4 as being hated by God, and as 'a seed accursed from the beginning', are said to have been leniently treated in order that they might escape from their wickedness by repentance. The reason given in Exodus (xxiii. 29, 30) why the Canaanites were destroyed little by little is that the land might not become the prey of wild beasts. The Deuteronomic editor of the Book of Judges gives two reasons why the Canaanites were not driven out at once: (1) To prove the Israelites; (2) To give them experience in war (Judges ii. 22–iii. 6).

5. **slaughterers,** φονέας. R.V. gives 'slaughters', emending to φονάς. This is probably on account of θοῖναν, 'banquet', in the next clause; but φονέας is supported by μύστας and αὐθέντας γονεῖς later on, so that it seems better to take 'banquet' as used by metonomy for 'banqueters' as in the Latin, which gives *devoratores*.

6. **Confederates.** The true reading of this line in the Greek seems beyond the possibility of recovery. The above rendering is that of the R.V. reading ἐκμυσοῦς from ἐκμυσής, a word coined by Grimm in his first edition (1837). Grimm, in the edition of 1860, read ἐκ μυσοῦς μύστας θιάσου, which equals 'impious initiates or confederates of a (secret idolatrous) fellowship'. The meaning is the same, but he avoids coining a word.

11. **accursed from the beginning.** Cf. Gen. ix. 25.

God's possession of almighty power shows that his leniency is due to his mercy.

12 For who shall say, What hast thou done?
Or who shall withstand thy judgement?
And who shall accuse thee for the destruction of nations which thou didst make?
Or who shall come and stand before thee as an avenger for the unrighteous?
13 For neither is there any God beside thee that careth for all,
That thou mightst show *unto him* that thou didst not judge unrighteously:
14 Neither shall king or prince meet thee *to plead* for those whom thou hast punished.
15 But being righteous thou rulest all things righteously,
Deeming it alien from thy power
To condemn him that doth not deserve to be punished.
16 For thy strength is the beginning of righteousness,
And thy sovereignty over all maketh thee to spare all.
17 For when men believe not that thou art perfect in power, thou showest thy strength,
And in dealing with them that know *it* thou puttest their boldness to confusion.
18 But thou, being sovereign over *thy* strength, judgest in gentleness,
And with great forbearance dost thou govern us;
For the power is thine whensoever thou willest.

His mercy an example to men.

19 But thou didst teach thy people by such works as these,
That the righteous must be a lover of men;
And thou didst make thy sons to be of good hope,
Because thou givest repentance when men have sinned.
20 For if the enemies of thy servants, even them that were due to death,
Thou didst punish with so great heedfulness and indulgence,
Giving them times and place to escape from their wickedness;
21 With how great carefulness didst thou judge thy sons,
To whose fathers thou gavest oaths and covenants of good promises!
22 While therefore thou dost chasten us, thou scourgest our enemies ten thousand times more,
To the intent that we may ponder thy goodness when we judge,
And when we are judged may look for mercy.

Those who did not respond to lenient treatment received a heavier punishment.

23 Wherefore also the unrighteous that lived in folly of life
Thou didst torment through their own abominations.
24 For verily they went astray very far in the ways of error,
Taking as gods those animals which even among their enemies were held in dishonour,
Deceived like foolish babes.
25 Therefore, as unto unreasoning children, thou didst send thy judgement to mock them.
26 But they that would not be admonished by a correction which was but as child's play
Shall experience a judgement worthy of God.
27 For because through their own sufferings they were moved to indignation
Against those creatures which they thought to be gods,

16. **beginning of righteousness.** So R. V.; Grimm, Deane, Farrar, and Siegfried, 'foundation.' Everywhere else in the book ἀρχή means 'beginning', though in xiv. 27 it is parallel with αἰτία; it may mean that God's power enables Him always to do justice. The word 'source' might be a good equivalent.

17. The Revisers say 'The Greek text here is perhaps corrupt'. B gives εἰδόσι, 'those that know'; A οὐκ εἰδόσι, 'those that know not'. Latin has *qui sciunt*, with which the Syriac agrees. Bois (p. 400) offers the emendation ἐνδοιάζουσι, which is accepted by Siegfried. To rebuke the audacity of those that doubt certainly seems at first sight a more likely statement than to rebuke the audacity of those that know; but if we compare the last two lines of the chapter we see that the Egyptians, who 'saw and recognized' the true God and may thus certainly be said to know Him, are thought of here, so that εἰδόσι is right. The Egyptians knew God's power but defied it.

20. **indulgence**, reading διέσεως ℵ. B reads δεήσεως, which gives no sense. A and Latin omit.

24. So R. V. Bois, however (p. 401), compares ἐν ζώοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄτιμα with xv. 18 τὰ ζῷα τὰ ἔχθιστα σέβονται, and takes ἐχθρός with the same meaning in both places. If this is right we must probably translate 'taking as gods the most ignoble of hateful animals'. For the positive used as a superlative see Blass, *Gr. of N. T.*, p. 143.

26. The writer was misled by the LXX of Exod. x. 2 ὅσα ἐμπέπαιχα. There is no idea of child's play in the Hebrew word.

27. In opposition to R. V. and other renderings it is here suggested that ἐφ' οἷς is not prospective, anticipating ἐπὶ τούτοις, but simply means 'because' (on ἐφ' ᾧ and ἐφ' οἷς see Sanday's *Romans*, v. 12, and Lightfoot, Phil. iii. 12). The editorial comma after ἠγανάκτουν must be deleted.

Being punished by their means,
They saw, and recognized the true God whom before they refused to know;
Wherefore also the uttermost penalty came upon them.

Men being foolish by nature cannot know the true God, but worship, perhaps excusably, the works he has made.

13 1 For by nature all men were foolish, and had no perception of God,
And from the good things to be seen had not power to know him that is,
Neither by giving heed to the works did they recognize the artificer;
2 But either fire, or wind, or swift air,
Or circling stars, or raging water, or luminaries of heaven,
They thought to be gods that rule the world.
3 And if through delight in their beauty they took them to be gods,
Let them know how much better than these is their Sovereign Lord;
For the first author of beauty created them:
4 But if through astonishment at their power and influence,
Let them understand from them how much mightier is he that formed them;
5 For from the greatness and beauty of created things
Does man correspondently form the image of their first maker.
6 But yet for these men there is but small blame,
For they too peradventure do *but* go astray
While they are seeking God and desiring to find him.
7 For living among his works they make diligent search,
And believe their sight, because the things that they look upon are beautiful.
8 But again even they are not to be excused.
9 For if they had power to know so much,
That they could explore the course of *things*,
How is it they did not sooner find the Sovereign Lord of these *works*?

the true God. The indignation of the Egyptians at their gods, on finding them to be weaker than Jahveh, drove them to acknowledge Him to be the true God. The savage is often angry with his fetish. The statement in the text is founded either on Exod. viii. 8, ix. 28, x. 17, where Pharaoh requests Moses to 'entreat Jahveh' for him, thus recognizing that Jahveh was the true God, or on Exod. viii. 18, where the magicians, being unable to repeat the third plague, say, 'This is the finger of God.'

Wherefore. The writer takes it for granted that the reader will supply from the preceding words the thought that the Egyptians, though they recognized the true God, still refused to accept His admonition: 'Wherefore,' &c.

XIII. 1. **by nature . . . foolish**, as opposed to the intelligence that comes from wisdom. A solitary and indirect reference to the Wisdom of part 1.

the good things. The argument from design was a favourite one with the Stoics. 'They argued from the analogy of human art, and contended that the orderly movements and immutable constancy of the universe were just as clear an evidence of controlling reason as could be found in a statue or picture, in the course of a ship or a sundial' (Drummond, *Philo*, i, p. 77). Cf. Rom. i. 20, and see Sanday and Headlam, *in loco*.

him that is, τὸν ὄντα, from LXX Exod. iii. 14 Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Ὤν.

2. By the words 'fire', &c., Grimm, on the basis of Philo, *De Dec. Or.* ch. xii, and *De Vita Cont.* 1, takes the author to refer to the personification of natural phenomena under the names of Hephaestus, fire; Aeolus, wind; Hera, air; and Poseidon, water. E. Pfleiderer, who wishes to make the author a thoroughgoing Greek philosopher, takes the references to be to Heraclitus, who made fire the original element (i.e. fire as a vivifying and quickening power); Anaximenes, who proposed air; Pythagoras, who, with many others, considered the 'circling stars' to be gods; and Thales, who considered water to be the origin of all things. It is, of course, impossible to deny that the writer may have had these philosophers in his mind, but the reference is most probably a general one. See the statement of Prodicus in Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Phil.*, ii, p. 482.

luminaries of heaven. These were common objects of heathen worship. Cf. Deut. iv. 19, where it is also distinctly stated that Jahveh assigned the heavenly bodies to the nations to be worshipped.

3. **their beauty.** The commentators point out that the admiration of beauty is a Greek trait, not Hebrew. The beauty of the universe was a favourite subject with the Stoics.

5. **greatness and beauty.** Although ℵ B and A, the Latin and Peshitta, all read 'the greatness of the beauty', the editors (except R. V.) all accept the reading given in the text, which follows ℵ[a], various cursives, including 248, Athanasius, and other patristic authorities; and according to Feldmann is found in the Armenian, Syro-Hexaplar, Aethiopic, and probably the Coptic versions.

9. The writer, perhaps, forgot that he considered the Gentiles to be μάταιοι φύσει, 'foolish by nature', see *v.* 1. His question may be one of surprise, or he may, as Grimm and others suggest, insinuate that there was a moral failure. Philo makes it an intellectual failure, 'Therefore those persons are mere guessers who are anxious to contemplate the uncreated God through the medium of the things which he created; acting like those persons who seek to ascertain the nature of the unit through the number two when they ought to employ the investigation of the unit itself to ascertain the nature of the number two, for the unit is the first principle.'

But some men are without excuse because they worship objects which they themselves have made.

10 But miserable *were* they, and in dead things *were* their hopes,
Who called them gods which are works of men's hands,
Gold and silver, wrought with careful art, and likenesses of beasts,
Or a useless stone, the work of an ancient hand.
11 Yea, and if some woodcutter, having sawn down a tree he can handle,
Skilfully strippeth away all its bark,
And fashioning it handsomely maketh a vessel for the service of life ;
12 And with that which is left he prepareth his food and is filled ;
13 And taking that which is left again, for which no use can be found,
A crooked piece of wood and full of knots,
Carveth it with the diligence of his idleness,
And shapeth it by the skill of his indolence ;
Then he giveth it the semblance of the image of a man,
14 Or maketh it like some paltry animal,
Smearing it with vermilion, and with paint colouring it red,
And smearing over every stain that is therein ;
15 And having made for it a chamber worthy of it,
He setteth it in a wall, and maketh it fast with iron.
16 In order therefore that it may not fall, he taketh thought for it ;
Knowing that it is unable to help itself ;
(For verily it is an image, and hath need of help ;)
17 And when he maketh his prayer for his goods and for his marriage and children,
He is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life ;
18 Yea for health he calleth upon that which is weak,
And for life he beseecheth that which is dead,
And for aid he supplicateth that which hath no experience,
And for a *good* journey that which cannot so much as use its feet,
19 And for gaining and getting and good success of his hands
He asketh power of that which with its hands is quite powerless.

Folly of the navigator who for safety prays to a useless piece of wood.

14 1 Again, one preparing to sail, and to journey through raging waves,
Calls on a piece of wood less sound than the vessel that bears him ;
2 For that *vessel* the hunger for gain devised,
And an artificer by his wisdom built it ;
3 And thy providence, O Father, guideth it along,
Because even in the sea thou gavest a way,
And in the waves a sure path,
4 Showing that thou canst save out of every *danger*,
That *so* even without art a man may put to sea ;
5 And it is thy will that the works of thy wisdom should not be idle ;
Therefore also do men intrust their lives to a little piece of wood,
And passing through the surge on a raft are brought safe *to land*.
6 For in the old time also, when proud giants were perishing,

10. **work of an ancient hand**, Acts xix. 35.
11 ff. Founded on Isa. xl, xli, xliv and xlvi.
13. **idleness.** The idol is made at odd times and no care spent upon it. A different method is mentioned in xiv. 19. ℵ B ἀργίας, A ἐργασίας.
indolence. ℵ* A B ἀνέσεως, συνέσεως ℵ^a Latin.
18. ἀπειρότατον. An elative. A. V. margin 'that which hath no experience at all'. R. V. 'hath least experience'.

XIV. 1. **less sound.** Lit. 'more rotten'; see xiii. 13, where the wood of which the idol is made cannot be used for anything else.
2. **by his wisdom.** So the Vulgate and Syriac. ℵ B A give τεχνῖτις δὲ σοφία, and R. V. translates 'an artificer, even wisdom'. Nearly all the editors prefer the first, taking wisdom as the human quality. Blass (*Gram. of N. T. Gk.*, p. 6) points out that the mute ι in the dative was often omitted by scribes ; also (see p. 8) η sometimes becomes ι. So read τεχνίτης δὲ σοφίᾳ. See also Thackeray, *Gr. of O. T. in Greek*, p. 85.
3. **Because.** This and the next three lines refer to Noah. The lines justify the statement that it is God's providence that guides a vessel rather than man's seamanship. Noah was not acquainted with navigation.
5. **a little piece.** ἐλαχίστῳ, elative sense = 'very little'. See Thackeray, *Gr. of O. T.*, p. 185.

The hope of the world, taking refuge on a raft,
Left to the race of men a seed of generations *to come*,
Thy hand guiding the helm,
7 For blessed was the wood through which cometh righteousness:

Idolaters shall be punished.

8 But the *idol* made with hands is accursed, itself and he that made it;
Because his was the working, and the corruptible thing was named a god:
9 For both the ungodly doer and his ungodliness are alike hateful to God;
10 For verily that which was made shall be punished together with him that made it.
11 Therefore among the idols of the nations shall there be a visitation,
Because, though formed of things which God created, they were made an abomination,
And stumblingblocks to the souls of men,
And a snare to the feet of the foolish.

The origin of idolatry.

12 For the devising of idols was the beginning of fornication,
And the invention of them the corruption of life:
13 For neither were they from the beginning, neither shall they be for ever;
14 For through the vain error of men they entered into the world,
And therefore has a speedy end been devised for them.
15 For a father worn with untimely grief,
Making an image of the child too quickly taken away,
Now honoured him as a god who then was a corpse,
And delivered to those that were under him mysteries and solemn rites.
16 Afterward the ungodly custom, in process of time grown strong, was kept as a law,
And by the commandments of princes graven images were worshipped.
17 And when men could not honour them in presence because they dwelt far off,
Imagining the likeness from afar,
They made a visible image of the king whom they honoured,
That by their zeal they might flatter the absent as if he were present.
18 But unto a yet higher pitch of worship
Did the ambition of the artificer urge forward even them that knew him not,
19 For he, wishing perchance to please the ruler,
Compelled his art to give the likeness greater beauty;
20 And so the multitude, allured by the grace of his work,
Now accounted as an object of worship him whom they had honoured before as a man.
21 And this became a hidden danger unto life,
Because men, under the power either of calamity or of tyranny,
Invested stones and stocks with the incommunicable Name.

Evil results of idolatry.

22 Afterward it was not enough for them to go astray in the knowledge of God;
But also, while they live in sore conflict through ignorance *of him*,

7. **righteousness**, i.e. 'the righteous purpose of God'. The ark preserved a righteous man, who was the ancestor of the righteous people. This is the highest example of the beneficial purposes for which wood has been used: other examples are seen in its enabling God's gifts to be conveyed from one part of the world to another; but wood which is put to a bad use is 'accursed'.

8. **idol made with hands.** χειροποίητος, the term used in LXX Isaiah to translate אליל, ii. 18, x. 11, *et al.*

11. **a visitation.** ἐπισκοπή used in an unfavourable sense as in xix. 15, the only other occurrence of the word in this part of the book.

14. **devised.** ἐπενοήθη is used as a paranomasia—which the R.V. keeps up—upon ἐπίνοια, 'devising', in *v.* 12. The A.V. prefers to give the meaning plainly, 'therefore shall they shortly come to an end.' Cf. 1 En. xcix. 9, where of the idolaters it is said, 'They shall have wrought all their work in a lie and shall have worshipped a stone: therefore in an instant shall they perish.'

15. The theory of Euhemerus was that idolatry arose from the worship of deceased heroes. The writer adopts this view with a slight modification.

17. On the basis of the words '*absent* ruler' Bousset (*Rel. des Judenthums*, p. 35) would date the book after Egypt had come under the Roman Empire. For the worship of the Emperors, cf. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero*, p. 617: 'But Egypt went rather too far for the western mind in its apotheosis of kings.'

22. Cf. Philo, *de Conf. Ling.* c. 12, 'For they do in peace everything that is done in war; they plunder, ravage, carry off booty; they assault, destroy, pollute; they murder treacherously; they murder openly if they are the more powerful.'

That multitude of evils they call peace.
23 For either slaughtering children in solemn rites, or celebrating secret mysteries,
Or holding frantic revels of strange ordinances,
24 No longer do they guard either life or purity of marriage,
But one slays another treacherously, or grieves him by adultery.
25 And all things confusedly are filled with blood and murder, theft and deceit,
26 Corruption, faithlessness, tumult, perjury,
Disquieting of the good,
Ingratitude for benefits *received*,
Defiling of souls, confusion of sex,
Disorder in marriage, adultery, and wantonness.
27 For the worship of those unnameable idols
Is the beginning and cause and end of every evil.
28 For *their worshippers* either make merry unto madness, or prophesy lies,
Or live unrighteously, or lightly forswear themselves.
29 For putting their trust in lifeless idols,
They wickedly swear *false* oaths and look not to be harmed.
30 But for both *sins* shall the just doom pursue them,
Because they had evil thoughts of God by giving heed to idols,
And swore unrighteously in deceit, despising holiness.
31 For not the power of them by whom men swear,
But Justice which hath regard to them that sin,
Punisheth always the transgression of the unrighteous.

Benefits of worshipping the true God.

15 1 But thou, our God, art gracious and true,
Longsuffering, and in mercy ordering all things.
2 For even if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy dominion;
But we shall not sin, knowing that we are accounted thine:
3 For to know thee is perfect righteousness,
Yea, to know thy dominion is the root of immortality.
4 For neither did any evil device of man lead us astray,
Nor yet the painters' fruitless labour,
A form stained with varied colours;
5 The sight whereof leadeth fools into lust:
Who desire the form of a dead image that hath no breath;
6 Lovers of evil things, and worthy to have such things to hope in,
Are both they that make them, and they that desire, and they that worship them.

Another example of the manufacture of idols.

7 For a potter, kneading soft earth,
Laboriously mouldeth each *vessel* for our service:
Nay, out of the same clay doth he fashion
Both the vessels that minister to clean uses, and those of a contrary sort,
All in like manner;
But what shall be the use of either sort,
The craftsman *himself* is the judge.

27. ἀνωνύμων, Latin *infandorum*. The meaning may be 'unspeakable', 'indescribable', referring to the immoralities of the mystery cults without any reference to Exod. xxiii. 13. The context favours this. Cf. Eph. v. 12.

XV. For a moment the writer turns aside to contrast the true worship with the false. The interruption has the effect, which was doubtless intended, of giving a slight rest to the reader before renewing the polemic against idolatrous worship.

2. **we shall not sin.** If the nation could be regarded as holy and blameless in the past in spite of the admissions in xii. 22, xvi. 11, xviii. 20, the future could be painted in the same colours.

5. **lust,** ὄρεξιν. ℵ A C and all the versions. ὄνειδος B and 68. ποθοῦντες in *v.* 6 justifies this. The reference, no doubt, is to Pygmalion, King of Cyprus, who fell in love with a statue of Venus.

7. For the connexion of this verse with Rom. ix. 21, see Introd., p. 526. E. Pfleiderer compares the saying of Heraclitus that 'the clay out of which things are made is for ever being moulded into new forms' (Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.*, ii, p. 17), and affirms direct connexion.

8 And also, with evil labour, he mouldeth a vain god from the same clay,
He who, but a little before was made of the earth,
And will soon go his way *to the earth* out of which he was taken,
When the soul which was lent him shall again be demanded.
9 Howbeit his care is,
Not that his powers must fail,
Nor that his span of life is short;
But he rivals the workers in silver and gold,
And copieth moulders in brass,
And esteemeth it glory that he mouldeth counterfeit things.
10 His heart is ashes,
And his hope of less value than earth,
And his life of less honour than clay:
11 Because he was ignorant of him that moulded him,
And of him that inspired into him an active soul,
And breathed into him a vital spirit.
12 But he accounted our life to be but a game,
And our way of life a gainful fair;
For one must, saith he, get gain whence one can, though it be by evil means.
13 For this man beyond all others knoweth that he sinneth,
When out of the same earthy matter he maketh both brittle vessels and graven images.
14 But most foolish *were* they all, and of feebler soul than a babe,
The foes of thy people, who crushed them;
15 Because all the idols of the nations they reckoned as gods;
Which have neither the use of eyes for seeing,
Nor nostrils for drawing breath,
Nor ears to hear,
Nor fingers for handling,
And their feet are helpless for walking.
16 For a man it was that made them,
And one whose own spirit is borrowed moulded them;
For no one hath power, *being* a man, to mould a god like unto himself,
17 But, being mortal, he maketh a dead thing with lawless hands;
For he is better than the things he worshippeth;
Of the two, he indeed had life, but they never.

8. **the soul which was lent him.** This idea is repeated in *v.* 16, and must therefore be taken as a settled conviction of the writer. Whether in his mind it included the idea of pre-existence, it is perhaps difficult to say; it is, however, far less definite than the statement in viii. 20, 'I came into a body undefiled,' and it is immediately followed by words in *v.* 11 which are apparently inconsistent with pre-existence. From ψυχή here and πνεῦμα in *v.* 16 it appears that they were to our author only different names for the same thing. This shows without any elaborate argument that there is no trichotomy intended in *v.* 11.

9. **he rivals.** The clay idols were glazed and gilded.

10. For the connexion of this verse with LXX see Introd., p. 524. The word 'ashes' in Isa. xliv. 20, on which this passage is based, means that which is worthless. Cf. Job xiii. 12, 'Your memorable sayings are proverbs of ashes.' The words are a rhetorical statement that the whole being of the idolater is inferior to the clay he uses, though in *v.* 17 the opposite statement is made.

11. That the soul and spirit are here the same, cf. second part of note on *v.* 8. On the subject see the long and interesting note of Lightfoot on 1 Thess. v. 23 (*Notes on Epistles of S. Paul*).

12. **a gainful fair.** This comparison is traced by Grimm to Pythagoras, who said τὸν βίον ἐοικέναι πανηγύρει (Dio. Laert. viii. 1. 6). Cicero (*in Tusc. Disp.* v. 359) and other writers quote the saying. As the comparison was evidently well known, we cannot from its use here deduce any direct acquaintanceship by the author with the system of Pythagoras.

gain. The commentators quote the well-known passage of Horace, 'rem facias, rem. Si possis recte, si non, quocumque modo rem' (*Ep.* i. 1. 65).

15. It was a characteristic of heathen worshippers that they admitted the reality of the gods of other nations. This was natural enough to people who were not Monotheists. The Hebrews themselves before they were Monotheists acknowledged the existence of other gods besides Jahveh. Solomon recognized the gods of his foreign wives (1 Kings xi. 1–8). But the Egyptians went further than this. 'The Egyptian gods during the flourishing period of the country's history were not exclusive. They admitted into their number such of the gods of neighbouring peoples as had been found to be powerful and capable of resistance' (Wiedemann, p. 186 of *Hastings' DB*, extra vol.).

17. **Of the two.** R. V. 'Forasmuch as', reading ἀνθ' ὧν with ℵ. All other MSS. ὧν, except 157 and 253, which omit. For the disappearance of the dual see Thackeray, *Gr. of O.T.*, p. 22.

The Egyptians worshipped irrational and unclean animals and were therefore punished by means of them. Small animals, viz. quails, benefited the Israelites.

18 Yea, and the creatures that are most hateful do they worship,
For, being compared as to want of sense, these are worse than all others;
19 Neither, as seen beside *other* creatures, are they beautiful, so that one should desire them,
But are outcasts from the praise of God and his blessing.
16 1 For this cause were *these men* worthily punished through *creatures* like *those which they worship*,
And tormented through a multitude of vermin.
2 Instead of which punishment, thou, bestowing benefits on thy people,
Preparedst quails for food,
Food of rare taste, for the desire of *their* appetite;
3 In order that thine enemies, when they desired to eat,
Might for the hideousness of the *creatures* sent among them
Loathe even the necessary food;
But these *thy people*, having for a short space suffered want,
Might even partake of *food* of rare taste.
4 For it was needful that upon those tyrants inexorable want should come,
But that to these it should only be showed how their enemies were tormented.

It is true the Israelites had serpents sent against them, but that was for admonition.

5 For even when terrible raging of wild beasts came upon thy people,
And they were perishing by the bites of crooked serpents,
Thy wrath continued not to the uttermost;
6 But for admonition were they troubled for a short space,
Having a token of salvation,
To put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law:
7 For he that turned toward it was not saved by that which he saw,
But by thee, the Saviour of all.
8 Yea, and in this didst thou convince our enemies,
That thou art he that delivereth out of every evil.
9 For them verily the bites of locusts and flies did slay,
And there was not found a healing for their life,
Because they were worthy to be punished by such *as these*;
10 But thy sons not the very teeth of venomous dragons overcame,
For thy mercy came to their help, and healed them.
11 For they were bitten, that they should remember thine oracles;
And were quickly saved, lest, falling into deep forgetfulness,
They should be irresponsive to thy beneficence:
12 For of a truth neither herb nor mollifying plaister restored them to health,
But thy word, O Lord, which healeth all things;
13 For thou hast power over life and death,
And thou leadest down to the gates of Hades, and leadest up again.
14 But though a man *can* slay by his wickedness,
Yet the spirit that is gone forth he bringeth not back,
Neither giveth release to the soul that *Hades* hath received.

19 *b*. The writer probably considered that other animals besides the serpent were included in the curse of Gen. iii. 14: possibly all the creeping animals.

XVI. 3. **hideousness,** εἰδέχθειαν. This reading, a *hapax legomenon*, is generally accepted. It is given by C, some cursives, including 248, and the Syro-Hexaplar version. δειχθεῖσαν is given by ℵ B A, Complu., Latin, Syr., and some cursives. εἰδέχθειαν is accepted by most editors as referring to the frogs in the ovens and kneading-troughs, Exod. viii. 3.

3 *c*. **food.** Literally, 'appetite.' As for the quails see note on xix. 12.

6. The allegory here is not so thoroughgoing as in xvi. 17. There Wisdom is identified with the cloud: here the serpent is a σύμβολον. Philo suggests that the serpent was chosen as a symbol of σωφροσύνη and καρτερία.

token. ℵ and A read σύμβουλον, 'counsellor'.

11. **irresponsive,** a paraphrase of ἀπερίσπαστος, 'unconcerned about'. R.V. 'unable to be roused by'. 23 (V) and 253 read ἀπερίστατοι, 'destitute of'.

12. **thy word.** Cf. Ps. cvii. 20, 'He sent his word, and healed them.' See on xviii. 15.

How the Egyptians were punished by fire and the Israelites benefited.

15 But thy hand it is not possible to escape;
16 For the ungodly, refusing to know thee, were scourged by the strength of thine arm,
Pursued with strange rains and hails and showers inexorable,
And utterly consumed with fire;
17 For, what was most marvellous *of all,*
In the water which quencheth all things the fire wrought yet more mightily;
For the world fighteth for the righteous.
18 For at one time the flame lost its fierceness,
That it might not burn up the creatures sent against the ungodly,
But that *these* might see and perceive that they were pursued by the judgement of God:
19 And at another time even in the midst of water it burns beyond the power of fire,
That it may destroy the fruits of an unrighteous land.
20 Instead whereof thou gavest thy people angels' food to eat,
And bread ready *for use* didst thou provide from heaven without *their* toil,
Bread having the virtue of every pleasant savour,
And agreeing to every taste;
21 For thy substance manifested thy sweetness toward *thy* children,
Ministering to the desire of the eater,
And transforming itself according to every man's choice.
22 But snow and ice endured fire, and melted not,
That *men* might know that fire was destroying the fruits of the enemies,
Burning in the hail and flashing in the rains;
23 And that this *element* again, in order that righteous men might be nourished,
Had even forgotten its power.
24 For the creation, ministering to thee its maker,
Straineth its force against the unrighteous, for punishment,
And slackeneth it in behalf of them that trust in thee, for beneficence.
25 Therefore at that time also, converting itself into all forms,
It ministered to thine all-nourishing bounty,
According to the desire of them that made supplication;
26 That thy sons, whom thou lovedst, O Lord, might learn

16 ff. Hail was rained down upon the Egyptians, but (*v.* 20) manna upon the Israelites.

strange rains. Rain is unusual in Egypt, see Deut. xi. 10. 'It is only the parts along the sea-coasts that are ever moistened with a few drops of rain' (Philo, *Vita Mos.* i. 20).

17. Philo (*Vit. Mos.* i. 20) notices this 'miracle within a miracle'. The lightning and the thunderbolts penetrated and descended through the hail, still they did not melt it nor were the flashes extinguished by it.

18. **that these**—and they alone: even the animals that formerly plagued them miraculously escaped. The writer has forgotten that the frogs are said to have been swept away by an east wind.

19. **fruits,** *γένημα.* A new *κοινή* formation distinguished from *γέννημα,* 'offspring', see Thackeray, *Gram.*, p. 118.

20. **provide.** Reading *παρέσχες* A C^{vid} Latin, and Syriac. *ἐπέμψας* B.

agreeing to every taste. This idea is found in the Talmud, *Yoma* 75, where it is said, "Just as a child at the breast enjoys various flavours, so did the Israelites when they ate the manna find therein various flavours.' מה שד זה תינוק טועם בה כמה טעמים אף המן כל זמן שישראל אוכלין אותו מוצאין בו כמה טעמים. This fancy no doubt existed in the author's time, and he desired to explain it by the doctrine of the metabolism of the elements mentioned in the next note.

21. **substance,** Greek *ὑπόστασις.* This word has caused great difficulty. Early scholars proposed emendations; A. V. gives 'sustenance', and 248 altered *σου* into *αὐτοῦ.* It has been made equivalent to the Logos, and the R. V. translates it by 'thy nature'. It seems probable, however, that the writer was thinking of nothing more than the common substance which according to the Stoics underlay all four elements. As pointed out in the next note, he makes use of the doctrine of the metabolism of the elements to account for the manna being transformed to suit every taste. Here he goes back in thought to what the manna was before it assumed the attributes or accidents which differentiated it from other objects. The technical terms among the Stoics for substance and attribute were *τὸ ὑποκείμενον* or *οὐσία* and *τὸ ποιόν* (Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 97). The steps of the process were (1) *ὑπόστασις,* (2) manna, (3) transformation.

transforming itself. The author here gives a metaphysical basis to the events mentioned in *v.* 20 by the Stoic doctrine of the interchange of the four elements. Heraclitus first, and the Stoics after him, taught that the elements changed into one another by condensation and rarefaction, *πύκνωσις* and *μάνωσις.* See Dio. Laert. ix. 8, quoted in Ritter and Preller, § 36, for Heraclitus (Heraclitus recognized only three elements); and for the Stoics, Ritter and Preller, § 497, and Zeller, *Stoics*, &c., pp. 131 ff. See also the quotation from Philo given in the note on xix. 18.

22. **snow and ice,** i. e. the manna. See xix. 21.

23. **might be nourished.** See Num. xi. 8, where the manna is said to have been capable of being baked in the oven, though it melted before the sun.

24. **Straineth . . . slackeneth.** In addition to the interchange of the four elements with one another, the power of a single element—here in *vv.* 22 and 27 fire—could be increased or moderated.

That not the growth of *earth's* fruits do nourish a man,
But thy word which preserveth them that trust thee.
27 For that which could not be injured by fire,
Simply warmed by a faint sunbeam melted away;
28 To make known that *we* must rise before the sun to give thee thanks,
And must plead with thee at the dawning of the light:
29 For the hope of the unthankful shall melt as the winter's hoar-frost,
And shall flow away as water that hath no use.

The plague of darkness.

17 1 For great are thy judgements, and hard to interpret;
Therefore souls undisciplined went astray.
2 For when lawless men supposed they had overpowered a holy nation,
They *themselves,* prisoners of darkness, and bound in the fetters of a long night,
Close kept beneath their roofs,
Lay exiled from the eternal providence.
3 For while they thought that they were unseen in *their* secret sins,
They were scattered one from another by a dark curtain of forgetfulness,
Stricken with terrible awe, and sore troubled by spectral forms.
4 For neither did the recesses that held them guard them from fears,
But sounds rushing down rang around them,
And phantoms appeared, cheerless with unsmiling faces.
5 And no force of fire prevailed to give *them* light,
Neither could the brightest flames of the stars illumine that gloomy night:
6 But there appeared to them only the glimmering of a fire self-kindled, full of fear;
And in terror at that sight on which they could not gaze
They deemed the appearance
To be worse *than it really was*;
7 And the mockeries of magic art lay low,
And shameful was the rebuke of their boasted knowledge:
8 For they that promised to drive away terrors and troubles from sick souls
Were sick *themselves* with fear worthy of laughter:
9 For though no troublous thing affrighted them,
10 Yet, scared with the creepings of vermin and hissings of serpents, they perished for very trembling,
Refusing even to look on the air, which could on no side be escaped.
11 For wickedness in itself is a coward thing, and witnesseth its own condemnation,

27. **by fire,** i. e. the manna in the oven.
28. Several scholars have maintained that 'Wisdom' was written by a member of the Therapeutae, and have appealed to this passage as well as to iii. 13, 14, iv. 8, and viii. 28. Grimm, however, shows that the habit of prayer before sunrise was a Jewish practice.

XVII. 3. **secret sins.** The writer appears to attribute to the ancient Egyptians the mystery cults of his own time. He seems to picture some of them as engaged in their worship and suddenly scattered. It is true, he says in *v.* 16, every man remained in the place where he was; but, as he also says in xix. 17 that they tried to grope their way to their houses, it is plain that rigid consistency is not to be looked for in details due solely to the imagination of the writer, hence the literal translation 'scattered'—R. V. margin—is best. A and C read *ἐσκοτίσθησαν.* The description is a good example of the Jewish haggadic method of treating history.
4. **rushing down.** Reading *δὲ καταράσσοντες* with B[ab] A C and Latin *descendens.* Feldmann prefers *δ' ἐκταράσσοντες,* the reading of B*. ℵ has *ταράσσοντες,* and so affords no help. If the more difficult reading is to be preferred that in the text—R. V. and Mr. Gregg—should be taken.
6. **And in terror,** &c. 'The form of expression is too obscure to be understood with certainty' (Farrar). If, however, we take *ὄψις* and *τὰ βλεπόμενα* to refer to the same thing, viz. the self-kindled fire, a good meaning can be obtained. The Egyptians did not or could not gaze directly upon the fire, but for all that could not avoid seeing it, and consequently were more terrified than they would have been had they deliberately looked at it. The endeavours of timid people to avoid seeing the flashes of lightning in a storm may be compared.
7. Reading *κατέκειτο* with ℵ B and Latin, as against the plural in A C and 248. The plural is no doubt the more difficult reading, and is perhaps supported by *καταγέλαστον* in 8 *b.* It is accepted by R. V.; but it is difficult to believe that a Jew would call the punishment sent by God *μαγικὴ τέχνη.* The R. V. gives 'and they lay *helpless,* made the sport of magic art'.
10. **the air.** The ancients considered the natural colour of the air to be dark—*ὑάκινθος* (Philo, *Vita Mos.* iii. 6 and 12). They shut their eyes so as not to look on the blackness of the air which surrounded them.
11. **in itself.** Reading *ἰδίως* ℵ A B and Latin, not *ἰδίῳ* ℵ[a] and Comp. followed by Grimm and R. V. *ἴδιος* is used nine other times in this part of the book, and is never separated from the word it qualifies. This is upheld by Feldmann. The origin of the mistake was doubtless the itacism in ℵ and A, which both give *μαρτυρι* for *μαρτυρει.* See Thackeray, *Gram.,* p. 85.

And, being pressed hard by conscience, always forecasteth the worst:
12 For fear is naught but a surrender of the succours which reason offereth;
13 And when from within *the heart* the expectation thereof is o'erthrown
It reckons its ignorance worse than the cause that bringeth the torment.
14 But they, all through the night, which in truth was powerless
And which came upon them out of the recesses of powerless Hades,
All sleeping the same sleep,
15 Now were haunted by monstrous apparitions,
And now were paralysed by their soul's surrender;
For fear sudden and unlooked for came upon them.
16 So then each and every man sinking down in his place
Was shut up in ward in that prison which was barred not with iron:
17 For whether he were husbandman, or shepherd,
Or a labourer whose toils were in the wilderness,
He was overtaken, and endured that inevitable necessity,
For with one chain of darkness were they all bound.
18 Whether there were a whistling wind,
Or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches,
Or a measured fall of water running violently,
19 Or a harsh crashing of rocks hurled down,
Or the swift course of animals bounding along unseen,
Or the voice of wild beasts harshly roaring,
Or an echo rebounding from the hollows of the mountains,
All these things paralysed them with terror.
20 For the whole world *beside* was enlightened with clear light,
And was occupied with unhindered works;
21 While over them alone was spread a heavy night,
An image of the darkness that should afterward receive them;
But yet heavier than darkness were they unto themselves.
18 1 But for thy holy ones there was great light;
And *the Egyptians*, hearing their voice but seeing not their form,
Envied them because they had not suffered,
2 And because they do not harm them *now*, though wronged by them before, are thankful;
And for their *former* hostility besought their pardon.
3 Whereas thou didst provide *for thy people* a burning pillar of fire,
To be a guide for *their* unknown journey,
And withal a kindly sun for *their* proud exile.
4 For well did the Egyptians deserve the loss of light and imprisonment in darkness,
They who had kept in close ward thy sons,
Through whom the incorruptible light of the law was to be given to the race of men.

conscience. This is the first mention of conscience in the Scriptures. It is here regarded as the higher self, after the manner of Philo (see Drummond, *Philo*, ii, pp. 124 and 295).

forecasteth. Reading προείληφε with ℵ[a] and Latin *praesumit* instead of προσείληφε with ℵ A B C, which is accepted by Prof. Margoliouth and translated 'always increaseth its hardships'. In spite of the manuscript evidence all editors read προείληφε. According to Feldmann the Armenian and Coptic versions uphold it.

17. **in the wilderness,** κατ' ἐρημίαν, a Hebraism due to the LXX using ἔρημος to translate מִדְבָּר, the place where cattle are driven for pasture; not a wilderness in our sense of the word.

18. The birds are made to sing in the darkness, and in *v.* 20 the writer says the whole world besides was in light. It has therefore been suggested that he thought of a subjective darkness, which would, of course, simply be blindness. But *v.* 10 is against this, and in xix. 17 he distinguishes between the blindness of the men of Sodom and the 'yawning darkness' which encompassed the Egyptians.

21. **spread.** ἐπέταro B A, ἐπέκειτο ℵ, ἐπετέτακτο 254. The right form is doubtless ἐπετέτατο, which is printed in the Roman text apparently without manuscript authority.

An image, &c. Mr. Thackeray, *JTS*, vol. vi, p. 232, thinks that this line may be a Christian interpolation. The repetition of σκότους looks suspicious.

XVIII. 1. **not suffered.** Grimm, Siegfried, Farrar, Gregg, all agree in reading οὐ with A and Latin, instead of οὖν ℵ and B. Grimm's explanation that οὐ was altered into οὖν by a scribe who took κἀκεῖνοι to refer to the Egyptians fully justifies the rejection of οὖν, though it is better supported by manuscript evidence. Deane, following Gutberlet, takes ὅτι and οὖν together = 'whatsoever they also had suffered (before), they (the Egyptians) counted them happy'. This is accepted by Feldmann and Stevenson.

4. **Through whom,** &c. Cf. *Test. of Twelve Pat.*, Levi xiv. 4: 'The light of the law which was given to lighten every man.'

The Egyptians counsel death against the Israelites, but are slain themselves.

5 After they had taken counsel to slay the babes of the holy ones,
†And when a single child had been cast forth and saved,
To punish them thou didst take away a multitude of their children,
And destroyedst all *their host* together in a mighty flood.
6 Of that night were our fathers made aware beforehand,
That, having sure knowledge, they might be cheered by the oaths which they had trusted:
7 *So* by thy people was expected the salvation of the righteous and destruction of the enemies;
8 For as thou didst take vengeance on the adversaries,
By the same act thou didst glorify us, and call us unto thyself.
9 For holy children of good men offered sacrifice in secret,
And with one consent took upon themselves the covenant of the divine law—
That the saints would partake alike in the same blessings and perils—
Singing the while the fathers' songs of praise.
10 But there sounded back in discord the cry of the enemies,
And a piteous voice of lamentation for children was borne abroad.
11 And servant along with master punished with a like just doom,
And commoner suffering the same as king,
12 Yea, all *the people* together, under one form of death,
Had *with them* corpses without number;
For the living were not sufficient even to bury them,
Since at a single stroke their noblest offspring was destroyed.
13 For though they had disbelieved all things by reason of their enchantments,
Upon the destruction of the firstborn they confessed the people to be God's son.
14 For while peaceful silence enwrapped all things,
And night in her swiftness was in mid course,
15 Thine all-powerful word leaped from heaven down from *the* royal throne,
A stern warrior, into the midst of the doomed land,
16 Bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment,
And standing filled all things with death;
And while it touched the heaven it trode upon the earth.
17 Then forthwith apparitions in terrible dreams troubled them,
And fears came upon them unlooked for:
18 And one thrown here half dead, another there,
Declared the cause of his death:
19 For the dreams, perturbing them, did foreshow this,
That they might not perish without knowing why they were afflicted.

5. **To punish them.** Charles on Jub. xlviii. 14, p. lxxiv, shows that εἰς ἔλεγχον must be taken as in the text. He would emend by deleting 'and saved' in line 2 and 'of their children' in line 3. He shows that πλῆθος is probably a mistaken rendering of רבו, 'a myriad'. The meaning then would be that for every single Hebrew child cast into the Nile, ten thousand of the Egyptians were drowned. The passages here and in Jubilees are both based on a common tradition.

6. **our fathers,** i.e. the Patriarchs, as probably in *v.* 9.

9. **divine law,** reading θειότητος B A as against ὁσιότητος ℵ, Latin, Syriac, and other versions.

the saints, τοὺς ἁγίους. This is quite in accordance with the writer's idealization of the Israelites. R. V. with Grimm and others would take τοὺς ἁγίους with αἴνους, 'the sacred songs of praise', but, as Mr. Gregg points out, the rhythm of the Greek is against this.

the fathers', &c. The reading adopted in the text is that of R. V. margin, following ℵ[a] A, Complut., the Latin, and in all probability the Syriac. The writer attributes the custom of his own time—the singing of psalms at the Passover—to the Israelites at the Exodus. R. V. translates 'the fathers already leading', &c., reading προαναμελπόντων with B.

12. **noblest,** R. V. 'nobler'. For this rendering of the comparative, see Thackeray, *Gram. of O. T. in Gk.*, p. 181.

14. **her swiftness.** ἴδιος is here plainly used in its 'exhausted' meaning, see note on x. 1.

15. **Thine all-powerful word.** Eichhorn, p. 158, and Gfrörer, p. 236, affirm this passage to show a pre-philonian use of the Philonic Logos. But in view of xvi. 12, which is plainly based on Ps. cvii. 20, and the Jewish complexion of this part of the book, it seems better with Grimm to take it as founded on O. T. usage (cf. Hos. vi. 5 LXX, 'I slew them by the word of my mouth'; Jer. xxiii. 29, 'Is not my word like a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?'; Ps. cxlvii. 29, 'His word runneth very swiftly'), though undoubtedly it differs from these passages in a far stronger personification. In 1 Chron. xxi. 16, which the writer may have had in his mind, the destroying angel is said to stand between heaven and earth.

16. **unfeigned,** ἀνυπόκριτος. The command was meant to be executed. It was no empty threat, feigned to terrify.

17. **terrible dreams.** The textual evidence for ὀνείρων δεινῶν is ℵ A, several cursives, Comp., and all the versions. B alone reads δεινῶς which R. V. renders.

19. The revelation by dreams to those about to be punished may be compared with the dream of Nebuchadnezzar,

The Israelites also experienced the punishment of death, but the plague was stayed by the intercession of Aaron.

20 But it befell the righteous also to experience death,
And a multitude were stricken in the wilderness:
Howbeit the wrath endured not for long.
21 For a blameless man hasted to be their champion:
Bringing the weapon of his ministry,
Even prayer and the propitiation of incense,
He withstood the indignation, and put an end to the calamity,
Showing that he was thy servant.
22 And he overcame the anger,
Not by strength of body, not by power of weapons;
But by word did he subdue the minister of punishment,
By bringing to remembrance oaths and covenants made with the fathers.
23 For when the dead were already fallen in heaps one upon another,
Standing between he stopped the *advancing* wrath,
And cut off its access to the living.
24 For upon *his* long *high-priestly* robe was the whole world *pictured*,
And the glories of the fathers *were* upon the graving of the four rows of precious stones,
And thy majesty *was* upon the diadem of his head.
25 To these the destroyer gave way, and these he feared;
For the mere proof of the wrath was enough.

But there was nothing to stay death in the case of the Egyptians.

19 1 But upon the ungodly there came pitiless wrath to the uttermost;
For what they would do He knew before,
2 How that, having pressed them to be gone,
And having speeded them eagerly on their way,
They would repent themselves and pursue them.
3 For while they were yet in the midst of their mourning,
And making lamentation at the graves of the dead,
They adopted another counsel of folly,
And pursued as fugitives those whom with intreaties they had cast out.
4 For the doom they deserved was dragging them unto this end,
And made them forget what things had befallen them,
That they might fill up the punishment yet lacking to their torments,
5 And that thy people might journey by a marvellous road,
But they *themselves* might find a strange death.

Dan. ii. E. Pfleiderer would see the influence of the Stoics here, and they certainly laid stress on the prophecies of the dying (Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 355, note 6).

21. Aaron, see Num. xvi. 47.

22. **anger.** Reading χόλον for ὄχλον, which gives no sense. So all editors (except Gutberlet and Deane), following Bauermeister.

24. **the whole world.** This is explained by passages in Philo, *Vita Mos.* iii. 12 and 13, where we learn that the high priest's robe and its adornments represented the κόσμος. The robe itself was blue, or rather dark purple (ὑάκινθος), and represented the air. The flowers on it symbolized the earth, and the pomegranates water, and (in *c.* xiii) the scarlet dye of the robe is the emblem of fire. The writer is thus able to get in another illustration of the idea found in v. 17, 20, xvi. 17, 24, and xix. 6, that 'the world fighteth for the righteous'.

25. **he feared.** ἐφοβήθη is supported by ℵ[a] A, some cursives, including 248, the Comp. and Latin. It is accepted by Grimm, Siegfried, Feldmann, and Deane. ἐφοβήθησαν is supported by ℵ* B C, some cursives, and Syr., and is adopted by R.V. and Mr. Gregg. Against the plural it may be urged that (1) the subject 'the people' has to be supplied, and (2) there seems to be no reason why the people should have feared the holy garments of the high priest.

XIX. 2. **pressed,** ἐπιστρέψαντες. R.V. 'changed their minds to let thy people go'. For the rendering here adopted see Jebb's note on Soph. *Trach.* 1182, where he says of ἐπιστρέφω, 'the primary notion is that of turning some constraining force upon a person.'

3. **adopted.** R.V. 'drew upon themselves'. For similar uses of the word in the sense here given see Liddell and Scott under ἐπισπάω, mid.

cast out, ἐξέβαλον. Probably a reminiscence of ἐκβάλλω, Exod. xi. 1 and xii. 33.

Creation fought for the chosen people,

6 For the whole creation in its several kind was fashioned again anew,
Performing their several commands,
That thy servants might be guarded free from hurt.
7 *Then* was beheld the cloud that shadowed the camp,
And dry land rising up out of what before was water,
Out of the Red sea an unhindered highway,
And a grassy plain out of the violent surge;
8 Through which they passed with all their hosts,
These that were covered with thy hand,
Having beheld strange marvels.
9 For like horses they roamed at large,
And they skipped about like lambs,
Praising thee, O Lord, who delivered them.
10 For they still remembered what came to pass in the time of their sojourn,
How instead of bearing cattle the land brought forth lice,
And instead of fish the river cast up a multitude of frogs.
11 But afterwards they saw also a new race of birds,
When, led on by desire, they asked for luxurious dainties;
12 For, to solace them, there came up for them quails from the sea.

And against the Egyptians.

13 And upon the sinners came the punishments
Not without tokens given beforehand by the force of thunders;
For justly did they suffer through their own *exceeding* wickednesses,
For grievous indeed was the hatred which they practised toward guests.
14 For whereas certain men received not strangers who came among *them*,
These made slaves of guests who were their benefactors.
15 And not only so, *but God* shall visit the former after another sort,
Since they received as enemies them that were aliens;
16 Whereas these *first* welcomed with feastings,
And *then* afflicted with dreadful toils,
Them that had already shared *with them* in the same rights.
17 And they too were stricken with loss of sight
(Even as those *others* at the righteous man's doors),
When, being compassed about with yawning darkness,
They sought every one the passage through his own door.

6. **fashioned again.** The writer again refers to the philosophical doctrine of the transmutation of the elements into one another; see xvi. 21 and xix. 18. Bois (p. 270) calls this 'a second edition of the Creation'.

12. The writer omits all mention of the murmuring of the Israelites. So does Philo, *Vita Mos.* i. 37, 'the Hebrews . . . enjoyed the most exquisite meat, varying their food with this necessary and delicious addition.' Philo takes it that the supply of quails was as regular as that of the manna.

13. **beforehand.** Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 16, records the tradition that the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea was accompanied by a violent storm. Our author has perhaps slightly altered the tradition, though the reading is not absolutely certain, γεγονότων B, προγεγονότων ℵ A C Latin and Syriac. The tradition is probably founded on the poetry of Ps. lxxvii. 17–20.

own, ἴδιος, strengthened by αὐτῶν, is most probably emphatic. Grimm would make it very emphatic: their own extraordinary and peculiar wickedness.

14. **certain men,** i.e. men of Sodom.

15. The punishment, ἐπισκοπή, of the men of Sodom is to be lighter than that of the Egyptians. When is this ἐπισκοπή to take place? Grimm thinks in the Messianic age, or rather perhaps at the world judgement preceding it. This is the only certain reference in this part of the book to future retribution. In the earliest section of 1 Enoch there are different gradations of punishment for the wicked in Sheol (Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 188). The text is that of R. V., which is conjectural. Swete gives καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤ τις ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται αὐτῶν, which means 'and not only so, but assuredly a certain kind of visitation, i.e. deliverance, shall be theirs'. But the author would not be likely to entertain any idea of a deliverance of the Sodomites, and to weaken the word ἐπισκοπή to mean 'consideration', 'allowance', is without justification. We can, dividing the words of B differently from Swete, read ἄλλη τις ἐπισκοπή = 'another kind of punishment', but as after οὐ μόνον, ἀλλά is necessary, and the Latin gives 'sed et alius quidam respectus', R. V. is probably right in seeing an instance of haplography in B and adopting the emendation of Grabe, ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις ἐπισκοπή.

The marvels explained by the theory of the transmutation of the elements.

18 For the elements changed their order one with another,
Just as the notes of a psaltery vary the character of the rhythm,
Continuing always *the same*, *each* in its *several* sound;
As may clearly be divined from the sight of what came to pass.
19 For creatures of dry land were turned into creatures of waters,
And creatures that swim trode *now* upon the earth:
20 Fire kept the mastery of its own power in *the midst of* water,
And water forgat its quenching nature:
21 Contrariwise, flames wasted not the flesh of perishable creatures that walked among them;
Neither melted they the ice-like grains of ambrosial food, that were *of nature* apt to melt.
22 For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people,
And thou didst glorify them and not lightly esteem them;
Standing by their side in every time and place.

18. i. e. God deals with the elements as a musician handles his instrument. He arranges and rearranges them to produce the required results (Bois, pp. 410 ff.). Cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* i. 17, 'For all the elements of the universe, earth, water, air, and fire, of which the world was made, were all brought into a state of hostility against them, so that the country of those impious men was destroyed to exhibit the height of the authority which God wielded, who had fashioned those same elements at the creation of the universe so as to secure its safety, and who could change them all whenever he pleased to effect the destruction of impious men.'

Continuing. *μένοντα* is neuter, agreeing grammatically with *στοιχεῖα*, but the sense shows that it should agree with *φθόγγοι*.

20 and 21. See xvi. 18 and 23.

22. Contrast this verse with ix. 18, 'Through wisdom were they saved'; with x. 9, 'But wisdom delivered out of troubles those that waited on her'; and xi. 1, 'She (wisdom) prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet.' The point of view has certainly changed, if not the writer.

THE BOOK OF BARUCH
OR 1 BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The *Book of Baruch*, of which the Greek version is found in all our editions of the LXX, forms one of a series of writings to which the name of Jeremiah's secretary is attached. Brief characterizations of these will be found in Charles's *Apocalypse of Baruch*, Introd., § 2 (p. xvi f.).

As will be shown in the sequel the tragic events of 597 (586) B.C., which heralded the exile, constitute a thin historic drapery which invests the yet greater tragedy of the Jewish race in A.D. 70. It is now generally accepted by recent critics that Nebuchadnezzar (Nabuchodonosor) and Belshazzar (Baltasar) represent the persons of Vespasian and Titus. Other corresponding traits between the Babylonian conquest here portrayed and the Roman conquest will reveal themselves to further scrutiny. Among alternative solutions which have been propounded from the days of Grüneberg (1797) to those of Ewald, Kneucker, and Schürer, none will be found to satisfy the conditions of the problem so well as that which we have just indicated (substantially that of Kneucker and Schürer).

§ 2. Contents.

The contents may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. Ch. i. 1–14. Baruch wrote the words of this book in the fifth year and read them over to Jechonias and his fellow exiles in Babylon. These wept, made a money collection, and sent it to the High Priest in Jerusalem with a message that it was intended for the purchase of offerings on the altar, and also with a request for prayer on behalf of Nebuchadnezzar and his son, whom they desire loyally to obey, as well as on their own behalf, who have sinned against God. This book of confession of sin shall be read on the feast-day in God's house.

II. i. 15–iii. 8. The confession immediately follows. God is just. Their punishment is the result of sin and disobedience (i. 15–ii. 12). To this there follows a prayer for Divine mercy (ii. 13–iii. 8). God's previous utterances through Jeremiah are recalled, especially His command to serve the king of Babylon. Disobedience to this command has brought calamities on Israel and the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (ii. 21–26). Divine assurances follow that captivity will bring with it repentance and a final restoration to and rule over Palestine (ii. 27–35). This section closes with a cry to God not to remember Israel's past iniquities (iii. 1–8).

III. In the rest of the book we pass from the prose of the previous portion to poetry.

(*a*) iii. 9–iv. 4). Here, in the style of Hebrew Wisdom literature, we have the praise of God's laws of life. Neglect of them is the cause of Israel's calamities and exile. Learn, therefore, where wisdom is to be found (iv. 9–14). Not among the great and powerful rulers has it been found, nor even have those who are reputed wise discovered it (iii. 15–28). No one has found it in heaven or earth, but God, the all-wise Creator, alone is in possession of it, and has bestowed it on Jacob—the Law of God which is eternal and leads to life (iii. 29–iv. 1). This section concludes with a brief exhortation to Jacob to lay hold of Wisdom and walk in its light, and not to surrender the honour of this unique possession to any other.

(*b*) From this song of exhortation to Israel we pass to another of very different character: strains of lamentation and comfort in the style of the Deutero-Isaiah (iv. 5–v. 9): 'Be comforted' is the recurring refrain (iv. 5, 21, 27, 30) addressed (i) by Jerusalem to her children (iv. 5–29). 'Ye have been sold among the heathen, yet not to be destroyed. You have been surrendered to the enemy because you have angered God by past transgressions' (iv. 5–9). There follows a lamentation over the banishment of her children, and their harsh treatment at the hands of foreigners (iv. 10–17). 'But God, who has brought calamity, will also bring deliverance. I indeed trust in God for your salvation. Bear God's wrath in patience. You shall soon behold your enemy's destruction and set your foot on his neck. Joy shall come in place of sorrow' (iv. 18–29). (ii) God's word of comfort to Jerusalem (iv. 30–v. 9). Calamities are denounced against those cities that rejoiced at her fall. Fire shall come upon them. They shall be the habitation of demons. Jerusalem is exhorted to lift up her eyes and behold her children flocking to her from East and West, to divest herself of her

garment of sorrow and array herself with a robe of salvation and a tiara of glory. Her enemies shall bring her children back to her. Mountain and hill shall be made low and valleys filled that Israel may return. Woods and fragrant trees shall yield their shade to Israel, whom God shall bring back in joy.

§ 3. Composite Character.

The *composite character* of the treatise is evident from the preceding survey. The *prose section* comprised in I and II stands *in marked contrast with both the poetical sections in* III (*a*) and (*b*). (I) in *contents*. The prose section is a confession of sin and a recognition that Israel's calamities and exile are the penalty for Israel's sins of disobedience. These will bring about repentance. It concludes with a cry for Divine mercy. On the other hand III (*a*), which is poetic in form, is based on a different conception. Here Israel's calamities are due to his neglect of Divine law regarded as Wisdom. This Wisdom, which belongs to God alone, He has bestowed on Israel as his precious privilege. Israel is exhorted to lay hold of it as the only means of safety. The contrast with III (*b*) is still more marked. We note the different attitude adopted towards Israel's conquerors. In i. 11, 12 Israel is exhorted to offer prayer on behalf of Nebuchadnezzar and his son, 'and the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and under the shadow of Baltasar his son, and we shall serve them many days, and find favour in their sight.' Here the tradition of Jeremiah and Ezekiel is followed (Jer. xxvii. 6–8, xxix. 4–7; Ezek. xxvi. 7–12, xxix. 17–20). So again, ii. 20–22, 24 ascribes the calamities which Israel suffered to his refusal to obey the prophetic injunction, 'Bow your shoulders to serve the king of Babylon, and remain in the land that I gave unto your fathers.' But when we turn to III (*b*) the attitude towards Israel's conquerors is that of *embittered subjugation leading to revolt* reflected in the literature of the late-exilian or early post-exilian period (Jer. l, li; Isa. xlvii). 'Thine enemy hath persecuted thee; but shortly thou shalt see his destruction, and shalt tread upon their necks' (iv. 25). The peoples who afflicted Israel and rejoiced in his fall, the cities where Israelites served in slavery, shall feel craven dread and grieve in their own desolation (iv. 31–33). (II) We note also great diversity *with respect to the O. T. sources from which they respectively borrow.* In ch. i. 11–iii. 8 we have frequent citations from Jeremiah, Daniel, and Deuteronomy. Specially noteworthy is the repeated employment of whole clauses of Dan. ix. 7–19 in Baruch i. 15–ii. 17. On the other hand, the Wisdom section, iii. 9–iv. 4, contains numerous borrowings from Proverbs, Job, Deutero-Isaiah, and Sir. xxiv. The last section (iv. 5–v. 9) is very largely based on Deutero-Isaiah. The concluding portion is evidently inspired by Ps. of Sol. xi.

§ 4. Critical Investigation of the above Documents.

We have arrived, therefore, at the following general result, viz. that in the Book of Baruch we have to deal with three distinct literary elements which possess all the signs of emanating from different hands. (A) A prose document to be found in ch. i. 1–iii. 8. (B) A poetical document of the character of Wisdom literature in ch. iii. 9–iv. 4. (C) A further document of exhortation and comfort is added in iv. 5–v. 9. These we shall now consider separately.

(A) Difficulties beset us when we examine the opening verses of the book.

(i) In verse 2 the fifth year is the date assigned to the writing, and this is reckoned from the date when Jerusalem was captured and burnt (2 Kings xxv. 9; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19). This, we know, took place in the year 587–586 B. C. Accordingly Fritzsche, followed by Gifford (*Apocrypha*, ed. Wace), would identify the assigned date of the writing with 582 (583) B. C. This view, however, encounters difficulties. (*a*) The destruction of the temple in 587–586 B. C. hardly seems compatible with the offerings (burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, and incense) to be offered on the altar to which Baruch i. 10 makes reference. Accordingly Kneucker follows Eichhorn and other critics in dating the fifth year from the earlier capture of Jerusalem in 597 B. C. by Nebuchadnezzar, when Jehoiachin was made prisoner. Though the treasures of the temple and of the king's palace were carried off (2 Kings xxiv. 13), as well as the officers, household, artisans and soldiers (verses 12, 14–16), both city and temple were left intact. This, of course, rids us of one difficulty. Moreover, 597 is the date from which Ezekiel reckons (i. 2, viii. 1, &c.). On the other hand, it stands in complete variance with the explicit statement in Baruch i. 2 (last clause). Kneucker himself is aware of this contradiction (p. 16 NB). The difficulties which invest the alternative date 587–586 are far from insuperable. We learn in Jer. xli. 5 that offerings were made at the Jerusalem altar by men from Shechem and Shiloh after the temple had been destroyed. Therefore some form of cultus still persisted. (*b*) We have no evidence in Jeremiah or any other O. T. source that Baruch ever went to Babylonia. It is true that we have no personal details respecting Jeremiah's companion and scribe after he accompanied the prophet to Egypt (Jer. xliii. 5, 6); nevertheless such negative

evidence contains no presumption against such a journey of Baruch to Babylonia and his residence there after 586 B. C. But in the presence of other features in Baruch i affecting its historic credibility it will be seen that this is a subject of minor significance.

(ii) Among these other features we note that Baltasar (who is called in Daniel Belshazzar or Belteshazzar) is spoken of as son of Nebuchadnezzar (Bar. i. 11, 12). This is in exact accordance with Dan. v. 2, 13, 18, 21, and is known to be due to historical confusion. The only Belshazzar known to the cuneiform documents is Bel-šar-uṣur ('Bel, protect the king'), son of Nabonidus (Nabûnaïd), the last king of Babylon, overthrown by Cyrus.

(iii) The text of verse 2 is uncertain. The omission of the number or name of the month is strange. As is well known, months were designated by numbers (beginning from Nisan as the first month of the ecclesiastical or Babylonian calendar) in all exilian and post-exilian Hebrew documents.

(iv) The following verses hang very badly together. (*a*) After verse 1 we naturally expect that the words of the book will soon follow; instead of this, thirteen verses of narrative succeed. (*b*) Verse 4 has all the appearance of a redactional prolongation of the final clause of the preceding verse. (*c*) Verse 8 (as Kneucker has clearly shown) stands out of its natural place. The subject of the sentence cannot be Joakim of the preceding verse, but is evidently Baruch who is last mentioned in verse 3. Moreover, verse 9 follows naturally after verse 7 rather than verse 8.

(B) The character of the document iii. 9–iv. 4, as based on the Wisdom literature of the O. T. (Proverbs and Job) and containing a citation from Eccles. xxiv. 8, has been already indicated in §§ 2, 3. It is a message of comfort and exhortation addressed mainly to the exiles who have long lived 'in the enemies' land' (iii. 10), in other words, to the Jewish Diaspora. Their calamities are due to their abandonment of the fountain of Wisdom, the way of life revealed in the Torah. This amid all his losses Israel possesses as his priceless and eternal privilege conferred by God. Hold fast to it, and walk in its light, happy and secure.

This entire section has a unity of its own, and it is quite evident that this is the book to which Bar. i. 1, 3 *a* refers. These verses, therefore, form the adequate and natural preface. That verse 2 originally belonged to this preface is extremely improbable. It probably formed part of the introduction to the document A (ch. i. 2, 3 *b*–iii. 8). The reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by fire, i. 2 and ii. 26, points to this conclusion. A redactor united A and B. It is this combined work which we shall first consider. C will be considered later.

§ 5. A Hebrew Original of Documents A and B.

A considerable number of the older critics held that the original of the Book of Baruch was in *Greek*. This was the opinion of Grotius, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hävernick, Keil, and Nöldeke (in his *Alttestamentliche Literatur*, p. 214). But this view has been abandoned by recent scholars. Even De Wette, who for a time held to the former view, saw reason to forsake it, and adopted the theory of a Hebrew original in the fourth edition of his *Introd. to the O. T.* (German), p. 443. Similarly Reusch, Ewald, Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, vol. ii, p. 119), Fritzsche (*Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen des A.T.*—Special Introd. to Baruch, pp. 171 foll.), and more decisively Kneucker, who in his elaborate work, *Das Buch Baruch* (1879), unhesitatingly (in contrast with Fritzsche) assumes for the whole book a Hebrew original which he devotes the utmost pains to reconstruct. Schürer, on the other hand, sustains the doubts of Fritzsche (*ibid.*, p. 172) as to the latter portion (iii. 9–v. 9), with this difference that he *decisively asserts* that Greek and not Hebrew was its original form (*Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*[3], iii, p. 340; *PRE*[3], i, p. 642). Similarly Reuss and Hilgenfeld (in *Zeitsch. für wiss. Theol.*). Bevan, in *Enc. Bibl.*, inclines towards this view. Marshall (art. 'Baruch' in *Hastings's DB*) propounds the ingenious theory that iii. 9–iv. 4 was originally composed in Aramaic. 'This view is based on a comparison of the Greek with the versions'—the Peshiṭta [as Marshall assumes it to be], the Syr. reproduction of Origen's Hexaplar, as well as the Vulg. Nine examples are given by Dr. Marshall, but the first of these, iii. 16, 'peoples' . . . 'world', is quite as easily explicable on a Hebrew basis עמם and עלם; the *second* (iii. 18), which has more attractiveness, might also be explained from two possible meanings of קנים in *Hebrew*. The meaning 'fashion' is probably late, and due to Aramaic influence. Cf. Gen. xiv. 19, 22; Ps. cxxxix. 13; Prov. viii. 22. In the *third* case (iii. 19) we have the two renderings of S and S[Hex.] respectively of ἠφανίσθησαν, 'they are vanished' (R.V.), which Kneucker rightly holds to have reproduced the original Hebr. אָבְדוּ 'perished'. This Hebr. word is rendered by S אתחבלו (the Ethpa.) 'were corrupted', hence 'perished'. Comp. the use of the Greek verb in Matt. vi. 19 f. (cf. Syr. where Pa. חבל is used) as well as in Attic Greek. On the other hand, S[Hex.] אסתרחו, the Ethpeel, does not mean 'sinned' nor does it arise out of אסתתרו 'disappeared'. We constantly find ܚܛܐ used for 'destroy' (as well as 'sin'), and as the equivalent

of ἀφανίζω (in Exod. xii. 15; 2 Kings x. 28; Ezek. xix. 7; Jer. l. 21, &c.), and its passive or Ethpe. as the rendering of ἀφανίζεσθαι, Ezek. xxv. 3; Job. xxii. 20 (cf. 2 Macc. xii. 22). Comp. other examples in Payne Smith's *Thesaur. Syr.* In this case the S^Hex.^ slavishly adheres to the Greek version. The *fourth* example (iii. 21) cited by Marshall, based on the diverse renderings, 'laid hold' and 'cared for', I am not able to follow. The S^Hex.^ reading is not צדו but יצפו. The *fifth* (iii. 23), 'remembered' and 'trod', is due to a corruption of the Syriac translation (see notes) and therefore has no bearing on the question of the original. The *sixth* (iii. 31) accounts for the Vulgate *exquirat* by an Ethpeel form מתבעא instead of בעא. But the Ethpe. form of this verb has no other than a *passive* meaning which can hardly be fitted into the structure of the clause and verse. The *seventh* example (iii. 34), 'their watches', and the colourless Syr., 'their places', may be accounted for by the loose rendering of S or by the corruption of the Hebr. original suggested in the notes. The *eighth* (iii. 37), 'appeared' . . . 'was revealed', might just as easily be explained as variant translations of a Hebr. original נראתה (or נגלתה). In the general suspicion which regards the verse as a later Christian gloss, its evidential value counts for little. The *ninth* example (iv. 5), 'advantage' . . . 'dignity' (Vulg.), need not be dealt with, as it evidently possesses no cogency.

Nearly all living scholars, including Dr. Marshall, as well as Dr. Charles (in *Encycl. Brit.* (11th ed.)), are agreed that A (ch. i. 2, 3 *b*–iii. 8) was composed in Hebrew. For this there is strong evidence, and, in the opinion of the present writer, a fairly good case can be made for B (ch. i. 1, 3 *a*, iii. 9–iv. 4).

(*a*) The strongly-marked Hebraisms of the Greek version have been long recognized as affording unmistakable indications of a Hebrew original, viz. ch. i. 10 μάννα (cf. Jer. xvii. 26, xli. 5), or, as we should properly read with Codd. 22, 33, 36, 48, &c., μαναά, is evidently the Greek mode of writing מִנְחָה. In the same verse the formula περὶ ἁμαρτίας simply covers the Hebr. חַטָּאת 'sin-offering', as Lev. v. 10, 11, vii. 37, &c., clearly prove. Other significant traces of a Hebrew original may be cited, viz. ii. 23 ἀπὸ ἐνοικούντων, Hebr. מִיּוֹשֵׁב; εἰ μήν, 'surely', arising out of εἰ μή, Hebr. אִם לֹא idiomatically used for strong asseverations (ii. 29); βόμβησις (*ibid.*) for הֲמוֹן; מתי misread as 'dead' in iii. 4. Still more significant are the frequently recurring relative constructions so characteristic of Hebrew. Thus in ii. 4, 13, iii. 8 οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ = שָׁם . . . אֲשֶׁר (cf. Mark i. 7, vii. 25). Similarly ii. 26 . . . τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ אֶת־הַבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שִׁמְךָ עָלָיו —. Comp. ii. 17, 29. These relative constructions are obviously characteristic of prose rather than poetry in Hebrew, and therefore belong to the document A rather than B (ch. i. 1, 3 *a*, iii. 9–iv. 4). In the latter, however, we have variants in the Greek and Syr. renderings such as 'peoples' and 'world' (iii. 16), as well as iii. 18 'workers' in silver (LXX) and 'those who gain' silver (Syr.), included in Marshall's list which can best be explained on the basis of a Hebraic original. Similarly iii. 11 'thou art counted with them that go down into Hades', iii. 14 'length of days'. iii. 18 'there is no searching (ἐξεύρεσις) of his works' are all Hebrew phrases. In some cases, as will be shown in the notes, the Syr. version points the way more clearly to a Hebr. original. See also Kneucker, p. 25, but the list requires sifting.

(*b*) So far at least as document A is concerned the hypothesis of a Hebr. original is rendered fairly certain by the marginal note which the Syro-Hexaplar version attaches to Bar. i. 17, ii. 3 'not recorded (*lit.* placed) in the Hebrew' ܠܐ ܣܝܡ ܟܬܒܐ. On the other hand, see Nestle in art. 'Septuagint' in *Hastings's DB.* iv. p. 450, footnote †.

§ 6. The Greek Original of C (Bar. iv. 5–v. 9).

It is, however, quite otherwise with document C. This document is a unity, not a series of lays, as Rothstein argues. Here evidences accumulate that the original was in Greek.

(*a*) The strongest support for this view is to be found in the close parallels between the *Greek* of Ps. of Sol. xi and Bar. iv. 36–v. 9.

Baruch.	*Ps. of Sol.* xi.
iv. 37 ἰδοὺ ἔρχονται οἱ υἱοί σου . . . συνηγμένοι ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν.	3 ἴδε τὰ τέκνα σου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν συνηγμένα.
v. 1 Ἰερουσαλήμ . . . ἔνδυσαι τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξης.	8 ἔνδυσαι, Ἰερουσαλήμ, τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς δόξης σου.
v. 5 ἀνάστηθι, Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ στῆθι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ.	3 στῆθι, Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ.
καὶ ἴδε σου συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα ἀπὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν ἕως ἀνατολῶν.	καὶ ἴδε τὰ τέκνα κτλ. as above.
v. 8 ἐσκίασαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δρυμοὶ καὶ πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας . . .	6+7 οἱ δρυμοὶ ἐσκίασαν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ αὐτῶν. πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός.

Comp. also Bar. v. 7 with Ps. of Sol. xi. 5. Here, as well as in the underlined phrases above, we have evident borrowings from the *Greek* of Deutero-Isaiah (see notes). But *in the case of Baruch the borrowing comes through Ps. of Sol.* This is made clear (*a*) by Bar. v. 8 compared with Ps. of Sol. xi. 6, 7 ; (*β*) by the repetitions. Note Bar. iv. 37 and v. 5 (the latter in closer approximation to Ps. of Sol. xi. 3). See also the careful investigation of this subject in Ryle and James's ed. of the Ps. of Sol., Introd. pp. lxxii foll. Other parallels between the document C and the Ps. of Sol., viz. iv. 26 *ὁδοὶ τραχεῖαι*, and Ps. of Sol. viii. 19 ; also Bar. iv. 20 and Ps. of Sol. ii. 21, 22 (Jerusalem clothed in sackcloth) are cited in Kneucker, p. 43 note, and also by Ryle and James (Introd., p. lxxvi), who extend the list so as to cover the whole of the Book of Baruch. Many of these, however, have very slight significance, while those which belong to the document C leave an irresistible impression of dependence by this document on the Ps. of Sol., and therefore become an important indication with respect to date.[1]

(*b*) Collateral evidence is supplied by the Syr. version. It will be seen hereafter that there are indications to warrant the belief that that version is based on the original Hebrew text as well as on the Greek version of the documents A and B ; but when we come to the document C evidences abound that the only text on which the Syr. is based is the Greek. In iv. 20 and v. 1 the Greek word *στολή* is taken over into the Syriac. In iv. 34 Syr. even embodies a conflate reading. Thus in the LXX we have in B the original reading *ἀγαλλίαμα*, 'exultation', which was corrupted into *ἄγαλμα*, 'statue', 'idol', embodied in A. In Syr. we have the conflate reading 'I will take away from her the idols and the exultation'.

(*c*) Moreover, the phraseology is occasionally such as Hebrew could hardly employ. Thus in iv. 28 *δεκαπλασιάσατε ἐπιστραφέντες ζητῆσαι αὐτόν*, 'return and seek him ten times more', could scarcely be represented by עַשְּׂרוּ לָשׁוּב לְבַקְּשׁוֹ (so Kneucker). The Piel (or Aram. Pael) of עשׂר means only 'to tithe'. Only some such circumlocution as perhaps עֶשְׂרָתַיִם הַרְבּוּ לָשׁוּב וּלְבַקְּשׁוֹ would convey the idea expressed in the Greek. See also below on Greek style, § 9, I (Greek version).

(*d*) Lastly, the O.T. citations are based on LXX rather than the Hebrew text. This is especially clear in the Pentateuch.

Baruch.	*LXX.*
iv. 7 *παροξύνατε γὰρ τὸν ποιήσαντα ὑμᾶς θύσαντες δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ.*	Deut. xxxii. 16, 17 *παρώξυνάν με . . . ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ.*
iv. 15 *ἐπήγαγεν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔθνος μακρόθεν, ἔθνος ἀναιδὲς . . . καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνθησαν πρεσβύτην οὐδὲ παιδίον ἠλέησαν.*	Deut. xxviii. 49, 50 *ἐπάξει κύριος ἐπὶ σὲ ἔθνος μακρόθεν . . . ἔθνος ἀναιδὲς . . . ὅστις οὐ θαυμάσει πρόσωπον πρεσβύτου καὶ νέον οὐκ ἐλεήσει.*
iv. 20 *ἐξεδυσάμην τὴν στολὴν . . . ἐνεδυσάμην δὲ σάκκον . . .* cf. v. 1.	Isa. lii. 1 *ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἰσχύν σου . . .*

[On re-studying the question of the original language of this chapter I have come to the conclusion that it was Hebrew on the following grounds :

1°. There can be practically no doubt that the true text of *v.* 6 is : *εἰσάγει δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς πρὸς σὲ αἰρομένους μετὰ δόξης ὡς θρόνον βασιλείας.*

2°. A comparison of this verse with Isa. lxvi. 20, xlix. 22 makes it clear that the text is to be rendered as in the R. V. 'God bringeth them in unto thee borne on high with glory, as on a royal throne', but decidedly not 'as a royal throne'.

3°. Now since the Greek is vigorous and idiomatic, the author of the Greek does not think in Hebrew, he is more or less a master of the Greek of his period. Accordingly he could not have written *ὡς θρόνου βασιλείας* if he had meant *ὡς ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας*. But since the context and the associations of the passage require us to translate *ὡς θρόνου βασιλείας* 'as on a royal throne', it follows that we have here a definite Hebraism = ككسا ملكوت. See my note on § 5 of the Ps. of Sol. where this subject is discussed by Dr. Buchanan Gray. This Hebraism could only be explained in one of two ways : either the writer thought in Hebrew or the Greek is a mistranslation of the Hebrew. The rest of the Greek is wholly against the former hypothesis. Hence we must have recourse to the latter. The Greek of ch. v is a translation from the Hebrew.

4°. The peculiar form of the expression has not been noticed. In Isa. lxvi. 20 it is on actual wagons, horses, and litters that the returning Israelites are carried, since it is the Gentiles that convey them. But in our text, since it is God Himself that conveys them, the means by which He conveys them are not chariots, &c., nor anything that the writer can definitely describe. The Israelites are not borne 'on a royal throne' but on something resembling a royal throne. We have here the use of the Apocalyptic כְּ so frequently used in this sense in Ezekiel and Daniel, and 1 Enoch, and of its Greek equivalent *ὡς* in Revelation. The supernatural element (at all events imaginatively) is introduced here and in the verses that follow.

[1] See note on the Introduction to the Ps. of Sol., § 5. We cannot accept Rothstein's suggestion that Ps. of Sol. xi is based on Bar. iv. 36–v. 9.

5°. No real difficulty is caused by the fact of the very close resemblance of Ps. of Sol. xi and 1 Bar. iv. 36—v. 9. They can be explained as versions of two different recensions of the same Hebrew psalm. In the LXX and Theodotion we have Greek translations of two recensions of the Semitic text of Daniel, the older of which is lost. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the two divergent Greek forms of the text presuppose two similarly divergent forms of the Hebrew original: while in the Zadokite Fragments, which are preserved only in Hebrew, we have two recensions of ch. ix. See *op. cit.* in vol. ii.

All, therefore, that we need to presuppose, is that the author of 1 Baruch adapted for his own purposes an existing Hebrew psalm, which is itself, or one form of it, preserved in Ps. of Sol. xi. *Possibly* also the translator of 1 Baruch had not only the Hebrew original of Baruch before him but also the Greek Version of Ps. of Sol. xi, just as Theodotion had the LXX, and the translator of the Hebrew original of β of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs had α before him.—GEN. EDITOR.]

§ 7. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

We are now in a better position to consider the questions of *date* and *authorship*. The question of *date* has to be examined in relation to the three documents A, B, and C (*a*) separately and (*b*) in connexion with their redactional combination.

With reference to A (i. 2, 3*b*–iii. 8) the determining factor in deciding the date is the close connexion between Dan. ix. 7–19 and Bar. i. 15–ii. 17 as well as the historical confusion common to Daniel and this document (i. 11, 12), to which attention has already been called (§ 4). Now close literary parallels are often capable of alternative solutions. So here it might be argued that Baruch precedes Daniel. And this was the view taken by Ewald (*Gesch. des V. Isr.*[3] iv, pp. 265 foll.; *Propheten des Alten Bundes*[2], iii, pp. 252 foll.) ,who assigned the document to the close of the Persian Empire when the communities in and around Jerusalem were in a state of ferment (during the reign of Artaxerxes III (Ochus)) against Persian rule. This letter, under the name of Jeremiah's secretary Baruch, was intended to effect among Palestinian Jews what Jeremiah's own Epistle (Jer. xxix) effected among the Jews in exile, contentment with established foreign rule. Whatever view be taken as to the historical *prius*, whether it be Daniel or Baruch, it has been perfectly clear to nearly all except Roman Catholic critics that the document must have been composed long after the Babylonian exile. As in the case of Daniel, so also in that of this book, the historical confusion common to both can only have arisen long after the Babylonian Empire and its events had become a confused tradition. That the document A came after the Book of Daniel is indicated:

(1) By a comparison of Dan. ix. 7–19 with Bar. i. 15–ii. 17. The latter is longer and characterized by much repetition of phrase, e.g. 'have not hearkened unto the voice' . . . (= 'obeyed the voice', Dan. ix. 10, לא שמענו בקול) Bar. i. 18, 19, 21, ii. 10; 'plagues', i. 20, ii. 2. From repetitions the former is not entirely free.

(2) By the contents of A. Here the whole situation that is disclosed cannot be reconciled even with the late Maccabaean period. It is hardly conceivable that any Jew would have recommended at that time, with the retrospect of the great Maccabaean struggle behind him, and in the existing state of national feeling, a policy of loyal submission to their conquerors. Nor was that period one of utter gloom and national humiliation. Fritzsche's conjecture (p. 173) we may safely put on one side.

It is quite otherwise with the events of 63 B.C., when Pompey invaded Judaea and captured Jerusalem. Some of the indications in the document A might be held to accord with the humiliations and sufferings inflicted on the Jews when the Roman general espoused the cause of Hyrcanus against his brother Aristobulus, and laid siege to the temple quarter of Jerusalem, and even entered the Holy of Holies. The cup of humiliation was full when he carried off Aristobulus as his prisoner, and Jewish captives and spoil graced his triumph two years later. It might indeed be argued that the friendly attitude enjoined towards Israel's conquerors in A (i. 11, 12; ii. 21 f.) would accord with the date 48 B.C., when Julius Caesar's policy of clemency was extended towards the Jews. Cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10 (*passim*); according to Suetonius (*Caes.* 84) large numbers of Jews bewailed his death. See Schürer, ed. 3, iii, p. 30. When we turn, on the other hand, to the document C evidences might be held to accumulate in favour of identifying the situation created by Pompey's invasion with that which underlies the Book of Baruch, e.g. the reference in iv. 15 to the 'shameless nation, and of a strange language' brought 'from far' points clearly to the Roman invasion, and might be compared with the phraseology of Ps. of Sol. xvii. 9. Other references, such as the 'captivity' of Jerusalem's 'sons and daughters' (iv. 14) and the denunciation of Rome, 'she that rejoiced' at Jerusalem's 'fall, and was glad of thy ruin' (iv. 33), 'her exultation and her boasting', become significant in the light of the captives which Pompey carried to Rome to adorn his triumph, which included not only Aristobulus, but also his son, Antigonus, and his two daughters.

But they become even more significant in the light of the later Roman triumph under the Flavian dynasty which wrought the greatest tragedy from which Israel has ever suffered. Ever since Kneucker's careful investigations (published in 1879) critical opinion has decisively inclined towards the view that the actual historical events which underlie the Book of Baruch belonged to

the Jewish struggle against Rome of the years A.D. 66–70. The chief indications which point to this conclusion are:—

(i) The identification of Vespasian and his son Titus with 'Nabuchodonosor' and 'Baltasar his son' (i. 11, 12), whom Israel is commanded to serve loyally (ii. 21 f.). This expression of complaisance towards Rome finds its parallel in the attitude of the chief Pharisees in Judaea at a somewhat earlier period described in Josephus, *Wars*, ii. 17. 3, and in that of Josephus himself.

(ii) The fearful sufferings of the Jews to which reference is made (viz. 'great plagues', ii. 2; 'eating the flesh of children', ii. 3; 'bones of kings and ancestors cast forth', ii. 24) accord with the incidents in the siege of Jerusalem portrayed by Josephus (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 3, 4, story of the daughter of Eleazar devouring her own son; cp. also iv. 5. 1, 2). The reference in ii. 25 to those who 'were cast out to the heat by day, and to the frost by night, and died in great miseries by famine' finds ample confirmation in the full record of Josephus, according to whom (*Wars*, vi. 9. 2–3) 'there perished for want of food 11,000' at one time. On the other hand, the references to the captivity and bondage (ii. 13, 14, 23, 29; iii. 8) are fully attested by Josephus. His numbers are doubtless exaggerated in many cases, yet he is probably not very wide of the truth when he reckons the numbers of those who were carried into captivity during the entire war to be 97,000 (*Wars*, vi. 9. 3).

(iii) The clear and definite reference to the destruction of the temple by fire in i. 2 and ii. 26 cannot be said to apply to the events of 63 B.C., when Pompey entered the temple, and its precincts were desecrated by slaughter (Josephus, *Wars*, i. 7. 4 f.). Bar. ii. 26 evidently points to the destruction of the temple by fire in A.D. 70 (Jos., *ibid.*, vi. 4).

When we turn to the document B the contents can hardly be said to reveal a distinct historical situation. It is a discourse on Wisdom embodied in the Torah. Israel has been for some considerable time dwelling in a foreign land (Bar. iii. 10) which can only refer to the very extensive *diaspora* in Egypt, Asia Minor, and other lands. It is difficult to found any definite conclusion as to date upon this. It is obviously intended to console Israel during the Roman dominion in Palestine. While Israel's temporal heritage had passed under Roman subjugation and paid tribute to the conqueror, the great spiritual possession, wisdom enshrined in the Torah, remained Israel's eternal glory of which none should deprive him (Bar. iv. 1–3). There can be little doubt that the significance of such a message to Israel would be enhanced during the years that followed the great overthrow in Vespasian's reign when Israel was bereft of temple and temple rites in the sacred city. The contents of B might seem to indicate Alexandria or Palestine as the place of its origin, but about this it is impossible to pronounce definitely on the basis of these contents only.

With the document A it is otherwise. Ch. i. 2, when connected with ii. 26, in its reference to the total destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by fire, decisively points to the conclusion that it belonged to the original introduction of the document. Here the date of the writing is fixed as the fifth year after the destruction of the temple, i.e. A.D. 74. The spirit of submission to the Roman authority, which it reflects, would be natural in the years which immediately followed the overwhelming and crushing blow to Israel's national aspirations which the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple involved. A spirit and policy like that of Josephus underlies the document. Israel's main consolation at this hour was the spiritual consolation of the Torah. That at least remained. The document B was equally appropriate to the years which followed the catastrophe of A.D. 70. On the whole it appears probable that both A and B proceeded from the circle of Joḥanan ben Zaccai, the first president of the School at Jabneh after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. For (1) Joḥanan was a man of peace. He counselled peace in the struggle against Rome, and it is recorded of him that he prophesied imperial dignity for Vespasian in the days when he was a Roman general. (2) His pupils tore their garments and made lamentation as for the dead when they heard of the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem. (3) We read in Suc. 28*a* that he was a devoted student of the Torah, 'He did not go four yards without reflecting on the Torah and without the phylacteries.' These are significant traits which are reflected in both the documents A and B. See *Jewish Encycl.*, art. 'Joḥanan ben Zaccai'. This view has been suggested to the present writer, independently of one another, by both Prof. Burkitt and Mr. I. Abrahams.

We have already seen that the attitude of the document C (iv. 5–v. 9) to the Roman power is altogether different. Instead of compliance we have notes of burning resentment and hostility (see above, § 3). As in the document A the events of the Flavian War against Judaea in A.D. 66–70 clearly stand in the background. The captivity of Jerusalem's children (iv. 14), like the references in A (ii. 13, 14, 23, 29; iii. 8), are in conformity with the well-known facts of history (Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* vi. 9. 3). 'Those that rejoiced' in Israel's fall and the 'exultation in her great multitude' (iv. 33, 34) receive a vivid illustration in the triumph of Vespasian and Titus. Such 'boasting' is to be 'turned into mourning' (iv. 34). We are unable to follow Kneucker in holding that the 'fire that

shall come upon her from the Everlasting' is a reference to the volcanic eruption which destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum in A.D. 79.

It is hardly possible to determine the date of such a document by any definite *terminus ad quem*. As *terminus a quo* we naturally have the tragedy of A.D. 70, whose events were still vivid in the memory of the writer. The minds of those to whom he appealed were beginning to recover from the shock of a quite recent disaster. Therefore, while the document A might appeal to those who were cowed by a quite recent calamity, the document C might be reasonably placed a few years later. Perhaps A.D. 78 might be a not improbable date. But it might well have originated later still.

§ 8. Redaction of the Documents.

We have already seen that there is strong evidence to prove that the document A was originally composed in Hebrew, and that arguments less cogent, yet valid, lead us to the same conclusion respecting the document B, which is poetical in form. The combination of both these documents into a single Hebrew roll probably followed not many years after their separate origination. In the prevailing gloom and depression awakened by such a catastrophe as that of 70 A.D.—the *année terrible* of the Jewish race—consolatory works and apocalyptic treatises would meet a widespread want. Documents A and B would appeal to minds that were disposed to bow to the inevitable—the cosmopolitan Jew, the liberal Pharisee whose sympathies were with Ananus rather than John of Gischala. 'The immediate result of the terrible calamity was a profound shock to the spirit. How could God permit such a disaster to overtake His chosen people?' Schürer (*GJV*^{3}, i, pp. 659 foll.) shows how these fundamental religious problems which meet us in the Psalms recurred with pressing intensity in the days that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. The solution of the problem of Israel's calamity was that it was a 'chastisement which God had inflicted on the people for their sin'. This conception meets us in both A and B (i. 17–19, 22, ii. 8–10, 24, iii. 8, 10–13), and also in C (iv. 7, 8). Cp. also Apoc. Bar. lxxvii. 3. 4.

It is difficult to decide how much in ch. i. 1–14 is the work of the editor who pieced together A and B. We have already seen that verses 3–9 hang badly together. We are confronted by an historical difficulty in i. 6–10, to which allusion has already been made. In § 4 we dealt with the apparent historic incompatibility of sacrificial offerings with the ruined temple. How can we reconcile these verses with the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70? Are we to regard i. 6–10 as unessential drapery? This seems hardly possible. We are driven, in fact, to raise the question discussed by Schürer (*ibid.*, pp. 653 foll.): Did sacrificial offerings actually cease immediately after the destruction of the temple? Putting aside Clem. Rom., ch. 41, and the Ep. to Diogn. 3, in which the allusion to sacrifices might be regarded as having reference to the past rather than the present, we come to the argument of Josephus, *contr. Ap.* ii. 6 *ad fin.* After stating that the law nowhere forbids Jews to pay honour to worthy men, provided it be inferior in kind to that which is paid to God, the writer proceeds to say 'we willingly testify our respect to our emperors and to the Roman people. We also offer perpetual sacrifices for them . . . although we offer no other such sacrifices at our common expense, not even for our own children, yet do we this as a special honour to the emperors.' Other confirmatory evidence is cited by Schürer; and though he is able to bring a considerable array of testimony on the other side, the statement of Josephus combined with Bar. i. 6–12 leaves behind a strong impression that such sacrifices were actually offered in Jerusalem after A.D. 70 by a party who were complaisant to the Roman power.[1] Probably these sacrifices ceased in the second century and subsequent Jewish writers ignored them as temporary and illegitimate.

The Greek translation of the Hebrew original of A and B was probably made at the close of the first century or soon after the beginning of the second. Whether it included from the first the document C (iv. 5–v. 9) or the latter came to be added subsequently it is impossible to determine. Kneucker, indeed, who regards the entire book as originally written in Hebrew, would make the *terminus a quo* of the Greek version about A.D. 118 or perhaps after the war of Bar Cocheba, A.D. 132–135. The *terminus ad quem* is A.D. 172, for Irenaeus (*Adv. Haereses*, v. 35) quotes the passage Bar. iv. 36–

[1] The view here adopted has the support of Mr. I. Abrahams. Schürer, *GJV*^{3}, i, p. 654, cites the passage in Taanith iv. 6 in which, when enumerating Israel's days of calamity, it is stated 'on the 17th Tammuz the Tāmîd came to an end'. The language of Josephus, which has been cited, practically admits this: 'although we offer no other such sacrifices at the public expense.' Abrahams therefore argues that the statement cited by Schürer from Taanith iv. 6, so far from contradicting the statement of Josephus, gives us a clue to its real meaning, since the *Tāmîd* was habitually bought at the public expense (paid for by the Shekālîm). Cf. *Pesikta Rabbati* (sect. Shekālîm). Josephus asserts that though the Tāmîd had ceased, contributions for a sacrifice for the emperor continued. It is therefore impossible to set aside such an express statement as that of Josephus, especially when taken in conjunction with the important collateral testimony of Bar. i. 6–10. We have sacrifices for the emperor in the days of Caligula (*Wars*, ii. 10. 4; cp. 17. 2–4.)

v. 9 as the words of Jeremiah. Somewhat later (A.D. 176–178) Athenagoras, in his *Apologia*, addressed to the emperor, M. Aurelius, cites (§ 69) Bar. iii. 35 as the words of an inspired prophet in close connexion with passages from Isaiah.

§ 9. The Versions.

I: Among the versions, the *Greek* was the first to appear, and secured thereby a wider currency for the entire work among the scattered Jewish population, and subsequently among the Christian communities of the Roman Empire.

Opinions are divided on the question whether a single hand or two hands have worked at the Greek translation. Both Fritzsche and Schürer have argued for a single hand, as earlier scholars (e.g. De Wette and Hitzig) have done. Fritzsche (p. 172) acknowledges that differences in style are to be found between ch. i. 1–iii. 8 and the remainder of the work, but the language in both portions is in the main the same, while other scholars account for the difference by difference of subject-matter. Kneucker, on the other hand, contends strongly that two hands have worked at the Greek translation, and submits the entire book to a careful scrutiny (pp. 76–82). It should be noticed, however, that in his comparisons a very large number of the divergences in style are found in ch. iv. 5–v. 9, which we have already shown good reason for regarding as originally composed in Greek. This of itself would involve a considerable difference in style from the earlier portion translated from an original Hebrew text. Thus Kneucker observes the frequent employment of the Greek particle *γάρ* in iv. 7, 9, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, v. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9 (in nearly every case reproduced in Syr. by ܓܪܡܐ), also a more independent and free arrangement of words, iv. 9, 24, 25, v. 1, 2. In ch. iv. 10, 11 *τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῶν υἱῶν μου καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων* without the repetition of *τὴν αἰχμ.* before *τῶν θυγ.* Also the genit. before the governing noun, iv. 25, 37, v. 5, 7, and the qualifying adj. or adjectival phrase preceding the noun: *τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν σωτηρίαν* (iv. 24), *τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσαν ἡμῖν ὀργήν* (iv. 25); cf. iv. 29, 31, 33, 36, v. 3.

Another point to which the same writer calls attention is the close connexion between LXX on Jeremiah and our own text in those cases where borrowings from Jeremiah have taken place; e.g. Bar. i. 9, cf. Jer. xxiv. 1; Bar. ii. 3, cf. Jer. xix. 9; Bar. ii. 4, cf. Jer. xlii. 18; Bar. ii. 11, cf. Jer. xxxii. 21; Bar. ii. 13, cf. Jer. xlii. 2; Bar. ii. 21, 22, cf. Jer. xxxiv. 10, 9; Bar. ii. 23, cf. Jer. xxv. 10, 11, &c. These close resemblances are explained by some (Dillmann, Fritzsche, and Ewald) as due to the fact that the same Greek translator has produced the LXX of Jeremiah and the Greek rendering of Baruch. This theory, however, does not explain the differences as well as the coincidences of language. A more probable theory is that of Hävernick, Schürer, and (in later years) of Hitzig that the Greek translator of Baruch was acquainted with and made use of the LXX Jeremiah. This view will be found to be in some respects parallel to that which we shall have to adopt in reference to the Syriac version. The Greek translator of the document A was evidently familiar with Theodotion's version of Daniel (G^{θ}) or its groundwork, as we have indicated frequently in the notes.[1]

The MSS. of the LXX from which our text is obtained are, in the order of importance:

1. The *Codex Vaticanus* (B), written in uncials of the fourth century.
2. *Cod. Alexandrinus* (A), written in uncials of the fifth century, now in the British Museum.
3. *Cod. Marchalianus*, written in uncials not later, according to Ceriani, than the sixth century, designated Q.
4. *Codex Venetus* (numbered 23), 'written in sloping uncials of the eighth and ninth centuries' (Swete).

In addition to these we have twenty-two cursive MSS. The famous *Sinaitic codex* (ℵ) and the *Codex Ephrêm Syri* (C) do not contain the Book of Baruch.

II. A *Syriac* version which ranks next in importance to the Greek must have been made before the time of Ephrêm Syrus (about the middle of the fourth century), who specially cites the Book of Baruch. This version is identified by Ewald, Ceriani, and Schürer with the Peshiṭta, while Kneucker disputes this view, holding that the Pesh. did not contain the books of the Apocrypha. We have a Syriac version in two forms:

(1) That which is contained in Walton's *Polyglott*, vol. iv, based on the Pocock Codex as well as the Cod. Usserianus. Upon this version we have chiefly relied in the accompanying commentary. This version has been amended by Paul de Lagarde in his work *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, &c. (1861).

(2) We have also the Syro-Hexaplar translation of Bishop Paul of Tela, executed at the instigation of the Monophysite patriarch Athanasius of Antioch in the year A. D. 617 at Alexandria.

[1] Theodotion is mentioned in the Syro-Hexaplar as textual authority for the Greek (cited in margin of Ceriani's edition with initial ܬ). Cp. *Encycl. Bibl.*, 'Text and Versions,' § 50.

It derives its name from the fact that it is based on Origen's Hexapla and closely follows the Greek text in the retention of Greek words and Hexaplaric signs. It thus becomes a valuable aid in the restoration of the Hexaplar text (De Wette, *Einleitung*, 8th ed., § 60). This Syro-Hexaplar version is contained in a codex belonging to the eighth century, written in Estrangelo, called *Ambrosianus*, reproduced in 1874 by photolithography (not by any means clearly in some places) by Ceriani. There is also an earlier reproduction (1861) by the same scholar (clearly printed and easily read).

We are here chiefly concerned with Walton's and Lagarde's text. A very cursory examination of this version when compared with LXX (A and B) clearly shows that it is no mere slavish reproduction of the latter, but contains numerous variants as well as expansions. We have already shown that there is clear evidence to indicate that the Syriac version (i.e. Walton's, and also Lagarde's amended version) in iv. 5–v. 9 is based on the Greek original for the simple reason that in document C there was no other. But it is otherwise with i. 1–iv. 4 (A and B). Here we are unable to follow in its entirety Kneucker's elaborate proof that the Syriac version is wholly based on the LXX. Reasons will be forthcoming in the commentary which point to the conclusion that the Syr. was based on the Hebrew original as well as on the LXX version. (1) This inference might be suggested by the Syr. rendering of *ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Σούδ*, Bar. i. 4 *ad fin.* Here *Σούδ* is reproduced in Syr. by Ṣûr. This *may* point to a Heb. variant, since the confusion of ר and ד is exceedingly common, and Greek reproduces צ by *σ* (as in צִיּוֹן). Too much stress, however, cannot be laid upon proper names, which Syriac notoriously modifies and alters. (2) A more instructive example is i. 1, where *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι* corresponds to the Syr. ܠܒܒܠ 'to Babel' as though Baruch wrote the letter *to* Babylon. This variant is best explained by the Heb. original בבבל in which the first of the three letters ב was dropped and בבל was naturally interpreted as accus. 'to Babel'. (3) A more striking example is found in the enigmatic word *ἐσχεδιάζομεν* (B; in A *ἐσχεδιάσαμεν*) in i. 19. The word is a *ἅπ. εἰρ.* in the LXX. In Suidas and Hesych. the Greek word is explained by *ἐγγίζειν, πλησιάζειν* which yields no satisfactory sense and yet is reproduced in the Syro-Hexaplar by ܐܬܪܫܠܢ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥܢ. Fortunately we have in Diod. Sic. i. 23 and Polyb. xii. 4. 4, xxiii. 9. 12, a guide to a signification which yields a better sense, 'act precipitately or rashly' (R.V. 'dealt unadvisedly'): 'We have acted precipitately in not hearkening to his voice.' We have, however, in Dan. ix the source from which many passages and phrases are borrowed, and here Dan. ix. 5, 11 enables us to restore the original וּמָרַדְנוּ לְבִלְתִּי שְׁמֹעַ בְּקוֹלֶךָ. Here Kneucker is obliged to confess that the Syr. version (that of Walton) 'is relatively the most correct', ܐܬܪܫܠܢ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥܢ which evidently closely follows the Heb. original. But how did *ἐσχεδιάζομεν* arise? It might perhaps be suggested that it arose by corruption of *ἐστασιάζομεν*. But it is a far more probable view that מרדנו became corrupted into מְהַרְנוּ. (4) For *ἐκολλήθη εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ κακά* in the following verse (i. 20) we have in Syr. ܠܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܪܥܝ. With the former cp. Deut. xxviii. 60 (Heb. and LXX). The corresponding Heb. of the original may therefore have been וְתִדְבַּק בָּנוּ הָרָעָה. But the Syr. rests on a variant וַתָּבֹא בָנוּ הָרָעָה which has greater inherent probability since we have in Dan. ix. 13 כל רעה הזאת באה, and we know that Dan. ix. 7–19 is the source from which phraseology is largely derived in Bar. i. 15–ii. 17. (5) In ii. 7 LXX *ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα ἃ ἦλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.* The original Heb. evidently was אֲשֶׁר יהוה דִּבֵּר עָלֵינוּ אֶת־כָּל־הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת הַבָּאָה עָלֵינוּ. Here Syr. renders the opening Heb. אֲשֶׁר by 'inasmuch as' . . . ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܗܢܘܢ 'inasmuch as the Lord [our God] has declared concerning us all these evils which have come upon us'. This rendering of the relat. in Heb. is not only more accurate but brings with it better construction and sense. It is obviously not based on the Greek but on the Heb. original. (6) Another striking example may be found in ch. i. 9, on which consult the commentary. (7) Examples of dependence on a Hebrew original, sometimes on a variant corruption, may also be found in the document B (Bar. iii. 9–iv. 4), e.g. iii. 16 עלם for עמם, 18 מִסְפָּר for חֵקֶר. On these instances the notes should be consulted; also on iii. 21, 23, 34, 35. In not a few cases we have inferior renderings, and in a large number of passages indicated in the notes we have expansions[1] in the Syriac text itself, evidently in some cases added in later copies. But in some of the modifications introduced into the Syriac we may probably see primitive influences. And this concerns the document C (iv. 5–v. 9) as well as A and B.

[1] The most natural explanation of these variants and expansions is to be found in Prof. Sanday's article in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 17 foll., in which he describes the physical conditions under which a scribe or copyist worked with the roll, not spread out before him on a desk, but deposited in its *scrinium* or *capsa* for intermittent reference. A good example of a variant thus caused may be found in Bar. iv. 16 (on which see note). Still more would variations occur when we have to deal with translations and not copies. Here subtle motives would also co-operate, enhanced in the case of a rendering which was more or less paraphrastic.

We have therefore sufficient indications to show that the original author of the Syriac version as represented in Walton's *Polyglott* and Lagarde's edition made use of the Hebrew original of A and B, and not exclusively of the Greek translation as Kneucker insists (p. 163 f.). That it rested also on G Kneucker shows from many examples. Perhaps the most significant is to be found in iii. 32, in which κτηνῶν τετραπόδων corresponds to בְּהֵמוֹת in the Heb. original (cf. Exod. ix. 9, 10). This is the word which Delitzsch employs in his Heb. N. T. for τετράποδα in Acts x. 12. But Syr. has no corresponding word, and so there renders ܒܥܘܪܬܐ just as in Bar. iii. 32 ܒܥܘܪܬܐ ܕܒܥܘܪܬܐ. Cp. i. 14 note.

Accordingly the conclusion to which we are guided is analogous to that to which Cornill was led in his memorable critical edition of Ezekiel (1886) when dealing with the Peshiṭta: 'It is apparent at every stage that S has rendered its Heb. original freely, and does not contemplate a literal translation' (p. 148). This will be found abundantly illustrated in the notes on Baruch, where additions and variations of phrase will be found, 'additions of the most varied character' (p. 150). 'S is no pure recension but a mixed one. In the first place LXX has exercised over it an important influence' (p. 153). A similar result is even recorded in far different conditions and a very different field, where divergences of rendering are naturally restricted, viz. in Genesis, by Hänel in his careful investigation of the Peshiṭta ('Die aussermasoretischen Übereinstimmungen zw. der Septuaginta und der Peshiṭta in der Genesis'). This writer shows from a large number of instances that S is there based not only on LXX but also on a Heb. text which stands considerably nearer to the LXX than the Massoretic version (pp. 68 foll.).[1]

From slight yet significant indications we may derive some inference as to the date of the Syriac version in its origin.

(*a*) In Bar. v. 2 Jerusalem is exhorted to put on the diadem (μίτρα), but when we turn to the Syr. we find the diadem is exchanged for the military *helmet* (ܟܘܒܥܐ as in 1 Sam. xvii. 5, Eph. vi. 17). Again, in v. 5 'by tents' takes the place of 'on the height'.

(*b*) We note the expansion given in Syr. of iv. 31, 32: 'The cities shall be in dread that treated thee ill and rejoiced in thy downfall. The cities shall be in terror that enslaved thy sons. Thou shalt rejoice in their downfall. They shall be alarmed who treated thee ill. She shall be in dread who received thy sons.' An extra clause is added. The last clause refers to Rome specially, which we know possessed a large population of Jews (cf. Juven. *Sat.* iii. 12–16 and Schürer[3], vol. iii, p. 35). The cities to which reference is here made are probably those to which the large number, to which Josephus refers, was deported. See above under § 7 (ii).

From these indications, of which (*a*) is the more significant, we infer that the Syriac version arose at a time when there was a considerable reawakening of the martial spirit of revolt against Rome. This points to a date about 130 B.C. and after, when the struggle, headed by Bar Cocheba, was impending—the last uprising of Judaism against the power of Rome. At that time a large population of Jews (considerably augmented by those who had escaped from Judaea under the Flavian dynasty) had settled down in the Euphrates lands. Among these Jews Syriac versions, not only of the O.T. but also of such works as the Book of Baruch, would find ready acceptance. The reader who has studied Prof. Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity* (see esp. pp. 75 foll.) will not find this date unreasonably early. Lastly, we know that the Jews were persecuted under Trajan, and that before the outbreak of Bar Cocheba's rebellion Rabbi Akiba made a final journey throughout Parthia and Asia Minor and preached against Hadrian and his legions (see art. Akiba in Hastings's *Enc. R. E.*) The Syriac version in its earliest form may have arisen 132 A.D.

III. We have two ancient Latin versions, (*a*) the *Vetus Latina a*, sometimes called the *Itala*, which also included Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1 and 2 Macc., Prayer of Manasseh, and fourth Esdras. That this version originated before the time of Jerome is evident from the fact that Cyprian (*Test. adversus Jud.* ii. 6) quotes Bar. iii. 35–7 and Tertullian (*Adv. Praxean* 16) makes a reference to verse 37. The version was, however, incorporated into the Vulgate. Fritzsche in Schenkel's *Bibel-lexicon* characterizes the style of the *Itala* as a patois full of provincialisms and violations of grammatical and syntactical rules. Not a few Greek terms are retained in Latin form. The careful investigation of this version by Kneucker (pp. 143–9) shows how closely the Greek version is followed, but not the exact text of any existing codex. (*b*) *Vetus Latina b* was first published at Rome in 1688 by Jos. Caro from an old MS. Since then it has been republished by Sabatier in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, vol. i (1873), on the basis of three additional MSS. Where *Vet. Lat. a* differs from the Greek text, *Vet. Lat. b* follows the latter. It is, however, also clear that *Vet. Lat. b* follows in a considerable number of details *Vet. Lat. a*, but has a better Latin style.

[1] Also Burkitt (*Enc. Bibl.*, 'Text and Versions,' Peshiṭta, § 60) remarks that the Syr. Ecclesiasticus is partly a rendering of the Hebrew.

IV. The *Arabic* version contained in Walton's *Polyglott* closely adheres to the Greek text. Kneucker has shown in his detailed examination (pp. 177 foll.) that in the vast majority of instances G^A is followed and not G^B.

V. The *Ethiopic* version similarly is based on G^A in abbreviated form. It is contained in Dillmann's *Biblia Vet. Test. Aethiopica*, vol. v (1894).

VI. The *Coptic* version was first published in 1870 by Father Bsciai (see Kneucker *in loc.*) in an edition on the basis of the Cairo codex of the Prophets. Brugsch published subsequently (1872–4) a Sahidic (Thebaic) version of the Book of Baruch (including the Epistle of Jeremiah) in Lepsius' *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, series x, pp. 134–6; xi, pp. 18–21; xii, pp. 46–9, from a careful, though not faultless, copy made by the learned Copt Kabis. We have also an edition by Schulte, 1892 (pp. 37–9). This version, like the Arabic and Eth., adheres on the whole to G^A, though there are *omissions* of individual words such as *καί* and of particles and pronouns, and even of phrases, and there are also *additions*.

VII. The *Armenian* version likewise follows, with few exceptions, G^A.

§ 10. Influence on Christian and Jewish Literature.

The influence of the book on ecclesiastical *Christian literature* has been far greater than upon the Jewish. We have already referred to the use made by Athenagoras of Bar. iii. 35 (see § 8, *ad fin.*), as well as by Irenaeus, who quotes (*Adv. Haeres.* v. 35) the passage in Bar. iv. 36–v. 9 as the words of Jeremiah. It seems at this time to have been assumed that because Baruch was the secretary of the prophet, and wrote out many of his discourses, the Book of Baruch must have also contained the utterances of Jeremiah. Thus Clemens Alexandr. (*Paedag.* I. x. 91–2) cites several passages from the Book of Baruch as the words of Jeremiah. Hippolytus, in his treatise *Contra Noëtum*, takes note of the fact that Noëtus and his followers make use of the passage Bar. iii. 35–7 as a support to their patripassian views of Christology. On the other hand, Origen, like Melito, follows the Jewish Canon, and so ignores what Roman Catholic theologians (including the latest commentator Schneedorfer) call the Deutero-Canonical books (Apocrypha), though Lamentations and Epistle of Jeremiah are included in the canonized writings. It is probable, however, that (as in the case of Clemens Al.) he included the Book of Baruch under Jeremiah, since he cites the oft-quoted Bar. iii. 38 in his *Commentary on St. John's Gospel*, and also Bar. iii. 9–13 in his *Jerem. Homil.* vii. 3. Similarly his pupil, Dionysius of Alexandria, quotes Bar. iii. 14, 15, while *Apost. Const.* cite Bar. iv. 4. So also references are to be found in Tertullian and Cyprian. Lactantius cites Bar. iii. 36 f. as the words of Jeremiah along with citations from Isaiah and the Psalms (*Inst.* iv. 38). Ephrêm Syr. regarded Bar., as well as the other Apocrypha, as Scripture.

Yet in fact many *Greek* Fathers of the fourth century separated the Apocryphal (or so-called Deutero-Canonical) writings from the Canonical. Baruch, however, formed an exception, since it was treated as an appendix to Jeremiah, and so formed part of what Athanasius calls *κανονιζόμενα καὶ παραδοθέντα, πιστευθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία*. Similarly, Cyril of Jerusalem and the Provincial Synod of Laodicea. Thus we find Chrysostom frequently quoting passages from Baruch as words 'of the prophet' or Jeremiah.

As we follow the *Latin* Fathers from Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrosius onwards we find a similar tradition. On the other hand Jerome, who studied and followed Hebrew tradition, forms a unique exception. He separates the Book of Baruch, together with the Epistle of Jeremiah, from the book of the prophet Jeremiah as non-Canonical: 'Librum autem Baruch notarii eius, qui apud Hebraeos nec legitur nec habetur, praetermisimus.' This is the more remarkable since in subsequent times Pope Felix III, Cassiodorus, and others cite Baruch as authoritative scripture. In the Latin Bible (as revised by Jerome) Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah are omitted. Thus they are not to be found in the Cod. Amiatinus, the oldest known MS. of the Vulgate. On the other hand, at the Council of Trent it was recognized as part of the O.T. among other Deutero-Canonical books. Our English Bible follows the Protestant tradition in placing it among the Apocrypha as non-Canonical. For further detail we would refer to Reusch's work, pp. 2–21, and to Schürer, *GJV*³, iii, p. 342 f. Among Protestant German divines till Ewald there was a tendency to depreciate the value of the book.

With reference to the Book of Baruch as a part of *Jewish* literature, we have already shown that there are strong grounds for the belief that a Hebrew original of Bar. i. 1–iv. 4 existed for a time among the Jewish communities of the Diaspora during the last quarter of the first century, and that the rest of the book must have been published within that period in Greek. During the early part of the second century the whole must have circulated in Greek and somewhat later in Aramaic (among the Jewish settlements of Mesopotamia). But the history of the book both then and later among the Jewish communities is most obscure. Probably the note of complaisance towards the

Roman power in ch. i. 1–iii. 8 did not commend the book to Jews after the suppression of Bar Cocheba's insurrection in A.D. 135. The testimony of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (v. 20) that on the 10th of the month Gorpiaeus it was read along with the Lamentations of Jeremiah as a portion in Jewish worship is subject to some difficulty, as we are unable to identify the date assigned with that of the Jewish Calendar, though the statement is confirmed by a reference to synagogue-worship accompanied by a citation of Bar. iv. 9 in Ephrêm Syrus. See Schürer, *GJV*[3], iii, p. 342. The express statement of Jerome (Preface to Jerem.) that in his day the Book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah were 'not read among the Hebrews' would lead us to the conclusion that in the fourth century A.D. both had ceased to have any recognized place in current Jewish religious literature.

§ 11. The Religious Ideas of the Book of Baruch.

Since the book is composite in authorship and tendency, it cannot be said to present in its three documents any uniformity of ideas, except in certain positive general features common to all three parts and also in the general absence of others to which allusion will be made.

(*a*) *Doctrine of God.* In all the three documents God is recognized as the absolute ruler of Israel's destiny, the fountain of righteousness and power, i. 15, 19, ii. 6, iii. 1, 32 foll. The document B (iii. 9–iv. 4) naturally emphasizes God's wisdom and universal knowledge (iii. 32–7). On the other hand, God's mercy, which listens to the cry of His people, is assumed throughout the penitential supplication of i. 15–iii. 8, and is expressly affirmed in ii. 35, iii. 2. These features are, however, most prominent in document C (iv. 5–v. 9), which is greatly influenced by the Deutero-Isaiah, in which God's love and mercy to His people is the dominant theme. This divine compassion is the ground of the repeated exhortation 'Be of good cheer'. 'He that called thee by name will comfort thee.' This document C is specially characterized by the designation of God as 'Everlasting' (*αἰώνιος*), iv. 22, 35, v. 2, and as 'Holy One', iv. 22. On the other hand, when we turn to the document A (i. 2, 3 *b*–iii. 8), Lord God (יהוה אלהים) is the usual combination, frequently with the 1st pers. plur. added, 'Lord *our* God.' In fact 'Lord' (= יהוה) belongs to this document and not to the other two. To this in two passages (iii. 1, 4) is added the epithet 'Almighty' (*παντοκράτωρ*, Heb. צבאות) or 'All-ruler' (iii. 1, 4). See Gifford's Introd. *ad fin.*

(*b*) *The doctrine of Sin* and of *Suffering* as the divinely inflicted chastisement for sin is strongly emphasized throughout the book, especially in i. 13, 18–ii. 10, 22 foll., iii. 10–13, iv. 6–8, 12, 13. Moreover, the sin of the fathers is visited in chastisement on the children, though the obverse doctrine of merit through the righteousness of ancestors which plays so large a part in Jewish Soteriology (cp. Matt. iii. 9, Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, § 63) is repudiated in ii. 19.

(*c*) *Silence on other points of doctrine.* One is impressed by a certain meagreness in the religious conceptions presented to us in this brief book. In this respect it stands sharply contrasted with the wealth of ideas contained in 2 Baruch, i. e. the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch. Of the Angelology of the latter (2 Bar. vi. 4 f., vii, viii, temple destroyed by angels, with which the Epistle to the nine and a half tribes should be compared; lxxx. 1, 2 in Charles's ed. of 2 Bar.) we have not a trace, nor have we mention of Sirens, Liliths, and dragons (2 Bar. x. 8); only a stray reference to demons in 1 Bar. iv. 35, a borrowed feature. Even the Messianic element prominent in 2 Bar. (xxix. 3–8, xxxix. 7) is conspicuous by its absence, as in fact are apocalyptic and eschatological ideas generally. Of the resurrection of the righteous, to which 2 Bar. alludes (xxx), not a word is said in 1 Bar., though we cannot go so far as to assert (with Toy in *Jewish Encycl.*) that it is denied in ii. 17, where the language respecting the dead in Sheôl is merely an echo of Ps. cxv. 17. Nor have we the pessimistic forecast of a coming age of decay such as we find in 2 Bar. xxxi. 5, xxxii. 5, 6 (cf. Epistle to the nine and a half tribes, lxxxiii. 9–23, lxxxv. 10). The 2 Baruch and the Epistle to the nine and a half tribes evidently belong to a school and atmosphere of thought entirely different from that of 1 Baruch.

(*d*) *Great message of document B.* Ch. iii. 9–iv. 4, with its praise of Wisdom embodied in the Torah, strikes the highest note that meets the ear throughout the whole book. There is something profoundly impressive and pathetic in the closing verses of this document which direct Israel's thoughts away from his national humiliation, the temple-ruins and the vanished material pomp of religious ritual, to the eternal glory of that wisdom enshrined in the Torah which was to be Israel's inalienable possession for ever: 'Turn thee, O Jacob, and take hold of it: walk toward her shining in the presence of the light thereof.' We can afford to miss the grandiose and bizarre effects of apocalyptic as we stand in the clear sunlight of this sublime utterance. In place of the ruined temple the broad universe is the 'house of God' (iii. 24, 25).

§ 12. Selected Literature.

The articles on the Book of Baruch in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, *Hastings's DB*,[1] *Encycl. Brit.* (11th ed.), *Jewish Encycl.*, and in *PRE*[3], i, p. 640 f. under 'Apocryphen des A.T.'—Perhaps the most complete and useful is by Schürer, *GJV*[3], iii, pp. 338–44.

Among commentaries specially to be mentioned are Fritzsche, *Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, Leipz., 1851; Reusch, *Erklärung des Buches Baruch* (1853), which is from the Roman Catholic standpoint, useful for its survey of the book's place in patristic literature, [also from same standpoint *Das Buch Jeremias, des Propheten Klagelieder u. das Buch Baruch* by Schneedorfer (1903)]; Ewald in *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, iii (*Die jüngsten Propheten*). The most important, however, is that by Kneucker (1879), which contains not only an ample Introduction but also a very complete textual apparatus with a careful examination of the different versions, a full commentary, a translation, and a reproduction of the original Hebrew. In English should be specially mentioned the *Commentary on the Apocrypha*, edited by Dr. Wace, to which the Ven. E. H. Gifford, D.D., contributes the commentary on the Book of Baruch. Lastly, *Die Apocryphen des A.T.*, by Kautzsch, to which Rothstein contributes Baruch, will be found useful and suggestive.

Among other contributions we should mention Hitzig, *Zeitsch. für wissensch. Theol.*, 1860, pp. 262–73; Hilgenfeld, *ibid.*, 1862, pp. 199–203; 1879, pp. 437–54; 1880, pp. 412–22, and Kneucker, *ibid.*, 1880, pp. 309–23; Grätz, 'Abfassungszeit und Bedeutung des Buches Baruch,' *Monatsch. für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenthums*, iii. 1887, pp. 5–20.

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[1] Attention should have been drawn above under § 2 to the two parts of the confession of Israel, noted in his article by Dr. Marshall. The *first* and shorter portion (i. 15–ii. 5) appears to have been intended more especially for use by the inhabitants of Judah. Hence the distinction in ii. 4 'round about *us* . . . hath scattered *them*'. The *second* part (ii. 6–iii. 8) is the confession more especially of the exiles. Hence in ii. 13, iii. 8 'scattered *us*'. This distinction is useful since it accounts for the repetition of phrase in the two parts, e. g. i. 15 and ii. 6; ii. 4 and ii. 13 (iii. 8). Both portions obviously proceeded from the same hand, rested on like presuppositions (such as the solidarity of Israel and Judah), and are based very largely on Danielic phraseology.

THE BOOK OF BARUCH

1 1 And these are the words of the book, which Baruch the son of Nerias, the son of Maaseas, the
2 son of Sedekias, the son of Asadias, the son of Helkias, wrote in Babylon, in the fifth year, *and* in
the seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire.
3 And Baruch did read the words of this book in the hearing of Jechonias the son of Joakim king of
4 Judah, and in the hearing of all the people that came to *hear* the book, and in the hearing of the
mighty men, and of the kings' sons, and in the hearing of the elders, and in the hearing of all the
people, from the least unto the greatest, even of all them that dwelt at Babylon by the river Sud.
5, 6 And they wept, and fasted, and prayed before the Lord; they made also a collection of money
7 according to every man's power: and they sent *it* to Jerusalem unto Joakim the *high* priest, the
son of Helkias, the son of Salom, and to the priests, and to all the people which were found with
8 him at Jerusalem, at the same time when he took the vessels of the house of the Lord, that had been
carried out of the temple, to return *them* into the land of Judah, the tenth day of *the month* Sivan,

TITLE. G S$^{Hex.}$ Baruch; S 'In addition the Second Ep. of Baruch the Scribe'; S (Lag.) 'The Second Epistle'; Arm. 'Ep. of Baruch'; Vet. Lat. *a b* 'Prophecy of Baruch'; Copt. 'Baruch the prophet'. [The 'Second Ep.' in S title refers by implication to the earlier preceding Ep. in S addressed by Baruch to the nine and a half tribes beyond the Euphrates.]

INTRODUCTION 1–14 [1, 3 *a* belong to document B; 2, 3 *b*–14, excluding redactional insertions, to document A].

1. On the personal details respecting Baruch see *Ency. Bibl.*, *sub voce*, and cf. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9. 1, Kneucker Introd., pp. 2 foll. *Maaseas* here is obviously the Maḥsēiah of Jer. xxxii. 12; *Asadias* is the Hebr. Ḥasadiah. We find the name in 1 Chron. iii. 20. In S, through omission of the opening character and the frequent confusion of ר and ד, the name takes the form ܚܫܕܝܐ. This form of the name may, however, have arisen through Jer. li. 59. Baruch's genealogy is here traced further back than Maḥsēiah (Jer. xxxii. 12). S reads '*to* Babylon', as though the letter were dispatched from Palestine. How this may have textually arisen has been already explained, Introd., § 9 (ii. Syr. Version). In this way the so-called Second Ep. (in S) accords with the preceding epistle addressed to the nine and a half tribes beyond the Euphrates (cf. Title above), which is given in Walton's *Polygl.* and as an addendum in Charles's *Apoc. of Baruch*, pp. 124 foll.

2. The omission of the numeral before μηνός is certainly unusual, and points either to a defective original or to an omission by the translator. S leads us to the conclusion that the omission belonged to the original. We have no warrant, therefore, for the insertion of the name of the month Sivan (with Ewald).

In Ezek. i. 2, viii. 1, &c., the years are reckoned from the date of the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar when Jehoiachin was made prisoner (597 B.C.). In this year, however, Jerusalem was not burnt, but in the subsequent and final capture when the temple was destroyed 587–586 B.C. (cf. Bar. ii. 26). It is from this date, therefore (with Fritzsche, as against Eichhorn and others), the fifth year should be reckoned. See Introd., § 4.

3, 4. The language reminds us of 2 Kings xxiii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30. πρὸς τὴν βίβλον, i.e. to hear the book. βίβλος instead of βιβλίον in 3 *a*. Similarly βίβλος in iv. 1. We know nothing of the locality of Sud. Grotius conjectures that it refers to the city Soïta. Bochart would emend to *Sur*, i.e. the city Sora. S, in fact, renders 'river of Ṣûr', which may be founded on the original צור, but it is precarious to base a conclusion on the Syr. treatment of proper names. Cheyne's suggestion of Shihor (in *Ency. Bibl.*) is pure conjecture. L and Ar. follow G in reading *Sud*; so also characteristically S$^{Hex.}$

5. With the phraseology comp. 2 Chron. xxiv. 5, 11; Lev. v. 7, &c.

7. ἱερέα (as contrasted with following ἱερεῖς) is used in the pregnant sense of the head-priest of the Jerusalem sanctuary as in 1 Kings iv. 2; 2 Kings xi. 9, xii. 8; cf. Lev. xiii. 2; Num. iii. 6; Neh. xiii. 4; 1 Chron. xvi. 39, &c. (cf. 1 Macc. xv. 1). In assigning this position to Joakim the writer departs from earlier tradition. According to 1 Chron. v. 39 the succession of High Priests was Shallum, Hilkiah, Azariah, Seraiah. Esdras (A) viii. 1 interpolates Zichri between Hilkiah and Azariah. In only quite late times we find a tradition (in Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5. 1) that on the death of Darius a certain Jehoiakim, son of Jeshua, was High Priest contemporary with Ezra. But this was more than 120 years after the time to which this passage refers. The chief priest in Jerusalem at the time of its final overthrow (587–586 B.C.) was Seraiah, 2 Kings xxv. 18 (= Jer. lii. 24).

8. As already shown (Introd., § 4) the reference of αὐτόν is vague. 'He' might be referred to Joakim (Jehoiakim) of the preceding verse (so Herzfeld, Hilgenfeld, &c.). But this is evidently not intended. Baruch, the subject of verse 3, is meant, since his presence in Babylon and not in Judaea fits the situation (so Fritzsche, Reusch, Ewald, Hävernick, Hitzig, and Kneucker).

The restoration of the vessels to Jerusalem is another departure from the older tradition. According to the latter, the vessels which had been carried off by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 13, i.e. 597 B.C., and xxv. 14 f., i.e. 586 B.C.) were restored by Cyrus (Ezra i. 7–11). The statement in this verse seems to ignore Jeremiah's polemic against Hananiah and the false prophets (Jer. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 3, xxix. 4). Zedekiah's preparation of silver vessels is another addition to the later story. The angelic vision in 2 Bar. vi. 4–10 respecting the concealment of the furniture of the Holy of Holies is another example of the freedom with which later writers dealt with history. The month Sivan (May-June) belongs in origin to the Babylonian Calendar (Schrader, *COT*, ii, p. 69 f.), borrowed by exilian and post-exilian Judaism and made the third month of their ecclesiastical year. It is mentioned in the late post-exilian Esther viii. 9. S reads here Nisan and om. 'silver' (perhaps as derogatory to national dignity).

9 *namely*, silver vessels, which Sedekias the son of Josias king of Judah had made, after that Nabu-
chodonosor king of Babylon had carried away Jechonias, and the princes, and the captives, and the
10 mighty men, and the people of the land, from Jerusalem, and brought them unto Babylon. And
they said, Behold, we have sent you money; buy you therefore with the money burnt offerings, and
sin offerings, and incense, and prepare an oblation, and offer upon the altar of the Lord our God;
11 and pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and for the life of Baltasar his son, that
12 their days may be as the days of heaven above the earth: and the Lord will give us strength, and
lighten our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and
under the shadow of Baltasar his son, and we shall serve them many days, and find favour in their
13 sight. Pray for us also unto the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God; and
14 unto this day the wrath of the Lord and his indignation is not turned from us. And ye shall read
this book which we have sent unto you, to make confession in the house of the Lord, upon the day
of the feast and on the days of the solemn assembly.
15 And ye shall say, To the Lord our God *belongeth* righteousness, but unto us confusion of face, as
16 at this day, unto the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to our kings, and to
17 our princes, and to our priests, and to our prophets, and to our fathers: for that we have sinned
18 before the Lord, and disobeyed him, and have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God,
19 to walk in the commandments of the Lord that he hath set before us: since the day that the Lord
brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt, unto this present day, we have been disobedient unto
20 the Lord our God, and we have dealt unadvisedly in not hearkening unto his voice. Wherefore the
plagues clave unto us, and the curse, which the Lord commanded Moses his servant *to pronounce* in

9. Obviously an echo of Jer. xxiv. 1. There *δεσμώτας* corresponds to the doubtful word מַסְגֵּר = 'prison' (Isa. xxiv. 22, xlii. 7; Ps. cxlii. 8), and there applied apparently to those who are imprisoned. The 'people of the land' corresponds to עַם הָאָרֶץ of Zech. vii. 5, but meaning here, as in 2 Kings xxiv. 14, Jer. i. 18, Dan. ix. 6, the common people as opposed to the aristocracy (in Zech. the laity as distinguished from the priesthood). S varies considerably after 'princes', viz. 'and the officers and the workmen and the armies from Jerusalem'. Here 'the workmen' (*τεχνίτας* = הֶחָרָשׁ) takes the place of 'the people of the land' in G and Syr.-Hex., and stands in closer accord with both Jer. xxiv. 1 and the history of the year 597 B.C. (comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 14). We are in fact led to conclude that S here rather than G is based on the original Hebrew text.

10. *μάννα* (more correctly *μαναά* in many codd.), 'oblation', is obviously an attempt to reproduce the Hebr. מִנְחָה Jer. xvii. 26, xli. 5. *ποιήσατε*, 'prepare', is a literal rendering of the Hebr. וַעֲשִׂיתֶם, as in Exod. xxix. 36, &c., Lev. ix. 7, xv. 15. Similarly *καὶ ἀνοίσατε*, 'and offer', most probably corresponds to והעליתם (Jer. xxxiii. 18 G^A; Exod. xxiv. 5, xxx. 9; Lev. xiv. 20, &c.).

11. The exhortation to pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar reflects the tone of prophecy in Jeremiah and Ezekiel towards Babylonia. In later exilian prophecy the tone becomes embittered (Isa. xlvii, Jer. l, li, contrasted with Jer. xxvii. 6–8, xxix. 4–7; Ezek. xxvi. 7–12, xxix. 17–20). *προσεύξασθε περὶ . . .* seems an echo of Jer. xxix. 7 (xxxvi. 7 G^B). On the historical questions involved see Introd., § 8.

Baltasar appears in Dan. v. 1 as Belshazzar (H, in G^{O and θ} Baltasar). Both here and in Daniel we have the same confusion of names. Belshazzar (in Babyl. *Bêl-šar-uṣur*, 'Bel, protect the king') was son of Nabonidus (*Nabû-naïd*, 'Nebo is gracious'), the last Babylonian king, not of Nebuchadnezzar (as in Dan. v. 2, 13, 18, 22, and in the present passage).

12. S introduces characteristic variations in the opening of the verse, 'and that the Lord grant unto us that we may serve him.'

13. *ἀπέστρεψεν* ('is . . . turned') is here intransit., whereas in verse 8 above *ἀποστρέψαι* is transit. On this tendency of transit. Greek verbs to become intransit., see Radermacher, *NTliche Gram.* (1911), pp. 18 foll.; comp. below, ii. 8. The Hebrew equivalent may be easily restored from Isa. ix. 11, 16, &c. (G *ἀπεστράφη*), lv. 10, viz. לא שב ממנו אף יהוה וזעמו. S adds 'our God' to 'Lord' in all three cases where the Deity is mentioned. This combination is the usual formula in 1 Baruch.

14. **make confession** (*ἐξαγορεῦσαι*), evidently the rendering of לְהִתְוַדּוֹת, as in Lev. v. 7, xvi. 21; Num. v. 7. *καιρός* here stands for מוֹעֵד in the sense of festival season or 'solemn assembly' (*πανήγυρις*), whereas *ἑορτή*, 'feast', is the translation of חָג. Comp. Hos. ix. 5, xii. 10. But while S^{Hex.} reproduces here G, S has 'days of the *Lord*'. This is evidently due to the influences of a corrupted Greek text (*κυρίου* for *καιροῦ*). G^B S *ἡμέρᾳ . . . ἡμέραις*, but G^{A and Q} harmonize by reading plur. in both cases, L by reading sing. S, moreover, introduces additions, 'make confession *on behalf of us* in the Lord's house *before the Lord*.'

CONFESSION OF THE PALESTINIAN REMNANT, i. 15–ii. 5 (document A. See note on p. 582).

15–18 is closely modelled on Dan. ix. 7–10, yet abbreviated.

15. **as at this day** is the familiar Hebr. כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה in 1 Kings viii. 24 and Dan. ix. 7. On this pregnant use of כְּ in Hebrew see Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.*,[26] § 118. 6; comp. below, ii. 26 note.

17. **before the Lord.** *ἔναντι* G^B belongs to the *κοινή*, Radermacher, *NTliche Gram.*, p. 117. G^{A Q} *ἐναντίον*; 'for that we have sinned,' &c. = אֲשֶׁר חָטָאנוּ לַיהוָה (לִפְנֵי י״י), Dan. ix. 8, 11.

19. On *ἐσχεδιάζομεν* (G^A *ἐσχεδιάσαμεν*), a *ἅπ. εἰρ.* in LXX ('dealt unadvisedly'), see Introd., § 9, ii (Syr. Vers.). S and Dan. ix. 5, 11 clearly show that we have in G a rendering based on a corrupt text. Translate: 'We have *rebelled* in not hearkening . . .' *ἐσχεδιάζομεν* arose out of the corruption of מרדנו into מהרנו.

20. **clave** (*ἐκολλήθη*). A strong phrase which occurs again in iii. 4. This and other expressions in this verse are

the day that he brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt, to give us a land that floweth with
21 milk and honey, as at this day. Nevertheless we hearkened not unto the voice of the Lord our
22 God, according unto all the words of the prophets, whom he sent unto us: but we walked every
man in the imagination of his own wicked heart, to serve strange gods, and to do that which is evil
2 1 in the sight of the Lord our God. Therefore the Lord hath made good his word, which he pro-
nounced against us, and against our judges that judged Israel, and against our kings, and against
2 our princes, and against the men of Israel and Judah, to bring upon us great plagues, such as never
happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that
3 are written in the law of Moses; that we should eat every man the flesh of his own son, and every
4 man the flesh of his own daughter. Moreover he hath given them to be in subjection to all the
kingdoms that are round about us, to be a reproach and a desolation among all the people round
5 about, where the Lord hath scattered them. Thus were they cast down, and not exalted, because
6 we sinned against the Lord our God, in not hearkening unto his voice. To the Lord our God
7 *belongeth* righteousness: but unto us and to our fathers confusion of face, as at this day. *For* all
8 these plagues are come upon us, which the Lord hath pronounced against us. Yet have we not
intreated the favour of the Lord, in turning every one from the thoughts of his wicked heart.
9 Therefore hath the Lord kept watch over the plagues, and the Lord hath brought *them* upon us;
10 for the Lord is righteous in all his works which he hath commanded us. Yet we have not hearkened
unto his voice, to walk in the commandments of the Lord that he hath set before us.
11 And now, O Lord, thou God of Israel, that hast brought thy people out of the land of Egypt
with a mighty hand, and with signs, and with wonders, and with great power, and with a high arm,
12 and hast gotten thyself a name, as at this day: O Lord our God, we have sinned, we have done
13 ungodly, we have dealt unrighteously in all thine ordinances. Let thy wrath turn from us: for we

obviously Deuteronomic, cf. Deut. xxviii. 60 (Hebr. and G). In the original there would stand ותדבק בנו הרעה והאלה (cf. also Dan. ix. 11). But S has a variant which is more probable. See Introd., § 9, ii (Syr. Version).

21–22 continue in the Deuteronomic strain (esp. of Deut. xxviii) reflected in Dan. ix. 5–17. S contains an interpretative expansion 'to do all the words of his servants the prophets'.

22. G^A (followed by Vet. Lat. *a* and Ar.) wrongly places ἡμῶν instead of αὐτοῦ after καρδίας.

II. 1–2 follow Dan. ix. 12, 13 with many close resemblances in G to the corresponding version in Dan. of G^θ, but δικαστάς for κριτάς and δικάσαντας for οἱ ἔκρινον. Note ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ common to both. καὶ ἔστησεν . . . δικάσαντας is almost a literal reproduction of Dan. ix. 12. S + 'and Judah' in both cases to 'Israel'. Corresponding to ἔστησεν, 'made good', we should have the familiar וַיָּקֶם. This Hif. is used in the sense of keeping a command or promise by fulfilling it. Cf. verse 24 and Gen. xxvi. 3; Lev. xxvi. 9; Deut. ix. 5: 1 Sam. i. 23, xv. 13; 1 Kings ii. 4, vi. 12, xii. 15; Jer. xi. 5, xxxiii. 14. S ܩܝܡܘ appears to reproduce the Hebr. original, but this is not a necessary conclusion; cf. $S^{Hex.}$ and Ar.

ἄνθρωπον Ἰσρ. Here Hebr. original would be אִישׁ יִשְׂרָ׳ where אִישׁ is used *collectively* as in Joshua ix. 6 and Judg. vii. 23 (where G more correctly has ἀνήρ).

$G^{A\,Q}$ preserve the full original text, since they add τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν (Q* ἀναγαγεῖν) ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κακὰ μέγαλα ἅ, 'to bring upon us great plagues such as', just as in Dan. ix. 12, i.e. in Hebr. original . . . להביא עלינו רעה גדולה אשר. So $S^{Hex.}$ (with asterisks) and Ar. S, however, has ܥܠܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ, perhaps based on וַיָּבֵא עלינו יהוה, and after 'heaven' adds 'upon all the earth' (evidently an expansion; cf. Dan. ix. 12).

3. ἄνθρωπον, Hebr. אִישׁ in sense of 'every one'. We have here language based on Jer. xix. 9, Deut. xxviii. 53 (cf. Lev. xxvi. 29); G^A 'sons' (plur.); so Ar. S has *sing.* as G^B.

4. ὑποχειρίους, 'in subjection', ויתן אתם ביד [cf. Gen. xiv. 20 (H and G)], closely followed in S. The latter part of the verse is an echo of Jer. xlii. 18 (G closely corresponds), 'reproach and a desolation', לְחֶרְפָּה וּלְשַׁמָּה; οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ (cf. verse 13 and Mark i. 7, vii. 25), Heb. שָׁם . . . אֲשֶׁר.

5. Borrowed from Deut. xxviii. 13.

CONFESSION OF THE EXILED COMMUNITY IN BABYLON, ii. 6–iii. 8 (document A).

6. Repetition of i. 15 with slight variation.

7. S renders 'seeing that the Lord our God hath uttered against us all these evils', &c., ܕܡܠܠ ܡܪܝܐ . . [ܠܟ]ܠ ܗܠܝܢ, which is a better rendering of the original Hebr. אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יהוָה עָלֵינוּ אֶת־כָּל־הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת הַבָּאָה עָלֵינוּ. See Introd., § 9, ii (Syr. Vers.). Here, however, $S^{Hex.}$ follows G as usual. On ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη cf. Bar. v. 6 note.

8. G is here nearly identical with G^θ in the corresponding portion of Dan. ix. 13. νοημάτων, 'thoughts'; S ܨܒܝܢܬܐ, 'inclinations', 'desires', as in i. 22 (διανοίᾳ), corresponds to Hebr. מַחְשָׁבוֹת.

9. An almost exact replica of Dan. ix. 14, which in its turn echoes Jer. xliv. 27. Note that for 'works which he hath *done*' in the Dan. passage, we have here 'which he hath *commanded* us' (in S ܦܩܕ just as in G and $S^{Hex.}$, Hebr. צִוָּנוּ). Yahweh is watching over the calamities in order to bring them to pass as retribution for transgression.

10. Repeats with variations i. 18, which closely follows Dan. ix. 10, G partly following the Dan. passage in G^θ.

11. Reproduces Dan. ix. 15 in its earlier part with Deuteronomic phrases added. Here again G follows the Dan. version of G^θ.

12. Continues the Danielic phraseology at the close of ix. 15 (cf. 5). G, however, prefers δικαιώματα to the κρίματα of $G^{o \text{ and } \theta}$ in Dan. as rendering of מִשְׁפָּטִים. Cf. verse 1.

13. The language is borrowed from Jer. xlii. 2, כִּי נִשְׁאַרְנוּ מְעַט מֵהַרְבֵּה 'for we are left but a few *out of many*' (cf.

14 are but a few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered us. Hear our prayer, O Lord, and
our petition, and deliver us for thine own sake, and give us favour in the sight of them which have
15 led us away captive: that all the earth may know that thou art the Lord our God, because Israel
16 and his posterity is called by thy name. O Lord, look down from thine holy house, and consider
17 us: incline thine ear, O Lord, and hear: open thine eyes, and behold: for the dead that are in the
grave, whose breath is taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither glory nor righteousness:
18 but the soul that is greatly vexed, which goeth stooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the
19 hungry soul, will give thee glory and righteousness, O Lord. For we do not present our supplication
20 before thee, O Lord our God, for the righteousness of our fathers, and of our kings. For thou hast
sent thy wrath and thine indignation upon us, as thou hast spoken by thy servants the prophets,
21 *saying*, Thus saith the Lord, Bow your shoulders to serve the king of Babylon, and remain in the
22 land that I gave unto your fathers. But if ye will not hear the voice of the Lord, to serve the king
23 of Babylon, I will cause to cease out of the cities of Judah, and from without Jerusalem, the voice
of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride: and the
24 whole land shall be desolate without inhabitant. But we would not hearken unto thy voice, to serve
the king of Babylon: therefore hast thou made good thy words that thou spakest by thy servants
the prophets, *namely*, that the bones of our kings, and the bones of our fathers, should be taken out
25 of their places. And, lo, they are cast out to the heat by day, and to the frost by night, and they
26 died in great miseries by famine, by sword, and by pestilence. And the house which is called by
thy name hast thou laid *waste*, as at this day, for the wickedness of the house of Israel and the house

Deut. iv. 27). ἀπὸ πολλῶν has been accidentally dropped out of G^{AB} and is inserted in S. ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐ. We are justified in restoring מֵהַרְבֵּה to the Heb. 1 Baruch, since some G codd. (22, 36, 48, 51, and others) retain ἀπὸ πολλ. and its omission is indicated in the marg. of $S^{Hex.}$. S supplies us here with a parallelism: 'because we have been left a few out of many and are scanty among these peoples among whom thou hast scattered us.'

14. ἀποικίζω corresponds to שבה (cf. Jer. xliii. 12, H and G). So here S ܡܫܒܝ.

15. S adds 'holy' to 'name'.

16–17. ἐννόησον εἰς ἡμᾶς = הָבֵן בָּנוּ (or בִּין Dan. ix. 23, G^{θ} ἐννοήθητι ἐν). S repeats ܚܘܣ, κάτιδε, הַבֵּט (or הַשְׁקֵף, Deut. xxvi. 15).

incline . . . thine eyes repeat Dan. ix. 18. On ὧν . . . αὐτῶν Hebr. relat. cf. verses 4, 13 above.

We have here the ordinary O. T. teaching of life in Sheôl taught in Ps. vi. 6, lxxxviii. 11, cxv. 17. πνεῦμα corresponds in meaning to רוּחַ חַיִּים of Gen. vi. 17 (cf. נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים, ii. 7). σπλάγχνα usually corresponds to Hebr. רַחֲמִים (cf. S), but here it is more likely that the original had מֵעִים (as Kneucker suggests). δικαίωμα here = δικαιοσύνη (verse 18 *ad fin.*). Comp. Isa. xlv. 23 foll. The corresponding Hebr. צְדָקָה describes 'that aspect of Yahweh's activity which has for its object the salvation of His people' (Kautzsch in *DB*, v, p. 683).

18. ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος has caused difficulty to interpreters. S affords no help. Fritzsche rightly suspects that there lurks behind it a corrupted Hebr. original. The passage seems to reflect the spirit of Deut. xxviii. 65 f.

19. καταβάλλομεν τὸν ἔλεον, 'present our supplication', is fairly clear. S paraphrases: 'We seek from Thy presence compassion and cast our supplication in Thy presence.' It is nearly certain that we have here the rendering of the original Hebr. אֲנַחְנוּ מַפִּלִים תְּחִנָּתֵנוּ, Jer. xxxviii. 26, xlii. 9; Dan. ix. 20. In all these passages G renders תְּחִנָּה (which means 'pity' and thence is used in the pregnant sense '*prayer for* pity') by the corresponding ἔλεος, properly 'compassion', 'pity', like the Hebr. equivalent, and similarly used in a pregnant sense.

This verse exhibits a reaction against the prevalent Jewish doctrine of merit. It is not on account of the righteousness of ancestors and kings that we found our claim to divine compassion. See Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, §§ 63 foll. δικαιώματα, 'acts of righteousness' (צְדָקוֹת); comp. Rom. v. 18.

20. Phraseology borrowed from Jer. xxxvi. 7, הָאַף וְהַחֵמָה 'wrath and indignation'. So also as in Dan. ix. 6, עֲבָדֶיךָ הַנְּבִיאִים (G^{o} παιδων, G^{θ} δουλων). Here Dan. LXX for 'servants' is followed.

21. Based on Jer. xxvii. 11, 12 and xxix. 5 f., 'bow your shoulders,' in Hebr. הָבִיאוּ צַוָּארְכֶם (or perhaps הַטּוּ שִׁכְמְכֶם, Gen. xlix. 15), reflecting the attitude of Jeremiah and Ezekiel towards Babylonia; cf. i. 11–12 above.

23 reproduces Jeremiah's words repeated in Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxxiii. 11. εἰς ἄβατον, 'desolate', probably = εἰς ἐρήμωσιν in Jer. vii. 34, לְחָרְבָּה; comp. S ܠܚܪܒܐ. ἀπὸ ἐνοικούντων is an obvious Hebraism, viz. מִיּוֹשֵׁב (= מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב, Jer. xxxiii. 10).

24. ἔστησας, 'thou hast made good', cf. ii. 1, 12, note.

should be taken out, τοῦ ἐξενεχθῆναι = לְהוֹצִיא, Jer. viii. 1. S has also the act., viz. ܕܢܦܩܘ (Aph.).

25. Based on Jer. xxxvi. 30; latter part of the verse follows Jer. xiv. 12, xxxviii. 2.

sword, famine, pestilence, but in the order 'famine, sword, pestilence'. That ἀποστολή represents 'pestilence' (דֶּבֶר) is clear from Jer. xxxii. 36, where ἀποστολή is given in G. This use of the Greek word appears to arise from the use of ἀποστέλλειν as the equivalent of שִׁלַּח when employed as in Jer. xxiv. 10 (H and G) of Yahweh sending plagues as chastisement. S and Ar. 'exile' appears to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the true meaning of ἀποστολή as $S^{Hex.}$ marg. indicates.

26. οὗ . . . ἐπὶ αὐτῷ. Heb. relat. constr. as in ii. 4, 13. There are no sufficient grounds, as Kneucker alleges, for regarding the first part of this verse as not genuine. Of the genuineness of the entire verse we have clear evidence in its thoroughly Hebraic diction. Not only the relat. construction already noted, but also ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη reflects the pregnant use of כְּ (Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.*[26], § 118. 6, cf. Hos. ii. 5, 17, ix. 9, xii. 10). Moreover, the verse stands in full harmony with i. 2. The mere fact of repetitions of phrase (Kneucker cites i. 15, ii. 15) constitutes no argument against genuineness in a document crowded with repetition.

27 of Judah. Yet, O Lord our God, thou hast dealt with us after all thy kindness, and according to all
28 that great mercy of thine, as thou spakest by thy servant Moses in the day when thou didst command
29 him to write thy law before the children of Israel, saying, If ye will not hear my voice, surely this
very great multitude shall be turned into a small *number* among the nations, where I will scatter
30 them. For I know that they will not hear me, because it is a stiffnecked people: but in the land
31 of their captivity they shall lay it to heart, and shall know that I am the Lord their God: and I
32 will give them a heart, and ears to hear: and they shall praise me in the land of their captivity, and
33 think upon my name, and shall return from their stiff neck, and from their wicked deeds: for they
34 shall remember the way of their fathers, which sinned before the Lord. And I will bring them
again into the land which I sware unto their fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and they
35 shall be lords of it: and I will increase them, and they shall not be diminished. And I will make
an everlasting covenant with them to be their God, and they shall be my people: and I will no
more remove my people of Israel out of the land that I have given them.

3 1 O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel, the soul in anguish, the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee.
2 Hear, O Lord, and have mercy; for thou art a merciful God: yea, have mercy upon us, because we
3, 4 have sinned before thee. For thou sittest *as king* for ever, and we perish evermore. O Lord
Almighty, thou God of Israel, hear now the prayer of the dead Israelites, and of the children of
them which were sinners before thee, that hearkened not unto the voice of thee their God: for the
5 which cause these plagues clave unto us. Remember not the iniquities of our fathers: but remember
6 thy power and thy name *now* at this time. For thou art the Lord our God, and thee, O Lord, will
7 we praise. For for this cause thou hast put thy fear in our hearts, to the intent that we should
call upon thy name: and we will praise thee in our captivity, for we have called to mind all the

27. S adds after 'kindness' the clause 'and according to all thy purpose' (ܘܟܡܝܠ). Comp. Ps. li. 3.

29. Comp. Deut. xxviii. 62. The reading *εἰ μήν* ($G^{A, B}$) [in Q^{a} *ἢ μήν*], 'surely', arose out of *εἰ μή*, a literal rendering of the original Hebr. אִם לֹא idiom used to express a strong asseveration which would be unintelligible in its literal Greek form. S, on the other hand, reproduces the Hebr. original. See Winer, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, 8th ed., p. 553, footnote 7 (on Heb. vi. 14), and especially p. 627, footnote 3, where useful parallels are given. *βόμβησις*, 'multitude', corresponds to הָמוֹן in the original (so Fritzsche, who compares Jer. xxxi. 34 *ἐβόμβησε*, ויהמו), rendered 'people' in S, which expands into a parallelism, 'shall be turned into a small number and shall be diminished among the peoples.' Hebr. relat. constr. *οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ* as in verses 4, 13, 26, above.

30. **lay it to heart** is hardly satisfactory. The phrase is an echo of 1 Kings viii. 47, where R. V. rightly renders 'bethink themselves' (cf. Luke xv. 17 and Delitzsch's Hebr.), יָשִׁיבוּ אֶל־לִבָּם, almost literally reproduced in G S and L (*convertetur ad cor suum*). *ἀποικισμός* = שִׁבִי, Jer. xliii. 11.

31. Hebr. אֹזֶן 'ear' (sing. and du.) is used to express 'mind', 'intelligence' (cf. Assyr. *uznu*). Comp. 1 Sam. ix. 15, xx. 2, &c.; Isa. vi. 10; Matt. xiii. 9, 15.

32. A parallelism.

33. **stiff neck**, עֹרֶף קָשֶׁה, as in verse 30 (קְשֵׁה ערף, Exod. xxxii. 9, &c.; Deut. ix. 6, &c.), though we have *τράχηλος* in 30 and *νῶτος* here (S has same word) for 'neck'.

34. Deuteronomic (Deut. vi. 10, &c.); last clause echoes Jer. xix. 6 *b*.

35 recalls Jer. xxxi. 31, xxxii. 40; **remove**, probably אָמִיש as in Isa. xlvi. 7 (cf. Num. xiv. 44), though S suggests a stronger word. Kneucker prefers אֶתֹּשׁ, cf. Jer. xii. 14 foll., xlii. 10.

III. 1-8. Bitter cry of appeal to God from the exiles, and confession of past sin.

1. *Παντοκράτωρ*, 'Almighty', Hebr. צבאות, as in 2 Sam. v. 10, vii. 8, 26, &c., appended to יהוה. So S (as in 2 Sam. vii. 8, 26). *ἐν στενοῖς* (בְּצָרוֹת or בְּצָרָה, cf. Ps. xxv. 17, xxxi. 8). *ἀκηδιῶν* must be the partic. and would correspond to כֵּהָה (רוּחַ). Comp. Isa. lxi. 3 (H and G).

crieth, צָעֲקָה (as in Ps. lxxvii. 2). S + 'afflicted body' (perhaps נְוִיָּה מְעֻנָּה).

2. S characteristically adds 'God' to 'Lord'. G^{B} 'Hear, O Lord, and have mercy'. $G^{A\,Q\ marg.}$ + 'for thou art a merciful God, yea have mercy'. S + 'for thou art merciful and kind'. L and Ar. + 'because thou art a merciful God'. In the original we might therefore assume, with Kneucker, חָנֵּנוּ כִּי חַנּוּן וְחָסִיד אַתָּה.

3. *καθήμενος* corresponds to יֹשֵׁב, used of sitting on a throne, Exod. xi. 5 (H and G). We should probably follow Ps. xxix. 10 (rather than Isa. lvii. 15, with Kneucker), i. e. יֹשֵׁב לְעוֹלָם. S 'abidest for ever'.

4. For 'dead' of G S and other versions, read with R. V. marg. 'men', מתי of the original Hebrew being misread מֵתֵי instead of מְתֵי. A more literal rendering of G would be: 'and [so] the evils clave unto us.' S prefixes 'curses' to 'evils'. The original would then be וַתִּדְבַּקְנָה בָנוּ הַמְּאֵרוֹת וְהָרָעוֹת (cf. Deut. xxviii. 20), or in sing. וַתִּדְבַּק בָּנוּ הָאָלָה וְהָרָעָה.

5. S 'iniquity and folly', apparently based on an alliterative combination, הָעַוְלָה וְהַנְּבָלָה אֲשֶׁר לַאֲבֹתֵינוּ, but here probably, as in many other cases, S expands the original text.

7. With the opening cf. Jer. xxxii. 40 *b*. The original has become corrupted. Hence we have several variants. S 'that we may invoke (call upon) thy holy name', where 'holy' is evidently added as in ii. 15. In other respects this accords with $G^{A\,Q}$, which substitute *τοῦ* for *καί* before *ἐπικαλ*. In the latter part of the verse G^{B} reads 'because we have put away from our mind all the iniquity', &c. Similarly Ar. and Vet. L. *a convertimur ab iniquitate.* But $G^{B^{ab}\ A\,Q\ et\ al.}$ 'because we have recalled to our mind' (*ἐπὶ καρδίαν*), &c. S 'because *thou* hast recalled to our mind

8 iniquity of our fathers, that sinned before thee. Behold, we are yet this day in our captivity, where thou hast scattered us, for a reproach and a curse, and to be subject to penalty, according to all the iniquities of our fathers, which departed from the Lord our God.

9 Hear, O Israel, the commandments of life:
Give ear to understand wisdom.

10 How happeneth it, O Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land,
That thou art waxen old in a strange country,

11 That thou art defiled with the dead,
That thou art counted with them that *go down* into the grave?

12 Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom.

13 *For* if thou hadst walked in the way of God,
Thou shouldst have dwelled in peace for ever.

14 Learn where is wisdom, where is strength,
Where is understanding; that thou mayst know also

Where is length of days, and life,
Where is the light of the eyes, and peace.

15 Who hath found out her place?
And who hath come into her treasuries?

16 Where are the princes of the heathen,
And such as ruled the beasts that are upon the earth;

17 They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air,
And they that hoarded up silver

And gold, wherein men trust
And of whose getting there is no end?

18 For they that wrought in silver, and were so careful,
And whose works are past finding out,

all the evils and iniquity . . .', where we have an expanded version, but may perhaps infer that in the Hebrew original stood הַשִּׁבְתָּ לְלִבָּבֵנוּ וְגוֹ.

8. *οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ*, Hebr. rel. constr. as in ii. 4, 13, 26, and also recurrence of the phraseology of ii. 4 and 29, comp. Jer. xlii. 18. S lengthens the series: curse, reproach, derision, and condemnation (= *ὄφλησις* R.V. to be subject to penalty), the last word in S being the same as that which renders *κρίμα* in 1 Cor. xi. 34 (cf. Delitzsch, *Heb. N.T.*, *ad loc.*). The Jer. parallel has also four terms: curse, horror, malediction, reproach (in which 'malediction' in G is rendered *ἀρά*). Accordingly S restores to our text the 'curse' of the *Jer.* passage, whereas the condemnation (subjection to penalty) might be regarded as a weakened form of the 'horror'. The original of S we might accordingly conjecture to be לְאָלָה וּלְחֶרְפָּה וּלְקִלְלָה וּלְאַשְׁמָה.

BARUCH'S PRAISE OF AND EXHORTATION TO WISDOM REVEALED IN THE LAW, iii. 9–iv. 4 (document B).

9. S 'understanding and wisdom'. Comp. Prov. iv. 1 *b*. The fuller expression in S maintains a more equable and rhythmic parallelism, הַקְשִׁיבוּ לָדַעַת בִּינָה וּלְחָכְמָה. The influence of the Wisdom literature (esp. of Prov.) throughout this document is obvious and natural.

10–12. R.V. rightly follows $G^{A\,Q}$ in omitting in verse 10 the second *τί* of G^{B}. It is quite possible that we ought here to follow S and read:

Wherefore, O Israel, art thou waxen old in thine enemies' land,
Hast polluted thyself (הִטַּמֵּאתָ) in a strange land (cf. Hos. ix. 4),
Art counted (נֶחְשַׁבְתָּ) with the dead who go down to the grave (יֹרְדֵי שְׁאוֹל, Ps. lv. 16; Prov. i. 12),
Hast forsaken the fountain (מְקוֹר) of Wisdom? (Prov. xviii. 4).

14. Echoes of Prov. iii. 16, viii. 14.

16–17. Wisdom is not to be found among the rich and mighty of this world. There seems to be a subtle reference to Nebuchadnezzar. Cf. Dan. ii. 37, iv. 20 f.; Jer. xxvii. 6.

16. It would be best to render here by 'peoples' (עַמִּים) rather than 'heathen', since *ἔθνος* also stands as the equivalent of עַם (Gen. xvii. 16; Lev. xxi. 1; Prov. xxx. 26). So Kneucker. Moreover S reads here עוֹלָם (עֹלָם) 'age', which is evidently a corruption of עמם.

17 portrays the luxury and amusements of the rich. Comp. Judith xi. 7.

18. **they that wrought in silver** might correspond to חָרְשֵׁי כֶסֶף, as Kneucker suggests. Prov. xi. 27 (R.V. margin).

19 They are vanished and gone down to the grave,
And others are come up in their steads.

20 Younger men have seen the light,
And dwelt upon the earth:

But the way of knowledge have they not known,
21 Neither understood they the paths thereof:

Neither have their children laid hold of it:
They are far off from their way.

22 It hath not been heard of in Canaan,
Neither hath it been seen in Teman.

23 The sons also of Agar that seek understanding, [which are in the land,]
The merchants of Merran and Teman,
And the authors of fables, and the searchers out of understanding;

None of these have known the way of wisdom,
Or remembered her paths.

24 O Israel, how great is the house of God!
And how large is the place of his possession!

25 Great, and hath none end;
High, and unmeasurable.

26 There were the giants born that were famous of old,
Great of stature, *and* expert in war.

would lead us on a wrong scent. We should rather find the original through S, 'who gain silver', קֹנֵי כֶסֶף, which might also mean 'makers' or 'fashioners' in silver. This is really an Aramaic use of קנה, reflected in the later Hebrew diction of Gen. xiv. 19, 22; Prov. viii. 22; Ps. cxxxix. 13. Both this and the following verse begin with the interrog. 'Who?' in S, in continuation of the series of interrogations that follow after 'Learn where', &c., in verse 14. On the other hand, G begins verse 18 with ὅτι, 'for', as though it gave the reason for the preceding verses. As these are interrog., we can only obtain an intelligible sequence with verse 18 in G by assuming (with Fritzsche) that a negative answer ['They no longer exist'] is implied after verse 17. But this anticipates verse 19. It would be better, therefore, to read at the opening of this verse with S, 'who are they who gain (are makers in) silver . . .?'

whose works are past finding out. A relat. sentence, more literally 'There is no searching (ἐξεύρεσις) of their works'. S 'There is no numbering of their works'. The Hebrew original of G would be וְאֵין חֵקֶר לְמַעֲשֵׂיהֶם, and of S וְאֵין מִסְפָּר לְמ׳. The latter is perhaps an inferior reading. But both are quite consonant with the Wisdom literature on which this document (B) in 1 Baruch is modelled. Prov. xxv. 3; Job v. 9, ix. 10, xxxvi. 26 (cf. Isa. xl. 28).

19. The answer to the preceding queries. All these devotees of worldly pomp have vanished.

20. 'The young' would be a better translation of νεώτεροι = הַנְּעָרִים, as opposed to הַזְּקֵנִים (πρεσβύτεροι), Ps. xxxvii. 25, cxlviii. 12 (cf. Judges viii. 20). 'Have seen the light' = 'have been born', Job iii. 16, 20, xxxiii. 30. For 'knowledge' S has 'loving intelligence' (sûkolô d^{e}rehm^{e}thô) or 'intelligence *and* love' (Lag.), an evident later expansion.

21. **their children,** i.e. the third generation, viz. sons of the young men of verse 20, who are themselves the sons of those who are referred to in verse 19.

are far off. S 'have removed themselves far and revolted from *its* way', i.e. of knowledge. Fritzsche rightly restores the sing. with S in place of the plur. (αὐτῶν) with G., so also Rothstein. Moreover, the fuller rendering in S points to a more rhythmic length of line in the original וּמִדַּרְכָּהּ רָחֲקוּ וַיִּמָּרֵדוּ.

22. Teman, situated in Edom, was celebrated for its wisdom, Jer. xlix. 7.

23 is at variance with the passive construction of the previous verse (contained in G). From this defect S is entirely free, which shows the impress of the Hebrew original. This verse is obviously a continuation of the preceding 'nor among the Hagarenes who seek after understanding', וּבְבְנֵי הָגָר מְבַקְשֵׁי תְבוּנָה. The error in G probably arose from the omission of the first ב in בבני (cf. i. 1). The force of the preceding negatives continues in this clause. Hence there is no need to write ולא בבני. The emendation of תְּבוּנָה into תְּבוּאָה 'gains', by Kneucker (who reads סֹחֲרֵי תְבוּאָה, 'die um Erwerb das Land durchziehen'), is utterly unwarranted, and tends to destroy the parallelism. Probably 'Merran' has arisen by corruption from 'Midian' through the constant confusion that arises between ד and ר (so Gifford, who cites 'Medan and Midian', Gen. xvi. 15, xxv. 2, sons of Keturah). Comp. Gen. xxxvii. 36. The Hagarenes are mentioned in Gen. xxv. 12 f. They are the nomads referred to in 1 Chron. v. 20 f., xxvii. 31. They inhabited the district east of Gilead. Comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7.

It is impossible to resist the suspicion that this verse has received undue extension. S has 'followed up' for 'remembered', through corruption of its own text, i.e. ܐܬܪܕܘ instead of ܐܬܕܟܪܘ.

24. S prefixes 'Lord' to 'God', thus securing the usual combination. For 'large' it reads 'long and spacious'.

25. S has here an abbreviated text which spoils parallelism and rhythm, viz. 'And it has no end and is lofty and has no measure.' The 'house of God' here is evidently the *Universe* (not heaven exclusively as in ii. 16).

26. Gen. vi. 4 plays a considerable part in later Jewish writings, as 1 En. vii; Sir. xvi. 7; Wisd. xiv. 6.

27 These did not God choose,
Neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them:

28 So they perished, because they had no wisdom,
They perished through their own foolishness.

29 Who hath gone up into heaven, and taken her,
And brought her down from the clouds?

30 Who hath gone over the sea, and found her,
And will bring her for choice gold?

31 There is none that knoweth her way,
Nor any that comprehendeth her path.

32 But he that knoweth all things knoweth her,
He found her out with his understanding:

He that prepared the earth for evermore
Hath filled it with four-footed beasts:

33 He that sendeth forth the light, and it goeth;
He called it, and it obeyed him with fear:

34 And the stars shined in their watches, and were glad:
When he called them, they said, Here we be;
They shined with gladness unto him that made them.

35 This is our God,
And there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him.

27–28. For 'knowledge' S has 'wisdom'. 28 *a* (= 27 *b*) in S 'wisdom and understanding'.
29–30. The interrog., as frequently in Hebrew, anticipates a negat. answer. Comp. as parallels Deut. xxx. 12, 13; Prov. xxx. 4; Sir. li. 28. Here again S expands beyond the original (which was probably מִי עָבַר אֶל־עֵבֶר הַיָּם) into 'who hath passed over the sea's bounds and extremities'.

31. From the interrog. form we pass to the direct negat. For 'comprehendeth' (*ἐνθυμούμενος*), S 'meditateth', 'pondereth', perhaps Hebr. מֵבִין (Prov. xxiii. 1), or מִתְבּוֹנֵן (Isa. xliii. 18, lii. 15, Job xxxvii. 14).

32. Only God can discover wisdom with His omniscience—a clear echo from the Book of Job (xxviii. 12–24, which evidently underlies the thought of this passage). For 'understanding' S has 'wisdom', cf. verse 27 above. For 'prepared' read with S 'established' (מֵכִין). 'For evermore', perhaps, as S indicates, in Hebr. לְעוֹלָם עוֹלָמִים. 'Four-footed beasts' (*τετράποδα*) corresponds to Hebr. בְּהֵמוֹת. G has evidently influenced here S, which renders 'beasts of four feet'; see Introd., § 9, ii (Syr. versions).

33. **fear** is an inadequate rendering of *τρόμῳ*. S has a different conclusion to the verse which might appear to indicate a lost line: 'Who sendeth forth the light and it goes, and called it and it obeyed him, and the earth responded to him with trembling.' Here the introduction of the earth comes in abruptly after the reference to the light of heaven in the previous couplet:

קָרָא לוֹ וַיִּשְׁמַע אֵלָיו

. . . . . .

וַתַּעֲנֵהוּ הָאָרֶץ בִּרְעָדָה

'trembling' (*τρόμος*) is more consonant with the earthquake, and is therefore more in place when connected with the earth than in reference to light. Cf. Ps. xviii. 8, xlvi. 7, civ. 32. Rothstein interprets 'light' as lightning (Job xxxvii. 3, xxxviii. 35), but this does not harmonize with verse 34, though readily compatible with such an intervening couplet as S indicates.

34. **their watches.** S 'their places'. We have to choose between the original readings: בְּמִשְׁמְרוֹתָם and בְּמְקוֹמוֹתָם. The latter is colourless, and might have arisen by corruption from the former, which yields a picturesque and appropriate metaphor, the stars being represented as keeping sentinel duty at their night-watches. Cf. Sir. xliii. 10. Hom. *Iliad* viii. 555, 556. 'Here we be' (*πάρεσμεν*), S 'behold us' reproduces the Hebr. original הִנֵּנוּ.

35 exhibits evident echoes of Isa. xliii. 10, 11, xliv. 6, xlv. 18, which in S become more apparent than in G, since we have three clauses, the third being a parallel of the second. S omits 'our', and for 'in comparison of (*πρός*) him' in the third clause renders 'above him' (ܡܠܥܠ):

This is God, and there is none other beside Him,
And none other shall be reckoned above Him.

הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֵין אַחֵר מִבִּלְעָדָיו

לֹא יֵחָשֵׁב אַחֵר עָלָיו (לְפָנָיו or)

36 He hath found out all the way of knowledge,

37 And hath given it unto Jacob his servant,
And to Israel that is beloved of him.

4 1 [Afterward did she appear upon earth,
And was conversant with men.]

This is the book of the commandments of God,
And the law that endureth for ever:

2 All they that hold it fast *are appointed* to life;
But such as leave it shall die.

3 Turn thee, O Jacob, and take hold of it:
Walk towards her shining in the presence of the light thereof.

4 Give not thy glory to another,
Nor the things that are profitable unto thee to a strange nation.

O Israel, happy are we:
For the things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us.

5 Be of good cheer, my people,
The memorial of Israel.

6 Ye were sold to the nations,
But not for destruction:

Because ye moved God to wrath,
Ye were delivered unto your adversaries.

7 For ye provoked him that made you
By sacrificing unto demons, and not to God.

36. For 'knowledge' S has 'wisdom', probably in accordance with the original. Comp., however, verses 27 and 32 above. The passage reflects Jewish particularism, and is evidently based on Sir. xxiv. 8 foll. Cf. Prov. viii. 31.

37 has long been suspected as a Christian gloss (Grotius, Hitzig, Hilgenfeld, Kneucker, Rothstein). Greek and Latin Fathers cite it in the interests of the Logos doctrine. See Introd., § 10. In S the subject is masc., i. e. God: 'revealed himself and was seen.' So L and Ar. In G the subject is probably God as in verse 36, but it might be wisdom (knowledge); cf. Prov. viii. 31.

IV. 1 is evidently connected with iv. 36 (rather than 37). The wisdom which God has bestowed on Jacob is identified with the Torah, which is eternal. S 'book and memorial of the commandments . . . to all who hold it fast it shall be (for) life'. The addition 'and memorial' is evidently an extension of the original.

2. The expression is varied in S:

Turn and incline, O Jacob;
Lay hold and go in its path (cf. Prov. iii. 18, iv. 13)
Toward the brightness of its light (cf. Isa. lx. 3).

3. For 'glory', S 'praise and honour', and for 'profitable' (*συμφέροντα* G), S 'good and advantageous', which are evidently paraphrastic expansions. 'Glory' prob. in Hebr. original הוֹד (Dan. xi. 21).

4. S 'Happy are we, happy art thou . . . What is pleasing to God we know.' This last clause conforms to the Hebrew idiom, which would here be הַטּוֹב לֵאלֹהִים יְדַעְנוּ (cf. Deut. xxiii. 17).

SONGS OF LAMENTATION AND COMFORT ADDRESSED (*a*) BY JERUSALEM TO HER EXILED CHILDREN, AND (*b*) OF CONSOLATION ADDRESSED BY GOD TO JERUSALEM, iv. 5–v. 9 (document C). (Verses 5 to 9 *a* should be regarded as introductory.)

(*a*) *Lamentation and comfort addressed by Jerusalem to her banished sons* (iv. 9 *b*–29). The situation is that of the Jews in exile (verses 8, 10), just as in chap. i, and the language is obviously moulded on that of the Deutero-Isaiah, but, unlike the Deutero-Isaiah, the language of lamentation is more prominent, and the situation is painted in darker colours. In verses 7 foll. confession is made of past transgression (as in i. 17–ii. 12) for which the present calamities are the penalty (iv. 6). In iv. 17–29 the exiles are exhorted to cry to God and deliverance from their enemies will come. Though the present be painful it shall speedily end, and better days shall come (21–24); destruction shall befall their foes (25 foll.), and for the exiles joy in place of the evils of the past.

5. S renders here, as in verses 27, 30, 'be comforted', which is evidently a Deutero-Isaianic trait (cf. Isa. xl. 1, liv. 11). Also for 'my people', S 'people of God'. 'Memorial' ('remembrance' = Hebr. זֵכֶר) is the equivalent of 'name', to which it frequently stands in parallelism (Exod. iii. 15; Job xviii. 17; Prov. x. 7). Cf. Deut. xxv. 19 and LXX (Kneucker). The word 'memorial', therefore, means those who preserve Israel's name (Grotius, Fritzsche).

6. S '*your* adversaries' (as R. V.), giving greater definiteness than G (*τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις*). For '*ye* moved God to wrath' (G^B S L Ar.) G^A has '*we*', by obvious textual error.

7 contains an evident reminiscence of Deut. xxxii. 16, 17. S appends to 'him that made you' the appositional

8 Ye forgat the everlasting God, that brought you up;
Ye grieved also Jerusalem, that nursed you.

9 For she saw the wrath that is come upon you from God,
And said,
Hearken, ye *women* that dwell about Sion:
For God hath brought upon me great mourning;

10 For I have seen the captivity of my sons and daughters,
Which the Everlasting hath brought upon them.

11 For with joy did I nourish them;
But sent them away with weeping and mourning.

12 Let no man rejoice over me,
A widow, and forsaken of many:
For the sins of my children am I left desolate;

Because they turned aside from the law of God,
13 And had no regard to his statutes,

Neither walked they in the ways of God's commandments,
Nor trod in the paths of discipline in his righteousness.

14 Let them that dwell about Sion come,
And remember ye the captivity of my sons and daughters,
Which the Everlasting hath brought upon them.

15 For he hath brought a nation upon them from far,
A shameless nation, and of a strange language,

Who neither reverenced old man,
Nor pitied child.

16 And they have carried away the dear beloved sons of the widow,
And left her that was alone desolate of her daughters.

17 But I, what can I help you?

phrase 'the everlasting God', an evident expansion, since it recurs in the following verse. This appellation 'everlasting' attached to God (*αἰώνιος*) is a Deutero-Isaianic trait (Isa. xl. 28 G אלהי עולם) which is a special characteristic of the document C (iv. 10, 14, 20, 22, 24, 35, v. 2). Gifford indeed remarks that *αἰώνιος* seems to take the place of *κύριος* (יהוה).

8. An equally evident reminiscence of Deut. xxxii. 18 *b*. S applies the term 'nurse' in both clauses, i. e. to both God and Jerusalem. 'God, that *nursed* you . . . Jerusalem, that *reared* you' would be a closer rendering of the Greek. G^A, again, in the first clause substitutes 'us' for 'you' (as in verse 6), i. e. *ἡμᾶς* for *ὑμᾶς*, against G^B S L Ar.

9. S characteristically prefixes 'Lord' to 'God' in both places, and introduces the parallelism 'the wrath which has come upon you and the anger from the presence of the Lord God'; to 'great' it adds 'eternal' as epithet of 'mourning'. In 9 *b* ('Hearken ye . . .') begins Jerusalem's lamentation over the exile of her sons (9 *b*–16).

10. S 'everlasting *Lord*' and 'upon *me*' (not 'them'). The latter is probably due to a harmonizing tendency.

11–12. S + 'and groaning (sighs)'. Also 'rejoice in my widowhood who am abandoned and desolated of much people'. The language and ideas are cast in the Deutero-Isaianic mould (Isa. xlix. 21, liv. 1, 4). S also appends an extra parallel clause with variation in phraseology:

'Because of the sins of my sons,
because they turned aside from the *path* of the *Lord* God.'

13. S 'statutes and judgements', the familiar combination in Deut. (Deut. iv. 1, &c.) The rest of the verse in S runs: 'Nor did they walk in the way of God's statutes, nor did they tread or betake themselves to the paths of true instruction (lit. instruction of truth) in righteousness.' Here 'instruction' (discipline) and 'betake themselves' are expansions. 'Truth', however, rests on a more secure textual foundation, being found in $G^{q*\ al.}$ (+ *ἀληθείας*) L (om. *disciplinae*). And it has O. T. warrant. Cf. 1 Kings iii. 6.

14. We have here a change from 3rd to 2nd person. This, however, should probably be consistently carried out through the entire verse, as in S (so Kneucker). S om. 'come', and has in its place the pers. pron. 'ye' ('ye inhabitants of Zion, remember'), but this is probably due to inner-Syriac corruption of ܐܬܘ 'come ye' to ܐܢܬܘܢ 'ye'.

15. Evidently echoes Deut. xxviii. 49, 50.

16. S 'And they took captive and carried away the beloved (sons) of the widow *and her daughters*.' The 'daughters' are inserted in this clause perhaps owing to the influence of verse 14 above. S omits 'daughters', however, in the latter part of the verse: 'And her alone and solitary left they desolate.'

17 foll. After the lamentation there now begins a message of comfort. Jerusalem can afford no help, but God can. The question here, as frequently in O. T., implies a negation; and this S directly expresses.

18 For he that brought these plagues upon you
Will deliver you from the hand of your enemies.

19 Go your way, O my children, go your way:
For I am left desolate.

20 I have put off the garment of peace,
And put upon me the sackcloth of my petition:
I will cry unto the Everlasting as long as I live.

21 Be of good cheer, O my children, cry unto God,
And he shall deliver you from the power and hand of the enemies.

22 For I have trusted in the Everlasting, that he will save you;
And joy is come unto me from the Holy One,
Because of the mercy which shall soon come unto you
From the Everlasting your Saviour.

23 For I sent you out with mourning and weeping:
But God will give you to me again with joy and gladness for ever.

24 For like as now they that dwell about Sion have seen your captivity:
So shall they see shortly your salvation from our God,
Which shall come upon you with great glory, and brightness of the Everlasting.

25 My children, suffer patiently the wrath that is come upon you from God:
For thine enemy hath persecuted thee;

But shortly thou shalt see his destruction,
And shalt tread upon their necks.

26 My delicate ones have gone rough ways;
They were taken away as a flock carried off by the enemies.

27 Be of good cheer, O my children, and cry unto God:
For ye shall be remembered of him that hath brought *these things* upon you.

28 For as it was your mind to go astray from God:
So, return and seek him ten times more.

18. G^{Q} + ὑμῖν after ἐπαγαγών, G^{A} after τὰ κακά.
19. 'My' before children om. G L, and inserted in S Ar.
20. Jerusalem clothed in sackcloth of sorrow and supplication, the reverse of the picture in Isa. lii. 1, lxi. 3 (cf. 1 Bar. v. 1 below). S takes over στολήν of G. S 'I will cry unto thee that livest for ever in my days', G 'unto the Everlasting in my days' (= 'in my life-time', i. e. 'as long as I live').
21. **Be of good cheer.** S reproduces the form of Isa. li. 17, cf. lii. 1, 'awake'. G^{B} 'power and hand', also Ar. Vet. Lat. *a, b de manu principum inimicorum* appears to presume a reading ἐκ χειρὸς δυναστῶν ἐχθρῶν (Kneucker). G^{A} om. 'power', prob. due to paraphrastic expansion. S carries expansion further: 'from the hands of the mighty and from the hands of rulers and from the hands of adversaries.'
22. S for 'Holy One' has 'Lord God Everlasting', after which it renders 'because he hath at once taken compassion on them on account of the compassion of God your everlasting Saviour'. G^{A} om. 'because of the mercy' (compassion). There can be little doubt that extensions have crept into the text.
23. S 'God' + 'from whom I received you' (obvious expansion).
24. S prefixes 'Lord' to 'our God', and continues: 'and he shall bring you with great joy.' Also 'everlasting *Lord*'. It may be noted, however, that this appellation of deity, κύριος (יהוה), while frequent and indeed characteristic of the document A, is in reality foreign to C (see Introd., § 11, and note on iv. 7). It is evidently introduced by S, which has a tendency to combine 'Lord' with other designations of deity. Comp. S, verses 27 *bis*, 28, 36, v. 1, 2.
25. S 'My sons, be patient and endure the wrath' (+ 'Lord'). 'Thine enemy' $G^{A\,Q}$ S L Ar. G^{B} om. 'thine'.
26. S expands: 'have gone into captivity and have travelled on hard rough ways', apparently an attempt to represent Isa. xl. 4 (including עקב and רכסים). S continues: 'They have been scattered on difficult ways, they have been scattered like a flock that is carried off by enemies.' 'Scattered as a flock' is a combination which meets us in Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 5, 12; Zech. xiii. 7 (cf. Mark xiv. 27), &c.
27. Cf. verse 5. S 'for there shall be for you *with the Lord* remembrance from him that brought *these* [evils] upon you'. G om. obj. to 'brought'.
28–29. The phraseology is singularly unpoetic and non-Hebraic. See Introd. § 6 (*c*).
(*b*) *Message of comfort addressed by a prophet in God's name* (iv. 34) *to Jerusalem* (iv. 30–v. 9). Obviously a pendant to the address to the exiles by Jerusalem (iv. 5–29) which precedes. The enemies of Jerusalem shall receive divine chastisement (iv. 31–35). In this we see the influence of Jer. li. Help shall come from the east (iv. 36, v. 5), i.e. her exiled sons in Babylonia and the Euphrates lands. The language and ideas of the Deutero-Isaiah resound in chap. v (esp. verses 5 and 7).

29 For he that brought these plagues upon you
Shall bring you everlasting joy again with your salvation.

30 Be of good cheer, O Jerusalem:
For he that called thee by name will comfort thee.

31 Miserable are they that afflicted thee,
And rejoiced at thy fall.

32 Miserable are the cities which thy children served:
Miserable is she that received thy sons.

33 For as she rejoiced at thy fall,
And was glad of thy ruin:
So shall she be grieved for her own desolation.

34 And I will take away her exultation in her great multitude,
And her boasting shall be turned into mourning.

35 For fire shall come upon her from the Everlasting, long to endure;
And she shall be inhabited of devils for a great time.

36 O Jerusalem, look about thee toward the east,
And behold the joy that cometh unto thee from God.

37 Lo, thy sons come, whom thou sentest away,
They come gathered together from the east to the west [at the word of the Holy One],
Rejoicing in the glory of God.

5 1 Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction,
And put on the comeliness of the glory that *cometh* from God for ever.

2 Cast about thee the robe of the righteousness which *cometh* from God;
Set a diadem on thine head of the glory of the Everlasting.

3 For God will show thy brightness unto every *region* under heaven.

4 For thy name shall be called of God for ever
The peace of righteousness, and the glory of godliness.

30. **Be of good cheer** recurs here, as previously, iv. 5, 21, 27. **called thee by name** is naturally expressed in S analogously to Dan. i. 7 (cf. Phil. ii. 9).

31–32. **Miserable** is not an adequate rendering of δείλαιοι. (Shall be) 'alarmed' or 'affrighted' (S) is nearer the true meaning. Versions render variously. S expands the clauses of the verse: 'The cities shall be in dread that treated thee ill and rejoiced in thy downfall. The cities shall be in terror that enslaved thy sons. Thou shalt rejoice in their downfall. They shall be in dread who treated thee ill. She shall be in dread who received thy sons.' S seems to luxuriate in repetition of the phrase.

33. S om. second clause of parallelism *in protasi*, but amplifies the *apodosis*: 'So shall she be grieved and vexed.' The city (sing.) which is vaguely referred to in verses 32–5 is evidently Babylon (= Rome).

34. A strange confusion has arisen in G^A, which reads ἄγαλμα, 'statue', 'idol', for ἀγαλλίαμα, 'exultation' (G^B). This is reflected in the conflate reading of S, 'I will take away from her the idols and the exultation of great assemblies, and the joy shall become mourning.'

35. The conception is evidently derived from Jer. li. 58. Kneucker thinks that we have here a reference to the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, which would of course furnish a *term. a quo* as regards date of document C (Introd., pp. 51 foll.), but the expression in the text is far too general in character.

The demons who are to inhabit the desolated city are a feature borrowed from Isa. xiii. 21, 22; Jer. li. 37.

36. The opening clause reflects Isa. xlix. 18, lx. 4.

V. 1. Again, as in iv. 20, S reproduces στολήν of G. **affliction**, S + 'and suffering', 'and array thyself in the splendour which is from the Lord God unto glory everlasting'. Both conceptions and language resemble Isa. lii. 1.

2. διπλοῖς, 'robe', should rather be rendered by 'tunic', viz. the Hebr. מְעִיל of Isa. lxi. 10, of which this passage is evidently an echo. G there renders by χιτῶνα, but διπλοῖς is the rendering in other passages where the same Hebrew word occurs, 1 Sam. ii. 19, xv. 27, xxiv. 12 (11 Hebr.); Ps. cviii. 28 (cix. 29 Hebr.).

This Baruch passage is the reverse of Ps. of Sol. ii. 21, 22, where the μίτρα or 'diadem' (Heb. פְּאֵר) is put off. We have already seen (Introd., § 6) how close is the parallel between 1 Bar. iv. 37–v. 8 and Ps. of Sol. xi. 3–7. Here it may be noted that in S the military 'helmet' (*Sānûrtâ*) takes the place of the 'diadem' as the woman's head-dress. See Introd., § 9, ii (Syr. Versions) *ad fin.*

3. S 'unto every man upon all the earth'.

4. θεοσέβεια, 'godliness', is the equivalent of the Hebr. 'fear of the Lord' (so S) as in Job xxviii. 28; comp. Gen. xx. 11. L. *pietas*.

5 Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand upon the height,
And look about thee toward the east,

And behold thy children gathered from the going down of the sun unto the rising thereof [at the word of the Holy One],
Rejoicing that God hath remembered them.

6 For they went from thee on foot,
Being led away of their enemies:

But God bringeth them in unto thee
Borne on high with glory, as *on* a royal throne.

7 For God hath appointed that every high mountain, and the everlasting hills, should be made low,

And the valleys filled up, to make plain the ground,
That Israel may go safely in the glory of God.

8 Moreover the woods and every sweet-smelling tree have overshadowed Israel [by the commandment of God].

9 For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory
With the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him.

5. Evidently reflects the Isaianic passages, Isa. li. 17 and lx. 4, and these either affect the version in S (e. g. 'awake' repeated, a Deutero-Isaianic trait) or S reflects the existence of a variant G in closer adhesion to the Isaianic model. Similarly 'gathered', S + 'and coming to thee'; cf. Isa. lx. 4. Note in S the military feature 'by the tents' in place of 'upon the height' (G), though possibly this might arise by corruption; see Kneucker, p. 133.

6. G^B *ὡς θρόνον*, 'as [on] a royal throne', lit. 'throne of the kingdom', has occasioned some difficulty. This seems to have been early felt, for in $G^{A\,Q}$ L and Ar. we have 'children of the kingdom', i. e. royal sons. The passage is obviously based on the Isaianic passages, Isa. xlix. 22, lx. 4, 9, and lxvi. 20, descriptive of the restoration of Jewish exiles. Are we to interpret *ὡς θρόνον* as meaning that the children are to be carried in state as a royal throne (a palanquin or sedan chair (Isa. lxvi. 20)), or, as seems more natural and as S ('carried aloft in glory on a royal throne') warrants us in supposing, should we interpret *ὡς θρόνον* as equivalent to 'as on a throne'? This has the appearance of, and probably is, a Hebraism = כִּכְסֵא, the well-known pregnant use of כְּ, *GK*, § 118. 6. It would be perilous to base upon such a slender sporadic example any argument for a Hebraic original of the document C in face of the evidence already set forth (Introd., §§ 6, 9. i). Let us remember that this document came from a patriotic Hellenic Jew familiar with his O. T., both in Greek and Hebrew. Examples of the pregnant use of כְּ he would find reflected in his Greek Scriptures, 1 Kings viii. 24; Hos. ii. 5, 17, ix. 9. xii. 10. Before deciding upon a Hebr. original we must give due play to the considerations that should weigh with us as to the effect produced upon the Greek diction of Jews familiar with the Hebr. Scriptures as well as with 'the LXX, the constant reading of which by Hellenist Jews has unconsciously affected their Greek'. See Moulton, *Gr. of N. T. Greek*, vol. i, p. 13.[1] Cf. also above, i. 15, ii. 26.

7. Evidently based in idea and phraseology on Isa. xl. 4. S om. 'and the everlasting hills (mounds)' of G and after 'made low' + 'and rough places shall become smooth and level', in closer approximation to the Isaianic original; comp. iv. 26 above.

8. S 'all trees of the wood'.

9. S 'For the God of Israel shall go before you', in closer adherence to Isa. lii. 12, lviii. 8; Exod. xiii. 21. For 'Him' (of G^B L) G^A S Ar. read 'God'.

[1] See the note by General Editor in Introd., § 6, and that in the Ps. of Sol. (vol. ii), § 5.

EPISTLE OF JEREMY

INTRODUCTION

PROBABLY most readers approach these relics of the past with a controlling opinion or prejudice in their minds, whether they are conscious of the fact or not. If, however, we wish to form a just appreciation of the significance of an ancient document, we must clear our minds of prepossessions and let it speak to us. We must be careful neither to overlook things which are there, nor to read into it things which are not there. It may have been mere chance which caused it to survive the wreck of much else that we could wish had been saved; but it is more likely that it was preserved because of some intrinsic merit, or because of something in it which specially appealed to the sympathies of its earliest readers.

§ 1. NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE WORK.

The so-called *Epistle of Jeremy* reads more like a sermon or hortatory address than a letter; a fact which may account for its characteristic repetitions. The author is very much in earnest, as becomes a preacher. The idolatry he denounces is no imaginary picture, but the reality of his own environment. And it is not the idolatry of Canaan, so strongly condemned by the prophets of Yahweh, nor that of Egypt, which Jeremiah might have denounced had he long survived his forced migration to that uncongenial region. It is the idolatry of Babylon. For 'Babylon', in the author's use, is evidently not a mask for some other land or city. Not only is he aware of a very peculiar custom there prevalent, which Herodotus has also noted (*v.* 43; cf. Hdt. i. 199); but many incidental allusions and individual touches agree with other known features of Babylonian religion. (See the notes on *vv.* 4, 11, 15, 30–32, 41, 43.) Had 'Babylon' meant Egypt, the degrading animal-worship, of which the author of Wisdom makes so much, would hardly have escaped the shafts of his eager though not very profound satire.

§ 2. PROBABLE DATE.

But what Babylon was it? Was it the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, whose magnificent temples were enriched with the plunder of nations and maintained by the tribute of a subject world? Was it Babylon in its imperial splendour, as Jechonias and the men of the First Captivity saw it—Babylon as it was when the susceptible heart of the poet-priest Ezekiel was so powerfully impressed by the carven and painted symbols of its immemorial faith? Not Babylon in its glory, but Babylon in its decay, as Herodotus saw it more than a century afterwards; or rather as Alexander saw it, crumbling slowly away, yet still, in its ruined majesty, preserving enough of its ancient splendour to induce the conqueror of the world to choose it for his future capital and seat of empire. When our author makes Jeremiah predict a sojourn of the Jews in Babylon for 'seven generations', he does it deliberately. He can hardly have been ignorant of the famous prophecy of the seventy years, or of the less-heeded estimate of three generations involved in the statement that the exiles were to serve Nebuchadnezzar and his son and his son's son (Jer. xxv. 12; xxvii. 7). He seems, in fact, to be giving us a clue to his own period. Seven generations, allowing forty years to the generation according to Old Testament reckoning, would cover 280 years. If we count from the exile of Jechonias (597 B.C.), this brings us to the year 317 B.C., or counting (as the author may have done) from 586 B.C., the year of the final Captivity, we arrive at 306 B.C., some thirty years after the arrival of Alexander in Babylon. It must not be forgotten that the Jews who returned to Palestine in consequence of the Edict of Cyrus were only a small part of the Jewish population of Babylonia. Great numbers of them were perfectly satisfied with their adopted country, and no more desired to return to Judaea than our own colonists in Australia or New Zealand desire to return to

the narrower conditions of English life. What is more, they not only went beyond the advice of Jeremiah (xxix. 4–7) in the matter of regarding the land of their exile as their permanent home. Many of them assumed Babylonian names, implying at least an identification of the God of Israel with Bel-Merodach or Nebo; and there must always have been a strong temptation to assimilate themselves entirely to their neighbours in the customs and manners of life. Doubtless there was considerable leakage from the synagogue to the indigenous worships. Some might sincerely believe that the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the overthrow of their national independence were proof enough of the superiority of the Babylonian gods. Others would surrender themselves to the influence of more sordid considerations (cf. Jer. xliv. 17 f.). The zeal of loyal spirits would naturally be roused by this state of things; and pieces like the one before us might have been circulated among the weak believers and waverers as dissuasives from the folly of exchanging the religion of the prophets for any lower form of faith and life.

§ 3. Original Language.

If the author belongs to anything like so early a date, he probably wrote in Hebrew, not Greek. But this probability is greatly strengthened by a careful study of the phenomena of the Greek text. It is incredible that a piece so formless, so confused, so utterly destitute of the graces of style, as this 'Epistle' now is, should have been thought worthy of preservation in the Alexandrian Canon of Scripture, had such been its original condition. Our translators and their Revisers have done their best; but what a poor halting semblance of sense, not to say manifest nonsense, the result too often is! Harmony with context and logical connexion of thought are often untraceable. We are presented with a voluble but ill-connected succession of propositions, bearing little visible relation to each other beyond a general animus against idolatry. But almost every verse exhibits peculiarities which suggest translation, and that from a Hebrew original, as will be seen by reference to the notes on the text. It is, of course, often easier to see that the Greek is more or less suspicious than to divine the true reading of the lost Hebrew archetype. A suggestion may seem plausible, even probable, without being right. But a possible sense is better than nonsense and may be accepted provisionally, in preference to the assumption that we have before us nothing better than the crude effusion of an illiterate fanatic. Amid all such uncertainties one thing appears to be certain. It is that in this *Epistle of Jeremy* there are places where the strange phraseology of the Greek can only be accounted for by assuming that the writer of it supplied the wrong vowels to some Hebrew word which he was translating, or mistook some Hebrew consonant for another resembling it, or could only guess at the meaning of a corrupted text. His MS. may have been badly written or have become illegible in places through time and use. Perhaps also, like some of his modern commentators, he was not himself a too expert Hebraist, though capable enough of a certain careless and misleading fluency in Greek, which enabled him to conceal lack of knowledge under a surface of smoothly-expressed inaccuracies. It may suffice to examine a few of the more striking instances here, referring to the notes on the text for a more complete presentation of the evidence.

(1) *V.* 12: 'from rust and **moths**'. The true meaning; but the Greek has *ἀπὸ ἰοῦ καὶ βρωμάτων* = 'from rust and foods'. In LXX *βρώματα* = אֹכֶל (Gen. xli. 35 f) or מַאֲכָל (Gen. vi. 21) *food.* The translator read the latter word here, instead of מֵאֹכֵל *from a devourer* (= moth or grub; cf. Mal. iii. 11; Isa. li. 8; Matt. vi. 19 *σὴς καὶ βρῶσις* = עָשׁ וְאֹכֵל *moth and devourer*). The translator supplied the wrong vowel-points in reading his unpointed Hebrew text.

(2) *V.* 20: 'They are as one of the beams of the temple; and men say their hearts are eaten out,' &c. Here there is no apparent connexion of thought, and the Greek does not help us. But the words *τὰς δὲ καρδίας αὐτῶν φασίν* suggest a corruption of the common Hebrew phrase 'to say in one's heart' = *to think.* The original sense may thus have been: **And he** (the idol) **is like a beam** (i.e. a mere log) **inside** *the temple* (cf. 1 Kings vi. 15); **yet they think that he eats!** (i.e. consumes the offerings made to him). For eating, as a proof of being a 'living god', see Bel 6. Our translator pointed יְלַחֵךְ instead of יָלַחֵךְ (Num. xxii. 4).

(3) *V.* 31: Gk. *διφρεύουσιν, drive chariots.* Not even a Jew of 100 B.C. would have accused the Babylonian priests of careering about in chariots inside their temples, and that with all the outward signs of mourning upon their bodies, rent clothes, shaven heads, &c. But read 'they weep' instead of 'they drive chariots', and the context is satisfied, and all becomes clear. It is merely a matter of writing יבכו, which was perhaps miswritten ייבכו in the translator's MS., for ירכבו *they ride.* Cf. *v.* 32, and the notes *in loc.* The reference is to services of mourning for the gods, especially Dumuzi = Tammuz (see *Cuneiform Texts*, vol. xv).

(4) *V.* 35. 'They can neither give riches *nor money*' (χαλκόν): a false antithesis, and incongruous with the context (*v.* 34; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 7). What is obviously required is οὔτε πενίαν, 'nor poverty': Prov. xxx. 8. The translator may have mistaken a badly written ריש *poverty* for חש, and then guessed that this was a remnant of נחש (= χαλκός). But if חלכה in Ps. x. 8, 10 really means ὁ πένης (LXX and Syr.), it may be that חלכות (= πενία) stood in the Heb. MS. of our *Epistle*, and the Greek translator, not being acquainted with the rare word, identified it with the like-sounding χαλκός; cf. the transliterations of Heb. words in LXX.

(5) *V.* 54. 'Neither can they judge . . . being unable: *for they are as crows between heaven and earth.*' The point of the comparison is obscure. Moreover, a verb seems wanting, as crows are not always in the air. Ἀδύνατοι ὄντες is perhaps a misrendering of כי דלו (cf. Job xxviii. 4 with v. 16, xxxi. 16), and ὥσπερ αἱ (AQ^{mg} *recte*) κορῶναι may be due to misreading כערבים for כעבים. We thus get the sense: *for they hang suspended—like the clouds—between heaven and earth.* The reference would be to plated wooden images hung against the walls of the temples.

(6) *V.* 59. 'Therefore it is better to be *a king that showeth his manhood* . . . than such false gods.' Was such a feeble truism worth writing or worth preserving? Could it ever have proved edifying to any readers whatever? But let us look at the context. The other comparisons of the verse are a vessel, a door, a wooden pillar—all inanimate objects. Emend *Better is a stick* (Ezek. xxxix. 9) *in the hand of a mighty man . . . than the false gods,* and harmony and sense are restored to the whole verse. (Heb. טוֹב מַקֵּל בְּיַד גִּבּוֹר instead of טוֹב מֶלֶךְ מַרְאֶה גְבוּר'.)

(7) *V.* 68. 'The (wild) beasts are better than they: for they can get under a covert, and *help themselves.*' The object of getting under a covert is surely *to hide*; and it is almost self-evident that αὐτὰ ὠφελῆσαι represents Heb. להעלם *to hide themselves.* The translator vocalized the word wrongly, reading לְהוֹעִלָם *to profit them* (cf. Isa. xxx. 5) instead of לְהֶעָלֵם *to hide.*

(8) *V.* 72. 'The **bright purple** that rotteth upon them.' The Greek has 'the purple *and the marble* that rotteth upon them'. As I pointed out long ago (*Var. Apocr.* in loc.), this is clearly a case of confusion between שש *byssus, fine linen,* and its homophone שש *alabaster* or *marble* (Cant. v. 15). 'Marble' does not 'rot', 'fine linen' does; and 'purple and fine linen' go together (Exod. xxvi. 1; Prov. xxxi. 22; Luke xvi. 19).

For a not inconsiderable amount of similar evidence the notes on the text may be consulted. Altogether it would seem difficult to avoid the conclusion that our *Epistle* is a free translation of a lost Hebrew original. In that case, the Greek version may very well be considerably later in date, and may even belong to the age of the Maccabees.

THE EPISTLE OF JEREMY

1 A copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent unto them which were to be led captives into Babylon
by the king of the Babylonians, to certify them, as it was commanded him of God.
2 Because of the sins which ye have committed before God, ye shall be led away captives into
3 Babylon by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians. So when ye be come unto Babylon, ye

1. **copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent.** (Ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἀπέστειλεν Ἱερεμίας = פרשנן אגרתא די שְׁלַח י׳; cf. Ezra iv. 11; v. 6.) It is nowhere stated in the body of the letter that Jeremiah wrote it. The statement might be only the guess of an editor or translator who remembered Jer. xxix and 2 Macc. ii. 2. Some such introductory formula, however, seems almost necessary to the understanding of what follows; and, upon the whole, the superscription is probably an integral part of the original composition. Cf. the last clause 'as it was commanded him *of God*' with *v.* 3 '*I* will bring you out' and *v.* 7 '*mine* angel'.

Why does not the author say 'Jeremiah *the prophet*', after the precedent of Jer. xxix. 1 and 2 Macc. ii. 1? He assumes that every reader will know who 'Jeremiah' was, although others besides the prophet bore the name (e.g. 2 Kings xxiv. 18 = Jer. lii. 1). But doubtless in his day the others would not be thought of. The mention of the name would at once suggest the great prophet whose importance had come to overshadow that of all the other great figures of the past in the imagination of later generations.

them which were to be led: i.e. were about to be led, or were on the point of being led (τοὺς ἀχθησομένους). There is no mention of such a letter being sent by Jeremiah to the captives deported by Nebuzaradan in 586 ('the remnant of the people'; Jer. xxxix. 9). The prophet was, however, so kindly treated by the Chaldeans that, had he wished to do so, he would probably have been permitted to communicate with his unfortunate countrymen. But the record is silent; and, besides, the whole character of the letter is quite unlike the sort of appeal which the dreadful circumstances of the time would have elicited from the tender heart and powerfully stirred sympathies of the prophet. No satire on idolatry, however brilliant, no series of gibes and jests at the gods of the conquerors, however ingeniously conceived and bitterly expressed, could seem other than strangely ill-timed to the poor captives, cowering in abject fear before their conquerors, in the very hour of what seemed to be the irretrievable ruin of their country and the triumph of the gods of Babylon.

The letter of Jer. xxix is expressly stated to have been sent to the exiles (of 597) when already established in Babylon (see *vv.* 1, 4, 7); not when they were on the point of leaving their own country, as our superscription affirms in regard to the captives to whom this 'Epistle of Jeremy' is supposed to be sent.

the king of the Babylonians. The same expression recurs in *v.* 2, and is, so far as it goes, an indication that the heading is due to the composer of the letter. The phrase of the canonical books is 'the king *of Babylon*' (Kings, Jer., Ezek., &c.), which the Syriac has in both places here also. See also Baruch i. 9 11 f. It would be somewhat strange if a Greek translator had rendered so easy and common a phrase as the Heb. מלך בבל in this unnatural way. (Was the original phrase מַלְכָּא דִי בָבֶלְיָא? Cf. Ezra iv. 9 for 'the Babylonians'.)

to certify them. Rather, 'to report unto them.' This word ἀναγγέλλω in LXX mostly represents Heb. הגיד, 'announce, report, give a message'; e.g. Jer. xvi. 10 *et saep.*

2. Rather, 'It is on account of your sins which ye have sinned before God, that ye will be brought to Babylon as captives.' Cf. Jer. xxxix. 7; 2 Kings xxv. 7. The writer is not *predicting*, as the English of both A. V. and R. V. seems to imply. He is declaring the moral cause of the banishment which, as they well knew, awaited them. It is as though the people had asked the question supposed in Jer. xvi. 10.

Since it was, strictly speaking, Nebuzaradan who carried away the people after the fall of Jerusalem in 586, 2 Kings xxv. 11, while (according to 2 Kings xxiv. 10–16) Nebuchadnezzar himself carried away Jehoiachin and his fellow-captives, it would seem that our author really intends the earlier captivity of 597. The next verse, in fact, summarizes the message of the prophet to the exiles of the first captivity, Jer. xxix. 4–11.

3. Lit. 'ye shall be there many years and a long time unto seven generations; but after this I will bring you out thence with peace.' Cf. Jer. xxix. 10, 11. The datum 'unto seven generations' is quite inexplicable if the author was acquainted with the writings of Jeremiah and felt himself bound by their data in such a matter. It is difficult to imagine any Jew of literary pretensions ignorant of that prophet's limit of 'seventy years' for the Babylonian Captivity (Jer. xxv. 12; xxix. 10). It is, of course, possible that the author was thinking of another passage of Jeremiah, viz. xxvii. 7. There the prophet estimates the divinely appointed duration of Babylonian dominion at three generations. 'All the nations', he says, 'shall serve *him*' (i.e. 'Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon'), '*and his son, and his son's son*, until the time of his own land come.' This might be regarded as limiting the duration of the Captivity also to three generations; and we might suppose that a Hebrew ג (= 3) has been confused with ז (= 7) in the original text of our Epistle. But see the Introduction,

shall remain there many years, and for a long season, even for seven generations: and after
4 that I will bring you out peaceably from thence. But now shall ye see in Babylon gods of
5 silver, and of gold, and of wood, borne upon shoulders, which cause the nations to fear. Beware
therefore that ye in no wise become like unto the strangers, neither let fear take hold upon you
because of them, when ye see the multitude before them and behind them, worshipping them.
6, 7 But say ye in your hearts, O Lord, we must worship thee. For mine angel is with you, and
8 I myself do care for your souls. For their tongue is polished by the workman, and they

§ 2, for what appears to be a more probable solution of the difficulty. The Syriac cuts the knot, reading 'until *seventy years*; and after *seventy years* I will bring you forth from thence in peace'. 'With peace' (*μετ' εἰρήνης* = בשלום) occurs in LXX Gen. xxvi. 29; Exod. xviii. 23.

Since Jer. xxvii. 7 does not appear in the LXX (see Q^mg), it would seem that our epistoler was not dependent on that source for his knowledge of Jeremiah's writings, but was acquainted with the Heb. text.

4. **But now shall ye see.** *Νυνὶ δὲ ὄψεσθε* = ועתה תראו, *And now, ye will see*: cf. Gen. xxxii. 11; Exod. xxxii. 34.

gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood. Vulgate: 'gods of gold, and of silver, and of stone, and of wood.' But cf. Ps. cxv. 4, cxxxv. 15; Jer. x. 4 for 'silver and gold'. For the addition (found also in Syr.), see Deut. iv. 28, xxix. 17; Dan. v. 4. Obviously, stone would be too heavy a material for gods which were to be 'borne upon shoulders'; i. e. carried in procession by the priests on their festivals, as depicted in the Assyrian sculptures. The 'gods of silver and of gold', moreover, were not of solid metal; but of wood overlaid with the precious ores. See Isa. xl. 19 f., xli. 6 f., xliv. 12–17, xlvi. 6 f.; Jer. x. 3–5.

which cause the nations to fear. Lit. 'showing (or *displaying*) a fear to the nations' (*δεικνύντας φόβον τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* = מראים את־הגוים מורא, 'making the nations behold an object of fear'). A 'fear' or 'dread' denotes a deity in Aramaic (דַּחְלָא, Syr. ܕܚܠܐ) as well as in Hebrew (מוֹרָא); Isa. viii. 12 f.; Ps. lxxvi. 12; פַּחַד, Gen. xxxi. 42. The curious Greek phrase, which is usually explained by reference to Ps. lx. 5 ('Thou hast made thy people see hard things'), suggests the Hebrew original given above, with its characteristic paronomasia or play upon like-sounding words (*mar'îm môrā'*), which the translator failed to reproduce in Greek. So the LXX everywhere ignores this feature of Hebrew style.

5. Rather, 'Beware, then, lest ye also become wholly assimilated to the foreigners, and fear at them (i. e. the idols) seize you, when ye see a crowd before and behind them bowing down to them.' This again suggests a Hebrew original. ונשמרתם פן דמה תדמו גם אתם לבני נכר ויראה אתכם תאחז עליהם וגו׳. Note especially the *ἀφομοιωθέντες ἀφομοιωθῆτε* = דמה תדמו (the compound Greek verb seems peculiar to this Epistle in LXX: see Tromm), and *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* = עליהם 'on account of them', as the source of the fear. For the phrase 'fear take (or seize) you', see Ps. xlviii. 7; Exod. xv. 15. 'Before and behind them': i. e. in the procession.

6. **But say ye in your hearts.** The Greek has 'your understanding' (*τῇ διανοίᾳ*), as in Gen. xvii. 17; xxvii. 41. Heb. בלבבכם 'in your heart' (sing.). The Greek of what follows (*σοὶ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, Δέσποτα*) might represent Heb. לך להשתחות אדני. The verse, however, may be an interpolation. It breaks the connexion between *vv.* 5, 7 (see note on *v.* 7), and is omitted by LXX^A.

7. **For mine angel is with you:** recalls Exod. xxiii. 23, xxxii. 34; Gen. xxiv. 7, xlviii. 16; Exod. xxiii. 20; Num. xx. 16.

The next clause should run: 'And *he* (*emphatic*) careth for your lives.' The original verse may have been something of this kind:

כי מלאכי אתכם
והוא דורש (ל)נפשכם:

Cf. Gen. xxvi. 24; Isa. xliii. 5; Ps. cxlii. 5; Jer. xxx. 14, 17. (For the plur. *τὰς ψυχάς* = נפש sing., cf. Ps. xix. 8, xxxiii. 19 LXX.)

God is represented as speaking directly, as in *v.* 3. No doubt, the author felt that the whole message was a 'word of God', like all prophetic utterances. But the present verse may perhaps be a direct quotation from some poetical or prophetical piece. It does not seem likely that an author writing in Greek would have chosen to use the phrase *ἐκζητῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν* in this special sense, unless he had had such a word as דרש (or בקש, Prov. xxix. 10) before him. 'To seek a man's soul or life' generally implies a murderous, not a benevolent motive. See Ps. xxxv. 4, xxxviii. 13, &c.; 2 Sam. iv. 8 (all בקש). For דרש = *ἐκζητῶ*, see also Gen. ix. 5. Perhaps the author intended this last use: 'And he requireth *or* will require (i. e. avenge) your lives.' (So Syr. 'The A. of the Lord—מלאך י׳ for מלאכי—is with you, and he will avenge your souls.') Further, why *ἐκζητῶν*, and not *ἐκζητεῖ* (or *ἐκζητήσει*), if the author was not translating a Heb. participle?

8–16. *Idols, though made of costly materials and richly adorned, are powerless to help or to hurt.*

8. **For their tongue is polished by the workman** (*more lit.* a craftsman. *τέκτων* = חרש, Isa. xl. 18, 20; a carver or graver in wood, metal, or stone). Heb. perhaps: כי לשונם שנונה ביד חרש (*sharpened* rather than *polished*); a paronomasia. Cf. Ps. lxiv. 4, cxl. 4. *κατεξυσμένη* here only in LXX (Tromm). If 'polished' were what the author intended, this might represent Heb. מרוקה or ממורטה. It is implied that the images' mouths were open,

9 themselves are overlaid with gold and with silver; yet are they but false, and cannot speak. And
taking gold, as it were for a virgin that loveth to go gay, they make crowns for the heads of their
10 gods: and sometimes also the priests convey from their gods gold and silver, and bestow it upon
11 themselves; and will even give thereof to the common harlots: and they deck them as men with
12 garments, *even* the gods of silver, and gods of gold, and of wood. Yet cannot these gods save
13 themselves from rust and **moths**, though they be covered with purple raiment. They wipe their
14 faces because of the dust of the temple, which is thick upon them. And he that cannot put to

as if to speak (*scil.* oracles). The connexion of thought with what precedes may be: 'Fear them not, for,' &c. The verse is reminiscent of Ps. cxv. 4, 5 a.

and they themselves: i. e. their bodies (Greek *αὐτά τε*: cf. *Iliad* i. 4). Heb. ועצמם or וגופם. The whole clause may have been: ועצמם נחפה בזהב ובכסף.

yet are they but false. *ψευδῆ* = שקר, Jer. x. 14, xiii. 25, *a deception* or *fraud*, of an idol. Render: 'but they are a fraud.' Heb. והם שקר; after which the verse concludes with ולא יוכלו לדבר.

9. Lit. 'And as for a virgin fond of adornment, taking gold they make crowns upon the heads of their gods.' *φιλόκοσμος* only here in LXX. Heb. וכאשר לבתולה חפצה עדי לקחו זהב ויעשו עטרות על־ראש אלהיהם. Cf. Jer. ii. 32, iv. 30; Zech. vi. 11.

10. Lit. 'But there are also times when the priests, filching from their gods gold and silver, spend it on themselves'. Heb. perhaps ויהי היום וגנבו הכהנים וגו'; *ὑφαιρεῖσθαι* = גנב, Job xxi. 18. *καταναλίσκω εἴς τι*, 'to spend upon a thing,' is a classical phrase. The verb renders Heb. אכל 'to eat, consume,' Jer. iii. 24 et al. Possibly *εἰς ἑαυτοὺς* (= להם) is due to the translator's having misread לחם 'bread' as להם. The Heb. will then have been: ואכלו לחם or ולחם יאכלו 'and eat bread' (= feast: Gen. xliii. 25; Ps. xiv. 4; Jer. xli. 1; Luke xiv. 15). Otherwise, cf. 2 Kings xii. 12 and suppose an original like ולנפשם יוציאו 'and would spend it on themselves': so the Syriac (מפקין).

11. Render: 'while they will give part of them (i. e. the gold and silver ornaments) even to the harlots on the roof'; i. e. apparently, the roof of the temple, where perhaps they slept for coolness, as on an ordinary house-roof (cf. Joshua ii. 6). These would be hierodules or temple-harlots such as we know to have been connected with some of the Babylonian temples, e. g. that of Ishtar at Erech (*πόρναι* = קדשות; cf. Gen. xxxviii. 21 f.; Deut. xxiii. 17). *στέγος*, *roof* (Syr. om.), was also used for a brothel in late Greek; and the variant *τέγος* (A Q) is Aquila's equivalent of קֻבָּה in Num. xxv. 8 'a vaulted tent', rendered by the Vulg. *lupanar*, and so used in Neo-Hebrew. Cf. Lat. *fornix*, 'vaulted cellar; brothel.' Was this the author's meaning here, and did he write ונתנו מהם גם לזונות על הקבה ('and they would give part of them even to the whores by the arched bower')? In view of the Babylonian custom, the former interpretation seems preferable. Indeed, it seems possible, and even probable, that the original reference was to the supposed brides of Bel, who slept in the shrine on the top-stage of his great pyramidal temple (see Hdt. i. 181).

and they deck them as men with garments, &c. = ויעדו אותם כאדם לבוש את אלהי כסף ואת אלהו זהב ועץ (cf. Ezek. xvi. 11; 2 Kings x. 22). This sentence resumes the thread of the narrative from *v.* 9, *vv.* 10, 11 *a* constituting a parenthesis.

12. Lit. 'But these are not saved from rust and fret, arrayed in purple apparel' = ואינם נושעים מחלאה ומאכל מְלֻבָּשִׁים בגדי ארגמן: cf. Num. x. 9; Ezek. xvi. 18, xxiv. 6; Esther viii. 15; Mal. iii. 11; Job xiii. 28; 1 Kings xxii. 10, for the vocabulary. The second clause probably belongs to this rather than to the following verse (Vulg., Arab.); since, if 'rust' refers to the tarnishing of metal, 'fret' (*βρώματα*) seems to indicate the ravages of moths or grubs in clothing. The genitive absolute is, therefore, incorrectly used by the translator. But, further, *βρώματα* in the LXX generally means *food* (Heb. אֹכֶל or מַאֲכָל). Tromm. gives twenty-one instances of *βρώματα* = אכל (e. g. Gen. xli. 35 f.) and ten of *βρώματα* = מאכל (Gen. vi. 21). It is evident that '*from rust* and food' cannot be right. We probably have here another instance of error in translation from the Hebrew original. If ומאכל stood in the unpointed text, the translator may be supposed to have pointed וּמַאֲכָל (= *καὶ βρ.*) instead of וּמֵאֹכֵל 'and from a devourer' (i. e. moth or grub; Mal. iii. 11; cf. Job xiii. 28; Amos iv. 9). LXX makes the same blunder in Isa. lv. 10, giving *εἰς βρῶσιν* for לאכל ('to the eater'). In Matt. vi. 19 also *σὴς καὶ βρῶσις* may represent עָשׁ וְאֹכֵל 'moth and devourer' (Isa. li. 8. Cf. also Assyr. *âkilu*, 'eater,' 'grub,' 'worm,' &c.).

13. **They wipe their faces.** *ἐκμάσσονται* is strange, if this be the meaning. We should have expected *ἐκμάσσουσιν*. The middle voice denotes 'to wipe away one's own tears', *Anth. Palat.* 5. 43. If the Heb. was ימחו פניהם 'they wipe their faces', the translator might have pointed the verb as a passive, יִמָּחוּ, understanding 'they are wiped as to their faces' = 'they have their faces wiped'; though the sense might rather be simply 'their faces are wiped'. (For the verb see Prov. xxx. 20; Isa. xxv. 8.)

the temple is *τῆς οἰκίας* = הבית 'the house'. Cf. 1 Kings vi. But בית in the sense of temple or God's house (Assyr. *bît ili*) is usually *οἶκος* in LXX, while *οἰκία* is an ordinary dwelling-house. Did the translator use the latter word purposely, to express contempt for the heathen temple?

14. Lit. 'And a sceptre holdeth he, as a man judge of a place, who will not destroy him who offendeth

death one that offendeth against him holdeth a sceptre, as though he were judge of a country.
15 He hath also a dagger in his right hand, and an axe: but cannot deliver himself from war and
16, 17 robbers. Whereby they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not. For like as a vessel
that a man useth is nothing worth when it is broken; even so it is with their gods: when they
18 be set up in the temples their eyes be full of dust through the feet of them that come in. And
as the courts are made sure on every side upon him that offendeth the king, as being committed
to suffer death; *even so* the priests make fast their temples with doors, with locks, and bars, lest
19 they be carried off by robbers. They light them candles, yea, more than for themselves, whereof

against him' = ושבט תומך באיש שופט מדינה אשר לא יהרג את חוטא לו: (cf. Amos i. 5; Exod. ii. 14; Gen. xx. 9). ἀνελεῖ may also stand for יַכֶּה *will smite* (Gen. iv. 14); a suitable word in connexion with שבט (Isa. xi. 4). The Babylonian gods are represented on the sculptures and seal-engravings as holding sceptres, swords, axes, and other emblems of authority. Some of the Hittite deities at Boghaz Keui carry sceptres; and an axe is the common Egyptian symbol for a god.

15. Lit. 'But he holdeth a dagger in (A Q) the (A) right hand and an axe' = Heb. . . . ותמך חרב בימינו וגרזן. LXX has ἐγχειρίδιον for Heb. חרב 'sword' in Ezek. xxi. 3, 4, 5 and elsewhere. Syr. adds: 'in his left,' which may very well be right. Restore therefore: וגרזן בשמאלו. 15b. Lit. 'but himself from war and brigands he will not deliver'. The collocation '*war* and brigands' is improbable; and it seems natural to suppose a confusion of πόλεμος and πολέμιος, such as we observe in Esther ix. 16, where we find ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων (but B πολεμίων) for מאויביהם. Restoring πολεμίων (cf. A πολέμων), here, we conjecture the following original text: ואת נפשו מאיבים ושודדים לא יציל, *and himself from enemies and spoilers he cannot deliver* (cf. Isa. xliv. 20; Obad. 5).

16. **they are known.** Gk. γνώριμοί εἰσιν, which, according to the ordinary use of the LXX, should mean 'they are kinsfolk' (Ruth ii. 1) or 'friends' (2 Sam. iii. 8). The translator probably had the Heb. מודעים in his MS., and possibly confused the participle with the substantive. The verse, which is rhetorically repeated in almost the same words at *vv.* 23, 29, 65, 69, may be reconstructed in Hebrew somewhat thus: על־אלה מודעים לא־אל(הים) על־כן אל־תיראו מהם. Cf. Isa. xxxi. 3, lvii. 6; Jer. x. 5, v. 7.

17–23. *The senseless idols are patient of all indignities.*

17. A reminiscence of Jer. xxii. 28, Hos. viii. 8, as regards the language of the first half of the verse. But σκεῦος ἀνθρώπου is suspicious, as it hardly means 'a vessel *that a man useth*'; and if it did, the description would be quite superfluous. It looks as if חרש *earthenware* (Jer. xxxii. 14: כלי חרש) had been misread אדם by confusion of letters (ש or ש is sometimes mistaken for ש or מ), or perhaps rather אנש. Cf. also the Syr., which gives 'a potter's vessel'. Lit. the Greek says: 'For just as a vessel of a man, if broken, becometh useless, such are their gods.' The Heb. may have been: כי ככלי חרש נפוץ אין חפץ בו כן היו אלהיהם 'For like an earthen vessel broken, useless, so are their gods.' A broken vessel is a proverb of worthlessness, Jer. xxii. 28. (The full stop is rightly placed here; what follows is a new thought.) The next statement may be rendered: 'When they have been established in their houses, their eyes are (become) full of dust from the feet,' &c. But it seems probable that, in the Hebrew, the clause מֻצבים בבתים 'set up in the houses' (= temples), or whatever the phrase was which the Greek represents by καθιδρυμένων (? מוסדים נסכים) αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις, was connected with the preceding words. The sense will then have been: 'So are their gods, set up in their temples.' Then followed in the Hebrew, as a new sentence: עיניהם מלאו עפר מרגלי הבאים: 'their eyes are filled with dust', &c. LXX^A gives κήποις for οἴκοις; an interesting variant, which recalls Isa. lxv. 3. Cf. also *v.* 21 and the note there.

18. **the courts are made sure on every side.** Gk. περιπεφραγμέναι εἰσὶν αἱ αὐλαί, 'the courts (of the palace) are fenced in all round'; cf. Job i. 10 (שׂוּך = περιφράσσω; Hos. ii. 6 (8) = φράσσω, 'hedge in'). αὐλή generally = חצר 'court'; but 'the courts are fortified' does not give a good sense, and αὐλή sometimes represents Heb. שער 'gate' (Ps. cxxii. 2; Esther ii. 19). Perhaps the Heb. was נסגרו השערים 'the gates are shut'. αὐλαί can hardly be the courts of a prison, as in Jer. xxxii. 2, xxxiii. 1 (Gifford); for that would require the addition of τῆς φυλακῆς.

as being committed to suffer death. Lit. 'as having been led off for death' (execution). This is not very intelligible; and A prefixes the conjunction ἤ *or*, which improves the sense, and may be right. ἀπηγμένος in LXX renders Heb. אסיר 'prisoner' (Gen. xxxix. 22; cf. xl. 3 אָסוּר = ἀπῆκτο, xlii. 16 הֵאָסְרוּ = ἀπάχθητε; Isa. xiv. 17 τοὺς ἐν ἀπαγωγῇ = אסירים). Either this (אסור למות) might have been the phrase here, or we may suppose an original לַמָּוֶת מוּבָל 'one led to death' (Isa. liii. 7; Jer. xi. 19). The rest of the verse is easy. The whole may have run in the Hebrew pretty much as follows: וכאשר בעד איש חוטא למלך נסגרו השערים ובעד אסור למות (איש למות מובל) כן את בתיהם יחזקו הכהנים בדלתות ובמנעלים ובבריחים פן ביד שודדים יושדו: 'And just as around an offender against a king the gates are shut, or around one bound for execution (*or* a man led to execution); so do the priests strengthen their (the idols') houses with doors, and locks, and bars, lest by the hand of spoilers they should be despoiled'. (Syr. 'And like a man who is condemned by the king, *their arms are stretched out*—like the condemned (pl.) to death. Their houses their priests strengthen,' &c. This points to a different Greek exemplar.)

19. **They light them candles.** Rather: 'Lamps they burn'; Gk. λύχνους καίουσιν, which probably represents Heb. נרות יערכו 'lamps they arrange'; see Lev. xxiv. 4.

20 they cannot see one. They are as one of the beams of the temple; and men say their hearts
21 are eaten out, when things creeping out of the earth devour both them and their raiment: they
22 feel it not when their faces are blacked through the smoke that cometh out of the temple: upon
23 their bodies and heads alight bats, swallows, and birds; and in like manner the cats also. Whereby
24 ye may know that they are no gods: therefore fear them not. Notwithstanding the gold wherewith
they are beset to make them beautiful, except one wipe off the rust, they will not shine: for not even
25 when they were molten did they feel it. Things wherein there is no breath are bought at any cost.

yea, more than for themselves. A's reading πλείονας αὐτοῖς = רבים להם 'many for them', is preferable. The rest of the verse might have been: אשר לא יוכלו לראות גם־אחת מהן 'of which they cannot see even one'.

20. **They are as one of the beams of the temple; and men say their hearts are eaten out,** &c. Evidently there is something wrong here. The connexion of thought, if any exist, between the first and second members of the verse is hopelessly obscure. The Greek does not help us. 'He is, indeed, as a beam of those out of the house; but their hearts they say are licked up': surely a false contrast. It is likely that the words τὰς δὲ καρδίας αὐτῶν φασίν conceal the common Hebrew phrase 'to say in one's heart' = to think, and that the sense of the original was: 'And he (i. e. the idol) is like a beam of the temple, yet they think that he eats.' See Bel 6 ff. for eating as a proof of being a 'living god'. ἐκλείχειν = לקק 'to lap' or 'lick up', 1 Kings xxii. 38, and the syn. לחך, ibid. xviii. 38; Num. xxii. 4 (of eating). The Hebrew may have been: והיה כקורת הבית ובלבם יאמרו ילחך *And he is like a beam of the house* (or read: כקורה מבית = ὥσπερ δοκὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας); 'And they say in their heart, "He licketh up!"' (The translator pointed יִלָּחֵךְ, as he renders by a passive infin.) The verse continues, if we translate literally: 'Of the reptiles from the earth eating up both themselves and their dress they are not aware.' This may have sprung from Heb. רמש האדמה אוכל אותם ובגדיהם ולא ידעו: 'The creeping things of the ground (Gen. i. 25) eat them and their robes (1 Kings xxii. 30), and they know not.' (Syr. 'They are like beams, &c.; *and their heart is foolish and goeth astray*; and they are destroyed by the reptiles of the earth, and are eaten—they and their garments.')

21. Lit. '(They are) blackened as to their face from the smoke out of the house'. The Hebrew may have been: חשכו פניהם מעשן הבית 'Their faces are black from the smoke of the house'. Cf. Lam. iv. 8. In that case, μεμελάνωται (Q*) τὰ πρόσωπα (Q^mg) would represent the Hebrew more correctly than the reading of B. But A's τοῦ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καιομένου is more likely to be original than B's τοῦ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας (dittogr. from *v.* 20). It points, moreover, to the Heb. העלה מן־האדמה (בעשן) '(through the smoke) which goeth up from the ground' (cf. *v.* 54 note). The Greek translator seems to have vocalized העלה as הֶעֱלָה = καίειν, *to light* a lamp (Ex. xxvii. 20; Lev. xxiv. 2).

22. **swallows, and birds** (Gk. *the birds*) is a curious collocation. We should expect the name of some other species to be added to that of the swallow. The Syriac, accordingly, has *ravens*, which may be right, as the dominant idea would seem to be that of unclean birds (Lev. xi. 14, 15, 19). But 'bats and swallows and [all] the birds' is also possible; especially if 'the cats' be correct in the next clause. The mention of the (domestic?) cat is unique in LXX. The word (οἱ αἴλουροι) might conceivably represent שונרים (= Aram. שונרין, Arab. سنانير) or חתולים (see Talmud Bab. *Hor.* 13 a). The Targum renders איים by this last word in Isa. xiii. 22, xxxiv. 14. Was the word here איות 'kites' or 'hawks', which the translator misread איים and rendered 'cats'? Then the Heb. of the verse may have been: על־גופתם ועל־ראשם ינוחו העטלפים והסוסים והערבים וגם האיות. (The Syriac has: 'And on their heads sit bats and swallows *and ravens* together, and also *weasels*.' For *ravens*, cf. *v.* 54.)

23. γνώσεσθε = תדעו = 'ye *may* know'. מאלה תדעו כי לא־אל המה על־כן אל־תיראו מהם:

24. Lit. 'For the gold which they wear for beauty,—unless one have wiped off the rust, they will not *make to* shine; for not even when they were being cast, were they aware (of it)'. There is no obvious relation between the two statements of this verse, the connecting γαρ notwithstanding. But it is at least evident (*pace* R.V.) that στίλβω is used transitively in the former of them, as in Diosc. i. 111 and Aristaen. i. 25. The Heb. might be יאירו (Job xli. 24) or יגיהו (Ps. xviii. 29). In the second, 'they were molten' or rather *cast* (ἐχωνεύοντο = הוצקו) can hardly be right; for the verse has in view, as the first member shows, idols overlaid or plated with the precious metal, not images of solid gold. The sense required, and indicated, by the context is: 'for they do not know when (*or* that) they are dirty (*or* tarnished).' Possibly the translator mispointed חֹלְלוּ 'were brought forth, produced', the real word being חֻלְּלוּ *were defiled* (cf. Ezek. xxviii. 7 'defile thy brightness': Isa. xxx. 22). ὃ περίκειται, 'which they have round them, which they wear'; cf. Acts xxviii. 20; also τὰ περικείμενα χρυσία, plates of gold *laid on* an ivory statue, Thuc. ii. 13. Heb. כי את הזהב אשר צֻפּו ליפעה (נחפו לתפארת) אם לא ימחה חללו: (מחללים המה) כי לא ידעו כי (Ps. xviii. 29 יגיהו) לא יאירו איש את החלאה.

25. **at any cost.** Gk. ἐκ πάσης τιμῆς = מכל מחיר; a misreading of בכל מ׳. The Heb. may have been: בכל מחיר לקוחים הם אשר אין רוח בם: cf. Jer. x. 14; 2 Chr. i. 16. Better: 'At all cost they are acquired, in whom is no breath.'

26 Having no feet, they are borne upon shoulders, whereby they declare unto men that they be
27 nothing worth. They also that serve them are ashamed: for if they fall to the ground at
any time, they cannot rise up again of themselves: neither, if one set them aright, can they
move of themselves: neither, if they be set awry, can they make themselves straight: but the
28 offerings are set before them, as if they were dead men. And the things that are sacrificed
unto them, their priests sell and spend; and in like manner their wives also lay up part thereof
29 in salt; but unto the poor and to the impotent will they give nothing thereof. The menstruous
woman and the woman in childbed touch their sacrifices: knowing therefore by these things that
30 they are no gods, fear them not. For how can they be called gods? because women set meat
31 before the gods of silver, gold, and wood. And in their temples the priests sit on seats, having
32 their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads. They roar

26. Rather *being footless . . . exposing their own shame to mankind.* Cf. Isa. xlvi. 7, xlix. 22, for the first reproach; for the second, Jer. xiii. 26, Nah. iii. 5. Indecent figures of gods were perhaps commoner in Egypt than in Babylonia, where they usually appear draped. See the procession in my *Light from the East*, p. 173. But nude and phallic figures occur on the seals. Heb. באין רגלים על־כתף ינשׂאו | מראים את־האדם קלונם:.

27. Lit. *And even they who attend on them are ashamed* = ובשו גם־עבדיהם. The participle *θεραπεύων* = עֶבֶד in Isa. liv. 17 also (LXX *θεράπων* = עֶבֶד saepe). Perhaps the translator pointed עֲבָדֶיהָם (Zech. ii. 13). The next sentence is lit. 'On account of the rising by help of them, lest (= if?) ever he have fallen upon the ground'. Instead of 'by help of them' (*δι' αὐτῶν*), i. e. of the attendants, LXX^A gives 'by themselves' (*δι' ἑαυτῶν*), i. e. unassisted. *δι' ἑαυτοῦ* would have been better after *πέσῃ*, sing. Further, the negative must be supplied: 'On account of their not rising by themselves, if ever he have fallen,' &c. Heb. perhaps: עַל קוּמוֹ בְיָדָם אִם נָפַל אַרְצָה 'because of his rising by their hand if he have fallen to earth'. Cf. 1 Sam. v. 3, xxviii. 20. The Chinese say 'A fallen Buddha rise!' (Pi Fou-tu k'i), of a hopeless case (Giles, *Dict.* 3600). The verse continues: 'nor, if one have set him upright, will (= 'can'—a Hebraism) he move of himself, nor if he be bowed, will he stand erect; but as before corpses the gifts are set before them.' The Heb. might have been: ואם איש יזיבהו במקמו לא ימיש לבדו ואם יכרע לא יַעמד כי כמתים לחם שים להם: 'And if a man set him up in his place, he will not move alone; and if he bow, he will not stand up; but as (before) the dead bread is set before them'. Cf. Isa. xlvi. 1, 7; and for the offerings to the dead, Ps. cvi. 28, Ecclus. xxx. 18 f., Tobit iv. 17. *τὰ δῶρα* = לחם, Lev. xxi. 6, 8; and *παρατιθέναι* = שים, Gen. xliii. 32 al. The change from plur. to sing. exemplified in this verse is a common characteristic of Hebrew style (see Driver, *Samuel*, p. lxix).

28. Lit. 'But their sacrifices their priests sell and use up; but in like manner the women (A their wives) also, salting part of them, neither to a beggar nor to a pauper give any share'. In Hebrew: וזבחיהם ימכרו כהניהם וּבְעֵרוּ (cf. Isa. iii. 14) וכן גם הנשים (נשיהם = A) מולחות (Lev. ii. 13) מהם עני ואביון לא תאכלנה: *μετέδωκα*: Job xxxi. 17). Instead of ובערו 'and greedily consume', perhaps וְכִלּוּ 'and use up' (cf. Deut. xxxii. 23; Gen. xxi. 15); and instead of מולחות 'salting', perhaps חונטות 'spicing' or 'pickling' (cf. Gen. l. 2, 3, 26). (The Syriac 'their priests *eat them* and their wives *gorge themselves with them*' may indicate a more original text: יאכלו *edunt* pr. יכלו *consumunt*; לוחמות *vorant* pr. מולחות *condiunt*.)

29. See Lev. xii. 4, 7, xx. 18. *ἀποκαθημένη* '(a woman) *sitting apart* during menstruation' = דוה; *λεχώς* (for which Q's *λεχώ* is more correct), 'a woman in childbed,' or 'one who has just given birth' = יולדת. Heb. therefore: בזבחיהם הדוה והיולדת נוגעות:, an argument which would appeal to none but orthodox Jews. (For the construction *γνόντες οὖν κτλ.*, cf. Isa. xxvi. 11: *γνόντες δὲ αἰσχυνθήσονται* = יחזו ויבשו. Here perhaps: ודעו מאלה כי לא־אל ואל וגו'; cf. Q's *γνῶτε*.) (*γνόντες* is rare in LXX. It occurs otherwise only a few times in the idiom *γνόντες γνώσεσθε* = יָדֹעַ תדעו, Jer. xxvi. 15 et sim.)

30. Another objection from a purely Jewish point of view. There were no priestesses or female attendants of Jahweh. *πόθεν γὰρ* is perhaps equivalent to כי איך, 'For how?' B *κληθείησαν* and A *κληθήσονται* might either of them represent a Heb. impf. See *v.* 27 for *παρατιθέασιν θεοῖς*, 'they set (food) before gods.' The Heb. verse might be: כי איך יִקָּראו אלהים | כי נשים שָׂמות לאלהי כסף וזהב ועץ.

31. **sit on seats.** So Syr.; but it is very doubtful whether *διφρεύω*, 'drive a chariot' (Eurip. *Androm.* 108), can bear this meaning, although *δίφρος* may be a chair or throne (כסא; Deut. xvii. 18; 1 Sam. i. 9). Q cuts the knot by substituting *καθίζουσιν*, 'they sit.' The sense is perhaps not unsuitable, if the word could bear it; but the whole context shows that the author is thinking of the mourning for dead gods, which was a well-known feature of Babylonian religion. We may, therefore, suppose that the original text had יבכו *they weep*, which the Greek translator misread ירכבו *they ride* (see the Introduction, § 3). For the other phrases of the verse, cf. Lev. x. 5, 1 Sam. iv. 12, 2 Sam. xv. 32, Jer. xli. 5, Lev. xxiii. 45; whence we may infer an original text: ובבתיהם הכהנים יבכו קְרוּעֵי כֻתְּנֹתָם ומגֻלחי ראש וזקן וראשם פרוע: Ἀκάλυπτοι (here only) should probably be *ἀκατακάλυπτοι*, as Q^mg = פרוע 'unbound' (by unwinding the turban); a thing forbidden to priests, Lev. xxi. 10.

32. Lit. 'But they roar, shouting before their gods, as persons at a dead man's wake'. Τὸ *περίδειπνον*, 'a funeral-feast,' perhaps renders מַרְזֵחַ (Jer. xvi. 5; cf. Amos vi. 7) = targumic מרזיחא, מרזחא 'the funeral-

33 and cry before their gods, as men do at the feast when one is dead. The priests also take off
34 garments from them, and clothe their wives and children withal. Whether it be evil that one
doeth unto them, or good, they are not able to recompense it: they can neither set up a king,
35 nor put him down. In like manner, they can neither give riches nor money: though a man make
36 a vow unto them, and keep it not, they will never exact it. They can save no man from death,
37 neither deliver the weak from the mighty. They cannot restore a blind man to his sight, nor
38 deliver any that is in distress. They can show no mercy to the widow, nor do good to the
39 fatherless. They are like the stones that be *hewn* out of the mountain, *these gods* of wood, and
that are overlaid with gold and with silver: they that minister unto them shall be confounded.
40 How should a man then think or say that they are gods, when even the Chaldeans themselves
41 dishonour them? Who if they shall see one dumb that cannot speak, they bring him, and intreat

feast', eaten soon after the burial of the corpse. Cf. Jer. xvi. 7: 'And they shall not break bread unto the mourner, to comfort him for the dead' (so Giesebrecht). The Heb. of the verse may have been: וזעקו לפני אלהיהם כאנשים במרזח מת: (Ps. xxxviii. 9 ושאגו). These rites of mourning for the gods recall the 'women weeping for Tammuz' of Ezek. viii. 14 and the Babylonian festivals of mourning for the same deity (Dumuzi).

33. Lit. 'From their dress taking away (a part), the priests will clothe their wives and children'. In Heb. מבגדיהם יקחו הכהנים והלבישו את נשיהם וטפם:.

34–39. *Unlike Jahweh, they do nothing.* Carlyle's cry to Froude, 'He (God) never does anything!' may be remembered. The prophets of Israel thought otherwise. They thought He did everything.

34. Lit. 'Neither if they have suffered evil by any one, nor if good, will they be able to repay'. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35, Jer. xvi. 18, Prov. xxv. 22, and many other places. Heb. perhaps: אם רע ואם טוב קבלו מאת איש לא יוכלו לשלם 'If evil or good they have received from a man, they cannot repay'. See Jer. xlii. 6; Job ii. 10.

put him down: lit. 'remove him'. The Heb. of the second sentence might have been: לא להקים מלך יוכלו ולא להסיר. With this and the next two verses cf. 1 Sam. ii. 6–8.

35. **money**; Gk. χαλκός = copper, a copper coin, and then collectively, money. The original phrase may have been עשר ונכסים 'wealth and riches', which is rendered πλοῦτον καὶ χρήματα, 'wealth and money,' 2 Chron. i. 12. Probably, however, χαλκός = נחשת, as usual, and this Heb. term is a disguise or corruption of some word meaning poverty, e.g. ריש (cf. Prov. xxx. 8). This gives a better parallel to what precedes (ὡσαύτως). Heb. כן עשר וראש לא יוכלו לתת. The next sentence is based on Deut. xxiii. 22, and must have run pretty much as follows: אם ידר איש להם נדר ולא ישלם לא ידרשו:.

36. Heb.: ממות אדם לא יצילו | ודל מיד חזק לא יחלצון. Ἥττων = דל, Job xx. 10. Perhaps rather וחלש מיד גבור; cf. Joel iv. 10.

37. Lit. 'A blind man into seeing (= *visus*) they will not bring round' (περιστήσωσιν, B. A's παραστήσωσι = *set beside* or *near* is less suitable). The Greek is rather peculiar and suggests translation. Perhaps εἰς ὅρασιν should have been εἰς ὁρῶντα; and ישיבו may have been misread יציבו (= στήσωσιν). Hence we get: אדם עור לְרֹאֶה לא ישיבו 'A blind man into one seeing they restore not' (cf. Lev. xiii. 16, Isa. xxix. 17). There follows: אדם בצר לו לא יצילו 'A man in straits (Isa. xxv. 4) they will not deliver'.

38. Cf. Isa. ix. 16, Ex. i. 20, for the language. The verse falls back easily into Hebrew: אלמנה לא ירחֵמו | וליתים לא ייטיבו:.

39. *these gods* **of wood**. The italicized words probably represent the Heb. correctly. Cf. Isa. xxi. 9, where LXX renders אלהיה by τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῆς, and Isa. xxxi. 7, where אלילי כספו ואלילי זהבו is rendered τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῶν τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα τὰ χρυσᾶ. The Heb. of the clause may have been: לאבני ההר דומים אלהי העץ ואלהי הזהב ואלהי הכסף 'To the stones of the mountain are like the gods of wood and the gods of gold and silver'. The second clause is simply: ועבדיהם יבשו 'and their servants shall be ashamed'. See note on *v.* 27 a. The priests are intended.

40. Lit. 'How then is it to be thought or proclaimed that they are gods?' Cf. the classical use of νομίζω, '*to believe in* or *acknowledge as* a god'; e.g. in the indictment of Socrates: οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, 'not believing in the gods in which the state believes.' Heb. perhaps: ומה נאמין ומה נקרא כו הם אלהים: 'And how should we believe and how proclaim that they are gods?'

41. **they bring him, and intreat him to call upon Bel**. Or, 'having brought Bel, they expect him to speak.' But the man would be taken before the god. And ἀξιῶ in LXX is 'to beg, pray, request' (Dan. i. 8, ii. 16, vi. 11; Esther iv. 8, viii. 3). Φωνῆσαι = 'to speak', as in Ps. cxv. 7 (לא יהגו בגרונם). The Heb. of the verse might have been ואף המה הכשדים מקלים אותם כי אם ראו אלם אשר לא יוכל לדבר והביאו ומבל יבקשו אשר יהגה לאמור כי הוא יודע: 'And also they, the Chaldeans, dishonour them' (Deut. xxvii. 16); 'for if they have seen a dumb man who cannot talk, they will bring him in (to the temple) and beg of Bel that he may speak, thinking that he (Bel) is aware.' (Syr. 'They bring him *before the gate*': perhaps אבלא *gate* was

42 him to call upon Bel, as though he were able to understand. Yet they cannot perceive this
43 themselves, and forsake them: for they have no understanding. The women also with cords
about them sit in the ways, burning bran for incense: but if any of them, drawn by some that
passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself,
44 nor her cord broken. Whatsoever is done among them is false: how should a man then think
45 or say that they are gods? They are fashioned by carpenters and goldsmiths: they can be nothing

somehow confused with אל בל *unto Bel.* Cf. Jer. l. 26 where Syr. renders מאבסיה by *her gates*, reading or guessing אבליה.)

42. **Yet**; rather, *And.* The idolaters themselves cannot see all this (A: *τοῦτο νοήσαντες*), and abandon them (the idols); for they are devoid of sense (Jer. x. 8). Hebrew: ולא יוכלו להבין (זאת) ולעזב אותם כי דעת אין להם:

43. This verse describes a well-known custom of Babylonian religion, which, according to Herodotus (i. 199), was observed in honour of the goddess Mylitta (*Μύλιττα*). 'Mylitta,' he says, 'is the name the Assyrians give to Aphrodite.' Aphrodite is, of course, Ishtar, the goddess of love and procreation; and 'Mylitta' is simply a contracted or corrupted form of the epithet *mu'allidtu*, 'she who causes to bring forth' (i.e. Eileithyia or Lucina), or 'she who brings forth' (intensive) all living, the Great Mother, as the Deep (Tiâmat) is called mu-al-li-da-at gim-ri-shu-un, 'the Mother of them all,' in *Creation-Tab.* i. See also Ishtar's lament over mankind when drowned by the Deluge (Flood Legend, *NE*, xi. 119 ff.), where she seems to claim them as her offspring. Heb. (Jo. i. 8) והנשים חגרות חבלים בדרכים תשבנה מקטרות גֶּרֶשׁ (עור חטים) וכאשר אחת מהן תִּפָּשֵׁךְ ביד איש עובר וְשָׁכְבָה עִמּוֹ (cf. Gen. xix. 35) את־רעותה תְּחָרֵף כי לא נחשבה גם כמוה ולא חבלה נִתָּקָה: 'And the women, girt with ropes, sit in the ways offering groats (or chaff); and whenever one of them is dragged off by a passer-by, she reproaches her companion, because she has not been valued even as herself, and her rope has not been broken'. 'Bran' (*τὰ πίτυρα*) perhaps means *crushed* or *pounded* grain, since the ancients did not separate the skin from grain, as is done in modern milling.

The account of Herodotus is as follows: 'But quite the most disgraceful of the customs which the Babylonians have is the following. Every native woman is bound to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and, once in her life, have carnal intercourse with a foreigner. Many, moreover, not condescending to mix with the others, as being proud of riches, drive in a closed carriage-and-pair and stop at the temple, with a great following of attendants. But the majority proceed in this way. In Aphrodite's precinct sit, with a fillet of cord round their heads, many women (for some are coming, others going); while rope-drawn passages keep every direction of ways through the women, by which the foreigners pass through and make their choice. And when a woman seats herself there, she does not go home before one of the foreigners has thrown money into her lap and dealt with her outside the temple. But when he throws it, he has to say this much: "I invoke over thee the goddess Mylitta!" (The Assyrians call Aphrodite "Mylitta".) The money may be ever so little in amount, for she may not refuse it, for it is not lawful for her (to do so); for this money becomes sacred: but she follows the first that throws, rejecting no man. But after the intercourse, she makes expiatory offerings to the goddess, and goes home. And after this, thou wilt not give her so much when thou receivest her in marriage.

'All, then, who are possessed of beauty and stature soon go home; but all of them who are plain wait a long time, unable to fulfil the law. Some even wait three or four years' time. A similar custom prevails in some places in Cyprus.'

Our verse seems to describe something similar but not identical. There is no mention here of the Sanctuary (*ἱερόν*) of Aphrodite. The women 'sit in the ways' or streets, instead of repairing thither: cf. Gen. xxxviii. 14 ff., Prov. vii. 8, 12. Herodotus does not mention the offering of 'bran'; and it is not clear whether the 'cords' (*σχοινία*) of our verse are to be identified with his 'fillet of cord' (*στεφανὸν θώμιγγος*) or his 'rope-drawn passages' (*σχοινοτενέες διέξοδοι*), or with neither. The expression *ἐφελκυσθεῖσα*, 'dragged after him,' seems to imply a cord round the woman's waist, a sort of Venus's girdle, which is then symbolically broken.

44. **Whatsoever is done among them is false.** This agrees with A's reading *παρ' αὐτοῖς*, and seems to refer to the Chaldeans or their priests. Q's *ἐν αὐτοῖς* = בהם, which would more naturally mean 'upon them', i. e. the idols (cf. Num. xxxiii. 4, Dan. ix. 12), in the sense of punishment. Heb. perhaps: כל הנעשות להם שקר 'All the things that are done unto (or *for*) them are a fraud'; or כל אשר יֵעָשֶׂה להם שקר 'Everything which is wont to be done for them is a fraud' (so Syr.). *πάντα τὰ γενόμενα* = כל אשר עשה, 1 Kings xxii. 54. Perhaps, therefore, כל אשר עשו להם שקר (שוא) הוא = 'All that they do in their honour is a fraud (folly)'. (Both *ψευδῆ* adj. and *ψεύδη* subst. appear for שקר in LXX.)

For the rest of the verse see *v.* 40. The *ὡς* (= *ὥστε*: so A Q) seems superfluous as well as difficult. *Ὡς θεοὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπάρχοιεν* would be more intelligible. Cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 780: *καλεῖ με πλαστὸς ὡς εἴην πατρί.*

45–52. *Idols are merely works of art* ('the work of men's hands', Ps. cxv. 4).

45. Heb. perhaps: מעשה ידי חורש וצורף המה 'handiwork of carpenter and smelter are they': cf. Jer. x. 9,

46 else than the workmen will have them to be. And they themselves that fashioned them can never
47 continue long; how then should the things that are fashioned by them? For they have left lies
48 and reproaches to them that come after. For when there cometh any war or plague upon them,
49 the priests consult with themselves, where there may be hidden with them. How then cannot
men understand that they be no gods, which can neither save themselves from war, nor from
50 plague? For seeing they be but of wood, and overlaid with gold and with silver, it shall be
51 known hereafter that they are false: and it shall be manifest to all nations and kings that they
52 are no gods, but the works of men's hands, and that there is no work of God in them. Who
53 then may not know that they are no gods? For neither can they set up a king in a land, nor
54 give rain unto men. Neither can they judge their own cause, nor redress a wrong, being unable:

Ps. cxv. 4. Since עשה *fecit* is often rendered by *γίνομαι* in LXX, e.g. Gen. xlii. 25, 2 Kings xxiii. 23, Jer. viii. 8, we may suppose the original of the second clause of the verse to have been something of this kind: לא יֵעָשׂוּ למעשה אחר אשר לא חפצו חרשים לעשות: 'They are not made into another thing which the craftsmen did not want to make'. This implies *γένωνται* (A Q) for *γένηται* (B). Literally rendered, B's text says: 'no other thing will result than what the craftsmen wish them to become.' In 2 Kings ii. 10, *οὐ μὴ γένηται* = לא יהיה; and so here the Heb. may have been לא יהיה כל שונה מאשר חפצו וגו׳ 'there will not come into being aught different from that which', &c. (cf. Esther i. 8, iii. 7 for שונה with מן = 'different from').

46. B wrongly omits *εἶναι θεοί* from the second clause, where A Q [Syr.] preserve those words. Heb. והם עושיהם לא יאריכו ימים ומה מעשי ידיהם יהיו אלהים (cf. Gen. xxvi. 8, Deut. iv. 26) 'And they, their makers, cannot prolong days; And how shall works of their hands become gods?' Gods *are πολυχρόνιοι* and, indeed, eternal.

47. Lit. 'for they left lies and a reproach to those who are born after' (i. e. to posterity). The connexion of thought would seem to be: for the idolaters bequeath, not gods, but a *damnosa haereditas* of disappointment or deception (*ψεύδη* = שקר, Jer. x. 14) and reproach (*ὄνειδος* = חרפה) to after generations. Posterity is not likely to regard as gods things which had failed to help in the hour of national danger and disaster, and whose impotence was a subject of mockery to the conquerors (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 33 ff.), and of shame and mortification to their worshippers (Isa. xlii. 17, Jer. xlviii. 13). Heb. כי עזבו שקר וחרפה לאחרונים: For אחרון in this sense, see Job xviii. 20, Eccles. i. 11, iv. 16.

48. **when . . . or plague.** Rather, 'Whenever . . . and evils' (*κακά* = רעה, as in Mic. iii. 11: *οὐ μὴ ἐπελθῇ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κακά*). Heb. of verse: כי בבוא עליהם מלחמה ורעה יועצו הכהנים יחדו (or איש אל רעהו) אי־זה יתחבאו עמם: (אנה). B: *ἐπ' αὐτά* = upon the idols; A: *ἐπ' αὐτούς* = upon the idolaters. The Heb. עליהם might mean either; but A is probably right. *Βουλεύονται πρὸς ἑαυτούς.* Cf. 2 Kings vi. 8 for the construction (נועץ אל).

49. Lit. 'How then is it not possible to perceive', &c. = Heb. ומה אין לדעת וגו׳; see for this construction Ezra ix. 15, Eccles. iii. 14. Instead of 'themselves' (*ἑαυτούς*) A gives 'them' (*αὐτούς*). 'Plague' should be 'evils' (*κακά*), as in *v.* 48. The Heb. of the rest of the verse may have been: כי לא אלהים הם אשר לא יושיעו את נפשם (A Q: אותם) ממלחמה ומרעה (ומצרה Isa. xlvi. 7).

50. Heb. possibly: כי (om. Q) כאשר הם עץ וּמְצֻפִּים זהב וכסף תִּוָּדַע אחרי כן כי שקר המה: (cf. *v.* 6, and Deut. xxviii. 42 *ξυλινά* = עץ; Exod. xxvi. 32, also Exod. xx. 23) 'For inasmuch as they are wood and overlaid with gold and silver, it will become known hereafter that they are a fraud'.

51. **and that there is no work of God in them** = *καὶ οὐδὲν θεοῦ ἔργον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν*; a somewhat strange statement, and suggestive of mistranslation. If the Hebrew were ואין אלהים עשֶׂה בהם ('And there is no god working in or through them'), we have here a parallel to the error of LXX in Job iv. 17 (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ* = מעשהו) and Joel ii. 11 (עשֶׂה דברו = *ἔργα λόγων αὐτοῦ*). Cf. also Prov. xx. 12 (*κυρίου ἔργα* = יְהוָה עָשָׂה).

52. B has: *τίνι οὖν γνωστέον ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί*; 'By what then must it be known that they are not gods?' an inept question, surely, after all that has been already said. A's reading is preferable: *Τίνι οὖν γνωστὸν οὐκ ἔσται κτλ.* = 'To whom then shall it not be known', &c.: ולמי לא יִוָּדַע אפוא כי אינם אלהים (cf. Exod. xxxiii. 16).

53. The verse falls back into Hebrew quite naturally. כי מלך (ה)ארץ לא יקימו (1 Kings xiv. 14) ולא אֶת־מְטַר הָאֲדָמָה יתנו: 'For a king of a (the) country they cannot set up, and the rain of the ground they cannot give'. Apparently the Greek translator misread האדם (= *ἀνθρώποις*) for האדמה: see Deut. xxviii. 12, 24, xi. 14; 1 Kings xvii. 14.

54. The position of *ἑαυτῶν* (A Q *αὐτῶν*) is remarkable. It looks as if the word were an attempt to render Heb. הֵמָּה or הֵם; an emphatic *they*. Heb. ודין לא ידינו המה: cf. Jer. v. 28. The next clause, *οὐδὲ μὴ ῥύσωνται ἀδίκημα* ('nor redress a wrong'), appears to be a reminiscence of Isa. i. 17, where LXX[B] has *ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον* = אשרו חמוץ. Here also A has *ἀδικούμενον* for B's *ἀδίκημα*. We may therefore suppose an original text ולא יאשרו חמוץ 'nor can they correct an oppressor', or 'right one that is wronged'. (Cf. also 2 Sam. xxii. 49: *ἀδίκημα* = חָמָס.) 'Being unable' (*ἀδύνατοι ὄντες*) probably belongs to the next clause; where A Q[mg] read *αἱ* instead of *γάρ* (no doubt correctly). This gives the sense: 'being powerless as the crows

55 for they are as crows between heaven and earth. For even when fire falleth upon the house of
gods of wood, or overlaid with gold or with silver, their priests will flee away, and escape, but
56 they themselves shall be burnt asunder like beams. Moreover they cannot withstand any king
57 or enemies: how should a man then allow or think that they be gods? Neither are those gods
of wood, and overlaid with silver or with gold, able to escape either from thieves or robbers.
58 Whose gold, and silver, and garments wherewith they are clothed, they that are strong will take
59 from them, and go away withal: neither shall they be able to help themselves. Therefore it
is better to be a king that showeth his manhood, or else a vessel in a house profitable for that
whereof the owner shall have need, than such false gods; or even a door in a house, to keep
the things safe that be therein, than such false gods; or a pillar of wood in a palace, than such
60 false gods. For sun, and moon, and stars, being bright and sent to do their offices, are obedient.

between the heaven and the earth.' The point of the comparison, however, is still obscure, for 'crows' (or ravens: see Jer. iii. 2 כַּעֲרָבִי במדבר = *ὡσεὶ κορώνη ἐρημουμένη*, LXX reading or misreading כְּעֹרֵב במ׳) do not give the impression of powerlessness, especially when flying in mid-air. Moreover, a verb seems wanting, as crows are not always in the air. Now in Job v. 16, xxxi. 16, *ἀδύνατος* represents Heb. דַּל, *weak, helpless*. It seems possible, therefore, that the Hebrew text here had כִּי דַלּוּ (*for they hang suspended*: cf. Job xxviii. 4), which the Greek translator ignorantly rendered *ἀδύνατοι ὄντες*. The reference would be to images hanging on a wall (cf. *v.* 21 note): Heb. כי דלו כערבים בין השמים ובין הארץ. We may further suggest that כעבים ('like the clouds') has been mistaken for כערבים ('like the ravens'). The Syriac has: 'And not like the ravens between heaven and earth *do they fly in the air*' (פרחין באאר).

55. Hebrew possibly: גם כי תפול אש (וגם בנפול אש) בבית אלהי עץ וזהב וכסף כהניהם ינוסו ונמלטו והם בקרות בַּתָּוֶךְ יִשָּׂרְפוּן (cf. Gen. xv. 10: *διεῖλεν αὐτὰ μέσα*).

56. Heb. may have been: כי אלהים (cf. *v.* 40) ומה לקחת ולהאמין (Deut. xxviii. 7) ועל מלך ועל איבים לא יקומו המה: (For לקח '*to receive* a lesson', cf. Jer. ii. 30.)

57. *Διαθῶσιν* (B) is evidently wrong. The syllable *σω* has been accidentally omitted. Q presents the right reading *διασωθῶσιν* [so Syr.]: cf. *v.* 55. The Heb. was probably something like the following: לא מגנבים ולא משודדים יִמָּלְטוּ אלהי עץ וכסף וזהב: 'Neither from thieves nor from robbers' (Obad. 5) 'can gods of wood and silver and gold escape'.

58. Lit. 'From whom the strong will (= may) strip off the gold and silver; and the raiment that lies about them they will (may) go off with.' Heb. אשר הגבורים יפשיטום את כספם ואת זהבם ואת הבגדים אשר עליהם יקחו והלכו: (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 23, Ezek. xvi. 39, Isa. xlix. 25, for the language). In the third member of the verse, A's *οἱ δέ*, *but they*, seems better than B's *οὔτε* = ולא 'and not'. Heb. והם לנפשם לא יושיעו (Joshua x. 6), 'and they (the idols) will not save themselves.'

59. What writer, thinking in Greek, would have expressed himself in this fashion? Lit. the words run more like this: 'So that it is better to be a king exhibiting his own courage, or a vessel in a house useful for what the possessor shall use it for, than the false gods.' The fitness of the first comparison is far from being self-evident. It goes without saying, that a king giving proof of life and vigour in the face of attack is superior to a 'god' who can do nothing to defend his own person. But why a 'king' and not rather a 'man', i. e. any one whatever? Possibly because god and king are synonymous terms in Oriental use (cf. 1 Sam. xii. 12; Ps. v. 2, xx. 9, xxiv. 7, lxviii. 24; Isa. vi. 5, viii. 21, xli. 21); and a 'king' who fights for crown and kingdom (he was perhaps thinking of the struggles of some contemporary sovereign) is certainly 'better' than a *roi fainéant*. Heb. על כן טוב (להיות) מלך מראה את גבורתו וכלי בבית מועיל לאשר יעשה אתו קִנְיָנוֹ (מאלהי שקר): It seems questionable whether the Hebrew had 'It is better to be a king', as the Greek has it (cf. Prov. xxi. 9), or 'Better is a king', &c. (cf. Prov. xix. 1, Eccles. iv. 13), of which A Q's *κρείσσων* (B *κρεῖσσον*) looks like a reminiscence. The nominatives in what follows (*ἢ καὶ θύρα ἐν οἰκίᾳ . . . καὶ ξύλινος στύλος*) may point in the latter direction. They at least show that the author of the Greek forgot the construction with which he started, and support the view that he was translating from a language destitute of Case-inflexions, viz. Hebrew. The LXX rendering of the Canonical Books often exhibits the same error. [I leave this note as originally written, in order to show how little can be made of the text as it stands; but see Introd. § 3 (6) for a conjectural emendation of the first clause of the verse.] The Heb. of the rest of the verse might be: וגם דלת בבית שומרת את אשר בו (מאלהי שקר) ועמוד עץ בהיכל מאלהי שקר: (*τὰ βασίλεια* = ההיכל, Nahum ii. 6). The triple *ἢ οἱ ψευδεῖς θεοί* is hardly original. The first two occurrences look like artless insertions intended to make the meaning clearer. (Cf. Wisd. v. 9–13.) I have therefore enclosed them in brackets. The Syriac omits all, perhaps correctly.

60. Unlike the things just mentioned, and those enumerated in *vv.* 60–63, the false gods are useful for no purpose whatever.

כי שמש וירח וכוכבים מאירים
ושלוחים על חֵפֶץ ושומעים:

61 Likewise also the lightning when it glittereth is fair to see; and after the same manner the wind
62 also bloweth in every country. And when God commandeth the clouds to go over the whole
63 world, they do as they are bidden. And the fire sent from above to consume mountains and woods
doeth as it is commanded: but these are to be likened unto them neither in show nor power.
64 Wherefore a man should neither think nor say that they are gods, seeing they are able neither
65 to judge causes, nor to do good unto men. Knowing therefore that they are no gods, fear them
66, 67 not. For they can neither curse nor bless kings: neither can they show signs in the heavens
68 among the nations, nor shine as the sun, nor give light as the moon. The beasts are better than

'For sun and moon and stars do shine;
They are sent on a business and obey.'

For χρείας = חֶפֶץ, see Eccles. iii. 1 Symm. and ib. 17 Aq. For the sense of חפץ, cf. Isa. liii. 10, lviii. 13. Εὐήκοος = שומע, Prov. xxv. 12. It is evident that the Greek closely follows, while partially misunderstanding, the Hebrew.

61. **Likewise also the lightning when it glittereth is fair to see.** The attribution of beauty to lightning is quite contrary to Biblical conceptions, which rather associate awe and terror with this phenomenon: Ex. xix. 16; Ps. xviii. 14, lxxvii. 18; Rev. iv. 5. Εὔοπτος might be 'well-seen' = conspicuous. But it is probable that we have here another instance of error in translation; the author of the Greek version having connected נורא *terrible* with נראה *seen.* The Heb. may have been: ואף ברק בהראותו נורא 'And also lightning when it appeareth is awful'; or וכן גם ברק בהאירו נורא, 'And so also lightning when it shineth is terrible'. In either case there is a paronomasia on the two like-sounding words, such as is characteristic of Hebrew style. (In Zeph. ii. 11 נורא is rendered by LXX ἐπιφανήσεται, and in 2 Sam. vii. 23 נוראות = ἐπιφάνειαν, while נורא is rendered by ἐπιφανής six or seven times. In these cases there is a similar confusion of the above Heb. roots.) The rest of the verse might be: וכן גם רוח בכל ארץ נושבת: 'And so also wind bloweth in every land'. For τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ . . . see Phil. ii. 18 (Gifford).

62. Lit. 'And to clouds whenever it is commanded by God to go over all the inhabited (world), they accomplish what was commanded'. The Hebrew may have been simply: ועבים בצותם אלהים לעבר על תבל יכלו את המצוה (יעשו) (יעשו כן): Isa. xiii. 11, xiv. 17 תבל = ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη; but ib. xiv. 26 ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην = על כל הארץ. The translator possibly connected the מ of בצותם with אלהים, supposing the verb to be passive. Cf., however, Isa. v. 6: ועל העבים אצוה = καὶ ταῖς νεφέλαις ἐντελοῦμαι. See Ezek. xxxix. 14 for ἐπιπορεύεσθαι = לעבור. The paronomasia with עבים was probably intentional.

63. **the fire**: i.e. lightning, which is 'the Fire of God'. Instead of 'to consume' (ἐξαναλῶσαι, 'to spend' or 'destroy utterly'), Q gives ἐξερημῶσαι, 'to desolate utterly'. The latter might be an attempt to render Heb. להחריב or להשם more exactly (= to *lay waste*), but the Heb. may have been simply לבער *to consume* (cf. Syr.). Q's addition καὶ βουνούς, *and hills* (so also Syr.), may be original: cf. Isa. lv. 12. Δρυμούς may represent a sing. יער, as in Isa. x. 18, though plur. יערים (Ezra ii. 25) or יערות is perhaps more probable. The Heb. of the verse might be: והאש שלוחה (Amos i. 7, 10, &c.) ממעל לבער הרים (וגבעות) ויערות תעשה כן . והם לא דמו אליהם במראה ובגדל: (cf. Ezek. xxxi. 18, Dan. i. 13, 15 מראה = ἰδέαι). (Syr. 'They are not like *one of these things*'; cf. A Q: ἑνὶ αὐτῶν or τούτων.)

64. Heb. על כן לא יֵאָמֵן ולא יֵאמר הם אלהים כי לא יוכלו לשפוט משפט ולהיטיב לאדם: The last word was probably intended to be vocalized לָאָדָם = τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. For היטיב ל, see Joshua xxiv. 20. (Syr. adds: *nor do evil* after *do good.*)

65. See *vv.* 23, 29, *supra.*

66. **curse . . . kings.** See Eccles. x. 20. Cf. also Num. xxii. 6. Heb. כי מלכים לא יקללו ולא יברכו: 'For kings they will (= can) not curse nor bless.'

67. **in the heavens among the nations.** It is probable that this is an instance of a 'conflate reading'. בעמים = בשמים (out of which it might easily have originated). The Heb. of the first clause may well have been: ואתות בשמים לא יתנו 'and signs in the heavens they cannot set'. Cf. Joel iii. 3 (Heb.), Neh. ix. 10. (Syr. corrects: 'and signs in heaven *to* the nations they *show* not.' Cf. Matt. xvi. 1.) The fluctuation of the Greek codd. between ὡς σελήνη (B) and ὡς ἡ σελήνη (A Q; recte) again suggests a Heb. original; for the unpointed כירח might, of course, be read either way (כְּיָרֵחַ or כַּיָּרֵחַ). The Heb. of the latter half of the verse may have been: ולא כַשמש יגיהו ולא יאירו כַירח:

68. **The beasts are better than they** = החיה טובה מהם. For החיה, see Gen. vii. 21, viii. 1. (Perhaps חית השדה, Jer. xii. 9. Syr. *beasts of the wilderness.*) There seems to be something wrong about the reason. Literally the Greek says: 'which are able by escaping into a covert to profit themselves.' Αὐτά or ἑαυτὰ ὠφελῆσαι is a strange expression for ὠφεληθῆναι. Now, the verb ὠφελεῖν in LXX usually renders Heb. הועיל 'to profit', as in Isa. xxx. 5; and it is likely that the translator mistook להעלם 'to hide' for 'to profit them'. It is merely a question of vowel-points (לְהַעְלֵם instead of לְהֵעָלֵם Niph. Inf.). Obviously, the motive for 'fleeing into a covert' would be to *hide*, rather than to 'help' or 'profit' oneself.

69 they: for they can get under a covert, and help themselves. In no wise then is it manifest unto
70 us that they are gods: therefore fear them not. For as a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers
that keepeth nothing, so are their gods of wood, and overlaid with gold and with silver. Likewise
71 also their gods of wood, and overlaid with gold and with silver, are like to a white thorn in
an orchard, that every bird sitteth upon; as also to a dead body, that is cast forth into the dark.
72 And ye shall know them to be no gods by the bright purple that rotteth upon them: and they

69. Heb. perhaps: אין דבר במה נודע לנו כי הם א׳ 'There is nothing whereby it is known to us that they are gods'. Cf. Gen. xv. 8.

70. **a scarecrow.** Strictly speaking, *προβασκάνιον* is an amulet or safeguard against witchcraft, such as, according to Plutarch, workmen hung up before their shops. Cf. *βάσκανος* = רע עין, Prov. xxiii. 6. Since *βασκαίνω* is to 'slander, disparage, envy, grudge', is it not just possible that the translator misunderstood Isaiah's מלונה (Isa. i. 8), connecting it with לון 'to murmur' (perhaps rather 'be evil, *hostile*'; cf. Assyr. *lawánu, lamánu, limnu,* be evil, evil, hostile) rather than with לון 'to lodge?' The Syriac actually renders ערזלא דמקטיא, as in Isa. i. 8. But the context rather suggests a post or pillar (perhaps a terminal figure, like Priapus), set up to scare birds and other pilferers, cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. viii. 1–7); and the original phrase may have been modelled on Jeremiah's כתמר (ב)מקשה 'like a post (scarecrow) in a garden of gourds' (Jer. x. 5), which is said of idols as being speechless blocks. Heb. of verse: כי כאשר תֹּמֶר במקשה אין נוטר דבר כן אלהיהם עץ וזהב וכסף: 'For as a post in a cucumber-plot protecteth nothing, so their gods (of) wood and gold and silver' (protect nothing). Their 'terrors are empty terrors, like those of the palm-trunk, rough-hewn into human shape, and set up among the melons to frighten the birds away' (see my exposition of Jer. x. in *Prophecies of Jer.*, pp. 227–9, *Expositor's Bible*).

71. **white thorn,** the Greek *ῥάμνος*, a kind of prickly shrub, also called *παλίουρος*; *Rhamnus paliurus*, of which Theophrastus mentions two kinds, a white and a black, as we have our 'whitethorn' and 'blackthorn' in the hedgerows. Ῥάμνος is the equivalent of אטד 'bramble', 'buckthorn', in Judges ix. 14, 15, Ps. lviii. 10, where it is mentioned as the inferior of all the trees (Judges l. c.), and as used for fuel (Ps. l. c.). Here, the idols are as contemptible as this common hedge-growth, upon which any bird might settle and foul it (cf. *v.* 22). Tristram enumerates sixteen species of Rhamneae in Palestine (*Enc. Bib.* s. v. 'Thorns'). It is not evident why the *Rhamnus* should be '*in* a garden' (*τῇ ἐν κήπῳ ῥάμνῳ*), as it was not a garden plant. Probably a hedge of thorns *round* the garden (not 'orchard') is intended. Or the idea may be that of a wild growth in a neglected garden.

a dead body . . . cast forth into the dark is a comparison by which the writer intends to signify the extreme of contempt. Cf. Amos viii. 3; Jer. xiv. 16, xxii. 19; Isa. xxxiv. 3; Baruch ii. 25; 1 Macc. xi. 4. For a corpse to be left unburied was the height of indignity. 'Into the dark' may be a vivid touch, suggesting in one word (בחשך) an entire picture. We see the helpless body, perhaps of an infant, thrown out furtively under cover of night into the darkness of the deserted street, to become a prey to pariah dogs. (For the construction *ἐρριμμένῳ ἐν σκότει*, instead of *εἰς σκότος*, cf. 2 Kings ix. 25, 26, xiii. 21.) But it seems more likely that בחשך is a corruption or alteration of בחוץ 'into the street' (Jer. xiv. 16). The original text of the verse may have been something like the following: וכן גם לאטד בגן אשר כל צפור יושב עליו וגם למת (לפגר) מֻשְׁלָךְ בחוץ דמו אלהיהם [עץ וזהב וכסף]: (The concluding words may be due to inadvertent repetition from the preceding verse.) Or perhaps . . . וגם כמת . . . וגם כאטד נמשלו אלהיהם.

72. Lit. 'And from the purple and the marble that rotteth upon them it shall (= *may*; Hebraism) be known that they are not gods'. The Greek word *μάρμαρος* means any *stone* or *rock* which *sparkles* (*μαρμαίρει*) in the light; and then specially *marble* (= Lat. *marmor*). The margin and R. V. are both wrong in supposing that the term is here used as an epithet of *πορφύρα*, with the sense of 'brightness' or 'bright', which the word never bears. As I pointed out long ago in the *Variorum Apocrypha*, the Greek translator has here confused the Hebrew שֵׁשׁ 'linen' (Exod. xxv. 4; = Greek *βύσσος*) with its homophone שֵׁשׁ 'marble' (Cant. v. 15; עמודי שש = *στύλοι μαρμάρινοι*). Byssus is coupled with purple in Exod. xxvi. 1, and elsewhere; see especially Prov. xxxi. 22 (*ἐκ δὲ βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνδύματα*). The robes of the idols might 'rot' upon them, but 'marble' hardly. The Syriac at least shows a sense of the fitness of things, with its 'purple and *silk stuffs*'. Heb. ומן הארגמן והשש הרוקב עליהם יודע כי אינם אלהים. For רקב = *σήπομαι*, cf. Job xix. 20, where LXX has *ἐσάπησαν* = דבקה (obviously reading רקב׳). The variations *ἐπ' αὐτούς* (B), *ἐπ' αὐτῶν* (A), *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* (Q), might all be attempts to represent Heb. עליהם 'upon them'. 'And they themselves' (*αὐτά τε*); in contrast with their apparel. Heb. perhaps simply והם 'and they'; or וגופם 'and their body'; or וגרמם (Aramaism). Cf. *v.* 8.

shall be consumed; rather *devoured* (*βρωθήσονται* = יאכלו or יאכל; cf. Isa. li. 8). The idea might be *devoured by fire*; but then בָּאֵשׁ seems necessary, as in Ezek. xxiii. 25, Neh. ii. 3 al. The word may have been passed over accidentally; but it seems more likely that the Greek translator misread יכלו 'shall perish' (Isa. i. 28) as יאכלו 'shall be eaten up'. This gives us as Heb. for the rest of the verse: והם אחר יכלו והיו חרפה בארץ: [*v.* 20 may possibly give the clue to the sense: 'Things creeping out of the earth devour both them and their raiment.' But I prefer the preceding suggestion.] After plur. *βρωθήσονται*, with subject *αὐτά*,

73 themselves afterward shall be consumed, and shall be a reproach in the country. Better therefore is the just man that hath none idols: for he shall be far from reproach.

the following clause *καὶ ἔσται ὄνειδος* ought to mean 'And it shall be a reproach' = והיתה חרפה; but Q's *ἔσονται* is preferable.

73. An apparently lame conclusion. Idols will evidently become a reproach to their worshippers; therefore one who has nothing to do with idols will be far from reproach; a *non sequitur*, unless idolatry be the sole ground of reproach. Further, there is no obvious reference for the comparative *κρείσσων*. Better than whom? A vague *ἢ αὐτοί, than they*, meaning 'the Chaldeans' (*v.* 40), may have fallen out; cf. *οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν*, 'their gods,' in *vv.* 70 sq. Or the omitted phrase may have been *ἢ οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτά*, 'than they that serve them,' *v.* 27. See the repeated *ἢ οἱ ψευδεῖς θεοί*, *v.* 58 (Eng. 59). The Hebrew of the verse may thus have been: על כן טוב איש צדיק ועצבים אין לו מהמה (מעבדיהם) כי הוא יהיה רחוק מחרפה: 'Therefore better is a righteous man who hath no idols than they (than their worshippers); for he (A: *αὐτός*) will be far from reproach'. The phrase *ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος* = 'a non-idolater', in the sense of the writer; cf. the use of *ἄνομοι, ἀσεβεῖς, υἱοὶ παράνομοι, ἁμαρτωλοί*, for the heathen and renegade Jews in 1 Macc. *passim*. And it would perhaps give a more coherent sense if the statement of the verse were: 'Better is a "righteous" man (= a non-idolater) than one that hath idols; for (unlike the latter) he will be far from reproach' (which the latter must share with his discredited gods) = Heb. טוב איש צדיק מאשר לו אלילים וגו׳. The translator may have confused לו with לוא (לא), *not*, and omitted to notice the particle of comparison. (Possibly his Heb. MS. was worn at the end.) The Syriac ends thus: 'Well is it, then, for the righteous man who is far from reproach, *and is looking for the Lord God!*' (that is, the Parousia). 'Finished is the Epistle of Jeremiah the Prophet. His Prayers be with us!'

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Description of the Book.

'The Prayer of Manasses, King of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon,' is the title of a short penitential Psalm. It is written in Greek, and contains thirty-seven στίχοι. In Fritzsche's *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece* it is divided into fifteen verses; and this division has been very generally adopted.

The Psalm consists of (*a*) an invocation of the Deity (*vv.* 1–7), (*b*) a confession of sin (*vv.* 8–10), (*c*) an entreaty for forgiveness (*vv.* 11–15).

§ 2. Its Origin.

Its literary origin is obscure. There seems, however, to be little reason to doubt that the author was a Jew, i.e. not a Christian. While, in the case of so short a fragment, it is difficult to decide with absolute certainty, it seems most probable that the Prayer was originally written in Greek; and that the existing Greek text is not, as has sometimes been maintained, a translation from the Hebrew or Aramaic.[1] If this view be correct, 'The Prayer of Manasses' should be classed with such writings as 'The Song of the Three Children', and be regarded as, in all probability, the composition of a Hellenistic Jew, who in the interests of his people's faith wrote the penitential Prayer to suit the special circumstances under which the prayer, ascribed to Manasseh, King of Judah, in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19, was supposed to have been uttered.

It will be convenient to quote the whole passage in which this mention of the king's prayer occurs, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11–13, 18, 19:

(11) 'Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh in chains (Or, *with hooks*), and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon. (12) And when he was in distress, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. (13) And he prayed unto him; and he was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God. . . . (18) Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the Lord, the God of Israel, behold, they are written among the acts of the kings of Israel. (19) His prayer also, and how *God* was intreated of him, and all his sin and his trespass, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the Asherim and the graven images, before he humbled himself: behold, they are written in the history of Hozai (Or, *the seers*).'

According to this account, a Prayer of Manasseh[2] was reputed, in the Chronicler's time, (*a*) to have been preserved among 'the acts of the kings of Israel', and (*b*) to be contained in the records of Hozai (or, *the seers*). Whether the Chronicler himself was acquainted with any such Hebrew prayer, or whether he is simply repeating a popular tradition, we have no means of determining. No such writing was ever contained in the Hebrew Scriptures; nor, if it ever existed, has it survived in any Hebrew or Aramaic form.

It is easy to understand that the Chronicler's story of Manasseh's repentance and prayer and deliverance from captivity must have produced upon the minds of devout Jews a profound impression. The record of his idolatry and of his persecution of the servants of Jehovah had stamped his name with infamy in the annals of Judah. But side by side with his wickedness were commemorated the unusual length of the king's reign and the quiet peacefulness of his end. The Chronicler's story of the repentance and conversion of Manasseh provided the explanation of a seemingly unintelligible anomaly. Henceforth his name was associated by Jewish tradition not only with the grossest acts of idolatry ever perpetrated by a king of Judah, but also with the most famous instance of Divine forgiveness towards a repentant sinner. What more remarkable example could be found of the long-suffering compassion of the Almighty and of His readiness to hear and to answer the supplication of a contrite penitent?

Nothing would be more natural than for a devout Jew to endeavour to frame in fitting terms the kind of penitential prayer, which, according to the tradition, Manasseh had poured forth when he was in captivity in Babylon. The sentiments embodied in such a form of petition might conceivably be

[1] See note on § 7.—Gen. Ed.

[2] The oldest non-canonical reference to this prayer is to be found in 2 Baruch lxiv. 8.

appropriate to those of his countrymen who had fallen into idolatry, and who might yet be reclaimed from the error of their way.

According to this hypothesis, the Psalm was composed for a practical devotional purpose.

§ 3. Its Literary History.

'The Prayer of Manasses' makes its first appearance in extant literature, so far as is known at present, in the so-called *Didascalia*. This was an early Christian writing, composed probably in the second or third century, and incorporated into the *Apostolical Constitutions*, a work of the fourth or fifth century, of which the first six books consist of the *Didascalia*.

The author of the *Didascalia* was probably a member of the Christian Church in Syria, and wrote in Greek. In a long extract, apparently derived from some other writing, he records at length the narrative of Manasseh's idolatry and punishment, of his repentance and prayer, of his miraculous deliverance from captivity and restoration to Jerusalem. The object which the author of the *Didascalia* has in view is to illustrate God's mercy towards a repentant sinner. After briefly mentioning the classical instances of David's repentance at the rebuke of Nathan, of Jonah's repentance and the answer to his prayer uttered in the whale's belly, of Hezekiah's supplication and the pardon of his sin of pride, he continues, 'But hearken, ye bishops, to an excellent and apposite example; for thus is it written in the Fourth Book of the Kingdoms (i.e. 2 Kings) and in the Second Book of Chronicles.' Then follow extracts from the LXX of 2 Kings xxi. 1–18 and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1 ff., which are welded together and expanded by four Additions, to which there is nothing corresponding in the Hebrew text. The order in which these extracts follow one another is as follows:

(1) 2 Kings xxi. 1–4.
(2) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5–8.
(3) 2 Kings xxi. 9–16.
(4) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.
(5) Addition A.
(6) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12–13[a] (*προσηύξατο*).
(7) Addition B. *λέγων*, followed by 'The Prayer of Manasses'.
(8) Addition C.
(9) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13[b].
(10) Addition D.
(11) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 15, 16.

The Additions are as follows:

(A) An insertion between 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 and 12: *καὶ ἦν δεδεμένος καὶ κατασεσιδηρωμένος ὅλος ἐν οἴκῳ φυλακῆς, καὶ ἐδίδοτο αὐτῷ ἐκ πιτύρων ἄρτος ἐν σταθμῷ βραχύς, καὶ ὕδωρ σὺν ὄξει ὀλίγον ἐν μέτρῳ, ὥστε ζῆν αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν συνεχόμενος καὶ ὀδυνώμενος σφόδρα.*[1]

(B) After 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13 *καὶ προσηύξατο πρὸς κύριον* (LXX *αὐτόν*) is added *λέγων· κύριε παντοκράτωρ . . . εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

(C) Instead of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13 *καὶ ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπήκουσεν τῆς βοῆς αὐτοῦ*, is substituted *καὶ ἐπήκουσε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος, καὶ ᾠκτείρησεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτὸν φλὸξ πυρός, καὶ ἐτάκησαν παντὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν σίδηρα· καὶ ἰάσατο κύριος Μανασσῆν ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως αὐτοῦ.*

(D) Instead of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 is substituted *καὶ ἐλάτρευσε μόνῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐλογίσθη δίκαιος.*

§ 4. Its Preservation.

The preservation of this short disconnected Psalm may thus, with good reason, be ascribed to the accident of its occurrence in the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolical Constitutions*. There is no evidence to show that it was ever included in the Septuagint, the Judaeo-Greek Canon of Holy Scripture. But, very possibly, in consequence of the popularity of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, 'The Prayer of Manasses' became well known in the Eastern Church; and it was a natural step to take, to detach the Prayer from its context and to insert it among the Canticles (*ᾠδαί*, *Cantica*) used and sung for liturgical purposes, and to be found appended to the Psalter 'in certain uncial MSS. and a large proportion of the cursives' (Swete, *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, p. 253).

In the Codex Alexandrinus (A) there are fourteen Canticles appended to the Psalter in the following order: (1) Exod. xv. 1–19 (*ᾠδὴ Μωυσέως ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ*): (2) Deut. xxxii. 1–43 (*ᾠδὴ Μωυσέως ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ*): (3) 1 Sam. ii. 1–10 (*προσευχὴ Ἄννας μητρὸς Σαμουήλ*): (4) Isa. xxvi. 9–20 (*προσευχὴ Ἑζεκίου*): (5) Jonah ii. 3–10 (*προσευχὴ Ἰωνᾶ*): (6) Hab. iii. 1–19 (*προσευχὴ Ἀμβακούμ*): (7) Isa. xxxviii. 10–23 (*προσευχὴ Ἑζεκίου*): (8) 'The Prayer of Manasses' (*προσευχὴ Μανασσή*):

[1] On the Jewish Midrashic legend respecting Manasseh's deliverance see Ball's 'Introduction to the Prayer of Manasseh' in Speaker's Comm. on Apoc. ii. 362 ff. Compare 2 Baruch lxiv. 8, part of the section (liii–lxxiv) assigned by Dr. Charles to 50–70 A.D. Cf. Anastas. *in Ps.* 6 *Canis. thes. Monum.* iii, p. 112 *φασὶν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν ἱστοριογράφων, ὅτι ἀπενεχθεὶς Μ. κατεκλείσθη εἰς ζῴδιον χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ ἔσω ὢν ἐν τοιούτῳ ζῳδίῳ προσηύξατο μετὰ δακρύων.* Ioh. Damasc. *Parall.* 2. 15, Opp. ii, p. 463 *ἱστορεῖται παρὰ Ἀφρικάνῳ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ λέγειν ᾠδὴν τὸν Μ. τὰ δεσμὰ διερράγη σιδηρᾶ ὄντα καὶ ἔφυγεν.* Suidas *s.v.* Μανασσῆς: *ὑπὸ Μεροδὰχ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων δέσμιος εἰς Νινευὴ τὴν πόλιν αἰχμάλωτος ἀπήχθη καὶ εἰς τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα καθείρχθη . . . ἐδεήθη τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα θείᾳ δυνάμει διερράγη . . . δεδεμένῳ δὲ ὄντι ἐν φυλακῇ, ἐν πέδαις χαλκαῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ἐκ πιτύρων ἄρτον βραχὺν καὶ ὕδωρ ὀλίγον σὺν ὄξει μετρητῷ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸν καὶ μόνον, καὶ τότε προσηύξατο πρὸς κύριον· κύριε παντόκρατορ.*

(9) Dan. iii. 23 (προσευχὴ Ἀζαρίου): (10) ὕμνος τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν: (11) Magnificat (προσευχὴ Μαρίας τῆς θεοτόκου): (12) *Nunc Dimittis* (προσευχὴ Συμεών): (13) *Benedictus* (προσευχὴ Ζαχαρίου): (14) The Morning Hymn (ὕμνος ἑωθινός). Similarly, in the Codex Turicensis (T), the liturgical Canticles are appended to the Psalter; and 'The Prayer of Manasses' appears ninth in the list. But the evidence of Codex Alexandrinus would alone suffice to show that in the Eastern Church the Prayer was in use for liturgical psalmody in the fifth century A.D.

§ 5. The Title.

To the Psalm is prefixed the title 'The Prayer of Manasses' (προσευχὴ Μανασσή) in Codex Alexandrinus (A); 'The Prayer of Manasses the son of Hezekiah' (προσευχὴ Μανασσὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐζεκίου) in Codex Turicensis (T); and in the editions of the Vulgate 'The Prayer of Manasses, King of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon' (*Oratio Manassae regis Iuda cum captus teneretur in Babylone*).

There is no sufficient reason to call in question the correctness of the title. (1) The title is derived from the narrative in the *Didascalia* in which the Prayer has been incorporated. (2) There is no evidence to show that the Prayer had existed before its inclusion in this Manasseh tradition. (3) Though it is noteworthy that the Prayer contains no mention of any proper name of personage or place, by which the legitimacy of the title might be confirmed, there are nevertheless to be found in it allusions which are most naturally interpreted on the assumption that the Prayer is put into the mouth of Manasseh, King of Judah. Thus, (*a*) the speaker describes himself as 'weighed down with chains', κατακαμπτόμενος πολλῷ σιδηρῷ (ver. 10): (*b*) he dwells with emphasis upon his many sins in past time, ἥμαρτον ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ψάμμου θαλάσσης . . . ἀπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἀδικιῶν μου (ver. 9): (*c*) he makes particular mention of the forms of idolatrous sin whereby he had provoked the wrath of God, στήσας βδελύγματα καὶ πληθύνας προσοχθίσματα (ver. 10).

The objection must be admitted for what it is worth that there is no reference to the Temple of Jerusalem or to the religious worship of Israel. But this omission is intelligible, if we are correct in assuming that the composer is concerned with the tradition of Manasseh's repentance in its religious rather than in its historical bearings.

§ 6. Date of Composition.

It seems probable that the *Didascalia* (lib. ii. 21), in which the Prayer was preserved, was composed in the first half of the third century A.D. (F. X. Funk, *Die Apostol. Konstitutionen*, 1891, p. 50), and in Syria (*ibid.*, p. 54). If we may assume that the author of the *Didascalia* borrowed from some Jewish, or Hellenistic, source the whole passage relating to Manasseh, then the Prayer, and the writing in which it stood, must have been well known in the beginning of the third century A.D. Its composition must be assigned to an earlier date than this.

The inclusion of the Prayer among the liturgical Canticles in the Codex Alexandrinus implies a high degree of estimation; and if those Canticles were copied from a yet earlier MS., we might be justified in inferring that its adoption for liturgical use had its origin not later than in the fourth century, and that a considerable interval of time must have elapsed between its becoming known in the Eastern Church and its being transcribed for liturgical use in MSS. of Scripture. Perhaps, however, we cannot say more than that (1) 'The Prayer of Manasses' probably found its way into liturgical use after becoming known to the Church through the *Didascalia*: (2) that the citation, in the *Didascalia*, of the long extract in which the Prayer occurs, points to an earlier date for the period of its composition: (3) that the position of the Prayer, in a setting of passages cited from the Greek versions of Kings and Chronicles, suggests that the Prayer itself is of considerably later date than the translations which were used as a framework into which the penitential Psalm was inserted.

§ 7. Original Language.

'The Prayer of Manasses' is too brief to admit of any degree of certainty in the reply to the question whether we have to do with a Greek original, or with a Greek translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original.[1] If it be a translation, it deserves to rank high. But the general impression

[1] [There is, I think, one real piece of evidence on behalf of a Semitic original. This is to be found in ver. 7:

σύ, κύριε, κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητός σου ἐπηγγείλω μετανοίας ἄφεσιν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν σοι
καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου ὥρισας μετάνοιαν ἁμαρτωλοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν.

Here μετανοίας ἄφεσιν is clearly anomalous and unintelligible. Furthermore, if we compare the two στίχοι, we discover that it is just this phrase that destroys the otherwise exact parallelism of the στίχοι. Originally the first line contained five elements parallel to the five elements still preserved in the second. Three of these still exist: κατὰ τ. πλῆθος τ. χρηστότητός σου || τ. πλήθει τ. οἰκτιρμῶν σου, ἐπηγείλω || ὥρισας, τ. ἡμαρτηκόσιν σοι || ἁμαρτωλοῖς. Over against

produced by the flexible style and ample vocabulary favours the view that Greek is the language in which it was composed: and it receives further support from the consideration that the manner in which it is inserted in the *Didascalia* extract among quotations from the Greek renderings of Kings and Chronicles, combined with Greek 'Haggadic' Additions, would suggest an originally Greek compilation.

The language may be described as a good specimen of the *κοινὴ διάλεκτος*, and contains phrases which show the usual Semitic colouring, e.g. *ἀπὸ προσώπου* (ver. 3), *ἐνώπιόν σου* (ver. 10), *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* (ver. 13). The occurrence of such adjectives as *ἀμέτρητος, ἀνεξιχνίαστος, ἀνυπόστατος, ἄστεκτος* (*vv.* 6, 7), of such substantives as *ἀγαθωσύνη* (ver. 14), *ἐπαγγελία* (ver. 6), *ψάμμος* (ver. 8), and of such verbs as *ἀνανεύειν* (ver. 10), *ἀτενίζειν* (ver. 9), *κατακάμπτειν* (ver. 9), would suggest a freedom from the usual restrictions of translation.

The employment of phrases based on, or derived from, the LXX seems to indicate an acquaintance with the Greek version rather than the work of an independent translator; e.g. *ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν* (ver. 1), cf. Gen. i. 1, ii. 1: *μετανοῶν ἐπὶ κακίαις ἀνθρώπων* (ver. 7), cf. Joel ii. 13: *μὴ συναπολέσῃς με ταῖς ἀνομίαις μου* (ver. 13), cf. Gen. xix. 15: *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μηνίσας* (ver. 13), cf. Ps. cii. (ciii.) 9: *ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς* (ver. 13), cf. Ps. cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 15: *πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν* (ver. 15), cf. Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6.

Strange constructions such as *ὡρίσας μετάνοιαν . . . εἰς σωτηρίαν* (ver. 7); *ἥμαρτον ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ψάμμου θαλάσσης* (ver. 9); *εἰς τὸ ἀνανεῦσαί με ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν* (ver. 10); *κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας μου* (ver. 11); *διὰ παντὸς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς μου* (ver. 15) seem to indicate the freedom of one who wrote in Greek.

It has been strongly urged by Sir Henry Howorth that the current LXX version of 2 Chronicles should be identified with the work of Theodotion; and that as we have 'a free rendering of parts of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah grouped round a fable (1 Esdras), and by the same hand a paraphrase of parts of Daniel, also with legendary additions' (Thackeray, *Grammar of O.T. in Greek*, p. 15), so we should be prepared to recognize in the Manasseh narrative, Prayer, and Additions, preserved in the *Didascalia* a reproduction of the original LXX version, for which the more literal version of Theodotion was afterwards substituted.

This view has been supported in *Old Test. and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper: Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, by C. C. Torrey (Chicago, 1908).

§ 8. The Theology of 'The Prayer of Manasses'.

The two main religious ideas which pervade the Prayer are (1) the infinite compassion of the Almighty, and (2) the efficacy of true repentance.

The opening Invocation portrays in striking terms the Omnipotence of the Deity, and this leads up to the consideration of the yet nobler attributes of His mercy and goodness (*vv.* 6–7). An effective prelude is thus furnished to the sinner's confession of his iniquities, the climax of which had been reached by his having set up idolatrous abominations. The glory of God and the abasement of the sinner having thus been set over against one another in sharpest contrast, the way is prepared for the ardent supplication for forgiveness which occupies the remainder of the Prayer.

The reader should take notice of the emphasis laid upon the Israelite patriarchs and their true spiritual lineage. The God of 'our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' (ver. 1) is 'the God of the righteous seed' (ver. 1) and 'of the righteous' (ver. 8). The Patriarchs had not sinned against God (ver. 8). Those only were the righteous seed who had not yielded to idolatry. The range of view of the Psalmist is limited: it has regard to the sin of idolatry and to the pardon of the repentant

μετάνοιαν . . . εἰς σωτηρίαν in the second line we have the corrupt phrase *μετανοίας ἄφεσιν* in the first, which on the analogy of the former phrase should obviously be *ἄφεσιν . . . εἰς μετάνοιαν*. If we ask how this corruption arose I reply that it is possible to explain it as due to a transposition of לתשובה (= *εἰς μετάνοιαν*) from the end of the line to the place immediately after סליחה (= *ἄφεσιν*). In this new position the translation rendered סְלִיחָה לְתְשׁוּבָה by *μετανοίας ἄφεσιν*—a rendering that is quite possible though wrong in this context. On the order of the Greek cf. ver. 11 *τῆς παρά σου χρηστότητος*. Thus we should read:

'Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness hast promised forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee that they may repent;
And in the multitude of thy mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners that they may be saved.'

If the above evidence is valid, then we can also recover the right rendering of ver. 4 *ὃν πάντα φρίσσει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου*. Here the two verbs should be taken together. Then *ὃν . . . ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου* is a pure Hebraism = אשר . . . מלפני חילך. Hence render—

'Before whose power all things shudder and tremble.'—Gen. Ed.]

idolater. But a warning seems to be conveyed against the notion that Divine acceptance was ensured by Jewish lineage. The same note is struck, though it may not ring so clear, as in Luke iii. 8: 'Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father.' Cf. John viii. 39; Rom. ix. 6, 7.

Other points, characteristic of Jewish religious thought and deserving of attention, are the following:

(*a*) supernatural efficacy ascribed to the sacred Name (ver. 3);

(*b*) the statement that 'repentance' is appointed by God for certain persons, and not for others (ver. 8);

(*c*) the representation of the under-world (*Sheol*, or Hades) as a region containing various grades of remoteness from the light of heaven (ver. 11);

(*d*) the description of the angels as the 'host of heaven' (ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν, ver. 15).

§ 9. Versions.

(*a*) 'The Prayer of Manasses' was never included in the LXX version of the Old Testament Scriptures. Its position among 'the Canticles' appended to the Psalter, in certain MSS., is due to liturgical reasons.

The Greek text was first printed by R. Stephanus in his edition of the Vulgate. 'The Prayer' follows 2 Chron.; and a short Preface contains this sentence: 'Graecam hanc Manassae regis Iuda orationem, nunquam antehac excusam, peperit tibi, candide lector, bibliotheca Victoriana.'

It does not appear in the majority of the printed editions of the LXX. In the Complutensian Polyglott (1514–17) it is printed in small type, in Latin, at the end of 2 Chron. It was not contained in the Sixtine edition (1586–7) of the LXX; nor does it appear in the editions of Holmes and Parsons, or of Tischendorf.

In Walton's Polyglott (although not mentioned in the index of contents) it is found in vol. iv (the Apocrypha) placed before 3 Esdras, and is printed both in Greek and in Latin. The note is prefixed: 'Orationem Manassae regis Iudae Graece non extare affirmatur in praefatione Bibl. Vulg. Lat. Edit. Antwerp. 1645. Quam tamen Graece iuxta exemplar Bibliothecae Victorianae in Bibliis latinis Roberti Stephani, Edit. 1540, fol. 159 excusam atque insuper in MS. A post Psalmos inter Cantica exaratam invenimus: ipsamque hic subiunximus.' The variants of Cod. A are recorded.

On the other hand, it is found in three reprints of the Sixtine edition, that of Frick (1697), that of Reineccius (1730), and that of Kirchner (1750). It was also included in Grabe's edition of the LXX, following Codex Alexandrinus. But there was no foundation for the note: 'Προσευχὴ Μανασσή, 2 Paral. cap. xxxiii iuxta quaedam exemplaria' (1817, iv. 165). This statement has led to a very general misapprehension. No ancient Greek MSS. of 2 Chron. xxxiii exist containing 'Oratio Manassis'.[1]

(*b*) *The Latin.* As it was not extant in the Hebrew or the Greek Bible, it was not included in the work of Jerome. In all probability he was not aware of its existence. Otherwise, he would scarcely have failed to make some allusion to it in the passage referring to the repentance of Manasseh: 'Legimus Manassem post multa scelera et post captivitatem in Babylone egisse poenitentiam et ad meliora conversum Domini misericordiam consecutum. Unde et fidei suae, per quam crediderat Deo, filium vocavit ἐπώνυμον, id est Ammon' (*In Sophoniam Liber I*, ed. Migne, P. L., vi, § 675, p. 1340).

At what date the Latin version, which is a good specimen of translation, was made is not known. It is probably much later than Jerome's version. The Prayer, however, is very commonly found in mediaeval MSS. of the Vulgate, immediately after 2 Chronicles, and often with the title 'Oratio Manassae'.

In his *Septuagintastudien*, iii, p. 20, Nestle states that he had been assured both by Ph. Thielmann in Landau and by S. Berger in Paris that, so far as they knew, there was no MS. of the Vulgate containing 'The Prayer of Manasses' of an earlier date than the middle or first third of the thirteenth century. A list of fifteen Latin MSS. in the British Museum containing 'The Prayer of Manasses' at the end of Chron. has been most kindly furnished me by Mr. J. P. Gilson of the MS. Department; all belong to the thirteenth century. It would be extremely interesting to know whether there exists any copy of the Vulgate containing 2 Chron. followed by 'The Prayer of Manasses' which is of an earlier date. It is also an at present unsolved problem to determine the influence which from the beginning of the thirteenth century led to the common inclusion of the Prayer in the Latin Scriptures.

An eleventh-century MS. of the Mozarabic Psalter gives a text which differs considerably from

[1] See the valuable discussion in Nestle's *Septuagintastudien*, iii, pp. 6–22. Stuttgart, 1899.

that in the thirteenth-century Latin Bibles, and with the title 'Oratio Manasse Regis De Libro Paralipomenon'. See below, Note B.

The three Latin MSS. (Colbert 273, Colbert 933, Remig. 4) which Sabatier collated with the Clementine Vulgate for his *Bibl. Sacr. Lat. Vers. Ant.* (iii. 1038 sq.) belong to the same period, and have no special claim to distinction (see Fritzsche, *Libri Apoc. Vet. Test. Praefat.*, p. 15).

It was printed in the Latin Bible of Stephanus (1540) together with the Greek text, and it appeared also in Joh. Brentius' edition of the Vulgate (Leipzig, 1544), in two columns, one in Greek, the other in Latin, side by side.

The edition of the Vulgate issued by Sixtus V (1590) did not contain the Prayer.[1] But in the revised edition of Clement VIII (1592) it was inserted, together with 3 and 4 Esdras, as an appendix after the New Testament. The *Praefatio ad Lectorem* written by Cardinal Bellarmine contains the following statement: 'Porro in hac editione nihil non canonicum, nihil adscititium, nihil extraneum, apponere visum est; atque ea causa fuit, cur libri iii et iv Esdrae inscripti, quos inter canonicos libros sacra Tridentina Synodus non annumeravit, ipsa etiam Manassae regis Oratio, quae neque hebraice neque graece quidem exstat, neque in manuscriptis antiquioribus invenitur, neque pars est ullius canonici libri, extra canonicae Scripturae seriem posita sint.' This statement, as Sir Henry Howorth has pointed out (*Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxxi, pt. 3, p. 90), 'was probably unwittingly taken over from the Dominican Pagnini's revised version of the Vulgate which was published in 1527, before Stephen had published his Bible. In Pagnini's edition the Prayer is put at the end of 2 Chronicles, and is headed: "Oratio Manasse regis Iuda quae neque in Hebraeo neq. in Graeco habetur."'

In modern Greek Bibles 'The Prayer of Manasseh' has a place immediately after the Books of Chronicles (e.g. St. Petersburg, 1876).

§ 10. Syriac Version.

An account of the Syriac Version of the Prayer appeared in *Hermathena* xxxvi, 1910, from the competent pen of Professor George Wilkins, of Trinity College, Dublin. In his article he published a collation of a Paris MS. (*Anc. fonds* 2, *Biblioth. Nat.*, Syr. 7) which is probably a transcript of the Syriac MS. (*Vat.* viii) written by Sergius Risius, Maronite Archbp. of Damascus, circ. 1610.

The Syriac Version of the *Didascalia* is preserved, according to Professor Wilkins, in the following four MSS.:

(1) Cod. Syr. 62 (= Saint Germain 38), Paris, ninth century, = P.
(2) Harris Codex (Mrs. Gibson's *Horae Semiticae*), eleventh century, = H.
(3) University Library, Cambridge, thirteenth century, = C.
(4) Cod. Borgia, Museo Borgia, Rome.

§ 11. Other Versions.

Armenian MSS. of the O. T. Scriptures contain the Prayer among the Canticles appended to the Psalter.

It is also stated to occur in the old Slavonic Version (cf. article by Sir Henry Howorth, *Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, March, 1909, p. 90).

It is found appended to the Psalter in the Ethiopic Version of the Psalms (ed. Ludolf, Frankfort, 1701).

And the Ethiopic Version of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ed. Thomas Pell Platt, London, 1834) contains the Prayer.

§ 12. Text.

The principal authorities for the text are (*a*) the two Greek uncial MSS. Alexandrinus and Turicensis; (*b*) the Latin and Syriac Versions; (*c*) the *Apostolical Constitutions* and *Didascalia*.

The text of cursive MSS., containing the Canticles appended to the Psalter, has yet to be critically investigated.

The MSS. of the *Apostolical Constitutions* are given by Pitra in his *Iuris Ecclesiastici Historia et Monumenta*, tom. 1, p. 163 (Romae, 1864). Pitra himself seems to have relied especially upon 'Vatic. 1' (= Vatic. 839, f. 1–175, saec. x, membr.), and 'Vatic. 2' (= Vatic. 1506, f. 1 ad. 77, a. 1024 membr.).

The important edition by P. de Lagarde, Lipsiae, 1862, contains an apparatus criticus.

The old edition of Cotelerius (1672) is well worth consulting.

[1] The Bull of Sixtus V (*Aeternus ille*), by which it was prefaced, had simply this allusion: 'Orationem Manassae, quae neque in Hebraeo, neque in Graeco textu est, neque in antiquioribus manuscriptis Latinis exemplaribus reperitur; sed in impressis tantum post librum secundum Paralipomenon affixa est, tanquam insutam, adiectam et in textu sacrorum librorum locum non habentem repudiavimus.'

The principal problems presented by the text of 'The Prayer of Manasses' are to be found in:

(1) ver. 7; the additional clauses found in the Latin and in the *Apostol. Const.* at the close of the verse;

(2) ver. 9; additional clause in the Syriac Version and in the Mozarabic Psalter;

(3) ver. 10; various readings arising from the obscurity of the verb ἀνανεῦσαι;

(4) ver. 10; the gloss added in Cod. T (μὴ ποιήσας τὸ θέλημά σου καὶ φυλάξας τὰ προστάγματά σου) and the Latin.

§ 13. English Versions.

'The Prayer of Manasses' was not included in Coverdale's Bible, 1535. But it appears in Cranmer's Bible (Grafton), 1539 (being given a place in the Apocrypha after 'Bel and the Dragon' and before 1 Maccabees), and in the subsequent editions (1541, 1549, 1562, 1566).

It receives the same position in the Bishops' Bible, 1st ed., 1568. It does not appear in the Genevan version. In the 'Authorized' (1611) and 'Revised' versions it stands between 'Bel and the Dragon' and 1 Maccabees.

In the Douai Bible of 1609 the Prayer precedes 2 Esdras and follows 2 Maccabees. It is headed by the note: 'The Prayer of Manasses, with the second and third Bookes of Esdras, extant in most Latin and Vulgare Bibles, are here placed after al the Canonical Bookes of the Old Testament, because they are not received into the Canon of Divine Scriptures by the Catholique Church.'

In Luther's Bible it stands at the end of the Apocrypha, after the Additions to Daniel.

Summary of the Prayer.

(1) *The Invocation*: (*a*) O God of Israel (ver. 1), Lord and Creator of the Universe (*vv.* 2, 3), infinite in power (ver. 4) and in anger against the sinner (ver. 5); (*b*) infinite also in mercy (ver. 6), Thou hast proclaimed forgiveness for repentance, and appointed me the sinner unto repentance (*vv.* 7, 8).

(2) *The Confession*: my sins are innumerable; I am unworthy to look upwards: I am justly punished, loaded with chains, in misery (*vv.* 9–11).

(3) *The Entreaty*: I beseech Thee (ver. 11); I acknowledge all (ver. 12); grant pardon; consume me not; nor let Thine anger burn for ever (ver. 13).

(4) *The Ascription*: Thou, the God of them that repent, wilt graciously save me (ver. 14); and I will praise Thee for ever.

(5) *Doxology*: Angels hymn Thy praises; Thine is the glory for ever (ver. 15).

A[1]. *Note on the Latin MSS. containing the Prayer of Manasses.*

In the British Museum, the following MSS., all of the thirteenth century, contain the Prayer of Manasses at the end of 2 Chron.:

(1) Add. 31,831 (f. 271 B): early thirteenth century.
(2) Eg. 2867.
[3 Lansd. 453: first half of thirteenth century. Does not contain Prayer, but has marginal note on f. 127 B: 'M[in]us Oracio Manassé regis qué sic incipit "Domine deus . . ."']
(4) Stowe 1.
(5) Harl. 1748 (f. 130).
(6) Royal 1 A. viii (f. 155).
(7) „ 1 A. xvii.
(8) „ 1 A. xix. (f. 106 B, insertion by a different hand).
(9) „ 1 C. i. (f. 106 B).
(10) Burn 3 (f. 390 B).
(11) „ 10 (f. 232 B).
(12) Ar. 303 (f. 166).
(13) Add. 28,626 (f. 210).
(14) „ 35,085 (f. 228 B): A.D. 1233–53.
(15) „ 37,487.

B. *Mozarabic Psalter: Eleventh (?)-Century MS. of Prayer of Manasses.*

In the 'Mozarabic Psalter (MS. British Museum, Add. 30,851) edited by J. P. Gilson, M.A., of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum', vol. xxx of the Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1906), Canticum xxii contains *Oratio Manasse Regis De Libro Paralipomenon* 7–15; and the text differs sufficiently

[1] For this list I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Gilson.

widely from that which is found in the Latin Bibles to justify its transcription here ('the character of the handwriting', says Mr. Gilson in the Prefatory Note (p. viii), 'points to the eleventh century as the date at which the MS. was written').

XXII [Canticum] Oratio Manasse Regis De Libro Paralipomenon.

Antiphona. *Peccabi domine peccaui et iniquitatem meam ego agnosco.*

Deus altissimus magnanimis . miserator et multe misericordie . patiens super mala hominum.

Tu ergo domine secundum multitudinem bonitatis tue promisisti indulgentiam et remissionem delinquentibus tibi . et habundantia misericordie tue statuisti penitentiam peccatoribus ad salutem.

Tu ergo domine deus iustorum . non posuisti penitentiam iustis tuis Abraham Ysaac et Iacob . qui non peccauerunt tibi . sed posuisti penitentiam mihi peccatori.

Quoniam super numerum arene maris habundauerunt iniquitates mee . et non est declinatio delictorum meorum.

Et nunc iuste contineor . (et)[1] digne comprimor percurbat(u)s (in)[2] multis vinculis ferreis . ad non erigendum caput.

Quoniam non sum dignus aspicere et videre altitudinem celi . pre iniustitiis meis.

Quoniam irritabi furorem tuum . et feci malum coram te.

Statuens abominationes . et multiplicans odiositates.

Et nunc flecto genua cordis mei . precans a te bonitatem.

Peccaui domine peccaui . et iniquitatem meam ego agnosco.

Ne perdas me cum iniquitatibus meis . neque in finem iratus contineas mala mea neque condemnaueris me cum (h)is[3] qui sunt in inferiora terre.

Tu es enim deus penitentium . ut in me hostendas bonitatem tuam.

Indignum me saluabis secundum multitudinem misericordie tue . et glorificabo nomen tuum in omni uita mea.

Quoniam te laudat omnis uirtus celorum . et tibi est gloria in secula seculorum.

[1] et] interlined. [2] percurbatus] *u* on erasure ; *in* interlined. [3] his] *h* interlined.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

1 O Lord Almighty, *which art in heaven*,
  Thou God of our fathers,
  Of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob,
    And of their righteous seed;
2 Thou who hast made the heaven and the earth,
    With all the array thereof:
3 Who hast bound the sea by the word of thy command;
4 Who hast shut up the Deep, and sealed it
      With thy terrible and glorious Name;
5 Whom all things do dread; yea, they tremble before thy power:
    For the majesty of thy glory cannot be borne,
    And the anger of thy threatening against sinners is unendurable:

A = Codex Alexandrinus. T = Codex Turicensis. Const. Apost. = Constitutiones Apostolorum, lib. ii, cap. xxii (apud Cotelerium *Patres Apostolici*, tom. 1, p. 171; et apud Pitram *Iuris Eccles. Graecorum Historia et Monumenta*, tom. i. 162). Syr. = Syriac Version. Lat. = Latin Version, in Vulgate. Moz. = Mozarabic Psalter: Canticum xxii. See Note B, above.

TITLE. Cod. A Η προσευχη Μανασση: + του υιου Εζεκιου T: Latin *Oratio Manassae regis Iuda cum captus teneretur in Babylone* 1. επουρανιε om. T, Const. Apost., Syr., Lat. 2. ο κλεισας: και κλεισας T σφραγισαμενος: + αυτην T, Const. Apost., Lat. 4. φριττει: φρισσει T, Const. Apost. 5. τε και. Some edd. δε και: *vero et* Lat.

1. κύριε παντοκράτωρ. On the opening words of this invocation, compare 1 Chron. xvii. 24 κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ κτλ. (= 2 Sam. vii. 27).

The reading ἐπουράνιε, omitted in Codex Turicensis, is possibly a gloss on παντοκράτωρ. In the Ὕμνος ἑωθινός (the fourteenth of the Ὠιδαί in Codex Alexandrinus) we find an elaborate ascription, κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε θεὲ πατὴρ ἐπουράνιε.

ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18 κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἀβ. κ. Ἰσ. κ. Ἰσ. τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν τοῦ δικαίου. The writer implies the distinction between the true seed of the Patriarchs ('the righteous', cf. *v.* 8) and the nominal, which is found in Tobit xiii. 9, 13: 'O Jerusalem, the holy city, he will scourge thee for the works of thy sons, and will again have mercy *on the sons of the righteous*.' 'Rejoice and be exceeding glad for *the sons of the righteous*.' We are reminded of St. Paul: 'For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel; neither, because they are Abraham's seed, are they all children' (Rom. ix. 6).

2. ὁ ποιήσας κτλ. This verse is based upon the LXX of Gen. i. 1 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, and Gen. ii. 1 καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν. Cotelerius, commenting on these words, cites 'Theophanes Cerameus Homilia' 56 κόσμος καὶ ἡ τοῦ κάλλους ἁρμονία καὶ διακόσμησις κατὰ τὸ ὑμνούμενον ἐν ᾠδῇ Μανασσή. Ὁ ποιήσας τ. οὐρανὺν κ. τ. γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν (*Patres Apostolici*, vol. ii, p. 150).

σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν. Latin 'cum omni ornatu eorum'. The word κόσμος is here evidently introduced from the LXX of Gen. ii. 1, and may be regarded as an indication that the Prayer was written in Greek. The precise meaning of κόσμος is not certain. The fact, that in Gen. ii. 1 κόσμος = צָבָא 'host', causes Ryssel to consider that the reference is to 'the host of heaven', i. e. 'the stars', as e. g. in Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; Isa. xl. 26; Ps. xxxiii. 6. But in the first three passages the words 'of heaven' are added; in Isa. xl. 26 'the host' of the stars is clearly meant. Here the word κόσμος is followed by αὐτῶν, by which, strictly speaking, is denoted τὴν γῆν, as well as τὸν οὐρανόν. On the other hand, the literal renderings 'ornament' (R.V.) or 'order' (R.V. marg.) are too limited; and the second alternative, 'array,' seems best to combine the ideas of splendour and orderliness.

3. ὁ πεδήσας κτλ. There is a reference here to the passages in the O. T. describing the power of the Almighty in restraining the sea within its bounds, and in imprisoning the waters of the Abyss. See especially Job xxxviii. 8, 10, 11: 'Or who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth . . . when I . . . prescribed for it my decree, and set bars and doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.' Ps. civ. 9: 'Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth.'

ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἄβυσσον. ἄβυσσος is the rendering of תְּהוֹם in Gen. i. 2, vii. 11, viii. 2. Here it evidently denotes the subterranean watery depths upon which the ancient Israelites believed the earth to be upheld. Cf. Apoc. ix. 1 κλεὶς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου, and xx. 3 καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, where we may observe the association with κλείειν and σφραγίζειν.

σφραγισάμενος. Cf. Job ix. 7, 'which commandeth the sun . . . and sealeth up the stars.' The seal denoted possession, security, and inviolability.

ἐνδόξῳ. Cf. Tob. viii. 5 τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον. The rabbinic belief in the magical efficacy residing in the sacred Name is here referred to. Solomon was reputed to have wrought miracles by a seal engraved with the Tetragrammaton. Cf. Sirach xlvii. 18 and *Gittin* 68 *a*. The Name was often mentioned as the embodiment of power and attributes. Cf. Baruch iii. 5.

4. ὃν πάντα φρίττει. For φρίττειν with acc. cf. Judith xvi. 10 ἔφριξαν Πέρσαι τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς.

ἀπὸ προσώπου κτλ. Latin has 'a vultu virtutis tuae'. It admits of doubt whether this phrase simply amplifies the object of the verb expressed in ὃν = מִלִּפְנֵי 'in the presence of'; or whether it introduces a fresh thought, 'because of', 'by reason of' (= מִפְּנֵי). In the former case it would grammatically be closely conjoined with φρίττει and τρέμει; in the latter case it would introduce with τρέμει an explanatory clause. See, however, note on p. 615.

6 Infinite and unsearchable is thy merciful promise;
7 For thou art the Lord Most High, of great compassion,
long-suffering and abundant in mercy, and repentest thee
for the evils of men.
Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness hast promised repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee; and in the multitude of thy mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved.

7. οτι συ : συ γαρ T : *quoniam tu* Lat. om. υψιστος Const. Apost., Syr. om. και[1] Const. Apost. om. και[2] T, Moz. Insert *συ κυριε . . . σωτηριαν* Const. Apost., Syr., Lat., Moz. : om. A T 8. εμοι : pr. επ T, Const. Apost. ; Lat. *propter me*

5. ἄστεκτος. The Latin renders by 'importabilis'. The adjective does not occur in the LXX. Hesych. ἄστεκτος, ἀφόρητος, ἀβάστακτος. Cf. Aesch. Fragment 220.

ἡ μεγαλοπρεπία τῆς δόξης σου. The phrase is evidently derived from Ps. cxliv. (cxlv.) 5 τὴν μεγαλοπρεπίαν τῆς δόξης τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου, and 12 καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγαλοπρεπίας τῆς βασιλείας σου.

ἀνυπόστατος. Latin 'insustentabilis'. An adjective of rare occurrence in the LXX: cf. Ps. cxxiii. (cxxiv.); 2 Macc. i. 13, viii. 5. Cf. Symmachus in Job iv. 11, ix. 19; Ps. lxxxv. (lxxxvi.) 14; Prov. xvi. 27.

6. ἀμέτρητον. Another uncommon adjective in the LXX. Cf. Isa. xxii. 18; Baruch iii. 25; 3 Macc. iv. 17.

τε καί. The reading of some editions, δὲ καί, and the Latin, seems to deserve support on internal grounds. (1) At this point the main subject which occupies the thought of the Prayer, i. e. the mercy of God, is first reached. The power (*v.* 4), the majesty and the wrath (*v.* 5), have been described; but here, in *v.* 6, another note of infinite graciousness is to be recorded. (2) The variation of thought between the two adjectives, ἀμέτρητος and ἀνεξιχνίαστος, is not sufficient to make the τε prefixed to the καί strongly preferable.

ἀνεξιχνίαστον. Latin 'investigabilis'. In LXX Job v. 9, ix. 10. Comp. Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 8.

τὸ ἔλεος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας σου, 'the mercy of thy promise', or 'thy merciful promise', referring to the promise of forgiveness to them that repent implied in *vv.* 8, 11, 13, which forms the nucleus of the prayer.

ἐπαγγελίας. ἐπαγγελία, in the sense of 'promise' or 'declaration', is a common word in the N. T., e. g. Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4, ii. 33–9; Rom. iv. 13–14, and often in Ep. to Heb. But it occurs rarely in LXX, e. g. 1 Esdras i. 7; Esther iv. 7; Ps. lv. (lvi.) 8; Amos ix. 6; 1 Macc. x. 15; 4 Macc. xii. 9.

7. ὅτι σύ (or, σὺ γάρ). The present verse develops the claim to the Divine mercy. It appeals to the language which would be familiarly known from passages in the O. T.

ὕψιστος. The omission of this adjective by Const. Apost. and Syr. has been explained on the ground that it is out of place at the head of a list of epithets of a moral character and bearing upon the mercy and forbearance of the Almighty: 'At in Editionibus, in Horologio, et in quinque MSS. Regiis, σὺ γὰρ εἶ κύριος ὕψιστος' (Cotelerius). The passage in Ps. xcvii. 9, 'For thou, Lord, art most high above all the earth,' has led to the insertion in Latin texts of 'super omnem terram'.

εὔσπλαγχνος. Not found in LXX; Eph. iv. 32 (Robinson, *ad loc.*); 1 Pet. iii. 8.

εὔσπλαγχνος κτλ. In this rehearsal of the merciful attributes of Jehovah we have the key to the whole Prayer of Repentance. The language reminds us of Exod. xxxiv. 6; Ps. cxxxvi. 15; Joel ii. 12, 13; Jonah iv. 2. Of these passages, the words of the prophet Joel are probably uppermost in the author's mind. For (1) it is a classical appeal for repentance, and hence would be appropriate to the subject of the Prayer; and (2) the expression μετανοῶν ἐπὶ κακίαις is derived from the LXX of Joel ii. 12, 13. The passage runs as follows: 'Yet even now, saith the Lord, turn ye unto me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning; and rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy, and repenteth him of the evil' (LXX μετανοῶν ἐπὶ κακίαις).

ἐπὶ κακίαις ἀνθρώπων. Latin 'et poenitens super malitias hominum'. The word κακίαις seems to be borrowed from the LXX of Joel. The prophet's own phrase 'of the evil' (על הרעה) had reference to 'the evils' of calamity which befell the people as the punishment for their sins. But the LXX rendered by κακίαι, which ordinarily denotes 'wickedness' (Lat. 'malitia'), the source of sorrows; and not by τὰ κακά = 'evils', or *mala*, as the consequence of sin. The common meaning of κακίαι may be illustrated from Gen. vi. 5 (LXX) ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, in which context it 'repented' the Lord that He had made man, because the wickedness of men was increased. But κακίαι may have reference to the punishment arising from the sin: 1 Chron. xxi. 15 εἶδεν κύριος καὶ μετεμελήθη ἐπὶ τῇ κακίᾳ; Jonah iii. 10 μετενόησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κακίᾳ (cf. iv. 2); Matt. vi. 34 ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς. Probably an intentional contrast is here drawn between the μετάνοια ascribed to the Almighty (cf. Gen. vi. 6; 1 Sam. xv. 11; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16), in His pity relenting towards suffering, which is sin's penalty; and the μετάνοια of the sinner for his own sin which calls down Divine judgement. The addition to the text contained in Const. Apost. and in the Latin, though omitted in Codd. A and T, is an important expansion of the main theme of repentance. It particularizes the promise (ἐπαγγελία, *v.* 6) as one that proclaimed 'forgiveness of repentance', i. e. forgiveness of sin, to the repentant sinner; it decrees for sinners the duty of repentance, with a view to their being saved. If only a gloss, it constitutes a very substantial addition to the Prayer. But it is, more probably, part of the original document. (1) It was very possibly accidentally omitted, because these two στίχοι both commence with the same words (ὅτι σύ) as the preceding στίχος. (2) Arguing from the contents of the passage, it is more reasonable to suppose that such remarkable phrases as ἐπηγγείλω μετανοίας ἄφεσιν and ὡρίσας μετάνοιαν . . . εἰς σωτηρίαν should have been included in the original Psalm, than that they should have been inserted as a gloss. (3) Against their being a gloss, it is to be observed that the next verse, σὺ οὖν . . . οὐκ ἔθου μετάνοιαν κτλ., seems to imply some such sentence, and would not follow so naturally upon μετανοῶν ἐπὶ κακίαις ἀνθρώπων.

μετανοίας ἄφεσιν. Latin 'poenitentiam et remissionem'. The Mozarabic Psalter, 'indulgentiam et remissionem,' avoids the difficulty by a paraphrase. The introduction of μετάνοια with ἐπηγγείλω seems at first sight incongruous. The 'promise' of ἄφεσις is conditional upon μετάνοια. The object of the Prayer is to unite the two ideas of the sinner's repentance and the Divine pardon as closely as possible. For general sense compare Luke v. 32. For a restoration of the text on the basis of a Semitic original see note on pp. 614, 615. μετάνοια in the LXX, Prov. xiv.

8 Thou, therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the righteous, hast not appointed repentance unto
the righteous, unto Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, which have not sinned against thee:
But thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner;
For *the sins* I have sinned *are* more in number than the sands of the sea.
9 For my transgressions were multiplied, O Lord:
My transgressions were multiplied,
And I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven by reason of the multitude of mine
iniquities.
*And now, O Lord, I am justly punished and deservedly afflicted;
For lo! I am in captivity,*
10 Bowed down with many an iron chain,
So that I cannot lift up mine head by reason of my sins,

9. οτι om. T, Const. Apost. μου[1]: + κε επληθυναν T; Lat. *domine multiplicatae sunt* κυριε επληθυναν αι ανομιαι μου Const. Apost. ουκ ετι Const. Apost. *And now . . . captivity* insert Syr., *And now . . . afflicted* insert Moz., omit Codd., Const. Apost., Lat. 10. σιδηρου Const. Apost.; σιδηρω T; Lat. *ferreo* ανανευσαι: pr. μη, om. με T; Lat. *ut non possim* υπερ αμαρτιων την κεφαλην T, Syr., Lat. μοι ανεσις: ανεσις μοι T

15; Sirach xliv. 16; Wisd. xi. 23, xii. 10, 19. For ἄφεσις cf. Isa. lxi. 1 κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν (דְּרוֹר). For forgiveness through repentance see Hos. ii. 1–4, vi. 1 ff., xiv; Isa. i. 16 ff.; Ezek. xviii. 21 ff.

τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου. Cf. κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου, Ps. l. (li.) 1, lxviii. (lxix.) 19.

ὡρίσας. Lat. 'decrevisti'. Cf. 3 Macc. vi. 36 κοινὸν ὁρισάμενοι περὶ τούτων θεσμόν.

εἰς σωτηρίαν (Lat. 'in salutem') after μετάνοια has a suggestion of N. T. phraseology. Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν (Vulg. 'poenitentiam . . . in salutem') ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται. But both the idea and phraseology are pre-Christian: cf. T. Gad v. 7 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . ὁδηγεῖ . . . πρὸς σωτηρίαν. Had the author of the Prayer been a Christian, he could hardly have omitted a reference to 'salvation through Jesus Christ'. There is no higher conception here than that of deliverance from the penalty of Divine wrath.

8. ὁ θεὸς τῶν δικαίων. This is not a Biblical phrase. Compare with it *v.* 1 ὁ θεὸς . . . τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν τοῦ δικαίου. 'The righteous' are the elect Israel, as distinguished from the οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οἱ ἄνομοι. Compare the contrast in Luke xv. 7 between the ἁμαρτωλός and the δίκαιοι.

τοῖς οὐχ ἡμαρτηκόσι σοι. The Patriarchs were invested with sinlessness in the estimation of the reverent few. Such treatment of patriarchal virtue was based on such passages as Gen. xvii. 17–19, xxii. 18, and Exod. xxxii. 13.

ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. Lat. 'propter me peccatorem'. Cf. Luke xviii. 13 ὁ θεός, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. The article gives distinctiveness to the self-condemnation.

9. ὅτι. The confession of his exceeding sinfulness occupies the following four verses, and, as the expression of repentance, forms the basis of entreaty for pardon.

ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ψάμμου θαλάσσης. The construction is obvious, though grammatically harsh: 'to sin more than the number of the sand of the sea' is equivalent to saying that it was easier to count the sands of the sea than the number of his offences.

ψάμμος in the LXX is found only in Wisd. vii. 9 ὁ πᾶς χρυσὸς ἐν ὄψει αὐτῆς ψάμμος. The more common word is ἄμμος, as in Gen. xxxii. 12, xli. 49; Joshua xi. 4; Isa. x. 22; Hos. i. 10 (ii. 1).

ἐπλήθυναν κτλ. Cf. Isa. lix. 12: 'For our trangressions are multiplied before thee.'

πληθύνω. Used intransitively.

οὐκ ἄξιος. Cf. Luke xv. 19, 21, which may be the origin here of the variant reading οὐκέτι.

ἀτενίσαι, 'to look at with intent gaze'. Lat. 'intueri'. The word is of rare occurrence in the LXX, 1 Esdras vi. 28; 3 Macc. ii. 26. But in the N. T. it is not infrequent, e. g. Acts i. 10, iii. 4, 12, vi. 15, vii. 55, &c.

τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 'The height of heaven' is the Throne of the Most High. Cf. Isa. xxxviii. 14 ἐξέλειπον γάρ μοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ βλέπειν εἰς τὸ ὕψος τ. οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. For the thought see Ps. cxxiii. 1: 'Unto thee do I lift up mine eyes, O thou that sittest in the heavens.'

9, 10. Between *v.* 9 and *v.* 10 the Syriac version inserts the verse: 'And now, O Lord, I am justly punished and deservedly afflicted; for lo! I am in captivity.' The Mozarabic Psalter reads: 'Et nunc juste contineor, et digne comprimor.' In favour of some such insertion there are certainly the following considerations: (1) *v.* 10 opens with μὴ κατακαμπτόμενος, which stands in no suitable relation either to *v.* 9, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος, or to the following clause, διότι παρώργισα; (2) the clause beginning with μὴ κατακαμπτόμενος has no main verb, and is grammatically disconnected; (3) if there is any consistency in the arrangement of the στίχοι, it is noticeable that, whereas in *v.* 9 we find a group of three στίχοι, (1) διότι ἥμαρτον κτλ., (2) ὅτι ἐπλήθυναν κτλ., (3) καὶ οὐκ εἰμί κτλ., and in *v.* 10 *c d e* a group of three στίχοι, (1) διότι παρώργισα κτλ., (2) καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν κτλ., (3) στήσας βδελύγμ. κτλ., and in *v.* 11 a group of three στίχοι, (1) καὶ νῦν κλίνω κτλ., (2) ἡμάρτηκα κτλ., (3) καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας κτλ., this grouping breaks down in *v.* 10 *a b*, κατακαμπτόμενος κτλ. and εἰς τὸ ἀνανεῦσαι κτλ. The reading of the Syriac and Mozarabic would thus supply grammatical coherency and rhythmical balance. Hence it is quite conceivable that they may have preserved the true text. Its opening words, καὶ νῦν, being identical with the opening of *v.* 11, may have led to the accidental omission. If genuine, it conveys a further reference to the position of the speaker as a captive in prison. There is, of course, another alternative, which is only conjectural, and yet is not altogether impossible, that the line κατακαμπτόμενος . . . σιδηρῷ has been inserted to identify the utterer of the Prayer with Manasses; and that the following line, εἰς τὸ . . . ἄνεσις, is a further expansion of the gloss. On the other hand, if κατακαμπτόμενος κτλ. is original, the probability seems to be strong that some clause, like that of the Syriac version, has fallen out of the Greek text.

10. κατακαμπτόμενος. If not conjoined to some clause such as that which the Syriac version supplies, the present clause follows very awkwardly upon what has gone before; and grammatically the sentence is extraordinarily disjointed and prolonged. In consequence, the Latin and the English version begin here a new sentence.

Neither have I any respite:
Because I provoked thy wrath, and did that which was evil in thy sight.
*I did not do thy will, neither kept I thy commandments: *
I set up abominations, and multiplied detestable things.
11 And now I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching thee of thy gracious goodness.
12 I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned,
And I acknowledge mine iniquities.
13 But, I humbly beseech thee,
Forgive me, O Lord, forgive me,

εις το . . . ανεσις om. Const. Apost. **μη ποιησας του θελημα σου και φυλαξας τα προσταγματα σου** insert T and Lat. but not Moz. *στησας . . . προσοχθισματα* om. T 11. *καρδιας* : + *μου* T, Const. Apost. Lat. 12. *εγω γινωσκω* Codd. A T, Const. Apost., ed. Fritzsche : *αναγινωσκω* Vulgo; Lat., Moz. *agnosco* 13. *αιτουμαι . . . ανες μοι* : om. Moz. :

κατακαμπτ. Lat. 'incurvatus sum'. This verb is rare in the LXX, Ps. xxxvii. 6, lvi. (lvii.) 6; cf. Symmachus Ps. xli. (xlii.) 6, xliii. (xliv.) 26.

πολλῷ δεσμῷ σιδηρῷ. Latin 'multo vinculo ferreo'. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: 'The captains of the king of Assyria . . . took Manasseh in chains [Or, *with hooks*], and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon.' There is no sufficient reason to explain, as Zöckler and Ball, this sentence metaphorically of sin and its chains, like Ps. cvii. 10, 'being bound in affliction and iron.' The whole context of this verse is occupied, not with the iniquities that produced the punishment, but with the penalty, of a quite real and overwhelming kind, which had befallen the speaker. Again, the metaphorical use of iron chains applied to sin is not a common one; and there is nothing in the character of the Prayer which would favour the theory of a metaphorical use of these simple words.

The precise meaning of *πολλῷ* is doubtful; it may either be rendered as if it were the same as *πολλοῖς δεσμοῖς*, or the singular number may denote 'a weighty chain'. For the use of *πολύς* with a singular substantive—most of the examples usually given are with an abstract noun—cf. *v.* 14 *κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου.*

εἰς τὸ ἀνανεῦσαί με κτλ. This is the most difficult expression in the whole Prayer, and the difficulty has given rise to the variety in the readings.

ἀνανεύειν in the LXX is employed to translate מָאֵן and נוּא (Hiph.) in the sense of 'to refuse': cf. Exod. xxii. 17; Num. xxx. 6; Neh. ix. 17. Here, however, it is used in a sense that represents the physical motion of the verb (*νεύειν*) and the preposition (*ἀνά*), and means 'to incline upward', as Ps. xl. 12, 'so that I am not able to look up.' We have, therefore, three alternative renderings: (1) Fritzsche, 'so that I shake (my head) over my sins' (cf. Polyb. xviii. 13. 3 *ἀνανενευκώς* = 'with the head up'; Dionys. Areop.; Basil, Ps. vii, p. 140; Chrys. *De Zelo et Piet.* (ap. Suicer.). (2) *εἰς τό* with inf., equivalent to *τοῦ* with inf. (= Hebr. מִן with inf.) = 'more bowed down . . . than to lift up *my head*, because of my sins', in the sense of 'bowed down . . . so that I cannot lift up my head, or look upwards'. This gives a good sense, but grammatically it is a harsh construction. (3) *εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀνανεῦσαι τὴν κεφαλήν*, as Cod. T, 'so that I cannot lift up my head.' This text is evidently emendational. The insertion of the *μή* gives the same sense as No. 2. So Latin, 'ut non possim attollere caput meum.' The omission of the whole line, *εἰς τὸ . . . ἄνεσις*, in Const. Apost. may have been due to the obscurity of the meaning; but see note on *vv.* 9, 10 above.

ἄνεσις. Latin 'respiratio', in the sense of 'release', or 'cessation', or 'relief'. Cf. LXX in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 15; 1 Esdras iv. 62; 2 Esdras iv. 22. In the N. T. it occurs of St. Paul in prison, Acts xxiv. 23. Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 5.

παρώργισα. The verb *παροργίζω*, 'to anger', is of frequent occurrence in LXX with a personal object; e.g. Judges ii. 12 *παρώργισαν τὸν κύριον.* But there is no instance in the LXX of the phrase here used, *παροργίζειν τὸν θυμόν τινος.*

The line *μὴ ποιήσας . . . τὰ προστάγματά σου* added by Codex Turicensis, and in the Latin version, 'non feci voluntatem tuam et mandata tua non custodivi,' seems certainly to be a gloss, expanding the words *τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα.* It adds nothing to the sense of the verse, it overloads the arrangement of the lines, it places *μὴ ποιήσας* immediately after *ἐποίησα*, and interposes a general negative between the assertion of wicked action (*τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα*) and the statement of its most conspicuous instance of enormity. The line should not, therefore, be included in the text.

στήσας βδελύγματα κτλ. Latin, 'statui abominationes et multiplicavi offensiones.' Mozarabic, 'Statuens abominationes et multiplicans odiositates.' *βδέλυγμα* is the usual rendering in the LXX for תּוֹעֵבָה 'abomination'. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 2: 'And he (Manasseh) did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations of the heathen.' *προσοχθίσματα* is the word used for 'the abomination' (שִׁקּוּץ) of the Zidonians and of Moab in 2 Kings xxiii. 13 *τῇ Ἀστάρτῃ προσοχθίσματι Σιδωνίων καὶ τῷ Χαμὼς προσοχθίσματι Μωὰβ καὶ τῷ Μολχὸλ βδελύγματι υἱῶν Ἀμμών.* On the outrages committed by Manasseh upon the worship of Jehovah and upon the Temple at Jerusalem see 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1–9.

11. *καὶ νῦν κτλ.* The confession is complete; the entreaty for compassion now begins.

κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας. In the LXX *κάμπτω* is the regular verb to be used with *τὰ γόνατα.* With *κλίνω* we find another construction in 2 Esdras ix. 5 *κλίνω ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατά μου.* The heart of the suppliant is here represented as a person kneeling. For this personification of the heart cf. Rom. ii. 29, 'circumcision is that of the heart.' The teaching of the prophet Joel is perhaps still influencing the writer: 'Rend your heart, and not your garments' (Joel ii. 13).

δεόμενος τῆς παρὰ σοῦ χρηστότητος, i. e. begging for the kindness which continually proceeds from thee. It is more than *τῆς χρηστότητός σου*, while the Latin 'precans a te bonitatem' fails to reproduce the Greek idiom.

12. *ἡμάρτηκα.* The perf. tense gives the sense of the continued result of the sin, 'I have sinned, and am in a state of sin.' This is a different shade of thought from that of the aorist *ἥμαρτον* (*v.* 9). For this acknowledgement of sin compare the cases of Balaam, Num. xxii. 34; Saul, 1 Sam. xv. 24, xxvi. 21; David, 2 Sam. xii. 13.

ἐγώ. Emphatic: 'I—the guilty one—am alone cognizant of my guilt, and therefore alone can perceive and acknowledge my transgression.'

γινώσκω. Latin 'agnosco'. Cf. Ps. l. (li.) 5 'iniquitatem meam ego cognosco'. In this passage some editions have *ἀναγινώσκω.* Cf. Ps. xix. 12: 'Who can discern his errors?'

13. *αἰτοῦμαι.* The reading *ἀλλ'*, which is found in Cod. T and Const. Apost., expresses the fresh departure made at this point in the Prayer: 'Nevertheless, in spite of my sinfulness, I beseech,' &c. Latin, 'quare peto rogans te.'

And destroy me not with mine iniquities.
Neither, in thy continual anger against me,
  Lay up evil in store for me:
Nor pass thou sentence against me,
  When I am in the lowest parts of the earth.
For thou, O Lord, art the God of them that repent;
14 And in me thou wilt show forth *all* thy goodness:
For thou wilt save me, unworthy that I am,
  According to thy great mercy.
15 And I will praise thee for ever all the days of my life:
  For all the host of heaven doth sing thy praise,
    And thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

αιτουμαι: pr. αλλ T, Const. Apost.; Lat. *quare* μη: pr. και T, Const. Apost.; Lat. *et ne* οτι συ ει κυριε ο θεος A T: οτι συ θεος θεος Const. Apost. 14. εν εμοι A T; επ εμοι Const. Apost. δειξης A T; δειξεις Const. Apost.; Lat. *ostendes*, ed. Fritzsche την αγαθωσυνην: pr. πασαν T; Lat. *omnem*, ed. Fritzsche 15. εν ταις ημεραις A T: εν πασαις ταις ημεραις Const. Apost.: Vulgo πασας τας ημερας

ἄνες μοι. The repetition of the prayer for forgiveness corresponds with the repetition of *ἡμάρτηκα* in the previous verse. For *ἄνες* cf. Ps. xxxviii. (xxxix.) 13 *ἄνες μοι ἵνα ἀναψύξω* = 'O spare me, that I may recover my strength'.

μὴ συναπολέσῃς με τ. ἀνομ. μ. The phrase is evidently based upon the LXX of Gen. xix. 15 *ἵνα μὴ συναπόλῃ ταῖς ἀνομίαις τῆς πόλεως.* Cf. Wisd. x. 3. Used of persons, the same verb is found with *μετά* and the gen., Ps. xxv. (xxvi.) 9 *μὴ συναπολέσῃς μετὰ ἀσεβῶν τὴν ψυχήν μου*; xxvii. (xxviii.) 3 *μετὰ ἐργαζομένων ἀδικίαν μὴ συναπολέσῃς με.*

εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μηνίσας. Latin 'in aeternum iratus'. Another phrase borrowed from the LXX: Ps. cii. (ciii.) 9 *οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μηνιεῖ*; Jer. iii. 12 *οὐ μηνίω ὑμῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

τηρήσῃς τὰ κακά μοι. Latin 'reserves mala mihi'. The meaning is: 'do not, by long-continued anger, retain, or lay up in store against me, the evils which I have deserved.'

τὰ κακά: not the sins I have committed; but the evils I have brought upon myself as the punishment of sin.

καταδικάσῃς, 'pass sentence of condemnation upon.' The verb renders the Hiph. of רשע in Ps. xxxvi. (xxxvii.) 33. The punishment of physical suffering, disease, want, injury, exile, was deemed to be inflicted for offences against the law of God.

The Mozarabic Psalter renders 'neque in finem iratus contineas mala mea neque condemnaueris me cum his qui sunt in inferiora terre'.

ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς. This phrase renders תַּחְתִּיּוֹת־אֶרֶץ in the LXX of Ps. cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 15, where Codd. A B read *ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς.* In that passage, as in Isa. xliv. 23, the lowest region in the under-world of the departed is denoted by this term. It does not indicate the place of torment; but rather the most remote and inaccessible locality in the unknown region of departed spirits. Here, as in Ps. cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 15, the meaning is: 'When I am most remote, and abide in the lowest parts of the earth, condemn me not.' 'Do not prolong, or delay, the punishment of my sins, so that they may be visited upon me, however inaccessible in the lower world.' The other rendering, 'nor condemn me to (i. e. for punishment in) the lowest parts of the earth', follows the Latin, 'neque damnes me in infima terrae loca.' 'The lowest regions' were not a locality of torment, like the mediaeval hell, but the most inaccessible place in the shadowy under-world.

14. *ὁ θεὸς τῶν μετανοούντων.* Another Divine title, which does not elsewhere occur in Holy Scripture.

δείξεις or *δείξῃς.* The former reading gives the simplest meaning, and is supported by the Latin 'ostendes' and Const. Apost. *δείξῃς*, which is read by Codd. A and T, is grammatically harsh. The subjunctive must be dependent on the *μηδέ* in *v.* 13; but the prohibition closes with *v.* 13, and if in *v.* 14 the positive side of the injunction is to be continued in the subjunctive, the construction is almost intolerable, especially with the clause *ὅτι σὺ . . . μετανοούντων* interposed.

τὴν ἀγαθωσύνην. Cf. LXX in Judges ix. 16; 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. The insertion of *πᾶσαν* (Cod. T) is a very natural amplification: Latin 'omnem bonitatem tuam'.

ἀνάξιον. A rare adjective in the LXX. See Esther viii. 13; Sirach xxv. 8; Jer. xv. 9.

σώσεις. The deliverance here contemplated is from the manifold punishment he had deserved.

κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου. Cf. *v.* 7.

15. *διὰ παντὸς κτλ.* Latin 'semper omnibus diebus vitae meae'. Mozarabic Psalter, 'in omni vita mea.' The more usual phrase in the LXX would be *πάσας ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου.* Cf. Ps. xxii. (xxiii.) 6, xxvi. (xxvii.) 4, cxxvii. (cxxviii.) 5.

πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν. Lat. 'omnis virtus caelorum'. The meaning is 'all the heavenly host of angelic beings'; and the phrase is probably derived from Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6 *πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν.* Cf. Dan. viii. 10. See 2 Chron. xviii. 18, 'all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and on his left'; and Luke ii. 13, 'a multitude of the heavenly host praising God.'

καὶ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. A short concluding doxology reminding us of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 13). For instances of Jewish doxologies cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 11; 1 Esdras iv. 59.

Ἀμήν. For the liturgical use of Amen see 1 Chron. xvi. 36 = Ps. cvi. 48, Judith xiii. 20 (*γένοιτο*), Tobit viii. 8; and compare, in N. T. illustration of this usage, 1 Cor. xiv. 16 and Rev. v. 14.

THE PRAYER OF AZARIAH AND THE SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The subject of this introduction is not really a 'book'; and it is sometimes known as the 'First Addition' to the canonical Book of Daniel. It is an illustrative interpolation inserted in that book after iii. 23; and is found there, forming an integral part of the book,[1] in Theodotion, the LXX, Vulgate, and some other versions dependent on the LXX. It is absent from the Aramaic text.

It consists of four parts:

(*a*) *Verses* 1, 2. An introductory verse or verses connecting it with the narrative. This introduction occurs in two different forms in the LXX and in Theodotion.[2]

(*b*) *Verses* 3–22. A 'Prayer' ascribed to Azariah, one of the 'Three Children' who were thrown into the fiery furnace.

This 'Prayer' begins with praise to God (3) and an acknowledgement of His justice (4), especially in the judgement executed upon Israel (5–10). There follows a prayer for deliverance, for His Name's sake (11); because of His promise to the Patriarchs (12, 13); because of their great sufferings and true repentance (14–19). The Prayer concludes with an appeal for deliverance, for the punishment of the enemies of Israel, and for the world-wide manifestation of the glory of God (20–22).

(*c*) *Verses* 23–27. A narrative as to the further heating of the furnace, the burning up of the Chaldeans round about, and the descent of the Angel of the Lord into the furnace to protect the 'Three Children'.

(*d*) *Verses* 28–68. The Song of the Three Children with an introductory verse.

The Song is an ascription of praise to God, in which all His creatures, animate and inanimate, are called upon to glorify Him.

Verses 35–65 have the same refrain, 'Sing His praise and highly exalt Him for ever,' slightly varied in verse 52. These verses form the *Benedicite*.[3]

§ 2. Title of the Book.

Just as this 'Addition' is not really a book, so originally, being merely a section of the Greek *Daniel*, it had no separate title. Thus Swete[4] says, 'In the Greek MSS. no break or separate title divides these Greek additions from the rest of the text.'[5] But the Alex. MS. gives the Prayer and the Song under the titles 'Prayer of Azarias' and 'Hymn of our Father' as two of the fourteen hymns which it inserts as an appendix to the Psalter. Other MSS. head the Song 'Hymn of the Three Children'. The Vulgate inserts after Dan. iii. 23 the note *Quae sequuntur in hebraeis voluminibus non reperi.* Then follows our 'Addition' and then another note, *Hucusque in Hebraeo non habetur; et quae posuimus de Theodotionis editione translata sunt.*

Lagarde in his edition of the Syriac version of the Apocrypha gives the heading 'Prayer of Hananiah and his companions' from one MS., and from Walton (literally) 'Prayer of the House of Hananiah'; the meaning of the latter phrase being the same as the former.[6]

In the A.V. and R.V. the whole 'Addition' is placed under the title 'The Song of the Three Holy Children', adding the note, 'Which followeth in the third Chapter of Daniel after this place,—*fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.*—Verse 23. That which followeth is not in the Hebrew, to wit, *And they walked*—unto these words, *Then Nebuchadnezzar*—verse 24.'

In the Prayer Book verses 35–65 form one of the canticles of the Morning Service, the opening words of the Latin version, *Benedicite, Omnia Opera*, being used as a title.

[1] But cf. below, § 2. [2] Cf. below and notes on verses 1 f. [3] Cf. below, § 7.

[4] *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 260.

[5] Tischendorf in his edition of the Vatican LXX inserted titles in brackets, hence the statement sometimes made that these titles are given in the Vatican MS.

[6] pp. xxi, 126.

§ 3. The MSS.

The LXX version of *Daniel* was almost universally displaced at an early date by that of Theodotion, made in the first half of the second century A.D. The English versions are made from Theodotion.

The MSS. may be classified thus:

(*a*) *MSS. of Theodotion's Version.*[1]

A. *Codex Alexandrinus* contains the whole 'Addition' as part of *Daniel* and also the Prayer and Song as two of the Canticles.

B. *Codex Vaticanus.*

V. *Codex Venetus.*

Q. *Codex Marchalianus*, a complete copy of the Prophets preserved in the Vatican Library, written in Egypt not later than the sixth century. The margins supply copious extracts from the various Greek versions.[2]

Γ. *Codex Cryptoferratensis*, in the Basilian Monastery of Grotta Ferrata, a volume consisting partly of palimpsest leaves of an uncial MS. of the Prophets of the eighth or ninth century. This is available for Dan. i. 1–11 *a*, iii. 1–5 *a*, 37 *b*–52 *a*, vii. 1–viii. 19 *a*, ix. 15 *b*, 26 *a*, xii. 4 *b*–13.[3]

R. *Psalterium Graeco-Latinum Veronense*, 'a bilingual Psalter of Western origin and attributed to the sixth century . . . the property of the Chapter of Verona,' includes the Song as one of eight canticles supplementary to the Psalter.[4]

T. *Psalterium Purpureum Turicense*, a Western uncial, ascribed by Tischendorf to the seventh century, containing the Psalter, followed by canticles, including the Prayer and the Song. Verses 14–19 are wanting. It is in the municipal library of Zurich.[5]

Swete, pp. 165 ff., further enumerates a large number of cursive MSS. of, or including, Daniel.

(*b*) *MS. of the LXX.*

This version is only extant in the cursive MS. 87, the *Codex Chisianus*, in the library of the Chigi family at Rome. It contains Jer., Baruch, Lam., Ep. of Jeremiah, the LXX Daniel, Hippolytus on Daniel, Theodotion's Daniel, Ezek., and Isaiah. It is usually assigned to the ninth century.[6]

§ 4. The Ancient Versions.[7]

(*a*) *The Old Latin of Daniel* is extant in various fragments and patristic quotations. These show that the version included our 'Addition'. F. C. Burkitt's investigations seem to point to the conclusion that before the time of Jerome there were current Latin versions of both the LXX *Daniel* and Theodotion's *Daniel*.[8]

(*b*) *The Vulgate of Daniel* is made from Theodotion, and includes the additions.

(*c*) *The Peshitta Syriac.* Swete[9] states that 'From the first the Peshitta seems to have included the non-canonical books of the Alexandrian Bible except 1 Esdras and Tobit'. A. A. Bevan, however, writes that 'The apocryphal pieces are found even in the oldest MSS. of the Peshiṭta, but seem not to have belonged to it in its original form'; this he infers from the statement of Polychronius, early fifth century, that the *Song of the Three Children* is not contained in the Hebrew and Syriac Bibles.[10] The version is made from Theodotion, but differs considerably from both Theod. and LXX, probably through corruption and free handling.

(*d*) *The Syro-hexaplaric Version* is a literal version of the LXX column of Origen's Hexapla, and supplements the testimony of Codex Chisianus as to the text of the LXX.

(*e*) A Syriac version of *Daniel* and other books of Jacob of Edessa, A.D. 704–5, exists in MSS. at London and Paris, but only specimens have been printed.[11]

(*f*) *Egyptian Versions.* (i) *The Bohairic Coptic*, based on Theodotion, but influenced by the LXX.[12] (ii) *The Sahidic.*

(*g*) *The Ethiopic Version*, based on Theodotion.

(*h*) *The Arabic Version*, based on Theodotion.

(*i*) *The Armenian Version*, from the text of Theodotion.[13]

[1] For details of MSS. merely named, see Swete, *Int. to the O. T. in Greek.*
[2] Swete, pp. 144 f. [3] Swete, p. 146. [4] Swete, *O.T. in Greek*, II. ix.
[5] Swete, *O. T. in Greek*, II. xi. [6] Swete, *O. T. in Greek*, III, xii.
[7] For further details as to these versions, see Swete, *Int. to the O. T. in Greek.*
[8] *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 28. [9] p. 112. [10] *The Book of Daniel*, x. 3.
[11] Swete, p. 116. [12] Bevan, p. 3. [13] F. C. Conybeare, *Hastings's DB*, i. 152.

§ 5. Original Language.

This problem might seem to belong to the realm of pure scholarship; but it is involved in the controversy between the Protestant Churches and Rome as to the canonicity of the Apocrypha. Protestant divines have been inclined to regard original composition in Hebrew as one mark of canonicity, though they have never formulated any rigid doctrine to that effect. Dr. Barry, for instance, wrote of 'the true Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament'.[1] He probably only meant the canon current amongst Palestinian Jews, but the use of the term 'Hebrew' lays emphasis on the fact that the books of the Palestinian canon are extant in Hebrew or Aramaic; while the Apocrypha, when he wrote, were not extant in Hebrew.

Thus, according to Rothstein,[2] most Protestant scholars since Eichhorn, including Fritzsche, Schürer, König, Cornill, and Strack, have decided for Greek as the original language; while Catholic scholars have held that the 'Addition' was written in Hebrew. But some Protestant scholars have also taken this view, e.g. Delitzsch, Zöckler, Bissell,[3] Ball, Vatke, and Reuss. Further, Rothstein himself is inclined to accept a Hebrew original.

Bissell's statement[4] that 'the majority of critics of all schools have always held to the opinion that this composition was originally written in the Hebrew or Aramaic language' is too sweeping; but perhaps on the whole the balance of authority inclines that way. The theory of a Hebrew original is also favoured by J. T. Marshall:[5] 'The evidence for a Hebrew original is not irresistible, but probable'; Kamphausen[6] states that it cannot be conclusively proved that the 'Additions' were written in Greek; J. E. H. Thomson[7] argues for a Hebrew or Aramaic original; Swete[8] writes, 'The addition to Dan. iii. 23 is clearly midrashic, and probably had a Semitic original.'

The present writer is clear that there was a Hebrew original probably for the bulk of our 'Addition', and certainly for the *Prayer of Azariah*. It must not, of course, be overlooked that various considerations, partly drawn from the study of the newly-discovered papyri, reduce the force of much evidence which would prima facie point to a Hebrew original. Idioms and words supposed to be Hebraisms or Aramaisms seem to belong to ordinary Hellenistic Greek, unless, indeed, the Jewish population of some districts gave a Semitic flavour to the local dialect. Moreover, it is always possible that if a Jewish author were more familiar with Aramaic and Hebrew than with Greek, or were soaked in the language of the LXX and had read nothing else in Greek, he might write original Greek as if he were translating from Hebrew. These considerations, accordingly, have been borne in mind, and due weight has been given to them; they lessen, but do not destroy, the force of the general arguments advanced, and there are specific items of evidence which are not affected by them. The conflicting views of various scholars show that there is not obviously an overwhelmingly strong case for either view.

Allowing for a very little editing or corruption of the text, there is not much that could not have been written in Hellenistic Greek, and nothing which could not have been translated from Hebrew. The present writer admits that, as he is mainly interested in the Old Testament, he may have some slight bias in favour of a Hebrew original, but he believes that he has made due allowance for his personal equation. In studying the 'Addition' for the purposes of this work, he has felt that for the most part the Greek goes into Hebrew of its own accord, and many passages are most easily understood as unidiomatic renderings of a Hebrew original. The vocabulary is almost entirely confined to that of the LXX.

Moreover, some little weight may be given to the argument that a pre-Christian Jew would compose prayers and hymns in Hebrew rather than in Greek, Hebrew being the language of devotion. Thus Reuss maintains[9] that a Jew in prayer could only think in Hebrew. But if our 'Addition' was originally composed to supplement a Greek *Daniel*, it would naturally be written in Greek. We do not think it was so composed, partly because of other evidence of a Hebrew original, but were such evidence entirely lacking, the use of Greek might thus be explained by the purpose for which the passages were written.[10]

It must, however, be admitted that, with a very few exceptions to be mentioned later, the different texts and versions do not present the kind of variations which would arise from the independent use of a Hebrew or Aramaic text. Theodotion and the LXX are so similar that they are clearly texts of the same Greek original. It is true that the Peshitta Syriac has some striking differences from both of them, so that Thomson maintains[11] that 'The Syriac could not have been

[1] *Teacher's Prayer Book*, p. 280 *g*.
[2] p. 178.
[3] So Rothstein, but apparently Bissell does not expressly adopt this view.
[4] p. 443.
[5] *Hastings's DB*, iv. 756 *a*.
[6] *Encycl. Bibl.*, iv. 1014.
[7] *Daniel*, *Pulpit Comm.*, pp. 113–17.
[8] p. 261.
[9] *Apud* Rothstein, p. 174; somewhat similarly Thomson, p. 114.
[10] Cf. further below, p. 629.
[11] p. 114.

made from the Greek, nor the Greek from the Syriac; they must have had a common source', probably Hebrew. We think, however, that the history of the Peshitta version of our 'Addition' makes this unlikely.[1] A Syriac translator some centuries after Christ would hardly have known or used a copy of the Hebrew original. The variations of the Peshitta are probably due to a tendency to paraphrase.

When we turn to detail, it is desirable to examine separately (*a*) the Prayer, (*b*) the Song, (*c*) the narrative verses.

Let us take first the *Prayer of Azariah.*

Verse 4. 'All thy judgements truth', ἀλήθεια;[2] the use of the substantive is a familiar Hebrew idiom. Similarly 'judgements of truth'—so literally, in verse 5.

Verse 6. 'We have dealt lawlessly in departing from thee,' ἠνομήσαμεν ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ σοῦ, i.e. 'We have lawlessly departed from thee', a familiar Hebrew use of the dependent infinitive.

Verse 9. The peculiar word ἀποστατῶν, R.V. 'forsaken of God', is most easily understood as a rendering of the Hebr. מרדים 'rebels', as in LXX, cf. notes.

Verse 14. 'Low in all the world,' where perhaps we might have expected 'lowest' or 'lower than all', is often explained as due to the confusion of two similar Hebrew letters, see note.

Verse 16. 'Humble spirit,' lit. 'spirit of lowliness', a familiar Hebrew idiom.

Verse 17. 'Wholly *go* after thee,' lit. 'complete' or 'be complete after thee', ἐκτελέσαι ὄπισθέν σου, a literal rendering of the Hebr. phrase מַלֵּא אַחֲרֶיךָ, cf. מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי and similar phrases, found in Joshua xiv. 8 f., 14, &c., in the sense of 'follow with perfect obedience and fidelity'. This instance is conclusive as LXX does not render this phrase by ἐκτελέσαι, so that the Greek cannot be got from the LXX of the passages in the canonical O. T. Aquila in Deut. i. 36 renders מלא by πληρῶσαι; otherwise Aquila, Symm., and Theod. are not extant for the passages where this phrase occurs. The LXX of this verse has a double rendering for the phrase, in one of which τελειῶσαι, 'complete', is an alternative rendering of the original Hebr., and the other ἐξιλάσαι, 'make thou atonement', is a guess by way of correction; LXX has many such guesses. We have not seen this explanation of ἐκτελέσαι κτλ. elsewhere. Cf. note.

Verse 21. 'Let them be brought to shame *and deprived* of all their dominion.' R.V. 'Let them be ashamed of all their power and might',[3] καταισχυνθείησαν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς δυναστείας, cf. Ps. cxviii. (LXX Hebr. cxix.) 116, μὴ καταισχύνῃς με ἀπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας μου, 'Make me not ashamed of my hope,' מִשִּׂבְרִי. Similarly Sirach xxi. 22 (which is known to be a translation from Hebrew) ἰασχυνθήσεται ἀπὸ προσώπου, R.V. 'will be ashamed of entering', lit. 'from (the) face', probably 'from', i.e. 'so as to keep away from the presence of the master of the house.' The phrase in our passage may be a mere Hellenism, but makes much better sense if taken as a case of the pregnant use of the Hebr. מִן. Cf. note.

Numerous minor Hebraisms might be cited. It is true that the majority of these apparent Hebraisms, taken individually or to the number of three or four, might be explained away as due to the influence of the LXX or otherwise. But some of them, notably ἐκτελέσαι in verse 17, cannot be thus disposed of; and this fact, together with the concurrence of so many in a few verses, shows that the original language was Hebrew. Aramaic, indeed, would be possible,[4] but much less probable.

The scheme of the *Song of the Three Children* is so simple, that for the most part it might equally well have been written originally in Greek or translated from Hebrew. The predilection for compounds with ὑπερ- is a matter of taste that may be due to a translator, just as much as to the original author.[5] But we find Hebraisms in the few places where there is an opportunity for them to occur. The genitive of the substantive is used for an adjective in verse 30, 'the name of Thy glory' for 'Thy glorious name', and in verse 31, 'the temple of Thy holy glory' for 'Thy holy and glorious temple'. In such a case the balance of probability seems in favour of a Hebrew original.

The *Narrative Verses* include a good deal of curious Greek, e. g. καίοντες τὴν κάμινον νάφθαν for 'heating the furnace with naphtha', which might represent a too literal rendering of a Hebrew or Aramaic original. Here, too, the vocabulary and idiom are largely that of the LXX. On the other hand, there are several touches that do not look like translations from a Semitic original, e. g. τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν, but this and others might quite conceivably be somewhat free renderings from Hebrew or Aramaic. On the whole, too, verses 23–27, which connect the Prayer and the Song, seem some-

[1] Cf. above, p. 626, § 4 (*c*).
[2] Theodotion; the LXX corrects to ἀληθιναί.
[3] 'Power and,' an addition found in some authorities.
[4] The Targum of Num. xiv. 24 translates מלא lit. by אשלים.
[5] Cf. notes on verses 29, 30.

what rhetorical, and are not so simple and straightforward as the Greek of the narratives which precede and follow the 'Addition'. Moreover, Theodotion and the LXX differ considerably. It is possible that we have to do with a Greek expansion of an Aramaic original.[1]

In any case the section or sections originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic were to a certain extent edited after they were translated into Greek.

§ 6. Composition of the Book, Date, etc.

The 'Addition' was not part of the original Book of Daniel. As we shall show later, the Prayer of Azariah could not have been composed with reference to the rest of the book. It seems, however, just possible that the 'Addition' as a whole was part of the book before it was translated into Greek, but that it was somewhat amplified in the course of translation or afterwards. For the most part the Greek of the 'Addition' is very similar to that of the canonical part of the book, and indeed to the LXX of the canonical books generally.[2] We will return to this subject after discussing the separate sections.

The 'Addition' as a whole probably belongs to the first century B.C. It is later than the canonical Daniel, i.e. later than 168 B.C.; the LXX is apparently by the same hand as that of the canonical Daniel, which was probably in existence at the beginning of the Christian Era or somewhat later.

The Prayer of Azariah was not originally composed in reference to the incident of the Three Children. If it had been, it would have been put into the mouth of Hananiah (Shadrach), who always stands first of the Three. Thus the Peshitta heads the 'Addition', 'Prayer of Hananiah and his companions.' There is nothing whatever in the Prayer to connect it with the incident to which it is attached. Moreover a Jew, writing a Prayer for the beginning of the Exile, would hardly have forgotten Jeremiah and Ezekiel, to say nothing of Daniel himself, and spoken of the people as having been without a prophet. On the other hand verse 15, which states that there was neither priest, prophet, nor leader, neither sacrifices nor place for public worship, points to the dark days at the beginning of the Maccabean struggle. Probably, therefore, it was composed by, or in the name of, some unknown Azariah, about 168–170 B.C.[3]

The Song of the Three Children is expressly connected with the incident by verse 66; but probably this was not part of the original Song. The jubilant tone of this poem is in marked contrast to the despondency of the Prayer. The 'holy and glorious Temple' and its services seem to be flourishing.[4] Apart from verse 66, it might belong to any prosperous period after the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, probably some time after the success of the Maccabean revolt. There is nothing to indicate that it was composed with reference to the incident of the Three Children.

The Narrative Verses were obviously put into their present form in order to connect the Prayer and the Song with the rest of the book; but they may be based on a section of the original Daniel, no longer included in the canonical book. In the latter the sequence between verses 23 and 24 seems imperfect. In 23 we read that the Three Children 'fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace'. We are not told how they fared, but verse 24 goes on at once 'Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonied', nothing so far having happened to astonish him. Apparently originally something like the apocryphal narrative verses 1, 2, 23–27 stood between the canonical verses 23 and 24, and may have provided the basis for the apocryphal narrative verses.

These facts seem to point to some such conclusions as the following: Two independent Hebrew poems, the Prayer and the Song, were inserted, either at the same time or at different times, in the Hebrew-Aramaic Daniel;[5] the narrative section originally connecting the canonical verses 23, 24 was modified in order to connect the poems with the rest of the book. There were then in circulation copies of two editions of Daniel, one with the 'Addition', the other without; the former, longer, edition was the more popular and the more widely circulated. But later on it was held that the shorter form was the more authoritative; and in copies of the longer form our verses 1–68[6] were marked as an addition. From a copy or copies so marked, fresh copies were made which omitted our 'Addition', without restoring the section which originally stood in the canonical chap. iii, between verses 23 and 24.

The various authors and editors were clearly Jews; nothing whatever is known of them, beyond what may be gathered from the 'Addition' itself.

[1] See further § 6, on the composition of our 'Addition'.
[2] See notes, *passim*.
[3] So Thomson, *Daniel*, p. 115.
[4] Verses 30 f., cf. notes.
[5] We are not concerned here with the history of the Book of Daniel apart from our 'Addition'.
[6] LXX Dan. iii. 24–90.

§ 7. Influence of the Book on Later Literature, Canonicity, etc.

As the 'Addition' was current in early times as part of the longer Daniel, it is difficult to know how far it was accepted as canonical. When Daniel is mentioned in a list of canonical works, there is usually nothing to show whether or no it includes our 'Addition'. Its absence from the Massoretic edition of the Old Testament probably shows that the 'Addition' was not included in Daniel as it was received into the Palestinian Canon.

On the other hand, it was generally accepted in the early and mediaeval Christian Church, being included in the LXX, Latin, Syriac,[1] Egyptian, Arabic, Ethiopian, and other versions. The 'Additions' to Daniel are freely used by the Greek and Latin Fathers;[2] a Father who accepted Susanna and Bel and the Dragon would *a fortiori* accept the Prayer and the Song.

At the Reformation our 'Addition' shared the fate of the rest of the Apocrypha. The Roman Church kept it as an integral part of Daniel and of the Old Testament; the Reformed Churches took it out of Daniel and made it a separate *Apocryphon.*

Philo apparently makes no use of Daniel, and Josephus in his version of the incident of the Three Children and the Fiery Furnace, *Ant.* x. 10. 5, entirely ignores this 'Addition'.

Most of the parallels between the New Testament and the 'Addition' are also parallels with the canonical Old Testament; and the two or three that remain may be mere coincidences. We may, however, note one. In verse 64 we have 'spirits and souls of the righteous',[3] with which we may compare Heb. xii. 23, 'the spirits of just men,'[4] and Apoc. vi. 9, 'I saw . . . the souls[5] of them that had been slain for the word of God.' But here there need be no literary connexion; moreover, in Wisdom of Solomon iii. 1, we have 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God'. Thus there is no sufficient evidence that the writers of the New Testament made use of this 'Addition'.[6]

Verses 35–66 form the *Benedicite* which stands in the Morning Service of the Prayer Book as an alternative to the *Te Deum.* The S.P.C.K. *Prayer-Book with Commentary* states, 'The rubric of 1549 directing its use during Lent was done away with in 1552, and there is now no special direction when it should be used. But it is still deemed more suitable for that season than the exultant strain of the *Te Deum*, and to those days when the Lessons relate to the wonders of creation.'[7]

§ 8. Theology.

These few verses, about one long Biblical chapter, are mostly secondary and imitative, largely a cento of phrases from the Old Testament. They illustrate, however, some of the features of Jewish theology about the beginning of the Christian Era. Thus the unique deity of one God is set forth in verse 22 and at length in the appeal of the Song to all things animate and inanimate to praise God. Yet this one God is still specially the Champion of Israel against their enemies, verse 21. It is possible that the 'worshippers' of verses 10, 68 are proselytes, or, at any rate, include Gentiles.

In verses 5, 6, 14 the misfortunes of Israel are explained by their sins, whereas in Psalm xliv, commonly regarded as Maccabean, the Jews protest that they are innocent martyrs, persecuted for loyalty to their God. But the sins confessed here are probably those of the nation in the past. Azariah says for himself and those for whom he speaks, 'But in a contrite heart and a humble spirit let us be accepted . . . now we follow thee with all our heart, we fear thee and seek thy face,' verses 16–18.

Further, in verses 16, 17 we have the idea that penitence is an acceptable sacrifice, cf. Psalm li.[8]

§ 9. Bibliography.

See the list of works dealing with the Apocrypha as a whole,[9] and in addition the following:—

(*a*) Chief Editions of the Text (and of the Ancient Versions).

(i) LXX of Daniel, S. de Magistris (?), Rome, 1772: 'Daniel secundum LXX. et tetraplus Origenis nunc primum editus e singulari Chisiano codice.' Reprinted . . . at Milan, 1788 (Bugati); and at Leipzig, 1845 (Hahn). The LXX text is also given in the editions of Holmes and Parsons, Tischendorf, and Swete.[10] These authorities also give the text of Theodotion; Theodotion was also used for Daniel in the Complutensian, Aldine, Sistine, and Grabian editions of the LXX, and in the minor editions based upon them.[11]

[1] But perhaps not in the original Peshitta, cf. 4 *c*.
[2] *Smith's DB*, i. 258.
[3] Πνεύματα καὶ ψυχαὶ δικαίων.
[4] Πνεύμασι δικαίων.
[5] Τὰς ψυχάς.
[6] Cf. W. Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, p. 351.
[7] p. 43.
[8] Cf. Maldwyn Hughes, *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, p. 69.
[9] See Introd. to Vol. I.
[10] Swete, p. 193.
[11] Swete, pp. 171 ff.

(ii) Peshitta Syriac. *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi, Syriac*, Lagarde, London, 1861.
(iii) Syro-hexaplaric Version. The Daniel of this version was published by Bugati in 1788.
(iv) Egyptian, Coptic, or Bohairic Version, Tattam, Prophetae Majores, Oxford, 1852.

(*b*) CHIEF CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

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THOMSON, J. E. H., in *Pulpit Commentary on Daniel*, 1897, Excursus on 'Song of the Three Holy Children', p. 112.

[1] *Encycl. Bibl.*, i. 1015.

[2] *PRE*[3], i. 639.

THE PRAYER OF AZARIAH AND THE SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN

The Prayer of Azariah, 1–22.

1, 2 AND they walked in the midst of the fire, singing the praise of God, and blessing the Lord. Then
Azarias stood *up* with *his companions* and prayed on this manner; and opening his mouth in the
3 midst of the fire said, Blessed art thou, O Lord, thou God of our fathers, and worthy to be praised:
4 and thy name is glorified for evermore: for thou art just in all the things that thou hast done, and
5 all thy works are true, and thy ways right, [and all thy judgements truth]. In all the things that
thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, *even* Jerusalem, thou hast executed
true judgements: for according to truth and justice hast thou brought all these things upon us
6 because of our sins. For we have sinned and committed iniquity in departing from thee, and we
7 have sinned grievously in all things, and have neither hearkened unto thy commandments nor kept

Our version follows the text of Theodotion; variations found in the LXX are given in the notes.

1. In the Greek MSS. this verse follows iii. 23 of our Daniel.

they, the 'Three Children'. In the account of this incident in the canonical Daniel they are referred to by their Aramaic names, 'Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego'; but in this 'Addition' they are called Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, the Hellenized forms of their Hebrew names, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.

God . . . the Lord. In the Pentateuch the divine names often alternate through the combination of clauses from documents using 'God' and 'Yahweh' respectively. This alternation seems to be sometimes imitated, as a point of style, by later writers; cf. Jonah iii. 10, iv. 2.

the Lord, *κύριος*, representing the Hebrew divine name, *Yahweh*.

2. **stood up with his companions**, *συνστάς*, R.V. 'stood'. The verb is used in 1 Kings xvii. 26 LXX to translate עמד 'stand'. In Dan. iii. 23 the three 'fell down bound'.

1, 2. Instead of these two verses, LXX has the following: 'Thus then prayed Hananias and Azarias and Misael, and sang praise to the Lord, when the king commanded them to be thrown into the furnace. And Azarias stood and prayed thus and opened his mouth and gave thanks to the Lord, [together with his companions in the midst of the fire, the furnace being brought to an exceeding great heat by the Chaldeans].' Rothstein regards the words in brackets as a later addition. On the words 'brought . . . to a heat', i. e. *ὑποκαιομένης*, cf. Jer. i. 13, where *ὑποκαιόμενον* renders נָפוּחַ, R.V. 'seething (cauldron)'.

There is no apparent reason why the following 'Prayer' should be put into the mouth of *Azariah*. Where the three names are given in the canonical Daniel, his name, whether as Azariah or Abednego, stands last, and in verse 66 of our 'Addition' it stands second. As the 'Prayer' itself does not connect in any way with the incident in Daniel, and the name is a common one, the Azariah of the 'Prayer' may originally have had nothing to do with the Azariah of Daniel.

3. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 10, 20 (Yahweh, the God of their fathers); 2 Chron. vi. 3, 4.

and worthy to be praised, *αἰνετός*. LXX has *αἰνετόν* connecting with the following, 'and thy name is worthy to be praised,' &c.

4. **thou art just**, &c. Neh. ix. 33 R.V., 'thou art just in all that is come upon us; for thou hast dealt truly'; 2 Esdras, *καὶ σὺ δίκαιος ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐρχομένοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἀλήθειαν ἐποίησας.*

thy works, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 4.

true, *ἀληθινά*. This Greek word is frequently used in the LXX for the genitive of the Hebr. *'ĕmeth*, 'truth', such genitives in the Hebrew often doing the work of an adjective. The idea in the Hebrew is rather 'faithful' than 'true'; faithful, as corresponding to the nature, promises, and commands of God.

right, *εὐθεῖαι*. Often in LXX for Hebr. *yāshār*, 'straightforward'; so Hos. xiv. 10 LXX.

[and all thy judgements truth]. Apparently a variant arising by dittography from the clause 'and judgements of truth', which immediately follows in the Greek; so Rothstein. The words for 'judgements' are different, *κρίσεις* and *κρίματα* respectively.

truth. LXX and Syr. marg. have 'true', *ἀληθιναί*; Syr. text agrees with Theodotion.

5. **the holy city**, &c. Cf. Isa. lxiv. 10 f., also lii. 1, Neh. xi. 1, and Deut. ix. 24.

brought . . . upon, *ἐπήγαγες* as in the earlier part of the verse; LXX has 'wrought', *ἐποίησας*.

6, 7. Cf. Isa. lix. 12; Ezra ix. 6, 7, 13; Neh. i. 7.

6. **sinned** (first occurrence). LXX adds 'in all things'.

in departing from thee. A more idiomatic rendering of the first part of this verse would be, 'We have sinfully and lawlessly departed from thee.'

sinned . . . sinned grievously, *ἡμάρτομεν . . . ἐξημάρτομεν*. The *ἐξ* of the latter may be used of erring *from* the mark, emphasizing the nature of sin as a divergence from a standard, an aberration. *Ἐξαμαρτάνω* is occasionally used in LXX in the sense of 'sin', but more often in that of 'cause to sin'; it does not occur in N. T. In view of the similarity of the first and last clauses of this verse, Rothstein regards 'sinned and' as a later addition; but *ἡμάρτομεν* and *ἐξημάρτομεν* probably represent two different Hebrew words.

thy commandments. The LXX reads 'the commandments of thy Law'.

8 them, nor done as thou hast commanded us, that it might go well with us. So all that thou hast
9 brought upon us and everything that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgement. And
thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, and most hateful forsakers *of God*, and to
10 a king unjust and the most wicked in all the world. And now we cannot open our mouth; shame
11 and reproach have befallen thy servants, and them that worship thee. Deliver us not up utterly, for
12 thy name's sake, neither disannul thou thy covenant; and cause not thy mercy to depart from us,
for the sake of Abraham that is beloved of thee, and for the sake of Isaac thy servant, and Israel
13 thy holy one; to whom thou didst promise that thou wouldst multiply their seed as the stars of
14 heaven, and as the sand that is upon the seashore. For we, O Master, have been made less than all
15 the nations, and are brought low this day in all the world because of our sins. Neither is there at
this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place
16 to offer before thee and to find mercy. But in a contrite heart and a humble spirit let us be

8. The first two clauses are practically identical, and Rothstein and others may be right in regarding one of them as a gloss, probably the former.

9. **lawless**, i.e. Gentiles who had not the Jewish law. LXX inserts 'our' before this word.

most hateful forsakers of God, ἐχθίστων ἀποστατῶν. ἐχθίστων might mean 'most hostile' or 'most hateful'; either would suit the sense, but in the Apocrypha it occurs with the latter meaning, e.g. Wisd. xv. 18.

ἀποστατῶν and cognate words in the LXX would usually represent the Hebrew root מרד 'rebel'; so Num. xiv. 9, Joshua xxii. 19. In Acts xxi. 21 Paul is accused of teaching ἀποστασίαν ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως, i.e. 'apostasy' in the modern sense, and ἀποστάτης in ecclesiastical writers has the sense of 'apostate'. In 1 Macc. ii. 15 we read of agents of Antiochus compelling the people to apostatize, καταναγκάζοντες τὴν ἀποστασίαν. Here it may represent the Hebr. מרדים 'rebels', i.e. against God; but it would be understood by the later Greek reader in the sense of 'apostate'. Probably the phrase does not refer to the Gentiles but to apostate Jews. In the time of the revolt of the Maccabees we read of 'renegade and wicked Jews', *Ant.* xii. 7. 1, who took the side of the oppressor, cf. xii. 5. 4.

a king, &c. In the present setting of the Prayer the king will be Nebuchadnezzar. What we read of him elsewhere does not convey the impression that he was 'unjust and most wicked in all the world'. In Jer. xxv. 9 Yahweh speaks of him as 'my servant'. But the author of this clause was probably thinking of Antiochus Epiphanes.

the most wicked in all the world. The Greek is πονηροτάτῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, an unusual construction, probably elliptical for 'more wicked than any of the kings of the whole earth'.

10. **them that worship thee**, τοῖς σεβομένοις σε; the participle also occurs in verse 68. In Acts οἱ σεβομένοι are the proselytes, e.g. xvii. 17 τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις. Possibly the word has the same sense here and verse 68. Rothstein thinks the clause an addition; a reference to proselytes might well be added as an afterthought.

11. **utterly**, εἰς τέλος. This phrase and εἰς τὸ τέλος frequently occur in the LXX and represent numerous Hebrew originals, most often לָנֶצַח 'for ever', or in the Psalm headings לַמְנַצֵּחַ, apparently understood in the same sense.

disannul, διασκεδάσῃς, lit. 'scatter abroad'. This verb, with διαθήκην for object, is the regular LXX rendering of הֵפֵר בְּרִית 'annul a covenant', e.g. Judges ii. 1.

12. **that is beloved of thee.** In 2 Chron. xx. 7 LXX Abraham is called τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου; the Hebrew has אֹהַבְךָ, R.V. 'thy friend'. In Isa. xli. 8 he is called אֹהֲבִי, R.V. 'my friend', LXX ὃν ἠγάπησα, 'whom I loved'. The root אהב is the regular word for 'love'. In James ii. 23 Abraham is called 'the friend (φίλος) of God', and this is his common title amongst Mohammedans.

thy servant . . . thy holy one. These epithets are not applied elsewhere to Isaac or Israel (the patriarch) respectively. In Deut. ix. 27 Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called 'thy servants', and the *nation* of Israel is constantly spoken of as, or exhorted to be, holy, e.g. Deut. vii. 6.

13. LXX has, 'As thou didst speak unto them, saying that *thou* wouldst greatly multiply (πολυπληθῦναι) their seed as the stars of heaven for multitude,' &c.

Cf. Gen. xxii. 17 πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης, 'Multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand by the seashore.'

14. **Master**, δέσποτα. Very occasionally used by LXX to render *'Adonai*, *'Adon*, *'Elohim*, *Yahweh*; fairly common in the Apocrypha as a divine title, and so used in Luke ii. 29; Acts iv. 24; 2 Pet. ii. 1; Jude 4; Apoc. vi. 10. The word expresses 'the absolute control of a master over a slave' (R. J. Knowling on Acts iv. 24).

in all the world. It has been suggested that we should read '(lower) than all the world', an original Hebrew מכל having been misread as בכל. In some forms of the Hebrew script מ and ב are very similar.

15. Cf. Hos. iii. 4; Ps. lxxiv. 8, 9, perhaps Maccabean.

prophet. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar there were Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others.

burnt offering, ὁλοκαύτωσις, עֹלָה. The sacrifice in which the victim was wholly consumed on the altar.

sacrifice, θυσία. Used in LXX both for זֶבַח, the general term for the sacrifice of an animal (so probably here), and for מִנְחָה, sometimes limited to bloodless offerings.

oblation, προσφορά. Only once in LXX, Ps. xxxix. 7, where it is used for מִנְחָה; it is fairly common in the Apocrypha.

to offer. The Greek καρπῶσαι is a derivative of καρπός, 'fruit'; Liddell and Scott explain its use in the sense of 'offer' by suggesting that it meant to 'bring' or 'offer fruit'. In classical Greek it is most often used in the passive or middle to mean 'to derive profit', 'to enjoy'. The noun κάρπωμα is the regular LXX for אִשֶּׁה 'an offering made by fire', which had nothing specially to do with fruit, but was commonly used of animals. The verb occurs in the sense of 'offer' in Lev. ii. 12, 16; cf. Ps. li. 18 LXX. According to Deissmann, LXX uses καρπόω in the sense of 'burn'.[1]

heart, Gk. ψυχῇ, which is occasionally used by the LXX to render the Hebr. לֵב 'heart'.

[1] *Bible Studies*, pp. 135 ff.

17 accepted, like as in the burnt offerings of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousands of fat
lambs; so let our sacrifice be in thy sight this day, and *grant* that we may wholly *go* after thee, for
18 they shall not be ashamed that put their trust in thee. And now we follow thee with all our heart,
19 we fear thee and seek thy face. Put us not to shame, but deal with us according to thy forbearance,
20 and according to the multitude of thy mercy. Deliver us also according to thy marvellous works,
21 and give glory to thy name, O Lord: and let all them that do thy servants hurt be confounded, and
let them be brought to shame *and deprived* of all their dominion, and let their strength be broken;
22 and let them know that thou art the Lord, God, sole and glorious over the whole world.
23 And the king's servants, that put them in, ceased not to make the furnace hot with naphtha, pitch,
24 tow, and small wood; so that the flame streamed forth above the furnace forty and nine cubits.
25, 26 And it spread, and burned those Chaldeans whom it found about the furnace. But the angel of the
Lord came down into the furnace together with Azarias and his fellows, and he drove the flame of
27 the fire out of the furnace; and made the midst of the furnace as it had been a moist whistling
wind, so that the fire touched them not at all, neither hurt nor troubled them.
28 Then the three, as out of one mouth, praised, and glorified, and blessed God in the furnace
saying:

The Song of the Three Children, 29–68.

29 Blessed art thou, O Lord, thou God of our fathers,
And to be praised and highly exalted for ever.

17. **burnt-offerings.** LXX and B of Theodotion have the singular.

grant that we may wholly go after thee. The Greek ἐκτελέσαι ὄπισθέν σου is obscure as Greek. It is a literal rendering of the Hebr. מַלֵּא אַחֲרֵי, R.V. 'followed fully', Num. xiv. 24, xxxii. 11 f.; Deut. i. 36; Joshua xiv. 8 f., 14. LXX of these passages renders the phrase by ἀκολουθέω and cognate or synonymous words. The LXX reading ἐξιλάσαι, 'make thou atonement', is a correction to improve the sense.

At the end of the verse the LXX adds καὶ τελειῶσαι ὄπισθέν σου, a variant of our clause, which was originally placed in the margin as a correction of the LXX ἐξιλάσαι ὄπισθέν σου, and then inserted in the text in the wrong place.

19. **deal with us.** LXX adds ἔλεος, giving the sense 'show us mercy'.

forbearance, ἐπιείκεια. In 2 Cor. x. 1, St. Paul exhorts the Corinthians by the meekness (πραότητος) and forbearance (ἐπιεικείας) of Christ. Dean Bernard on this passage (*Exp. Gk. Test.*) points out that ἐπιείκεια, 'gentleness', 'sweet reasonableness', is one of the qualities of the Righteous Man in Wisd. ii. 19; and that in Greek ethics the ἐπιεικής is the 'equitable' man who does not press for the last farthing of his rights.

The noun does not occur in the LXX of the canonical books, but in Ps. lxxxv. 4 LXX (Heb. lxxxvi. 5) God is said to be 'good and forgiving' (Hebr. סַלָּח, LXX ἐπιεικής) 'and of great mercy'.

20, 21. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 26, xxxxix. 15, LXX; xxxv. 25, xl. 14, Hebr.

21. **do . . . hurt,** ἐνδεικνύμενοι, 'show', as in LXX of Gen. l. 15, 17.

let them be brought to shame and deprived of all their dominion, καταισχυνθείησαν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς δυναστείας. Some MSS. insert 'power and' before 'dominion', R.V. 'let them be ashamed of all their power and might'. This does not make sense, and would not be the natural way of expressing 'let them be ashamed of the use they have made of their dominion', as it is sometimes explained. The sense 'ashamed of their dominion or authority' because it had failed them in their hour of need would be more probable. Perhaps, however, the Greek renders a pregnant use of the Hebrew *min* as suggested by the translation; cf. the next clause. See also p. 628.

22. **the Lord, God,** &c., Κύριος Θεὸς μόνος; LXX has μόνος Κύριος ὁ Θεός, 'alone the Lord God.'

23. **to make the furnace hot with naphtha,** &c. The construction is peculiar, or rather impossible, καίοντες τὴν κάμινον νάφθαν. In the LXX text νάφθαν κτλ. is the direct object of ὑπέκαιον, and it is possible that Theodotion's text is an ungrammatical abbreviation. In the rendering of the Aramaic Dan. iii, ἡ καιομένη is used for יְקִידְתָּא 'fiery', the epithet describing the furnace. After 'make the furnace hot', the LXX continues, 'And when they had cast the three all at once into the furnace, and the furnace was thoroughly aglow with seven times its usual heat' (this rendering requires παρά rather than κατά), 'and when they had thrown them in, those who had thrown them in were above them, but the others kindled under them,' then follows 'naphtha', &c., as in Theodotion. The broken construction indicates a gloss or glosses. According to Aram. of Dan. iii. 22 (LXX, iii. 23), the men who threw the Three Children into the furnace have already been burnt to death, and therefore could not go on kindling fuel. The LXX gloss is an unsuccessful attempt to explain away the difficulty.

25. **spread,** διώδευσεν; LXX διεξώδευσε, 'escaped'.

26. **the angel.** LXX has no article, but probably is intended to be definite. The article is not written before 'angel' in the Hebrew phrase for 'the angel of the Lord'.

drove, ἐξετίναξεν, lit. 'shook out', but the verb is the regular LXX rendering of נער 'shake, shake out'.

27. **moist . . . wind,** lit. 'wind of dew'.

28. **Then.** LXX ἀναλαβόντες, 'taking up', i.e. 'speech'. An English writer might have said, 'broke forth into song,' &c.

blessed. LXX adds after this word, 'and exalted.'

29. **highly exalted,** ὑπερυψούμενος. The verb is used in LXX of canonical books in Ps. xxxvi. 35, xcvi. 9; Dan. iv. 34 (Theod.). Compounds with ὑπερ- in the intensive sense are not common in LXX of canonical books, e.g. 'highly-praised', ὑπεραινετός (verse 30), 'highly sung', ὑπερυμνητός, 'highly glorified', ὑπερένδοξος (verse 31), do not occur in LXX, except in this 'Addition'. At the same time a translator with a turn for hyperbole, having appreciated the effect of the ὑπερ- in ὑπερυψούμενος, might readily introduce ὑπερ- to strengthen other epithets. In several places the texts vary as to the insertion or omission of ὑπερ-.

30 And blessed is thy glorious and holy name,
And to be highly praised and highly exalted for ever.
31 Blessed art thou in the temple of thy holy glory,
And to be highly sung and highly glorified for ever.
32 Blessed art thou that beholdest the depths and sittest upon the cherubim,
And to be praised and highly exalted for ever.
33 Blessed art thou on the throne of thy kingdom,
And to be highly sung and highly exalted for ever.
34 Blessed art thou in the firmament of heaven,
And to be sung and glorified for ever.
35 O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
36 O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
37 O ye angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
38 O all ye waters that be above the heaven, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
39 O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
40 O ye sun and moon, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
41 O ye stars of heaven, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
42 O every shower and dew, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
43 O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
44 O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.

31. **the temple of thy holy glory.** The reference may be to the Temple at Jerusalem; verses 62 f. seem to imply that the Temple services were observed at the time this poem was written. On the other hand, verses 14 f. state that there were neither Temple nor services. Thus it would seem that the Prayer and the Song belong to different periods. In this verse, however, the reference may be to the Heavenly Temple; the following verses refer to God as in heaven.

32, 33. LXX has these verses in the reverse order.

32. **sittest upon the cherubim.** A favourite title of Yahweh, e.g. 2 Sam. vi. 2. The original reference was to the Ark, but the Ark disappeared before the Exile and was not replaced, Jer. iii. 16. Unless this is the mere repetition of a conventional phrase, the cherubim here, as in Ezek. i, are supernatural beings.

highly exalted, ὑπερυψωμένος; LXX 'glorified', δεδοξασμένος.

33. **on the throne.** LXX 'on the throne of glory', i.e. 'glorious throne'.

34. **of heaven.** LXX and Syr. omit.

35–65. The Prayer Book *Benedicite*; cf. Introd., § 7.

35. Cf. Ps. ciii. 22.

Sing his praise and highly exalt him for ever. This refrain, slightly varied in verse 52, is repeated up to and including verse 66. Cf. Ps. cxxxvi, where the refrain, 'For his mercy endureth for ever,' is repeated in each of the twenty-six verses; cf. cxlviii, cl, and cxxxv. 1–3, 19–21.

36, 37. LXX reverses the order of these two verses.

36. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 4.

37. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 2.

38. Cf. Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4.

all ye waters. Some texts have 'ye waters and all things'.

39. **O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord.** So LXX of Ps. ciii. 21, except that the psalm has 'his' for 'of the Lord'. The Hebr. is צבאיו, E.V. 'his hosts'; cf. 'Yahweh Ṣebaoth', 'Lord of hosts'; in which phrase 'hosts' referred at various times to (*a*) the actual Israelite armies, (*b*) the heavenly bodies, (*c*) the angels. As the present writer is using a conventional phrase, he may have had no definite idea of what he meant by it. The Vatican MS. of Theodotion has 'Let every power bless the Lord'.

40, 41. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 3.

40. Syr. marks this verse as spurious, but it is well supported and is required by the context.

42. **every.** Rothstein proposes to omit with Pesh.; cf. 44 ff., where there is no 'every' before the various pairs.

43, 44. Ps. cxlviii. 8.

The Alexandrine MS. of Theodotion and LXX insert here the verses numbered 45, 46, in A.V., thus:—

'45. O ye winter and summer (LXX, frost and cold), bless ye, &c.
46. O ye dews and storms of snow, bless ye, &c.

'Winter and summer', in Alex. MS. 'cold and burning wind'.

45–51. The order of these verses varies in different authorities. Thus LXX has 45, 46, 49, 50, 47, 48, 51.

45 is a doublet of 48 or, according to LXX, of 50, of which 46 is also partly a doublet.

47 O ye nights and days, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
48 O ye light and darkness, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
O ye cold and heat, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
50 O ye frosts and snows, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
51 O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
52 O let the earth bless the Lord,
Let it sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
53 O ye mountains and hills, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
54 O all ye things that grow on the earth, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
56 O ye seas and rivers, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
55 O ye fountains, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
57 O ye whales, and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
58 O all ye birds of the heaven, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
59 O [all] ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
60 O ye sons of men, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
61 O Israel, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
62 O ye priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his* praise and highly exalt him for ever.
63 O ye servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
64 O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
65 O ye saints and meek-hearted, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.

48. **cold and heat,** *ψῦχος καὶ καῦμα.* Alex. MS. of Theod. 'frost (*πάγος*) and cold', apparently a variant of the LXX (verse 49, A.V.) 'O ye frosts (*πάγοι*) and cold, bless ye', &c.

50. **frosts,** *πάχναι.* Vatican MS. 'frost'. Both *πάγος* and *πάχνη* render כְּפוֹר 'hoar-frost', and *πάγος* also renders קֶרַח 'frost'.

53. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 9.

56, 55. LXX has these verses in reverse order, i.e. 55, 56, as in A.V.

55. **fountains.** LXX 'showers and fountains'.

57. **whales,** *κήτη,* sea-monsters or huge fishes; *κῆτος* is used in the LXX for תַּנִּינִים 'sea-monsters', Gen. i. 21, for Jonah's 'fish', דָּג, and for the mythical sea-monsters, Leviathan, Job iii. 8, and Rahab, Job xxvi. 12.

all that move, &c. Cf. Lev. xi. 46.

58, 59. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 10.

59. [**all**]. Alex. MS. omits, cf. on 42.

beasts and cattle, *τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ κτήνη*; LXX *τετράποδα καὶ θηρία τῆς γῆς*; cf. LXX of Gen. i. 24, 'quadrupeds and beasts of the earth.'

61, 62. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 19.

62. **O ye priests of the Lord.** Vat. MS. of Theod. omits 'of the Lord'; the margins of LXX and Syr. have 'ye priests, servants of the Lord'.

63. **O ye servants of the Lord.** Vat. MS. of Theod., LXX, and Syr. omit 'of the Lord'. These are temple ministrants, perhaps Levites; cf. Ps. cxxxiv. 1, cxxxv. 1, 20.

64. **O ye spirits and souls of the righteous.** 'Spirit', *πνεῦμα,* represents רוּחַ, sometimes the divine element in man; 'soul', נֶפֶשׁ, often the vital principle. The verse is one of a series appealing to various classes of living men, so that it also refers to the living, 'righteous souls,' not souls of the departed.

65. **saints and meek-hearted.** 'Saint', *ὅσιος,* and 'meek-hearted', *ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ,* represent the Hebr. *hāsîd* and *ʿānāv* or *ʿānî,* which in post-Exilic times were technical terms for members of the nationalist party which insisted

[66 O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord,
Sing *his praise* and highly exalt him for ever.
For he hath rescued us from Hades, and saved us from the power of death,
And delivered us from the midst of the burning fiery furnace, even out of the midst of the fire hath he delivered us.
67 O give thanks unto the Lord,
For he is good; for his mercy *endureth* for ever.
68 O all ye that worship the Lord, bless the God of gods,
Sing *his* praise, and give thanks unto him;
For his mercy endureth for ever.]

on the strict observance of the Law. *Hāsîd* and *'ānāv* or *'ānî* occur in the same context of the true believer in Ps. xviii. 25, 27; lxxxvi. 1 f.; cxlix. 1, 2, 5, 9. In Matt. xi. 29, Christ speaks of Himself as πραὺς καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, 'meek and lowly of heart.'

Verses 66–68 are probably an addition; verse 66 was added to connect the hymn with the 'Three Children'. Verses 67, 68 were added from the psalm as a closing doxology, the clause 'O all ye that worship the Lord' being introduced later, possibly in order to bring in a reference to proselytes; cf. on verse 10. These verses probably displaced an original conclusion, less suitable to the present context of the hymn.

66. Cf. on verse 1.

Hades, ᾅδου, the Hebr. *Sheol*, the abode of the dead.

burning fiery furnace, lit. 'furnace burning of flame'; LXX and some texts of Theod. omit 'furnace', leaving 'from the midst of the burning flame'.

67 exactly = LXX of Ps. cxxxv. 1 (Hebr. cxxxvi. 1).

good, χρηστός, 'benevolent and benevolent.' In Ps. cxxxv. 1 and elsewhere in LXX it is used to render *ṭōb*, 'good'.

68. **ye that worship the Lord,** οἱ σεβόμενοι τὸν κ. Cf. on verse 10.

the God of Gods. Cf. Ps. cxxxvi. 2.

LXX adds at the end, 'and for ever and ever,' καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων.

SUSANNA

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Contents of the Story of Susanna, and Summary of Results in Introduction.

Two elders are made judges in a Jewish community. One evening they see a Jewess walking in her husband's garden, and both become enamoured of her. Next morning they detect each other near the garden, acknowledge to each other their passion, agree to accost the woman, and are repulsed with scorn. To protect themselves they must accuse the woman; they betake themselves to the synagogue of the city and issue a summons to Susanna. She appears with her household, and is ordered to be unveiled. The elders appear as witnesses before the assembled people. They aver that while they were walking in her husband's garden, they detected the woman in company with a youth who escaped. Being arrested she refused to tell who her paramour was. The official standing of the elders leads the whole synagogue to believe the evidence and to condemn Susanna.

On her way to execution, a youth (Daniel) questions the verdict, reopens the trial, and examines the two elders separately. The one says the crime took place under a mastick tree; the other says under a holm tree. The contradiction condemns both. The synagogue applauds the young man because he had proved them to be false witnesses. 'And as the Law prescribes, they did unto them as they had wickedly devised against their sister.' The elders are gagged, cast into a ravine, and destroyed by fire from heaven.

The inspired sincerity of youth, by means of cross-examination, prevented a judicial murder, therefore let youth be honoured.

The later version of Theodotion locates the scene in Babylon when Daniel was 'a young lad'. The house of Joakim, husband of Susanna, is the resort of the people and place of trial. The scene in the garden is more detailed.

This story of Susanna is a parable intended to illustrate the value and necessity of cross-examination of witnesses. It also seeks to vindicate the execution of false witnesses, although their victim may be delivered before his sentence was carried out. The story is a product of the Pharisaic controversy with the Sadducees in the later years of Alexander Jannaeus, *c.* 95–80 B.C. The original language was the literary Hebrew of that period. A later recension of the Hebrew named the Deliverer Daniel, and associated the story with Daniel conceived as an historical person living in Babylon in the early years of the Captivity. This subsequent association with Daniel is the main cause of the differences between Theodotion's version and the LXX. The story circulated independently, and was sometimes associated with the name of Habakkuk. The LXX before the Christian era placed it in an appendix to Daniel; Theodotion and the Uncials, in the interests of chronology, make Susanna the opening chapter of Daniel. The Hebrew MSS. now extant have no claim to be considered the original of the Greek versions.

§ 2. Title.

In the earliest MSS. the story has no name, being part of Δανιηλ B A; Δανιηλ κατα του Θευδοτιωνος Q. In Codex Chisianus, LXX Dan. is entitled Δανιηλ κατα τους Ō. This title is repeated at the end of Dan. xii; Dan. xiii is headed Σουσανναα. Codex Chisianus gives Theodotion's version under the curious title το ειρ αγρυπνος Δανιηλ, Susanna being *c.* 13; c. 14, which follows, has the superscription ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς Φυλῆς Λευί. The Syriac Hexapla makes the latter title include Susanna. A codex from Athos: ὁράσεις (*l.* ὅρασις?) ἕνδεκα τοῦ προφήτου Δανιήλ deinde sequitur περὶ τοῦ Ἀββακούμ. His omnibus praemittitur περὶ τῆς Συσάννης.[1] Another Greek title is Διακρισις Δανιηλ.[2]

Syriac Versions ܬܫܒܚܬܐ History of Shushan Pesh., Lag. 1; ܬܫܒܚܬ ܕܢܝܐܝܠ Lag. 2; 'the book of the youthful Daniel, the history of Shushan ܬܫܒܚܬܐ Harkleensian edition; 'Book of the Women' (i.e. Susanna, Judith, Ruth, Esther) in Bible of Jacobite Syrians.

[1] *De Habacuci prophetae vita atque aetate*, § 13, Franz Delitzsch, 1842.
[2] Walton, *Polyglot*, vi, p. 191.

The Vulgate places Daniel between Ezekiel and Hosea as 'propheteia Danielis', Susanna being c. 13.

The Arabic version has an invocation of the Trinity, and 'begins to translate the prophecy of the prophet Daniel whose prayer be for us! Amen.'

In general literature the designation varies, e.g. τὸ δρᾶμα τῆς Σωσανιίδος, Nicolas (of Damascus?); 'Pistill (epistle) of Swete Susan', Scots poems of the fourteenth century.

The position in which Susanna is inserted is variable. It precedes the canonical Daniel in B A Q Old Latin and Copto-Memphitic Versions; it is appended after Dan. xii in LXX, Syro-tetraplar Version of LXX, Vulgate and Versions based on it.

These titles reflect variety of opinion as to the origin, authorship, and character of the story. There is uncertainty as to whether the book is history, prophecy, apocalypse, apocryphal or canonical scripture.

§ 3. The MSS.

The Codex Chisianus 87, first published at Rome in 1772, is for Susanna, as for Daniel, the sole authority for the Greek of the Septuagint. It is a ninth-century cursive, and at the end of Dan. xii says it was copied from an exemplar with this subscription: ἔγραφη ἐκ τῶν τετραπλῶν ἐξ ὧν καὶ παρετέθη. Its text is thus only once removed from the recension of the LXX made by Origen *c.* A.D. 240. The Codex Chisianus receives important corroboration from the Syro-Hexaplar Codex, written in Alexandria A.D. 616–617 by Mar Paulus of Mesopotamia. The LXX text from Origen's Hexapla is rendered literally into Syriac. The agreement of Chisianus with the Syro-Hexaplar gives assurance for the LXX text of Susanna as approved by Origen. The Old Latin versions and quotations in the Fathers do not suffice to fix a generally received text at an earlier period.

Theodotion's version of Susanna was adopted into the Greek Bible in place of LXX. It has thus all the MS. evidence available for the Greek Daniel in the Church Bible, and is found in Codex Vaticanus B, Codex Alexandrinus A, and in Cod. Marchalianus Q, sixth century. The text here used is that of Swete, vol. iii.

Among MSS. two in Hebrew require notice, because the question of a Semitic original is much discussed, and because one of these MSS. has been supposed to contain the Semitic original of certain apocryphal books.[1]

In Bodley's Library at Oxford is a MS. (Heb. d. 11, Catalogue No. 2797) called *Sepher haz-Zikhronoth*, compiled by Asher hal-Levi about A.D. 1325, written in German rabbinical character. It contains legendary matter illustrating Biblical history from the Creation to the time of the Maccabees. The catalogue describes the contents of the part preceding Susanna as a Hebrew translation of the Aramaic passages in Daniel by Yerahmeel, . . , the Aramaic text of the Song of the Three Children, the history of Bel and the Dragon in Syriac in Hebrew characters without a Hebrew translation. In fol. 74 *b* begins the Midrash concerning Ahab and Zedekiah (Jer. xxix. 21). Fol. 75 *a* and 75 *b* contain the Story of Susanna in Hebrew, occupying fifty-three lines. A later hand has headed the page: מעשה שושנה בימי דניאל. The story itself begins a new paragraph headed זה מעשה שושנה. After Susanna the history of Nebuchadnezzar is resumed. The compiler considered the elders identical with the false prophets mentioned by Jeremiah, and located the story in Babylon. Has this Hebrew text any claim to be considered the original of the LXX and Theodotion? The Greek versions have some thirty verses nearly identical; in these passages this MS. omits much, adds not a little, and freely paraphrases the rest. Two translators, however arbitrary, could not make this text responsible for the agreements or divergences that exist in LXX and Theodotion. The language is in parts a fair imitation of Biblical Hebrew: in other parts it is not; e.g. v. 23 θ′ fol. 75, l. 18, מוטב לי ואפולה ביד ∴ הצדיק והטוב הגדול הגיבור והנורא מציל ומושיע גאל חזק ∴ צבאות שמו; fol. 76, l. 29, a supplement to θ′ v. 59 שאין בנן לא זה אילן ולא זה אילן והלכו וראו האמת; for הִנֵּה we find הרי three times; for 'thereupon' מיד with a Perf. three times; twice there appears גינת הביתו for 'the garden of his house'. The compiler of the MS. evidently knew Syriac, and may have carelessly followed some Syriac version in writing the story for the amusement of his heirs male. His object appears in his preface: 'Blessed be my descendants, and may they be established if they fulfil my wishes.'

The second Hebrew MS. is also in the Bodleian (Heb. MS. e. 12, Catal. No. 2777). The volume, with which the leaf containing Susanna is bound up, contains hymns, astronomical tables, &c., disorderly arranged. The copyist of fol. 3 signs himself Mordecai ben Samuel, and finished his work A.D. 1691. A note on f. 71 implies the date A.D. 1737.

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. [xvi, 1894, 'The Unknown Aramaic Original of Theodotion's Additions to the Book of Daniel,' pp. 280–90, 312–17.

Susanna occupies both sides of one folio, 55, thirty-five lines on the first page, thirty-four on the other. The story conforms closely to the Greek of Theodotion, so closely that either the Vulgate or Theodotion must have been used by the translator into Hebrew. The additions and omissions in Heb. e. 12 are not many and not important. The garden, *v.* 3, 'has all kinds of trees'; the elders are called 'priests'; the maids fetch soap going out 'by the doors of the house'. The Hebrew is more idiomatic than in MS. d. 11. Yet here too we have a version. The writer has not understood *v.* 5, yet has tried to be faithful to the obscurity of the Greek. ונעשו אז באותו הזמן שני כהנים ברצון ה׳ שופטים כי סר העין [העון] מבבל מהשופטים הראשונים ויקומו שופטים אחרים וילכו אחרי ה׳. Again, in *v.* 15 he has failed to recognize the Greek form of פְּתְמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם and renders: ויהי כראותם אותה בכל יום קרה ביום השלישי ורצתה לילך עם שתי נערות לרחוץ עצמה . . . In *v.* 18 he ignores the gender in the verbs; *περιπατούντων ἡμῶν* = כשהלכנו *v.* 36; the comparative he renders by יותר, *ἐνδοξότερον* = יותר נכבד *v.* 4; *αἱρετόν μοι* = יותר טוב. That he used Theodotion and not the Vulgate appears to follow from his treatment of *v.* 22: *καὶ ἀνεστέναξεν Σ. καὶ εἶπεν Στενά μοι πάντοθεν* = ותאנח שושנה ותאמר אנחה תהיה לי. Here he reproduces the repetition of the sound. He ignores the play on the names of the trees.

These two Hebrew MSS. are of some interest as showing the Jewish attitude to the story during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They also illustrate the facility with which every phrase of the Greek can be reproduced in Hebrew.

§ 4. The Ancient Versions.

Two forms of the *Old Latin* version of Daniel can be traced. Burkitt[1] finds that the tract *De Pascha computus*, dated A.D. 243, is the earliest Latin follower of Theodotion's Greek for Daniel. But 'the earliest Latin version of Daniel as witnessed by Tertullian, S. Victorinus of Pettau, and partly by S. Cyprian was made from the LXX'. 'The text of Daniel used by Tertullian is a form of the LXX differing slightly from Origen's edition, but agreeing most closely with the quotations of Justin Martyr' (ib. p. 23). In Sabatier[2] the Versio Antiqua preserves about forty-four verses of Susanna out of the sixty-five in the Vulgate. In these Theodotion's version is much more obvious than the LXX. The verses at the beginning are given; and Sabatier adds, 'Haec Susannae historia, si Flaminio Nobilio fides, in omnibus vetustis libris est principium Danielis, . . . in multis inscribitur Daniel ut in nostra; in quibusdam *Συσαννα*: in aliquo *Διακρισις Δανιηλ*.'[2] In Cod. Wirceburgensis Palim. sixth century, Susanna *vv.* 2–10 survive.[3]

The Vulgate. St. Jerome's preference for Theodotion's Susanna led to the disappearance of the LXX Susanna. St. Jerome says the churches of his time read Daniel according to Theodotion, the LXX Daniel being long ago discarded. 'Hoc cur acciderit, nescio'; but after comparing both versions with the Semitic original in the rest of Daniel, he agrees that sound judgement has been shown in substituting Theodotion. The Vulgate therefore puts Theodotion's Greek into Latin. At the end of Dan. xii, this note precedes Susanna: 'Hucusque Danielem in Hebraeo volumine legimus. Quae sequuntur usque ad finem libri de Theodotionis editione translata sunt.' Jerome therefore had never seen a Hebrew or an Aramaic Susanna. The Vulgate has an extra verse at the end, *v.* 65 'Et rex Astyages appositus est ad patres suos et suscepit Cyrus Perses regnum eius.' This error in chronology belongs to *Bel and the Dragon*, which follows in c. 14.

Syriac. The LXX Susanna is faithfully reproduced in Syriac in the Codex Siro-estrangelo Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Bugatus[4] gives this note after Dan. xii from the Syriac: 'Descriptus est ab exemplari in quo erat adnotatio haec: descriptus est a Tetraplis cum quibus etiam collatus est.' Swete and others refer to the MS. as 'Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus'. As Origen had no Hebrew for Susanna, he must have had two columns blank in his Hexapla; the names Tetrapla and Hexapla here evidently refer to the same text. This version was made at Alexandria by Mar Paulus of Mesopotamia, in the years A.D. 616–617. It is an exact translation, and serves to fix the LXX text as approved by Origen A.D. 240.

Walton's *Polyglot* gives two Syriac versions, W_1 the Peshitta, W_2 the Philoxenian or Harkleensian made by Thomas, Bishop of Heraklea about A.D. 616. Both are based on Theodotion, but make additions in sympathy with the story. Two other Syriac versions are edited by Lagarde,[5] from two codices in the British Museum. These MSS. belong, one to the ninth, the other to the tenth century.

[1] Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 7.
[2] *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, 1751.
[3] Kennedy, *DB* (Hastings), art. 'Old Latin Versions'.
[4] 'Daniel secundum editionem LXX interpretum ex tetraplis desumptam, ex codice siro-estranghelo Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Syriace edidit Caietanus Bugatus Mediolani 1788.'
[5] *Apocryphi Syriace*, Lagarde, 1861.

They resemble Walton's first Syriac version 'Apud Waltonem versio duplex est, altera fere cum nostris consonans'. In the last twenty verses the variations between these two versions (L_1 L_2) are considerable.

Coptic Versions. The *Copto-Memphitic* was based on Theodotion's version. It may have been made by the beginning of the fourth century. 'Hoc unum statuemus, interpretem nempe copto-memphiticum magnam semper fidem Theodotioni habuisse, quam vero textus Theodotionei recensionem secutus fuerit, certo definiri non posse.'[1] In this version Susanna is found at the beginning of Daniel.

No fragments of Susanna appear to have survived in the *Sahidic* version.[2] The 'Song' appears in c. 3.

Arabic. John, Bishop of Seville A.D. 719, made an Arabic version of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate as it is supposed.[3] The version in the Polyglots is derived from an old MS. of Greek akin to A.[4] The version of Susanna in Walton conforms to the Vulgate. The two trees are called *sandayān* سَنْدَيَانٍ and سُمَّاقٍ *summāq*; but no attempt is made to reproduce these sounds in the verbs.

The new elements in the versions have been supposed, especially in the Harkleensian Syriac, to be independent gleanings from tradition (Brüll, Ball). The fidelity of the translators has been impaired by the warmth of their feelings; e.g. Susanna is only a few days betrothed to Joachim, and the rest of her life is passed in widowhood, day and night being devoted to the service of the Lord (Syr. Harkl.). Susanna is set free from her chains, ibid. Hebrew 'the elders, the accursed rascals', &c.

§ 5. The Original Text.

'Things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue.' So testified the younger Ben-Sira, *c.* 130 B.C., when he 'laboured to interpret' in Greek the Hebrew composition of his grandfather. The Semite and the Aryan had created their language in different worlds. Between them there was no aboriginal kinship such as embraced the Greek and the Roman. The verbal paradigm of Arabic cannot be forcibly adjusted to the moods and tenses of the Greek verb. A Greek could neither pronounce nor write the sound 'Shoshanna'. Ben-Sira's 'labour' was in some respects like trying to graft the laurel on the palm.

The two tense-forms of Semitic, aided in Hebrew by the potent Vav consecutive, offer perceptible resistance to expression in the Greek idiom. One effect is a monotonous repetition of *καί* introducing clauses which can be more subtly linked by Vav in Hebrew. In the LXX of Susanna *καί* introduces clauses, where Hebrew Vav consec. or conj. would conveniently replace it, over fifty times; an equal extent of narrative and dialogue in St. John's Gospel yields such a *καί* twenty times; St. Luke fifteen; Josephus twelve times. A Greek-speaking Jew, or a Greek influenced by the LXX, when composing in his own conversational Greek, thus by this test exhibits a freedom which is conspicuously absent from Susanna.[5] A similar test shows that *αὐτός* for Hebrew pronominal suffix occurs much oftener than in the Greek, which an Alexandrian Jew (Philo) writes spontaneously; cf. Susanna *v.* 30, *v.* 9 *τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν* LXX, *τὸν ἑαυτῶν νοῦν* Theodotion *et passim.* Redundant auxiliary verbs, e.g. *ἀναστάντες εἶπαν vv.* 29, 34, reflect the superfluous וַיָּקוּמוּ of Hebrew. *καὶ ἐγένετο* for ויהי *vv.* 7, 15, 19, 28, 64, Theodotion; the so-called *σχῆμα Χαλδαικόν vv.* 24, 42, 46, 53, 60, Theodotion; *καθὼς ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας* Theodotion *v.* 15, for כִּתְמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם; *σφόδρα* = מְאֹד *vv.* 4, 27, 31; *Ἰδού* for הִנֵּה; *εἰς τὸν ἕτερον* and *ἀλλήλους* for אחד אל אחד or איש אל אחיו; infinitive with prep. לְהַמִּיתָהּ, *ἵνα θανατώσουσιν αὐτήν* LXX; *τοῦ θανατῶσαι αὐτήν* Theodotion *v.* 28; *σχίσει σου τὴν ψυχήν* LXX *v.* 55; *πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν* LXX *v.* 52. Article for vocative *οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ* Theodotion *v.* 48, LXX omits *οἱ*.[6] The versions have *οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῆς v.* 3 which Hebrew would express by אביה ואמה (Hebrew MS. e. 12 אבותיה), but in *v.* 30 LXX lets the literal Hebrew appear *ἡ γυνὴ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τῇ μητρί*, Theodotion *οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῆς.*

The names of the trees and the paronomasia *σχῖνον . . . σχίσει v.* 54 f, *πρῖνον . . . καταπρίσῃ v.* 58 f. have caused the assumption of a Greek original since Africanus. 'The history of Susanna is even very certainly a Greek original, as Julius Africanus and Porphyry already showed from the play on the words.'[7] Theodotion often resorts to transliteration of Hebrew words: *νωκεδείμ* Amos i. 1, *σαβείρ* Dan. xi. 16. He is especially timid about trees: Isa. xli. 19 *βραθὺ καὶ θαδαὰρ καὶ θαασούρ,*

[1] Daniel, *Copto-Memphitice*, p. xiv, Bardelli, Pisis, 1849.
[2] *Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica*, Ciasca ii, Rome, 1889.
[3] Scrivener[3], xii. 414.
[4] *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. 'Texts and Versions', § 64.
[5] The English version has skilfully hidden the offensive 'and' by 'albeit, now, then, but, yet, also'.
[6] Most of these Hebraisms are corroborated and others are indicated by Scholz, *Susanna*, p. 148, and Bludau, *Die Alexandr. Übersetzung des B. Daniel*, p. 183.
[7] Schürer, II. ii. § 33 (Eng.).

the fir, the pine, and the box-tree. Had his Hebrew text regarded the tree-names as suggesting the verbs to be used, Theodotion would *more suo* have transliterated them. But LXX is here so apt as to be irresistible to Theodotion. The LXX translator will guess rather than transliterate Hebrew. In Dan. iv–vi, as a translator he exhibits that *effrenata licentia*[1] for which he was dismissed from the Greek Bible, and his version of Daniel and Susanna imprisoned in Cod. Chisianus for 1000 years. This free and lively translator made the pun which has puzzled translators from Mar Paulus to Luther. From internal evidence we conclude that both Greek texts are versions dependent on a Hebrew original.

This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the texts of LXX and Theodotion. Half the story coincides in both, sometimes verbally identical, sometimes agreeing in sense though differing in terms. The variation consists in the use of a synonym, or a different construction, or a different order of words, e. g. *κάλλιον δέ με* LXX 23, *αἱρετόν μοί ἐστιν*, Theod. = טוֹב לִי ; cf. *vv.* 10, 14, 28, 35, 61. The nature of the resemblances in the two Greek texts shows that neither writes independently. Where they disagree, they write constrained Greek, e. g. LXX 29, 32, 55, 62 *b*, and in parts peculiar to Θ′ *vv.* 15, 24, 39 *b*, 43. Apart from Semitic idioms in either text, the identity, the nature of the resemblances, and the divergences suggest the dependence of translators. Independent writers could not deal with a common Synoptic tradition as these writers do. Theodotion is a critical reviser of the LXX, but he too defers to an authority superior to the Greek.

Had Susanna been written in Greek to scourge certain officials in Alexandria it could scarcely have been represented as Babylonian history, where Greek was unknown. Its association with the Canon would be unlikely, and, had there been no Hebrew original, it is difficult to see why Symmachus and Theodotion should have taken the trouble to revise a casual tract about an Alexandrian *fama*. Origen and Jerome could find no Hebrew archetype; but the second century A. D. produced versions enough to secure a place for Susanna in the Tetrapla of Origen *c.* A. D. 240. It appears doubtful whether Aquila included Susanna. Akiba was his tutor, and the Jewish Canon, which was definitely settled *c.* A. D. 90, excluded Susanna. The story would not be popular with elders, and it was the elders who fixed the Canon. Susanna was useless for the polemical purposes of Judaism; it reflected on the good name of the daughters of Israel and the probity of the judges. It was, therefore, an encumbrance to the Canon and excluded. Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, already suggests this explanation before A. D. 230. The lemnisci in Syro-estrangelo Tetrapla are accompanied by the marginal note Σ. Θ′, implying that Aquila had no Susanna. But unless there had been a Hebrew archetype in the time of Symmachus and Theodotion (A. D. 150–200) there is no sufficient reason why Susanna should have been included in Origen's Tetrapla.

§ 6. Integrity or Composite Nature of the Text.

The story of Susanna is skilfully compacted. Its characters are few and vividly contrasted; the issues at stake are of universal interest, death or dishonour are the calamities imminent, suspense deepens as the story proceeds, there is an impressive reversal (*περιπέτεια*) of the intended effect into its direct opposite, at the end nothing requires to be added except the applause of heaven and earth. A feeble woman in the right (cf. Esther, Judith) has triumphed over tyranny in the wrong. The genius of the writer is more important than his material, whether that were chiefly legendary, traditional, or suggested by contemporary politics. Nobody remembers the raw material, nobody forgets the story.

Though the story is coherent and homogeneous, it appears to have suffered alteration in some features. The earlier form of the story seems to have had no connexion with Daniel or Babylon. In LXX Daniel is an intruder. He does not appear till *v.* 45 and is introduced awkwardly in apposition to *νεώτερος*. His name is mentioned only four times—*vv.* 48, 51 *a*, 52, 59; the original *νεώτερος* maintains his anonymous part in *vv.* 52 *a*, 55, 60; and in the epilogue *οἱ νεώτεροι* are the heroes, while Daniel is forgotten. The contrast is not between youth and age, but between such an one as the son of Simon ben Shetach and the pair of Sadducean informers and judges who secured his condemnation by false witness. The son, who chose death in order that his father might be able, even on Sadducean principles, to inflict the penalty of death on his false accusers, is the *νεώτερος* come to judge justly. This requires us to omit the preface which never belonged to LXX, and which is superfluous in view of LXX *v.* 7, to delete *ἐκ βαβυλῶνος* in the dubious and difficult *v.* 6, and either to read *νεώτερος* four times for *Δανιήλ*, or else merely to omit the proper name.

The transference of this original story to Babylon offends against verisimilitude. Recent captives

[1 This is practically the universal opinion of these chapters, but I hope in a future work to show that it is wrong.—General Editor.]

were not likely to have synagogues, popular election of judges, the right to carry out a sentence of death. Joakim is too comfortable with a pleasure garden and 500 famuli. The disastrous trees and the stadion have no place in Babylon. 'Other cities' (*v. 6*) could be Judaean villages with fewer than 120 families; they are a curious addition to 'Babylon'. Such features are proper to Judaea in the time of John Hyrcanus and his successors.

The career of the individual Daniel also affects the question. The book became known *c.* 165 B.C.; by its merit and in the temper of the time it became instantly popular, and was translated into Greek before 1 Maccabees was written. Meanwhile Daniel himself was a nebulous personality, half-angelic, wholly admirable. Theodotion's version of Daniel in Cod. Chisianus bears the title *το ειρ αγρυπνος Δανιηλ*. *Ειρ* is explained as 'angelus, quo nomine Daniel a barbaris etiam dictus est', and stands for העיר 'the Watcher'. To Theodotion *c.* A.D. 150, Daniel is still associated with the 'Sleepless Angel keeping Watch'. Josephus apologizes to his Roman readers *c.* A. D. 90 for summarizing the Book of Daniel as history: 'I have described these matters as I have found and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.'[1] In the time of Alexander Jannaeus Daniel was still a semi-angelic figure, not yet regarded as an historical person who lived during the time his book describes. In the fervour of the struggle between Pharisee and Sadducee a polemical tract would have been derided which made such use of his name as Susanna does. There is evidence that Susanna circulated independently of Daniel. Jerome[2] (Pref. to Commentary on Daniel) cites the opinion of Eusebius and Apollinarius: 'Susannae Belisque ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico, sed partem esse prophetiae Abacuc filii Iesu de tribu Levi.' In Cod. Chisianus Bel (Dan. xiv) still retains the superscription *ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί*. Suidas[3] derives *Ἀμβακούμ* from אַבָּא and קוּם, and comparing *ταλιθὰ κούμ* in the Gospel, gets the sense *πατὴρ ἐγέρσεως*. The additions to Daniel were thus by a section of early tradition connected with the name of Habakkuk.

The intrusion of Daniel and Babylon into the story explains the chief differences between the LXX as conceived above and Theodotion's version. The preface is new and locates the scene in Babylon. The epilogue ignores the *νεώτερος* of LXX and sings the praise of Daniel. Joakim resembles the Chief of the Captivity ראש גלות: at his house justice is administered, in it the trial is conducted. It is easier to identify Joakim with the captive king Jehoiachin; no children are mentioned; anxiety for the continuance of the Davidic lineage may supply a motive for the methods of Ahab and Zedekias. Details are added chiefly in the scene in the garden. Doors are shut, the maids are dismissed, no other observer is present, the guilty youth escapes though the elders try to prevent him. These variations make the evidence of the elders more telling against themselves. The LXX hurries over the garden scene; its interest is in the trial.

Theodotion as a translator is 'simplex et gravis'. His habitual deference to the Hebrew text would not allow him to invent the additions to LXX of Susanna. A second edition in Hebrew adapted to Babylon appears to be the source of his revision and extension of the LXX. When the story had achieved its purpose, when the dictum of Simon ben Shetach, 'Make full examination of the witnesses,'[4] became dominant, then it became possible to identify the youthful champion of the right with Daniel. Daniel's name 'El is my Judge' commended his claim to be the *νεώτερος* of the first edition.

§ 7. Authorship and Date.

Judaea was vigorous under John Hyrcanus and his sons, 139–79 B.C. Not content with subduing the Idumaeans, they also circumcised them: disapproving the Samaritan heresy they demolished the Temple on Gerizim. They did hard fighting, sustained serious reverses, yet kept adding to their territory. At home in Jerusalem Pharisee fought Sadducee with persistent energy. Points in dispute seem trivial: should Pentecost be kept on a Sabbath? should there be a procession at the Feast of Tabernacles? should certain vessels of the Temple be ritually cleansed? ('better wash the Sun too,' sneered the Sadducee); should informers be executed before or after their victim has suffered punishment? does the intent to slay in a false witness merit death?

During the first ten years of his reign, 105–95 B.C., Alexander Jannaeus was too busy with foreign war to take an active part in these disputes. At the Feast of Tabernacles, 95 B. C., while acting as high-priest, he poured the libation of water, not on the altar as the Pharisees required, but at his feet. The indignant worshippers pelted their king and high-priest with the festive fruits they carried in their hands. The king called in his Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries, who slew 6,000 people in the Temple. Six years of civil war followed. After his defeat at Shechem Jannaeus had

[1] *Ant.* x. 10. 7.
[2] Migne, xxv, § 620.
[3] *De Habacuci prophetae vita atque aetate*, Delitzsch, 1842.
[4] *Pirqe Aboth* i. 10.

800 Pharisees crucified in Jerusalem in one day. To save themselves 8,000 Pharisees fled into exile. Weary of strife, the king asked the rival party what terms might satisfy them. 'The first condition is thy death,' was the reply. Nearing his end, the king appointed his queen Salome (Alexandra) regent and left her this advice, 'Fear not the true Pharisees or their honest opponents; but fear the painted ones who look like the Pharisees, whose works are like the work of Zimri, and who seek the reward of Phinehas.' The Pharisees made the day of his death an annual festival.

The leader of the Pharisees in this period was Simon ben Shetach. While the Sadducees had control of the law courts, informers by false witness secured a verdict of death against the son of Simon. Before the sentence was carried out, the perjurers confessed; according to Sadducean views, 'life for life', 'eye for eye', the perjurers could not be executed. The son of Simon, however, refused to be tried again, preferring to die that his accusers might also suffer that penalty. 'Father,' said he, 'if thou desirest that help should come through thee, use me as a threshold.'[1] Another point contended for by Simon ben Shetach was that informers should be carefully cross-examined.

'Simon ben Shetach said, "Make full examination of the witnesses; but be guarded in thy words, perchance from them they may learn to lie."'[2] Both these contentions were realized when the Pharisees came into power at the death of Jannaeus 79 B. C. The Synhedrion was reorganized. 'Witnesses in the law courts were no longer to be questioned merely upon the place where, and the time when they had seen a crime committed, but they were expected to give the most detailed and minute evidence connected with it, so that the judge might be more certain of pronouncing a correct judgement, and also more able to entrap the witnesses should they make contradictory statements.'[3]

Satire of the Sadducees, the vindication of the need and value of cross-examining informers, the application of the *ius talionis* to convicted perjurers are the aim of Susanna. The story appears to belong to the period 95–80 B. C. and to have been written by a supporter of Simon ben Shetach. In the heat of controversy neither party could well call the young detective Daniel. That identification would suggest itself when the tract had achieved its purpose. The language would be Hebrew. Though Aramaic was the common language in Jerusalem at this time, writers, especially a Pharisee, would share the temporary revival of interest in Hebrew. The Semitic idioms in the Greek texts in many cases favour a Hebrew rather than an Aramaic source.

The LXX version may have been made before the Christian Era, but its Hebrew exemplar had already a slender attachment to Daniel. Theodotion, not later than A. D. 180, possibly as early as the latest N. T. writers, used a Hebrew text which contained a new preface and epilogue emphasizing Babylon and Daniel. This conception led to the identification of the two elders with Ahab and Zedekiah and the assimilation of legends about the captive king Jehoiachin.

§ 8. Influence of the Book on Later Literature.

In Jewish circles the story would prepare the general mind to appreciate the announcement of the Golden Rule. The domestic scandal would not win credit for Judaism from Gentile readers. Josephus does not care to make the story known to the Romans; Akiba about the same time secures its exclusion from the Jewish Canon. It is doubtful whether Aquila included Susanna in his literal Greek version of the Hebrew Bible. Origen can find among learned Jews only vague stories about the elders. Africanus says the story is a fiction of recent date, which had never been in Hebrew. Henceforward Judaism knows the story only as gossip about the methods of the false prophets Ahab and Zedekiah (Jer. xxix. 20–23). Brüll[4] asserts that Nachmani is the only Jewish author of the Middle Ages who mentions Susanna, and his quotation is part of Judith, which he refers to the Roll of Shoshan. The Hebrew MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that individuals were sufficiently interested to make careful copies; and that Jewish tradition still identified the elders with the false prophets in Babylon.

Influence in Christian Literature. The plea for cross-examination of informers may have coloured the arguments of Justin in his *Apology*. The rescripts of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius adopt the principle advocated in Susanna. Antoninus says: 'If any one hereafter shall go on to inform against this sort of men, purely because they are Christians, let the persons accused be discharged, although they be found to be Christians, and let the informer himself undergo the punishment.'

In the Greek O.T. of Alexandria the story acquired authority by its attachment to the Book of Daniel, and thus secured the attention of the Church while it lost the regard of the synagogue. The Church hesitated to pronounce it prophecy, or vision, or history. Matt. xxiv. 15 cites Daniel as

[1] Jerus. Sanhed. vi. 3.
[2] *Pirqe Aboth* i. 10.
[3] Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews* (Eng.), ii. 50.
[4] Brüll, *Das apokryphische Susanna-Buch*, 1877, p. 6. A good summary of Brüll's important essay is given by Ball, *Apocrypha*, Dr. Wace, ii. 325–30.

a prophet; the parallel passage in Mark xiii. 14 omits 'the prophet' in the earliest MSS. Theodotion and the Syriac and later versions regard Susanna as history; Jerome, with some hesitation, includes it under prophecy. The allegorical interpretation soon became dominant in the Church. Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 230, writes: 'Susanna is a type prefiguring the Church; Joachim her husband prefigures the Christ. The garden is the election of the saints, who like trees that bear fruit are planted in the Church. Babylon is the world; the two elders are typical of the two nations who plot against the Church, the one being of the circumcision, the other from the Gentiles.'[1] The same conception is ably represented in the latest expositor of the Latin Church, Dr. Anton Scholz.[2]

An incipient phase of this view can be traced in Irenaeus before A. D. 200. In his work *contra Haereses*, iv. 26,[3] Irenaeus quotes, as from Daniel, Susanna *vv.* 20, 56, 52, 53. He is explaining how prophecy has a new meaning after its fulfilment. Any process is mysterious till it is finished. The Jews who deny the Advent fail to understand the prophecies. The true interpretation belongs to sincere disciples of Christ. There are impostors among presbyters who do evil secretly, saying, 'No one sees us.' To them apply the words of Daniel the prophet, 'Seed of Chanaan, not of Judah,' &c. He enforces this view by reference to Matt. xxiv. 48 f. Irenaeus has no doubt that Daniel is a prophet, that Susanna belongs to his book and describes something that really happened, and that the Divine purpose in the history of the world is made manifest in the Christian revelation. In the light of this new Revelation, casual phrases in the old records acquire a new significance.

Tertullian, *de Corona Militis*, iv,[4] discussing women's dress (1 Cor. xi. 5) argues that the interference with Susanna's veil does not warrant the inference that the veil was customary or necessary for women. He quotes the word *στάδιον* as in LXX.

Origen defends the canonicity of Susanna and often refers to the book. Jerome gave it a place in the Vulgate. Before the Reformation the story had taken popular and dramatic form. Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours, 'Egregius Versificator,' had made it the subject of a Latin poem (*c.* 1100). From German an Ober-Engadine version had adapted the story for a play; as the alliterative poems had done for the Scots. Luther's Bible gave Susanna currency in the North as far as Iceland. The Council of Trent made its place in the Canon more secure. In the nineteenth century the Bible Societies, by refusing to circulate the Apocrypha, diminished the fame of Susanna in a section of Christendom. The Anglican Church reads from Susanna in November; the Latin Church makes use of it on the vigil of the Fourth Sunday in Lent, also in the 'Ordo commendationis animae', 'Libera Domine animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Susannam de falso crimine.'

The subject has been treated pictorially in the Catacombs and also by modern artists.

§ 9. Theology.

In Daniel, as in post-exilic literature generally, יהוה tends to become *nomen ineffabile* and is replaced by אלהים and אֲדֹנָי. Only in Dan. ix does יהוה occur, and there it is used seven times: LXX renders *Κύριος* six times, omits once; Theodotion has *Κύριος* seven times. In the same chapter (Dan. ix) אֲדֹנָי for the Divine Name appears eleven times: LXX renders by *Κύριος* five times, *δεσπότης* four times, omits twice: Theodotion by *Κύριος* consistently eleven times. Further, in this chapter, אלהים with or without suffixes appears eleven times: LXX renders by *Θεός* eight times, *Κύριε* twice, *δέσποτα* once; whereas Theodotion renders uniformly by *Θεός* eleven times. Theodotion avoids *δεσπότης*, which by his time would mean the Roman Emperor denuded of divine honours. Thus Theodotion is scrupulous and consistent in rendering the Divine Names; the LXX is irregular and careless of Jewish feeling on the subject. The same motive can be traced in Dan. ix. 26, where Theodotion avoids the LXX term *Χριστός* for מָשִׁיחַ. The Hebrew of Susanna as reflected in Theodotion would use אֲדֹנָי. *Οὐρανός* for שָׁמַיִם *vv.* 9, 35 is an evasion due to reverence.

In Susanna, *vv.* 44, 62, LXX refers to an angel, while Theodotion does not. This is likely due to inexact translation. In Dan. ii. 11 LXX renders אֱלָהִין by *ἄγγελος*: Dan. iii. 25 Aram. = iii. 92 LXX דְּמֵה לְבַר אֱלָהִין by *ὁμοίωμα ἀγγέλου θεοῦ*: Dan. iv. 10 עִיר וְקַדִּישׁ מִן שְׁמַיָּא נָחֵת by *ἄγγελος ἀπεστάλη ἐν ἰσχύι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*: Dan. x. 21 מִיכָאֵל שַׂרְכֶם *Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἄγγελος*. The term *ἄγγελος* is thus too elastic in LXX to allow any inference as to its difference from Theodotion on the doctrine of angels. Theodotion also refers to *ἄγγελος vv.* 55, 59. A Sadducee would not have written מַלְאָךְ.

The story does not intend to teach anything new in theology. Its theism is incidental and generally accepted. The Law of Moses expresses the will of God: His Word condemns injustice.

[1] Greek Text in Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, ii, p. 256.
[2] *Commentar über das Buch 'Esther' mit seinen 'Zusätzen' und über 'Susanna'*, Anton Scholz, Würzburg, 1892.
[3] Migne, vii. 1054.
[4] Migne, Latin, ii.

Belief in God makes Susanna prefer death to sinning against God; she trusts in God, Who is not of one generation only, Who perceives the causes of events, knows her innocence, answers her prayer, and inspires her deliverer. On the other hand, an error in theism is the most deadly of errors. Unbelief in God, although veiled by hypocrisy, perverts the elders, leaves them a prey to passion, allows them deliberately to plan murder, and blinds them to the penalties of their conduct. Injustice is the fruit of atheism. That Susanna should represent the Messianic kingdom, Joakim and Helkias the God of Israel, the elders the ungodly powers of the world, can hardly be the intention of the writer (Scholz). Allegory and apocalypse have come from students of the story, not from its author.

§ 10. Bibliography.

See also in Bibliography for the other Additions to Daniel.

(*a*) Text.

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(*b*) Critical Inquiries.

Commentary by Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, *c.* A.D. 230.
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Die Apokryphen des A.T., ed. by E. Kautzsch, 1890; *Susanna*, by W. Rothstein.

General.

In Susannam Danielicam. De Celada, 1656, appendix 'de S. figurata in quo Virginis Deiparae laudes in Susanna adumbratae praedicantur': fol. 672 + pp. Fine-spun exhortation based on fantastic allegory.

Susanna. Ein oberengadinisches Drama des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Jakob Ulrich, 1888. This is a literal translation from German into Ladino, e.g. 'Unna bella histoargia da quella seinchia et prusa duonna Susanna.' The elders are called Achab and Sedechias; the maids are Spondea and Promptula; there is a Judex Dadan, a Notarius, &c.

ιστορια εκ του Δανιηλ περι της Σωσαννης. Venice, 1682. A paraphrase of the story in Greek elegiacs extending to about 400 lines. Modern Greek constructions are often used.

Scottish Alliterative Poems in riming stanzas, edited by F. J. Amours. Scottish Text Society, 1896–7. 'The Pistill of Susan, Four Versions from MSS. of Fifteenth Century.' The Vulgate and Wiclif are here much adorned. The garden has palms, poplars, pears, plowine, junipers, and roses:

'There were popinjays present (?), nightingales upon nest.
Blithe birdies of the best, on blossoms to sit.'

Susanna, or the Arraignment of the Two Unjust Elders. Robert Aylett, D.C.L., 1622. An edifying exposition in English verse for the benefit of 'our Judges in Westminster Hall'.

The Apocrypha Controversy. Edinburgh, 1826. Susanna 'is justly characterized as a fable'. The British and Foreign Bible Society was forbidden to expend subscribers' money in circulating the Apocrypha—'these unhallowed productions of the wisdom and folly of men that have been so presumptuously associated with the sacred oracles of God,' Resolution, p. 38.

THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA

Set apart from the beginning of Daniel, because it is not in the Hebrew, as neither the Narration of *Bel and the Dragon.*

Susanna according to the Septuagint.

1 There dwelt a man in Babylon, and his name
2 was Joakim: and he took a wife, whose name was Susanna, the daughter of Helkias, a very
3 fair woman, and one that feared the Lord. Her parents also were righteous, and taught their
4 daughter according to the law of Moses. Now Joakim was a great rich man, and had a fair garden joining unto his house: and to him resorted the Jews; because he was more honour-
5 able than all others. And the same year there were appointed two of the elders of the people to be judges, concerning whom the Lord had spoken *when He said* that iniquity went forth from Babylon through elder-judges who were thought worthy to govern the people.
6 And cases from other cities also came before them for decision.
7 Now these men observing a woman of beautiful form, the wife of one of their own brother-Israelites, who was called Susanna,

The Revised Version of the Greek of Theodotion.

There dwelt a man in Babylon, and his 1
name was Joakim: and he took a wife, whose 2
name was Susanna, the daughter of Helkias, a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord. Her parents also were righteous, and taught 3
their daughter according to the law of Moses. Now Joakim was a great rich man, and had a 4
fair garden joining unto his house: and to him resorted the Jews; because he was more honour-
able than all others. And the same year there 5
were appointed two of the ancients of the people to be judges, such as the Lord spake of, that wickedness came from Babylon from ancient judges, who were accounted to govern the people.
These kept much at Joakim's house: 6
and all that had any suits in law came unto them. Now when the people departed away at noon, 7
Susanna went into her husband's garden to walk. And the two elders beheld her going in every day, 8

PREFACE. 1–5 *a*. These verses are marked with *lemnisci* in LXX and the margin has A Σ Θ, i.e. Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion. The Syro-Tetrapla has obeli ÷ and margin Σ Θ. These marks apparently signify that Origen's Tetrapla inserted this preface in the LXX, borrowing it from other versions. The Syriac suggests that Aquila did not include Susanna. The Jewish Canon had rejected Susanna *c.* A.D. 90, and Aquila conformed closely to Jewish views. The preface comes from a later form of the story, which locates the scene in Babylon, and calls the young detective Daniel. The LXX had some other introduction, probably connecting the story with Palestine, in the time of Alexander Jannaeus.

1. **Babylon.** The preface (*vv.* 1–5 *a*) definitely places the scene in Babylon; cf. § 6, Introd.

Joakim. The proper names Joakim, 'the Lord will establish,' Helkias, 'the Lord is my portion,' Daniel, 'my judge is El,' may have been as significant as Melchizedech Howler and Habakkuk Mucklewrath were to readers of Scott.

2. **Susanna,** שׁוֹשַׁנָּה in Hebr., is reproduced Σουσαννα, also Σωσαννα B^rescr.^. Hos. xiv. 6, 'Israel shall grow as the lily.' The 'lily' is used as simile of a bride, Cant. ii. 2; of flower-shaped capitals of pillars, 1 Kings vii. 19; in titles of Psalms xlv. 1, lx. 1, lxix. 1, lxxx. 1. Erman derives from Egyptian *šôšen*; and the lotus was an emblem from early times in Egypt. Lane (*Arabic Dict.*) derives from Persian. In O.T. Susanna is not found as a proper name of a person, but appears in Luke viii. 3. What is called the 'poppy-head' on the coins of John Hyrcanus might come under the name 'Shoshanna'. Like Esther and Judith, Susanna might thus be an emblem of right ultimately vanquishing might, cf. Scholz, Comm. *in loc.* The story has doubtless been the cause of the use of 'Susan' as a personal name.

> 'O model of a chaste and constant Dame,
> The world all chaste ones hence Susanna name.'—Robert Aylett, 1622.

The Latin Catalogue of Saints has more than twenty who bear the name 'Susanna'.

5. **the same year.** This phrase applies to a context which is lost. The Syriac Harkleensian begins: 'When Daniel was twelve years old, there was . . .' Daniel was בר מצוה when his insight began.

ancients, R.V. for πρεσβύτεροι; **assembly** for ἡ συναγωγή, *vv.* 41, 60. The R.V. hesitates to use the terms 'elders' and 'synagogues' because their existence in Babylon *c.* 590 B.C. might be felt to be an anachronism. The technical use of the terms suits the conditions in Judaea *c.* 150–50 B.C.

such as the Lord spake of, that wickedness . . . This rendering is inexact, cf. LXX.

concerning whom. περὶ ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ δεσπότης ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν . . . A Hebrew split-relative with ὅτι for כִּי introducing *oratio recta.* Cf. LXX Jer. xxiii. 15 ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ἐξῆλθεν μολυσμὸς πάσῃ τῇ γῇ. The false prophets Ahab and Zedekiah whom Nebuchadrezzar roasted in the fire for sins like those of the elders, Jer. xxix. 21–23, may be present in the recollection of the writer, and may be responsible for the insertion of this verse. Jewish tradition names the elders Ahab and Zedekiah, and has much to say of their methods. Before the birth of a child they would promise the mother that the child would be a boy; to the neighbours they would say 'That woman expects a son but it will be a daughter'. In either case they got a reputation.

daughter of Helkias, wife of Joakim, as she walked
8 about in her husband's garden at eventide, were
9 inflamed with love for her; and they perverted
their mind and turned away their eyes so as
neither to look toward Heaven nor to be mindful
of right decisions.
10 And though both were smitten by desire of
her, yet each concealed from the other the evil
that possessed them in regard to her; neither
12 was the woman aware of this matter. And as
soon as it was daylight they came stealthily,
evading each other, hurrying *to see* which should
be first to show himself to her and to speak with
13 her. And behold! she was taking her walk
according to her wont and the one elder had
barely arrived, when lo! the other came up. Then
the one began to cross-examine his fellow, demanding, 'Why art thou gone forth so very early,
14 leaving me behind?' With that they made confession each to the other of his painful state.

and walking; and they were inflamed with love
for her.
And they perverted their own mind, and 9
turned away their eyes, that they might not look
unto heaven, nor remember just judgements.

And albeit they both were wounded with her 10
love, yet durst not one show another his grief.
For they were ashamed to declare their lust, that 11
they desired to have to do with her. Yet they 12
watched jealously from day to day to see her.
And the one said to the other, Let us now go 13
home: for it is dinner time.

So when they 14
were gone out, they parted the one from the
other, and turning back again they came to the
same place; and after that they had asked one
another the cause, they acknowledged their
lust: and then appointed they a time both
together, when they might find her alone. And 15
it fell out, as they watched a fit day, she went
in as aforetime with two maids only, and she
was desirous to wash herself in the garden: for
it was hot. And there was nobody there save 16
the two elders, that had hid themselves, and
watched her. Then she said to her maids, 17
Bring me oil and washing balls, and shut the
garden doors, that I may wash me. And they 18
did as she bade them, and shut the garden doors,
and went out themselves at the side doors to
fetch the things that she had commanded them:
and they saw not the elders, because they were
hid. Now when the maids were gone forth, the 19
two elders rose up, and ran unto her, saying,
Behold, the garden doors are shut, that no man 20
can see us, and we are in love with thee; therefore consent unto us, and lie with us. If thou 21
wilt not, we will bear witness against thee, that a
young man was with thee: and therefore thou
didst send away thy maids from thee. Then 22
Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on
every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto
me: and if I do it not, I cannot escape your
hands. It is better for me to fall into your 23
hands, and not do it, than to sin in the sight of
the Lord. With that Susanna cried with a loud 24
voice: and the two elders cried out against her.
Then ran the one, and opened the garden doors. 25
So when the servants of the house heard the cry 26
in the garden, they rushed in at the side door, to
see what had befallen her. But when the elders 27

19 Then said the one to the other, Let us repair
to her; and having agreed together on a plan,
they made advance to her and sought to constrain
her.

22 But the daughter of Judah answered them, I
know that if I do this, it is death to me: and if
I do it not, I shall not escape from your hands.

23 Yet it is better for me not to do this and to fall
into your hands rather than to sin before the
Lord.

9. **Heaven.** *οὐρανόν* for God; cf. Dan. iv. 23, שְׁמַיָּא 'the heavens' for 'God'. So in Matt. *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* = Mark, Luke, *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.*

17 *θ.* **washing balls,** *σμήγματα.* The same word is used, Esther ii. 3, 9. Hebr. תַּמְרוּקִים 'things for purification'.

22. Death is the penalty imposed on the unfaithful wife, Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; for unchastity, death by stoning, Deut. xxii. 21; cf. John viii. 4, 5.

28 So these transgressors of the law turned away, vowing vengeance and planning together how they might put her to death. And they came into the synagogue of the city in which they dwelt, where were assembled in council all the Israelites of the place.

29 Then the two elders and judges arose and said, Send for Susanna, daughter of Helkias, the same who is the wife of Joakim. And 30 straightway they summoned her. And when the woman appeared with her father and mother, her bondmen and her bondwomen to the number of five hundred also presented themselves, as well 31 as the four little children of Susanna. Now the woman was very delicate.

32 Yet the lawless pair ordered that she should be unveiled, that they might sate themselves with the beauty of her attraction.

33 Whereat all her attendants and all who knew 34 her began to weep. Then arose the elders and judges and laid their hands upon her head.

35 But her heart was stayed upon the Lord her God, and looking upward she wept within her- 35a self, saying, O Lord the eternal God, who knowest all things before they come into being, Thou knowest that I have not done what these lawless men maliciously allege against me. And 36 the Lord hearkened to her entreaty. Then the two elders affirmed, We were walking about in 37 her husband's garden, and as we came round the stadion, we saw this woman dallying with a man; we stood still and observed them consort- 38 ing together, but they were not aware that we were standing by. Then when each of us had confirmed the other, we said, We must find out 39 who these persons are. So we came forward and her we recognized; but the young man 40 escaped us being concealed by a mask. And having arrested her, we put the question, Who 41 is the fellow? but she refused to tell us who he was. These things we declare as witnesses. And the whole synagogue believed them inasmuch as they were elders and judges of the people.

had told their tale, the servants were greatly ashamed: for there was never such a report made of Susanna. And it came to pass on the morrow, 28 when the people assembled to her husband Joakim, the two elders came full of their wicked intent against Susanna to put her to death; and 29 said before the people, Send for Susanna, the daughter of Helkias, Joakim's wife. So they 30 sent; and she came with her father and mother, her children, and all her kindred. Now Susanna 31 was a very delicate woman, and beauteous to behold.

And these wicked men commanded her 32 to be unveiled (for she was veiled) that they might be filled with her beauty. Therefore her 33 friends and all that saw her wept. Then the two 34 elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head. And she weep- 35 ing looked up toward heaven: for her heart trusted in the Lord.

And the elders said, As 36 we walked in the garden alone, this *woman* came in with two maids, and shut the garden doors, and sent the maids away. Then a young man, who 37 there was hid, came unto her, and lay with her. And we, being in a corner of the garden, saw 38 this wickedness, and ran unto them. And when 39 we saw them together, the man we could not hold; for he was stronger than we, and opened the doors, and leaped out. But having taken 40 this *woman*, we asked who the young man was, but she would not tell us: these things do we testify. Then the assembly believed them, as 41 those that were elders of the people and judges: so they condemned her to death. Then Susanna 42 cried out with a loud voice, and said, O ever-

32. Regulations for dealing with a wife suspected of adultery are given in Num. v. 11–31. The way in which these rules were applied is discussed in detail in Mishna. Sota i. 5 contains the following: 'Sacerdos arreptis eius vestibus . . . quoad sinum mulieris denudaret: crines quoque eius explicabat. R. Iuda (tamen hic limitat) dicens, si sinum venustum ipsa haberet, non fuisse eum a Sacerdote revelatum: nec capillos solutos, si essent decori.' The elders are *παράνομοι* because they broke this limitation, for the very purpose the rule was intended to prevent. The spectators see in the unveiling an indignity and a foregone assumption of guilt.

that they might sate themselves, &c. The phrase *ἵνα ἐμπλησθῶσιν κάλλους ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῆς* LXX=*θ′ ὅπως ἐμ. τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς* appears to be due to a mistranslated construct:

Θ′ לְשַׂבְעָם יְפִי תֹאַרְהּ

LXX תֹּאוַת יָפְיָהּ —

34. **laid their hands upon her head.** Cf. Lev. xxiv. 14, 'Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp: and let all that heard him lay their hands upon his head, and let all the congregation stone him.' The elder-judges are not assessors in this trial, but witnesses. This is the reason for the laying on of hands; cf. Bab. Kam. 90*b*: אין עד נעשה דיין 'a witness cannot be made a judge'. Death by stoning imposed the responsibility on the whole congregation; no one could say whose missile caused death. Here the whole synagogue, guided perhaps by three or twenty-three of its leaders (Synhed. I), is considered responsible for the verdict.

37. Greek influence in the second century B.C. had induced Jewish youth to practise athletics. Some cities had a race-course. מָבוֹא is used to indicate something like a *στάδιον* in Jerusalem.

44–45 And as she was being led away to be destroyed,
behold! *there came* an angel of the Lord; and
as it had been commanded him, the angel be-
stowed a spirit of discernment upon a young man,
48 *this* being Daniel. Then separating the crowd
Daniel stationed himself in the midst of them and
said, Are ye so foolish, O sons of Israel, that
without examination and knowledge of the truth
ye have condemned a daughter of Israel to
51[a] die? Now therefore take these men apart from
each other, that I may cross-examine them.
51[b] And when they were separated, Daniel said to
the synagogue: Now consider not that these men
are elders nor say, They can never be false; but
I will examine them with reference to that which
52 is suggested to me. And he summoned one of
the two, so they brought forward the elder before
the young man. Then said Daniel to him:
Hearken, hearken, thou ancient of evil days!
now have overtaken thee thy sins which thou
hast committed in time past.
53 Being trusted to hear and to decide capital
cases, thou hast both condemned the innocent
and hast acquitted the guilty, although the Lord
saith: 'The innocent and the righteous slay thou
not.'
54 Now therefore under what tree and at what
sort of place in the garden hast thou seen them
together? The impious man answered, Under
55 a mastick tree. Then said the youth, Right
well hast thou borne false witness against thine
own soul; for the angel of the Lord will cleave
thy soul this day.

lasting God, that knowest the secrets, that
knowest all things before they be: thou knowest 43
that they have borne false witness against me,
and, behold, I must die; whereas I never did
such things as these men have maliciously
invented against me.
And the Lord heard her 44
voice. Therefore when she was led away to be 45
put to death, God raised up the holy spirit of a
young youth, whose name was Daniel: and he 46
cried with a loud voice, I am clear from the blood
of this woman. Then all the people turned them 47
toward him, and said, What mean these words
that thou hast spoken? So he standing in the 48
midst of them said, Are ye such fools, ye sons of
Israel, that without examination or knowledge of
the truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel?
Return again to the place of judgement: for these 49
have borne false witness against her. Wherefore 50
all the people turned again in haste, and the
elders said unto him, Come, sit down among us,
and show it us, seeing God hath given thee the
honour of an elder. Then said Daniel unto 51
them, Put them asunder one far from another,
and I will examine them. So when they were 52
put asunder one from another, he called one of
them, and said unto him, O thou that art waxen
old in wickedness, now are thy sins come *home
to thee* which thou hast committed aforetime, in 53
pronouncing unjust judgement, and condemning
the innocent, and letting the guilty go free;
albeit the Lord saith, The innocent and righteous
shalt thou not slay. Now then, if thou sawest 54
her, tell me, Under what tree sawest thou them
companying together? Who answered, Under
a mastick tree. And Daniel said, Right well 55
hast thou lied against thine own head; for even
now the angel of God hath received the sentence
of God and shall cut thee in two.

44–45. Mishna Synhed. vi. 1, 2 prescribes appeals for fresh evidence after the verdict is given, 'When the person to be stoned is led out, a herald must precede proclaiming these words: This person N. M., son of N. M., is on the way to be stoned, for the crime (specified), on the testimony of N. M. and N. M.; whosoever can show his innocence, let him approach and set forth his reasons.' If none appeared, when they came within ten cubits of the place of stoning, the condemned was invited to confess, in deference to Joshua vii. 19.

51[b]. **with reference to that which is suggested to me,** *κατὰ τὰ ὑποπίπτοντά μοι.* Divine inspiration is the source of his suspicion. The Philoxenian Syriac says 'according as God has given to me'. Daniel condemns the first elder before his evidence is proved inconsistent with that of the second elder. His insight into their past is not the result of the examination. 'Any indication of the will of the Invisible King was sufficient in the Theocracy to supersede the operation of ordinary rules and restrictions; the theory being that the Divine Sovereign chose His own ministers when and how and whence He pleased' (Ball, *in loc.*). The elders of *v.* 50, Theodotion, are thus not the two who have given witness, but their colleagues on the bench.

53. **The innocent and the righteous slay thou not.** Quoted exactly from Exod. xxiii. 7 LXX *ἀθῷον καὶ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖς.*

54–59. **Under a mastick tree,** &c. *ὑπὸ σχῖνον . . . σχίσει* and *ὑπὸ πρῖνον . . . καταπρίσῃ, v.* 59. Origen says (Epistle to Africanus, 48 f.): 'This passage gave me no rest and I often wondered about it, so I betook me to several Hebrews, asking what *πρῖνος* was called in their language, what was the verb for *πρίζειν*, also how they rendered *σχῖνος* and *σχίζειν*.' His inquiry was intended to refute the contention of Africanus that the play on the words proved that Susanna had been composed in Greek, not in Hebrew. That Hebrew could use paronomasia even in a death sentence appears from Achan's condemnation by Joshua, vii. 25. That the LXX would copy a play upon words appears, e.g., in Judges x. 4: עירים . . . עירים 'colts . . . cities', Gk. *πώλους . . . πόλεις.* Some of the versions succeed in preserving the Greek play in Syriac. With some liberty in choosing the trees, the play can be furnished by Hebrew, e.g. אֶגְוֹז, which occurs in Cant. vi. 11:

וַיֹּאמֶר תַּחַת אֶגְוֹז׃ וַיַּעַן הַנַּעַר הֵיטֵב קָשַׁרְתָּ עַל נַפְשֶׁךָ כִּי גָּזוֹז יָגוֹז מַלְאַךְ י׳ אֶת־נַפְשֶׁךָ בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה׃

Other ways are given in Ball, *Apocr.* ii. 324.

56 Then removing the one he gave command to bring the other before him, to whom he said: Wherefore is the seed that is in thee become perverted as *that* of Sidon and not as *that* of Judah? beauty has beguiled thee, base passion!
57 Even so were ye wont to do with daughters of Israel, who through their fear companied with you; but a daughter of Judah scorned to endure
58 your pestilent licence. Now therefore tell me, Under what tree and in which spot of the enclosure didst thou detect them consorting together? Who answered, Under a holm tree.
59 Then said Daniel, Thou sinner! even now the angel of the Lord is standing with drawn sword, till the people shall make an end of thee, that he may cut thee to pieces.
60–62[a] Then the whole synagogue shouted aloud in praise of the young man because from their own mouth he had proved them both to be confessedly false witnesses. And they dealt with them according as the Law prescribes, *doing to them* just as they maliciously intended against their sister.

So when they had gagged them, they led them out and hurled them into a chasm; then the angel of the Lord cast fire in the midst of them. And thus was innocent blood kept safe on that day.

62[b] For this cause the young men are beloved of
62[c] Jacob by reason of their sincerity. And as for us, let us watch over young men that they may become men of worth, for *so* young men will be God-fearing, and there shall be in them a spirit of knowledge and discernment for ever and ever.

So he put 56
him aside, and commanded to bring the other, and said unto him, O thou seed of Canaan, and not of Judah, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust hath perverted thine heart. Thus have ye dealt 57
with the daughters of Israel, and they for fear companied with you: but the daughter of Judah would not abide your wickedness.

Now there- 58
fore tell me, Under what tree didst thou take them companying together? Who answered, Under a holm tree. Then said Daniel unto him, 59
Right well hast thou also lied against thine own head: for the angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee in two, that he may destroy you.

With that all the assembly cried out with 60
a loud voice, and blessed God, who saveth them that hope in him. And they arose against the 61
two elders, for Daniel had convicted them of false witness out of their own mouth: and accord- 62
ing to the law of Moses they did unto them in such sort as they maliciously intended to do to their neighbour: and they put them to death, and the innocent blood was saved the same day.

Therefore Helkias and his wife praised God for 63
their daughter Susanna, with Joakim her husband, and all the kindred, because there was no dishonesty found in her. And from that day forth 64
was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people.

60–62. **the Law prescribes.** Deut. xix. 16–21 prescribes the treatment of a false witness, *v.* 19, וְעֲשִׂיתֶם לוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר זָמַם לַעֲשׂוֹת לְאָחִיו, LXX *καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτῷ ὃν τρόπον ἐπονηρεύσατο τῷ πλησίον ποιῆσαι* (cf. *θ'*). On the application of this rule the Pharisees and Sadducees differed acutely during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, 105–79 B.C. If the person falsely accused has actually suffered death, only then shall this regulation be carried out, said the Sadducees. The Pharisees maintained that if the perjury has been detected before its victim has suffered, then the same penalty must be inflicted on the false witnesses. The elders must therefore perish, in accordance with the Pharisaic interpretation of Deut. xix. 19 (*Hamburger Real-Encycl. für Bibel und Talmud*, ii. 1050; Mishna *Makkoth* i. 6; Sifre on Deut. xix. 19; Gemara *Makkoth* 5 β).

Cf. Code of Hammurabi, § 3: 'If a man in a case pending judgement . . . has not justified the word that he has spoken, if that case be a capital suit, that man shall be put to death.'

60. *ἐφίμωσαν*, 'muzzle', 'put in the pillory'. Cf. Matt. xxii. 34, 'The Pharisees when they heard that He had *put* the Sadducees *to silence* . . .'. Possibly more than a mere verbal coincidence. Strangling or suffocation is mentioned in the Talmud as the mode of death for false witness (Brüll on *v.* 60–62). Here it denotes symbolically that silence is imposed, no further defence can be offered.

62[b]. **beloved of Jacob.** The patriarch Jacob trusted his younger sons Joseph and Benjamin, and of Joseph's sons preferred the younger, Gen. xlviii. 14 (Brüll). For *ἁπλότης* cf. 1 Macc. ii. 60.

62[c]. **let us watch over young men,** *καὶ ἡμεῖς φυλασσώμεθα εἰς υἱοὺς δυνατοὺς νεωτέρους.* Meaning must be sought from the Semitic original: וַאֲנַחְנוּ נִשְׁמְרָה נְעָרִים לִבְנֵי חַיִל For *εἰς* = לְ as translated above, *v.* LXX, 1 Sam. xviii. 17; 2 Sam. ii. 7, xiii. 28; Dan. xi. 33, &c. בְּנֵי חַיִל = *υἱοὺς δυνατούς*, 2 Sam. ii. 7; = *υἱοὺς δυνάμεως*, 1 Sam. xiv. 52; 2 Sam. xiii. 28, xvii. 10. The Semitic metaphor 'son of valour' forbids Fritzsche's emendation of *εἰς* into *ὡς*, 'let us guard as sons virtuous young men.'

If the epilogue enforcing the didactic side of the story is an addition (Brüll), it has been added in Hebrew, not in Greek. Cf. 'One of the objects that Simon ben Shetach had greatly at heart was the promotion of better instruction. In all large towns high schools for the use of young men from the age of sixteen sprang up at his instance' (*c.* 75 B.C.) (Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Engl. edition, vol. ii, p. 50).

BEL AND THE DRAGON

INTRODUCTION

BEL AND THE DRAGON forms the third of the Apocryphal Additions to Daniel, and was written originally almost certainly in Hebrew, though none of the Hebrew original has survived. The other two Additions are the Song of the Three Children and Susanna. In the Greek and Latin texts the three Additions to Daniel constitute an integral part of the canonical Book of Daniel, and were recognized as such, and therefore as themselves canonical, by the Council of Trent. The Song of the Three Children is, however, the only one of the three which has a necessary connexion with the Hebrew canonical Book of Daniel, standing in the Greek and Latin texts between Dan. iii. 24 and 25. The other two Additions are appended, and appear to have an origin independent of the book to which they are attached and also of each other, though in all three, as also in the canonical book, the name and fame of Daniel forms the principal theme.

§ 1. NAME AND POSITION IN THE CANON.

In the Greek Codd. Bel and the Dragon stands at the end of the canonical Book of Daniel, bearing therefore no distinct title. In Codd. A and B of Θ[1] it is, however, preceded by the words 'Vision (ὅρασις) xii'; i.e. it forms the twelfth and last of the series of visions into which this enlarged Book of Daniel is divided. In the LXX it is called 'Part of the prophecy of Habakkuk the Son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi': see note on *v.* 1. In the Vulgate Bel and the Dragon forms ch. xiv of Daniel.

In Syr W (see § 3) the Story of Bel is preceded by the heading 'Bel the idol', that of the Dragon having at its beginning the words, 'Then follows the Dragon.'

Bel and the Dragon is the title in all the Protestant versions of the Apocrypha, these versions keeping the books now known as Apocryphal apart as being, it was thought, deutero- or non-canonical. In a Nestorian list of biblical works mentioned by Churton[2] it is called 'The Lesser Daniel'.

§ 2. CONTENTS.

The two stories as told in common by LXX and Θ may be thus summarized.

1. *The Story of Bel, vv.* 1–22. There is in Babylon an image of Bel (Marduk, Merodach) which Daniel refuses to worship, though no form of worship is mentioned besides that of supplying the god with food. The king, identified in Θ with Cyrus, remonstrates with the delinquent Hebrew, pointing him to the immense quantity of food consumed daily by Bel as a proof that the god thus recognized is a living, true deity. Daniel denies that the food is eaten by the god, and asks permission to put the matter to a test. This request being granted, he is shown the lectisternia, the sacred tables, covered with food which it is alleged the god will consume during the night. It is agreed that the doors of Bel's temple shall be closed and sealed for the night after the departure of the priests. But in addition, Daniel takes the precaution of having, without the priests' knowledge, the floor of the temple strewn lightly with ashes. When the morning breaks, the doors are still closed and the seals intact, but the food has disappeared, evidence, the king thinks, that it has been consumed by Bel. Daniel, however, points to the tracks of bare feet on the ash-strewn floor as evidence that the priests have entered the temple by secret doors and removed the food. Angered by the trick which the priests had played on him, the king has them put to death and the image destroyed.

On the word 'Bel' see note on *v.* 3.

2. *The Dragon Story, vv.* 23–42. There is in Babylon a great live serpent (dragon) worshipped by a large number of the inhabitants, who feed it lavishly. In the present case the god is represented by a living creature which can be fed and which needs feeding. Daniel refuses to bow down before the serpent, and throws out a challenge to the king, that, if permission is given him, he will destroy the creature alleged to be a god. Receiving the requested permission, Daniel makes a mixture of

[1] i.e. Theodotion's version, see § 3.
[2] *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, p. 398 f.

which pitch is the principal ingredient, and thrusting it down the serpent's throat this creature bursts asunder and dies. Infuriated at the death of their god, the populace demand the death of this god-murderer. The king yields, and has Daniel cast into the den of lions, the usual punishment of persons found guilty of capital charges. But though Daniel remained in the company of seven lions for seven days, he suffers no injury. On the sixth day Daniel, being naturally hungry, is miraculously supplied with food. The prophet Habakkuk has prepared the midday (?) meal for his reapers, and is on the way to the field where they are. An angel arrests him, telling him he is to carry the meal to Daniel in the lions' den in Babylon. On his alleging his ignorance of the location of the lions' den, and even of Babylon itself, the angel lays hold of the hair on the crown of his head and conveys the prophet to the den, where, seeing Daniel, he hands him the food, and seems as safe among the lions as Daniel himself. The angel then restores Habakkuk to his Palestine home. Seeing that Daniel was preserved (the Habakkuk incident is an evident interpolation), the king magnifies God, sets Daniel at liberty, and substitutes for him in the den Daniel's accusers, who are at once devoured by the lions.

The meaning of the word 'dragon'. The Greek word (δράκων) translated 'dragon' denotes originally a large serpent. Homer uses δράκων and ὄφις interchangeably without the least apparent difference. Even the *drakōn* of Greek mythology remains essentially a serpent. In the East the serpent came to be commonly used as a symbol of the principle of evil. In the LXX δράκων translates most frequently (twelve times) the Hebrew תַּנִּין (*tannin*), rendered in the A. V. generally (eight times) 'dragon', sometimes (thrice) 'serpent.' In two passages (Amos ix. 3, Job xxvi. 13) the usual Hebrew word for serpent (נָחָשׁ) is represented in the LXX by δράκων. There is no good reason for departing from the simple impression which the narrative gives that in the present tale the dragon is a live snake worshipped as a god. Perhaps such worship is to be regarded as a survival of totemism. There is abundant evidence of snake worship in various parts of the ancient world, and there is good reason for believing that it obtained in Babylon. (1) The god Nina was worshipped in the form of a serpent.[1] (2) On Babylonian seals men are figured worshipping gods apparently serpentine in form, their lower parts consisting of serpent coils with worshippers in front. (3) Both Berosus and Helladius speak of gods worshipped as serpents in Babylon.[2] (4) Jensen, quoted by Baudissin (*PRE*[3], v, p. 6), says there was a serpent god called in Sumerian *Seraḫ*. For traces of serpent worship among the Hebrews, see Num. xxi. 8 f., 2 Kings xviii. 4. There is no certain proof that in ancient Babylon the live serpent as in distinction from the image of a serpent was worshipped, but there is no conclusive evidence to the contrary, and the analogy of other countries favours a decision in the affirmative.

Fritzsche[3] holds that the story was composed in Egypt, where serpent worship is known to have existed in early times, but that the author inaccurately transferred it to Babylon. But since Fritzsche's time fresh evidence of such worship in Babylon has presented itself.

Modern writers generally maintain that the dragon in this story represents a mythical monster with a serpent's head and neck, an eagle's legs, a lion's body, and a unicorn's horn.[4] In this or some similar form a very large number of Babylonian inscriptions picture this monster or other monsters (we can never be quite sure as to this) as in conflict with Marduk or some other Babylonian deity. The monster has been very commonly identified with the mythological dragon, but no decisive proof of the identity has been furnished. W. Hayes Ward has made a careful attempt to bring together the various forms in which the 'dragon-myth' has been portrayed on Babylonian-Assyrian inscriptions,[5] and he assumes throughout that in all it is the Marduk-Tiamat conflict of the Babylonian Creation legend that is set forth, but he gives no proof of this, for the name Tiamat is not once connected with the representation. Indeed it seems now generally understood that Tiamat was a snake deity, and that the dragon of the story now under consideration is no other than Tiamat: so Sayce, Ball, Gunkel, Marshall, Toy.

The present writer ventures with Jensen and Baudissin to dispute and even deny this, and for the following reasons:

1. There is no evidence in the Babylonian-Assyrian inscription that Tiamat was conceived as a serpent. The serpentine forms pointed out cannot be shown to be intended for Tiamat.

2. Berosus does not once translate the Babylonian Tiamat by dragon or by any word denoting serpent. He uniformly transliterates the word, though not as we should do now, but as *Thalatth*.

3. The idea embodied in Tiamat differs from that of the dragon or serpent. In Babylonian mythology Tiamat stands for the female principle, expressing itself in darkness and disorder, older

[1] See Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 282 f.
[2] e. g. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*[4], i. 122 f., ii. 14.
[3] *Exeg. Handbuch zu den Apoc.*, i, p. 121.
[4] See figures in Gressmann, *Altor. Texte und Bilder*, ii. 90 f.
[5] See *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xiv. 94–105.

than the gods themselves, since the birth of the gods took place through their separation from the primaeval chaos (= Tiamat). Tiamat is usually identified with the primaeval ocean, wild and rebellious, needing to be subdued. We are probably to see a reference to it in the תהום rendered by English versions 'the deep': LXX ἄβυσσος: Vulg. *Abyssus*.

4. In the present story the dragon is a god alongside of Bel in the preceding story: there is not the remotest hint that he is regarded other than as a Babylonian deity worshipped in the form of a serpent or dragon.

The present writer would like to add that he does not now, as he once did (see Century Bible, *Psalms*, ii, pp. 50, 63, 112, 141, 177), agree with Gunkel and the bulk of recent Bible scholars in seeing reflections of the Marduk-Tiamat legend in innumerable passages of the O. T. Later writers have too blindly followed Gunkel (see his *Schöpfung und Chaos*).

§ 3. Textual Authorities: Manuscripts and Versions.

1. *Manuscripts.* The Greek text exists in two principal forms throughout the Book of Daniel including the Apocryphal Additions.

(1) 𝔊 (i. e. the LXX) has been preserved in but one MS., the Codex Chisianus (from the Chigi family which owned it), published in Rome in 1772, in Cozza's *Sacrorum Bibliorum Vetustissima Fragmenta Graece et Latine*, in Swete's 𝔊 (in parallel pages with Θ), and in Tischendorf's 𝔊. This unique MS. is quoted by Field and Swete as Cod. 87, which must be distinguished from that so designated by the Oxford editors, Holmes and Parsons.

(2) Of Theodotion's text (Θ) of Bel and the Dragon the following MSS. exist: B, A, Γ (*vv.* 2–4 only), Δ (from *v.* 21 to *v.* 41).

Besides the above majuscules (uncials) there also several valuable minuscules (cursives), as e. g. those numbered 34, 49.

For details and explanations, see Swete's edition of 𝔊 and his *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*.

2. *Versions.* (1) *Greek.* It may not be strictly correct to speak of the two best known texts (𝔊 and Θ) as versions since no Hebrew or Aramaic original has come down to us. Yet according to the view of a Hebrew lost original advocated by the present writer (see below) these so-called versons are correctly thus described.

A careful comparison of 𝔊 and Θ of Bel and the Dragon has led the present writer to these conclusions. (*a*) That 𝔊 is a translation from a Hebrew original. This is made exceedingly probable by the presence of a large number of Hebraisms (see § 4, Original Language), though there is another possible explanation (see below, § 4, (*c*) 5). (*b*) That Θ contains a much larger number of Hebraisms than 𝔊: see on *vv.* 1 f., 5 f., 16, 18, 27, 28, 39, &c., suggesting what other considerations make likely that Theodotion corrected 𝔊 with the aid of a Hebrew original before him.

Yet, on the contrary, Θ corrects at times the Greek of 𝔊 (see on *vv.* 26, 40, 42), and it avoids the Hebraism Κύριος without the article (= Hebrew יהוה), preferring Θεός: see *v.* 5.

Theodotion's version of Daniel displaced that of 𝔊 at a very early time, for though in his Hexapla it is the true 𝔊 that he uses, yet in his own writings Origen almost invariably cites Θ. In his preface to Daniel Jerome points to the fact that in his own time the Christian Church had rejected 𝔊 in favour of Θ on account of the defective renderings in the former. Even Irenaeus (*ob.* 202) and Porphyry (*ob.* 305) preferred Θ to 𝔊. Field was the first to indicate clearly that what has for centuries been treated as 𝔊 of 1 Esdras, &c., including Daniel and its Additions, is really the version of Theodotion.

(2) *Syriac.* In this language there are two principal versions:

(*a*) The Peshiṭta, best preserved in the Cod. Ambrosianus B 21 (sixth century), reproduced in Walton's *Polyglot* and critically edited by Lagarde (Leipzic, 1861). In Bel and the Dragon this version follows Θ very closely, though at times (see on *vv.* 2, 18, 25) it agrees with 𝔊 against Θ. There are several cases where this version and Θ agree against 𝔊 (see on *v.* 21). In a few cases this version diverges from both the Greek texts (see on *v.* 27). In the notes Walton's *Polyglot* has been used, the version consulted being designated Syr W. But Lagarde's critical edition has always been compared.

(*b*) The Hexapla's Syriac version is that made by Paul of Tella in 617 from Col. VI (𝔊) of Origen's Hexapla. It exists in manuscript form (Cod. Ambrosianus, C. 313). This most valuable MS. has been edited, photographed, and published by Ceriani (Milan, 1874). In the notes it is quoted as Syr H. As might have been expected from its origin, it is in general agreement with 𝔊, rather than with Θ, and thus differs from the other Syriac version, which follows Θ closely.

(3) *Aramaic other than the Syriac.* For the Aramaic text of parts of Bel and the Dragon see § 4, Original Language.

There are no Targums on Ezra, Nehemiah, or Daniel, a lack easily explained if it could be assumed that all these books were written originally in Aramaic as portions of the existing books of Ezra and Daniel are.

(4) *Latin.* (*a*) Fragments of the Old Latin version occur in Sabatier's work, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, 1743, &c., vol. ii. Judging from the specimens therein preserved it may be confidently stated that in Daniel and its Additions this version follows Θ closely.

(*b*) Jerome's version—Vulgate simply reproduces it—is also based on Θ, though in some parts (see on *v.* 42) it is independent of any other version or text known to us.

(5) *Arabic.* The Arabic version of Saadias (A.D. 892–942) was made from the Hebrew and therefore lacks the Apocrypha. The Arabic version of Bel and the Dragon in Walton's *Polyglot* has no critical value, being due to a priest living in Egypt in the sixteenth century; see Walton, *Proleg.* xiv. 17 f., and Cornill on Ezekiel, p. 49.

§ 4. The Original Language.

Until comparatively recent years the prevailing view was that Bel and the Dragon was composed and first edited in the Greek language: so Eichhorn, Ewald, De Wette, Schrader, Fritzsche, Schürer, and König.

(*a*) In favour of this conclusion the following reasons have been given:

1. No traces of any Semitic original with reasonable claims have been discovered. Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome distinctly say that no Hebrew (or Aramaic) form of this tract was known in their day.

2. It is denied that the Hebraisms are more numerous than can be accounted for on the assumption of a Greek original. See below, (*b*) 3, 4.

3. In the Greek of Susanna there are certain word-plays inconsistent with a translation: e.g. *v.* 54 f. *ὑπὸ σχίνου . . . σχίσει*, and 58 f. *ὑπὸ πρίνου . . . πρίσαι.* No such word-plays have been discovered in Bel and the Dragon, and where in Susanna they do occur they can be easily due to a translator. Why cannot a translator adopt alliteration? Moreover, it is noteworthy that Bel and the Dragon is more Hebraic than Susanna, though less so than the Song of the Three Children.

(*b*) On the other hand, the opinion has been growing among recent scholars that the work was written originally in Semitic (Hebrew or Aramaic). Drs. Marshall and Gaster contend for an Aramaic original. But there is evidence conclusive to the present writer that the author of Bel and the Dragon wrote in Hebrew.

1. It has been pointed out (see § 3, 2 (1)) that Θ introduces Hebraisms which are absent from 𝔊, a change due undoubtedly to the fact that Theodotion had before him a Hebrew text as well as 𝔊, which latter he corrected by means of the former.

2. The extraordinary extent to which the syntactical construction called parataxy (co-ordination) exists points to a Hebrew, not an Aramaic original. The recurrence of the Greek *καί* with all the shades of meaning borne by the Hebrew *waw* and the Arabic *waw* and *fa* is characteristic of Hebrew very much more than of Aramaic. The latter is much richer than Hebrew in conjunctions and adverbs, so that in it hypotaxy (subordination) of sentences exists, very much in the manner of Greek; especially is this last true of Syriac which came under Greek influence.

3. There are many examples in the LXX and especially in Θ which imply the Hebrew '*waw* consecutive' construction and cannot be otherwise explained. Thus sentences often begin with *καὶ ἦν* (= וַיְהִי) and also with *καὶ ἐγένετο*, followed in this latter case by a finite verb; see *vv.* 14 and 18. This *waw* consecutive construction is peculiar to Hebrew at its best, even late Biblical Hebrew has almost lost it (cf. Ecclesiastes, &c.).

4. There are many other Hebraisms: thus *v.* 14 in Θ begins with words implying וַיְהִי וַיִּתֵּן. In *v.* 27 (Θ) *καὶ ἔδωκεν* is good Hebrew (וַיִּתֵּן) but bad Greek, cf. 𝔊 *ἐνέβαλεν.* The use of *θύρας*, 'doors', in the sense of the singular is Hebraic, see note on *v.* 18. *οὐδὲ εἷς* (*v.* 18 Θ) is the Hebrew אֵין אֶחָד. The constant recurrence of *καὶ εἶπεν* with the various shades of meaning possessed by וַיֹּאמֶר is a Hebraism: see *v.* 20, &c.: *ἄγγελος κυρίου* = מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה, the anarthrous *ἄγγελος* following the rule for nouns in the construct: see on *v.* 34; *ἀναστάς* (קוּם) followed by another verb: see on *vv.* 37 (𝔊) and 39 (Θ).

5. There are sometimes textual mistakes best explained on the assumption of a Hebrew original: see for examples the notes on *v.* 14 (𝔊).[1]

6. It is in favour of a Hebrew original that these two tales have been actually found in that language in a more or less complete form, as in the Midrash *Rabba de Rabba.*

[1] See Franz Delitzsch, *de Habacuce*, p. 82; Neubauer, *Tobit*, viii.

(*c*) Dr. M. Gaster discovered an Aramaic form of the Dragon story embedded in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, a work of the tenth century, and he maintains that in this fragment we have a portion of the original text of Bel and the Dragon,[1] an opinion with which Dr. Marshall seems to be in sympathy. In that case the original text of the three 'Additions' was Aramaic, as these two scholars maintain. The present writer does not think that Dr. Gaster has proved his case.

1. There are constructions in all the 'Additions' which are not Greek and which can be explained from Hebrew but not from Aramaic. See above, (*b*) 2.

2. Two only of the three 'Additions' occur in the Aramaic version found by Dr. Gaster, and only a part (Dragon story) of the third; what has become of the rest?

3. This Aramaic form of the Dragon story differs from that in the Greek and Syriac in many particulars. In *v.* 24 the two Greek versions and Syr W have 'the king (said)', which the Aramaic text omits. In *v.* 35, after 'And Habakkuk said', the Aramaic document adds 'to the angel', which 𝔊, Θ, and Syr are without.

4. The compiler of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* distinctly says that he had taken the Song of the Three Children and the Dragon story from the writings (i. e. the translation) of Theodotion, he having himself, it is implied, turned the Greek into Aramaic. Dr. Gaster lays stress on the compiler's words[2] that what he gives in Aramaic is that which Theodotion himself found, but the reference can be only to 𝔊, which Theodotion made the basis of his own translation, and not to an Aramaic original, though it must be admitted that the compiler does not express himself unambiguously. But when such ambiguity does exist the decision must be according to facts otherwise authenticated.

5. There is of course another explanation of the apparent Semiticisms in Bel and the Dragon. It is probable, as Wellhausen holds,[3] that the language of 𝔊 represents a Hebrew-Greek jargon actually spoken, as is the Yiddish of the present day. In favour of this are, in addition to the innumerable Hebraisms, many of them due to translation, the large number of Hebrew words transliterated instead of being translated even in cases where the sense is not obscure: e. g. *βεδέκ* for בֶּדֶק, 'breach', 2 Kings xxii. 5; *χεττιείμ* (*χεττιείν*) for a restored כתנים = כֻּתָּנוֹת, 2 Kings xxiii. 7; *ἰαμείν* for יָעִים, 'shovels', 2 Kings xxv. 14. These and other Hebrew words were perhaps taken over into the Greek spoken by these Jews, just as Polish-Russian-German Jews to-day talk in a German interlarded with Hebrew words.

§ 5. Authorship, Date, and Place of Origin.

Nothing whatever is known of the author of this work and nothing that is definite of the place or date of composition. We have no Hebrew or Aramaic original from the style of which it might have been possible to draw conclusions as to date.

It is quite certain that Bel and the Dragon imply the canonical Book of Daniel and belong therefore to a later date, for they show subsequent developments of Daniel legends. The canonical Daniel is dated by modern scholars at about 160 B.C. The general character of this tract suggests that, like the canonical Daniel, it arose at a period when the Jewish religion was bitterly persecuted. Such a period was the reign of Antiochus VII (Sidetes) (139–128 B.C.). This Syrian monarch reconquered Palestine and did his utmost to suppress Judaism. At that time Hebrew was, even in Palestine, more a literary than a spoken language, and this might explain the fact that the use of the *waw* consecutive—a feature of the classical language—is preserved. It is assumed that the place of origin was Palestine, and not, as Bissel and most hold, Babylon. The references to Babylon are the same in the canonical Daniel, but they are only a literary device; and this can be said also of the mention of clay and bronze (*v.* 7), which Bissel cites as proof of a Babylonian origin.

It is to be noted that Judaism in the narrow technical sense is entirely absent from these two stories—what is taught is the absurdity of idolatry and the duty of worshipping the only true God —Yahweh. The Judaism of Babylon was of a definite orthodox kind and could hardly have given rise to a tract so vaguely religious as the one under consideration. The universalism of Bel and the Dragon stamps it as a product of the Wisdom school of Judaism, though the positive characteristics of the literature of that school (Ecclesiastes, &c.) are lacking.

Assuming a date of about 136 B. C. for the Hebrew text the LXX must be later. It may be taken for granted that when 1 Macc. ii. 59 f. was written (i. e. about 100 B. C.) the three Additions

[1] See *PSBA*, 1894, 280 ff. (Introduction), 312 ff. (text); and 1895, 75 ff. (translation and notes).
[2] *PSBA*, 1895, p. 83.
[3] F. Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*[5], 535. Deismann, however, says (*Bible Studies*[2], 68) that in a private communication to him Wellhausen abandons the above view.

formed no part of the Book of Daniel and did not perhaps even exist in Greek. Yet these Additions exist in all extant MSS. of the Greek and Syriac texts. The character of the Greek in 𝔊 and other considerations suggest that this version was made at Alexandria at a date not much later than 100 B. C. Yet the evidence for reaching such a conclusion is slight.

Theodotion is generally believed to have lived and to have completed his translation at Ephesus towards the close of the second century of our era. This accords with the fact that Irenaeus, who died A. D. 202, used Θ and preferred it to 𝔊.

§ 6. Integrity.

With the exception of small parts to be indicated in the notes, and *vv.* 33–39, these two tales seem to have been written by one author, who, however, used pre-existing materials. The incident of the miraculous transportation of the prophet Habakkuk from his home in Palestine to the lions' den in Babylon (*vv.* 33–39) is certainly a later piece having no necessary connexion with the rest of the story.

§ 7. Teaching.

These two stories teach the doctrines of the oneness and absoluteness of Yahweh, called Κύριος in 𝔊, a translation of the Hebrew word substituted by Jews from about 300 B. C. for Yahweh, which near that time took on a mystic and esoteric sense.

Little is told us of Yahweh's character. He is great, the only true God (*v.* 11), a living God in contrast with Bel (*v.* 5). Nothing is said of the nature of the demand He makes, ritual or ethical.

There is no allusion to any distinctively Jewish beliefs or practices. The law is not mentioned nor is the existence of a Divine revelation to man implied. This tract is silent as to sacrifice and temple, and even as regards priesthood, except that in 𝔊 Syr W (not Θ) Daniel the prophet is spoken of as a priest ; all this strong evidence of the low place assigned by the writer to the external side of the Jewish religion. We do, however, read of an angel, but in a part of the Dragon story (*vv.* 33–39) which is certainly introduced by an editor *ab extra.*

For further Introductory notes, including references to special literature, see 'Bel and the Dragon' (by the present writer) in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia* (Chicago), vol. i.

BEL AND THE DRAGON

The translation of Θ is that of the R. V., that of 𝔊 is by the present editor. See Introd., § 3, 1, 2.

I. The Story of Bel, *vv.* 1–22

𝔊 87	Θ
1 From the prophecy of Habakkuk the son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi.	And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom. 1
2 There was a certain man a priest, by name Daniel, son of Abal, a companion of the King of Babylon.	And Daniel lived with the king, and was honoured above all his friends. 2
3 And there was an idol Bel whom the Babylonians worshipped. And they expended on him daily twelve artabas of fine wheaten flour, and four sheep, and six measures of oil.	Now the Babylonians had an idol, called Bel, and there were spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six firkins of wine. 3

1. Syr H begins the Story of Bel exactly as does 𝔊. But Θ and Syr W begin with a chronological notice which in the Vulg. closes Susanna.

Habakkuk. Greek Ἀμβακούμ, Syr. H ʿΑβακούκ. So also in *vv.* 33 ff. It is certain that Habakkuk the prophet is meant (see on *v.* 33), though the tradition that he was a Levite, based on Hab. iii. 19*b*, is probably inaccurate. According to *The Lives of the Prophets* he was of the tribe of Simeon. See Stonehouse, *The Book of Habakkuk*, pp. 61 ff., for this and other traditions regarding Habakkuk. This title in 𝔊 and Syr H (not in Syr W) owes its existence to the interpolated incident in *vv.* 33–39.

Cyrus . . . received his kingdom. According to this verse, identical in Syr W, Cyrus succeeded his grandfather Astyages immediately upon the death of the latter. But Herodotus (i. 130) says distinctly that Cyrus took the kingdom from Astyages by force. Ancient authors disagree on this matter, as also as to whether in fact Cyrus was the immediate successor of his grandfather or not. Recent cuneiform inscriptions confirm the testimony of Herodotus That the incidents related in Bel and the Dragon could not have occurred during the reign of Cyrus goes without saying.

the Persian. On these words see Century Bible, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, pp. 19, 41.

2. **a priest, by name Daniel.** That Daniel was a priest is stated in 𝔊 and in Syr W, one of the rare instances in which the Peshitta agrees with 𝔊 against Θ. Dan. i. 3, 6 proves that Daniel could not have been a priest. That he is so described is due to priestly influence, and belongs to the period of priestly domination.

Abal. Ἄβαλ (so Fritzsche, Tisch., and Ball) for Ἀβιήλ (God my father) or Ἀβιχαίλ (= strong one, lit. father = possessor of strength, Num. iii. 35). But probably we should write with Swete and Rothstein Ἀβάλ for Hebr. הֶבֶל, Gen. iv. 2. According to Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres.* lv. 3) Σαβαάν (שבעין, שמעין) was father of the prophet Daniel.

a companion. The Greek word συμβιωτής denotes strictly one that lives (βιόω) with another. Cf. Vulg. *conviva.* Plutarch (*Julius Caesar*, 211) employs the word for the confidants of the emperors.

lived with the king. Render, as in 𝔊 above (the same Greek word being used), 'And Daniel was a companion of the king.' Syr W 'And Daniel's glory equalled that of the king, and he dwelt with the king and was more praised than any of the king's friends'.

King of Babylon. In 𝔊 and Syr W the particular king of Babylon meant is not named.

3. **Bel.** The Hebr. word בֵּל, a short form of בַּעַל, occurs in the O.T. in Isa. xlvi, Jer. l. 2, li. 44, in all which passages it stands for Marduk (Merodach), chief of the Babylonian deities. Originally it denoted any one of the Babylonian local gods, and in particular the principal one worshipped at Nippur. Cf. the generic use of בַּעַל (Baal).

worshipped. That the Babylonians worshipped Bel is in 𝔊 distinctly stated: in Θ and Syr W it is implied. The word translated 'worship' (σέβομαι) = 'to revere', especially as God.

artabas (in 𝔊 and Θ ἀρτάβαι): R. V. (Θ) renders 'great measures'. The artaba (ἀρτάβη) was a Persian measure = about half a hectolitre.

four. So 𝔊 and Syr H. But Θ Syr H^{mg} Fri τεσσαράκοντα (forty), which gives a better proportion. In Syr W 'forty rams'.

measures. The Greek μετρητής (R.V. 'firkin') = about nine gallons. Note the large quantity supposed to be consumed by Bel.

oil. So 𝔊: but read (with Θ Syr W Syr H^{mg}) οἴνου (wine). Cf. *vv.* 11, 14, 21 in 𝔊. Note the three kinds of sacrifices: meat offering (מִנְחָה), animal offering (זֶבַח), and drink offering (נֶסֶךְ), which accord with the regulations of the Priestly Code.

𝔊 87

4 The king also used to worship him, and the king used to go daily to do homage to him; but Daniel used to pray to *the* Lord. So the king said to Daniel, Why bowest thou not down to 5 Bel? Then Daniel said to the king, None do I worship save *the* Lord, the God who created the heaven and the earth, even Him who has sovereignty over all flesh.

6 Then the king said to him, Is this then not a god? Dost thou not see how much is 7 spent on him daily? Daniel therefore said to him, Let no one by any means mislead thee by false reasoning, for this is within of clay and without of bronze: and I swear by *the* Lord the god of gods that this never did eat anything.

8 So the king became angry and summoned the overseers of the temple, and said to them, Show me who eats the things prepared for Bel, other- 9 wise ye shall die. Or (if ye do show that Bel devours them), Daniel, who alleges that these things are not eaten by him, (shall die). But they said, It is Bel himself who devours these things. Then Daniel said to the king, Let it be thus. If I shall not show that it is not Bel who devours these things, let me suffer death together with 10 all my friends. Now Bel had seventy priests besides (their) wives and children. So they conducted the king into the idol temple.

Θ

And the king did honour to it, and went daily 4 to worship it: but Daniel worshipped his own God. And the king said unto him, Why dost thou not worship Bel? And he said, Because I 5 may not do honour to idols made with hands, but to the living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh.

Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou 6 not that Bel is a living God? or seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day? Then Daniel laughed, and said, O king, be not 7 deceived: for this is but clay within, and brass without, and did never eat or drink anything.

So the king was wroth, and called for his 8 priests, and said unto them, If ye tell me not who this is that devoureth these expenses, ye shall die. But if ye can show me that Bel devoureth them, 9 then Daniel shall die: for he hath spoken blasphemy against Bel. And Daniel said unto the king, Let it be according to thy word. Now the 10 priests of Bel were threescore and ten, beside their wives and children. And the king went with Daniel into the temple of Bel.

4. **worship.** The Greek verb (*σέβομαι*) means to revere, usually as one does a god. The imperfect tenses in this verse denote habitual actions.

him. Rather than 'it', as the Greek has the masc., though *εἴδωλον*, for which the pronoun stands, is neuter.

the Lord. The anarthrous *Κύριον* translates the word (אדני) read for the tetragrammaton (יהוה) from about 300 B.C. Θ and Syr W have 'God'. Here, as in the foregoing Hebraism in 𝔊 ('used to go and bow down'), Θ corrects in the direction of classical Greek. Theodotion often does this, though in other cases he corrects 𝔊 according to the Hebrew. It is quite according to the usual policy of the early Persian kings to fall in, at least outwardly, with the worship of the peoples they conquered. See Century Bible, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, p. 40.

5. **idols made with hands.** This description of idols is not in 𝔊. Syr W gives 'I worship not images or sculptured things or idols because they are the work of men's hands'. In Θ and Syr W there is a contrast drawn between man-made idols and the God who is Himself the *Maker* of heaven and earth.

all flesh = every human being. See Gen. vi. 12.

6. The proof that Bel is a true, living god is the immense quantity of food he is able to eat daily!

7. **Let no one . . . reasoning.** It is difficult to account for the differences between 𝔊 and Θ in this verse. The words in 𝔊, 'Let no one . . . reasoning,' would be in Hebr. רַמּוֹת אַל יְרַמֶּךָ אִישׁ; the Greek *παραλογίζομαι* standing in 𝔊 generally for the Hebr. רָמָה, 'to deceive'. Θ has simply *μὴ πλανῶ*, 'deceive not thyself'. Probably the two texts represent independent attempts to translate the above Hebrew, Θ as usual avoiding a peculiarly Hebrew construction—the absolute infinitive before a finite verb strengthening it.

I swear. Not in Θ. Probably in the original Hebrew no such verb was employed, but the conjunction אִם, which implies a negative oath. This Hebrew construction might easily give rise to the construction in 𝔊 and to that in Θ, though in 𝔊 ביהוה אֵל אֱלֹהִים (see Dan. xi. 36) is also implied.

laughed. So *v.* 19 (𝔊 and Θ): 𝔊 here omits this verb.

brass (Θ). Render 'bronze'. Brass was unknown in the times when this tract was written.

eat. $Θ^{A}$ has, as 𝔊, simply 'eat'; $Θ^{AΩ}$ add 'or drink'.

8. **the overseers of the Temple.** In Θ 'his priests'. Probably 𝔊 translates the Hebrew freely, Θ literally.

these expenses. Better 'this outlay', i.e. the things on which money has been expended. The Hebrew word thus rendered is perhaps the late הוֹצָאָה (see Ezra vi. 4, 8). 𝔊 seems to translate freely.

9. **(if ye . . . them).** The words bracketed in the translation are added because implied in the Greek 𝔊, or at least are necessary for the sense.

Let it be thus, &c. 𝔊 ascribes more words to Daniel than Θ.

for he hath spoken blasphemy against Bel. Θ and Syr W give the reason, 𝔊 does not.

10. With the seventy priests of Bel cf. the four hundred of Baal in 1 Kings xviii. 22.

children. $Θ^{A}$ *παιδίων*, 'little children'.

the idol temple. Greek *εἰδώλιον*, as in 1 Esdras ii. 9; 1 Macc. i. 47; 1 Cor. viii. 10. Θ has 'the house' (*τὸν οἶκον*), i.e. 'temple' (see 1 Kings vi. 1; 2 Kings xix. 33) 'of Bel'. It is probable that Θ follows the original Hebr. (הַבַּיִת).

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11 Then the food was laid out in the presence of the king and of Daniel, and mixed wine was
12 brought on and set out for Bel. And Daniel said, Thou thyself seest that these things are in
13 their places, O king. Do thou therefore seal the bolts of the temple, when it is shut. And the utterance pleased the king.

14 Then Daniel ordered those with him to put out of the temple all (the rest) and to besprinkle the temple with wood ashes, none of them outside the same knowing (it). And then he shut the temple and gave orders to have it sealed with the king's signet ring and with the signet rings of certain priests of high rank: and this was done.
15 And it came to pass on the morrow that they came back to the place, but the priests had, in the meantime, entered through secret doors and devoured all that had been placed before Bel
16 and drunk up the wine. Then Daniel said, O priests, look at your seals, whether they remain (intact); and do thou, O king, mark well whether anything has happened of which thou disapprovest.
17 And they found (the state of things) as it was

Θ

So Bel's priests said, Lo, we will get us out: 11
but thou, O king, set on the meat, and mingle the wine and set it forth, and shut the door fast, and seal it with thine own signet; and when thou 12
comest in the morning, if thou find not that Bel hath eaten up all, we will suffer death: or else Daniel, that speaketh falsely against us. And 13
they little regarded it: for under the table they had made a privy entrance, whereby they entered in continually, and consumed those things.

And it came to pass, when they were gone 14
forth, the king set the meat before Bel. Now Daniel had commanded his servants to bring ashes, and they strewed all the temple *with them* in the presence of the king alone: then went they out, and shut the door, and sealed it with the king's signet, and so departed. Now in the night 15
came the priests with their wives and children, as they were wont to do, and did eat and drink up all. In the morning betime the king arose, and 16
Daniel with him.

And the king said, Daniel, are the seals whole? 17

11–17. These verses differ in 𝔊 and Θ considerably. How can we account for this if both the Greek versions were made from one Hebrew original?

11. **the food,** lit. 'things eaten'.

mixed wine. What is meant is probably that the wine was mixed with certain aromatic spices which gave it a more pungent flavour. See Isa. v. 22; Ps. xvi. 2. This is according to common Oriental custom; many, however, think that the allusion is to the Greek and Roman practice of diluting wine by water. See Isa. i. 22.

signet, i. e. *δακτυλίῳ*, 'finger-ring signet'. Θ^{A} *δακτύλῳ*, 'finger'.

13. **bolts.** The Greek word (*κλεῖδας*) means primarily 'keys'; then, as here, 'bolts', 'locks'.

they entered in, &c. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 25, 'put no fire under.' Such deceptions were, according to Chrysostom, common in heathen temples (*Hom. in Petrum et Helicum*, Opp. (Ben. ed.), vol. ii, p. 880. Syr W adds to *v.* 13 in Θ, 'and carried away what remained.'

14. **besprinkle.** 𝔊 *καταστῆσαι*, a Hebraism (שִׂים); Θ^{B} and Syr H^{mg} *κατέσησαν*, 'they shook through a sieve' (Θ^{A} *κατέσεισαν*, 'they shook'), implying וַיַּנְפוּ (= וַיָּנִיפוּ)—this yields no sense. Read, with Θ 34 49 *κατέστρωσαν*, representing the Hebr. וַיַּזְרוּ, which might easily have been misread as either of the above Hebrew words.

temple. The Greek word *ναός* is used in 𝔊 and N.T. for the temple building proper in distinction from the temple and its enclosures (*ἱερόν*).

wood ashes. The word *σποδός* in 𝔊 denotes specially wood ashes. *τέφρα* is the word used in Θ. See Tobit vi. 17, viii. 22.

sealed. 𝔊 *σφραγισάμενος*. Read *κλείσας*; the sealing followed the shutting. The Hebr. verb סָתַם ('shut') could easily be read חָתַם ('seal'). We have in this confusion, as well as in that in the verbs noticed above, strong evidence of a Hebrew (not an Aramaic) original. The temple door was sealed, according to Θ, with the signet ring of the king. Syr W adds, 'and with Daniel's signet ring'; 𝔊 adds, 'and with the signet ring of certain priests of high rank' (see Dan. vi. 17).

set the meat before Bel (Θ). Syr W + 'and filled the vessels with wine according to the custom'; probably this should be added.

15. Verse 15*b* in 𝔊 corresponds to *v.* 15 in Θ, 15*a* answering to 16 in Θ.

it came to pass . . . that. Note the Hebraism. In good Greek, as in English, the usual expression would be, 'On the morrow they came back.' Θ avoids the Hebraism.

secret doors. *ψευδοθυρίδων*, lit. 'false doors'. See *v.* 21.

16 foll. In Θ it is the king who takes the initiative—rises early, asks about the seals. In 𝔊 it is Daniel that speaks, the priests (not Daniel) testing the seals.

16. **remain.** The Greek word (*μένουσιν*) perhaps to be understood absolutely 'remain *as they were*', the Hebr. for which would probably be יַעַמְדוּ; but it is most likely that the original Hebr. word was יִשְׁלְמוּ (are intact, literally 'complete'), misread as above. Θ (*σῷοι* in *v.* 17) favours this.

17. This verse in 𝔊 has been variously rendered: 'they found that the seal had lasted' (lit. 'was'), and 'they found how the seal *really* was'. But we should have expected 'seals'—the plural—as in *v.* 16, and as in Θ, *v.* 17. Fritzsche is probably right, therefore, in regarding (*ἡ*) *σφραγίς* as an interpolation. In the second part of the verse

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(the day before); so they cast away the seals.
18 But on opening the door they saw that what had
been set out for Bel had been consumed and that
the tables were empty. The king accordingly
rejoiced, and said to Daniel, Great is Bel, and
19 with him is no deception. And Daniel laughed
heartily and said to the king, Come, see the
deception of the priests. Then Daniel said, O
king, whose footprints are these?
20 And the king said, (Those) of men, women,
21 and children. Then he went to the house in
which the priests resided, and found Bel's food
together with the wine. And Daniel showed
the king the secret doors through which the
priests entered for the purpose of consuming
22 what had been set before Bel. The king there-
fore led them out of Bel's temple and delivered
them up to Daniel; and what had been provided
by purchase for him he gave to Daniel, but Bel
he destroyed.

Θ

And he said, Yea, O king, they be whole. And 18
as soon as he had opened the door, the king
looked upon the table, and cried with a loud
voice, Great art thou, O Bel, and with thee is no
deceit at all. Then laughed Daniel, and held 19
the king that he should not go in, and said,
Behold now the pavement, and mark well whose
footsteps are these.

And the king said, I see the footsteps of men, 20
women, and children. And then the king was 21
angry, and took the priests with their wives and
children, who showed him the privy doors, where
they came in, and consumed such things as were
upon the table. Therefore the king slew them, 22
and delivered Bel into Daniel's power, who over-
threw him and his temple.

The Dragon Story, *vv.* 23–41.

𝔊 87

23 Now there was a dragon in the same place,
24 and the Babylonians worshipped (it). And the

Θ

And in that same place there was a great 23
dragon, which they of Babylon worshipped.

we are to read 'seals' (plural). Translate then as above. Syr H has 'that the seal remained', reading, perhaps, *ὡς ἔμενεν*.

And the king. So Θ^{AQ} Syr W Fritzsche. But Θ^{B} (Swete) om. *ὁ βασιλεύς*.

18. Note the double Hebraism with which Θ begins *v.* 18, though 𝔊 has the regular classical construction. This suggests that Θ corrects 𝔊 from the Hebrew original. See Introd. § 3, 2 (1).

door. Greek has 'doors', plural, a literal rendering of the Hebr. דְּלָתַיִם, a two-leaved door. For such a door see *H. D. B.* iv. 700 *b*. Another confirmation of a Hebrew, not an Aramaic, original. Syr W has the singular (*tar'a*), as has Θ in *v.* 14.

tables. So 𝔊: Θ 'table'. After the latter word Θ needs, and seems to have had, words similar to if not identical with those in 𝔊. Probably we should restore according to Syr W, which usually follows Θ closely: (after 'door') 'the king looking upon the table and seeing that what had been set for Bel had been consumed, cried out,' &c.

with thee is no deceit at all. This last clause of *v.* 18 in Θ is a literal translation of a Hebraism absent from 𝔊: 'there is no deception, . . . not one', אֵין מִרְמָה . . . אֵין אַחַת. Cf. Prov. xiv. 3.

19. That Daniel laughed *heartily* (*σφόδρα*) is stated in 𝔊, not in Θ. It represents probably the Hebrew absolute infinitive. On the other hand, that Daniel held back the king from looking in appears in Θ, not in 𝔊.

see the deception of the priests. Referring probably to the king's acclamation (*v.* 18), 'there is no deception in him' (Bel). His priests deceive if *he* does not, and indeed cannot.

and said. Θ^{B} Syr W 𝔊; $>\Theta^{A}$.

whose. Θ^{Q} om. *τινος*; render then, 'find out these footprints.' Θ^{Qmg}, Θ^{B}, 𝔊, Syr W +. The sense requires it.

20. The *ὁρῶ* ('I see') of Θ translates probably the Hebr. הִנֵּה. It is not represented in 𝔊.

21. Θ and Syr W omit the words in 𝔊 in the beginning of *v.* 21, but they are necessary for the sense and should probably be restored. Verse 21 in Θ would in that case read: 'Then the king, becoming angry, went to the house in which the priests resided, and found Bel's food together with the wine. He thereupon seized the priests and their wives and children, so that (*καί*) they showed,' &c.

found. Syr H *ευρον* ('they found').

secret doors. In 𝔊 the doors are lit. 'false doors' (*ψευδοθύρια*); see on *v.* 15. In Θ the doors are literally hidden' (*κρυπτάς*).

22. **Bel's temple.** *τὸ Βήλιον* = 'the temple of Bel' only here; but cf. *Πυθεῖον*. See the reference in Fritzsche.

delivered them (𝔊). 𝔊 says the king delivered up the priests to Daniel; Θ and Syr W say he delivered up Bel. Syr W Arab., translating the Greek *ἔκδοτον* of Θ as 'gift', render 'gave Bel as a gift to Daniel'. 𝔊 adds that what had been expended on Bel (the residue) was also delivered up to Daniel.

destroyed, lit. 'overthrew' (*κατέστρεψεν*).

23. **dragon,** or 'serpent'. See Introduction, § 2, 2. Θ Syr W have 'great dragon'.

in the same place. Θ^{B} om., reading simply, 'and there was a great dragon.' *εν τω τοπω* Θ^{AQ}: *εν αυτω τω τοπω* Θ^{Qmg}.

worshipped. See on *v.* 4.

it. Θ Syr H Syr W; > 𝔊.

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king said to Daniel, Thou wilt not, wilt thou, say
of this also that it is bronze? Lo, he liveth,
eateth, and drinketh: do homage to him.

26 But Daniel said, Give me the power and I will
destroy the dragon without sword or staff. So
the king conceded this to him, and said, It is
27 granted thee. Then Daniel took thirty minas of
pitch, fat, and hair, and boiled them together,
and made a cake (out of them) and threw (it)
into the dragon's mouth; and after it had eaten
(the cake) it burst asunder. And he showed it
to the king, saying, Is it not the case that ye
worship these (fragments)?
28 Then there assembled against **the king** all the
inhabitants of the country, and they said, The
king has become a Jew; Bel he has overthrown
and slain the dragon.

30 And when the king saw that the mob from
the country was gathered against him he called
his companions, and said, I give (up) Daniel to
be destroyed.
31 Now there was a den in which seven lions
were kept to which those who plotted against the
king used to be delivered up, two bodies of

Θ

And the king said unto Daniel, Wilt thou also 24
say that this is of brass? lo, he liveth, and eateth
and drinketh: thou canst not say that he is no
living God: therefore worship him. Then said 25
Daniel, I will worship the Lord my God: for he
is a living God.
But give me leave, O king, and I shall slay 26
this dragon without sword or staff. The king
said, I give thee leave. Then Daniel took pitch, 27
and fat, and hair, and did seethe them together,
and made lumps thereof: this he put in the
dragon's mouth, so the dragon did eat and burst
in sunder: and *Daniel* said, Lo, these are the gods
ye worship.

When they of Babylon heard that, they took 28
great indignation, and conspired against the king,
saying, The king is become a Jew, and he hath
pulled down Bel, and slain the dragon, and put
the priests to the sword. So they came to the 29
king, and said, Deliver us Daniel, or else we will
destroy thee and thine house. Now when the 30
king saw that they pressed him sore, being con-
strained, the king delivered Daniel unto them:
who cast him into the lions' den: where he was 31
six days. And in the den there were seven lions, 32
and they had given them every day two carcases,

24. **Daniel.** + *μη και τουτον ερεις οτι χαλκους εστιν· ιδου ζη και εσθιει και πινει* (this is translated in the R.V. (Θ) above; Θ^{B} (Swete) and Vulg. om.) $\Theta^{B\ a\ b\ mg\ AQ}$. + *μη εις . . . χαλκ. εστιν ιδου . . . και πεινει* Δ.

brass (Θ). See *v.* 7, and render 'bronze'.

do homage. The same verb (*προσκυνέω*) occurs in *v.* 4. It is the one used in 𝔊 to translate the Hebr. הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. It represents סגד in the Aramaic parts of Daniel.

25. Verse 25 of Θ has no counterpart in 𝔊. See Deut. vi. 13; Matt. iv. 10; and cf. Dan. vi. 20, 26; 1 Thess. ii. 9.

26. **power** (𝔊); **leave** (Θ). The Greek word (*ἐξουσία*) denotes delegated authority.

sword. The word in 𝔊 denotes strictly iron; then an iron weapon. 𝔊 uses it in Job v. 20 for חֶרֶב (sword). Cf. a similar use of the Lat. *ferrum*. Θ has *μάχαιρα*.

27. **thirty minas.** The weight is not given in Θ. The mina (Greek *μνᾶ*, Hebr. מָנֶה) is a Babylonian weight adopted after the exile by the Hebrews. The heavy mina weighed 1·636 lb. avoir., the light mina half this. See 1 Macc. xiv. 24.

together. *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* = the Hebr. יַחְדָּו. See Exod. xxvi. 9.

a cake (𝔊). *μάζα* usually = 'a barley-cake'; cf. *ἄρτος*, 'a wheaten cake'. Θ Syr H have the plural. Syr W has a transliterated form of the Greek *σφαίρας* (cf. 'sphere'), i.e. 'round things', 'balls', 'pills'. The R.V. renders 'lumps', following the Vulg. *massas*.

dragon's mouth. + 'and the dragon swallowed them' (to complete the sense) Syr W. Perhaps it is original and should be restored.

and after . . . asunder. + 'so that it died' Syr W.

these (fragments). In 𝔊 *ταῦτα* has a touch of irony, 'these bits!' The words in Θ should be rendered, 'see what things ye worship!' (lit. 'See the objects of your worship', *σεβάσματα*). See Acts xvii. 23. Θ^{A}, for *ιδετε* in $𝔊^{B}$, has *ιδου δη*.

28 foll. differ much in 𝔊 and Θ. Verse 29 of Θ is wholly lacking in 𝔊.

28. **against the king.** 𝔊 reads 'against Daniel' (*τὸν Δανιήλ*), but the sense requires *τὸν βασιλέα* as in Θ.

a Jew. *περι του βασιλεως λεγουσι ως γεγονεν Ιουδαιος* Syr H^{mg}. Grotius omits the article before *βασιλεύς*, and translates Θ, 'a Jew has become a king,' which is against the context.

has overthrown. The verb used in *v.* 22, often rendered 'destroy'. Θ^{B} has a different verb here (*κατέσπασεν* = 'pulled down'). But Θ^{A} reads as 𝔊 (*κατέστρεψεν*).

29. Lacking in 𝔊.

30. This verse is fuller than the corresponding verse of Θ, the latter giving what appears to be a kind of summary.

Verses 31 foll. in 𝔊 correspond in matter to *vv.* 32 and 31 in Θ.

31, 32. **den.** The Greek word *λάκκος* (cf. the English 'lake') = a water-pond, a reservoir, then a pit or dungeon, as in Dan. vi. 8, &c., where it translates the Hebr. and Aram. גֹּב. Lions were kept in such places for the chase. See Bevan on Dan. vi. Fritzsche holds that the den in Dan. vi. 8, &c., is a mere cistern, whereas here it is a proper vivarium into which people looked from above. But in regard to Dan. vi. 8, &c., he is hardly right.

𝔊 87

persons condemned to death being provided for
32 them daily (as food). So the crowds cast Daniel
into that den that he might be devoured and
find no burial. And Daniel was in the lions'
33 den six days. Now it happened on the sixth
day that Habakkuk had wheaten loaves crumbled
in a bowl, cooked, and an earthen jar of mixed
wine, and that he was proceeding into the field
34 to the reapers. Then the angel of the Lord
spake to Habakkuk, saying, Thus says the Lord
God to thee: The dinner which thou holdest,
take it away to Daniel to the lions' den in
Babylon.
35 But Habakkuk said, O Lord God, I have not
seen Babylon and the den—I do not know where
36 (it) is. Then the angel of the Lord laid hold of
Habakkuk by the hair of his head and set him
37 over the den in Babylon. And Habakkuk said
to Daniel, Arise, and eat the dinner which the
38 Lord God has sent thee. Then said Daniel,
(Yea), for the Lord God who forsakes not those
who love Him has remembered me.

39 So Daniel ate; and the angel of the Lord set
Habakkuk down (in the place) whence he had

Θ

and two sheep: which then were not given to
them, to the intent that they might devour
Daniel.
Now there was in Jewry the prophet Habak- 33
kuk, who had made pottage, and had broken
bread into a bowl, and was going into the field,
for to bring it to the reapers. But the angel of 34
the Lord said unto Habakkuk, Go carry the
dinner that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel,
in the lions' den.

And Habakkuk said, Lord, I never saw Baby- 35
lon; neither do I know where the den is. Then 36
the angel of the Lord took him by the crown,
and lifted him up by the hair of his head, and
with the blast of his breath set him in Babylon
over the den. And Habakkuk cried, saying, O 37
Daniel, Daniel, take the dinner which God hath
sent thee. And Daniel said, Thou hast remem- 38
bered me, O God: neither hast thou forsaken
them that love thee.
So Daniel arose, and did eat: and the angel of 39
God set Habakkuk in his own place again imme-

(two) bodies. *σώματα*: not necessarily the bodies of dead persons. It = bodies of living or dead persons; persons, human beings. Here it = criminals condemned to death. In Gen. xxxvi. 6 (𝔊), Tobit x. 10, Rev. xviii. 15, and Polyb. xii. 16. 5, *σῶμα* = a slave. 'Two carcases', R.V. of Θ, should be 'two human bodies' or 'two persons'. The addition in Θ and Syr W to *v.* 32 (𝔊 31), 'which then,' &c., was suggested by Dan. iii. 19.

32. **the crowds** (𝔊). > Θ^{AB} Syr W in *v.* 31.

that he might be devoured. The reason is given in 𝔊 only. The ancients dreaded non-burial as a dire calamity, no doubt for superstitious reasons. See Century Bible on Psalm lxxix. 3.

six days. Daniel was in the den six days (so 𝔊, *v.* 32, Θ, *v.* 31). According to *v.* 33 (𝔊) it was on the sixth day that Daniel was miraculously fed. Θ, *v.* 40, says he was delivered on the seventh day.

33–39. The miraculous incident in which the prophet Habakkuk plays so prominent a part has no vital connexion with the rest of the narrative, and is certainly a late interpolation. The legend belongs to an age when the heroes of the past, such as Daniel, Habakkuk, were becoming more and more idealized.

33. 𝔊 alone gives the time—the sixth day—and also the earthen jar and the mixed wine (see on *v.* 11); the place in Judaea (R. V. 'Jewry') is given by Θ and Syr W only. Θ and Syr W speak of Habakkuk 'the prophet'; not so 𝔊. The Greek form of the name, Ἀμβακούμ, is due to the change of the first of two 'b's' for euphony ('mb' for 'bb') and the dissimilation of the final 'k' to 'm'. See König, ii. 465 and 473.

34. **the angel**, &c. The definite article rightly prefixed, though it is absent from the Greek (𝔊 and Θ). It is really a Hebraism, cf. מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה, the article in a construct noun being unnecessary in Hebrew, as in Welsh. See Introduction, § 4, (*b*) 4.

The dinner. The Greek *ἄριστον* denotes more commonly the mid-day (dinner) than the morning meal (breakfast), but it is not necessarily either. See Susanna, *v.* 13, where the R. V. renders *ἀρίστου ὥρα* as 'dinner time'.

35. **den.** After *λάκκον* in Θ^{B}, Θ^{C} adds *τῶν λεόντων*: cf. *v.* 34 (𝔊 and Θ).

is. Θ^{A}; > Θ^{B}. So R. V. Syr W has 'and the den I do not know'.

36. The verb *ἐπιλαμβάνομαι* takes after it two genitives in both versions, an unusual but not unprecedented construction. According to 𝔊 the angel laid hold of the hair of the prophet's head; Θ says it was of the crown (*κορυφή*) of his head that the angel laid hold, though he was lifted up by his hair.

the angel of the Lord. Θ^{A} omits *Κυρίου*: the article before *ἄγγελος* supports this. See on *v.* 34.

with the blast of his breath. Only in Θ. Render 'with the swiftness of wind', omitting *αὐτοῦ* (dittograph). Syr W and Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, 'by the might of the Holy Spirit'; Jer. Vulg. *in impetu spiritus sui* ('by the force of His spirit'), Douay version. See Dan. ix. 21; Ezek. viii. 3. In one instant Habakkuk is transferred from Palestine to Babylon, and in another he is brought back.

37. **Habakkuk.** Syr W. Ἀμβακούμ 𝔊 Θ^{B} (see on *vv.* 1, 33). Ἀμβακούκ Θ^{Δ}. Θ^{A} omits Ἀμβακούμ, reading 'and he cried out'.

Arise and. *ἀναστάς*, &c., a Hebraism, though found in Syr W. Cf. קוּם followed by another verb = 'set about'. See Introd. §§ 4, (*b*) 4, and cf. Century Bible, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, p. 145.

38. In 𝔊 Daniel speaks of God in the 3rd person; in Θ he addresses God.

who forsakes not. *ἐγκαταλείπων* 𝔊: *ἐγκατέλειπες* Θ: *ἐγκαταλιπών* Syr H. Syr W gives 3rd person as 𝔊.

39. Note the Hebraism in Θ, *ἀναστάς*; so Syr W. See on *v.* 37 (𝔊).

the angel of the Lord. Θ changes 'Lord' to 'God'. Syr W has simply 'an angel'.

in his own place (Θ). For *εἰς* (Θ^{B}), $\Theta^{A\Omega}$ reads *ἐπί*.

𝔊 87

taken him on the same day. But the Lord God
40 remembered Daniel. (Then) the king after these
things went forth bewailing Daniel; and as he
stooped to pry into the den he saw him sitting
41 (there). So the king cried out and said, Great
is the Lord God, and there is no other (god)
42 besides Him. And the king led Daniel out of
the den, and those who would have brought
about his destruction he cast into the den in the
presence of Daniel, and they were devoured.

Θ

diately. Upon the seventh day the king came to 40
bewail Daniel: and when he came to the den, he
looked in, and, behold, Daniel was sitting. Then 41
cried the king with a loud voice, saying, Great
art thou, O Lord, thou God of Daniel, and there
is none other beside thee. And he drew him out, 42
and cast those that were the cause of his destruction into the den: and they were devoured in a moment before his face.

on the same day (*τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ* 𝔊); **immediately** (*παραχρῆμα* Θ): 'in that hour' = 'immediately' Syr W. The bracketed words in the rendering of 𝔊 above occur in Syr W, which usually follows 𝔊.

But the Lord God remembered Daniel. This last clause in 𝔊 is absent from Θ.

40. **after these things** in 𝔊 corresponds to 'on the seventh day' in Θ.

41. In 𝔊 the king speaks of God in the third person; in Θ he addresses God. See on *v.* 38. Syr W omits last clause of verse ('there is no other').

the king ($Θ^{Q}$). $Θ^{B}$ om. *ὁ βασιλεύς.*

and there is none other beside thee. > *και ουκ εστιν πλην σου αλλος* $Θ^{AQ}$. In 𝔊 (followed by Syr H) these words are appended: *Δανιηλ κατα τους ὁ*: in $Θ^{BQ}$ *Δανιηλ*: in $Θ^{A}$ *τελος Δαν. προφητου.*

THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Character of the Additions.

The Additions to Esther consist of six passages (containing 107 verses not in the Hebrew text), inserted in the LXX text by way of amplification of subjects referred to in the canonical chapters.

It cannot be said that these Additions, which are imaginative reconstructions of a forgotten past, are of great interest or importance. Perhaps as much as two centuries separate their date from that of the canonical portions of Esther, and they emanate from a different centre of Jewish life and thought, which possessed no independent sources of historical information.

Any interest, therefore, that these fragments possess lies not in their power to enlarge our knowledge of the story of Esther, but in the reflection they offer of the religious development of the circle in which they originated.

If we are to attach any weight to the postscript found in the LXX (Esther xi. 1)—and Ryssel's reason for rejecting its witness is not sufficient—the translation of canonical Esther dates from not later than 114 B. C.; but it seems unlikely that the Additions were incorporated with the translated portions until after this postscript was appended. The Additions may not all be the work of one author, but they are not translations, and Greek was their original language.[1] It is probable that the Additions, with their slightly Egyptian flavour (cf. the use of ἀδελφός in D 9, φίλοι in E 5, the application of the word 'Macedonian' to Haman in E 10, and ἐκτιθέναι in E 19), were composed in Egypt, where the veneration for the canonical book was naturally not so high as in Palestine, rather than in Palestine by Egyptian Jews temporarily residing there.[2]

But were the Additions made immediately upon the reception of the translation of Esther in Egypt, or only after some time had passed, and interest in the book had been awakened, and a desire aroused in the minds of patriotic Jews to hear the story of Esther in greater detail?

The latter hypothesis seems the more probable. Not only is time required for the creative activity of the imagination to get to work; but the postscript, which with its explicit reference to the *translation* of Esther must have been appended immediately on the introduction of the translation into Egypt, would surely have been worded differently, if the Additions had been already incorporated.

The date of the Additions, therefore, may be placed in the earlier part of the first century, and they may be regarded as contemporaneous with the Book of Wisdom. They can be referred to Maccabean times (as e. g. by Jacob and V. Ryssel) only by a complete rejection of the witness of the postscript.

Wisdom is the work of an Alexandrian Jew keenly distressed by Egyptian idolatry and by the growing laxity and indifference to the national religion on the part of a large number of the Jews resident in Egypt. The writer of Wisdom represents that more conservative section of the Egyptian Jews in whom the forces of reaction were at work, and who became the more ardently patriotic in proportion as they saw the traditions of their religion neglected.

The Additions to Esther may be accounted for in a similar way. The relations between the domiciled Jews of the Diaspora and the natives of the country were at times far from cordial, and in periods of trial and oppression, when the Jews were driven in upon themselves, it was natural for them to take refuge in the study of their sacred books, and of those especially, such as Esther, which told of the subjection of the heathen to the chosen people. It was only natural that elaborations of these favourite narratives should spring up, and in course of time take their place as authentic parts of the original works.

The Additions are free from all trace of Alexandrine doctrine, but there is no reason to suppose

[1] Cf. Ryssel, in *Kautzsch*, i. p. 196; André, *Les Apocryphes de l' A. T.* pp. 203, 204.

[2] Cf. Jacob, *ZATW*, x, 1890, pp. 274–90; and Jellinek, *Beth-ha-Midrash*, v, p. viii. The 'Additions' to Esther sprang out of the imagination of an Alexandrian Jew, and hence their original language was Greek.

that every Jew residing in Egypt surrendered to the influence of the philosophic atmosphere of Alexandria. The practical purpose with which the Additions were composed would cause their author to eschew the introduction of all foreign elements. His hearers would be of the simpler type, not versed in speculation, but familiar only with the religious ideas of the O. T.; his object would be rather to confirm them in the old than to provide a meeting-place for the old with the new. Accordingly, the Additions might be expected to be strictly orthodox and conservative in tone; and this is exactly what we find. The spirit of simple prayer breathes in them, and trust in God and remembrance of God's mercies to Israel are especially emphasized.

The object of the author is purely practical, and speculative questions are altogether beyond his range. It has been thought that the object of the Additions was 'to remove the uneasiness arising from the secular tone of the original story'.[1] This is a proposition very difficult to accept, suggesting as it does a deliberate effort to correct the canonical book, and thereby an implied censure on its character. The difference between the tone of the canonical book and the additions can be less invidiously accounted for, on the supposition that the latter came into existence to meet an historical need, and that floating legendary material was drawn upon for the purpose of consoling and strengthening a simple-minded people in adversity. If it is true that the Additions have introduced the religious note, it cannot be said that they have a materially higher tone. Hatred of the heathen and thirst for revenge appear in undiminished vehemence.

It has been assumed so far that we are justified in speaking of these six passages as additions, which first took shape in Greek. It is true that they are not all homogeneous, and that some of them are more Hebraic in character than others. But of two (Adds. B and E) it may be said[2] that any re-translation of these rhetorical and florid pieces into Hebrew would be impossible, while of the rest it is enough to say that the Hebraisms they contain are fully accounted for by the fact that the Jew who composed them could not divest himself altogether of the idioms of his people.[3] A somewhat paradoxical contention has been put forward by Langen, Kaulen, and Scholz, who are concerned to prove the authenticity of the Additions, the effect of which would be to show that the LXX form of Esther is the original, and the Hebrew only an abbreviated edition of the book. This hypothesis rests on the existence of various Midrashic compilations,[4] and especially of an Aramaic piece known as 'Mordecai's Dream', containing the Dream and the Prayer of Mordecai and the Prayer of Esther, of which the so-called Additions to Esther are *ex hypothesi* the Greek form.

But there is much more reason to regard these diffuse Aramaic fragments as being indirectly based on the LXX Additions than vice versa;[5] and, further, inasmuch as not more than one of these pieces can be proved to have existed as early as even the middle of the fourth century, they are quite valueless as proofs of a Hebrew original earlier than that known to St. Jerome.

Almost equally baseless is the argument that the older and fuller Hebrew text was deliberately expurgated of the name of God, in order that it might not suffer dishonour when the Esther-roll was read during the course of the rather secular festival of Purim. Such editing of the book is far more difficult to credit than the hypothesis of subsequent additions.

One of the surest arguments against the original integrity of the book in its LXX form lies in the many discrepancies between the canonical Esther and the so-called Additions.[6] Some of these may be noted here:—

(1) A 2. Mordecai is represented as holding a high position at court in the second year of Artaxerxes; but Esther ii. 16 speaks of the seventh year.

(2) A 13. Mordecai himself informs the king of the conspiracy of the eunuchs; but Esther ii. 21–23 says that Esther told the king in Mordecai's name.

(3) A 16. Mordecai is rewarded for his services, but Esther vi. 3, 4 shows that Mordecai had been forgotten.

(4) A 17. The reason for Haman's grudge against Mordecai is that Mordecai had caused the death of the eunuchs, but in Esther iii. 5 it is that Mordecai will not bow before Haman.

(5) C 26, 27. Esther protests her hatred of the position of queen to an uncircumcised alien. But the Hebrew makes no such suggestion.

(6) E 10. Haman is called a Macedonian, but in Esther iii. 1 his father's name is Persian.

[1] Streane, *Esther*, p. xxix.

[2] Cf. Fuller, p. 365, note 4.

[3] Cf. S. I. Fränkel, *Hagiographa posteriora . . . e textu Graeco in linguam Hebraicam convertit*, &c., 1830; André, op. cit. pp. 203, 204; Jellinek, *Beth-ha-Midrash*, v, p. viii.

[4] e.g. a treatise on Esther in the *Babylonian Talmud*, Megillah 10[b] ff.; in the *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 49 f.; in Josippon, cent. x; *Midrash Esther Rabba*, cent. xi or xii. For an exhaustive list see Ryssel, p. 195; cf. André, p. 198; Fuller, Apocr. of O.T., p. 363.

[5] Bissell, p. 202.

[6] Cf. André, pp. 202, 203.

(7) E 22. The Persians as well as the Jews are required to keep the feast of Purim; but in Esther ix. 20–28 the Jews alone are charged to observe it.

The Additions are six in number, distinguished by Dr. Swete in his edition of the O. T. in Greek by the letters A to F in accordance with a suggestion made by the late Prof. Hort. As they stand in A.V. and R.V., they are practically unintelligible.[1] Jerome's relegation of the Additions to an appendix, in which their relation to the canonical chapters was altogether obscured, is responsible for this.

Not finding them in the Hebrew, he desired in his translation to mark the distinction between them and the authentic portions; and this arrangement was carried over into A.V. and R.V.[2]

Their contents are as follows:—

A. Mordecai's Dream, and the conspiracy of the two eunuchs (a double of Esther ii. 21–23). Precedes Esther i. 1.

B. The king's Edict commanding the destruction of the Jews. Follows Esther iii. 13, and expands iii. 8–13.

C. Prayer of Mordecai, and Prayer of Esther. Follows Esther iv. 17.

D. Esther's appearance before the king. Follows D, and is an amplification of Esther v. 1, 2.

E. The king's second Edict in favour of the Jews. Follows Esther viii. 12.

F. Interpretation of Mordecai's Dream. Follows Esther x. 3.

§ 2. Manuscripts.

The current and unrevised text of the third century is more or less closely represented by the uncials:

B. Vaticanus, cent. iv.

A. Alexandrinus, cent. v.

ℵ. Sinaiticus, cent. iv.

N. Basilio-Vaticanus, cent. viii–ix; and by many cursives, of which the most important are (as numbered by Holmes and Parsons, *Vet. Test. Graecum cum var. lect.*, Oxford, 1798–1827)—

55. Rome (Vat. Reg. Gr. I).

108. Rome (Vat. Gr. 330), containing two recensions, the first of which, known as 108 *a*, represents the unrevised text.

249. Rome (Vat. Pius I).

Other nearly allied cursives are—

52. Florence (Laur. Acq. 44).

64. Paris (Nat. Reg. Gr. 2).

243. Venice (St. Mark's, cod. 16), with which the Aldine edition is connected.

248. Rome (Vat. Gr. 346), of which the Polyglot of Alcala (Complutensian, 1514) is a reproduction.

The recension made by Origen in the third century is represented by the cursive numbered 93, which contains two recensions of Esther, that known as 93 *b* having the critical signs employed by Origen.

The readings of 93 *b* correspond very closely with the corrections inserted in Cod. Sinaiticus by the first of three seventh-century hands, known as $\aleph^{c.a}$, who acknowledges his indebtedness to the work of Origen.[3]

The Hesychian, or Egyptian, recension, of the fourth century, is represented by 44, 68, 71, 74, 76, 106, 107, 120, 236.

The Lucianic, or Antiochian, recension, of about A.D. 300, is represented by 19, 93 *a*, 108 *b*. P. de Lagarde,[4] who designates these MSS. respectively by the letters h_1 m_1 d_1, has reconstructed the Lucianic text, and placed it in parallel columns with that of the uncials. There is a very wide difference between the two types of text, but the Lucianic (known by Lagarde as *a*) contains all the six longer additions.

Certain resemblances between the details in Josephus' account and those in the Lucianic text led Langen[5] to argue that Josephus had in his hands the so-called Lucianic recension, and that therefore this text is not a recension of the third or fourth century, but an independent translation

[1] Cf. Swete, *Intr. to O. T. in Greek*, p. 257.
[2] Cf. Jer., *Prol. in Esth.* ch. x, ed. Vallarsi, ix, p. 1581.
[3] Swete, *Intr. to O. T. in Greek*, p. 131, and *O. T. in Greek*, ii, p. 780.
[4] *Lib. V. T. Can. Gr.* i, 1883.
[5] *Tüb. Theol. Quart.* 1860, pp. 244 ff.

from the Hebrew. But there are too many correspondences between the two types of text, especially in the Additions, for this theory to be possible.[1]

§ 3. The Ancient Versions.

No Syriac version of Esther is known ; the book is altogether absent from the Nestorian MSS.[2] Paton[3] writes that the Coptic versions, which would presumably give a Hesychian type of text, have never been published, while the Ethiopic version, fourteen MSS. of which are known to contain the Book of Esther, is equally inaccessible. An Armenian version of Esther also exists, but in too corrupt a form to be of any service.

The only ancient versions extant and available are the Old Latin and the Vulgate.

(1) The Old Latin belongs to the middle of the second century, and is a useful witness to the LXX text as it existed before the time of the three recensions. It is the work of one who, though not a good Greek scholar, made a faithful effort to translate the Greek original, and where he failed to understand the Greek, as in the case of the two edicts, reproduced it word for word in Latin. This makes it possible in many cases to reconstruct with comparative certainty the Greek text which lay in front of him.[4] The Old Latin version contained all the six Additions (except A 12–17), together with certain others peculiar to it, e.g. after B 7, in C 14, a very long addition in C 16, after C 30, in D 7. On the other hand it omits A 12–17, and (in Cod. Pechianus) C 17–23.

(2) The Vulgate was undertaken by St. Jerome at the request of Pope Damasus, and was produced between A.D. 390 and 405. He devoted himself particularly to the books which belonged to the Hebrew Canon, and paid less attention to those which were only known through the LXX.

In the case of Esther, he gathered all the non-Hebraic additions together, and placed them somewhat contemptuously at the end of his translation of the canonical book. In the *Prol. in Esth.* he writes : 'Quae habentur in Hebraeo, plena fide expressi. Haec autem quae sequuntur scripta repperi in editione vulgata quae Graecorum lingua et litteris continetur, et interim post finem libri hoc capitulum ferebatur, quod iuxta consuetudinem nostram obelo, id est veru, praenotavimus.'

Jerome's translation differs very largely from the Old Latin, the former being as free as the latter is slavishly literal. Very often he is content to give only the general sense of the Greek, and his work is more like an original Latin composition than a translation.[5]

§ 4. Date of the Additions.

The Additions belong to that mass of floating legendary material which in the course of years gathered around the name of Esther.

It is impossible to assign a single date to them, as they are written in different styles, and may be the work of different authors, some of the additions (e.g. A C D F) having probably grown up gradually and assumed their present shape after an existence of some years in an oral tradition.

The two edicts (B and E), on the other hand, are of a quite different character from the four already mentioned which have strong Hebraic affinities : B and E belong undoubtedly to Egypt, and their periodic style shows that they could have originated in no other way than as formal written compositions. They show considerable resemblance to 2 Macc., which clearly emanated from Egypt (cf. B 5 *πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθίας τυγχάνειν* with 2 Macc. xiv. 6 *οὐκ ἐῶντες τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν*) ; but although the place of origin is clear, the date (in so far as internal evidence is concerned) is in both cases equally indeterminate.

No conclusion, again, as to the lateness of A and F is to be drawn from the failure of Josephus to employ them. It is quite as likely that they did not suit his purpose as that they were absent from the MS. he employed or from all the MSS. of that period.

The present writer is not satisfied with the arguments of Jacob against the validity of the post-script in Esther xi. 1 : 'In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and a Levite, and Ptolemaeus his son, brought the Epistle of Phrurai here set forth, which they said was true, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemaeus, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it.' Jacob's objection is based on the assumed impossibility of a translation with so many clearly marked examples of Egyptian vocabulary[6] having been made in Palestine ; but he

[1] See Paton, *Esther*, pp. 37, 38 ; Fuller, p. 365 ; André, p. 207. A very full statement concerning the MSS. may be found in Paton, *Esther*, pp. 29–38.
[2] André, *Les Apocryphes*, p. 207.
[3] *Esther*, pp. 36, 37.
[4] Cf. Jacob, *Das Buch Esther*, Giessen, 1890, pp. 13–22.
[5] Cf. André, *Les Apocryphes*, p. 208.
[6] Cf. Jacob, *Das Buch Esther*, p. 51, (*ἐν*)*θρονίζεσθαι*, *ἐκτιθέναι*, *καταχωρίζειν*, *ἀρχισωματοφύλακες*, *διαγράφειν*.

ignores the assertion of Dositheus and Ptolemy who brought it to Egypt, that it was made by Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, whose very name proclaims him to have been connected with Egypt, even if a temporary resident at Jerusalem. The postscript may be regarded as reasonably trustworthy, and various inferences may be drawn from it.

(1) It was appended to the translation of the canonical Esther immediately on its introduction into Egypt.

(2) That date was 114 B.C.[1]

(3) The postscript refers so definitely to the *translation* of Esther, that it cannot be held to cover the Additions, which were not translations.

(4) Some time must have passed between 114 B.C., the date of the introduction of the translation into Egypt, and the incorporation therewith of unauthentic matter. Its sacredness would have protected it from formal alterations for at least a quarter of a century.

(5) The most probable date then for the incorporation of the Additions would be from about 80 B.C. onwards, the *terminus ad quem* being about A.D. 90, the date of their employment by Josephus.

If the postscript is rejected (as by Jacob followed by Ryssel), the dating of the Additions is rendered even more indefinite. Jacob can only name one certainty with regard to date derivable from the Greek form of canonical Esther, i.e. that it must have been made at some time long or short before the destruction of the Ptolemaic régime in 30 B.C.[2] He also argues that Esther must have been one of the earliest of the Old Testament books to have been translated into Greek after Kings, Chronicles, and Job, which Freudenthal has shown were translated about 150 B.C.;[3] but Jacob's argument is mere hypothesis, however reasonable. Apart from the postscript, we are left without any means of dating the Additions more closely than between about 125 B.C. and A.D. 90.

§ 5. Authorship.

The Additions are not a homogeneous whole, and are bound together by no community of style. This does not prevent them from being the work of one hand; for an even greater dissimilarity exists between the earlier and later chapters of the Book of Wisdom.

But there is no evidence of any kind to show whether the Additions were all composed at the same time, or were all intercalated at the same time. All that can be said is that the Additions originated among the Egyptian Hellenistic Jews, and that they are based on familiar legendary materials.

In view of the more Hebraic tone of A C D F and their simple narrative style, as contrasted with the Greek tone and self-conscious rhetoric of B and E, it is not unnatural to view the former as the written form of a tradition long known and finally reduced into its present shape by dint of frequent repetition, and to regard the latter as having originated with a single individual. It is hardly likely that the agent in the two cases was one and the same.

§ 6. Influence on Later Literature.

(*a*) *Jewish.* The direct influence of the Additions is to be seen in Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 6. He draws upon Adds. B C D E, following them closely and yet employing them with by no means a slavish dependence. He introduces a few details not found in the Additions, which were either his own invention or copied from embellishments in the MS. he used. He makes no reference to the Dream of Mordecai (Add. A) or its interpretation (Add. F); he alters the time of the conspiracy of the eunuchs, and relates that the services rendered by Mordecai were forgotten, whereas the Additions say that he was rewarded. Josephus gives the reason adduced in Esther iii. 5 for Haman's hatred of Mordecai, and not that given in the Additions. He introduces new features into the Prayers of Esther and Mordecai, and into the account of Esther's appearance before the king. Similarly, he deviates from the exact language of the Greek in the Royal Edicts.

But the dependence of Josephus on the Additions is in the main beyond doubt.

The so-called second Targum gives a very free reproduction of the Edict in Addition E. This Targum dates from about A.D. 800.[4]

The Prayers of Mordecai and Esther were used by Josephus ben-Gorion in his history composed about the beginning of the tenth century.[5]

From this work has been borrowed the abbreviated form of the same prayers in *Midrash Esther*

[1] Jacob, *Das Buch Esther*, p. 43.
[2] Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 52.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 53.
[4] Targum Sheni on Esther, viii. 13, quoted by Fuller, p. 400.
[5] Ed. Breithaupt, Gotha, 1707, ii, pp. 72–84.

Rabba (cent. xi, xii), and also the Prayer of Esther in *Midrash Lekach Tob* (*c.* 1100). It is also the source of the Prayers of Esther and Mordecai which are found in an Aramaic fragment of cent. xi or xii.[1] This fragment, which was claimed by Langen[2] as a witness to a Hebrew original of the Additions, is now clearly recognized by Bissell[3] and Fuller (p. 364) as being derived, through Josephus ben-G., from the Greek Additions. Fuller quotes the Prayer of Mordecai in this version, p. 385, and that of Esther, p. 391.

(*b*) *Christian.* The Additions are occasionally mentioned in the Fathers, but they can hardly be said to have exercised any influence. Clement of Rome (ch. lv) makes a reference to the Prayer of Esther, ἠξίωσεν τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, cp. Add. D 2 ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην Θεόν; while Origen writes (*ad Africanum* 3): 'From the Book of Esther neither the Prayer of Mordecai nor that of Esther is accepted among the Hebrews; and similarly neither the Edict of Haman for the destruction of the Jews nor that of Mordecai.'

Nevertheless, he held these Additions 'to be fitted to edify the reader', and he regarded their absence from the Hebrew Canon as no reason for 'rejecting as spurious the copies in use in the Christian Churches', or for 'enjoining the Brotherhood to put away the sacred copies in use among them'. References to the Additions are found in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 19; Rufin. *Apol.* ii. 33; Aug. (cf. Sab. *Bibl. Sacr. lat. vers. ant.*) *Contr. Epist. ii Pelag.*, col. 428; *l. de grat. et lib. arb.*, col. 741.

§ 7. Theology of the Additions.

The theology of the Additions is strictly conservative and Palestinian in type. It stands in the same category with that of Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxxiii (xxxvi), xlii, xliii, the Prayer of Daniel (Dan. ix), and the Prayer of Judith (Judith ix).

The absence of all trace of Alexandrine doctrine can only be accounted for on the assumption that the Additions took their rise in a pious and simple-minded stratum of orthodox Egyptian Judaism, or else were based on legendary material belonging to Palestine which had nearly crystallized into the shape we know when it was carried in an oral form to Egypt. The truth probably lies somewhere between these alternatives.

The points which find illustration in the Additions are:—

God as Creator, C 3; as omniscient, C 5, 26, 27, D 2; as supreme, C 2, 4, 23, 30, E 16, 18; as the only true God, C 14; as the God of Abraham, C 8, 29, and of Israel, C 14; as having chosen Israel, C 9, 16, E 21; as the Redeemer from Egypt, C 9; His disposing Providence, D 8, E 16, F 1, 7; His readiness to hear prayer, F 6, 9; and to help the needy in trouble, C 14, 24, 30; His holiness, C 17; His righteousness, C 18; His jealousy of His honour, C 7, 8, 20, 22, 28, 29; His punishment of sin, C 17, 22, E 18; His mercy and pity, C 10.

There is no mention of the Law or of a future life; the temple and the altar are only mentioned metaphorically (D 20). There is one reference to angels (D 13).

§ 8. Bibliography.

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(i) *Reproductions.*

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(*b*) The Ancient Versions.

(i) *The Old Latin.*

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[2] *Deuterokanon. Stücke im Buche Esther*, Freiburg, 1862.

[3] *Apocr. O. T.* 1880, p. 202.

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THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER

ADDITION A.

The Dream of Mordecai.

1 (xi) (2) In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great king, on the first day of Nisa, Mardocheus the son of Jairus, the son of Semeias, the son of Kiseus, of the tribe of Benjamin, saw a dream.

(3) 3(4) *He was* a Jew, dwelling in the city of Susa, a great man, serving in the king's court; and he was of the captivity, which Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon carried from Jerusalem with Jechonias, the king of Judaea.

4 (5) And this *was* his dream; and behold noise and tumult, thunderings and earthquake, confusion upon the earth.

5 (6) And, behold, two great dragons came forth, both of them ready to fight, and their cry was great.

6 (7) And at their cry every nation made itself ready for war, to make war upon a nation of righteous men.

7 (8) And behold a day of darkness and of gloom; tribulation and anguish; affliction and great confusion upon the earth.

8 (9) And the whole righteous nation was troubled, fearing the evils that threatened them, and they made ready to perish.

ADDITION A, *vv.* 1–11. *The Dream of Mordecai.* Addition A consists of 17 *vv.*, and in the LXX is placed at the beginning of the canonical Book. These *vv.* are numbered in Vulg. xi. 2–xii. 6. By an easily explained process of inversion, it follows Add. F in Vulg., which thus places the interpretation of the dream before the dream itself.

In Vulg. this Add. is separated from Esther xi. 1 by the following note: 'Hoc quoque principium erat in editione Vulgata, quod nec in Hebraeo, nec apud ullum fertur interpretum.' Josephus shows no acquaintance with any part of this Addition.

1. **In the second year.** There is a discrepancy between the dates as given in canon. Esther and in the Additions. In Esther i. 3 the king's feast occurs in the third year of his reign, and in Esther ii. 16, 19 Esther entered the palace and Mordecai sat at the gate in the seventh. But here the dream is seen in the second year. Ryssel (Kautzsch, p. 193) makes an elaborate attempt to reconcile the discordant dates, but it is better to acknowledge the difficulty than to try to explain it away.

Artaxerxes. For the identity of this king with Xerxes I (486–465 B.C.) see Paton, *Esther*, Intr., § 22. In canon. Esther LXX renders Ahasuerus by Artaxerxes, but Persian monuments make it plain that Ahasuerus represents *Khshayarsha*, the Persian form of the name Xerxes. Uncial texts of the Adds. give *Artaxerxes*, though some of the later Lucianic recensions correct to *Assuerus*.

the great king, the customary title of the Persian king. Cf. Isa. xxxvi. 4, 13. So Add. B 1, E 1, though > βασιλέως ℵ A.

first day of Nisa. Vulg. *Nisan*, the Heb. form of the Bab. *Nisannu*, which after the exile replaced the old Isr. name Abib. This month corresponds to March–April. Lucianic texts give the name according to Macedonian reckoning, 'Adar-Nisan, which is Dystrus Xanthicus.'

Mardocheus, the Gr. form of Mordecai. His genealogy is borrowed from canon. Esther ii. 5. Shimei and Kish are doubtless not his grandfather and great-grandfather, but remote ancestors belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. For Shimei cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 5 ff., and for Kish, father of Saul, cf. 1 Sam. ix. 1, xiv. 51. See Paton, *Est.* p. 167.

of the tribe of Benjamin. Mordecai was thus, as a member of the family of Saul, the hereditary enemy of Haman, who was of the house of Agag, whom Saul destroyed (1 Sam. xv).

2. **a Jew.** Mordecai, though a Benjamite, may be classed as a Jew, because during the exile men of all tribes came to be known as Judaeans. After the fall of Israel, Judah had given its name to the nation.

city of Susa. One of the three capitals of the Persian empire, on the river Choaspes, which separated the city of Susa from the fortress of Susa.

serving, see Esther ii. 19, vi. 10. Vulg. 'inter primos aulae regiae'.

3. **of the captivity**, cf. Esther ii. 6; 2 Kings xxiv. 15. He was not himself a captive, but was sprung from an exiled family.

Jechonias (Jehoiachin) was carried away in B.C. 596, and therefore it is a chronological impossibility for Mordecai to have been himself one of those deported from Judaea.

4. **his dream.** For the interpretation see Add. F.

noise and tumult. φωναὶ θορύβου A.

confusion. καὶ τάραχος ℵ$^{c.a}$ A.

5. **came forth.** προσῆλθον A.

their cry. ἐγένοντο αὐτῶν φωναὶ μεγάλαι A.

6. **made itself ready.** For a similar concourse cf. Joel iii. 2, Zech. xiv. 2.

righteous men. A conventional epithet for the people of God, cf. Wisd. x. 15, 'A holy people and a blameless seed,' and xvii. 2. The enemies of Israel were similarly ἀσεβεῖς, ἄνομοι.

7. **gloom.** Vulg. *discriminis.* For the idea cf. Joel ii. 2; Matt. xxiv. 29.

8. **that threatened them.** Gr. τὰ ἑαυτῶν κακά.

9 (10) And they cried unto God; and from their cry, as it were from a small spring, there came up a great river, *even* much water.
10 (11) A light and the sun rose, and the humble were exalted and consumed the glorious.
11 (12) And Mardocheus, having seen this dream and *observed* what God had determined to do, awoke and kept it in his heart, and sought by all means to understand it until the night.

Mordecai discovers the plot of the two eunuchs.

12(xii)(1) And Mardocheus took his rest, as was his custom, in the court with Gabatha and Tharra, the two eunuchs of the king who kept the court.
13 (2) And he heard their communings, and searched out their counsels, and learned that they were preparing to lay hands upon Artaxerxes the king; and he informed the king concerning them.
14 (3) And the king examined the two eunuchs, and they confessed *their intention* and were led forth and executed.
15 (4) And the king wrote these things for a memorial, and Mardocheus wrote concerning these things.
16 (5) And the king charged Mardocheus to serve in the court, and gave him gifts in respect of these things.
17 (6) And Haman, the son of Hamadathus, a †Bugaean†, was in honour in the king's sight, and sought to bring evil upon Mardocheus and his people because of the two eunuchs of the king.

9. **cried unto God.** The name of God is not present in canon. Esther. The Additions offer a strong contrast in this respect, 'God' and 'Lord' appearing forty-two times.
from their cry. Mingled, i.e., with their tears.
10. **light and the sun.** For these as pictures of happiness cf. Wisd. v. 6.
the humble. The Old Lat. has *humiles*, but Lucianic MSS. have οἱ ποταμοί by a copyist's error.
the glorious. The adj. is plural, but Haman is specially thought of. Cf. A 17: 'Haman . . . was in honour in the king's sight.'
11. **having seen.** ὁ ἑωρακώς ℵ A.
had determined. βουλεύεται A.
kept it. Cf. Luke ii. 19.
until the night. > Vulg. There is nothing in the Adds. to suggest that the conspiracy of the eunuchs did not follow immediately upon the dream of Mordecai. But canon. Esther places the former in the seventh year of the king's reign. The Luc. texts endeavour to harmonize the accounts by reading: 'And M. being raised from his sleep pondered what the dream might be, and his dream was hidden in his heart, and at every opportunity he was searching it out, until the day in which M. slept in the king's court.'

ADDITION A, *vv.* 12–17. *Mordecai discovers the plot of the two eunuchs.* This piece (cf. Esther ii. 21–23) which forms part of Add. A is omitted by Old Lat. Josephus depends on LXX for his account of the plot.
12. **as was his custom.** ἡσύχαζεν ℵ$^{c\cdot a}$. Mordecai's circumstances were still humble. Cf. Esther ii. 19–21.
Gabatha. The names of the eunuchs are borrowed from Esther ii. 21, vi. 2, though the names are given by LXX only in ℵ$^{\cdot a\ mg}$. For *Gabatha* (Bigthan, Bigthana, Heb.) Vulg. has 'Bagatha', and Jos. Βαγάθωος.
Tharra (Teresh, Hebr.). Θάρα ℵ*, Θάρρας ℵ$^{c\cdot a}$, Θεοδόσιτος Jos., 'Thara' Vulg.
13. **counsels,** lit. *anxieties*, concerning the success of the plot.
informed the king. In Esther ii. 22 he informed Esther.
concerning them. *Super eo* Vulg.
14. **led forth.** Complut. has the curious ἀπήγχθησαν (*were strangled*). 'iussit duci ad mortem' Vulg.
15. **for a memorial.** In the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia (Esther x. 2).
16. **charged Mardocheus to serve.** In canon. Esther no recompense is made to Mordecai. His deed is embalmed and forgotten in the royal chronicles. Cf. Esther ii. 23, vi. 2, 3. In the Adds. his reward is service in the king's court, an advancement from a merely tolerated presence there.
in respect of these things. περὶ τούτων, i.e. not on account of the eunuchs, but in return for services rendered (*pro delatione*, Vulg.).
17. **And Haman.** It is not easy to see how much is implied by *and*. The mention of Haman follows in the Adds. immediately on the discovery of the plot, and suggests that the grudge borne by Haman (who was already in high favour) against Mordecai was in some way due to the action which M. had taken and which had led to their death. Canon. Esther iii. 1, on the other hand, states that 'after these things' the king exalted Haman, as though H. received credit for the discovery of the plot. Haupt (*Purim*, p. 37) suggests that instead of telling the queen (Esther ii. 22) M. had revealed the plot to Haman, who had taken to himself the credit of saving the king. This would explain the advancement of Haman, and M.'s refusal to bow before him. But Haupt's suggestion is too subtle: the reason is probably to be found in H.'s jealousy of a successful underling, whose vigilance might one day be directed against himself.
a †Bugaean†. Undoubtedly a corrupt reading, though found also in Esther iii. 1 and ix. 10 LXX.
Whatever the epithet may mean, it is derived from the LXX rendering of Esther iii. 1 (Heb. האגגי, Vulg. 'qui erat de stirpe Agag'), which prompted its gratuitous introduction into ix. 10 LXX. It is obvious that the LXX version of Esther iii. 1 was earlier than the composition of any of the Additions, and therefore that Βουγαῖος did not originate with their author. It should be noted that in Esther ix. 24 the Heb. text is as in Esther iii. 1, but is there rendered by LXX ὁ Μακεδών (Vulg. 'stirpis Agag'): this rendering is borrowed by the author of Addition E (*v.* 10).
What then does Βουγαῖος mean? Is it a false transliteration for what should have been Ἀγαγαῖος (cp. Γωγαῖος 93 *a*), or has it a meaning of its own?
There is no reasonable ground for identifying the word with the Homeric *bully*, or *braggart* (*Il.* xiii. 824), nor can

ADDITION B.

The Letter of Artaxerxes.

1 (xiii) (1) Now the copy of the letter is as follows. The great king Artaxerxes writeth these things to the princes of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces from India to Ethiopia, and to the subordinate governors.

2 (2) Having become lord of many nations and attained dominion over the whole world, not *as though I am* elated with the presumption of power, but as one who ever rule my life with moderation and mildness, I desire to establish the lives of my subjects in a lasting tranquillity, and, making my kingdom peaceable and safe for passage to its *furthest* bounds, to restore that peace which is desired of all men.

3 (3) But having made inquiry of my advisers how this might be brought to pass, Haman, who excels in prudence among us, and is approved for his unswerving goodwill and firm faithfulness and is

4 (4) exalted to the second place in the kingdom, has shown us that among all the nations in the world there is scattered a certain evilly-disposed people, which sets itself in opposition to every nation by its laws, and which habitually neglects the ordinances of the kings, so that the consolidation of the kingdom honourably intended by us cannot be brought about.

5 (5) Having understood therefore that this nation stands alone in opposition to all men continually,

it be regarded as a Grecized form of Bagoas (Judith xii. 11). Its presence here is due to a mistake which first occurred in Esther iii. 1, either in the original transliteration from the Hebrew, or in subsequent MS. transcription. What was originally a piece of inadvertence was confirmed into an error by a copyist who did not see in the expression a reference to the predestined antipathy between Mordecai of the family of Saul, and Haman of the family of Agag (cf. 1 Sam. xv). Amalek was Israel's most ancient enemy. Γωγαῖος of 93 *a* and Μακεδών (Esther ix. 24 LXX) bring out the idea better than Βουγαῖος, even if incorrectly.

For **Haman, the son of Hamadathus,** see Paton, *Est.* p. 69.

because of the two eunuchs. Luc. texts have *ὑπὲρ τοῦ λελαληκέναι αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῶν εὐνούχων διότι ἀνῃρέθησαν.*

ADDITION B. *The Letter of Artaxerxes.* Addition B (xiii. 1–7) is preceded in Vulg. by Add. A, being separated from it by the following note: 'Hucusque prooemium. Quae sequuntur, in eo loco posita erant ubi scriptum est in uolumine *Et diripuerunt bona, uel substantias eorum*, quae in sola Vulgata editione reperimus, *Epistolae autem hoc . . .*'

The place of Add. B in LXX is between Esther iii. 13 and Esther iii. 14. Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 6. 6) has made copious use of this Add.

Its Greek provenance is betrayed by its turgid style, which is altogether foreign to other Persian decrees to be found in the Bible (Ezra i. 2–4, iv. 18–22, vi. 3–12, vii. 11–26). The same trait appears in Add. F, both these rescripts being of Graeco-Egyptian composition.

1. **The great king,** cf. A. 1. Cf. the inscription on the rock of Behistun, 'the great king, the king of kings.'

one hundred and twenty-seven provinces. This number is drawn from Esther i. 1, viii. 9, and may reasonably be regarded as symbolic and indicating (12 × 10 + 7) the universal dominion of Xerxes.

If, on the other hand, it is treated as historical, we are reminded of Dan. vi. 1, which tells how Darius appointed satraps over 120 provinces, and the suggestion is that the kingdom of Xerxes was greater even than that of Darius. According to Herodotus (iii. 89) there were only twenty satrapies in the kingdom of Darius, or, according to his own inscriptions, twenty-nine; hence, *provinces* (Hebr. *medinah*) would refer to subdivisions of satrapies corresponding to racial groupings. Paton, *Est.* p. 124, mentions that in Ezra ii. 1 the 'province' means no more than Judaea, which was only a part of the great satrapy of Trans-Euphrates (Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus).

India. Not modern India, but its north-west portion which is watered by the Indus. For the conquest of India by Darius see Hdt. iii. 94–106.

Ethiopia. The modern Nubia. Hdt. iii. 97 relates the subjection of Ethiopia by Cambyses.

India to Ethiopia is borrowed from Esther i. 1, viii. 9 LXX (cf. Dan. iii. 1 LXX), the former representing Hebr. *Hôddû* and the latter rightly *Kush.*

2. **I desire,** lit. *I desired*, in the epistolary manner.

and, making . . . furthest bounds. > Vulg. There is a slight anacoluthon here, which is removed if for *παρεξόμενος* we read *παρασχεῖν.*

peaceable. For *ἥμερον*, lit. *tame*, i.e. through building cities and roads, A and many cursives read *ἤρεμον.*

3. **my advisers.** Cf. Esther i. 13–15.

among us, i.e. at our court.

unswerving. Reading with Complut. *ἀπαραλλάκτῳ* for *-ως* B ℵ A.

second place in the kingdom, i.e. next after the king. Cf. Dan. v. 7. But Haman is not named among the counsellors of the king in Esther i. 14. There is something to be said for Fritzsche's *βασιλείων* ℵ B instead of Swete's *βασιλειῶν.* The latter is what we should expect, but in Esther i. 10 LXX Haman is called one of the seven eunuchs that ministered to the king. However, 'the second place in the palace' is a comparatively inferior position.

4. **evilly-disposed people.** Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6. 5; Esther iii. 8.

in opposition. *ἀντίθετον* B, *ἀντίτυπον* ℵ A.

ordinances. *προστάγματα* B, *διατάγματα* B^{ab} (*δια-* over an erasure) ℵ A.

be brought about. *κατατίθεσθαι.* Fritzsche's *καθίστασθαι* is hardly necessary.

5. **in opposition.** *ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ*, a military metaphor, lit. *lies in hostile formation against.* Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 20.

observing perversely an alien manner of life in respect of its laws and being ill-affected towards our
6 (6) government, working all the damage it can that our kingdom may not attain to security, we have decreed accordingly that they that are indicated to you in the letters of Haman, who is set over our affairs and *is* our second father, be all with wives and children destroyed root and branch by the sword of their enemies without pity or mercy, on the †fourteenth† *day* of the twelfth month Adar in
7 (7) the present year; that they who in days past and *even* now are malicious may in one day go down violently into Hades, and may henceforth leave our state secure and unthreatened.

ADDITION C.

The Prayer of Mordecai.

1 (xiii) (8) And *Mardocheus* besought the Lord, calling to remembrance all the works of the Lord, and said,
2 (9) 'Lord, Lord, King that rulest over all, for in Thy power is the whole world, and there is none that
3 (10) gainsayeth Thee when Thou willest to save Israel: for Thou didst make heaven and earth, and
4 (11) every wondrous thing beneath the heaven; and Thou art Lord of all, and there is not *one* that shall resist Thee, the Lord.
5 (12) 'Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest, Lord, that it was not in insolence or in pride or in vainglory that I did this, *to wit*, that I did not bow before proud Haman.

observing perversely. παραλλάσσον, by a solecistic use. This seems to make ξενίζουσαν superfluous; accordingly Fritzsche suggests παραφυλάσσον, but Jos. supports the text. παράλλαξιν $\aleph^{c.a}$ A.

manner . . . laws, i. e. the Mosaic law. νόμων is very loosely joined to διαγωγήν.

that our kingdom. συντελοῦν κακὰ καὶ πρός. I omit καί which has crept in through dittography. $\aleph^*$ points in this direction.

6. **accordingly.** > οὖν $\aleph^{c.a}$.

set over our affairs. Vulg. renders 'qui omnibus prouinciis praepositus est, et secundus a rege'. Cf. Dan. v. 7.

our second father. Vulg. has 'quem patris loco colimus'. Cf. Add. E 11. The expression reflects the king's regard for Haman (cf. Esther vi. 11) rather than Haman's solicitude for the welfare of the king. Cf. 1 Macc. xi. 32, 'Demetrius the king to Lasthenes his father, greeting.'

be . . . destroyed. ἀπολέσαι B $\aleph$ A, *deleantur* Vulg. In some ways ἀπολέσθαι would be smoother, as the subject of ἀπολέσαι is not named.

sword of their enemies. ἐθνῶν μάχαις A can hardly be intentional.

on the †fourteenth† day. This should no doubt be *thirteenth*; cf. Esther iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 1, E 20. The error is due to a confusion between the day fixed for the massacre and the day fixed for the commemorative festival; cf. Esther ix. 16–19. No very careful attempt was originally made to remove discrepancies between the canonical book and the Additions.

Adar. Luc. texts have the Macedonian 'Dystri'.

7. **our state.** πράγματα B $\aleph$ rightly, but A, recalling *v.* 4, has προστάγματα. After πρ. Old Lat. has (cf. E 24) 'qui autem celebrauerit gentes Iudaeorum inhabitabilis non solum inter homines sed nec inter aves; et igni sancto comburetur et substantia eius in regnum conferetur. Vale.'

ADDITION C. *The Prayer of Mordecai, vv.* 1–11. Add. C follows Esther iv. 17 in LXX, and immediately precedes Add. D. In Vulg. it is numbered xiii. 8–xiv. 19. It is separated from xiii. 7, which forms the conclusion of Add. B, by the following words: 'Hucusque exemplar epistolae. Quae sequuntur, post eum locum scripta reperi, ubi legitur: *Pergensque Mardochaeus fecit omnia quae ei mandauerat Esther.* Nec tamen habentur in Hebraico, et apud nullum penitus feruntur interpretum.'

Josephus makes free use of Add. C in *Ant.* xi. 6. 8.

1. $\aleph^{c.a}$ A read Μαρδοχαῖος ἐδεήθη.

2. **Lord, Lord.** κύριε θε κύριε A.

for in Thy power. This clause introduced by ὅτι establishes the assertion of the Divine Sovereignty.

the whole world. For τὸ πᾶν, *the universe*, cf. Sir. xlii. 17, xliii. 27, and Plat. *Tim.* 28 C, *Crat.* 436 E. Heaven and earth are specified in next *v.* as the chief constituents of τὸ πᾶν. Cf. Isa. xlv. 18.

that gainsayeth Thee. For ἀντιδοξεῖν, a late Gr. word, cf. ἀντοφθαλμεῖν, Wisd. xii. 14, 'Neither king nor tyrant shall be able to gainsay Thee in Thy punishments.'

when Thou willest. ἐν τῷ θέλειν, *si decreueris* Vulg.

4. **And Thou.** > καί A.

shall resist. Cf. Wisd. xii. 12, 'Who shall say "What hast Thou done?" or who shall resist Thy judgement?'

5. **that it was . . . Haman.** > Old Lat.

not in insolence. Mordecai disclaims any personal prejudice against Haman as the reason for his refusal, and in *v.* 7 puts forward a reason savouring strongly of the morbid scrupulosity of later Judaism. Any reason which would have been valid in the case of Haman, the king's representative, would have been valid also when M. appeared before the king, and yet not only did M. have to bow to the king, when he became vizier, but he must have himself received the homage of the people (Esther viii. 15). Ezra and Nehemiah appear to have observed the court regulations without protest.

Various conjectures as to the ground for M.'s refusal are noted by Paton, *Est.* pp. 196, 197. The reason is not given in canon. Esther, and that given here is purely imaginary.

6 (13) 'For I had been content to kiss the soles of his feet for the salvation of Israel.
7 (14) 'But I did this that I might not set the glory of a man above the glory of God: and I will bow before none save before Thee, my Lord, and I will not do it in pride.
8 (15) 'And now, Lord, God *and* King, the God of Abraham, spare Thy people; for the eyes *of our enemies* are against us to consume us, and they seek to destroy the heritage that is Thine from the beginning.
9 (16) 'Despise not Thy portion which Thou didst redeem unto Thyself out of the land of Egypt.
10 (17) Hearken to my prayer, and be gracious unto Thine heritage; and turn our mourning into feasting, that we may live and sing Thy Name, O Lord; and destroy not the mouth of them that praise Thee.'
11 (18) And all Israel cried out with their might, for their death was before their eyes.

The Prayer of Esther.

12(xiv)(1) And Esther, the queen, fled *in prayer* unto the Lord, being seized with an agony of death. And
13 (2) taking off her glorious raiment, she put on garments of anguish and mourning; and instead of the choice ointments, she covered her head with ashes and dung, and she humbled her body *with* much
14 (3) *fasting*, and every place of the ornament of her joy she filled with her tangled hair. And she besought the Lord God of Israel and said, 'My Lord, our King, Thou art *God* alone; help me who
15 (4) stand alone, and have no helper save Thee: for my danger is in my hand.
16 (5) 'I have heard ever since I was born in the tribe of my family that Thou, Lord, didst take Israel out of all the nations, and our fathers from their progenitors, for an everlasting inheritance, and that Thou didst for them all that Thou didst promise.

6. Mordecai acknowledges that his attitude towards Haman has brought this calamity on his people.
to kiss the soles. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 5. 32, a token of homage apparently reserved for kings. Cf. Isa. xlix. 23, 'lick the dust of thy feet.'
7. **the glory of a man.** Ryssel quotes Dan. iii. 18; 2 Macc. vii. 2.
will not do it, i.e. will refuse to give homage to Haman.
8. **God and.** > ὁ θεός ℵ A Vulg.
eyes . . . are against us. ἐπιβλέπουσιν. Cf. Lat. *in-videre.*
heritage. For κληρονομία in the sense of God's special possession of Israel cf. Ps. xxviii. 9, xciv. 5.
9. **Thy portion.** For μερίς cf. Sir. xvii. 18. These words seem to be a reminiscence of Deut. ix. 26 LXX μὴ ἐξολεθρεύσῃς . . . τὴν μερίδα σου ἣν ἐλυτρώσω . . . ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.
10. **heritage.** For κλῆρος cf. Deut. ix. 29; 'sorti et funiculo tuo' Vulg.
mourning into feasting. Cf. Isa. lxi. 3, and for εὐωχία 3 Macc. vi. 30.
destroy not. μὴ ἀφανίσῃς, lit. 'blot not out'; Vulg. suggests the idea of the cessation of spoken praise and renders freely, 'ne claudas ora te canentium.' It is the living who praise God, cf. Isa. xxxviii. 19. For στόμα B, τὸ στ. A, ℵ* has τὸ αἷμα, which is impossible, but ℵ^c·a corrects to στόμα.
11. **all Israel.** With this *v.* cf. Esther iv. 16.
with their might. ἐξ ἰσχύος αὐτῶν. Cf. Dan. iii. 4, iv. 11, ἐν ἰσχύι, and Isa. xlii. 13. Vulg. has 'pari mente et obsecratione'.
vv. 12–30. *The Prayer of Esther.*
12. **fled.** Cf. Ps. cxx. 1.
an agony. For ἐν ἀγῶνι some cursives have ἀγωνίᾳ. Cf. Luke xxii. 44. Esther's condition was one of great perplexity; she was beset on one side by the stringent rules of the court etiquette, and on the other by her patriotism and the outspoken insistency of Mordecai (Esther iv. 13, 14).
13. **taking off.** Cf. Jonah iii. 6.
glorious raiment, including the διάδημα (Esther i. 11, ii. 17). Cf. Ps. xlv. 14; Isa. iii. 18 ff.
garments of anguish. Cf. Judith viii. 5. Sackcloth is no doubt intended.
ointments. As symbols of joy. Cf. Ps. xlv. 8, cxxxiii. 2; Isa. lxi. 3.
covered her head. κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ℵ A. Cf. Judith ix. 1.
humbled her body. σῶμα αὐτῆς ℵ A. Cf. 'to afflict the soul with fasting', Lev. xvi. 29; Ps. xxxv. 13.
every place. It would be most natural to interpret this of her apartments, but as the entire passage refers to the disfigurement of Esther's person, it must mean that her torn hair fell over the sackcloth she was clothed in.
14. **And . . . Israel.** Old Lat. substitutes 'and she fell upon the earth with her maidens from morning until evening'.
My Lord. κύριε ὁ θς μου A. Cf. *v.* 2.
My Lord . . . alone. Old Lat. substitutes 'Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Iacob, benedictus es'.
Thou art God alone, following Swete's punctuation, lit. 'Thou alone hast being'. Cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 10. R.V. has 'Thou only art our King'. But this does not bring out the idea of God's absolute sovereignty so well. Note the Gr. σὺ εἶ μόνος· βοήθησόν μοι τῇ μόνῃ.
15. ἐν τῇ χειρί μου A.
16. **I have heard.** Cf. Deut. xxxii. 7; Ps. xliv. 1.
didst take Israel. Cf. Deut. iv. 20, 34, xxvi. 5; Joshua xxiv. 3.
progenitors. So R.V. for προγόνων, better than A.V. *predecessors.*
inheritance. Deut. xxxii. 9.
didst promise. A inserts αὐτοῖς.
For *vv.* 16–23 (ὅτι σύ . . . θλίψεως ἡμῶν) Old Lat. has 'quoniam Noe in aqua diluvii conservasti. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Abrahae in trecentis et decem octo viris novem reges tradidisti. Ego audivi

17 (6) 'And now we have sinned before Thee, and Thou hast delivered us into the hands of our enemies,
18 (7) because we have given glory to their gods. Righteous art Thou, O Lord.
19 (8) 'And now they have not been satisfied with the bitterness of our captivity, but they have laid
20 (9) their hands ⟨in the hands of their idols⟩, to remove the ordinance of Thy mouth, and to destroy Thine inheritance, and to stop the mouth of them that praise Thee, and to quench the glory of Thy
21 (10) house, and Thy altar, and to open the mouth of the nations to give praise to vain *idols*, and that a king of flesh should be magnified for ever.'
22 (11) 'Surrender not, O Lord, Thy sceptre unto them that be not *gods*; and let not them *that are our enemies* mock at our fall; but turn their counsel against themselves, and make an example of him that began *to do this* against us.
23 (12) 'Remember ⟨us⟩, O Lord; make Thyself known *to us* in the time of our tribulation, and give me courage, O King of the gods and Lord over all dominion.
24 (13) 'Put eloquent speech into my mouth before the lion; and turn his heart to hatred of him that fighteth against us, that there may be an end of him and of them that are likeminded with him.
25 (14) 'But save us by Thy hand, and help me who *stand* alone, and have none save Thee, O Lord.

in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Ionam de ventre ceti liberasti. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Ananiam Azariam Misahel de camino ignis liberasti. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Daniel de lacu leonum eruisti. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Ezechiae regi Iudaeorum morte damnato et oranti pro vita misertus es et donasti ei vitae annos quindecim. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Annae petenti in desiderio animae, filii generationem dedisti. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu complacentes tibi liberas Domine usque in finem.'

17. **And now.** ὅτι A.

we have sinned. Cf. Dan. ix. 16. The Prayer of Esther recalls the tone of the Prayer of Daniel.

delivered us. Cf. Deut. iv. 27.

18. **given glory.** Ryssel thinks this refers to a declension into idolatry on the part of Israel while in exile. But it cannot be so: the exile is viewed as the punishment of pre-exilic idolatry. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 10–16, 29–41, xxi. 7, 21.

Righteous. Cf. Dan. ix. 7.

19. **satisfied.** A late use of ἱκανοῦσθαι.

laid their hands. Vulg., failing to understand the meaning, renders 'robur manuum suarum idolorum potentiae deputantes'.

We must either render literally, 'they have applied their hands,' &c., or, following the hint supplied by ℵ* τὰς χεῖρας τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν, read with ℵ^c.a mg. ἔθηκαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν εἰδώλων, and render as in text. The mistake, as Lagarde saw, was caused by the double χεῖρας.

For the custom of striking hands as the outward expression of a contract or bargain cf. 2 Kings x. 15; Prov. xi. 21 LXX; Ezra x. 19; Lam. v. 6; 1 Macc. vi. 58; xi. 50, 66.

20. **ordinance.** ὁρισμός. Cf. Dan. vi. 7, 8, 12, 15. If the ὁρισμοί of the Medes and Persians were unchangeable, what an impiety to seek to overthrow those of the living God! The destruction of Israel would invalidate the determination of God to make Israel His inheritance.

mouth . . . praise. στόματα ὑμνούντων A. For ἐμφράξαι cf. Job v. 16; Ps. lxiii. 11, cvii. 42.

house, i.e. the Temple. Cf. Isa. vi. 1. That the reference must be to the Temple of Jerusalem, still the ideal centre of the people's religion even though destroyed and its worship suspended, is plain from the mention of the altar. With the destruction of the people the altar-fire would be finally quenched. Cf. Judith ix. 8.

21. **vain idols.** μάταια, a conventional word for false gods. Cf. Lev. xvii. 7 LXX.

should be magnified. The passive θαυμασθῆναι follows very loosely upon the active infinitives which depend on ἔθηκαν τὰς χεῖρας. The Persian king is referred to, who will win glory for all time, as a king of flesh who has defeated the King of heaven. Vulg. loosely renders 'et laudent idolorum fortitudinem'.

22. **Surrender not.** For God to permit the destruction of His people is tantamount to an abdication of His throne and the power symbolized (in the case of an earthly king) by the sceptre.

them that be not gods. τοῖς μὴ οὖσι, i.e. *those who have no being*, in contrast to Jehovah, in whom being resides. Cf. *v.* 14 σὺ εἶ μόνος, and Wisd. xiii. 10–19, xiv. 13 οὔτε γὰρ ἦν [εἴδωλα] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οὔτε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔσται, and 1 Cor. viii. 4.

mock. Either the subject of the verb is changed, and 'our enemies' is now the subj.; or the gods are thought of as mocking. Cf. Wisdom's mocking, Prov. i. 26, and Jehovah's, Ps. ii. 4. The former seems to suit the context better.

their counsel. αὐτοῦ ℵ*, i.e. Haman.

make an example. παραδειγμάτισον. Cf. Num. xxv. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 17; Heb. vi. 6.

him that began. Haman. 'qui in nos coepit saevire' Vulg.

23. **make Thyself known.** Cf. Ps. xliv. 23–26.

give me courage. In this verse Esther passes from prayer for national deliverance to prayer for personal safety (*vv.* 24–9). In support of her entreaty she urges (*vv.* 26–28) that for religious reasons, none of which is even hinted at in canon. Esther, she hates the position she is forced to occupy, and distinguishes her official duties from her personal predilections. Here again, as in *v.* 7, we find ourselves in the atmosphere of later Judaism.

King of the gods. Cf. Ps. xcv. 3.

24. **eloquent speech.** Cf. Luke xxi. 15.

before the lion. Strength is suggested, cf. Jer. xlix. 19; and terribleness, cf. Prov. xix. 12, xx. 2; Sir. xxviii. 23. The Aramaic 'Mordecai's Dream' has, 'For Thy maid feareth before him, as the kid before the lion' (Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* p. 164).

turn his heart. For μετατίθημι in this sense cf. Sir. vi. 9 φίλος μετατιθέμενος εἰς ἔχθραν.

an end. συντέλεια in this sense is used with ἀπώλεια 1 Macc. iii. 42.

25. **have none.** A assimilates to *v.* 14 by adding βόηθον.

26 (15) 'Knowledge hast Thou of all things, and Thou knowest that I hate the glory of the wicked, and I
27 (16) detest the bed of the uncircumcised and of any alien. Thou knowest my necessity, that I abhor the sign of my proud estate, which is upon my head in the days when I show myself openly; I abhor it as a menstruous rag, and I wear it not in the days of my leisure.
28 (17) 'And Thy servant hath not eaten at the table of Haman, and I have not honoured the king's feast, neither have I drunk the wine of the libations.
29 (18) 'And Thy servant hath known no joy since the day I was brought here until now, save in Thee,
30 (19) Lord God of Abraham. O God, whose strength is over all, hear the voice of the hopeless, and save us from the hand of them that deal wickedly, and save me out of my fear.'

ADDITION D.

The appearance of Esther before the king.

1 (xv) (4) And it came to pass on the third day, when she had ceased praying, she put off her garments of
2 (5) humiliation, and clothed herself in her glorious apparel. And being majestically adorned, she called
3 (6) upon the all-seeing God and Saviour, and took with her two maids: and upon the one she leaned as

26. **Knowledge hast Thou . . . and Thou knowest.** Cf. St. Peter's appeal to the universal knowledge of Christ, John xxi. 17.

I hate the glory. It is no personal vanity that keeps Esther where she is; the glory of her high place is shame to her. Cf. Esther ii. 8–17.

of any alien. The prohibition of marriages with those outside the covenant dated from very early times (cf. Deut. vii. 3, 4), and came to rest on religious sentiment blended with national prejudice. In Ezra x. 2, Neh. xiii. 23 ff., we learn something of the abhorrence in which the marriage of Jewish men with heathen women was held. A, through a simple oversight, omits from 'the bed of' (*v.* 26) down to 'that I abhor' (*v.* 27).

27. **my necessity.** She is under compulsion, and as wife of a heathen king she must wear the token of her dignity, the royal crown, her badge of shame.

sign of my proud estate. The crown royal, a kind of peaked turban, which had to be worn when the queen appeared in public. Cf. Esther i. 11, ii. 17. For ὀπτασία, *appearance*, cf. Mal. iii. 2.

rag. Cf. Isa. lxiv. 6.

28. **hath not eaten.** Cf. Dan. i. 8, 13, 15.

king's feast. Cf. Esther i. 5, ii. 18.

the libations. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 38 LXX. One reason for Esther's abstention from the royal feasts was their heathen character. Cf. Dan. v. 3, 4. Fuller suggests that there is a reference here to the Haoma-drink, which 'was drunk by the faithful for the benefit of themselves and the gods'. Cf. Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, p. 269.

29. **since the day I was brought,** lit. 'since the day of my change', i.e. since the day of entry into the palace.

30. **the hopeless.** For ἀπηλπισμένων cf. Isa. xxix. 19; Judith ix. 11.

save us . . . save me. Cf. *v.* 23. Old Lat. adds 'transfer luctum nostrum in laetitiam, dolores autem nostros in hilaritatem: surgentes autem supra partem tuam Deus palam facito, aperi Domine; cognoscere Domine'.

ADDITION D. *Esther's interview with the king, vv.* 1–16. Add. D consists of sixteen verses, and follows in LXX immediately upon Add. C. In Vulg. it is numbered xv. 4–19, and is separated from xiv. 19 by the following words, which are not unlike Esther iv. 13 ff.:

'*Haec quoque addita reperi in editione Vulgata.*

(1) Et mandavit ei (haud dubium quin esset Mardochaeus) ut ingrederetur ad regem, et rogaret pro populo suo et pro patria sua.

(2) Memorare, inquit, dierum humilitatis tuae, quomodo nutrita sis in manu mea, quia Aman, secundus a rege, locutus est contra nos in mortem;

(3) Et tu invoca Dominum, et loquere regi pro nobis, et libera nos de morte.

Nec non et ista quae subdita sunt.'

Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 6. 9) draws largely upon Add. D, which endeavours to show in detail what is briefly stated in Esther v. 1 f. The danger of Esther's enterprise is emphasized by the king's wrath, which serves also to set off the power of God which could turn the king's heart.

1. **the third day.** Cf. Esther iv. 16, v. 1. A. W. Streane quotes the Midrash, 'Never did the Israelites find themselves in trouble longer than three days,' and refers to Gen. xxii. 4, xlii. 17; Jonah i. 17; and Hos. vi. 2.

when she had ended her prayer. > Vulg.

garments of humiliation. ἱμάτια θεραπείας, cf. D 13; so A.V. *garments of mourning.* Esther's θεραπεία (or *service*), cf. Esther iv. 16, consisted in mortification and prayer. Accordingly, Fritzsche is perhaps right in emending *vest. ornatus* Vulg. to *vest. oratus.* After these words Old Lat. has 'et lavavit corpus suum aqua et unxit se unctione'.

glorious apparel. Cf. Esther v. 1 and Judith x. 3.

2. **majestically adorned.** γενηθεῖσα ἐπιφανής. Vulg. 'cum regio fulgeret habitu'; Jos. 'adorned herself as became a queen'.

she called. The religious element is as usual emphasized in non-canonical Esther.

two maids. So ℵ A, instead of τὰς δύο B, *her two maids.* She was waited upon by seven maids (cf. Esther ii. 9), and of them she took with her only two.

For ἄβρα (Vulg. *famula*, but elsewhere *delicata*, i.e. pretty, delicate) cf. Gen. xxiv. 61; Judith x. 5.

The ἄβραι were maids of honour for the queen's personal service.

3. **she leaned.** ἐπηρείδετο, cf. Prov. iii. 18.

4 (7) 5 (8) one that walked delicately, and the other followed *her*, holding up her train. And she herself was radiant in the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was happy and lovely: but her heart
6 (9) was stricken with fear. And when she had passed all the doors, she took her stand before the king: now he was sitting upon his royal throne, clad in all his array of majesty, all *adorned* with gold and precious stones. And he was very terrible.
7 (10) And lifting up his face that flamed with glory, he looked *upon her* in fierce wrath. And the queen fell down and changed colour and swooned, and she bowed herself down upon the head of the maid who went before her.
8 (11) And God changed the spirit of the king into mildness, and in alarm he sprang up from his throne, and raised her in his arms until she came to herself again, and comforted her with reassuring words,
9 (12) and said unto her, 'What is it, Esther? I am thy brother. Be of good cheer, thou shalt not die.
10 (13) 11 (14) For our commandment is *only* for our subjects. Draw near.'
12 (15) Then he raised the golden sceptre and laid it on her neck, and embraced her and said, 'Speak to me.'
13 (16) And she said unto him, 'I saw thee, my lord, as an angel of God, and my heart was dismayed for
14 (17) fear of thy glory. For wonderful art thou, lord, and thy countenance is full of grace.'

walked delicately. *ὡς τρυφερευομένη*, Vulg. 'quasi prae deliciis et nimia teneritudine corpus suum ferre non sustinens'. Esther adopted the languishing manner of deportment cultivated by the pampered ladies of the harem. The impression of delicateness is heightened by Esther's having a train-bearer. *ὡς τρυφ.*, lit. 'like a pampered, effeminate woman'.

4. **train.** *ἔνδυσις*, a very rare use, and *ἅπ. λεγ.* in LXX.

5. **the perfection.** *ἀκμῇ* B ℵ A, *ὡς ἀκμῇ* ℵ*, *ἐν ἀκ.* ℵ^c.a^. Cf. *v.* 7, *ἐν ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ*, *in fierce wrath.*

happy and lovely, lit. 'happy like a lovely (face)'. Old Lat. adds 'oculi autem gratissimi'.

6. **passed all the doors.** Cf. Esther v. 1, '[she] stood in the inner court of the king's house, over against the king's house: and the king sat upon his royal throne in the royal house, over against the entrance of the house.' Esther had entered into the inner court, in itself an act of presumption. Cf. Esther iv. 11. The throne-room opened upon the inner court, and through this door Esther passed into the immediate presence of the king.

took her stand. *κατέστη*, but *ἔστη* ℵ^c.a^ A.

majesty. *ἐπιφάνεια*; cf. *v.* 2 *ἐπιφανής*. The regular use of *ἐπιφ.* in LXX is in connexion with the *visitations* of heavenly beings; cf. 2 Macc. (six times). The sculptures of Persepolis present a striking picture of the splendour of a Persian king (cf. Rawlinson, *Ancient Mon.* iv. 153). The Greeks assessed at 12,000 talents the value of the precious stones worn by Xerxes.

7. **flamed with glory.** > *δόξῃ* A, which reads *καὶ ἦρεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον ἐν ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ*, and 'he lifted his face, which flamed in fullness of wrath'. For *ἀκμὴ θυμ.* cf. *v.* 5.

fierce wrath. Esther had violated the rule (see Esther iv. 11) which forbade any one to approach the king unsummoned. After *ἔβλεψεν* Old Lat. has 'et cogitabat perdere eam rex, et erat ambiguus clamans, et dixit, quis ausus est introire in aulam non vocatus?'

fell down. Cf. Esther viii. 3. But this seems to be a fall due to fear, rather than in token of obeisance. Vulg. *corruit.*

changed colour. *μετεβάλετο* ℵ, but *μεταβάλλειν* has an intr. use.

swooned. *ἐν ἐκλύσει.* But LXX more commonly gives a milder meaning to *ἔκλυσις*, i.e. *weariness*, and Vulg. does so here, taking *ἐν ἐκλ.* with the following clause, 'lassum super ancillulam reclinavit caput.'

bowed herself down. *ἐπέκυψεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς ἅβρας τῆς προπορευομένης αὐτῆς* A, *προσπορ.* ℵ, i.e. '*who was coming towards* (the king)'.

8. **changed the spirit.** Cf. an intr. use of *μεταβ.*, Hab. i. 11 *τότε μεταβαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα.* Old Lat. has 'Deus autem iram convertit in miserationem et furorem ipsius in tranquillitatem'. For *μετεβ.* ℵ* has *μετέλαβεν*, and conversely for *ἀνέλαβεν* below A has *ἀνέβαλεν.*

in alarm. *ἀγωνιάσας*, Vulg. 'festinus ac metuens'.

from his throne. > *αὐτοῦ* A.

with reassuring words, lit. *with peaceable words.* For the expr. *λόγοι εἰρηνικοί* cf. Deut. ii. 26; Mic. vii. 3; and 1 Macc. (seven times); also Sir. iv. 8 *ἀποκρίθητι αὐτῷ εἰρηνικὰ ἐν πραύτητι.*

9. **What is it, Esther?** Old Lat. adds 'soror mea Hester es et consors regni'.

thy brother. An expression of intimacy, intended to show that the king regarded Esther as really entitled to special consideration. Cf. Song of Solomon viii. 1. For the Egyptian use of *ἀδελφός* as 'husband' cf. Witkowski, *Epist. Priv. Graec.* xxvi, p. 37, where we find a wife so addressing her husband. For the converse use of *ἀδελφή* cf. Pap. Oxyr. iv, No. 744, and Tobit vii. 15, viii. 4, 7.

10. **our commandment.** Lit. *our comm. is common*, i.e. it governs the king's subjects generally, but not so favoured a one as Esther. Cf. Vulg. 'non enim pro te, sed pro omnibus haec lex constituta est'. The words, preceded by 'Thou shalt not die', are a reminiscence of Esther iv. 11. Paton, however (p. 220), quotes Herodotus to the effect that people might send in a message to the king, and request an audience.

11. **Draw near.** Vulg. 'Accede igitur et tange sceptrum'.

12. **embraced her.** *τὴν Ἐσθήρ* A. The pronoun is better as in B ℵ.

13. **as an angel of God**, i.e. radiant and terrible. The expression does not accord well with the scrupulosity shown by Esther in Add. C; it comes strangely from a Jew to a heathen. Perhaps this is why it does not appear either in Josephus, or the Midrash, or Ben-Gorion. Cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 9 (cod. Al.); 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20; xix. 27.

for fear of. > *φόβου* A, but Vulg. has 'prae timore gloriae'.

14. **full of grace.** *χαρίτων μεστόν.* Cf. Ps. xlv. 2 *ὡραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χείλεσίν σου.*

15 (18) But while she was speaking, she fell swooning.
16 (19) And the king was troubled, and all his servants sought to comfort her.

ADDITION E.

The Decree of Artaxerxes concerning the Jews.

1 (xvi) Of which letter that which follows is a copy.
The great king Artaxerxes to the rulers of countries in one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia, and to those who are well affected to our government, greeting.
2 Many, the more often they are honoured by the all too great goodwill of their benefactors, have
3 become the more proud; and not only do they seek to injure our subjects, but, being unable to
4 endure abundance, they take in hand to devise schemes against their own benefactors. And not only do they take thankfulness away from men, but also, being lifted up with the ostentatiousness of the foolish, they suppose that they shall escape the evil-hating justice of the all-surveying God.
5 Yea, and oftentimes many of those who have been placed in *the highest* positions of authority have been moved by the specious words of *those their* friends who have been entrusted with the administration of the government to become partakers of innocent blood, and have become involved

15. **swooning.** ἀπὸ ἐκλύσεως B + αὐτῆς ℵ A, lit. *because of her fainting.* She fell a second time. Cf. *v.* 7.
16. **servants.** θεραπεία, *curia* Old Lat. Cf. Gen. xlv. 16 Φαραὼ καὶ ἡ θεραπεία αὐτοῦ.

ADDITION E. *The decree of Artaxerxes concerning the Jews*, xvi. 1–24. Add. E consists of twenty-four verses, and is placed in LXX between Esther viii. 12 and viii. 13. In Vulg. it is numbered xvi. 1–24, and is separated from Add. D by the words 'Exemplar epistolae regis Artaxerxis, quam pro Iudaeis ad totas regni sui provincias misit; quod et ipsum in Hebraico volumine non habetur'. It presents an imaginary reconstruction of the edict mentioned in Esther viii. 13, which, while cancelling the earlier rescript (Add. B), instructs all the king's subjects in the most precise way to render all the aid in their power to the Jews on the thirteenth day of Adar. For the style of this Add. see note on Add. B. Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 6. 12 reproduces this letter very fully.

1. **Of which letter,** lit. *of which things,* i.e. *the letter, that which follows is a copy.* ὧν > X*.

to the rulers . . . Ethiopia. The recipients are described in almost identical terms with those in Add. B. Here σατραπείαις (σατράπαις ℵ*, σατραπίαις ℵ^c.a) precedes χωρῶν. On *satrapies* see B 1. ἰδίων χωρῶν ℵ*.

to those who . . . government. τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι takes the place of τοπάρχαις ὑποτεταγμένοις in B 1. ℵ^c.a mg A have wrongly καὶ σατράπαις τοῖς τὰ . . . Two classes of officials are thus referred to, (*a*) the governors in 127 satrapies, (*b*) the other officials, less prominent than satraps. Vulg. supports this view with 'ac principibus qui nostrae iussioni oboediunt', and this is better than to refer the clause (with Fritzsche) to subjects generally, who are mentioned unambiguously in *v.* 3. Jos. seems to favour 'subjects'.

2. **Many.** A veiled reference to Haman. Cf. Esther iii. 1.

their benefactors. Cf. Luke xxii. 25. Their benefactors are the kings who have elevated them to their high position. A. W. Streane recalls how Ptolemy III (247–242 B.C.) obtained the actual title of εὐεργέτης (benefactor) through his restoration of the images of Egyptian gods, carried off by Cambyses to Persia.

the more proud. μεῖζον ἐφρόνησαν. The general is interpreted by the particular in *vv.* 12–14.

3. **abundance,** i.e. the excess of the honour bestowed on them in particular. Ryssel recalls the old proverb τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν. Satiety is shown in thanklessness, *v.* 4.

against their own benefactors. It has been suggested that Haman was not altogether free from participation in the plot of the two eunuchs, discovered by Mordecai (Add. A), and that Haman's hatred of Mordecai was due to his having been thwarted by him. Cf. A 17. Haman's part in the plot may be referred to here. See also Esther vii. 8.

4. **thankfulness.** καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐχ. ℵ A wrongly, by dittography.

lifted up . . . foolish. 'Avidorum praesumptionibus inflammati' Old Lat. This is a nearer translation of τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγάθων κόμποις ἐπαρθέντες than in Vulg. 'humanitatis in se iura violare'. ἀπειραγάθων has given much concern to copyists (ὑπεραγάθων 52, ἀπειρωπάθων 93 *a*) and to commentators, but it is a late ecclesiastical word, and (like ἀπειρόκαλος) is not to be translated literally, but with the general sense of *foolish.* 'Men ignorant of benefits' is very clumsy. *The foolish* are either the parasites who fawn upon the *nouveau riche,* or the too highly honoured man himself.

suppose. For ὑπολαμβ. ℵ*^cb A have διαλαμβ.

evil-hating. An attribute properly belonging to God, but here by a rhetorical licence applied to His justice. With μισοπόνηρος cf. μισοπονηρία, 2 Macc. iii. 1, and μισοπονηρεῖν, 2 Macc. iv. 49, viii. 4.

5. **those placed . . . positions,** i.e. kings, such as Xerxes himself, who have been misled by their underlings.

specious words. παραμυθία in the Greek is the subject of the verb, but the sentence runs more smoothly if it is turned as in text.

friends . . . entrusted. Ryssel suggests with much probability that φίλων should be rendered as in text, and not as often 'entrusted with the management of the affairs of their friends', since a king would be slow to speak of kings as the 'friends' of their subordinates. Ryssel speaks of φίλοι as the universal title of honour borne in Egypt by the highest officers of the king (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 18 and Jacob in *ZATW* x. 283), and translates *Statthalter.* Fritzsche emends φίλων to φιλοφρόνως or φιλοτίμως, but this is unnecessary.

partakers. For μετόχους B 93 *b* have μεταιτίους, which seems better in sense, and explains the corruptions μετένους ℵ* and μεταγνοῦσα A.

innocent blood. For αἵματα ἀθῷα cf. Jer. xix. 4. Cf. Jer. ii. 34 αἵματα ψυχῶν ἀθῴων.

6 in irretrievable disasters, *these men* beguiling the innocent goodwill of their lords with the false trickery of their evil disposition.

7 And the things impiously accomplished through the pestilent behaviour of men who *thus* exercise their power unworthily may be seen not so much by an examination of the more ancient records 8 which have been handed down as by observation of the things near at hand; and care must be taken for the future, in order that we may render the kingdom tranquil and peaceable for all men, 9 not by relying upon †informations†, but by ever passing judgement with clemency and attentiveness upon the matters that are brought to our notice.

10 For Haman, the son of Hamadathus, a Macedonian (an alien in very truth from the Persian blood 11 and one who is fallen far from our favour), having been a guest among us, so far enjoyed the goodwill which we display towards every nation, that he was called our father, and continued to receive the honour of all as the second person after the royal throne.

12 13 But he, not bearing his proud position, took counsel to deprive us of our kingdom, and *to deprive* of life not only Mardocheus who is at once our saviour and perpetual benefactor, but also Esther the blameless partner of our kingdom, together with their entire nation, by manifold chicanery and 14 deceits asking for them *to be delivered up* to destruction. For through these wiles he thought to catch us isolated and to transfer the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians.

15 But we find that the Jews whom this trebly-dyed villain had delivered to destruction are no evil-

6. **with the false trickery.** *τῷ τῆς κακοηθείας τρόπῳ* ℵ$^{c.a.}$ 'while they after the fashion of their maliciousness (i.e. as malice is wont to do) by lying craft overreached.'

7. The text of this verse is slightly corrupt, though the sense is plain. *ὡς* B A > ℵ*, *παραδεδώκαμεν* ℵ$^{c.a}$, *παρεδώκαμεν* B A, *ὅσα* B A, *ὅσον* ℵ, *ὑμᾶς* B ℵ A, *ὑμῖν* ℵ*, *ἐκζητοῦντας* B ℵ A, *ἐκζήτουν* ℵ*. Accepting Fritzsche's *ὧν παρέδωκαν* ('which they, i.e. our predecessors, handed down'), I read as follows: *σκοπεῖν δὲ ἔξεστιν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρων ὧν παρέδωκαν ἱστοριῶν ὅσον τὰ παρὰ πόδας ὑμῖν ἐκζητοῦντας, τὰ ἀνοσίως συντετελεσμένα.*

exercise . . . unworthily. The text here is corrupt. *ἀνάξια δυναστευόντων* B, *ἀξιας δυναστευω | το* ℵ*, *ἄξια δυναστευοντῶ* ℵ$^{c.a}$, *αξιοδυναστευοντων* A. Fritzsche's *ἀναξίᾳ, . . . λοιμότητι* is not very satisfying, besides which *τῶν* is in the wrong place. I suggest either to read with Cod. 248 *τῶν ἀναξίως δυναστευόντων*, or to follow the hint given by A and accept the rather long compound *τῇ τῶν ἀναξιοδυναστευόντων λοιμότητι*. It is just possible that *ἀνάξια* as in B might be right, the use being adverbial as in *ἀνάξια πράττειν*; but a suggestion made by Ryssel, *ἀναξίᾳ* (dat. of subst. formed from *ἀνάσσειν*), cannot be entertained.

which . . . handed down. *ὡς παρεδώκαμεν* would mean 'as we handed down', but it would not fit with *τῶν παλ. ἱστ.*, which refer to chronicles of an earlier age. A. W. Streane refers to the inscription on the rock of Behistun, which, recording events in the reign of Xerxes' predecessor, Darius Hystaspes (522–485 B.C.), tells of the rebellions of Smerdis and Gomatas. Fuller's 'as we have made clear' might be a translation of *παραδεδείχαμεν*, but not of *παραδεδώκαμεν*.

the things near at hand. *τὰ παρὰ πόδας ὑμῖν.* Cf. the prov. *τὰ πρὸς ποσὶν σκόπει.*

8. **care must be taken.** Before *προσέχειν* supply *ἔξεστιν* from *v.* 7.

in order that we. Unless *εἰς τὸ . . . παρεξόμεθα* is a colloquialism, which is not to be expected in this passage, we must emend *εἰς τὸ* to *ὅπως*, or else, following Codd. 52, 64, 243, 248, read *ὥστε*, and emend *παρεξ.* to *παρέχειν* or *παρέξειν*.

9. **†informations†.** Fritzsche, following ℵ$^{c.a}$ A, inserts *οὐ*, and for *μεταβολαῖς* B ℵ A suggests *διαβολαῖς*, which is found in Luc. texts, and is perhaps supported by *varietatibus* in Old Lat., and *si diversa iubeamus* Vulg., both of which may point to an earlier corruption *διαφοραῖς*. *οὐ χρώμενοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς*, as translated in text, is supported by Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6. 12, 'it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies.'

With this change of text, there is no longer the question of the formal revocation of the earlier edict (Add. B), a step which would seem to be opposed to the Persian rule stated in Dan. vi. 8, 12. Cases are indeed cited where Persian kings have repealed their edicts, but the strongest argument for a change of text seems to lie in the evident antithesis between the first and second clauses of *v.* 9.

10. *ὡς γὰρ Ἀμάν* B ℵ A. I suggest *ὁ γάρ.*

a Macedonian. Vulg. 'et animo et gente Macedo'. Cf. Esther ix. 24 LXX, which renders by *Μακεδών* the same Hebr. expression as in Esther iii. 1 is rendered *Βουγαῖος*. The word is no doubt intended to represent Haman as a traitor, but it is probably employed as a word held in odium by the Jews, who associated it with Antiochus Epiphanes, the hated reversionary in Syria of the Macedonian power.

an alien. Both 'Agagite' and 'Macedonian' describe Haman as a foreigner. Cf. also the plot ascribed to him in *v.* 14. His malignity is emphasized by *ἐπιξενωθείς*: he had enjoyed the privileges of hospitality.

11. **our father.** Cf. Add. B 6 and *v.* 3. For 'father' as a complimentary title cp. Witkowski, *Ep. Priv.*, p. 50.

as the second person. Cf. Esther iii. 1; see also 2 Chron. xxviii. 7, and 1 Esdras iii. 7 *δεύτερος καθιεῖται Δαρείου, καὶ συγγενὴς Δ. κληθήσεται.*

12. **deprive . . . kingdom.** For Haman's motive, however, cf. A 17 and Esther iii. 5. See also Esther iii. 11. It is difficult to see what Haman could hope to gain by the motive attributed to him here and in *v.* 14.

13. **benefactor.** As recorded in the royal chronicles, Esther vi. 1. Paton writes (p. 245): 'It was a point of honour with the Persian kings to reward promptly and magnificently those who conferred benefits upon them (cf. Her. iii. 138, 140; v. 11; viii. 85; ix. 107). According to Her. viii. 85 the Persians had a special class of men known as *Orōsangai*, or "benefactors of the king".'

14. **these wiles.** > *τούτων* A.

transfer. *μετάξαι* B ℵ A, *μεταλλάξαι* 44 74 76 106 120 236.

15. **trebly-dyed.** *τρισαλιτήριος.* Cf. 2 Macc. viii. 34, xv. 3.

16 doers, but govern themselves with the most righteous laws, and are sons of the Most High, Most Mighty, Living God, who ordereth the kingdom both for us and for our fathers with the most excellent governance.
17 Ye will do well therefore not to give effect to the letters sent by Haman the son of Hamadathus,
18 because the man himself who wrought these things has been hanged with all his house at the gate of Susa; for God that ruleth over all hath speedily rendered unto him the justice that he merits.
19 Now *therefore* display the copy of this letter openly in every place, and suffer the Jews to obey
20 their own laws, and reinforce them so that on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar, on the selfsame day, they may defend themselves against those who attacked them in the time of their
21 affliction: for this day hath the God who ruleth over all made to be unto them *a day of* gladness instead of the day of destruction for the chosen race.
22 Do ye also therefore, among your commemorative festivals keep *it* a notable day with all good
23 cheer, that both now and hereafter it may be a day of salvation to us and to the Persians friendly to us, but a memorial of destruction to those who conspire against us.
24 And every city or country without exception which shall not do according to these commands shall fall under our wrath and be destroyed with fire and sword; it shall be rendered not only unpassable for men, but also hateful for all time to beasts and birds.

ADDITION F.

The interpretation of the Dream of Mordecai.

1 (x) (4) And Mardocheus said, 'These things are from God.

16. **sons of the Most High.** Cf. Hos. i. 10 LXX κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος. The Jews are members of the people which God has created as His 'son'.

who ordereth. 'Darius Hystaspes, the father of Xerxes, was wont to attribute—judging from the inscription over his tomb at Naksh-i-Rastám—all that he had done to the favour of Ormuzd' (*Speaker's Comm.* ad loc.). For the likeness between Persian and Jewish language on the subject cf. Ezra i. 3, vii. 21; Dan. iv. 34 ff., vi. 27; Jer. xxvii. 6.

18. **hanged.** ἐσταυρῶσθαι, i.e. *impaled.* Cf. Esther vii. 10.

with all his house. Haman's sons were not actually impaled till the fourteenth day of Adar, though they died on the thirteenth day. Cf. Esther ix. 12–14. It was indeed a Persian custom to execute the family with the guilty one (cf. Dan. vi. 24), especially in the case of a traitor, but here Haman evidently suffered alone. Cf. Esther vii. 10, viii. 7, ix. 10.

19. **display.** ἐκθέντες. For ἐκτιθέναι, a specially Greek-Egyptian word, cf. Esther iii. 14, iv. 8, viii. 13, ix. 14.

openly. With μετὰ παρρησίας cf. Esther viii. 13 ὀφθαλμοφανῶς.

obey their own laws. For νομίμοις B ℵ A have νόμοις. The same permission was given by Artaxerxes to Ezra (Ezra vii. 25 f.). Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3. 3.

20. **thirteenth day.** So Esther ix. 1, but Add. B 6 has *the fourteenth day.*

the selfsame day. The very day appointed for the destruction of the Jews. Cf. Esther iii. 13, viii. 11.

21. **ruleth over all.** ὁ ἐπὶ πάντα A.

chosen race. The Jewish fabricator of the decree betrays himself here by an expression that a Persian king would not have used. For ἐκλεκτός applied to Israel cf. Ps. cv. 6; Isa. xliii. 20.

22. **commemorative festivals.** Fritzsche, thinking ὑμῶν out of place in a decree addressed to Persians, and unsuitable in connexion with ἐπωνύμοις, which when so used could not bear its well meaning, suggests ἐν ταῖς ἐπωνύμοις κλήρων ἑορταῖς. We should thus have κλήρων as the translation of פּוּרִים, translating 'on the feasts known by the name of Lots'. The suggestion is good, but not essential.

a notable day. Cf. 2 Macc. xv. 36. Translate, supplying ταύτην, 'Keep it (i.e. the 13th day of Adar) a notable day.'

23. **it may be.** After σωτηρία many Codd. add ἦ.

a day of salvation. σωτηρία stands in antithesis to ἀπωλείας, and should therefore have this accent; Fritzsche, neglecting this, reads σωτήρια (i.e. ἱερά), but wrongly. The day is to be a 'salutary' day for the Persians, as well as a memorial of their king's deliverance. But they are not called upon to observe the feast in the Jewish way.

salvation to us. ὑμῖν ℵ* ὑμῶν A. Fritzsche suggests ὑμῖν here for ἡμῖν, which is in harmony with ὑμεῖς at beginning of *v.* 22.

24. **fire and sword,** lit. 'spear and fire'.

unpassable . . . hateful. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 43, li. 62; Ezek. xxv. 13, xxxii. 13.

for all time. > εἰς . . . χρόνον A.

ADDITION F. *The interpretation of the Dream of Mordecai*, x. 1–10. Add. F consists of 10 *vv.*, and is numbered in Vulg. x. 4–13, and is the only one of the six Adds. which is given there in its right place. But while in relation to the canonical portions its position is correct, it stands in an inverted relation to the uncanonical, Jerome having gathered out of the text all the Adds. which preceded, and placed them after it in a kind of appendix. Jerome prefixed to this Add. the following words which separate it from Esther x. 3: 'Quae habentur in Hebraeo plena fide expressi. Haec autem quae sequuntur, scripta reperi in editione Vulgata quae Graecorum lingua et litteris continetur; et interim post finem libri hoc capitulum ferebatur; quod iuxta consuetudinem nostram obelo, id est veru,

2 (5) 'For I remember concerning the dream which I saw respecting these things; and nothing thereof is unfulfilled.

3 (6) 'The little spring became a river, and there was a light and the sun and much water.

4 (7) 'The river is Esther, whom the king married and made queen. And the two dragons are I and
5 (8) Haman. And the nations *are* those that were gathered together to destroy the name of the Jews.
6 (9) And my nation, this is Israel, which cried unto God and were saved. And the Lord saved His people, and the Lord delivered us out of all these evils. And the Lord wrought great signs and wonders, such as have not been done among the nations.

7 (10) 'Therefore *the Lord* made two lots, one for the people of God and the other for all the *other*
8 (11) nations; and these two lots came at the hour and the moment and the day of judging before God ⟨for His people⟩ and for all the nations.

9 (12) 'So God remembered His people, and justified His inheritance.

10 (13) 'And these days shall be unto them in the month Adar, on the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the same month, with an assembly and joy and gladness before God, from generation to generation for ever among His people Israel.'

11 (xi)(1) In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and

praenotavimus.' In LXX Esther this Add. is the concluding portion of the book. Josephus shows no acquaintance with either the Dream of Mordecai or its interpretation.

1. **These things**, i.e. the history recorded in the chapters of canonical Esther.
from God. Cf. Ps. cxviii. 23 (Matt. xxi. 42), of an event determined by God's providence.

2. **the dream.** See Add. A.
respecting these things. 'Haec eadem significantis', Vulg. The interpretation of the dream in detail occupies *vv.* 3–6.

3. **spring became.** The style of this verse is naturally rather abrupt. πηγὴ ἐγένετο ℵ* A seems better than πηγὴ ἥ B. Vulg. quite unnecessarily translated 'the little spring became a river, and was turned into light and the sun, and overflowed into many waters'. There is nothing in the Greek of either the dream or its interpretation to suggest this. The elevation of Esther answers to 'the spring [which] became a river', while the safety and joy of the Jews upon their deliverance are pointed to by 'the light and the sun' (cf. Esther viii. 16). But cf. Luc. MSS., ἥλιος καὶ φῶς οἱ ἐγένοντο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ θεοῦ.

4. **the two dragons.** > δύο A. See Add. A 6.

5. **the nations.** See Add. A 6. The suggestion is that the whole world was arrayed against the people of God.
destroy the name, i.e. the very existence of the Jewish people.

6. **my nation.** We should have expected τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ δίκαιον from Add. A 6.
cried unto God. See A 9.
signs and wonders. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 9.

7. **Therefore.** This verse is omitted by A.
two lots. Cf. Esther iii. 7, which shows Haman seeking to obtain a lucky issue by lot; cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 41. Here God's making two lots means simply that God took into His own arbitrament the decision between His people and their enemies.

8. This verse is omitted by B*, but is inserted in the lower margin.
came . . . before God. Hardly, with Ryssel, that 'the destinies represented by them *were fulfilled*'. They came before God, and God passed judgement on them.
moment. καιρόν B, κλῆρον B^ab ℵ A.
⟨for His people⟩ and. Fritzsche's suggestion is good, and has been incorporated into the text. The question is of both lots, but the mention of 'the people' in *v.* 9 may be the cause of its omission in *v.* 8.

9. **justified.** *Servavit*, Old Lat.; *misertus est*, Vulg. But the meaning is the characteristic meaning of δικαιοῦν, cf. Deut. xxv. 1; Sir. xiii. 22 'pronounced their cause righteous'.

10. **fourteenth and fifteenth day.** καὶ τῇ πεντ. > ℵ* A* (καὶ τῇ ε' καὶ ι' ℵ^c.a mg). The actual day of deliverance was the 13th day of Adar, but the fact of the observance of the festival on the 14th and 15th days caused Jewish writers to seek for an explanation.

The explanation as given in Esther ix. 16–19 is as follows: the Jews in the provinces avenged themselves on the 13th Adar, and rested on the 14th; but the Jews in Shushan required two days for their vengeance, and did not rest till the 15th Adar.

The 14th day was the principal day, and is referred to in 2 Macc. xv. 36 as ἡ Μαρδοχαικὴ ἡμέρα.

11. Esther and the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach are the only books of the Greek O. T. which offer any information as to their authorship and date.

The objection has been raised against the authenticity of this subscription that it represents the author of the version as a Palestinian Jew, whereas his speech has an Egyptian colour; but his name 'Lysimachus son of Ptolemaeus' suggests a distinctly Egyptian origin, and it is legitimate to assume that he was an Egyptian Jew who through residence at Jerusalem became acquainted with this Hebrew *Megillah*, and having acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, sought to benefit his Egyptian brethren by providing them with a Greek version.

It is indeed impossible to say whether the subscription was appended by the translator of the canonical Hebrew portions, or by the author or incorporator of the Additions; but there is nothing in the subscription to make us hesitate to accept its witness. The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach was translated 132 B.C., and it is probable that Hebrew Esther was translated about the same time.

It used to be thought that the date indicated by the subscription was 178 B.C., Ptolemy Philometor, who reigned at that period, being well disposed towards the Jews. But further investigation has shown that of the four Ptolemies who were married to a Cleopatra only one (Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, Lathyrus) was married to a Cleopatra in the

a Levite, and Ptolemaeus his son brought in *to Egypt* the Epistle of Phrurai *here* set forth, which they said was *true*, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemaeus, of the dwellers in Jerusalem, had interpreted it.

fourth year of his reign. The date therefore is plainly 114 B.C. (see Jacob, 'Das Buch Esther bei den LXX,' in *ZATW*, 1890, p. 241 ff.).

This entire verse is omitted by the Luc. MSS. (except 19) and Old Lat.

In the fourth year, i.e. 114 B.C.

Epistle of Phrurai. *Φρουραί* B, *Φρούραια* ℵ* A, cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6. 13, *Φρουρίμ* ℵ^c.a^. The 'Epistle' does not refer merely to the instructions of Esther ix. 20–28, but to the whole Book of Esther, which is regarded as an Epistle from Mordecai to the Jewish people concerning the feast of Purim.

For the connexion of the feast of Purim (Phrurim) with the Persian *Farvardîgân*, the Feast of the Dead, cf. Paton, *Est.* pp. 84–87.

of the dwellers. *τῶν ἐν* B ℵ, but Fritzsche and Lagarde read *τόν*.

After the last word in *v.* 11 B ℵ A have the subscription *Ἐσθήρ*.

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THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT

IN ENGLISH

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES
TO THE SEVERAL BOOKS

EDITED IN CONJUNCTION WITH MANY SCHOLARS BY

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VOLUME II

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PREFACE

For students both of the Old and New Testaments the value of the non-Canonical Jewish literature from 200 B. C. to A. D. 100 is practically recognized on every side alike by Jewish and Christian scholars. But hitherto no attempt has been made to issue an edition of this literature as a whole in English.[1] Indeed, such an undertaking would have been all but impossible at an earlier date, seeing that critical editions of some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have not been published till within the last few years.

The method observed in this work.

In all the contributions one and the same method has been observed. Each contribution consists of an introduction, an English translation from the best critical text—in a few cases the Revised Version has been adopted and emendations suggested in the notes—and of a critical and exegetical commentary.[2] As regards the introductions, the subjects dealt with in them have, so far as possible, been treated in the same order to facilitate the use of the work. Though a large discretion has naturally been given to the various editors, the following order has more or less been observed as a guide or been actually carried out.

§ 1. Short account of the book, embodying its leading features and the editor's chief conclusions.
§ 2. Title of the book.
§ 3. The MSS.
§ 4. The Ancient Versions.
§ 5. Date of (*a*) the original text, (*b*) of the Ancient Versions.
§ 6. Integrity or composite nature of the text.
§ 7. Authorship.
§ 8. Influence of the book on later literature—(*a*) Jewish; (*b*) Christian.
§ 9. Theology of the book.
§ 10. Bibliography—
  (*a*) Chief editions of the text (and of the Ancient Versions).
  (*b*) Chief critical inquiries.
  (*c*) Chief editions of the book.

[1] Kautzsch published an edition in German in 1900, but on a smaller scale than the present work and embracing fewer books of this literature (vol. i. 1–507; vol. ii. 1–540).

[2] In the case of Sirach and Tobit the editors have been allowed much beyond the normal number of pages for their critical apparatus, which they have used to good purpose.

The extent of the present work.

The first volume contains what is generally known as the Apocrypha Proper, which constitutes the excess of the Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, which excess was in turn borrowed from the LXX. But this volume differs from the Apocrypha Proper at once in the way of excess and in the way of defect. 3 Maccabees has been added after 2 Maccabees, since it is contained in many MSS. of the LXX, and 4 Ezra has been transferred to Volume ii since it is essentially a Pseudepigraph.

Volume ii contains all the remaining extant non-Canonical Jewish books written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 with possibly one or two exceptions. The greater part of these books have hitherto been accessible only in expensive editions—such as Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Psalms of Solomon, Pirkē Aboth, the Story of Aḥiḳar, &c. As regards the last two, it is not necessary to make any apology for their introduction into the present work, although they do not properly fall within the true limits above defined, but they were used, at all events partially, by Jewish readers within this period, nor can they be rightly designated Pseudepigraphs. The Fragments of a Zadokite Work are of an historical character, and are valuable in throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. They contain likewise apocalyptic material of an interesting nature.

The General Editor, in conclusion, wishes to express his thanks to the Delegates of the Press for undertaking this work, and to the Officers of the Press, whose help and counsel were always ready to meet each difficulty as it arose. The Editor is also under deep obligations to the many scholars who, notwithstanding the pressure of other duties, have yet given themselves so unsparingly to the tasks they had undertaken, that in every instance most valuable service has been rendered to the student and the scholar, while in not a few instances their contributions form actual monographs within the limits assigned. His thanks are due to Messrs. A. and C. Black, the publishers of his editions of Jubilees, Martyrdom of Isaiah, Testament of the XII Patriarchs, Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, for permission to reprint the translation and make use of the introduction and notes contained in those editions. Finally, he would acknowledge his indebtedness to the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, who has acted throughout as his secretary and also made the General Index.

R. H. CHARLES.

24 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
March, 1913.

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

§ 1. *The apocalyptic and legalistic sides of pre-Christian Pharisaism—starting originally from the same source—developed ultimately into Christianity and Talmudic Judaism.*

APOCALYPTIC Judaism and legalistic Judaism were not in pre-Christian times essentially antagonistic. Fundamentally their origin was the same. Both started with the unreserved recognition of the supremacy of the Law. This is to be expected in regard to legalistic Pharisaism, which was therein only adopting the teaching of the priesthood.[1] But it is enforced also in apocalyptic Pharisaism. Thus the most universalistic and ethical of all the apocalyptic writings, i.e. the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, declares that this Law is 'the light that lighteth every man'. To all Jewish apocalyptic writers the Law was of eternal validity, but they also clung fast to the validity of the prophetic teaching as the source of new truth and the right of apocalyptic as its successor in this respect. We have early evidence of this conjunction of legalism and apocalyptic in the Book of Joel. The Law is there recognized as authoritative, its ritual as of the highest import, while at the same time the impending advent of the kingdom of God is depicted in highly apocalyptic colouring. In the Book of Jubilees, the narrowest book that ever emanated from legalistic Judaism, the same conjunction is manifest, though naturally the theology is of a much more advanced type.

Thus devotion to the Law is the note that characterizes apocalyptic from its earliest beginnings. It appears in the declaration of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees; it was voiced by the Jews in their uprising against Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple, and it is stereotyped in words placed in the mouth of the Quietist saint in the Assumption of Moses: 'Let us die rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers' (ix. 6).

This original and fundamental identity of apocalyptic and legalistic Pharisaism in respect to devotion to the Law needs to be emphasized, because Jewish scholars in the past, and to a considerable extent in the present, have denied to apocalyptic its place in the faith of pre-Christian orthodox Judaism. This action on their part is unintelligible, seeing that Talmudic Judaism, no less than Christianity, owes its spiritual conceptions of the future to apocalyptic.

The affinity then between Jewish apocalyptic and legalism is essential, since the Law was for both valid eternally, but when apocalyptic passed over into Christianity and therein naturally abandoned this view of the Law, it became in a measure anti-legalistic.[2] Even before the Christian era each of these two sides of Pharisaism necessarily tended to lay more and more emphasis on the chief factor in its belief and study to the almost complete exclusion of the other, and thus legalistic Pharisaism in time drove out almost wholly the apocalyptic element as an active factor (though it accepted some of its developments) and became the parent of Talmudic Judaism, whereas apocalyptic Judaism developed more and more the apocalyptic, i. e. prophetic, element, and in the process came to recognize, as in 4 Ezra, the inadequacy of the Law for salvation. From this it follows that the Judaism that survived the destruction of the Temple, being almost wholly bereft of the apocalyptic wing which had passed over into Christianity, was not the same as the Judaism of an earlier date. Before A.D. 70 Judaism was a Church with many parties: after A.D. 70 the legalistic party succeeded in suppressing its rivals, and so Judaism became in its essentials a Sect. In modern times Judaism is striving to recover the liberty of prophesying.

[1] One of the elements that contributed to this recognition was the identification of the Law and Wisdom. This is already an accomplished fact in Sirach, though it had probably been long a current belief: cp. xix. 10, xxiv. 23: see vol. i. 305 sq. But the most absolute assertion of the supremacy and everlastingness of the Law in pre-Christian Judaism is to be found in Jubilees. See this vol., 1 sq.

[2] The Law is not mentioned even once in the great New Testament Apocalypse.

§ 2. *Jewish apocalyptic has been always pseudonymous from the third century* B.C. *onwards. This pseudonymity due to the absolute supremacy of the Law, which left no room for prophecy. The prophetic spirit cannot openly declare itself in Judaism save by a breach with Talmudic Judaism.*

Apocalyptic works written before the third century B.C. were not pseudonymous. Joel is perhaps the latest apocalyptist in the Old Testament whose work was not pseudonymous. But Zech. ix–xiv and Isaiah xxiv–xxvii—not to speak of other later additions to the earlier prophets—were in all probability pseudonymous. At all events, from the third century B.C. onwards apocalyptic has always been pseudonymous in Judaism. On the other hand in Christianity, for the first century at any rate, apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous, and the seer came forward in his own person. Of these strange and conflicting phenomena explanations have been advanced by various scholars, and the latest by Gunkel, but they are all partial or inadequate. The present writer is of opinion that he has arrived at an hypothesis which will satisfy all the conditions of the problem.

We have already adverted to the fact that in the third century B.C. the Law had come to be conceived as the final and supreme revelation of God. When once this idea of an inspired Law—adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—had become an accepted dogma of Judaism, as it became in the post-Exilic period, there was no longer room for independent representatives of God appearing before men, such as the pre-Exilic prophets. God had, according to the official teachers of the Church, spoken His last and final word through the Law; and when the hope was expressed that in the coming age a prophet will arise, he was only conceived as one whose task was to decide questions of ritual or priestly succession, or legal interpretation in accordance with the Law. Thus in 1 Macc. iv. 46 the stones of the defiled altar of burnt-offering were to be put aside till a prophet arose, and similarly in xiv. 41 (cf. ix. 27) the high-priesthood of Simon was to be provisionally acknowledged till a prophet arose, who could decide on the validity of his high-priesthood. Accordingly the first fact we are to recognize is, that from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah *the Law has not only assumed the functions of the ancient pre-Exilic prophets, but it has also, so far as it lay in its power, made the revival of such prophecy an impossibility.* The prophet who issued a prophecy under his own name after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah could not expect a hearing unless his prophecy had the imprimatur of the Law.[1]

This is exactly the view of the Rabbinic scholars. Thus they taught that whereas the Prophets and Hagiographa will in the future cease to be, for there is nothing in them which is not suggested in the Law (Jer. Meg. 70*d*), the Law itself would endure for ever (Taanit 9*a*); and that 'Any prophet who attempted to annul one of its laws would be punished by death' (Toseph. xiv. 13), and that 'though all mankind should combine, they could not abolish one yod of it' (Cant. R. v. 11; Lev. R. xix; Num. R. xvii, &c.). (See *Jewish Encyc.* xii. 197.)

It is now clear, I think, that from Nehemiah's time onward prophecy could not gain a hearing, whether the prophecy was genuine—that is, appeared under the name of its actual author—or was anonymous, unless it was acceptable in the eyes of the Law. From the class of genuine and anonymous works we pass on to the third division, the pseudonymous. There are at all events two of them in the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes and Daniel. With the former we have here no concern. But how are we to explain the pseudonymity of Daniel and the other apocalyptic works of the second century B.C., such as Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs? This pseudonymity has already in part been explained. These apocalyptists do not merely repeat the old truths, which in so many cases had become the mere shibboleths of a petrified orthodoxy, they not only challenged many of the orthodox views of the time and condemned them, but they also carried

[1] Nay more, according to Zech. xiii. 1–5 (a late work written from the priestly standpoint), if a man declared himself to be a prophet his father and his mother were to put him to death. By such drastic measures prophecy was driven forth from the bosom of Judaism, and has never since been suffered to return. The task of leading the people into more spiritual conceptions, alike as regards the present life and that which is to come, devolved henceforth on apocalyptic, and that a pseudonymous apocalyptic.

forward the revelation of God in the provinces of religion, ethics, and eschatology. Against the reception of such fresh faith and truth the Law stood in the way, unless the books containing them came under the aegis of certain great names in the past. Against the claims and authority of such names the official representatives of the Law were in part reduced to silence, at all events in the case of the Book of Daniel. But there is another ground for the adoption of pseudonymity, and when we combine it with the autocracy claimed and exercised by the Law we have the grounds for which we are in search. This second ground is the formation of the threefold Canon of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Before the formation of the prophetic Canon anonymous prophetic writings could gain currency and acceptance on the ground of their inherent worth, but when once the prophetic Canon was closed, no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such. Now the collection of the Prophets existed pretty much in its present form about 200 B.C., though additions may have been made to Hosea, Isaiah, and Zechariah, &c., subsequently to that date. Into the Hagiographa were received all books of a religious character, of which the date was believed to go back as far as to the time of Ezra. To this third division of the Canon books were admitted down to A.D. 100, and the last were Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. Daniel was admitted to this third Canon at some period in the second century B.C.

Daniel was admitted into the Canon in the belief that it was written by the ancient worthy of that name; but not among the Prophets, for the prophetic Canon was closed, but among the Hagiographa. The example of Daniel was followed by Jewish apocalyptic down to the thirteenth century A.D. It was pseudonymous and remained pseudonymous; for the Law was supreme, inspiration was officially held to be dead, and the Canon was closed. Moreover, all the great Jewish apocalypses which were written before A.D. 10, and which carried on the mystical and spiritual side of religion as opposed to the legalistic, Judaism dropped and banned after its breach with Christianity, just as it dropped and banned the Greek translation of the Old Testament. Thereupon Legalism became absolute, and determined henceforth the character of Judaism. Apocalyptic, which had exercised a determining influence in many of the great crises of the nation, and had given birth to and shaped the higher theology of Judaism, was driven from its position of secondary authority, and either banished absolutely or relegated wholly into the background. Owing to this fact Jewish scholars like Jost and Graetz have denied the great significance of apocalyptic in Judaism. But this blunder is every day becoming more impossible, and now we find that Jewish scholars like Buttenwieser (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 676) maintain that the courage and persistency of the Jews in their faith, their indomitable hope under persecution, their scorn of death, were all nourished by apocalyptic from the times of the Maccabees down to the thirteenth century A.D. 'The darker the present grew . . . the more eagerly did their minds turn to the comfort offered by apocalyptic promises, which predicted the end of their suffering and the dawn of their delivery.'

All Jewish apocalypses, therefore, from 200 B.C. onwards were of necessity pseudonymous if they sought to exercise any real influence on the nation; for the Law was everything, belief in inspiration was dead amongst them, and their Canon was closed.[1]

§ 3. *The ethical advance in Judaism.*

Prophecy has always been recognized as the greatest ethical force in the ancient world. Such also was apocalyptic in its time, and yet an attempt has recently been made by advanced liberals to differentiate prophecy and apocalyptic on the ground that apocalyptic and ethics are distinct, and that ethics are the kernel and apocalyptic the husk which Christianity shed when it ceased to need it. How any scholar who was really acquainted with the texts could make such a statement I cannot understand. Apocalyptic was essentially ethical. To use the mixed metaphor of St. Paul, it was rooted and grounded in ethics, and that an ethics based on the essential righteousness of God.

[1] See my *Eschatology*[2], pp. 193–205.

In every crisis of the world's history, when the good cause was overthrown and the bad triumphant, its insistent demand was ever: 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' and its uncompromising optimism, its unconquerable faith under the most overwhelming disasters, was: 'God reigns, and righteousness shall ultimately prevail'.

The ethical element is the fundamental element in the chief books of this literature. What else but an inexpugnable sense of truth and duty to truth inspire the refusal of the three children in Daniel to fall down and worship the image that the king had set up? When the king demands: 'Who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?' mark the splendid heroism of their reply: 'There is a God whom we serve who is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (iii. 17 sqq.).

Now let us turn to the apocalyptic books outside the Canon.

What an expressive ethical statement is that in Jubilees (xxi. 22) addressed to Israel!

'Beware lest thou walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death against the Most High God,
And so He deliver thee back again into the grip of thy transgression.'

Or, turning to a different theme, let us hear what the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs say of the faithful doer of the word of God:

'Every man that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth . . .
For though there be a leading into captivity,
And cities and lands be destroyed,
And gold and silver and every possession perish,
The wisdom of the wise can nought take away,
Save the blindness of ungodliness,
Or the callousness (that comes) of sin. . . .
Even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
And in a strange country a fatherland,
And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.'

(T. Levi, xiii. 3, 7–8.)

Or again, in 2 Enoch (xliii. 2–3): 'As one year is more honourable than another, so is one man more honourable than another. This man on account of having possessions, that man on account of the wisdom of the heart, another on account of understanding, another on account of purity, another on account of strength . . . but let it be heard everywhere; there is none greater than he that feareth God.'

Or again, when the apocalyptist says of the unceasing service of an order of heavenly beings: 'They rest not day nor night; for unto them thanksgiving is rest.'

There are numberless other passages showing the moral depth and inwardness of this literature. What nobler advice could the best ethical Christian teacher give to a defeated rival than this: 'If a man is prospered beyond you, do not be vexed, but even have recourse unto prayer on his behalf, that he may be prospered to the full' (T. Gad vii. 1)? Or again: 'If any man seeketh to do evil unto you, do him a good turn, and pray for him, and so from all evil ye shall be redeemed of the Lord' (T. Jos. xviii. 2). Or again: 'The holy man is merciful to him that revileth him, and holdeth his peace' (T. Benj. v. 4).

Now it would be possible to fill many pages in setting forth the teaching of apocalyptic on such ethical subjects as conscience, courage, endurance, longsuffering, justice, truthfulness, temperance, singleness of heart, deceit, calumny, folly; on religious themes of an ethical character as love, faith, works, forgiveness, compassion, humility, reverence, covetousness, lust; or on metaphysical themes influencing ethics, as foreknowledge, freedom, determinism, heredity, individualism, universalism; but we have established our thesis sufficiently for our present purpose.[1]

[1] Reprinted from my *Eschatology* (2nd ed.), 190 sqq., where the renderings differ slightly in diction from those given in this volume.

The ethical teaching on these subjects in apocalyptic is a vast advance on that of the O.T., and forms the indispensable link which in this respect connects the O.T. with the N.T.

This ethical element is present also in Talmudic literature, but somehow it lacks the fire and inspiration that distinguish it in the Pseudepigrapha. It is more nearly related to the average morality and practical wisdom of the Proverbs of the Old Testament. The chief work on Ethics in the Talmud, which is reproduced in the Jewish Book of Common Prayer, i.e. *The Sayings of the Fathers*, has been translated and added to this volume, in order that the student might have before him the best that Later Judaism produced in the domain of Ethics. It will be obvious even to the most cursory reader that a great gulf divides the Ethics of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and even those of 2 Enoch, from these excellent but very uninspiring sayings of Jewish sages belonging to the legalistic wing of Judaism. It is quite true that many a fine saying is found in the other tractates of the Talmud and other Rabbinic writings, but the harvest that rewards the diligent reaper is slight in comparison of the toil, and the number of really fine sayings that were uttered before A.D. 100 is far from great.[1]

[1] For a very favourable account of this side of Rabbinic Judaism see Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 1909. The chapter on the 'Joy of the Law' (pp. 148–69) is well worth study. It shows that in all ages in Judaism the joy that the Psalmists felt in the service of God was experienced likewise by many a Jew in the fulfilment of the innumerable later requirements of the Law—requirements which to the non-Jew could only prove an intolerable and unspiritual burden, and which were felt even by many spiritually-minded Jews to be a yoke that neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear (Acts xv. 10). But this type of mind which reaches its fullest satisfaction in unquestioning submission to an external commandment is, of course, to be found in all religions. It is not progressive or prophetic in character, but it helps to preserve some of the best elements in the past. See also Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and the Worship of the Synagogue*, chap. vii.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME II

P. 386 (The Sibylline Books).

Sibyll. III. 396–397. Instead of the rendering in the text, which is right indeed grammatically, we should unquestionably render as follows:—

'Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off
From among ten horns, he shall put forth a side shoot.'

The 'one root' was Antiochus V, Eupator, who was murdered by Demetrius I, son of Seleucus IV. He was the last of ten horns, i.e. ten kings. We appear here to have an almost contemporary interpretation of the ten horns in Daniel vii. 7–8, for the latest date of this section is 140 B.C. The above rendering has the support of Rzach, Geffcken, and Schürer.—GEN. EDITOR.

P. 473 (2 Baruch). l. 23 from bottom *read* 'Sukka' *for* 'Sakka'.

P. 474 seq. On these pages I have given an analysis of the various elements of 2 Baruch, with their approximate dates from A.D. 60 to 100. But owing to the fact that Mr. Box, in his admirable Commentary on 4 Ezra, has accepted Rosenthal's view that 2 Baruch was derived from the school of R. Aqiba and written in the year A.D. 115, it is necessary to consider the grounds from which Rosenthal draws this conclusion. Mr. Box's Commentary was not published when the edition of 2 Baruch for the present work was prepared. We shall now deal with Rosenthal's thesis.

Rosenthal (*Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, Berlin, 1885) sought to prove that the Assumption of Moses, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Book of Tobit were written by members of the school of R. Aqiba.

As regards the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Tobit no scholar would now agree with Rosenthal. But for the learned and admirable Commentary of Mr. Box on 4 Ezra it would not be necessary to reconsider Rosenthal's views on 2 Baruch. Mr. Box (*The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. lxv sq.), however, writes: 'We may therefore conclude that our book (4 Ezra) emanates from a school of apocalyptic writers who reflect the school of Shammai; just as the companion Apocalypse of Baruch (i.e. 2 Baruch) represents an apocalyptic school under the influence of Aqiba. This important distinction has been well brought out by Rosenthal.'

With this statement I must join issue. On pp. 95–100 Rosenthal gives five grounds from which he concludes the influence of R. Aqiba in 2 Baruch. The fifth is so beside the mark and irrelevant—being commonplaces about the last plagues—that I will take no account of it here. The rest, indeed, are not much better, but need to be considered owing to Mr. Box's acceptance of Rosenthal's conclusion. These are as follows:

(1) 2 Baruch (xi, 1 sq.) and Aqiba (*Sifre* on Deut. § 43) alike complain of the prosperity of Rome and the desolation of Zion, and both alike comfort their readers with the promised restoration of Zion. This would naturally be a commonplace with most Jewish writers after A.D. 70, just as corresponding complaints and hopes appear in the post-Exilic prophets respectively with regard to the successive oppressors of Judah and the coming restoration of Jerusalem. But the same actual combination of complaint and comfort with regard to Rome and Jerusalem respectively is found in the Psalms of Solomon ii. 1 sqq., 30–41, and the Assumption of Moses vi. 8–9, x. 8–10. Hence no dependence of 2 Baruch on Aqiba can be deduced from this fact.

(2) Both believed strongly in the freedom of the will. But this does not prove anything. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5. 9) the Sadducees believed in the complete freedom of the will, while the Pharisees believed alike in the freedom of the will and in Providence. Now according to this view the teaching of our book is that of ordinary Pharisaism. Thus in A^3 (i.e. liv–lxxiv) we find the vigorous assertion of free-will: 'each of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (liv. 19). And yet throughout the section the supremacy of Providence is acknowledged; cf. lxix. 2; lxx. 2. Exactly the same teaching is found in the Psalms of Solomon. Thus in ix. 7 we have:

'Our works are subject to our own choice and power
To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.'

See also v. 4–6. Philo also (*Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 10) speaks in the strongest terms of man's God-given freedom.

(3) The next ground adduced by Rosenthal is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba alike bring forward the chastening effects of adversity. But this teaching is found in Deut. viii. 5; Ps. xxxii. 1, 5, lxxiii. 14, lxxxix. 30–34, cxix. 71, 75; Prov. iii. 12, xiii. 24; frequently in the Prophets and the Pseudepigrapha. For the latter cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 16, vii. 3, viii. 7, 27, &c.

(4) The fourth ground is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba held that none who denied the resurrection would share in it. According to *Sanh.* 90 *a* R. Aqiba made this statement, but nowhere in 2 Baruch is such an

affirmation made, though no doubt its various writers believed in the resurrection. Yet Rosenthal thinks he finds it there, and cites two passages, i.e. xxx. 1, which in the present form of the text speaks, however, not of belief in the resurrection of the dead, but in the hope of the Messiah. The second passage betrays an extraordinary misunderstanding of Ceriani's Latin rendering of 2 Baruch lxv. 1, i.e. 'Manasses . . . cogitabat tempore suo quasi ac futurum non esset ut Fortis inquireret ista.' This of course means: 'Manasses . . . thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things.' But Rosenthal took it as meaning: 'Manasses thought in his time that there would be no future life!'

Thus the doctrines, which 2 Baruch and Aqiba hold in common, are commonplaces even of pre-Christian Pharisaism, and furnish no evidence for Rosenthal's hypothesis, while all the internal evidence of 2 Baruch postulates various dates for its several constituents from A.D. 60 to 100. Moreover, whereas Aqiba declared that the Ten Tribes would never return, 2 Baruch emphasizes this hope repeatedly; cf. lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 5, 6, 7, lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10, i. 4.

From the above it is clear that there are no grounds of evidence for Rosenthal's contention. 2 Baruch, if it belongs to any school, belongs to that of Hillel, who was the great rival of Shammai. Its main theses are certainly in accord with much that is known of Hillel. Even its latest sections are too early to be the products of R. Aqiba's school, as is clear from the following dates. At the earliest Aqiba was born about A.D. 40–50. As he did not attend the Rabbinic schools till he was forty, and did not become himself a teacher till he had studied for thirteen years (see Aboth R. N. vi. 29, ed. Schechter), it follows that his school was founded about the beginning of the second century A.D. Now, according to lxviii. 5–6, the Temple was standing when A^3 was written (and also A^1 and A^2), while as regards the other elements of 2 Baruch the evidence is against any later date than A.D. 90–100.—GEN. EDITOR.[1]

P. 528 (3 Baruch). l. 29 from bottom *read* 'Apoc.' *for* 'apoc.'

P. 625 (Psalms of Solomon). l. 11 from top *for* '(H)' *read* '(V)'.

l. 6 from bottom *for* 'H' *read* 'V'

P. 738 (Story of Aḥiḳar). col. 3, l. 6 from top *for* 'get thy boon fragrant' *read* 'get a good name', the former reading being due to a corruption in the MSS.—CONYBEARE.

P. 809 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In line 2 *for* 'make atonement for' *read* 'pardon'.

P. 814 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In the first note on this page the statement regarding Simon ben Shetach is wholly wrong, and is to be deleted. This Pharisee did not appropriate the sacrifices of the Nazirites, but by means of a gross lie to the king enabled them to offer their sacrifices at half the cost. By falsely stating that he would bear half the expenses of the sacrifices, if King Jannaeus would bear the other half, he prevailed on the king by this mendacious assertion to do so. The most remarkable point about the incident, if it is wholly authentic, is that Simon ben Shetach appears to have been wholly unconscious of having done any wrong.—GEN. EDITOR.

[1] Mr. Box has recently in a letter informed me that he is willing to accept the earlier dates I have assigned to certain of the sections of 2 Baruch, but that he regards them as redacted by an editor or editors of the school of Aqiba. This hypothesis, however, is quite different from that of Rosenthal.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN INTRODUCTIONS, TEXT AND NOTES

See special lists as under :—

1 Esdras	vol. I. 19, 20.
Tobit	,, I. 201.
Sirach	vol. I. 315.
Prayer of Manasses	,, I. 620.
1 Enoch	,, II. 187.
Test. XII Patr.	vol. II. 295.
2 Baruch	,, II. 475.
4 Ezra	,, II. 560.

See also under Versions and MSS. in the different books.

A[1] &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7
A.J.Th.	*American Journal of Theology*
Aboth	Pirkē Aboth
Ab. R. Nathan	= Aboth Rabbi Nathan
ἀπ. λεγ. or εἰρ. ἅπαξ λεγόμενον or εἰρημένον	
Apoc. Abrah.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc. of Baruch	= 2 Baruch
Apoc. Zeph.	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
Aq.	Aquila
Ar.	Arabic
Aram. Frag.	Aramaic Fragment. See Test. *App.* II
Arm.	Armenian
Asc. Is.	Ascension of Isaiah
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
Aug.	Augustine
B[1] &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7
B.D.	*Bible Dictionary*
B.S.	Deissmann, *Biblical Studies*
1 Bar.	Apocryphal Book of Baruch
2 Bar.	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3 Bar.	Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
Ber. Rabb.	Bereshith rabba
Berach. or Berakh.	= Berachoth
Beresh.	Bereshith
C.I.G.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
C.O.T.	*Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* See K.A.T.
Cat. Niceph.	Catalogue of Nicephorus
Chag.	Chagigah (Talmud)
Chron. Pasch.	= *Chronicon Paschale*
Clem. Alex.	Clement of Alexandria
Clem. Recog.	*Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions*
Cod.	Codex
D.B.	*Dictionary of the Bible*
Dan.	Daniel
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
E.A.	See 4 Ezra, § 7, and ii. 560
E.B. or Bi.	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*
Edd.	Editions
1 En.	1 Enoch or Ethiopian Enoch
2 En.	2 Enoch or Slavonic Enoch
Encyc. Brit.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica*
Ep. Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy
Epiph.	Epiphanius
Eth.	Ethiopic
Eus.	Eusebius
Ev. Nicod.	*Evangelium Nicodemi*
4 Ez.	Fourth Book of Ezra
Fayum P.	Fayum Papyri
Fr. or Frag.	Fragment
𝔊	Greek Version
G. d. Jud.	*Geschichte des Judenthums*
G.J.V.	Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*
G.V.I.	*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*
Gen. rabb.	Genesis rabba
Gk.	Greek
Gk. Frag.	Greek Fragment. See Test. *App.* II
Gr.	Grimm
Gr. of O.T.	*Greek Grammar of Old Testament Greek* (Thackeray)
H.D.B.	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*
H.J.P.	*History of the Jewish People*
Heb. Gr.	Hebrew Grammar
Herm.	Hermas, *Pastor*
Hes.	Hesiod
Hiph.	Hiphil
Hom.	Homer
Il.	Iliad
Int. Crit. Comm.	= *International Critical Commentary*
Intr.	Introduction
J.E.	*Jewish Encyclopaedia*
J.Q.R.	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
J.T.S.	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Jalkut Schim.	= Jalkut Shimeoni
Jashar	Book of Jashar
Jer. Joma &c.	= Joma in Jerusalem Talmud
Jerus. Targ.	Jerusalem Targum
Jos. *Ant.* &c.	Josephus, *Antiquities*, &c.
Jub.	Book of Jubilees
Jüd. Theol.[2]	*Jüdische Theologie*[2] (Weber)
K.	Kautzsch
K.A.T.	Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*
Kit.	Kittel
L.A.E.	Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*
L.d.T.	Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmuds*
L. & S.	Liddell and Scott
LXX.	Septuagint Version
Lact.	Lactantius
Lib. V.T.	*Libri Veteris Testamenti*
Luc.	Lucian
Lucr.	Lucretius
MS.	Manuscript
MT.	Massoretic Text
1 Macc. &c.	First, &c., Book of Maccabees
Macrob.	Macrobius
Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiah
Mass.	Massoretic
Megill.	Megilla
Menach.	Menachoth (Talmud)
Mg.	Margin
Midr.	Midrash
N.H.W.	*Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*
N.T.	New Testament
O.T.	Old Testament
Onk.	Onkelos, Targum of
Onom. Sacr.	*Onomasticon Sacrum*
Or. Sibyll.	Sibylline Oracles
Orph. Frag.	Orphic Fragment
P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund
P.P.	Petrie Papyri
P.R. Eliezer	Pirke Rabbi Eliezer
P.R.E.	*Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche*
P.S.B.A.	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
Pesikt.	Pesikta
Ps. Clem. Recog.	= Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions
Ps. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Ps. of Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
R.	Rabbi
R.E.	*Real-Encyklopädie*
R.E.J.	*Revue des Études juives*
Rel. des Jud.	*Religion des Judenthums*
Sam.	Samaritan
Sam. Chron.	Samaritan Chronology
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Schürer, E.T.	Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*, English Translation
Sept.	Septuagint
Shabb.	Shabbath
Sir.	Sirach
Slav. Bar.	See vol. ii. 131
Slav. Vit.	Slavonic *Vita Adae et Evae.* See Books of Adam and Eve
Soph.	Sophocles
Stob.	Stobaeus
Symm.	Symmachus
Syncell.	Syncellus
Syr.	Syriac
Syr. H.	Hexaplaric Syriac
Syr. W.	Syriac Version in Walton's Polyglot
Sok.	Sokolov's Text of 2 Enoch
T.A. &c.	See under 'Testaments' in list of symbols prefixed to Index.
T.b.	Babylonian Talmud
Targ. Jer.	Jerusalem Targum
Targ. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Th. *Gram.*	Thackeray, *Grammar of Old Testament Greek*
Theod.	Theodotion
Theoph.	Theophilus
Tebt. P.	Tebtuneh Papyrus
Tert.	Tertullian
Test.	Testament
Test. Sim.	See vol. ii. 153
Test. XII Patr.	= Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
Tisch.	Tischendorf
Tob.	Tobit
V.L. or Vet. Lat.	= Versio Vetus Latina, Old Latin Version
Vit. Ad.	Vita Adae
Vulg.	Vulgate
W.P.	Walton's Polyglot
Wellh.	Wellhausen
Wisd.	Book of Wisdom
Z.A.T.W.	*Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft*
Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
Z.N.T.W.	*Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft*
Z.W.T. or Z.f.W.T.	= *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*

[ ]	indicate an intrusion into the original text
† †	indicate that the word or passage so enclosed is corrupt
( )	or italics indicate that the word or words so enclosed or printed are supplied for the sake of clearness.
+	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted insert the word or words following this mark.
>	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted omit the word or words following this mark.
⟨ ⟩	indicate a restoration in the text.
Thick type	indicates an emendation in the text.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Book of Jubilees is in certain limited aspects the most important book in this volume for the student of religion. Without it we could of course have inferred from Ezra and Nehemiah, the Priests' Code, and the later chapters of Zechariah the supreme position that the law had achieved in Judaism, but without Jubilees we could hardly have imagined such an absolute supremacy of the law as finds expression in this book. This absolute supremacy of the law carried with it, as we have seen in the General Introduction, the suppression of prophecy—at all events of the open exercise of the prophetic gifts. And yet these gifts persisted during all the so-called centuries of silence—from Malachi down to N.T. times, but owing to the fatal incubus of the law these gifts could not find expression save in pseudepigraphic literature. Thus Jubilees represents the triumph of the movement, which had been at work for the past three centuries or more.

And yet this most triumphant manifesto of legalism contained within its pages the element that was destined to dispute its supremacy and finally to reduce the law to the wholly secondary position that alone it could rightly claim. This element of course is apocalyptic, which was the source of the higher theology in Judaism, and subsequently was the parent of Christianity, wherein apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous and became one with prophecy.

The Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B.C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which has already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity. From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, in the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realized on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1,000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.[1]

[1] Three-fourths of this section is reprinted from the present writer's Introduction to his Commentary on the Book of Jubilees.

§ 2. Various Titles of the Book.

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew.

(*a*) Jubilees = τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι = היובלים.

(*b*) The Little Genesis = ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις = בראשית זוסא.

(*c*) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of the book.

(*a*) *Jubilees.* This appears from Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6) to have been its usual designation. It is found also in the Syriac Fragment entitled 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book of Jubilees,' first published by Ceriani, *Mon. sacra et profana*, ii. 1. 9–10, and reprinted by the present writer in his edition of *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, p. 183. This name admirably describes the book, as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. The writer pursues a perfectly symmetrical development of the heptadic system. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, i. e. 2450.

(*b*) *The Little Genesis.* The epithet 'little' does not refer to the extent of the book, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but to its character. It deals more fully with details than the biblical work. The Hebrew title was variously rendered in Greek. 1° ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις) as in Epiphanius, Syncellus, Zonaras, Glycas. 2° ἡ Λεπτογένεσις in Didymus of Alexandria and in Latin writers, as we may infer from the Decree of Gelasius. 3° τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως in Syncellus. 4° ἡ Μικρογένεσις in Jerome, who was acquainted with the Hebrew original.

(*c*) 1° The Apocalypse of Moses.

2° The Testament of Moses.

3° The Book of Adam's Daughters.

4° The Life of Adam.

1° *The Apocalypse of Moses.* This title had some currency in the time of Syncellus (see i. 5, 49). It forms an appropriate designation since it makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in the book. 2° *The Testament of Moses.* This title is found in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175, where it precedes a quotation from x. 21 of our book. It has, however, nothing to do with the Testament of Moses, which has become universally known under the wrong title—the Assumption of Moses. Rönsch and other scholars formerly sought to identify Jubilees with this second Testament of Moses, but this identification is shown to be impossible by the fact that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus 4,300 stichoi are assigned to Jubilees and only 1100 to this Testament of Moses. On the probability of a Testament of Moses having been in circulation—which was in reality an expansion of Jubilees ii–iii see my edition of Jubilees, p. xviii. 3° *The Book of Adam's Daughters.* This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius, but it probably consisted merely of certain excerpts from Jubilees dealing with the names and histories of the women mentioned in it. Such a collection, as we have already seen, exists in Syriac, and its Greek prototype was used by the scribe of the LXX MS. no. 135 in Holmes and Parsons' edition. 4° *The Life of Adam.* This title is found in Syncellus i. 7–9. It seems to have been an enlarged edition of the portion of Jubilees, which dealt with the life of Adam.

§ 3. The Ethiopic MSS.

There are four Ethiopic MSS., *a b c d*, the first and fourth of which belong to the National Library in Paris, the second to the British Museum, and the third to the University Library at Tübingen. Of these *a b* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth century respectively) are the most trustworthy, though they cannot be followed exclusively. In *a*, furthermore, the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original against *b c d* in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29; iv. 4, 8, &c. For a full description of these MSS. the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii seqq.

§ 4. The Ancient Versions—Greek, Ethiopic, Latin, Syriac.

(*a*) *The Greek Version* is lost save for some fragments which survive in Epiphanius περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν xxii (ed. Dindorf, vol. iv. 27–8). This fragment, which consists of ii. 2–21, is published with critical notes in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text. Other fragments of this version are preserved in Justin Martyr, Origen, Diodorus of Antioch, Isidore of Alexandria, Isidore of Seville, Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, John of Malala, Syncellus, Cedrenus. Syncellus attributes to the Canonical Genesis statements derived from our text. This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.

(*b*) *The Ethiopic Version.* This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule

servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence, but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: 'my wife' in iii. 6 instead of 'wife'; xv. 12; xvii. 12 ('her bottle' instead of 'the bottle'); xxiv. 19 (where the words 'a well' are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS. *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, &c., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* there appears to be only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see Charles's Text, pp. xii seqq.).

For instances of corruption native to this version, see Charles on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

(*c*) *The Latin Version.* This version, of which about one-fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15–62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^b–21; xv. 20^b–31^a; xvi. 5^b–xvii. 6^a; xviii. 10^b–xix. 25; xx. 5^b–xxi. 10^a; xxii. 2–19^a; xxiii. 8^b–23^a; xxiv. 13–xxv. 1^a; xxvi. 8^b–23^a; xxvii. 11^b–24^a; xxviii. 16^b–27^a; xxix. 8^b–xxxi. 1^a; xxxi. 9^b–18, 29^b–32; xxxii. 1–8^a, 18^b–xxxiii. 9^a, 18^b–xxxiv. 5^a; xxxv. 3^b–12^a; xxxvi. 20^b–xxxvii. 5^a; xxxviii. 1^b–16^a; xxxix. 9–xl. 8^a; xli. 6^b–18; xlii. 2^b–14^a; xlv. 8–xlvi. 1, 12–xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^b–22. This version was next edited by Rönsch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente.* This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgement and critical acumen. Rönsch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth century (pp. 459–60). In 1895 Charles edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rönsch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlvi. 14, where it adds 'et Oon' against all other authorities. The Ethiopic version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text, but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13, xlii. 11 (*canos meos* where our Ethiopic text = *μου τὸ γῆρας* as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12, where it reads 'in tota terra' for 'in terra'. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version 'et creverunt et iuvenes facti sunt' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause 'eorum quae fiebant in carcere' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, &c. (see my Text, p. xvi).

(*d*) *The Syriac Version.* The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS. (Add. 12154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9–10, and reprinted by Charles as Appendix III to his Text of Jubilees (p. 183).[1]

§ 5. The Ethiopic and Latin Versions—Translations from the Greek.

Like all the biblical literature in Ethiopic, Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from the Greek. Greek words such as *δρῦς*, *βάλανος*, *λίψ*, *σχῖνος*, *φάραγξ*, &c., are transliterated into Ethiopic. Secondly, many passages must be retranslated into Greek before we can discover the source of their corruptions. And finally, many names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew.

[1] (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) reprinted from the present writer's Commentary.

That the Latin is derived directly from the Greek is no less obvious. Thus in xxxix. 12 *timoris* = δειλίας, a corruption of δουλείας; in xxxviii. 13 *honorem* = τιμήν, which should have been rendered by *tributum*. Another class of mistranslations may be seen in passages where the Greek article is rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in *huius Abrahae* xxix. 16, *huic Istrael* xxxi. 15. Other evidence pointing in the same direction is to be found in the Greek constructions which have been reproduced in the Latin; such as xvii. 3 'memor fuit sermones' = ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους: in xv. 22 'consummavit loquens' = συνετέλεσε λαλῶν: in xxii. 8 'in omnibus *quibus* dedisti' = ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔδωκας.

§ 6. The Greek—A Translation from the Hebrew.

The early date of our book—the second century B.C.—and the fact that it was written in Palestine speak for a Semitic original, and the evidence for such an original is conclusive. But the question at once arises, was the original written in Hebrew or Aramaic? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic original, as Cettin xxiv. 28; Adurin xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin xxiv. 14–16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönsch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Again, in the list of the twelve trees suitable for burning on the altar some are transliterations of Aramaic names. But in a late Hebrew work—written at the close of the second century B.C.—the popular names of such objects would naturally be used. Moreover, in certain cases the Hebrew may have already been forgotten, or, when the tree had been lately introduced, been non-existent.

But the arguments for a Hebrew original are many and weighty. (1) A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew; for Hebrew, according to our author, was the sacred and national language, xii. 25–6; xliii. 15. (2) The revival of the national spirit is, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language. (3) The existing text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text. Thus lâʿĕlêja in xliii. 11 = ἐν ἐμοί, which is a mistranslation in this context of בִּי; for בי here = δέομαι, 'pray,' as in Gen. xliv. 18. In xlvii. 9 the text = 'domum (= בית) Faraonis', but the context demands 'filiam (=בת) Faraonis', though here the argument is not conclusive, since בית might have been corruptly written for ברת, which in Aramaic = 'daughter'. Again in xxxvi. 10 (cp. also xxxix. 6) the text = οὐκ ἀναβήσεται (= jaʿarg) εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς. But jaʿarg must = 'will be recorded'. Now this meaning is unattested elsewhere in Ethiopic, but the difficulty is solved when we find that it is a Hebrew idiom: see 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34. (4) Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew, as in iv. 9 there is a play on the name Enoch, in iv. 15 on Jared, in viii. 8 on Peleg, &c. (5) Many passages are preserved in Rabbinic writings, and the book has much matter in common with the Testaments xii Patriarchs, which was written about the same date in Hebrew. Both books, in fact, use a chronology peculiar to themselves. (6) Fragments of the original Hebrew text or of the sources used by its author are to be found in the Book of Noah and the Midrasch Wajjisau in Jellinek's *Beth-ha-Midrasch*, iii. 155–6, 3–5, reprinted in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text on pp. 179–81.

§ 7. Textual Affinities.

A minute study of the text shows that it attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus. Thus it agrees with individual authorities such as the Samaritan or the LXX, or the Syriac, or the Vulgate, or the Targum of Onkelos against all the rest. Or again it agrees with two or more of these authorities in opposition to the rest, as for instance with the Massoretic and Samaritan against the LXX, Syriac and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic and Onkelos against the Samaritan, LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic, Samaritan and Syriac against the LXX or Vulgate. But the reader must here be referred to Charles's Book of Jubilees (pp. xxxiii–xxxix) for a full classification of these instances. A study of these phenomena proves that our book represents some form of the Hebrew text midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac; for it agrees more frequently with the LXX, or with combinations into which the LXX enters, than with any other single authority. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac or with combinations into which the Syriac enters. On the other hand, its independence of the LXX is shown by a large array of readings, where it has the support of the Samaritan and Massoretic, or of these with various combinations of the Syriac, Vulgate and Onkelos. From these and like considerations we may conclude that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B.C. and 100 A.D. and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

§ 8. The Value of the Book of Jubilees in the Criticism of the Massoretic Text of the Book of Genesis.

From a study of the facts which are referred to in the preceding Section it will be clear that both before and after the Christian era the Hebrew text did not possess any hard and fast tradition. It will further be obvious that the Massoretic form of this text, which has so long been generally assumed as conservative of the most ancient tradition and as therefore final, is after all only one of the many phases through which the text passed in the process of over 1,000 years, i. e. 400 B. C. till A. D. 600, or thereabouts.

As we pursue the examination of the materials just mentioned we shall see grounds for regarding the Massoretic text as the result partly of conscious recension and partly of unconscious change extending over many centuries. How this process affected the text in the centuries immediately preceding and subsequent to the Christian era, we have some means of determining in the Hebrew-Samaritan text which, however much it may have been tampered with on religious or polemical grounds, still preserves in many cases the older reading, even as it preserves the older form of the alphabet. Next we have the LXX of the Pentateuch, to which we may assign the date 200 B. C.; next the Book of Jubilees just before the Christian era; the Syriac Pentateuch before A. D. 100; the Vulgate of the fourth century; the Targums of Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. in their present form A. D. 300–600.

We have above remarked that the evidence of § 6 shows that the Massoretic text is only one of the phases through which the Hebrew text has passed; and if we consider afresh the materials of evidence suggested in that Section in connexion with their dates, and given in some fullness in the Introductions to Charles's Text and Commentary, we shall discover that in some respects it is one of the latest phases of the Hebrew Pentateuch that has been stereotyped by Jewish scholars in the Massoretic text.

This conclusion will tally perfectly with the tradition that all existing Massoretic MSS. are derived in the main from one archetype, i. e. the Hebrew Codex left behind him by Ben Asher, who lived in the tenth century, and whose family had lived at Tiberias in the eighth.

We shall now proceed to give a list of readings in the Massoretic text which should be corrected into accord with the readings attested by such great authorities as the Sam., LXX, Jub., Syr., Vulg.

The following list was published in Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* in 1895. More than two-thirds of the emendations of the Book of Genesis here suggested were subsequently accepted independently, on the evidence of the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., without a knowledge of Jubilees, by C. J. Ball in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1896, by Kittel in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1905, and more than half in the recent Commentary of Gunkel.

In Gen. viii. 19 for כָּל־הַחַיָּה כָּל־הָרֶמֶשׂ וְכָל־הָעוֹף כֹּל רוֹמֵשׂ we should read כָּל־הַחַיָּה וְכָל־הָעוֹף וְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרוֹמֵשׂ with the Sam., Sam. Vers., Jub. (v. 32), Vulg. ('omnia animantia iumenta et reptilia quae reptant super terram'), and Arabic. The LXX and Syr. confirm our emendation (see my Ethiopic text, p. 21, note 29). Here Onk. only supports the Massoretic. The restoration is confirmed by Gen. i. 26 where the very combination הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרוֹמֵשׂ is actually found.

In xi. 8 after הָעִיר add וְהַמִּגְדָּל with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (x. 24), against Mass. and Vulg.

In xi. 31 וַיֵּצְאוּ אִתָּם we have a reading that should be emended into וַיֵּצֵא אִתָּם with Jub. (xii. 15) and Syr., or into יוֹצֵא אִתָּם with the Sam., LXX, Itala, and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Massoretic.

In xii. 3 for וּמְקַלְלֶךָ read וּמְקַלְלֶיךָ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xii. 23), Syr., Vulg. The reading of the Mass. is the first movement in the change of plurals into singulars, which is completed in Onk. and Ps.-Jon., where both the participles are in the singular. A few Hebrew MSS., however, preserve the original reading.

In xv. 21 after וְאֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי add וְאֶת־הַחִוִּי with the Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xiv. 18), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 14 after עָרְלָתוֹ add בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xv. 14), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 16 for וּבֵרַכְתִּיהָ read וּבֵרַכְתִּיו with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 16), Syr., and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Mass. For וְהָיְתָה of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read וְהָיָה with LXX, Jub. (xv. 16), Syr., and Vulg. For מִמֶּנָּה of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read מִמֶּנּוּ with LXX, Jub., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 19 add וּ before לְזַרְעוֹ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 19), Syr., Vulg., and Arab. Only Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxi. 8 after אֶת־יִצְחָק add בְּנוֹ with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 1), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after הָאָמָה add הַזֹּאת with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 6), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after לְגוֹי read גָּדוֹל with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xvii. 6), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Only such late authorities as Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. omit on religious and polemical grounds, the last giving quite a different turn in expression of national hatred, עם ליסטים, 'nation of robbers.'

In xxii. 13 for אַחַר read אֶחָד with some Hebrew MSS., Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 12), Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven., against Mass. and Vulg. Onk. combines both readings.

In xxii. 16 after אֶת־יְחִידֶךָ add מִמֶּנִּי with Sam., LXX (δι' ἐμέ), Jub. (xviii. 15), Syr., Vulg. (*propter me*). Only the Targums support the Mass.

In xxv. 8 for וְשָׂבֵעַ read וּשְׂבַע יָמִים, as in Gen. xxxv. 29, with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiii. 8, cf. xxi. 1; xxii. 7), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxvi. 18 for בִּימֵי of Mass. and Onk. read עַבְדֵי with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiv. 18), Vulg. Syr. combines both readings.

In xxvii. 27 after שָׂדֶה add מָלֵא with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxvi. 22, Lat.), Syr. Vet. (*teste Diodoro*), Vulg. Onk. supports Mass. in omitting.

In xxviii. 4 after אַבְרָהָם add אָבִיךָ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (= אָבִי xxvii. 11). Mass., Syr., and Vulg. omit.

In xxix. 27 for וְנִתְּנָה of Mass. and Onk. read וְאֶתְּנָה with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 8), Syr., Vulg., and Arab.

In xli. 56 for אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם read אוֹצְרוֹת אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם בר with Jub. (xlii. 3), LXX τοὺς σιτοβολῶνας and Onk. אוצריא די־בהון עבורא, also Targ., Jer., and Ps.-Jon., Syr., and Vulg., support אוֹצְרוֹת, while בַּר is actually found in the Sam., which reads אשר בהם בר.

In xliv. 31 after הַנַּעַר add אִתָּנוּ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xliii. 12), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Mass. and Onk. stand here alone.

In xlv. 28 after רַב read לִי with LXX, Jub. (xliii. 24), Syr., Vulg., and Onk. against Mass. and Sam.

In xlvi. 13 for פֻּוָּה read פּוּאָה with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xliv. 17), Syr., Vulg., Onk. 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlvi. 13 for יוֹב of Mass., Vulg., and Onk. read יָשׁוּב with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xliv. 17). 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlvi. 24 for שִׁלֵּם read שַׁלּוּם with Sam., Jub. (xliv. 30), and 1 Chron. vii. 13. The Syr. ܫܠܡ and LXX Συλλήμ support the former.

In xlvi. 28 for לְהוֹרֹת read לְהֵרָאוֹת with Sam., Syr., or לְרָאוֹת with Jub. (xliv. 9) and Onk. or לְהִקָּרוֹת with LXX.

§ 9. Date of (*a*) the Original Text and (*b*) of the Versions.

(*a*) Jubilees was written between 153 B.C. and the year of Hyrcanus' breach with the Pharisees. (1) It was written during the pontificate of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 155 B.C., when this office was assumed by Jonathan the Maccabee. For in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a 'priest of the Most High God.' Now the only Jewish high-priests who bore this title were the Maccabean, who appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Despite the objections of the Pharisees, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to Hyrcanus II (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2). (2) It was written before 96 B.C.; for since our author was of the strictest sect a Pharisee and at the same time an upholder of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96, when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannaeus were openly engaged in mortal strife. (3) It was written before the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees when Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party. As Hyrcanus died in 105, our book was written between 153 and 105.

But it is possible to define these limits more closely. The book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony—such as that under Simon and Hyrcanus. The conquest of Edom, which was achieved by the latter, is referred to in xxxviii. 14. Again our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second century B.C. It declares that they will fall into the hands of the righteous nation, and we learn from 1 Macc. and Josephus that Ashdod and Gaza were destroyed by Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus respectively. But it is in the destruction of Samaria, which is adumbrated in the destruction of Shechem, xxx. 4–6, that we are to look for the true *terminus a quo*. Now all accounts agree in representing the destruction of Samaria as effected by Hyrcanus about four years before his death. Hence we conclude that *Jubilees was written between* 109 *and* 105 B.C.

Many other phenomena point to the second-century origin of our book, which are given in Charles's edition, pp. lviii–lxvi. Amongst these we might mention the currency of older and severer forms of the halacha than prevailed in the rabbinical schools, or were registered in the Mishnah. The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second century B.C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishnah and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second century B.C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishnah. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly

probable that such a halacha did exist in the second century B. C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8–14 notes and xx. 4 note.

Other cases of strict rules afterwards relaxed are the limitation of trees for use with burnt-offerings (see xxi. 12–15 notes), the restriction of the eating of the passover to the court of the Lord's house (see xlix. 20 note), the close adherence to the exacting demand of Lev. xix. 24 that the fourth year's fruit should be holy (see vii. 36 notes), though here we have a variant reading. Note that the rest of the firstfruits belong to the priests, who are to eat them 'before the altar.' On the other hand, the thank-offerings in xxi. 8–10 do not belong to the priest. The computation of the Feast of Weeks is different from the later prevalent Pharisaic reckoning (see xv. 1 note; xvi. 13; xliv. 4–5), while the account of the Feast of Tabernacles in xvi. 21–31 is peculiar to Jubilees.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44 *a*) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former. Attention might also be drawn to the fact that the Priests and Levites still numbered in their ranks, as in the days of the author of Chronicles, the masters of the schools and the men of learning, and that these positions were not filled as in the days of Shammai and Hillel by men drawn from the laity. This inference is to be deduced from the fact that the Levites are represented as the guardians of the sacred books and of the secret lore transmitted from the worthies of old time (x. 4, xlv. 16).

(*b*) *Date of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.* There is no evidence for determining the exact date of the Ethiopic version, but since it was practically regarded as a canonical book it was probably made in the sixth century. Rönsch, as we have already pointed out in § 4, gives some evidence for regarding the Latin version as made in the fifth century.

§ 10. Jubilees from One Author but based on Eastern Books and Traditions.

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms of course the bulk of the book, but much that is characteristic in it is due to his use of many pseudepigraphic and ancient traditions. Amongst the former might be mentioned the Book of Noah, from which in a modified form he borrows vii. 20–39, x. 1–15. In vii. 26–39 he reproduces his source so faithfully that he leaves the persons unchanged, and forgets to adapt this fragment to its new context. Similarly our author lays the Book of Enoch under contribution, and is of great value in this respect in determining the dates of the various sections of this book. See Introd. to 1 Book of Enoch, *in loc.* For other authorities and traditions used by our author see Charles's edition, § 13.

§ 11. Jubilees is a Product of the Midrashic Tendency which had been already at work in the O.T. Books of Chronicles.

The Chronicler rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. His object was to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. In the course of this process all facts that did not square with the Chronicler's presuppositions were either omitted or transformed. Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings, and so he rewrote it in such a way as to show that the law was rigorously observed even by the Patriarchs. The author represents his book to be as a whole a revelation of God to Moses, forming a supplement to and an interpretation of the Pentateuch, which he designates 'the first law' (vi. 22). This revelation was in part a secret republication of the traditions handed down from father to son in antediluvian and subsequent times. From the time of Moses onwards it was preserved in the hands of the priesthood, till the time came for its being made known.

Our author's procedure is of course in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis, for according to this code 'Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready' (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124). This fact seems to emphasize in the strongest manner how freely our author reinterpreted his authorities for the past. But he was only using to the full a right that had been exercised for nearly four centuries already in regard to Prophecy and for four or thereabouts in regard to the law.

§ 12. Object of Jubilees—the Defence and Exposition of Judaism from the Pharisaic standpoint of the Second Century B.C.

The object of our author was to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism, and this he did (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles and particularly Israel's national enemies. In this last respect Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was a reflection of the divine.

But on (*a*) it is to be observed further that to our author the law, as a whole, was the realization in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. It was observed not only on earth by Israel but in heaven. Parts of the law might have only a time reference, to Israel on earth, but in the privileges of circumcision and the Sabbath, as its highest and everlasting expression, the highest orders of archangels in heaven shared with Israel (ii. 18, 19, 21; xv. 26–28). The law, therefore, was supreme, and could admit of no assessor in the form of Prophecy. There was no longer any prophet because the law had made the free exercise of his gift an offence against itself and God. So far, therefore, as Prophecy existed, it could exist only under the guise of pseudonymity. The seer, who had like Daniel and others a message for his time, could only gain a hearing by issuing it under the name of some ancient worthy.

§ 13. The Author—A Pharisee who recognized the Maccabean Pontificate and was probably a Priest.

Since our author was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, and held the strictest views on circumcision, the Sabbath, and the duty of complete separation from the Gentiles, since he believed in angels and demons and a blessed immortality, he was unquestionably a Pharisee of the strictest sect. In the next place, he was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers, and applies to them the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thoroughgoing an admirer of this dynasty as the authors of Test. Lev. xviii. or Ps. cx, who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family. Finally, that our author was a priest might reasonably be inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxxi–xxxii), and from the statement in xlv. 16 that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 14. Influence on later Literature.

On the influence of Jubilees on 1 Enoch i–v, xci–civ, Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerachmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jasher, the Samaritan Chronicle, on Patristic and other writings, and on the New Testament writers, see Charles's edition, pp. lxxiii–lxxxvi.

§ 15. Theology. Some of our Author's Views.

Freedom and determinism. The author of Jubilees is a true Pharisee in that he combines belief in Divine omnipotence and providence with the belief in human freedom and responsibility. He would have adopted heartily the statement of the Pss. Sol. ix. 7 (written some sixty years or more later) *τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐν ἔργοις χειρῶν ἡμῶν*: v. 6 *ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ ἐν σταθμῷ, οὐ προσθήσει τοῦ πλεονάσαι παρὰ τὸ κρίμα σου, ὁ θεός*. Thus the path in which a man should walk is ordained for him and the judgement of all men predetermined on the heavenly tablets: 'And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even the judgment of all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in' (v. 13). This idea of an absolute determinism underlies many conceptions of the heavenly tablets (see Charles's edition, iii. 10 note). On the other hand, man's freedom and responsibility are fully recognized: 'If they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature' (v. 13): 'Beware lest thou walk in their ways, And tread in their paths, And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God. Else He will give thee back into the hand of thy transgression.' Even when a man has sinned deeply he can repent and be forgiven (xli. 24 seq.). but the human will needs the strengthening of a moral dynamic: 'May the Most High God . . . strengthen thee to do His will' (xxi. 25, xxii. 10).

The Fall. The effects of the Fall were limited to Adam and the animal creation. Adam was

driven from the garden (iii. 17 seqq.) and the animal creation was robbed of the power of speech (iii. 28). But the subsequent depravity of the human race is not traced to the Fall but to the seduction of the daughters of men by the angels, who had been sent down to instruct men (v. 1–4), and to the solicitations of demonic spirits (vii. 27). The evil engendered by the former was brought to an end by the destruction of all the descendants of the angels and of their victims by the Deluge, but the incitement to sin on the part of the demons was to last to the final judgement (vii. 27, x. 1–15, xi. 4 seq., xii. 20). This last view appears in 1 Enoch and the N.T.

The Law. The law was of eternal validity. It was not the expression of the religious consciousness of one or of several ages, but the revelation in time of what was valid from the beginning and unto all eternity. The various enactments of the law, moral and ritual, were written on the heavenly tablets (iii. 31, vi. 17, &c.) and revealed to man through the mediation of angels (i. 27). This conception of the law, as I have already pointed out, made prophecy impossible unless under the guise of pseudonymity. Since the law was the ultimate and complete expression of absolute truth, there was no room for any further revelation: much less could any such revelation, were it conceivable, supersede a single jot or tittle of the law as already revealed. The ideal of the faithful Jew was to be realized in the fulfilment of the moral and ritual precepts of this law: the latter were of no less importance than the former. Though this view of morality tends to be mainly external, our author strikes a deeper note when he declares that, when Israel turned to God with their whole heart, He would circumcise the foreskin of their heart and create a right spirit within them and cleanse them, so that they would not turn away from Him for ever (i. 23). Our author specially emphasizes certain elements of the law such as circumcision (xvi. 14, xv. 26, 29), the Sabbath (ii. 18 seq., 31 seq.), eating of blood (vi. 14), tithing of the tithe (xxxii. 10), Feast of Tabernacles (xvi. 29), Feast of Weeks (vi. 17), the absolute prohibition of mixed marriages (xx. 4, xxii. 20, xxv. 1–10). In connexion with many of these he enunciates halacha which belong to an earlier date than those in the Mishnah, but which were either modified or abrogated by later authorities.

The Messiah. Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii–xc to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see Charles's edition, xxxi. 18 n.). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic kingdom. According to our author (i. 29, xxiii. 30) this kingdom was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1,000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgement was apparently to take place at its close (xxiii. 30). This view was possibly derived from Mazdeism.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii–xc in the days of Judas before 161 B.C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed, his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx, or Hyrcanus in the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8–15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C. and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realize the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (xxxi. 15), while according to the Test. Reuben 6 he was to 'die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen'. In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author, as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.

Priesthood of Melchizedek. That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note on xiii. 25, and, that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv, we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii as applied to our Lord.

The Future Life. In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest

attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in 1 Enoch xci–civ.

The Jewish Calendar. For our author's peculiar views see Charles's edition § 18 and the notes on vi. 29–30, 32, xv. 1.

Angelology. We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see Charles's edition.

Demonology. The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(*a*) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lusting after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1–9.

(*b*) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince Mastêmâ (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgement of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43–5; Luke xi. 24–6). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgement (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2–3).

Judgement. The doctrine of retribution is strongly enforced by our author. It is to be individual and national in this world and in the next. As regards the individual the law of exact retribution is according to our author not merely an enactment of human justice—the ancient *lex talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; it is observed by God in His government of the world. The penalty follows in the line of the sin. This view is enforced in 2 Macc. v. 10, where it is said of Jason, that, as he robbed multitudes of the rites of sepulture, so he himself was deprived of them in turn, and in xv. 32 seq. it is recounted of Nicanor that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. So also in our text in reference to Cain iv. 31 seq. and the Egyptians xlviii. 14. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation, but spiritually conceived it represented the profound truth of the kinship of the penalty to the sin enunciated repeatedly in the New Testament: 'Whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap' (Gal. vi. 7); 'he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done' (Col. iii. 25, &c.). Again in certain cases the punishment was to follow instantaneously on the transgression (xxxvii. 17).

The final judgement was to take place at the close of the Messianic kingdom (xxiii. 30). This judgement embraces the human and superhuman worlds (v. 10 seq., 14). At this judgement there will be no respect of persons, but all will be judged according to their opportunities and abilities (v. 15 seq.). From the standpoint of our author there could be no hope for the Gentiles.

§ 16. Bibliography.

(*a*) Greek Version: see above, § 4 (*a*). Ethiopic Version: this text was first edited by Dillmann from two MSS. *cd* in 1859, and by R. H. Charles from four MSS. *abcd*. *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees . . . with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin Fragments*, Oxford, 1895. Latin Version: see above, § 4 (*a*).

(*b*) Translations. Dillmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissensch., 1850–1, ii. 230–56; iii. 1–96). This translation is based on only one MS. Schodde, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* ('Bibliotheca Sacra,' 1885–7): Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS.* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, v. 703–8; 1894, vi. 184–217, 710–45; 1895, vii. 297–328): Littmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, 1900, ii. 31–119). This translation is based on Charles's text.

(*c*) Commentaries. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1902. Rönsch published a Commentary on the Latin Version. See above, § 4.

(*d*) *Critical Inquiries.* Dillmann, 'Pseudepigraphen des A. T.,' Herzog's *R. E.*², xii. 364–5; 'Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes' (*Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akad.*, 1883); Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1856; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1898; Bohn, 'Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen' (*Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1900, 167–84). For a full bibliography see Charles's Commentary or Schürer.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1–4. *Apostasy of Israel*, 5–9. *Captivity of Israel and Judah*, 10–13. *Return of Judah and rebuilding of the temple*, 15–18.. *Moses' prayer for Israel*, 19–21. *God's promise to redeem and dwell with them*, 22–5, 28. *Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?)*, 26. *And an angel to write down the law*, 27. *This angel takes the heavenly chronological tablets to dictate therefrom to Moses*, 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their Jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of God as he said unto him, 'Go up to the top of the Mount.'

1 1 And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spake to Moses, saying: 'Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which 2 I have written, that thou mayst teach them.' And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the 3 glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. And He called to Moses on the seventh day **out of** the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the 4 Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days 5 of the law and of the testimony. And He said: 'Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in **transgressing** the covenant 6 which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that 7 I have been truly with them. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land of which I sware to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: 'Unto your seed 8 will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their 9 tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness, and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will 10 prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. And many will perish

2450 Anno Mundi.

Prologue gives admirable account of contents of the book. At once a history and a chronological system dominated by sacred number 7. History extends from creation to legislation on Sinai. Thus it embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. All is re-written from standpoint of *strictest Judaism.*

throughout all the years of the world. These words imply intention of the author to write history up to time of Messianic kingdom. Cf. i. 26.

1. **third month, on the sixteenth day of the month.** Completes imperfect date of Exod. xix. 1. (Same day as God appears to Jacob on way to Egypt, xliv. 5.) For the rest of the verse cf. Exod. xxiv. 12.

2–4 *a*. Exod. xxiv. 15–18.

3. **out of.** Emended in accordance with Exod. xxiv. 26, מתוך by a change of one letter.

flaming. Change of one vowel would give 'devouring' as in Exod. xxiv. 17.

4. **God taught him the earlier and the later history.** Cf. i. 26; also Megilla 19 *b* 'The Holy One, blessed be his name, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times'; so also Shem. Rabb. 40 (Wünsche, 282), Menachoth 29 *b*, Wajikra Rabb. 26 (Beer).

5–10. Ezra ix. 9, 10, 11; Exod. xxiii. 33, xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxx. 1–20, xxxi. 19, 20, 24–6, 27; 2 Kings xvii. 7–17.

5. **write them,** &c. Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27.

how I, &c. Cf. Ezra ix. 9.

transgressing. An emendation, *sĕḥĕtô* from *'ashĕtô* of *bcd.*

6. Deut. xxx. 1.

7. **write.** See i. 27 (note). On verse cf. Deut. xxxi. 27; Exod. xxxiii. 3.

10. Captivity of Israel who had forsaken 'my sanctuary', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 15–68, and Lev. xxvi. 14–39.

and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set my name
11 upon it, and that it should dwell (there). And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they
12 will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. And I will send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change
13 everything so as to work evil before My eyes. And I will hide My face from them, and I will deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I will remove them from the midst of the land, and I will scatter them amongst the Gentiles.
14 And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go
15 astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I will gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek me, so
16 that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul. And I will disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I will †remove them the plant of uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they shall be for a blessing and not for
17 a curse, and they shall be the head and not the tail. And I will build My sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them, and I will be their God and they shall be My people in truth and
18, 19 righteousness. And I will not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God.' And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, 'O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against
20 Thee. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them
21 from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which thou hast delivered with thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in
22 their sins from henceforth until eternity.' And the Lord said unto Moses: 'I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess
23 their own sin and the sin of their fathers. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity.
24 And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My
25 commandments, and I will be their Father and they shall be My children. And they all shall be

11–13. Idolatry and captivity of Judah. Cf. Ezek. xx. 28, 31; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, xxviii. 3; 1 En. xcix. 7.

12. **I will send witnesses . . . but they will not hear.** Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 19, xxxvi. 15–16; Jer. xxv. 4; Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49.

but . . . will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26.

work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.

13. Cf. xxi. 22; Isa. i. 15; 2 Kings xxi. 14.

for a prey = *laḥabl* emended from *laḥebl*.

14. Captive Judah forgets service of God. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.

15–17. Repentance of Judah will bring return and rebuilding of the Temple. 15. Deut. iv. 30, 29; Jer. xxix. 13, 14.

16. **†remove them the plant of uprightness†.** The expression 'Plant of uprightness' = Israel from the outset. Original perhaps is Jer. xxxii. 41. Cf. 1 En. x. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Not improbably 'in this land' was lost after the verb. We might read ונטעתים for והסיעתים = 'I will plant them in this land.' Cf. Jer. xxxii. 41. Reversal of the judgement in 13 is required here.

they shall be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.

the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13; 1 En. ciii. 11.

17. The second Temple. *a b* > 'their' before God. Cf. Exod. xxv. 8, xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12; Ezek. xiv. 11; Jer. xxiv. 7, xxx. 22.

18. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6.

19. **do not forsake . . . rule over them.** 2 Kings xxi. 14; Deut. ix. 26; Ps. cvi. 41.

20. Ps. li. 10. **Beliar,** see note on xv. 33.

21. Deut. ix. 26, 29. **a holy spirit.** Cf. i. 23 and xv. 14 (note).

22. Deut. xxxi. 27. **confess,** &c. Lev. xxvi. 40; Neh. ix. 2.

23. **turn,** &c. 2 Chron. vi. 38. **circumcise.** Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6. **I will cleanse them . . . eternity.** Implies no more exile for Israel.

24. **I will be their Father,** &c. From 2 Sam. vii. 14; used in 2 Cor. vi. 18 of all Christians. In 2 Sam. vii. 14 these words refer to Solomon. God is the Father of the nation in Deut. xxxii. 6; Isa. lxiii. 16; Jer. xxxi. 9;

called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit shall know, yea, they shall know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that
26 I love them. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell
27 with them throughout eternity.' And He said to the angel of the presence: 'Write for Moses from
28 the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all shall know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem shall
29 be holy.' (And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1–16. *Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated*, 17–32. (Cf. Gen. i.–ii. 3.)

2 1 And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the complete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and
2 appointed it as a sign for all His works. For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before him—the angels of the

Cf. also Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Isa. xliii. 6; Judges ix. 4. In Sir. xxiii. 1; Wisd. ii. 16, &c., it is used of the righteous individual, elsewhere of righteous Israel. In Jubilees Israelites are God's children in virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 13. Also *Sayings of the Fathers*, iii. 22 (Taylor's ed.).

25. **children of the living God.** Hosea i. 10.

26. Moses receives 'Jubilees' as a secret revelation. Cf. esp. 4 Ezra xiv. 6, also Exod. xxxiv. 27–28; Deut. x. 2–4. Conclusion of this verse implies that history of 'Jubilees' is to be brought down to author's own time—that of the early Maccabees. Like 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1; Ass. Mos. x; 1 En. xci–civ, he expected God would dwell with man. He lived in hourly expectation of the 'end of the times'. Like author of 'Beast Visions', 1 En. lxxxvii–xc, he believed this would be accomplished by a Messiah, but his Messiah was to spring from Judah, cf. xxxi. 18 n.

27. Angels only accompany Jahweh in Deut. xxxiii. 2, they mediate indirectly in Ezek. xl. 3. Zechariah and Daniel assign even a larger rôle to the angels. Test. Dan. vi further develops the idea. In N.T. times the ministry of angels has become the universal means of approaching or hearing from God. Expressly affirmed by Philo, *De Somniis*, i. 22, Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5. 3; Paul (Gal. iii. 19), Stephen (Acts vii. 53), and author of 'Hebrews' ii. 2, also Samaritans (Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* 15), De Sacy, xii. 16. Hostility to Christians caused Rabbis to revert to older view in Shabb. 88 *b*, Shem. Rabb. 28. The angel here writes, not the Pentateuch, but a history up to the Messianic kingdom, but Deut. xxviii–xxx may be meant.

28. Read this verse after 25. **eyes of all.** Cf. Rev. i. 7.

King on Mount Zion. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 23.

29. **angel of the presence,** derived from Isa. lxiii. 9. Cf. Test. Judah xxv.; 1 En. xl. 2; probably Michael, Israel's guardian angel; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*,[2] 168; Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6.

went before, &c. Exod. xiv. 19.

from the day of the [new] creation > 'new', inserted wrongly.

†when† > *b*. Possibly an interpolation, or a mistake of ὡς for ἕως; translate 'until'.

Author as Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; Test. Levi xviii, believed in a *gradual* transformation of the world, moral and physical. Perhaps borrowed from Mazdeism (cf. Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, 254). From 100 B.C. this view was supplanted by the belief in a violent and sudden revolution of things (1 En. xci. 16, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. The author divides this process of renewal into three periods: 1st, Deluge, v. 12, 13; 2nd, choice of Israel, i.e. foundation of Hebrew nation, xix. 25, cf. ii. 22; 3rd, establishment of Messianic kingdom, cf. i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. This division is *unique*.

renewed for healing, as Rev. xxii. 2.

II. Cf. Epiphanius, περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν, xxii; Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, 4); Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, 7); Midrash Tadshe, vi. 11–16, all based on Jubilees, though the last, like other Jewish writings, postpones creation of angels to second day (so Ber. Rabb., others fifth, Philo seventh) in order to show gulf between them and God. For full notes see Charles' Commentary, pp. 10–12.

2. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4; Epiph. *Haer.* lxv. 4; Rufinus, *Expos. in Symb.* 21.

the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. These two superior classes of angels (i. 19, ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14) alone are superior to righteous Israelites. Cf. Sanh. 93 *a*; Tanchuma 13; Ber. Rabb. 8. Epiph. reads 'glory' for 'sanctification'. But the Lat. xv. 27 has 'sanctificationis'.

The inferior angels are over natural phenomena. Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; 1 En. lx. 12–21, lxxv, lxxx; 2 En. xix. 1–4; Rev. xiv. 18, iv. 5, vi. 1, vii. 1, &c.

presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide ⟨and night⟩, and the light, dawn and day, which He hath
3 prepared in the knowledge of his heart. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day.
4 And on the second day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created
5 on the second day. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of
6 the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament,
7 and the dry land appeared. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden,
8 and all ⟨plants after their kind⟩. These four great works God created on the third day. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the
9 light from the darkness. And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and
10 for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all
11 things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by his hands, the fish and everything that moves in the
12 waters, and everything that flies, the birds and all their kind. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all
13 fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. And on the sixth day
14 He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave
15 him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. And there were altogether
16 two and twenty kinds. And He finished all his work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in
17 everything. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but
18 keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him
19 in heaven and on earth. And He said unto us: 'Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these shall keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto
20 Myself, even so will I bless them, and they shall be My people and I will be their God. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as

[of . . . angels] *b c d.* > *a*, Epiph.
of snow. So Epiph. *ab* read 'of all' > *cd.*
the. Eth. reads 'all', *kuellú* for *ellu* = 'these' = *τάς* simply.
and night, added from Epiph.
4. Cf. Gen. i. 6–7; 2 En. xxvi–xxvii.
5–14. Cf. Gen. i. 9–28; 2 En. xxx. 1–8.
5. **third day** + 'He made as' MSS.
7. **in Eden**, or 'for pleasure': dittography. Eden created on third day as in 'Conflict of Adam and Eve,' i. 1. Cf. 2 En. xxx. 1; Ber. rabb. 15.
4 Ezra iii. 6 taught it was 'pre-existent'; this became the prevailing view among Jews and Christians. Cf. Weber, *J.T.* 198; Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8.
plants after their kind. So Epiph.
9. Author avoids the moon, because it upsets his calendar.
16. **on the sixth day.** So Gen. ii. 2ᵃ (Sam., LXX, Syr. against Mass.).
17–21. The two chief orders of angels like Israel observe the Sabbath: apparently the third order, like the Gentiles, do not, as they are inferior to Israel.
20. Cf. Isa. xli. 8, xliv. 1, 2. **I have chosen.** 'I will choose', Epiph.

My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the
21 Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.' And thus He created therein a
sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to
drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself
22 a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. And He
caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . . .
23 There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of
work were made until the seventh day; this is blessed and holy; and the former also is blessed and
24 holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. And to this (Jacob and
his seed) it was granted that they should always be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony
25 and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. He created
heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy,
for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon
26 shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. Wherefore do thou command the children of
Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to
27 defile it, as it is holier than all other days. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever
does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day
throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed
28 day. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and
29 blessed throughout all days like unto us. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this
day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of
their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is **unseemly**, to do thereon
their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, †and
(that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden,†
30 which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. And they shall
not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed
than any jubilee day of the jubilees; on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made
31 known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator of all things blessed
it, but he did not sanctify all peoples and nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them
32 alone he permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator
of all things blessed this day which He had created for blessing and holiness and glory above all
33 days. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their
generations.

My first-born son. Cf. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27; Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. **a peculiar people.** Cf. Deut. vii. 6; Exod. xix. 5; Amos iii. 12. **peculiar.** So Eth. easily emended.

22. **commands † †**

sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21; Exod. xxix. 18; Ezek. xx. 41; 2 Cor. ii. 15; Eph. v. 2.

acceptable before Him. Rom. xii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. Agreement of all authorities proves a lacuna here. Restored text='as there were twenty-two letters and twenty-two sacred books and twenty-two heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made twenty-two kinds of work.' Combine twelve minor prophets, Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, taking Kings, Chronicles, and Samuel as three books, hence twenty-two.

Jacob and the Sabbath are parallel in their exaltation.

25. Cf. Exod. xxxi. 14, 15, xxxv. 2; Numb. xv. 32–6.

27. **rooted out.** Cf. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. Cf. Isa. lvi. 2, 4; lviii. 13; Neh. xiii. 15–22. **Which is unseemly.** Like Littmann, I take za'îjerkawen za'îjâstar'î as = שֶׁלֹּא יִהְיֶה רָאוּי. See also on iii. 15. Or we may connect 'unseemly' with the following infinitive, 'unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure', as this is the usual construction after רָאוּי. Cf. Esther ii. 9; Chull. 83 *b*; Nid. vi. 4.

Law against preparing food deduced from Exod. xvi. 23, xxxv. 3. The order is dislocated here. Either we have a dittography of 30 or else the law concerning burdens should precede law about preparing food. Latter law in Ber. 2 *b*, former in Jer. xvii. 21–7; Neh. xiii. 19; Shabb. vii. 2; esp. John v. 10.

30. Chief Jewish festivals observed in heaven. Cf. vi. 18.

31. **the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples . . . to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone.** The words or rather the thought of them recurs in the Jewish Prayer Book (ed. Singer), p. 124, 'O Lord our God . . . who hast sanctified us . . . and . . . hast given us this holy Sabbath;' 139, 'Thou didst not give it unto the nations of other lands,' &c.

31. **it.** Restored by a change of punctuation in one letter.

Israel alone privileged and for ever. Cf. Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14; Ex. xxvii. 21.

32. **He had created for blessing and holiness and glory.** Cf. Jewish Prayer Book, p. 150. 'This Sabbath day which Thou hast given us for holiness . . . for honour and for glory.'

Adam names all creatures, 1–3. *Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification*, 4–14. *Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion*, 15–29. *Law of covering one's shame enacted*, 30–2. *Adam and Eve live in Êldâ*, 32–5. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18–25, iii.)

3 1 And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day.
2 And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name.
3 And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on
4 the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. And the Lord said unto us: 'It is not
5 good that the man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him.' And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst
6 his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called
7 [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband.' Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be
8 one flesh. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their defilement,
9 for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered into the garden
10 of Eden. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tablets in regard to her that gives birth: 'if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these
11 days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days
12 in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days.'. And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides,
13 and every tree that is planted in it is holy. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor
14 enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the
15 days. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden for 1–7 A.M.
seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything
16 that is **suitable** for tillage. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was
17 being kept]. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven 8 A.M.
years exactly, and in the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, 'Hath God commanded you,

III. 1–16. Gen. ii. 19–25.
3. **found**, Mass., Sam.; against LXX, Syr., Vulg. of Gen. ii. 20, 'was found'.
4. **Let us make.** So Gen. ii. 18 (LXX, Vulg.). Mass., Sam., Syr., 'I will make'.
5, 6. Cf. Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21, 'thirteenth rib.'
6. [my] interpolated from Eth. version, where alone it is found; Mass., Syr., Vulg. > 'her'.
7. Omits 'twain' as Mass., Onk.
8–14. Adopts ancient or invents new legend to explain origin of law of purification after child-birth in Lev. xii. 2–5. Cf. *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 74; Anastasius Sinaita; Glycas, *Chron.* 392; Syncell. i. 8–9; Midrash Tadshe xv; Eppstein, *R. E. J.* (1890), xxxi. 92. For quotations see Charles' Commentary, 22–4.
10. **heavenly tablets.** Cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3, lxxxi. 1, xciii. 2, ciii. 2; Test. Levi v; Test. Asher ii, vii. In En. and Test. the idea wavers between absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple.
In Jubilees they are at times a record even for contemporary events (xiv. 9, xxx. 20, xxxi. 32), or a heavenly copy of levitical laws (iii. 8, 31, iv. 32, v. 13, vi. 17, xv. 25, xvi. 29, xxiv. 33, xxviii. 6, xxxii. 15, &c.).
15. Adam seven years in paradise. Sanh. 38 *b*, *Die Schatzhöhle* (trans. Bezold), p. 7, says six hours.
God instructs him. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 26–9; later assigned to Michael (Vit. Ad. xxii) or angels (Ber. Rabb. 24).
suitable. With Littmann I take zajâstar'î as = ראוי. See on ii. 9. But the ord. sense 'revealed' may be right here.
17–22. Gen. iii. 1–7.

18 saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?' And she said to it, 'Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'
19 And the serpent said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and
20 evil.' And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit
21 was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. And when she had first covered her shame with figleaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was
22 naked. And he took figleaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and
3. 24 covered his shame. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . And He was wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her: 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth
25 children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee.' And to Adam also he said, 'Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou **wast taken**; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt
26 thou return.' And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from
27 the Garden of Eden. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the
28 rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue.
29 And He sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created
30 for them. And to Adam alone did He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and
31 cattle. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tablets as touching all those who know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the
32 Gentiles uncover themselves. And on the new moon of the fourth month, Adam and his wife went 8 A.M.
33 forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of Êldâ in the land of their creation. And
34 Adam called the name of his wife Eve. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he
35 knew her. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1–12. *Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared*, 13–15. *Enoch and his history*, 16–25. *Four sacred places*, 26. *Methuselah, Lamech, Noah*, 27, 28. *Death of Adam and Cain*, 29–32. *Shem, Ham, and Japhet*, 32. (Cf. Gen. iv–v.)

4 1 And in the third week in the second jubilee[a] she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth[b] she 64–70 A.M.
2 gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth[c] she gave birth to her daughter Âwân. And in the first (year) of 71–77 A.M.
the third jubilee,[d] Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept 78–84 A.M.
3 the offering of Cain. And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, 99–105 A.M.

23. Lacuna: supply from Syncell. i. 14; Targ., Ps.-Jon. on Gen. iii. 14, Midrash Koheleth some statement to the effect that the serpent's feet were cut off. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

24. Follows Gen. iii. 16 (LXX).

25–6. Gen. iii. 17–19, 21, 24.

25. **thy bread.** So LXX. Mass., Sam. > 'thy'.

wast taken, *tanshâ'ĕka* corrupt, as often, for *tanashâ'ĕka*.

27. Adam's incense-offering antedates Exod. xxx. 34.

day . . . he covered his shame. Cf. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42. Beer 41 suggests he was thinking of priests at the altar.

28. A common Jewish belief. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4; *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 18; Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32. Our text is quoted by Syncell. i. 14; Cedren. i. 9, 10; Zonaras, i. 23. Original language was said to be Hebrew (xii. 25; cf. Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xi. 1; Ber. rabb. 18; Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11); or Syriac (*Die Schatzhöhle*, Theodoret, Ephraem); or Greek (Eutychius; 2 En. xxx. 13; Or. Sibyll. iii. 24–6); or Aramaic, since Adam wrote Ps. cxxxix (Sanh. 38 *b*; but Shabb. 12 *b* says angels do not understand Aramaic).

31. Good indication of date. Author protests against following Greeks in stripping for the games. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 12–14; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1.

32. **'Eldâ,** corrupt for מולדה, 'land of nativity,' as Onk. and Ps.-Jon. in Gen. iii. 23. So 'creation' is a rendering of 'Êldâ.

34. No marriage in Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7.

IV. 1. No two early authorities agree in the names of Adam's daughters.

Syncell. i. 14 dates Cain's birth in 70 A.M., Abel's in 77, 'Asouam's' (= Âwân's) in 85, and puts Abel's sacrifice at 22 years of age, i. e. 99 A.M.

2–3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

4 complaining because he had slain him. And the Lord reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him, and he made him a **fugitive** on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he
5 cursed him upon the earth. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, 'Cursed is he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and
6 the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other.' And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and
7 on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. And Adam and his wife mourned for 99–1
Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week they became joyful, and Adam 130
knew his wife again, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said 'GOD has
8 raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him.' And in the sixth
9 week he begat his daughter Azûrâ. And Cain took Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare 134–
him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the first week of the fifth 190-
jubilee, houses were built on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of 197
10, 11 his son Enoch. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. And in the fifth week 225–
of the fifth jubilee Seth took Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth (year of the sixth 235
12, 13 week) she bare him Enos. He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth. And in the seventh jubilee in the third week Enos took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son 309–
14 in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name Kenan. And at the close of the eighth 325,
jubilee Kenan took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, 392
15 in the first week in the third year of this week, and he called his name Mahalalel. And in the 395
second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dînâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl 449–
the daughter of his **father's brother**, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and 461
he called his name Jared: for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do
16 judgment and uprightness on the earth. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, 512–
and her name was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and she bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and 522
17 he called his name Enoch. (And he was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of
18 their separate months. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years
19 as we made (them), known to him. (And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all
20 the children of men and for their generations. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week 582–8

3. **complaining.** Cf. Gen. iv. 10; 1 En. xxii. 5, 6.
4. Eth. *nuḫ*, a bad transliteration of Hebrew נָע, 'fugitive,' Gen. iv. 12.
6. Cf. Intr. to 2 Enoch xxxiv, Charles' edition.
7–8. Usually the mother names the child in Genesis, father in 'Jubilees', as Sam. in Gen. iv. 25. Exceptions are Gen. iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26, Exod. ii. 22.
9. **Enoch.** Cf. Gen. iv. 17; Syncell. i. 16; Jashar, 96.
10. **nine sons**, quoted by Epiph. *Haer.* xxxix. 6. Jashar speaks of three; Syncell. i. 18 and Vit. Ad. of thirty-three.
11. ( ) supplied acc. to Syncell. i. 17.
12. Gen. iv. 26. Originally as here הוחל was taken in a good sense. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3. 1, LXX, Syr., but Jerome, and later Rabbis, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 23, Jashar ii. 1090, 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20, Shabb. 118 *b*, and Onk. take as implying ceasing from prayer or beginning idolatry.
15. Read 'father's brother' for 'father's sister' with Greek MS. *r* on Gen. v. 15 and Syriac Fragment.
Jared . . . descended, play on words in Hebrew.
angels of the Lord descended on the earth. Gen. vi. 1–4; Is. xxiv. 21. True interpretation here as in 1 Enoch vi. 2 (Greek), Test. of XII Patr., Philo, Jude, 2 Peter, and Epiphanius. Subsequently to Christians, 'sons of God' become 'children of Seth;' first in Julius Africanus, emphatically in Chrysostom, *Homilies*, Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv, Jerome, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii, Eutychius, Syncellus, *Die Schatzhöhle*, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, esp. bk. iii, iv, Zonaras, Glycas. Later Jewish authors (Onkelos, Symmachus, Ps.-Jon., Ber. rabb., Jashar, &c.) made them into 'mighty men', 'judges', &c. By this means Enoch's greatness was transferred to Seth by Christians, just as to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, by Jews.
Watchers, as in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23; 1 En. i. 5, xx. 1; 2 En. vii, xviii.
17–23. Shows the parts of Enoch books which were known to our author. Cf. 1 En. vi–xvi, xxiii–xxxvi, lxxii–xc.
17. For 'Enoch the scribe' see 1 En. xii. 3, 4. Contrast 1 En. lxix. 8.
18. Enoch does not deal with 'weeks of jubilees', &c. See Jub. vii. 37, xxi. 10 (note).
19. This vision is that in 1 En. lxxxiii–xc. Name of his wife and nature of his dream are the same in both, also ascetic tone (vision seen before marriage).

thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of Dânêl, the daughter of
his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name 587 A.M.
21 Methuselah. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they
showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down
22 everything. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for
these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch
23 testified against (them) all. (And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted
him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the con-
24 demnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. And on
account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set
as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the
25 deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation.) And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary,
26 (even) **sweet spices** acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. For the Lord has four places on the
earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this
day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification
of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness through-
27 out the generations of the world. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself 652 A.M.
a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzrîâl, the daughter of his **father's brother**, in the third week, in the
28 first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lamech. And in the fifteenth 701–7 A.M.
jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of
Bârâkî'îl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his
name Noah, saying, 'This one will comfort me for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground
29 which the Lord hath cursed.' And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in 930 A.M.
the sixth year thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he
30 was the first to be buried in the earth. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for
one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written
concerning the tree of knowledge: 'On the day that ye eat thereof ye shall die.' For this reason he
31 did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. At the close of this jubilee Cain was
killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst of his house,
and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in
32 righteous judgment. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tablets: 'With the instru-
ment with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that
33 he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him.' And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah 1205 A.M.
took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ĕmzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his
father's brother, in the first year in the fifth week: and in the third year thereof she bare him 1207 A.M.
Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare 1209 A.M.
him Japheth. 1212 A.M.

21, 22. Refer to 1 En. xii–xvi, xxiii–xxxvi.

23. Points to tradition like that at base of 1 En. lxx. Enoch is heavenly scribe here as in 2 En. xxiii. 1–3. Cf. also 1 En. xii. 3; 2 En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5.

Garden of Eden, as in 1 En. lxx. 1–3; 2 En. lxvii. 2.

24. Cf. 2 En. xxxiv. 3; Test. Naph. 4.

25. *quatr* corrupt for *quĕtarê*, 'sweet spices.' Cf. Exod. xxx. 7.

26. Four abodes of God on earth. 'Mountain of the East', uncertain; either Mount Ephraim (Rapoport, *ZDMG*, xi. 730–33, implying Samaritan authorship) or Lubar on Ararat (Rönsch, pp. 505–6); or mount above Eden where Sethites live (in *Die Schatzhöhle*, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, &c.); or 'throne of God' in 1 En. xviii. 6, xxiii. 1, xxxii. 1.

27. **father's brother.** Emended as in iv. 15.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. ? Noah born in 707 as Sam. Chron. The explanation of Noah's name is much elaborated in Jashar 13*b*; Ber. Rabb. 25.

29. Cf. iii. 32.

30. **one thousand years . . . one day.** 2 Pet. iii. 8; Ep. Barn. xv; 2 En. xxxiii; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* lxxxi, and Lactant. *Institution.* vii. 14.

On the day, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 17.

31–2. Two legends exist of Cain's death. This is the earlier, quoted in Syncell. i. 19; Cedren. i. 16. Law of exact retribution enforced by Cain's fate; cf. Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19. Beer says this law was unknown to traditional Judaism in cases of murder; but cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32. It reaches the ideal in Gal. vi. 7; Col. iii. 25 and Gospel parables of 'Dives and Lazarus' and 'Unforgiving Debtor'. The later legend makes Lamech slay Cain.

33. Shem really oldest in Gen. x. 21: so Vulg., Sanh. 69*b*.

The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. *Corruption of all creation*, 2–3. *Punishment of the fallen angels and their children*, 4–9 *a*. *Final judgment announced*, 9 *b*–16. *Day of Atonement*, 17–18. *The deluge foretold, Noah builds the ark, the deluge*, 19–32. (Cf. Gen. vi–viii. 19.)

5 1 And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they
2 chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men
3 (was) thus evil continually. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had **wrought all manner of evil**
4 before His eyes. And He said that He would destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the earth
5, 6 which He had created. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and
7 behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed
8 from under heaven. And He said 'My spirit shall not always abide on man; for they also are flesh
9 and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years'. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword
10 and were destroyed from the earth. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before
11 the Lord. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom
12 He judged not according to all their wickedness. And he †made† for all his works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all
13 righteous each in his kind alway. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and
14 for every kind. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are
15 ordained and written and engraved. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his
16 greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the
17 gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained: If they turn to him in righteousness,
18 He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. It is written and ordained that
19 He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account; (for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was com-
20 manded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him.) And the Lord said that he would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and
21 beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. And He commanded Noah to
22 make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. And Noah made the ark in all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh jubilee of years, in the fifth week 1307

V. Parallel to Gen. vi–viii. 19. Cf. 1 En. vi. 1, 2, vii. 5, x. 12, lxxxix. 3.
3. **wrought all manner of evil.** See Ethiopic text.
4. **that He would,** &c. So MSS. *bc*.
11–12. Corruption of tense probable in Hebrew; the 'new creation' is still in the future.
16. Cf. Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.
17–18. Interpolated, or transposed from xxxiv. 18–19.
18. The Day of Atonement blots out all sins for the truly penitent (contrary to Lev. xvi. 21; Yoma viii. 9).
19. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23–32.
22. Read 'twenty-seventh' for 'twenty-second'.

23 in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, 1308 A.M.
in the second month, on the new moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and
all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth
evening.
24 And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,
And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number.
25 And the flood-gates began to pour down water from the heaven forty days and forty nights,
And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water.
26 And the waters increased upon the earth:
Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high mountains,
And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.
27 And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five months—one hundred and fifty days.
28, 29 And the ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the mountains of Ararat. And (on the
new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of
heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses
30 of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. And on the new
moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first 1309 A.M.
31 month the earth became visible. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth
week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.
32 And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and
birds, and every moving thing.

Sacrifice of Noah, 1–3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20–2). *God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden*, 4–10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1–17). *Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood*, 11–14. *Bow set in the clouds for a sign*, 15–16. *Feast of weeks instituted, history of its observance*, 17–22. *Feasts of the new moons*, 23–8. *Division of the year into* 364 *days*, 29–38.

6 1 And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on
2 that mountain. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its
blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save
3 those that were in the ark with Noah. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an
ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and
placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled
wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, **acceptable** before
4 the Lord. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there
should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and
harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night should not
5 change their order, nor cease for ever. 'And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and
become many upon it, and be a blessing **upon** it. The fear of you and the dread of you I will
6 inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. And behold I have given unto you all beasts,
and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all
7 things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. But flesh, with the life
thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of
your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every ⟨beast⟩ will I require the
8 blood of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of
9, 10 God made He man. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth.' And Noah and his sons

28. **Lûbâr**, in Armenia (Sayce); the Babylonian Noah rested on Mount Nizir, in the Lulubi of the Assyrian inscriptions.
29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 7.
30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.
31. The earth became dry exactly one year after Noah entered the ark. In Gen. viii. 14 this is on the twenty-seventh, not the seventeenth day. Lagarde's LXX MS. *z* on Gen. viii. 14 quotes part of 31 and 32; also the date in vi. 1.

VI. 1. Cf. xiv. 1, xliv. 1 (events on same date). Ber. Rabb. 34 placed Noah's altar at Jerusalem.
2. Cf. Lev. xviii. 26; Num. xxxv. 33, but they give no exact parallels.
3. Gen. viii. 20, expanded by Lev. ii. 2, 5; Exod. xxix. 40.
acceptable, *jâshamer* for text *jĕshamer*.
4–7. God's covenant with Noah, as Gen. viii, ix.
5. **be a blessing** for 'multiply' in Gen. ix. 7.
upon. Text *mâ'ekala* corrupt for *lâ'elêhâ*.
10–14. Noah's covenant is completed and confirmed by the Mosaic one in same month. Cf. Exod. xix. 1.

swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the
11 Lord God for ever throughout all the generations of the earth in this month. On this account He
spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the
mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words
12 of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. And this testimony is written concerning
you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts
or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of
cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land.
13 And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed
14 may be before the Lord our God continually. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is
for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar: every day and at the time of morning and
evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep
15 it and not be rooted out. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again
16 be a flood on the earth. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there
17 should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth. For this reason it
is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this
18 month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. And this whole festival was celebrated in
heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years:
and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's 1309
death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and 1659
19 they eat blood. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to
thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain.
20 And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a
21 commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. For
it is the feast of weeks and the feast of first fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature:
22 according to what is written and engraven concerning it, **celebrate** it. For I have written in the
book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its
season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should
remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year.
23 And on the new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the
new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained
24 as a testimony for ever. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever,
25 so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. And on the new moon of the first month
he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened
26 (the ark) and saw the earth. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths
of the abyss beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of
27 the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. And on the new
28 moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. And on this
account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained.
29 And they placed them on the heavenly tablets, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another
(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the
30 third to the fourth. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and
(these will make) the entire year complete. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly
31 tablets. And there is no neglecting (this commandment) for a single year or from year to year.

11, 14. Proper use of blood in daily sacrifice. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3–8.

17–18. **the feast of weeks** is connected with Noah's covenant here only. Later it is ascribed to Moses. The name 'Pentecost' (2 Macc. xii. 32; Tobit ii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 8) is not yet in use.

21. Cf. Num. xxviii. 26.

celebrate, *gĕbarâ*, emended from *gĕbrâ*, 'its celebration.'

22. **one day** = first day (Eppstein), i. e. of the week. Pentecost was to be on a Sunday every year. Cf. xlix. 7, 8.

23. The four great days of the year have a religious significance here, but an astronomical one in 1 En. lxxv. 1, 2, lxxxii. 11 (intercalary days). Cf. Ezek. xlvi. 6; Rosh ha-Shanah, i. 1. They are associated here with patriarchal events. Cf. iii. 32, v. 29, vi. 26, xvi. 1, xxviii. 24, xlv. 1, xii. 16, xiii. 8, xxviii. 14, &c.

26–7. Gen. viii. 2, 5; 1 En. lxxxix. 7, 8.

29–30. Solar year of 364 days (cf. iv. 17, v. 27, xii. 16) = 12 months of 30 days and 4 intercalary days. Eppstein, on vi. 32 (*Revue des Études Juives* xxii. 10–13), suggests that Jubilees uses two calendars—the second being a parallel ecclesiastical year, a multiple of 7; i. e. 13 months of 28 days. Cf. vi. 22, 28. On the great difficulties connected with the calendar of our author and of pre-Christian Judaism see my Commentary *in loc.*

32 And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—
three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not
disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to
33 their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. But if they do neglect
and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons,
and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years
34 will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. And all the children of Israel will forget,
and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths,
35 and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know and from henceforth will I
declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and
on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant
36 and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. For
there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—how (it) disturbs the
37 seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come
upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony,
and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and
the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and
38 jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after
thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and
sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and
sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1–5. *Becomes drunk and exposes his person*, 6–9. *The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth*, 10–12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20–8). *Noah's sons and grandsons and their cities*, 13–19. *Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed*, 20–39.

7 1 And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on 1317 A.M.
the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they
produced fruit in the fourth year, and he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the 1320 A.M.
2 seventh month. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth 1321 A.M.
3 year, until the first day, on the new moon of the first month. And he celebrated with joy the day
of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven
sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself
4 and his sons. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on
the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice,
5 and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. And he placed
all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he
had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to
6 ascend **acceptable** before the Lord his God. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his
7 children with joy. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down
8 and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and
9 went forth and told his two brethren without. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and
Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and **went backward** and covered the shame
10 of their father, and their faces were backward. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that
his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: 'Cursed be Canaan; an
11 enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren.' And he blessed Shem, and said: 'Blessed be the

32. The impossible number 364 as in 1 En. lxxiv. 10, lxxv. 2; 2 En. xlviii, is probably due to dogmatic considerations; to make the festivals fall on the same day of the week from year to year. Contrast 2 En. xiv. 1 ('365¼ days').
Bacon, *Hebraica*, viii. 79–88, 124–39 (1891–2), shows that the same causes operated on the authors of the Deluge story in P. The flood lasted *one year* in the Chaldaean account—this was a lunar year of 354 days but P makes it last *one year and ten days*; i.e. a year of 364 days.
34. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 4–6.
35. **not of my own devising.** Cf. Num. xvi. 8; Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.
36. Cf. ii. 9, iv. 21. Contrast 1 En. lxxiv. 12; Sam. Chronicle (Neubauer, *Journal Asiatique* (1869), xiv, no. lv. 421, seq.).

VII. 3. Cf. ritual of Num. xxix. 2, 5.
5. **acceptable.** Emended as in vi. 3.
6–12. Gen. ix. 21–7 (LXX).
9. Text restored by emending *gatsômû* into *gabî'ômû*.

12 Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall
13 dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.' And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from
14 his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. And he built for
15 himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after
16 the name of his wife 'Adâtanêsês. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlĕbâb.
17 And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlĕbâb fronting the mountain on its
18 east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) **was born** two years after the flood—and
19 **Lud, and Aram**. The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and
20 Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to 1324–
enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, 1372
and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls
21 from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth, namely, owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they
22 chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. And they begat sons the Nâphîdîm, and †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphîl, and the
23 Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. And every one sold himself
24 to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. And after this **they sinned against** the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil
25 continually. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth
26 He destroyed everything. 'And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness; for in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother.
27 For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children, and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth,
28 and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth.

29 And there shall not be left any man that eateth blood,
Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
Nor shall there be left to him any seed or descendants living under heaven;

For into Sheol shall they go,
And into the place of condemnation shall they descend,
And into the darkness of the deep shall they all be removed by a violent death.

30 There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your
31 souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. And ye shall not be like him who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may eat blood before you: cover the blood,
32 for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required
33 at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. For the earth will not be clean from the blood

13. Gen. x. 6.
16. Shem is the good son.
18. Unintelligible text restored by a few slight changes.
20–39. Fragment of lost 'Book of Noah'. Cf. Epiph. *Ancorat.* cxii.
Our author has left unchanged the 1st persons of the verbs in verses 26–39.
21. **These three things.** Almost the three cardinal sins. Cf. Gen. vi. 2; 1 En. vii. 1; Ber. Rabb. 31.
22. Three classes of giants. Cf. 1 En. vii. 1 (Greek), lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2.
were unlike, perhaps better 'plundered' or 'strove' (by slight emendations).
23. 1 Kings xxi. 20; 1 En. ix. 1–9, vii. 5, lxxxvii. 1.
24. **they sinned against.** Cf. 1 En. vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.
29. Used by 1 En. ciii. 7–8.

which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be
34 purified throughout all its generations. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and
righteousness that ye **may be planted** in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your
35 glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. And behold, ye will go
and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover
36 all fruit-bearing trees. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered:
and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable
before the Most High God, who created heaven and earth and all things. Let them offer in
abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and
37 what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). And
in the fifth year

. . . . . .

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous,
38 and all that you plant shall prosper. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command
Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things
39 which his fathers commanded him. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch
commanded his son in the first jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and testified to his son and to his son's sons until the day of his death.'

Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars, 1–4. *His sons*, 5–8. *Noah's sons and Noah divide the earth*, 10–11. *Shem's inheritance*, 12–21: *Ham's*, 22–4: *Japheth's*, 25–30. (Cf. Gen. x.)

8 1 In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to 1373 A.M.
himself a wife and her name was Râsû'ějâ, the daughter of Sûsân, the daughter of Elam, and she
2 bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. And the son grew, 1375 A.M.
and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for
3 himself a city. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he
read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching
of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and
4 stars in all the signs of heaven. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was
5 afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. And in the
thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name 1429 A.M.
was Mêlkâ, the daughter of **Madai**, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and 1432 A.M.
6 called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' [And in the fourth year he was
born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of
Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year 1499 A.M.
7 thereof. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he 1503 A.M.
took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second
8 jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. And in the sixth year thereof, she bare him 1564 A.M.
a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began 1567 A.M.
9 to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. And they
10 divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. And it came to pass in the
beginning of the thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham 1569 A.M.
and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us,
11 who had been sent, was with them. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and
their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his three sons were to take in possession,
and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father.

34. **who saved me,** &c. Probably read by 2 Peter ii. 5.
may be planted. Emended by Dillmann by a change of one vowel.
36. Beer says this was the view of Ibn Ezra, Caraites, and Samaritans, concerning the fruit of the fourth year. The law in Lev. xix. 23–4 seems rather exacting. Our translation agrees with it in reading 'will be accounted holy' (*b c*; 'will be gathered' *a d*), but this interpretation is contrary to the ordinary view of Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19, &c.
37. Lacuna here. Laws about fruit should be continued.
39. **the seventh.** Cf. 1 En. lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14. See on xxi. 10 for the attribution of halachoth to Enoch.

VIII. 5. Madai emended with Syr. Frag. and Lagarde's Greek MS. *r*: *μελχα θυγατηρ μαδαι*. Text here corrupt. Play on words Shelah, 'sent'. Cf. 'Peleg' in 8.
9–10. The secret division of the earth is followed by an authoritative compact. The object here is to vindicate the Hebrew invasion of Palestine, as the rightful inheritance of sons of Shem. Cf. similar accounts in Epiph. *Ancorat.* cxii; *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544; Chron. Paschale i. 53; Jerahmeel xxxi. 2; Syncell. i. 82; Cedren. i. 23.

12 And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as
an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the
mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river Tînâ, and his portion goes
towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the
abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mê'at, and this river
flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the
13 south belongs to Shem. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue
14 which looks towards the south. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a
straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is
15 named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. And it turns from here towards the south towards the
mouth of the great sea on the shore of (its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it
extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the
16 banks of this river. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the
south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it
turns to the †east† and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends
17 to the bank of the mouth of the river Tînâ. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons,
18 that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. And Noah rejoiced that this
portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his
mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,
And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem.'

19 And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount
Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three
20 were created as holy places facing each other. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the
21 word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. And he knew that a blessed portion
and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of
Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red
Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the
islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the
north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'ĕdâi, and all the mountains
of Ararat. and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the
22 north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that is in it is very good. And for Ham came forth the
second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends
towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the
sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which
23 †everything which is not destroyed descends†. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of
Gâdîr, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it
draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden
24 of Eden. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy
25 for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. And for Japheth came forth the
third portion beyond the river Tînâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north-
26 easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. And it extends northerly
to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of
27 Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. And it
extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly
28 to the waters of the sea of Mê'at. And it extends to the region of the river Tînâ in a north-easterly
direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns
29 round towards the north. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion
of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever;

12. Palestine, **middle of the earth,** as Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1; Sanh. 37 *a*.
Râfâ = Ural Mountains. **Tînâ** = Tanais or Don. **Mê'at** = Maeotis or Sea of Azov.
13. **Kârâsô** = Chersonese (Dillmann), or Rhinocorura on Egyptian border, perhaps more likely.
15. **'Afrâ** = Africa in early limited sense. **Gihon** = the Nile, as Jer. ii. 18, Shihor; Sir. xxiv. 27.
16. Read 'north' for 'south'.
18–19. The three 'Abodes of God' are in Shem's portion. Cf. iv. 26.
21. **Kaftûr** or Kamâtûri, either Crete or Cyprus or Cilicia or Cappadocia (Amos ix. 7, LXX) or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid. **Sanîr** or Senir (Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5) is Hermon. **'Amânâ** is Antilibanus or Mt. Amanus. **Mâ'ĕdâi** is Media.
22–24. Ham's portion: vague limits in Asia. **'Atêl** = Atlantic? **Mâ'ûk** = Oceanus. **Gâdîr** = Cadiz.
25–29. Japheth's portion. **Gog** = Scythians (Josephus). **Qêlt** = Celts. **'Afêrâg**? = Phrygia.

30 five great islands, and a great land in the north. But it is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1: *Shem's* 2–6: *Japheth's,* 7–13. *Oath taken by Noah's sons,* 14–15.

9 1 And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him
2 [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk
3 to the Red Sea and the river Tînâ. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of
4 Asshur and Nineveh and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends **and skirts** the river. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the
5 Euphrates. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains
6 of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of
7, 8 Asshur his brother. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tînâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of
9 Mê'at. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two
10 brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. And for Javan came forth the fourth
11 portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue.
12 And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it
13 approaches the east of Gâdîr. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî
14 came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. And thus the sons of Noah divided unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating
15 a curse on every one that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. And they all said, 'So be it; so be it,' for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1–2. *Noah's prayer,* 3–6. *Mastêmâ allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits,* 7–11. *Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons,* 12–14. *Noah dies,* 15–17. *Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues,* 18–27. *Canaan seizes on Palestine,* 29–34. *Madai receives Media,* 35–6.

10 1 And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of†
2 the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and
3 slaying his sons' sons. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said:

29. **five islands,** as 1 En. lxxvii. 8.
30. Epiphanius makes this heat of his country Canaan's reason for seizing Palestine.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6. **Cush** = Ethiopia. **Mizraim** = Egypt. **Put** = Libya.
2. **Elam,** from Red Sea to Pontus, includes India.
3. **skirts.** Text corrupt, but easily emended.
9. Madai's lot embraces Britain (Epiph., Syncell., Jerahmeel).
10. **Javan** = Ionia, here all islands of Aegean.
12. 'Three tongues.' Probably Italy, Greece, Thrace.
13. **Tiras** = Aegean sea-coast, or Thracians (Josephus). [ ] interpolated from ix. 4.

X. Another fragment of 'Apocalypse of Noah', part of Hebrew original in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch,* iv. 155.
1. **unclean demons:** cf. 1 En. xv–xvi; souls of children of disobedient 'watchers'.

'God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,
And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4 But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth.
5 And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and
6 created in order to destroy. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous
7, 8 from henceforth and for evermore.' And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: 'Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men.'
9 And He said: 'Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the
10 place of condemnation.' And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their
11 medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemna-
12 tion, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he
13 might heal them with herbs of the earth. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from
14 (hurting) the sons of Noah. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he
15 loved him exceedingly above all his sons. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on
16 Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen 1659 A
17 jubilees and two weeks and five years. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation
18 unto generation, till the day of judgment. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômnâ the daughter of Sinâ'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said: 'Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves
19 a city and a tower in the land of Shinar.' For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, 'Go to, let us ascend thereby into
20 heaven.' And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which
21 comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. And they built it: 1645–
forty and three years were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the height (of a brick) 1688 A
was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall
22 was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). And the Lord our God said unto us: 'Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with

3. **God of the spirits of all flesh.** Cf. Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. **sons of perdition:** 2 Thess. ii. 3.
6. **canst . . . them:** *kuânnenô lômû* emended from *kuennanêhômû.*
8. **Mastêmâ** (Hos. ix. 7, 8) = 'enmity' = Mastiphat (-m) (Syncell., Cedren.), Mansemat (Acts of Philip, ed. Tisch. p. 98). The demons, as in 1 Enoch, are accusers, seducers, and destroyers. In xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28, Israel is declared free from them; here he falls from this hope to talk of spells, charms, &c. Shem, as priest, receives these from Noah; cf. xlv. 16.
9. The **tenth** here is a modification of 1 En. xv–xvi ('all').
18. **Reu . . . evil.** A play on words in the Hebrew.
19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 5.
20, 21. Text without emendations unintelligible.
21. Quoted by Eutychius 51, Glycas 240, Nicephorus i. 175, &c. For the emendations see my text, pp. 36–7.
22. Gen. xi. 6.

23 them till the day of judgment.' And the Lord descended, and we descended with him to see the
24 city and the tower which the children of men had built. And he confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the
25 tower. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their
26 cities, each according to his language and his nation. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the
27 land of Shinar, and they called its name 'Overthrow'. In the fourth week in the first year in the 1688 A.M.
beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar.
28 And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion
29 in the land of the south. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt, that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from the border
30 of the sea. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers said unto him: 'Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition
31 ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. Dwell
32 not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound our-
33 selves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father.' But he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of
34, 35 Egypt, he and his sons until this day. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until
36 this day. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). *Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and idolatry*, 2–7. *Nachor and Terah*, 8–14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22–30). *Abram's knowledge of God and wonderful deeds*, 15–24.

11 1 And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself 1681 A.M.
a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and
2 he called his name Sêrôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. And the sons of Noah 1687 A.M.
began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell
3 male and female slaves. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and
4 called its name after his own name and the name of his father. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits
5 assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy,
6 and to shed blood upon the earth. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one
7 turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter 1744 A.M.
8 of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the
9 Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee 1800 A.M.

25. Gen. xi. 9.
26. This story occurs also in Orac. Sibyl. iii. 98–103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3, &c.; Syncell. i. 77; Cedren. i. 22.
29. This story comes only here and in dependent authorities; e.g. Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.

XI. 1. **Sêrôh.** Heb. סוּר, 'turn aside'.
2–6. Cf. Book of Adam and Eve iii. 24 for corruption of mankind.

in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Îjâskâ, the
10 daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. And she bare him Terah in the seventh year of this week. 1806
11 And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough
12 in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. And for this reason he called his name Terah because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their
13 seed. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the
14 earth in their days. And in this thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah 1870
took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ednâ, the daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's
15 sister. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, and he called his name Abram, 1876
by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son.
16 And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he 1890
17 separated himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that
18 his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the
19 ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, 'Descend
20 not: return to the place whence ye came,' and they proceeded to turn back. And he **caused** the clouds of ravens **to turn back** that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land
21 where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the
22 land of the Chaldees. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought
23 enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. And in the first year of the fifth week Abram taught 1891
those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the
24 ravens. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1–8. *Marries Sarai*, 9. *Haran and Nachor*, 9–11. *Abram burns the idols: death of Haran*, 12–14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). *Terah and his family go to Haran*, 15. *Abram observes the stars and prays*, 16–21. *Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed*, 22–4. *Power of speaking Hebrew given to him*, 25–7. *Leaves Haràn for Canaan*, 28–31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31–xii. 3.)

12 1 And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his 1904 A
2 father, saying, 'Father!' And he said, 'Behold, here am I, my son.' And he said,

'What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,
And before which thou dost bow thyself?

3 For there is no spirit in them,
For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
Worship them not:

10. Gen. xi. 25.
11–20. Legends of Abram's boyhood, quoted by Jerome, *Epist.* lxxviii, *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 24.
12. **reduced . . . to destitution** i.e. תרע, 'lay waste'—a play on Terah (תרח).
16–17. Cf. Beer, *Leben Abrahams* 102–4; Fabricius, i. 422.
20. **caused.** The causal form is needed.

XII. 1–14. The extravagant legend of Abram in fiery furnace, common in the later Rabbis, is apparently unknown to our author; Haran's fate in 14 is a relic of this idea based on Gen. xv. 7; Exod. xx. 2; Isa. xxix. 22.
2. Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 38, makes Terah inventor of image-worship. For **help and profit** cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21.
3. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 17.

4 Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth
And does everything upon the earth,

And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.

5 Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,

And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,

But they are a great cause of shame to those who make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship them:
Worship them not.'

6 And his father said unto him, 'I also know it, my son, but what shall I do with a people who have
7 made me to serve before them? And if I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul
8 cleaves to them to worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee.' And
9 these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent. And
in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, 1925 A.M.
10 and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became his wife. And Haran, his
brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the 1928 A.M.
11 seventh year of this week, and he called his name Lot. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself 1932 A.M.
12 a wife. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth week, in the fourth year 1936 A.M.
thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the
13 house, and no man knew it. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the
14 midst of the fire. And Haran hasted to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt
in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father, and they buried him in Ur of
15 the Chaldees. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land
of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with
16 Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, 1951 A.M.
Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars
from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard
17 to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. And a word came into his heart and he said:
'All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord.
Why do I search (them) out?

18 If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in his hand.'

19 And he prayed that night and said,
'My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of thy hands.

20 Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have dominion over the thoughts of men's hearts,
And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.

And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore.'

21 And he said, 'Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees who seek my face that I may return to them,
or am I to remain here in this place? The right path before Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy
servant that he may fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness of my heart, O my God.'

4. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22; Matt. v. 45; Acts xiv. 17.
5. Jer. x. 3, 9; Am. v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Ass. Mos. viii. 4; Ep. Jer. 4, 26.
9. Follows Gen. xx. 12. Abram's action is contrary to law of Lev. xviii. 9, xx. 17; evasions of later writers unknown apparently to our author; e.g. Josephus i. 6. 5, 7. 1 turns Sarah into Abraham's niece.
16–18. Abram is rebuked for star-gazing. Cf. Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.* xxxii; Ber. rabb. 44 and later authors.
21. **he**; MSS. read 'I'.

22 And he made an end of speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was sent to him through me, saying: 'Get thee up from thy country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy father unto a land which I will show thee, and I shall make thee a great and numerous nation.
23 And I will bless thee
And I will make thy name great,
And thou shalt be blessed in the earth,
And in Thee shall all families of the earth be blessed,
And I will bless them that bless thee,
And curse them that curse thee.
24 And I will be a God to thee and thy son, and to thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from
25 henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I am thy God.' And the Lord God said: 'Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which has been revealed'; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the
26 overthrow (of Babel). And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak
27 with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six
28 rainy months. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his 1953
father and informed him, that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and
29 return to him. And Terah his father said unto him; 'Go in peace:
May the eternal God make thy path straight,
And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from all evil,
And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before those who see thee,
And may none of the children of men have power over thee to harm thee;
Go in peace.
30 And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take
31 Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother as thine own son: the Lord be with thee. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together.'

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1–14*a*. *Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron*, 14*b*–21. *Chedorlaomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah: Lot taken captive*, 22–4. *Law of tithes enacted*, 25–9. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4–10, 15–17, 19–20; xiii. 11–18; xiv. 8–14; 21–4.)

13 1 And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near
2 a lofty oak. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to
3 the lofty oak. And the Lord said to him: 'To thee and to thy seed will I give this land.' And
4 he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to
5 him. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the
6 east, and pitched his tent there. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and **date** trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the
7 mountains. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought
8 him to this land. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of 1954
the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: 'Thou,
9 the eternal God, art my God.' And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He
10 should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine

25–26. Abram at 75 taught the sacred language (Hebrew), quoted by Syncell, i. 185; Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.
27. **six rainy months** = winter; as Talmud (Taan. 3 *b*, Erub. 56 *a*).
29. This blessing protects Abram from the reproach of leaving his aged father. (Singer, *Jubiläen*, 170; Ber. Rabb. 39).

XIII. 2. **the lofty oak.** So LXX. Gen. xii. 6 (Mass. = 'oak of Moreh').
3–10. Gen. xii. 7–10.
6. **date trees**: *bîlanôs* for *bîbanôs* (*a*).
10. **Bealoth** = Josh. xv. 24.

11 in the land. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt
12 five years before his wife was torn away from him. Now Tanais in Egypt was at that time built—
13 seven years after Hebron. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife.
14 And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also,
15 his brother's son, was wealthy. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the
16 Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. And it came to pass in the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, 1963 A.M. and called on the name of the Lord, and said: 'Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever
17 and ever.' And in the fourth year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and 1964 A.M.
18 the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's
19 son had parted from him; for he had no children. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: 'Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and
20 eastward. For all the land which thou seest I will give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I will make thy seed as the sand of the sea: though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet
21 thy seed shall not be numbered. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all; for to thy seed will I give it.' And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there.
22 And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom
23 fled, and many fell through wounds in the **vale of Siddim**, by the Salt Sea. And they took captive Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and
24 all his possessions, and they went to Dan. And one who had escaped came and told Abram that
25 his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants. . . . . for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the first fruits to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests
26 who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep.
27, 28 And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: 'Our Lord Abram, give unto us the
29 souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine.' And Abram said unto him: 'I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These shall take their portion.'

Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1–7. *Offers a sacrifice and is told of his seed being in Egypt*, 8–17. *God's covenant with Abram*, 18–20. *Hagar bears Ishmael*, 21–4. (Cf. Gen. xv.; xvi. 1–4, 11.)

14 1 After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: 'Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and
2 thy reward will be exceeding great.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he
3 will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed.' And he said unto him: 'This (man) will not
4 be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir.' And He

12. **Tanais** = Zoan (Num. xiii. 22).
13–15. Gen. xii. 15–20; but 18 and Abraham's deception are cut out.
17. Gen. xiii. 11.
19–21. Gen. xiii. 14–18.
22. Names as LXX.
22. **vale of Siddim**: an easy emendation.
25. This lacuna told of the pursuit, and the meeting with Melchizedek. Our author would naturally be interested in the first man who bore the title assumed by his heroes, the Maccabees.
26. He finds precedent in Gen. xiv. 20 for law of universal tithing.
28–9. Gen. xiv. 21–4.

XIV. 1–16. Gen. xv. 1–16.

brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: 'Look toward heaven and number the stars if thou
5 art able to number them.' And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said
6 unto him: 'So shall thy seed be.' And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for
7 righteousness. And He said unto him: 'I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I will be God unto thee and to
8 thy seed after thee.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?'
9 And He said unto him: 'Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep
10 of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon.' And he took all these in the middle of the month;
11 and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and
12 laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. And birds came down upon the
13 pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they shall bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred
14 years. And the nation also to whom they will be in bondage will I judge, and after that they shall
15 come forth thence with much substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried
16 in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall return hither; for the iniquity of the
17 Amorites is not yet full.' And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the
18 pieces. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: 'To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the
19 Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites. And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit offerings, and their drink offerings, and
20 the fire devoured them. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself
21 for ever. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed
22 that he would have seed, but she did not bear. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him: 'Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee
23 by her.' And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, 'Do (so).' And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his
24 wife. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth year in the life of Abram. 1965

Abram celebrates the feast of first fruits, 1–2: *his name changed and circumcision instituted*, 3–14. *Sarai's name changed and Isaak promised*, 15–21. *Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised*, 22–4. *Circumcision an eternal ordination*, 25, 26. *Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised*, 27–9. *Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels*, 30–2. *Future faithlessness of Israel*, 33–4. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

15 1 And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the 1979
2 month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain harvest. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep

12, 17, 19. Text = *ταθέντα* corrupt for *τμηθέντα* = **the pieces**: or corrupt for *κταθέντα* = פגרים as in Mass. = 'carcases'.
12. **and . . . away** as Mass. Aquila.
13. **four hundred years**: Gen. xv. 13; contradicts (*a*) Exod. xii. 40 (430 years); (*b*) Period calculated from Exod. vi. 18, 20 and vii. 7 (ages of Kohath, Amram, and Moses at Exodus). Author like Philo and Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell.* v. 9. 4) avoids later attempts to reconcile them, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 39. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 118–20.
16. Cf. Gen. xxi. 5. A generation was one hundred years.
18. **Hivites**: Gen. xv. 20, Sam. LXX.
20. **that day** = Sivan 15; day of Noah's covenant.
21–4. Gen. xvi. 1–4, 11.

XV. 1. †**Fourth**† (*a c d*). *b* reads 'seventh'. It should be 'third', here and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognized. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xliv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17–18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

First of all it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word 'Sabbath' in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the

on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit offerings and their drink offerings he
3 offered upon the altar with frankincense. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him:
4 'I am God Almighty; approve thyself before me and be thou perfect. And I will make My
5 covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly.' And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6 'Behold my ordinance is with thee,
And thou shalt be the father of many nations.

7 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram,
But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.
For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8 And I will make thee very great,
And I will make thee into nations,
And kings shall come forth from thee.

9 And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.
10 ⟨And I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee⟩ the land where thou hast been a sojourner,
11 the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I will be their God.' And the Lord said unto Abraham: 'And as for thee, do thou keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it shall be a token of
12 an eternal covenant between Me and you. And the child on the eighth day ye shall circumcise,

Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved 'on the morrow after the Sabbath' (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, ממחרת השב). In what sense, then, are we to take the word 'Sabbath'? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

First the word 'Sabbath' is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day. (i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης (here ἡ πρώτη = חשבת), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, מבתר יומא טבא קמאה; in the Targum of Onkelos (מבתר יומא טבא) where 'the Sabbath' is simply rendered the 'feast day': in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ: in Philo, *de Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: Ἑορτὴ δὲ ἔστιν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα. The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1–3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (*a*) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (*b*) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A. D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase ܒܬܪܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ = 'after the second (feast) day', that is Nisan 21. (*c*) But the usage is as early as the second century B. C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term 'Sabbath' stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 *a*) took 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. Pal. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136–7) holds that the τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatribe de Secta Karaeorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connexion. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos. Recht*,[2] 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבת), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*; Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon.*

1–27. Gen. xvii. 1–27.
2. Not as Lev. xxiii. 18–20.
10. Words restored from Gen. xvii. 8 were lost through hmt.

every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought
13 with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. He that is born in
thy house shall surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money shall be circum-
14 cised, and My covenant shall be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. And the uncircumcised male
who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul shall be cut off from
15 his people, for he has broken My covenant.' And God said unto Abraham: 'As for Sarai thy wife,
16 her name shall no more be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. And I will bless her, and give
thee a son by her, and I will bless him, and he shall become a nation, and kings of nations shall
17 proceed from him.' And Abraham fell on his face, and **rejoiced**, and said in his heart: 'Shall a son
be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?'
18, 19 And Abraham said unto God: 'O that Ishmael might live before thee!' And God said: 'Yea,
and Sarah also shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My
20 covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after him. And as for Ishmael also
have I heard thee, and behold I will bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly,
21 and he shall beget twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation. But My covenant will
22 I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee, in these days, in the next year.' And He left
23 off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. And Abraham did according as God had
said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had
24 bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. And
on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, ⟨and those born in the
house⟩, and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were
25 circumcised with him. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of
the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained
26 and written on the heavenly tablets. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not
circumcised **on** the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made
with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he
is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of

14. **on the eighth day**. These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's Commentary *in Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatzsch, vi. 123–4): Incircumcisus masculus, qui non fuerit circumcisus in carne praeputii sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa: and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV, many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenizing attitude towards circumcision our author emphasizes what was apparently the current view of his time, i. e., that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: 'A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well.' But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (Eichhorn's *Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: 'We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לא נאחרו יום אחד) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more.' That the severer form of the halachah prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second century A. D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial c. Tryph.* 27): 'Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (*τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμοίως κἂν ᾖ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων*;). Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?' This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (Midrash Tillin 10 *b*, Soteh 10 *b*, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פריעה, 'or the laying bare'. This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

17. **rejoiced**. Nestle has pointed out that Jub. here as Targ. Onk. on Gen. xvii. 17 read וְהָרִי, while Targ. Jon. has ותמה. Hence he explains John viii. 56.

24. **and those . . . house**: restored with Lat.

26. **on**: MSS. and Lat. wrongly 'till'.

27 the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should
28 be with Him and with His holy angels. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be
29 rooted out of the land. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it
30 for ever among all the children of Israel. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of
31 Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him.
32 But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He
33 may be theirs from henceforth for ever. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them,
34 sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron and Isaac again promised, 1–4. *Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance*, 5–9. *Abraham at Beersheba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God*, 10–19. *Institution of the feast of Tabernacles*, 20–31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12; xix. 24, 29, 33–7; xx. 1, 4, 8; xxi. 1–4.)

16 1 And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife.
2 And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished
3 her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets (i. e.) Isaac,
4, 5 And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth.
6 And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to
7 the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. But Lot we saved; for God
8 remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his
9 time; for the man lay with his daughters. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tablets, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day
10 of condemnation. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between
11 Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from
12 thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited
13 Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken and she conceived. And she bare a son in the third

27. Latin wrongly makes four orders of angels—really two, as in ii. 18. Cf. Weber, *J. T.* 25.

31–2. Dependent on Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 (LXX). Cf. Sir. xvii. 17; Dan. x. 13, 20, 21; 1 En. lxxxix.; cf. also 1 Cor. x. 19; Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

lead them astray. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21, 22; 1 En. xc. 22. Ultimate result treated as immediate purpose of God's action, but cf. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, i. 805–20.

33. Shows great strength of Hellenist movement in second century B.C. **Sons of Beliar** cf. Test. Dan. 5; 1 Sam. ii. 12.

34. Our prophet has here become a mere writer of annals.

XVI. Cf. Gen. xviii, xix. The story of the angels' visit is curtailed (perhaps their eating shocked him) and Abram's unseemly conduct to Abimelech is passed over.

12–14. Gen. xxi. 1–4. Isaac born on Sivan 15, but according to Rosh ha-Shanah 10*b* on the Passover Feast, and according to Midrash Tanchuma on Nisan.

month, and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on
14 the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. And Abraham circumcised his son on
the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained
15 for ever. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath,
and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have
16 conceived a son. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and
we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him,
that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but
17 (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: And (that) all the seed of his sons should be
Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy
18 seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. For he should become the portion of the
Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be unto the Lord
a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and
19 a holy nation. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and
20 they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had
delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated
a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath.
21 And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate
22 the feast of tabernacles on the earth. And during these seven days he brought each day to the
altar a burnt offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin offering,
23 that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven
kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit offerings and their drink offerings; and he
burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour.
24 And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte,
and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in
25 equal parts (and) pure. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart
and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house, and there was no stranger with him,
26 nor any that was uncircumcised. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation,
for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him
would arise the plant of righteousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it
27 should become like Him who had made all things. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the
28 name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. And we
blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because
29 he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tablets. For this
reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of
tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for
30 ever throughout their generations every year. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained

15. **†fourth†**. Read 'third'. [ ] a gloss.

16. **him** = Lat., Eth. = 'her'; **six sons more**: cf. Gen. xxv. 2.

17. Cf. Sanh. 59 *b*.

18. Read *terît* ('possession') for *tersît* ('magnificence') (*a b c*); cf. Exod. xix. 6; Deut. vii. 6; *d* has *rest* ('inheritance'); cf. Deut. iv. 20. Latin, *populum sanctificatum*.

a kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = βασιλεία καὶ ἱερεῖς, whereas the Latin has *regnum sacerdotale* = βασιλεία ἱερατική = ממלכת כהנים. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems to represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 βασιλειαν ἱερεῖς. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in giving practically the same rendering of ממלכת כהנים in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as מלכין כהנים (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. מלכין קטירי כלילא וכהנין משמשיי (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. מלכין וכהנים; and the Syr. version ܡܠܟܐ ܘܟܗܢܐ; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin *regnum sacerdotale* is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.

19. **rejoiced**: cf. xv. 17.

20–31. Contrast Num. xxix. 12–40. This peculiar account of the Feast of 'Tabernacles' is quoted by Cedrenus, i. 50.

24. Uses Exod. xxx. 34; cf. Sir. xxiv. 15. These seven *spices* are as Jer. Joma iv. 5; Kerithoth 6 *a b*; Nowack, *Hebr. Archaologie*, ii. 248.

26. **plant of righteousness**, cf. 1 En. x. 16, lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10.

29, 30. Cf. Lev. xxiii, 40–1.

for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon
31 their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. And Abraham took **branches** of
palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches
seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1–14. *Mastêmâ proposes that God should require Abraham to sacrifice Isaac in order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials*, 15–18. (Cf. Gen. xxi. 8–21.)

17 1 And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made 1982 A.M.
2 a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. And Ishmael, the son of
Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced
3 and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. And he remembered the
words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced
because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his
4 mouth the Creator of all things. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing †and dancing,† and Abraham
rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, 'Cast out this
5 bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac.' And
the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son,
6 that he should drive them from him. And God said to Abraham 'Let it not be grievous in thy
sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee,
7 hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. But as for
8 the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed.' And Abraham
rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and placed them on the shoulders
9 of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of
Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on,
10 and fell down. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her
down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, 'Let me not see the death of my
11 child,' and as she sat she wept. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, 'Why
weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy
12 voice, and hath seen the child.' And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she
went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards
13 the wilderness of Paran. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him, and his
14 mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. And she bare him a son, and he called
15 his name Nebaioth; for she said, 'The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him.' And it came 2003 A.M.
to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth
of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He
16 told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. And the prince
Mastêmâ came and said before God, 'Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him
above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will
do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him.
17 And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through
his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again
through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through
18 Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. And in everything wherein He
had tried him, he was found faithful, and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act;
for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

Sacrifice of Isaac: Mastêmâ put to shame, 1–13. *Abraham again blessed: returns to Beersheba* 14–19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1–19.)

18 1, 2 And God said to him, 'Abraham, Abraham'; and he said, Behold, (here) am I.' And he said,

30. Wreaths only here in connexion with this Feast; but cf. Wisd. ii. 7: Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1; and Gittin 7 *a*; Sota 49 *b*, a practice at weddings.

31. **branches.** MSS. and Lat. 'heart'. לולב was taken as לבב.

XVII. 1–13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8–21.

1. **†fifth†.** Read 'fourth'.

4. **and dancing** (wa-yezafen): ? corrupt for 'with Isaac' (ba-yeṣḥaq) (LXX, Vulg.).

7. **a great nation:** as Sam., Syr., LXX, Vulg.; Ps.-Jon. 'a nation of robbers'. Mass., Onk. > 'great'.

11. An angel takes the place of God here: as Mastêmâ does in 16. In both cases, due to reverence.

17. Abraham's ten trials. The number nearly always the same; the contents different. Here concludes with Sarah's burial, xix. 3–8; usually with sacrifice of Isaac. See my Comm., 121, 122.

XVIII. 1–17. Gen. xxii. 1–19.

'Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him
3 on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee.' And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the
4 burnt offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, 'Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the
5 lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you.' And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the
6 knife, and they went both of them together to that place. And Isaac said to his father, 'Father;' and he said, 'Here am I, my son.' And he said unto him, 'Behold the fire, and the knife, and the
7 wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?' And he said, 'God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son.' And he drew near to the place of the mount of
8 God. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife
9 to slay Isaac his son. And I stood before him, and before the prince Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, 'Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears
10 the Lord.' And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: 'Abraham, Abraham;' and he
11 was terrified and said: 'Behold, (here) am I.' And I said unto him: 'Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast
12 not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me.' And the prince Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold a ram caught ... by his horns, and Abraham
13 went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called that place 'The Lord hath seen', so that it is said ⟨in the mount⟩ the Lord hath seen: that is
14 Mount Sion. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused
15 us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. And he said: 'By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord,

Because thou hast done this thing,
And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,
That in blessing I will bless thee,

And in multiplying I will multiply thy seed
As the stars of heaven,
And as the sand which is on the seashore.

And thy seed shall inherit the cities of its enemies,
16 And in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed;

Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me in all that I have said unto thee:
Go in peace.'

17 And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham 2010 A
18 dwelt by the Well of the Oath. And he celebrated this festival every year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of the Lord according to the seven days during which he went and
19 returned in peace. And accordingly has it been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival seven days with the joy of festival.

Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah, 1–9. *Marriage of Isaac and second marriage of Abraham. Birth of Esau and Jacob*, 10–14. *Abraham commends Jacob to Rebecca and blesses him*, 15–31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1–4, 11–16; xxiv. 15; xxv. 1–2, 25–7; xiii. 16.)

19 1 And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt
2 opposite Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. And in the first year of the †third† week

2. **thy beloved son.** As in LXX.

11. **I have shown** = Lat. version *manifestavi*. The Eth. could also be rendered 'I have known', as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 יָדַעְתִּי, but 'shown' is supported by both Lat. and Eth. in ver. 16. Cf. also Syr. of Gen. *l. c.*

13. **in the mount**: added from Latin = Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass.-LXX).

15. **thy beloved son** (*a d*) = τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου = ידיד. Lat. has, however, *tuo unigenito* = τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου = יחיד. For similar divergences perhaps due to a dittography in the Hebrew cf. LXX (A) of Judges xi. 34: αὕτη μονογενὴς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16. But here *c d* have 'thy first-born son' (ver. 11), and add (like Lat. *quem dilexisti*) 'whom thou hast loved', which addition may go back to Gen. xxii. 2, or to ידיד (the variant or dittograph of יחיד) in Gen. xxii. 16.

cities. So Onk., Sam. Vers., LXX in Gen. xxii. 17, where Mass. and Sam. have 'gate'.

16. **Go in peace**: 1 Sam. i. 17.

XIX. 2. Read 'second' for 'third'. This chapter uses much of Gen. xxiii, xxv.

3 of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. And
Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient
and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not
4 disturbed. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they
5 should give him a place in which to bury his dead. And the Lord gave him grace before all who
saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double
6 cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. And they besought him,
saying, We shall give it to thee for nothing; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing,
for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice, and after
7 this he buried his dead in the double cave. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred
and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the
8 years of the life of Sarah. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found
9 faithful, patient in spirit. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that
God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to
bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of
10 God. And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca 2020 A.M.
[the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and **daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel** was the son of Mêlcâ, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham.
11 And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the **daughters**
of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. And she bare him six sons, Zimram,
12 and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. And in
13 the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and 2046 A.M.
Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob
14 dwelt in tents. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn, for he
15 was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. And Abraham
16 loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in
Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding
17 Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. And he said unto her:

My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,
For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.

18 For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people **for possession** unto Himself, above all
19 peoples that are upon the face of the earth. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob,
but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.

20 Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he shall be a blessing unto us on the earth from henceforth unto all generations of the earth.

21 Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.

He shall be blessed for ever,
And his seed shall fill the whole earth.

22 If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also shall be numbered.

23 And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and
24 his seed alway. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and

5. **double-cave**: as LXX.
four hundred: as Latin; Eth. gives 40.
9. **friend of God**: cf. xxx. 20 and xxiv. 15; Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chr. xx. 7; Dan. iii. 35 (LXX); James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ.-Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17 and Philo, *De Sobrietate* 11.
10. **daughter . . . Bethuel**, emended with help of Latin.
11. **daughters**: Lat.; Eth. has 'sons'. Author explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later view identified Hagar and Keturah. Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* in Gen. xxv. 1; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 83–198.
16. According to later Jewish tradition Abraham did not live to see Esau's sin; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63.
18. **possession**. See xvi. 18; Deut. vii. 6.
peoples restored from Latin.

25 Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. And these shall serve
To lay the foundations of the heaven,
And to strengthen the earth,
And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament.
26 And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and
27 said: 'Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may he cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the
28 earth. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the
29 Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and
30 thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son.' And they both went forth
31 together from Abraham. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1–10. *Dismisses them with gifts*, 11. *Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah*, 12–13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5–6.)

20 1 And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, 2052
2 and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. And he (? 204
commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteous- A.M.
ness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each
3 so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. That they should circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and
4 uncleanness]. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of
5 the land. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.

6 'And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,
And from all pollution of sin,

Lest ye make our name a curse,
And your whole life a hissing,

And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,
And ye become accursed like Sodom,
And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.

7 I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,
And cleave ye to all His commandments.

And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,
8 And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods;

For they are vanity,
And there is no spirit in them;

For they are work of (men's) hands,
And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

24. List of 'righteous patriarchs'. Why is Methuselah omitted and Adam and Mahalalel inserted? Opinion about Adam varied. Erubin 18 *b* held him a saint. Sanh. 38 *b* an atheist!
25. Cf. Isa. li. 16.
28. Cf. xv. 31–2.

XX. 1. Read 'sixth' for 'seventh'.
twelve sons: Gen. xxv. 13–15.
2. *ṣab'ĕ* ('war') emended to *sab'ĕ* ('men').
4. Cf. xli. 25. This punishment was restricted to priests' daughters in Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 33; Ezek. xvi. 40.
6. **make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing**: based on Isa. lxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18; 1 En. v. 6.
8. Deut. xxvii. 15; Exod. xx. 5.

9 Serve them not, nor worship them,
But serve ye the most high God, and worship Him continually:

And hope for His countenance always,
And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,

That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His mercy,
And send rain upon you morning and evening,

And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon the earth,
And bless thy bread and thy water,

And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.

10 And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
And all nations of the earth will desire you,

And bless your sons in my name,
That they may be blessed as I am.'

11 And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away
12 from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. And Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in
13 all the land which is towards the East facing the desert. And these mingled with each other, and their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of salt, 1–11. *Also regarding the woods to be used in sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc.,* 12–25.

21 1 And in the sixth year of the †seventh† week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and 2057
commanded him: saying, 'I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my (? 2050)
2 days. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my A.M.
life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly
3 in all His ways. My soul has hated idols, ⟨and I have despised those that served them, and I have
4 given my heart and spirit⟩ that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. For He is the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judg-
5 ment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. And do thou, my son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the
6 abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. And eat no blood at all of
7 animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. And if thou dost slay a victim as an acceptable peace offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the offering offer on the altar with fine flour and the meat offering mingled with oil, with its drink offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord.
8 And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that

9. **have pleasure in.** Read *diligat* for *dirigat* in Latin. The blessings are those of Deut. vii. 13, xxviii. 8, Exod. xxiii. 25.
10. Cf. Gen. xii. 2.
13. Latin 'clave to the Arabs, and (they are) Ishmaelites, to this day'.

XXI. These dying commands of Abraham about the ritual of sacrifice occur also in Test. Levi. ix, where, however, they are put into the mouth of Isaac. Both accounts come from a common source, as has been made clear from the recent discovery of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments relating to Levi. These deal with, among other things, the avoidance of fornication (Frag., verses 16, 17 = T. Levi ix. 9, not explicitly in Jub.), ablutions of the sacrificing priest (19–21, 26, 53–4 = T. L. ix. 11, Jub. xxi. 16), words to be used in sacrifice (23–4 = T. L. ix. 12, Jub. xxi. 12) and salting the sacrifice (26, 29, 37–40 = T. L. ix. 14, Jub. xxi. 11). There is a reference back to Abraham in T. Levi. ix. 12 and Frag. 22, 50, 57.
1. For 'seventh' read 'sixth', i. e. 2050 A. M.
I am . . . death. Isaac's words to Esau in Gen. xxvii. 2.
3. ⟨ ⟩ added from the Latin; lost in Eth. through hmt.
4. Deut. x. 17.
6. Lev. vii. 26.
7. Cf. 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15; Lev. iii. 7–10.
and the meat offering. Omitted in Latin. Cf. also Lev. ii. 4.

9 is upon them, and upon the loins and liver **thou shalt remove**, together with the kidneys. And offer
all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-
10 offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord. And eat its meat on that day
and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and
let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it
no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found
it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.
11 And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the **salt of the covenant** be lacking in all
12 thy oblations before the Lord. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring
(other) wood for the altar in addition to these: cypress, bay, almond, fir, pine, cedar, savin, fig, olive,
13 myrrh, laurel, aspalathus. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such
as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but)
hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its
14 fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. Besides these kinds of wood there
is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its
15 fragrance goes not up to heaven. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst
16 be upright in all thy deeds. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water
before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest
17 near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. And let
no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy
18 guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood
19 whatever. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be shed with impunity, without judgment;
for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and **the earth** cannot be cleansed from the
20 blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. And take no present or gift for the blood of
man: blood for blood, that **thou mayest be accepted** before the Lord, the Most High God; for He
is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save
thee from every kind of death.

21 I see, my son,
That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,
And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,
And there is no righteousness with them.

22 Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.

Else He will [hide His face from thee,
And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,
And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,
And thy name and thy seed shall perish from the whole earth.

23 Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,
And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,
And do His will and be upright in all things.

24 And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,
And will raise up from thee a plant of righteousness through all the earth, throughout all generations of the earth,
And my name and thy name shall not be forgotten under heaven for ever.

8. **shalt remove**: emended with Latin, *tĕblĕl* for *ṭeblûl*.
9. **the bread**, &c. Lev. iii. 11.
10. [ ] dittography. **the books of my forefathers**, handed by Shem to Abraham according to Pirke R. Eliezer viii.
11. **salt of the covenant**. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS. read 'covenant of salt'.
12. Explains Exod. xxv. 5, 10. Cf. Greek Fragment 23–4 for a full discussion of this list of trees in my edition of the Test. XII Patr., pp. 248–9.
13. Stricter than any known halachah; Tamid. ii. 3 allows all but vine and olive.
14. **goes not up**: negative inserted (Littmann).
16. Exod. xxx. 19–21.
17, 18. Lev. xvii. 13, 14; Deut. xii. 23.
19. Cf. Num. xxxv. 33.
the earth: emended by Dillmann from 'its blood'.
20. **thou mayest be accepted**: MSS. vary. See Eth. Text.
21–4. Written originally in Hebrew verse.
22. **sin unto death**: Num. xviii. 22; 1 John v. 16. Cf. xxvi. 34.
[ ] omitted as it spoils the parallelism.

25 Go, my son, in peace.
May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do His will,
And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy seed for the generations for ever, with all righteous blessings,
That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth.'

26 And he went out from him rejoicing.

Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first fruits at Beersheba with Abraham, 1–5. *Prayer of Abraham,* 6–9. *Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob,* 10–30.

22 1 And it came to pass in the †first† week in the †forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that is, the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks—that is, the feast of the first fruits of the harvest—to Abraham, their 2 father, and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons had come. For Isaac had many possessions in 3 Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions and to return to his father. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they **both** came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice 4 for a burnt offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. And he offered a thank offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother: and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died. 5 And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank offering, that he might eat and 6 drink. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,

Who hath created heaven and earth,
Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,
And given them to the children of men
That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

7 'And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day: behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have 8 been unto me peace. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given 9 me and my children all the days of my life until this day. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the 10 generations of the earth, unto all the ages.' And he called Jacob and said: 'My son Jacob, may the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will 11 alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me.' And he drew near and kissed him, and he said:

'Blessed be my son Jacob
And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages:

May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness;
And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth;

May nations serve thee,
And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

12 Be strong in the presence of men,
And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.

Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,
So that they shall become a holy nation.

13 May the Most High God give thee all the blessings
Wherewith He has blessed me

XXII. 1. All dates wrong. Read 'sixth week, forty-second jubilee, seventh year', i.e. 2051 A.M.
3. '**both**' = Lat. *utrique* easily emended from Eth. Cf. xxxi. 11.
4. **Creator of all things**: Sir. xxiv. 8; 2 Macc. i. 24, vii. 23.
6–9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.
8. **sword of the adversary**: Jer. vi. 25; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).
11. **may nations, &c.** Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.
12. **seed of Seth**: mankind. But in Num. xxiv. 17, 'children of Sheth' = 'children of confusion'.

And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam;
May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.

14 And may He cleanse thee from all **unrighteousness** and impurity,
That thou mayest be forgiven all the transgressions; which thou hast committed ignorantly.

And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.
And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,

15 And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in truth and righteousness throughout all the days of the earth.

16 And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father:

Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them:

And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate;

For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.

17 They offer their sacrifices to the dead
And they worship evil spirits,

And they eat over the graves,
And all their works are vanity and nothingness.

18 They have no heart to understand
And their eyes do not see what their works are,

And how they err in saying to a piece of wood: 'Thou art my God,'
And to a stone: 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my deliverer.'
[And they have no heart.]

19 And as for thee, my son Jacob,
May the Most High God help thee
And the God of heaven bless thee
And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all their error.

20 Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any seed of the daughters of Canaan;
For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

21 For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,
And all his seed shall be destroyed from off the earth and all the residue thereof,
And none springing from him shall be saved on the day of judgment.

22 And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane
(*b*) There shall be no hope for them in the land of the living;
(*c*) And there shall be no remembrance of them on the earth;

13. **rest on the sacred head.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 26 (Syr.). It implies נֵזֶר for נזיר.

14. **unrighteousness**: emended with Latin where Eth. reads 'defilement'.

16. Jewish exclusiveness here traced to Abraham; needed in second century B.C. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile, because of (1) Law of 'unclean meats'; cf. Deut. xii. 23; Lev. xi. 4, 7, 10–12, 13–20. (2) Idol sacrifices; cf. 1 Cor. x. 20–9. See also Dan. i. 8–10; 1 Macc. i. 47, 62; 2 Macc. vi. 18–21. Cf. Mark ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.

16. **a pollution.** An outstanding feature of Antiochus' persecution; 1 Macc. i. 46, 48, 63, iv. 43–8, iii. 51; 2 Macc. v. 27, xiv. 3, vi. 2, 19, 25.

17. **sacrifices to the dead**: cf. Deut. xxvi. 14; Ps. cvi. 28; Sir. vii. 33; Tobit, iv. 17. They are attacked in Sir. xxx. 18; Wisd. xiv. 15, xix. 3; *Or. Sibyl.* viii. 382–4; Ep. Jer. 31, 32.
evil spirits: idols, as Deut. xxxii. 17; Lev. xvii. 7; Ps. cvi. 37; 1 En. xix. 1; 1 Macc. i. 43; Baruch, iv. 7.
eat over the graves: cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21–4.

18 Cf. Jer. ii. 27.
[ ] Dittography spoils parallelism.

20. Gen. xxviii. 1; Test. Lev. ix; Jub, xxv. 5, xxviii. 10, xxx. 7.

21. **the day of judgment.** Cf. xxiii. 11, xxxvi. 10.

22. **the profane** or 'the adversaries'. Both are easy emendations from the reading of *a b d*.

(*c*) For they shall descend into Sheol,
(*d*) And into the place of condemnation shall they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

23 Fear not, my son Jacob,
And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham:

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may he deliver thee.

24 This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth: [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever: thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth.'

25, 26 And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his
27 affection and his heart rejoiced over him. And he blessed him with all his heart and said: 'The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that he might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed
28 be the Most High for ever.' And he blessed Jacob and said: 'My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed
29 alway. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and
30 bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance; And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth.'

Abraham's death and burial, 1–8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7–10). *Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind: Messianic woes: universal strife: the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless: Israel invaded by sinners of the Gentiles*, 11–25. *Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind: Messianic kingdom: blessed immortality of the righteous*, 26–31.

23 1 And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers.
2 And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's
3 father, was dead. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he
4 said: 'Father, father'; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and
5 when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. And Isaac fell on the face of his father,
6 and wept and kissed him. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house
7 of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and **the days of**
8 **weeping** for Abraham were ended. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred
9 and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. For the days

25. **commanding**: from Hebrew צוה, used technically of a man's last will and testament (2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; Isa. xxxviii. 1; Test. Reub. 1; Baba Bathra, 147 *a*, 151 *b*).
27. Probably an interpolation—Jacob is not mentioned till the next verse.
28. **I rejoice**: *c d*; 'rejoices', *a b*.
be lift up upon him: from Num. vi. 26; Ps. iv. 6.
29. **eyes be opened**: Neh. i. 6; Dan. ix. 18; 1 Kings viii. 29, 52.

XXIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 4. Closing the eyes strictly forbidden till death had ensued in Shabb. 151 *b*.
stretched out: as Gen. xlix. 33 Eth. and Syr., but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = gathered up.
slept the sleep of eternity: as Jer. li. 39, 57.
5. Gen. l. i.
7. **days of** inserted. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8. MSS. vary. *b* = 'the lamentation of'; *d* = 'lamentation and'; *a c* omit.
8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.
9. Men grow old quicker owing to the increasing degeneration.

of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of
10 Abraham. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, **when** he had
11 grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. And all the generations which shall arise from this time until the day of the great judgment shall grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge shall forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their know-
12 ledge shall vanish away]. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they shall say regarding him: 'He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and
13 tribulation, and there is no peace: For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and
14 pains.' And all these shall come on an evil generation, which transgresses **on the earth**: their works
15 are **uncleanness** and fornication, and pollution and abominations. Then they shall say: 'The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years,
16 and **those** evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation.' And in that generation the sons shall convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left.
17 For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and
18 an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction. Behold the earth shall be destroyed on account of all their works, and there shall be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they shall all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and
19 all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. And they shall strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments.
20 And they shall stand ⟨with bows and⟩ swords and war to turn them back into the way; but they shall
21 not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another. And those who have escaped shall not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they shall all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they **shall name** the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they shall defile the holy of
22 holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. And a great punishment shall befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to
23 judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who shall respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they shall use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,
And much blood shall be shed upon the earth,
And there shall be none to gather and none to bury.

10. **when**: 'until', text.
11. Here the Messianic kingdom seems to follow the judgment. But see ver. 30.
12. **the greater part . . . sorrow.** Ps. xc. 10 (LXX, Syr., Vulg.).
13–14. Melancholy account of Judah's plight in his own day, i.e. early decades of second century B.C.
14. **on the earth, &c.** Emended with Lat.
15. **those** Eth. reads *kuĕllû* corrupt for *'ĕllû*.
16. An account of the rise of the Chasids exactly parallel with 1 En. xc. 6, 7. 'Lambs' there are 'sons' here.
forsaking the covenant: cf. Hellenizers in Dan. xi. 30; 1 Macc. i. 15. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, p. 199.
17. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, ii. 6.
18–24. The woes before the Messianic Age are a feature of all Apocalypse. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Hos. iv. 3; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7, *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 796; Apoc. Bar. xxvii, xlviii. 31–7, lxx. 2–10; 4 Ezra vi. 14–18, 21–4; Matth. xxiv. 6–29; Sota ix. 15.
20. ⟨ ⟩ supplied from Lat.
the way: cf. Isa. xxx. 21; Acts ix. 2, xiv. 9, xxiv. 22.
21. **shall name**: So Lat. Eth. is easily emended.
23. Describes religious wars of Judas Maccabaeus. The Syrian invasion is described in the language of Jer. vi. 23. After 162 B.C. there was civil war in Judah, and peace with Syria. Thus this passage cannot be later than that date.

24 In those days they shall cry aloud,
And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles;
But none shall be saved.

25 And the heads of the children shall be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks shall appear old like a man of one hundred years,
And their stature shall be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.

26 And in those days the children shall begin to study the laws,
And to seek the commandments,
And to return to the path of righteousness.

27 And the days shall begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men
Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the number of the days.

28 And there shall be no old man
Nor one who is ⟨not⟩ satisfied with his days,
For all shall be (as) children and youths.

29 And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and in joy,
And there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer;
For all their days shall be days of blessing and healing.

30 And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
And they shall rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.

And the righteous shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And shall see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.

31 And their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy,
And they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him

32 And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus are they written, and they record (them) on the heavenly tablets for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). *Esau sells his birthright*, 2–7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29–34). *Isaac goes down to Gerar*, 8. *Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech*, 9–27. *Isaac curses the Philistines*, 28–32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1–6, 11, 13–25, 32, 33.)

24 1 And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week 2073 A.M.
2 of this jubilee, seven years. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, 2080 A.M.
3 besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: 'Give me of this **red pottage.**' And Jacob said to him: '**Sell** to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give
4 thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage.' And Esau said in his heart: 'I shall die; of
5 what profit to me is this birthright?' And he said to Jacob: 'I give it to thee.' And Jacob said:
6 'Swear to me, this day,' and he sware unto him. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name
7 called Edom, on account of the **red pottage** which Jacob gave him for his birthright. And Jacob became

24. **sinners** and **gentiles** practically synonymous. Cf. Gal. ii. 15.
26. Renewed study of the law brings spiritual transformation.
27. **nigh to one thousand years**: cf. iv. 30. As in Test. Levi. xviii all change is gradual.
28. Cf. Isa. lxv. 20, whence 'not' is inserted here.
29. **no Satan**: cf. Ass. Mos. x. 1, Jub. xl. 9, xlvi. 1, 2, 5.
30. Probably does not refer to a Resurrection to the Messianic kingdom. Our author's eschatology is that of 1 En. xci-civ. Judgement will be at the end of the Messianic kingdom, and precedes the spiritual bliss of the righteous.
31. Cf. 1 En. xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4. The bodies rest, but the spirits rise.

XXIV. Cf. Gen. xxv. 11, 29–34, xxvi. 1–6, 13–25, 32, 33. No reference is made in 13 to Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca. For derivation of name of Edom in 6 cf. Gen. xxv. 29.
3. **red pottage.** Text = 'wheaten pottage', i.e. πυροῦ for πυρροῦ. **Sell** = ἀπόδου, which here means 'sell' 'agbe'e.

8 the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac
departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philis-
9 tines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: 'Go not
down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I will
10 be with thee and bless thee. For to thee and to thy seed will I give all this land, and I will
establish My oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father, and I will multiply thy seed as the
11 stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all this land. And in thy seed shall all the nations of
the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My command-
ments, and My laws, and My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in
12, 13 this land.' And he dwelt in Gerar three weeks of years. And Abimelech charged concerning him, 20
and concerning all that was his, saying: 'Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall 21 A.
14 surely die.' And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen
15 and sheep and camels and asses and a great **household**. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines
and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him.
16 Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines
17 had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. And Abimelech
said unto Isaac: 'Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we'; and Isaac departed thence in
18 the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the valleys of Gerar. And they digged again 21C A.
the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines
had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father
19 had named them. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and
the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: '**The** water is ours'; and Isaac
20 called the name of the well 'Perversity', because they had been perverse with us. And they dug
a second well, and they strove for that also, and he called its name '**Enmity**'. And he arose from
thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it
'**Room**', and Isaac said: 'Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the
21 land.' And he went up from thence to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the 21C A.
22 forty-fourth jubilee. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month,
and said unto him: 'I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall
bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my
23 servant.' And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon
24 the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. And they digged
25 a well and they found living water. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find
water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: 'I have sworn
26 this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us.' And he called the name of that
place the Well of the Oath; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and
27 Phicol **the prefect of his host**. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them
28 to make peace with them. And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines and said: 'Cursed be the
Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make
them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the
29 Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the
Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they shall be the
enemies and foes of my children throughout their **generations** upon the earth.

30 And no remnant shall be left to them,
Nor one that shall be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;
For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),
And there shall no longer be left for **these** Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

14. **household**: *ministerium* Lat. = עֲבֹדָה. Eth. has 'possession'.
19. **The**: 'this' in Eth. = def. article.
20. **Enmity** = *ṣĕl'ĕ* emended from *ṣabâb* = 'narrow'. Lat. has *inimicitias*. An Ethiopic scribe has introduced the antithesis of 'narrow' as opposed to 'room'.
Room = *sefh* emended from *sefûh*; so Lat. *capacitas*.
26. **the prefect of his host**. So Lat. Eth. has only 'his prefect'.
28–32. Only intelligible during Maccabean wars; fierce hatred of Philistines; cf. 1 Macc. x. 89, v. 68, x. 84, xvi. 10, xi. 62; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1890, 200.
28. Cf. Hdt. i. 205, ii. 157–9 for the Philistines' suffering at the hands of the Egyptians.
Kittim = Macedonians. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4.
29. **righteous nation**: Judah under Maccabees.
generations: Lat.; 'days', Eth.
30. **these** = *'ĕllû* emended from *kuĕllû* = 'all'. Lat. = 'these'.
Caphtorim = Philistines; cf. Amos. ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4.

31 For though he ascend unto heaven,
Thence shall he be brought down,

†And though he make himself strong on earth,†
Thence shall he be dragged forth,

And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
Even from thence shall he be rooted out;

And though he descend into Sheol,
There also shall his condemnation be great,
And there also he shall have no peace.
32 And if he go into captivity,
By the hands of those that seek his life shall they slay him on the way,
And neither name nor seed shall be left to him on all the earth;
For into eternal malediction shall he depart.'

33 And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tablets, to do unto him on the day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman, 1–3. *Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry a Canaanitish woman*, 4–10. *Rebecca blesses Jacob*, 11–23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1–4.)

25 1 And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto 2109 A.M.
him, saying: 'My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them,
2 for (their deeds) are evil. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection
3 bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou shalt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children shall be a righteous generation and
4 a holy seed.' And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: 'Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed
5 myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. For I remember, mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters
6 of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them
7 to take a wife from amongst them. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust
8 and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. And, despite all that he has commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother has striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he has done.
9 I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters
10 of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. Fear not, mother; be
11 assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever.' And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him
12 thanks and praise. And she said: 'Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine
13 shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. Bless him, O Lord,
14 and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him.' And at that hour, when

31. †† Lat. = *ubi fugiens erit*. Corruption originated in Hebrew apparently.

XXV. Gen. xxvii is put after Gen. xxviii. 1–4 to give more blame to Esau and to excuse Jacob.
4. Jacob is sixty-three when he receives the blessing, as in Ber. Rabb. 68; Seder Olam, 2.
neither, &c.: Syncell. i. 197 wrongly attributes this to Josephus.

the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said :

15 'Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages ;
And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.

May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,
And reveal righteousness to thy seed.

16 And may He make thy sons many during thy life,
And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.
And may their sons become many and great beyond the stars of heaven,
And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.

17 And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him alway—
And may they hold it as a possession for ever.

18 And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children during my life,
And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.

19 And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during †her† life,
The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee thus,

[My affection] and my breasts bless thee
And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.

20 Increase and spread over the earth,
And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and earth for ever ;

And may thy seed rejoice,
And on the great day of peace may it have peace.

21 And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,

And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,
And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.

22 Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely, may it be cursed.'

23 And she kissed him, and said to him ;
' May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee.'
And she ceased from blessing.

Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1–4. *Rebecca instructs Jacob to obtain the blessing*, 5–9. *Jacob under the person of Esau obtains it*, 10–24. *Esau brings in his venison and by his importunity obtains a blessing*, 25–34. *Threatens Jacob*, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)

26 1 And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him : ' I am 2114
2 old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. And now take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may
3 eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die.' But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau.
4, 5 And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him : ' Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying : " Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that
6 I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die." And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee : Go to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he
7 may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed.' And Jacob

14. **spirit of righteousness** (*a b d*) : cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 3. For ' Holy Spirit ' (*c*) cf. Isa. lxiii. 10, 11.
17. **as He said . . . alway.** Cf. Luke i. 55.
19. **†her†.** Read ' thy '. [ ] out of place, or a dittography of רַחֲם.
23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1–41, often loosely rendered.

said to Rebecca his mother: 'Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch
8 me. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be
9 wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing.' And Rebecca, his
10 mother, said unto him: 'Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice.' And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and
11 brought them to his mother, and his mother made them ⟨savoury meat⟩ such as he loved. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on
12 the exposed parts of his neck. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into
13 the hand of her son Jacob. And Jacob went in to his father and said: 'I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul
14, 15 may bless me.' And Isaac said to his son: 'How hast thou found so quickly, my son?' And Jacob
16 said: 'Because ⟨the Lord⟩ thy God caused me to find.' And Isaac said unto him: 'Come near, that
17 I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not.' And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father,
18 and he felt him and said: 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau,' and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and
19 Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as ⟨his brother⟩ Esau's, so that he blessed him. And he said: 'Art thou my son Esau?' and he said: 'I am thy son': and he said, 'Bring near to me that
20 I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee.' And he brought
21 near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. And Isaac, his father, said unto
22 him: 'Come near and kiss me, my son. And he came near and kissed him. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: 'Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a ⟨full⟩ field which the Lord hath blessed.

23 And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven
And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:

Let nations serve thee,
And peoples bow down to thee.

24 Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;

And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:

Cursed be he that curseth thee,
And blessed be he that blesseth thee.'

25 And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone
26 forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and† Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: 'Let my father
27 arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me.' And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Who art thou?' And he said unto him: 'I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast
28 commanded me.' And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: 'Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him:
29 (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever.' And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father:
30 'Bless me, (even) me also, father.' And he said unto him: 'Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing.' And he said: 'Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away

7 *a*. Added by author in favour of Jacob.
10. ⟨ ⟩. Added from Latin.
15. **⟨The Lord⟩.** Supplied from Latin. **caused me to find** (*b c*): Latin *direxit.*
18. A dispensation to assist the deceit! Clause borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15, 'a thing brought about of the Lord'. ⟨ ⟩ supplied from Lat.
19. **I am thy son.** An evasion—not so bad as Ber. Rabb. 65.
22. **⟨full⟩** added from Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg., cf. Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.
23. **dew of the earth.** So Gen. xxvii. 28 in Eth. version.
give thee: *b c d* add 'and multiply thee', while *a* transposes it before 'give thee'.
and plenty: MSS. add before 'plenty' the words 'may He give plentifully to thee', against the parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28.
25. **he hid himself and.** This seems an addition. Read 'that'.
30. **I know why** = *οἶδα ὡς* perhaps corrupt for *δικαίως*. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 36.

31 my blessing.' And he said: 'Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me, father?' and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:

'Behold, I have made him thy lord,
And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I strengthened him:
And what now shall I do for thee, my son?'

32 And Esau said to Isaac, his father:

'Hast thou but one blessing, O father?
Bless me, (even) me also, father:'

33 And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said unto him:

'Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34 And by thy sword wilt thou live,
And thou wilt serve thy brother.

And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great,
And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,
Thou shalt sin a complete sin unto death,
And thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven.'

35 And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his heart: 'May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob.'

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1–12. *Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob*, 13–18. *Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel*, 19–27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

27 1 And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and
2 called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 'Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on
3 thee so as to kill thee. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from
4, 5 thence.' And Jacob said: 'I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him.' But she said
6 unto him: 'Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day.' And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: 'Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go; when he sends me, then only will I go.'
7, 8 And Rebecca said to Jacob: 'I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away.' And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: 'I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such
9 as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil.' And Isaac called
10 Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 'Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father,
11 and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my
12 son, in peace.' And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of
13 Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. And it came to pass after Jacob had
14 arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. And

34. **becomest great** = *'abaika* (*b*). *a c* = 'refusest' = *'abaika*, a corruption of *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאדר, Gen. xxvii. 40. The Mass. = תריד, which the versions variously translate. The LXX gives καθέλῃς, i.e. תוריד from ירד.

sin a complete sin unto death, &c.: changed contrary to all tradition. This version is adopted by Syncell. i. 202 and Glycas. 263 (who, however, attributes it to Josephus). For 'sin unto death' cf. xxi. 22.

35. Note malicious turn here given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1–5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42–5. **in a dream**: Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 'by the Holy Spirit'.

6. Cf. xii. 31. Defends Jacob from the reproach of leaving his old father (Singer).

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9–12. Gen. xxviii. 1–5.

Isaac said to Rebecca: 'My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and
15 in peace will he return. The Most High God will preserve him from all evil, and will be with him;
16 for He will not forsake him all his days; For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things
17 wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. Fear not on his account,
my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish.
18, 19 Weep not.' And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. And Jacob
went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-
fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first 2115 A.M.
month of this week, and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the
20 road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. And he took one of the stones of that
21 place and laid ⟨it at his head⟩ under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. And he
dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and
behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it.
22 And he spake to Jacob and said: 'I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of
23 Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee. And
thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt increase to the west and to the east, to the
24 north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the nations be blessed. And
behold, I will be with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I will bring thee
again into this land in peace; for I will not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of.'
25 And Jacob **awoke from his sleep**, and said, 'Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew
it not.' And he was afraid and said: 'Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of
26 God, and this is the gate of heaven.' And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone
which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top
of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first.
27 And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: 'If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in
this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my
father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar
for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth
to thee, my God.'

Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1–10. *His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids*, 11–24. *Jacob seeks to leave Laban*, 25: *but stays on at a certain wage*, 26–8. *Jacob becomes rich*, 29–30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21–35; xxx. 1–13, 17–22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43; xxxi. 1, 2.)

28 1 And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca,
2 and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one week. And in the first year of 2122 A.M.
the third week he said unto him: 'Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years'; and
3 Laban said unto Jacob: 'I will give thee thy wife.' And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his
elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an hand-
4 maid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. And he went in unto her, and
behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: 'Why hast thou dealt
thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me?
5 Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me.' For Jacob loved Rachel more
than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful
6 eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. And Laban said to Jacob: 'It is not so done in our
country, to give the younger before the elder.' And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained
and written in the heavenly tablets, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—
but the elder, one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down
guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the

14. **My sister**: affectionate term for wife; cf. Tobit v. 21, vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1. Compare Isaac's answer to Abimelech's men in Gen. xxvi. 7.
16. **will be prospered**: so Lat.; 'he will prosper', Eth.
17. **on the upright path**: Lat. So *b*, or perhaps 'upright in his way'.
19–27. Gen. xxviii. 10–22.
20. Add with Latin 'at his head'. Genesis has not 'under the tree'. This was probably an asherah.
25 *a*. MSS. corrupt; 'slept a sleep' emended to 'awoke from his sleep'.

XXVIII. Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21–29, xxx. 2, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.
6. No hint of this ordinance in tradition (Singer, Beer). Lev. xviii. 18 expressly forbade Jacob's conduct in marrying both sisters. Cf. Justin, *Dial. Trypho*. 134.

7 Lord. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take
8 nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. And Laban said to
Jacob: 'Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou
mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former
9 week.' And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel
to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of
10 Zilpah, as a handmaid. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given
11 to him for nothing. And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob
a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, in the first year of 2122
12 the third week. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and
13 Rachel loved. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second son,
and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this 2124
14 week. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he
15 called his name Levi, in the new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. And again 2127
Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
16 on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. And on account of all 2129
this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: 'Give me children'; and Jacob
17 said: 'Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?' And when Rachel
saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto
18 him: 'Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will conceive, and bear a son unto me.' ⟨And she
gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife⟩. And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare
him a son, and he called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the 2127
19 †third† week. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived. and bare
Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Napthali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the 2130
20 second year of the fourth week. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear,
she envied Rachel, and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and
bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of 2131
21 the fourth week. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and
Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the †fifth† year of the fourth 2133
22 week. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name
Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him 2133
23 to a nurse. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son
and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zabulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, 2134
24 in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year of the fourth week. And the Lord was
gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his 2134
25 name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. And
in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban: 'Give me my wives and sons, and let me
go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I
26 have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father.' And Laban said
to Jacob: '†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages.'
27 And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids
28 which were born **black** and spotted and †white†, (these) were to be his wages. And all the sheep
brought forth spotted and **speckled and black, variously marked,** and they brought forth again
lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were
29 Laban's. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and
30 asses and camels, and menservants and maid-servants. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and
Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

8. Rachel given to Jacob as soon as Leah's wedding feast (seven days) was over.
9. **Zilpah** and **Bilhah**: sisters, as in Test. Naph. i.
11–24. Twelve sons of Jacob, as in Gen. xxix. 32–4, xxx. 1–24, xxxv. 17–18. In date of birth, all lists differ. Various explanations are given. Cf. also Syncell. i. 198; Fabric. i. 749–54; Rönsch, 327–9. See Test. XII Patriarchs passim; Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21. See my Comm. 170–2.
18. ⟨ ⟩ added from Lat. and Gen. xxx. 4.
26. **tarry with me for thy wages**: 'expecta me in mercede', Lat. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has 'Appoint (נקבה) me thy wages'.
27–28. See my Eth. text for emendations.
27. Read 'speckled' for 'white'.
29. **and sheep**: only in LXX of Gen. xxx. 43.

Jacob departs secretly, 1–4. *Laban pursues after him*, 5–6. *Covenant of Jacob and Laban*, 7–8. *Abodes of the Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer*, 9–11. *Laban departs*, 12. *Jacob is reconciled to Esau*, 13. *Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron*, 14–17, 19–20. *Esau marries again*, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 46, 47; xxxii. 22; xxxiii. 10, 16.)

29 1 And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they
2 were distant from him a three days' journey. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his
sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with
3 him to the land of Canaan. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that
He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: 'To every place
4 whither thou goest we will go with thee.' And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the
God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took
all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention
5 from Laban and told him not. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) 2135 A.M.
toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and
6 overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. And the
Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for he appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban
7 spake to Jacob. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made a feast for Laban, and for all who
came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should
8 cross the mountain of Gilead **to the other** with evil purpose. And he made there a heap for
9 a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: 'The Heap of Witness,' after this heap. But
before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the
Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to
10 seven cubits. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon,
11 and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Mîsûr, and Beon. And
the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very malignant, and the
Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought
12 to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. And Jacob sent away
Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of
13 Gilead. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that
day Esau, his brother, came to him, and **he was reconciled** to him, and departed from him unto
14 the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he 2136 A.M.
crossed the Jordan, and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the
15 heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. And he sent to his
father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and
16 cheese, and some dates of the valley, And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the
times of the months, between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season)
17 and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. For Isaac had returned from the Well
of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son
18 Esau. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath,
the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went
19 up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. And Isaac
went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains
20 of Hebron, And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to
time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

XXIX. 1–6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 20, 21, 24.
4. **hid.** As LXX and Onk. Mass., Sam., Syr. = 'stole'.
7–8. Gen. xxxi. 46, 47.
7. **to the other.** See Eth. text.
9 foll. Places mentioned are scenes of great Maccabean victories. Cf. 1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26.
Rephaim (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. iii. 11); **Edrei**: Og's capital (Joshua xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31); **Mîsûr** (Deut. iii. 10; Joshua xv. 8); **Beon** (Num. xxxii. 3, destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 4, 5); **Bethshan** (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = 'Scythopolis' (cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29), friendly to the Maccabees; **Dothan** (Gen. xxxvii. 17; Judith iv. 6, vii. 3); **the forest of Akrabbim.**—Read 'the ascent' of Akrabbim (Numb. xxxiv. 4; Joshua xv. 3).
13. **passed . . . Jabbok.** Gen. xxxii. 22. **on the eleventh thereof.** Lat. has 'et undecim filii ipsius'.
he was reconciled. So Lat. Eth. easily emended.
15–16. Another proof of Jacob's filial piety.
16. **rain** is 'former rain'; falls from middle of October to middle of December.
between winter and spring = the latter rain in March and April.
18. Put in to show Esau's selfishness.

Dinah ravished, 1-3. *Slaughter of the Shechemites*, 4-6. *Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen*, 7-17. *Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites*, 18-23. *Dinah recovered*, 24. *Jacob's reproof*, 25-6. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13-14, 25-30, xxxv. 5.)

30 1 And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in 214
2 the fourth month. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her,
3 and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt
4 deceitfully with them and beguiled them. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured
5 their sister Dinah. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword
6 all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of
7 Israel should be defiled. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because
8 she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die:
9 they shall stone him with stones. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tablets regarding all the seed of Israel: he who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with
10 stones. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given
11 of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take **for**
12 **their sons** any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: 'We will not give our daughter
13 to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us.' And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those that take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and

XXX. 1. **to Salem . . . in peace** combines interpretations of all versions of Gen. xxxiii. 18 where Sam. reads שלום.
1-3. Gen. xxiv. 2-13.
2. **child of twelve.** Cf. Test. Levi xii. 5 and Jub. xxviii. 14, 23, which together make her eleven.
2-6. The history of Jacob's connexion with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand, this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi vi: *καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον.* Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5-7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi v, where the angel bids Levi *ποίησον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συχὲμ ὑπὲρ Δίνας, κἀγὼ ἔσομαι μετά σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἐμμώρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν*: and in the Test. Levi vi-vii, where Levi says that he saw that 'the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem', and still more strongly: *ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος.* Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: *κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρός μου Συμεών, ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οἱ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίασμα καὶ ἐγύμνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην, κτλ.* Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called *οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι* for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1166-8). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen. xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.
7. Cf. xli. 17. To our author, marriage with a Gentile was no better than fornication. To give your daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her 'to Moloch', and merited the same penalty, i.e. death by stoning. Cf. Lev. xx. 2. A woman was to be treated as Tamar was threatened in Gen. xxxviii or a priest's daughter commanded in Lev. xxi. 9.
10. **given . . . to Moloch.** Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xviii. 21; Sanh. 82 *a*; Megill. 25 *a*. Perhaps this dates from Maccabean Age, when extreme measures were needed. Contrast Megill. iv. 9.
11. **for their sons.** So Latin. > *b c d*. *a* = αὐτοί, i.e. *lalîhômû*, corrupt for *lawĕlûdômû*, = 'for their sons'.
12. **we will not.** Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

14 abominable to Israel. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles.
15 For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come ⟨upon him⟩: if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the
16 whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation **of this man**. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and
17 so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: 'Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it
18 was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous
19 to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tablets blessing and righteousness before
20 the God of all: And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and a righteous
21 man. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which
22 has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tablets as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of
23 those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing.
24 And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their
25 flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. And he **reproached them** because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites.
26 And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1–3 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 2–4, 7, 14). *Isaac blesses Levi*, 4–17, *and Judah*, 18–22. *Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him*, 24. *Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah*, 26–30. *Jacob blesses the God of his fathers*, 31–2.

31 1 And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: 'Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because he has been with me and
2 brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among you.' And they **gave up** the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was †on their necks,† and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her father she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt

14. Based on Lev. xx. 2–4.
15. ⟨**upon him**⟩ from Latin.
whole nation: an extension of the area of guilt to justify the massacre; cf. charges in Test. Levi vi against the Shechemites in general.
profanation of this man = Lat. Eth. = 'this profanation'.
16. [ ] dittography; Latin omits.
18. **for he was zealous**, &c. Contrast xxxii. 3 (Levi became priest as the tenth son); Test. Levi iv (in answer to his prayer); Shem. Rabb. 19 (the Levites' constancy in Egypt in retaining circumcision). Cf. Weber, *J. T.*[2] 309, Singer (115 note) for different motives for God's choice of Levi.
22. **transgress**: Latin + *testamentum*. **book of life**: cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3. Latin has 'of destructions' instead of 'of those who will be destroyed'.
24. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.
25. **reproached**: needed by sense of context for 'spake to them' (Eth. and Latin); cf. Test. Levi vi. 6.
26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1, 2. Gen. xxxv. 2–4.
2. **gave up** (*maṭawĕwômû*) emended from *masawĕwômû*, 'melted'.
on their necks. Read perhaps 'in their hands'. If so, take 'which were in their hands' after 'gods'.
her father (*'abûhâ*): for 'her brother' (*'ĕḫûhâ*).

and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of
3 Shechem. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an
altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father
4 Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. And Isaac said: 'Let my son
5 Jacob come, and let me see him before I die.' And Jacob went to his father Isaac and
to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons
with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca.
6 And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace
him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: 'Behold Jacob thy son has come'; and she kissed
7 him. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: 'Are these thy sons,
my son?' and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: 'In you shall the
8 seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye shall prove a blessing on the earth.' And Jacob went in
to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the
hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son,
9 and wept upon his neck. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob,
10 Levi, and Judah, and he said: 'Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee.' And he said
unto him that they were truly his sons: 'And thou hast truly seen that they are †truly† my sons'.
11 And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them **both** together.
12 And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and
13 Judah by his left. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him:
'May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the
14 ages. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee
and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the
presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, shall the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness
15 and holiness, and may He make them great unto all the ages. And they shall be judges and princes,
and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They shall speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
And they shall judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they shall declare My ways to Jacob
And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16 Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
And justly has she called thy name;

Thou shalt be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;

Let His table be thine,
And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;

And may thy table be full unto all generations,
And thy food fail not unto all the ages.

17 And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;

3, 4. Cf. Test. Levi ix.
5. Last meeting with Isaac and Rebecca, unknown to later Haggada.
10. **truly**: Lat. has 'father'. So read *'abbâ* in Eth. for *'amân.*
11. **both**: Lat. *utrosque.* Eth. *kuĕllômû* corrupt for *kĕl 'êhômu.* Cf. xxii. 3.
13. Cf. Test. Levi ix.
14. † † Lat. = 'great seed to understand His glory.'
holy ones here = 'angels of sanctification'; cf. ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Cf. Test. Levi iii (Arm.) for one or two orders of ministering angels.
may He make them great: Latin *sanctificabit.*
15. Describes early Maccabean princes (kings as well as priests); cf. Test. Levi viii. The latter passage refers to John Hyrcanus. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, 165; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7.
the blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths: cf. Sir. l. 20, Test. Reub. vi.
16. Cf. Gen. xxix. 34; Numb. xviii. 2–4, play on words. The Lat. has instead of 'joined to the Lord' *ad decorem Dei* = לויה 'a crown'.
Let His table be thine: cf. Test. Judah xxi; Test. Levi viii.

And blessed be he that blesses thee,
And cursed be every nation that curses thee.'

18 And to Judah he said:
'May the Lord give thee strength and power

To tread down all that hate thee;
A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob;

May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and traverse every land and region.
Then shall the Gentiles fear before thy face,

And all the nations shall quake
[And all the peoples shall quake].

19 In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.

20 And when thou sittest on the throne of honour of thy righteousness
There shall be great peace for all the seed of the sons of the beloved;

Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and be accursed.'

21 And turning he kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the
22 sons of Jacob his son in very truth. And he went forth from between his feet and fell down and bowed down to him, and he blessed them and rested there with Isaac his father that night, and they
23 eat and drank with joy. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the one on his right hand and the
24 other on his left, and it was counted to him for righteousness. And Jacob told his father everything during the night, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how he had prospered (him in) all
25 his ways, and protected him from all evil. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who
26 had not withdrawn his mercy and his righteousness from the sons of his servant Isaac. And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be
27 made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. And Isaac said unto Jacob his son: 'I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go, my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to
28 journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have
29 seen thee, my son. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off thy vow; for thou shalt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow.'
30 And he said to Rebecca: 'Go with Jacob thy son'; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and
31 Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his
32 fathers, Abraham and Isaac. And he said: 'Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all'; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tablets how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. *Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son*, 2–3. *Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe*, 4–9. *Law of tithes ordained*, 10–15. *Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tablets his own future and that of his descendants*, 16–26. *Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles*, 27–9. *Death of Deborah*, 30. *Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel*, 33–4. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16–20.)

32 1 And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed

18–19. Cf. Test. Levi xviii; Reub. vi: Signs of Messiah's coming. As in 1 En. xc He has no active part to play, but springs from Judah ('one of thy sons'). This seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a temporary Messianic kingdom; cf. xxiii. 30.

18. **thy name**: i.e. that of the Jewish people. [ ] bracketed as dittography.

20. **honour . . . peace.** So *d b*. But *c* reads 'honour; thy righteousness shall be great peace'.

XXXII. Cf. Test. Levi v, viii, ix.

1. **priest of the Most High God**: title assumed by the Maccabean priest-kings; cf. Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2; Ps. cx. 1–4 (acrostic on Simon as Bickell has shown); Rosh-ha-Shanah 18 *b*. See Test. Levi viii. 14.

2 the Lord. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment, 3 yea, he gave tithes of all. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord, and his 4 father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. And on the fifteenth of this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and **seven** lambs, and twenty-**one** kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the 5 **altar of sacrifice,** well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. This was his offering, in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink- 6 offerings. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, 7 and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. And he and all his sons and his men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who 8 had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had given him his vow. And he tithed all the clean animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he 9 gave him all the souls of the men. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus 10 he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. And for this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law 11 there is no limit of days for ever. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing 12 shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. For in its year shall the seed be eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine, 13 and the oil till the days of its season. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded 14 as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. And thus let them eat it together in the 15 sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord, and shall belong to his priests, which they will eat before Him from year to 16 year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tablets. And on the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children 17 after him. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name 18 shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.' And He said unto him again: 'I am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I will increase thee and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings shall come forth from thee, and they shall judge everywhere wherever the foot 19 of the sons of men has trodden. And I will give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven, and they shall judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they shall get possession 20 of the whole earth and inherit it for ever.' And He finished speaking with him, and He went up 21 from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read them and **knew** all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons 22 throughout all the ages. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him: 'Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day 23 of the death of thy father. For in Egypt thou shalt die in peace, and in this land thou shalt be buried 24 with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. Fear not, for as thou hast seen and read it, thus shall it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read.'

3. Known to Syncell. i. 200; probably to Cedren. i. 60; new version in P. R. Eliezer, xxxvii.
filled his hands: a technical expression, as Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.
4. Celebration of Feast of 'Tabernacles' differs from Lev. xxiii. 34–44 and Numb. xxix. 12–40.
seven lambs: Lat. *septem*; Eth. = sixty, but the heptadic system is here followed.
twenty-one: Lat.; Eth. = twenty-nine (ἐννέα for ἕνα).
altar of sacrifice: i.e. *meshwâ'ă querbân* emended according to Lat. *altarium fructuum* from *meshwâ'ă querbâna* (*a*).
8. Corrects Test. Levi ix. Unclean animals are excepted.
9 **tithed**, &c.: Numb. xviii. 26.
10. **eat before the Lord**: cf. Deut. xiv. 22; Tobit i. 7.
15. **tithes of the oxen and sheep**: cf. Lev. xxvii. 32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. These tithes were unknown to Nehemiah, Neh. x. 37–9; xii. 44–7, xiii. 5, 12, and were limited to yearly increase by later Rabbis. Cf. Rosh-ha-Shanah, 1.
17–20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10–13. 19 is a great exaggeration of Gen. xxxv. 12.
21. **tablets**: cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.
knew: emended with Latin. Text = 'read.' Both words may be dittographic renderings of ἀνέγνω.

25 And Jacob said: 'Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?' And he said unto
26 him: 'I will bring all things to thy remembrance.' And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the
27 words which he had read and seen. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †'Addition,'† for
28 †this day was added.† and the former days he called 'The Feast'. And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tablets: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should
29 celebrate it, and add it to the seven days of the feast. And its name was called †'Addition,'† †because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of
30 the days of the year. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this
31 place, 'The river of Deborah,' and the oak, 'The oak of the mourning of Deborah.' And Rebecca went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and
32 he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. And he went after his
33 mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name 'Son of my sorrow'; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first of the sixth week of this
34 jubilee. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, 2143 A.M.
and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1–9 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22). *Laws regarding incest*, 10–20. *Jacob's children*, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23–7.)

33 1 And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he
2 and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid,
3 the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in
4 her house. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered
5 that it was Reuben. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he
6, 7 fled. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto him: 'I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was
8 asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me.' And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his
9 father's skirt. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before
10 the Lord. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tablets that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have
11 wrought uncleanness on the earth. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation
12 which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. And again, it is written a second time: 'Cursed be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame'; and all the
13 holy ones of the Lord said 'So be it; so be it.' And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God.
14 For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he

25. Cf. John xiv. 26.
27. †**Addition**†. Perhaps ἐπίσχεσις in Greek was misread ἐπίθεσις, as Rönsch suggests. Latin has *retentatio*, 'a keeping back'. Cf. Chagiga, 18 *a*. The Hebrew is עֲצֶרֶת, really = 'sacred assembly'; cf. 2 Chron. vii. 9.
The Feast: as in Sukk. 42 *b*, 48 *a*, for 'the Feast of Tabernacles'.
29. **because that** = διότι = כִּי = 'when'.
amongst the days: emended with Latin *in dies*. **according to**; בְּ for בְּ = 'in'.
30. Gen. xxxv. 8.
32–4. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18–20.
32. **Kabrâtân** = כברת הארץ = 'some distance'. Cf. LXX, χαβραθά, i.e. כברת taken as a proper name.
34. Gen. xxxv. 19; Jashar ii. 1172 adds that she was forty-five at her death.

XXXIII. 1. **Magdalâdrâ'êf**, 'tower of Eder of Ephrath' (Gen. xxxv. 21) compressed.
2. Cf. Test. Reub. iii. 11–14; Shabb. 55 *b*. Later Rabbis wholly denied Reuben's guilt.
8–10. Phrases from Deut. xxii. 30; Lev. xx. 11.

15 is abominable and unclean. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband
16 Jacob, his father, was still alive. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of
17 seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst
18 of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts.
19 And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before
20 our God. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy
21 nation. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house 2 5
22 of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. And they
23 came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1–9. *Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren*, 10. *Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt*, 11–12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32–6). *Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah*, 15. *Jacob mourns for Joseph*, 13, 14, 17. *Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived*, 18–19. *Wives of Jacob's sons*, 20–1.

34 1 And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their 2 8
2 sheep, and his servants with them to the pastures of Shechem. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and
3 to take their cattle as a prey. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was
4 the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû, and the king[s] of †'Arêsa†, and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anîsâkîr†, and all those who dwell in these
5 mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. And they announced this to Jacob saying: 'Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds.'
6 And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of his father, and his own
7 servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. And he slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânî-
8 sakîr† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl

16. Theory of Romans iv. 15, that where there is no law there is no transgression.
and = *wa* emended from *ba*.
22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23–7.

XXXIV. 2–8. Short outline of ancient legend of Jacob's wars, suggested, perhaps, by Maccabean victories. The germ is seen in Gen. xlviii. 22, developed in Targ. Jerusalem, Gen. rabb. 97, Baba Bathra 123 *a*. These changed 'sword and bow' into 'merits and good deeds'. Cf. Test. Jud. iii–vii, Midr. Wajjissau in 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' (Gaster) 80–7, Jashar 1173–84. Proper names, whether of kings or of places, differ in all accounts; but there are almost invariably links of connexion, though place and personal names are hopelessly confused.

4. **Tâphû** = Tephon (1 Macc. ix. 50), Tappuah (Joshua xv. 53). **'Arêsa** = Aser (Tobit i. 2) = Hazor (cf. 1 Macc. xi. 67), **Sêlô** = Shiloh. Gâ'as = Gaash (Joshua xxiv. 30). **Bêthôrôn** = Beth-Horon (1 Macc. iii. 13–24, vii. 39–47). **Ma'anîsâkîr** = not 'Shakir of Mahanaim' (so Midrash Wajjissau and Jashar probably read) but Mahanisakir, i.e. the Camps of Shakir—See Test. Jud. vi. 3 (note).

7. **Shechem**: Cf. Test. Jud. iv. 1.

8–9. Test. Jud. vii. has different version of the sequel. **Rôbêl** = Arbela in Jashar 1184 (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) Rabael in Test. Jud. vii. 9.

9 and Tamnâtârês. And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his
10 servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. And in the seventh year of this 2149 A.M.
week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem,
11 and he found them in the land of Dothan. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed
a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants,
and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the
12 †chief of the cooks†, priest of the city of 'Êlêw. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped
the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month.
13 And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became
feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: 'An evil beast hath devoured Joseph'; and all
the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with
14 him all that day. And his sons and his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be
15 comforted for his son. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died
mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had
16 perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. And they buried
17 Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. And he
mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said 'Let me go down to the grave mourning
18 for my son'. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict
themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for
Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with
a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the
19 affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. And this day has been ordained that they should
grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they
20 might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob
took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife
is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the name of Levi's wife is Mêlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed
of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's
wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zabulon's wife, †Nî'îmân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Êglâ; and
the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the
name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name
21 of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his
brothers.

Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1–8. *Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob*, 9–12. *Isaac consents*, 13–17. *Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob*, 18–26. *Death of Rebecca*, 27.

35 1 And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and 2157 A.M.
commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the
2 days of his life. And Jacob said: 'I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing
will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them.
3 And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in
4 my heart, that I always think good concerning all. And how should I not do this thing which thou
5 hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! Tell me, mother, what
6 perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me.' And
she said unto him: 'My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright
deeds. And yet I will tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive
this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond
a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to
7 live.' And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that

8. **Tamnâtârês** = 'Timnah' (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50).
10. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17–20, 28–36.
11. **†chief of the cooks†**: so LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36, wrongly, for שר־הטבחים = 'the captain of the bodyguard'.
12–14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31–5.
15. Ps.-Philo *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 51 says Dinah married Job; Gen. rabb. 80 says Simeon.
17. Gen. xxxvii. 35.
18. **afflict themselves**: = fasting in Lev. xvi. 31; xxiii. 27–32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12.
20. **'Adîbâ'-a, a Canaanite**. Cf. Shaul—'son of a Canaanitish woman', Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15. It is to our author's credit that he does not seek to explain this away, as was done by later Rabbis. Cf. Beer, *Jubiläen*, 51. **Bêtasû'êl** cf. Bathshua in Test. Jud. viii, xiii, xvi.
Asenath: from Gen. xli. 45. Other names obscure. **Nî'îmân**: ? invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Syr. Frag. gives 'Adni', Jasher 'Marusa', *a b d* >.

XXXV. 5. **mercy**: Latin *misericordia domini*.

she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not
infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment
8 had touched her all the days of her life. And Jacob said unto her: 'Blessed am I, mother, if my
days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou
9 wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death.' And she went in to Isaac and
said unto him: 'One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor
pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth,
10 and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. And thou knowest all
that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken
us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off
11 all thy possessions from before thy face. And when we implored and besought him for what was
12 our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. And he is bitter against thee because thou
didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and
since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything
in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and
has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually
13 at home honouring us.' And Isaac said unto her: 'I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is
with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob,
because he was the firstborn; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil
deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and
14 there is no righteousness around him.] And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds,
and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth,
and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone
15 after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. And thou dost
bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide
16 by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into
Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his
17 hands.] And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful
18 and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau.' And Rebecca sent and called Esau,
and he came to her, and she said unto him: 'I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do
19 thou promise to do it, my son.' And he said: 'I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and
20 I will not refuse thy petition.' And she said unto him: 'I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take
me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other,
and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my
sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be
21 a blessing and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you.' And he said: 'I will do all that
thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as
22 thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love
above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for
me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came
23 we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? And I, myself, beg
thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be
king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me
24 the lower. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the
25 days of my life but good only.' And he sware unto her regarding all this matter. And she
called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which
26 she had spoken to Esau. And he said: 'I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will
proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only.'
27 And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and
one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near
Sarah, their father's mother.

9. Referred to by Syncell. i. 202.
13. **[and there . . .].** A dittography.
16. **[for he . . .].** A gloss from xxxvi. 9.
17. **guardian of Jacob.** Earliest reference to belief in guardian angels; cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Hebrews i. 14. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1–11. *Divides his possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies*, 12–18. *Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him*, 21–4.

36 1 And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to 2162 A.M.
him, and he said unto them: 'My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house
2 where my fathers are. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field
of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which
3 I digged for myself, there bury me. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteous-
ness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that
4 he would do to Abraham and to his seed. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man
who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on
5 the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. And concerning the question of idols,
I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full
6 of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. Remember ye, my
sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and **how** I too worshipped Him and served Him in
righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven
in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted
7 out unto all the generations for ever. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is
no oath which is greater than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and
wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will
8 fear Him and worship Him. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness,
and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life,
9 so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. And if either of you devises evil
against his brother, know that from henceforth everyone that devises evil against his brother shall fall
into his hand, and shall be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed shall be destroyed from
10 under heaven. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming
devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is
his, and he shall be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be
recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he shall depart into
eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration
11 and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. I say and
testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which shall come upon the man who wishes to
12 injure his brother.' And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave
the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that
13 Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. And he said: 'This larger portion I **will give** to the
14 firstborn.' And Esau said, 'I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be
15 given, and I have not a single word to say regarding it, for it is his.' And Isaac said, 'May a blessing
rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not
16 pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. May the
17 Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever.' And he ended
commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced
because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and
18 slept. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one
hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons
19 Esau and Jacob buried him. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and
20 dwelt there. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings
of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible
21 commands according as He had divided the days of his **generations**. And Leah his wife died in 2167 A.M.
the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave

XXXVI. 1. **eternal house**: cf. Eccles. xii. 5.
6. **how** = *kama* emended for *emze*, 'after this'.
10. **turbulence and execration and indignation and anger**: cf. 1 En. xxxix. 2.
13. **give** (*'ĕhûb*) for 'make great' (*'a'âbî*).
16. **Most High God**: twenty-five times in this book, thirteen in Daniel, forty-eight times in Sir., twenty-one in Pss., nine times in N.T., three times in Tobit, not at all in Pss.-Solomon, nine times in 1 En. xci-civ, six times in Test. Levi, twenty-three times in Apoc. Bar., frequent in 4 Ezra, twice in Ass. Mos., four times in 1 En. xxxvii-lxx, once in Judith, twice in Pentateuch outside Gen. xiv, and only once in the prophets. It was most used in early part of Maccabean age, though rare in 1 En. i-xxxvi, lxxii-xc and absent from 1 Macc.
18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.
20. **generations**. So Lat. Eth. = *lĕdatû* corrupt for *tĕwlădû*.

22 near Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his father's mother. And all her sons
and his sons came to mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him regarding her, for he
23 was lamenting her. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was perfect
and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob, and all the days that she lived with him he did not
hear from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peaceable and upright and honourable.
24 And he remembered all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he lamented her exceed-
ingly; for he loved her with all his heart and with all his soul.

Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and constrain him to war with the assistance of 4,000 mercenaries against Jacob, 1–15. *Jacob reproves Esau*, 16–17. *Esau's reply*, 18–25.

37 1 And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac 216
2 had given the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. And they
strove with their father, saying: 'Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed
3 over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?' And he said unto them 'Because
I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt
and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought
4 my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. And now our
father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his
brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways
5 corrupt.' And they said unto him, 'We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for
our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against
him and slay him, and destroy **him and his sons.** And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt
6 to thee also. And now hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and
Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against
him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong.'
7 And their father said unto them, 'Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him.'
8 And they said unto him, 'This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and
9 thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words.' And they sent to
Aram, and to 'Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand
10 fighting men, chosen men of war. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of
Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen
men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the
11 Kittim mighty men of war. And they said unto their father: 'Go forth with them and lead them,
12 else we shall slay thee.' And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were
forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. But afterward he remem-
13 bered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not
the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days
14 against Jacob his brother. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming
against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the
15 tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. And the men of Hebron sent to him
saying, 'Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword,
and they carry shields and weapons'; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for
16 Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. But Jacob would not believe until they came
17 very near to the tower. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and
spake to his brother Esau and said, 'Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me
for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy
mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to
18 thy father wast thou condemned.' And then Esau answered and said unto him, 'Neither the chil-
dren of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have
sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each
19 may slay his adversary and foe. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is
20 no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

XXXVII. Wars of Jacob and Esau. Cf. Test. Judah ix; Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132; Chronicles of Jerahmeel 80–7. Latter two adapt the legend to the Herodian situation, and turn Adora into 'Arodin' (= Herodion). Jashar ii. 1236-8 adapts it further.

1–12. Differs from later accounts in putting more of the blame on the sons of Esau. Cf. Chron. Jerahmeel xxxvii. 1.

5. **him and his sons**: so Lat. 'him his sons' *a*; 'his sons' *b c d*.

9–10. Enumerates peoples actually allied against Judah under the Maccabees: Ammonites (1 Macc. v. 6–8). Philistines (cf. xxiv. 28), Syrians (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61), Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3, 65).

If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles as soft as wool,
Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,
Then will I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.
†And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother, for thou hast not been a brother to me†.
21 And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not to devour or do them violence,
And if their hearts are towards them for good,
Then there shall be peace in my heart towards thee.

22 And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes peace with him.
And if he is bound under one yoke with him and ploughs with him,
Then will I make peace with thee.
23 And when the raven becomes white as the râzâ,
Then know that I have loved thee
And shall make peace with thee.
Thou shalt be rooted out,
And thy sons shall be rooted out,
And there shall be no peace for thee.'
24 And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon
25 the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it; then he spake to his own and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and overthrow of his forces, 1–10. *Edom reduced to servitude 'till this day',* 11–14. *Kings of Edom,* 15–24. (Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31–9.)

38 1 And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: 'Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: **let us give him**
2 (this) honour.' Then Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother ⟨on
3 his right breast⟩ and slew him. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean,
4 on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. And then went forth the sons of Jacob,
5 they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. And Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped.
6 And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them,
7 and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north side of the tower, and fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the
8 Philistines. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father
9 lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and
10 he returned to his house. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the moun-
11 tains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. And they
12 sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the
13 yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. And they
14 continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. And the sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on
15 them until this day. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king

20. **boar**: symbol for *Edom* in 1 En. lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 69. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. † † Out of place; possibly also corrupt; read after 19 *a* ('for ever') these two clauses in reverse order and substitute 'since' for 'and if' and 'twins' for 'breasts'.

23. **râzâ**: 'a large white bird that eats grasshoppers' (Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48, cf. Mandean Adam-Book).

XXXVIII. 1. **let us give him** Lat. Eth. 'with us', i.e. *baḫabêna* for *naḫabô*.

2–3. Others attributed Esau's death to Chushim, son of Dan. Cf. Sotah 13 *a*; Jashar 1235; Pirke R. Eliezer 39; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 13. Our author agrees with Test. Judah ix, but expands.

2. **⟨on his right breast⟩**. Supplied from Latin and Jalkut.

8–9. **'Adûrâm** = 'Adora' (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4; *Bell.* i. 2. 6; 1 Macc. xiii. 20). **Horites**: cf. xxxvii. 10.

14. **until this day**: Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by John Hyrcanus.

15–24. Gen. xxxvi. 31–9.

16 over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. And Bâlâq, the son of Beor, reigned
17 in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of
18 Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead.
19 And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his
20 stead, and the name of his city was Avith. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned
21, 22 in his stead. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. And Saul
23 died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor,
died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maiṭabîth, the daughter of
24 Mâtarat, the daughter of Mêtabêdzâ'ab. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1–4. *His purity and imprisonment*, 5–13. *Imprisonment of Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets*, 14–18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2; xxxix. 3–8, 12–15, 17–23; xl. 1–5, 21–3; xli. 1.)

39 1, 2 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. These are
the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into
3 the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. And he
set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on
4 account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. And the Egyptian committed
everything **into the hands** of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the
5 Lord prospered him in all that he did. And Joseph's appearance was comely [and very beautiful
was his appearance], and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him,
6 and besought him to lie with her. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the
Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham,
that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the
punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin
7 will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. And Joseph
8 remembered these words and refused to lie with her. And she besought him for a year, but he
9 refused and would not listen. But she embraced him and held him fast in the house in order
to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left
10 his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. And
the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his
lord, saying: 'Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie
with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in
11 my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door.' And the Egyptian saw the gar-
ment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into
12 prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned. And he was
there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison
guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord
13 made all that he did to prosper. And he committed all things **into his hands**, and the chief of
the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the
14 Lord perfected it. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt,
was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler, and against the chief baker, and he put
15 them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. And the chief of
16 the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. And they both
17 dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. And as he inter-
preted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the
18 (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the
prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform
Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

XXXIX. 2. **seventeen years old**: cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.
chief cook. See xxxiv. 11, xxxix. 14.
2–5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3–7.
4. **into the hands**: emended with Latin in ver. 13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 6. Eth. = 'before him'.
6. Cf. xx. 4, xxv. 7; Test. Jos. iii. 3; Soteh 36*b*.
9–13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12–15, 17–23.
13. **into his hands.** See ver. 4; Eth. 'before him'.
14–18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1–5, 21–3.
14. **two years**: Gen. xli. 1.

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1–4. *Elevation and marriage of Joseph*, 5–13. (Cf. Gen. xli. 1–5, 7–9, 14 seqq., 25, 29–30, 34, 36, 38–43, 45–6, 49.)

40 1 And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them).
2 And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him
3 forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: 'Seven years shall come (in which there shall be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all
4 the land. And now let Pharaoh appoint **overseers** in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven
5 years of famine, and the land will not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.' And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: 'We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with
6 him.' And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all
7 Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him ''Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrĕr,' and placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and
8 said unto him: 'Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou.' And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land.
9 And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil
10 person (therein). And the king called Joseph's name Sephânṭîphâns, and gave Joseph to wife the
11 daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. And on the day that
12 Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the
13 land of Egypt abundantly produced, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1–7. *Judah's incest with Tamar* 8–18. *Tamar bears twins*, 21–2. *Judah forgiven, because he sinned ignorantly, and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not been consummated*, 23–8. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6–18, 20–6, 29–30; xli. 13.)

41 1 And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his 2165 A.M.
2 first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the
3 kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. And this Er, the first-born of Judah.
4 was wicked, and the Lord slew him. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: 'Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother.' And
5 Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew

XL. Cf. Gen. xli.
4. **overseers**: Latin *speculatores*; *cd* read 'threshing floors'. Possibly corrupt in Gk. σιταρχίας for σιτάρχας (Rönsch).
7. (**herald**): plural *praeconaverunt*, only in Latin.
'Êl 'Êl wa'Abîrĕr: 'God, God, the Mighty One of God', the title of a great magician. Cf. Acts viii. 10 (Simon Magus); Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepig. Vet. Test.* i. 774–84; ii. 85 (Joseph); cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 336 note.
9. **no Satan.** Cf. xxiii. 29.
10. **Sĕphânṭîphâns** = Zaphnath-paaneah, Gen. xli. 45 = 'Revealer of secrets' acc. to later Judaism.
priest of Heliopolis. Origen, *Cat. Niceph.* i. 463, refers to this function of Potiphar. Later Rabbis, e.g. Pirke R. Eliezer 36, &c., tried to explain this marriage with a heathen priest's daughter. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 makes her Dinah's daughter.

XLI. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6–7, 9–18, 20–6; Test. Judah x, xii, xiv; also xix (Judah saved by prayers).
4. Cf. Deut. xxv. 5.

6 him. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: 'Remain in thy father's house as a widow till
7 Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife.' And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl, the
wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died 2168
8 in the fifth year of this week. And in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnah. 2169
9 And they told Tamar: 'Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep.' And she
put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the
10 way to Timnah. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot,
and he said unto her: 'Let me come in unto thee'; and she said unto him: 'Come in,' and he went
11 in. And she said unto him: 'Give me my hire'; and he said unto her: 'I have nothing in my
12 hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand.' And
she said unto him: 'Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire'; and he said unto her:
'I will send unto thee a kid of the goats'; and he gave them to her, ⟨and he went in unto her⟩, and
13, 14 she conceived by him. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. And
Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not;
and he asked the people of the place, saying: 'Where is the harlot who was here?' And they said
15 unto him; 'There is no harlot here with us.' And he returned and informed him, and said unto
him that he had not found her; 'I asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: "There
16 is no harlot here."' And he said: '**Let her keep** (them) lest we become a cause of derision.' And
when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah,
17 saying: 'Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom.' And Judah went to the
house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: 'Bring her forth, and let them burn
18 her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel.' And it came to pass when they brought her forth
to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying:
19 'Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child.' And Judah acknowledged, and said: 'Tamar
20 is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not.' And for that reason she was
21 not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. And after that she bare two sons, Perez 2170
22 and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness
23 were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. And Judah acknowledged that the deed
which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in
his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray, for he had uncovered the
skirt of his son, and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression.
24 And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented,
25 and did not again commit it. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from
his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one
who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is
26 uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. And do thou command the
children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his
daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the
man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment
27 from Israel. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason
28 his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. For in singleness of
eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham,
which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1–4. *Joseph recognizes them and retains Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned*, 5–12. *Notwithstanding Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained by Joseph*, 13–25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56; xlii. 7–9, 13, 17, 20, 24–5, 29–30, 34–8; xliii. 1–2, 4–5, 8–9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34; xliv. 1–2.)

42 1 And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the 2171
2 land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. And the earth grew

12. ⟨ ⟩ Restored from Lat.
15. **keep** Lat. Eth. 'arise', one letter different.
17. Cf. xxx. 7 note.
22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.
25. **because he turned . . . ignorance**: best to transpose these two clauses and read 'because of his ignorance and because . . . sin'.
25, 26. Enforce laws of Lev. xx. 14; xviii. 15; xx. 12.
28. Judah commended for his severity.
singleness of eye: favourite expression in Test. XII Patriarchs.

XLII. Cf. Gen. xli. 54–xliv. 2.

barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the
3 seven years of plenty and had preserved it. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give
them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to
4 the people of the land for gold. ⟨Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan⟩, and Jacob
heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him
in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and ⟨the ten sons of Jacob⟩ arrived ⟨in Egypt⟩ among those
5 that went (there). And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto
them and questioned them, and he said unto them; 'Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to
6 explore the approaches of the land?' And he put them in ward. And after that he set them free
7 again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. And he filled their sacks with corn,
8 and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. And he commanded them to bring
9 their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. And
they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their
father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and
10 had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. And Jacob said: 'Me have ye bereaved of my
children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your
11 wickedness come.' And he said: 'My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick;
for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me.
If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death.'
12 For he saw that their money had been returned **to every man** in his sack, and for this reason he
13 feared to send him. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all
lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed
for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses
14 and preserving it for the years of famine. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during
15 the first year of their famine. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and
that there was no deliverance, he said unto his sons: 'Go again, and procure food for us that we die
16 not.' And they said: 'We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go.'
17 And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine.
18 And Reuben said: 'Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two
19 sons instead of his soul.' And he said unto him: 'He shall not go with thee.' And Judah came near
and said: 'Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before
20 thee all the days of my life.' And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the 2172 A.M.
first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had)
21 presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. And they went and
stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: 'Is
this your youngest brother?' And they said unto him: 'It is he.' And he said: 'The Lord be
22 gracious to thee, my son!' And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them
and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their
23 hands. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was
24 seven times larger than that of any of theirs. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with
25 their asses. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts
of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: 'Fill all their
sacks with food, and return their money unto them into their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out
of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away.'

Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1–10. *Judah's supplication*, 11–13. *Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and sends them back for his father*, 14–24. (Cf. Gen. xliv. 3–10, 12–18, 27–8, 30–2; xlv. 1–2, 5–9, 12, 18, 20–1, 23, 25–8.)

43 1 And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their
2 money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. And early in the morning they departed,
and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his
house: 'Pursue them, run and **seize** them, saying, "For good ye have requited me with evil; you
have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks." And bring back to me their

4. ⟨ ⟩ supplied from Latin, with Gen. xlii. 5.
5. **questioned them**: Latin has 'appellavit eos dure'.
6. Latin varies: 'et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum'.
12. **to every man**: emended by prefixing *la* to *kuĕllû*.

XLIII. Cf. Gen. xliv. 3–xlv. 28.
2. **seize** = *ta'aḫazômû* emended with Gen. xliv. 4 from *tagâ'azômû* = 'upbraid'.

3 youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment.' And he ran
4 after them and said unto them according to these words. And they said unto him: 'God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of
5 Canaan. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our
6 asses will serve thy lord.' And he said unto them: 'Not so, the man with whom I find, him only
7 shall I take as a servant, and ye shall return in peace unto your house.' And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's
8 sack. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the
9 house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. And Joseph said unto them: 'Ye have done evil.' And they said: 'What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the
10 servants of our lord, and our asses also.' And Joseph said unto them: 'I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not
11 that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me.' And Judah said: 'O my lord, let thy servant, **I pray thee**, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with
12 the life of this (lad). And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is
13 not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not
14 bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever.' And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them
15 that he was Joseph. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and
16 wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. And he said unto them: 'Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and **ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh. and the**
17 **eyes of my brother Benjamin see.** For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are
18 still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for
19 the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh,
20 and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. And tell my father of all my glory, and
21 all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me.' And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured
22 raiment and silver. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn,
23 and he sent them away. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt.
24 And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: 'It is enough for me if Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die.'

Jacob celebrates the feast of firstfruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1–10. *Names of his descendants*, 11–34. (Cf. Gen. xlvi. 1–28.)

44 1 And Israel took his journey from †Haran† from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his
2 father Isaac on the seventh of this month. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen
3 at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if

5. **thy**: for 'my' (Gen. xliv. 9).
10. **delights in his cup**: a change of *jâsta'adĕm* into *jâstaqasĕm* ('divines') would bring text into line with Gen. xliv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.
11. **I pray thee**: MSS. 'on me', mistranslation of בִּי in Gen. xliv. 18.
15. **Hebrew tongue**: so Ber. rabb. 93.
16. **ye see . . . Benjamin see**, emended in text. See my Eth. text, p. 157.

XLIV. 1. †**Haran**† for 'Hebron' (cp. Gen. xxxvii. 14).

4 perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed [in the land], for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and
5 birds, and also over man. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Jacob, Jacob'; and he said, 'Here am I.' And He said unto him: 'I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee
6 a great nation. I will go down with thee, and I will bring thee up (again), and in this land shalt thou be buried, and Joseph shall put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt.'
7 And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon
8 wagons. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he
9 went to the land of Egypt. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they
10 might be near him. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all
11 (of them) and also for the cattle. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into
12 Egypt with Jacob their father. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his
13 sons: Enoch, and Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son
14 of the Zephathite woman—seven. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons:
15 Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons:
16 Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons:
17 Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of
18 his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their
19 father being with them, they were thirty. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of
20 Jacob, who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: The sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, ⟨and Eri, and Areli,
21 and Arodî—eight. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, ⟨and Ishvi⟩, and Beriah, and Serah,
22, 23 their one sister—six. All the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. And the
24 sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis
25 bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven.
26, 27 And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the
28 wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. And these are the names of their

4–8. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 1–6. Jacob's vision is on the day after the Feast of 'Weeks'.
4. **[in the land]**: a dittography.
9. Gen. xlvi. 28. For readings see p. 6.
12–33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xlvi. 27. On the other hand in Gen. xlvi. 15, 18, 22, 25 and Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xlvi. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah, against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	Reuben and 4 sons	5
	Simeon and 6 sons	7
	Levi and 3 sons	4
	Judah, 1 son, 2 grandsons	4
	Issachar and 4 sons	5
	Zebulon and 3 sons	4
		29
Zilpah's ,,	Gad and 7 sons	8
	Asher, 4 sons and 1 daughter	6
		14
Rachel's children	Joseph and 2 sons	3
	Benjamin and 10 sons	11
		14
Bilhah's ,,	Dan and 5 sons	6
	Naphtali and 5 sons	6
		12

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xlvi. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS. give 70, but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.
13. **Zephathite**, i.e. of Zephath, a Canaanite city (Judges. i. 17).
20, 21. ⟨ ⟩ names required to complete numbers 'eight' and 'six'.
28. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 23 which gives Hushim only.

sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmôn, and Asûdî,
29 and 'Îjaka, and Salômôn—six. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there
30 was left to Dan Hushim alone. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni,
31 and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt.
32, 33 And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died
34 in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1–7. *Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh*, 8–12. *Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron*, 13–15. *His books given to Levi*, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlvi. 28–30; xlvii. 11–13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28; l. 13.)

45 1 And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth 2172
2 month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph went to meet his
3 father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. And Israel said unto Joseph: 'Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from
4 His servant Jacob. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be
5 His name.' And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his
6 twelve sons. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling in the land of Goshen and in Rameses and all the region round about, which he ruled over before Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt;
7 and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. And Joseph nourished his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the
8 seven years of the famine. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph acquired all the land of Egypt **for** Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people
9 and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow ⟨the land⟩ in the eighth
10 year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. For in the seven years of the famine it had ⟨not⟩ overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed
11 and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. And this was the first year of 2178
12 the fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for
13 the land of Egypt until this day. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died in the fourth 2188
14 year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in
15 the land. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in
16 the land of Hebron. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

33. **before Joseph** (*b c*); 'before they married' (*a*); 'who did not marry' (*d*).

XLV. 1–4 *a*. Gen. xlvi. 28–30.
4. **whilst †I am† yet alive**: change *ana* to *anta* = 'thou' and read 'that' for 'whilst', then = Gen. xlvi. 30.
6. Gen. xlvii. 11.
one hundred and thirty years: from Gen. xlvii. 9.
7. **as much as sufficed**: emend *ya'aklômû* to *'akâlômû* = 'according to their persons', as LXX, Gen. xlvii. 12.
8. **for Pharaoh**: with Latin *b* reads 'and Pharaoh'.
9, 10. Gen. xlvii. 23. Restore ⟨**the land**⟩ and ⟨**not**⟩ from Latin and emend 'it bore' to 'they harvested' (Latin *collegerunt*).
12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.
the corn of. Read with Lat. 'all the'.
13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28. Date conflicts with that in xix. 13. See xxv. 4.
14. **told them**, &c. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1; Jub. xxx. 21.
15. Cf. Gen. l. 13.
16. Cf. x. 14. Our author, who published these traditions, was probably himself a priest.

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1–2. *Death of Joseph*, 3–5. *War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron*, 6–11. *Egypt oppresses Israel*, 12–16. (Cf. Gen. l. 22, 25–6; Exod. i. 6–14.)

46 1 And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and multiplied exceedingly, ten 2242 A.M.
2 weeks of years, all the days of the life of Joseph. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children
3 of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in
4 prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. And he died and all
5 his brethren and all that generation. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that
6 they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the
7 Egyptians to the gates of 'Êrmôn. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of
8 Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and 2242 A.M.
9 all his brethren died after him. And the king of Egypt went forth to war with the king of Canaan 2263 A.M.
in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the
10 field in the double cave in the mountain. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of
11 them remained in the mountains of Hebrôn, and Amram thy father remained with them. And the
12 king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them and he said unto the people of
13 Egypt: 'Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

3. Cf. Gen. l. 22, 26 (Joseph's death at 110).

6–9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the T. Sim. viii. 2 and T. Benj. xii. 3 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. viii. 2 *ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσήπτων τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Αἰγυπτίων κρυφῇ*: and Benj. xii. 2, 3 *καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν* (Arm. = *ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χαναναῖοι*). If we could trust the date in T. Gad viii. 5 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: *ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών*, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (T. Gad I. 1; Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt (see note on xxviii. 11–24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. xii. 3 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS.) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. xix. 5; Zeb. x. 7; Dan vii. 2) add that 'afterwards' (*ὕστερον*) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: 'His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (*κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον*) and buried them in Hebron.' St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15–16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii and *Bible Dictionary* i. 662, 665. But our text, which emphasizes the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend having many details in common with that in Josephus is given in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate and still more grotesque edition is found in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244–53). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes nearest to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. **'Êrmôn** = Heroônpolis, near the desert on the canal of Ramses.

10. No other mention of this stay of Amram in Palestine; but cf. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2.

13–15. Cf. Exod. i. 10–12, 14.

unto **our enemies** and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land
14 of Canaan.' And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong
cities for Pharaoh, Pithom, and Raamses and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which
15 had fallen in the cities of Egypt. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt
16 evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. And the people of Egypt abominated the
children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1–4. *Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter*, 5–9. *Slays an Egyptian and flees* (*into Midian*), 10–12. (Cf. Exod. i. 22; ii. 2–15.)

47 1 And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth 2303
from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year thereof, in the 2330
2 forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. And Pharaoh, king
of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were
3 born into the river. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born.
4 And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. And she made an ark for
thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and
she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day
5 Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of
Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her **maidens** to
6 bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had
7 compassion on thee. And thy sister said unto her: 'Shall I go and call unto thee one of the
8 Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?' And she said ⟨unto her⟩: 'Go.' And she
9 went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. And afterwards,
when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the **daughter** of Pharaoh, and thou didst become
her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks
10 they brought thee into the royal court. And thou wast three weeks of years at court until the time 2351
when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was 2372
11 of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. And on the second day
thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was
12 doing the wrong: 'Why dost thou smite thy brother?' And he was angry and indignant, and said:
'Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the
Egyptian yesterday?' And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1–3. *The ten plagues*, 4–11. *Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea*, 12–19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15; iv. 19, 24; vii. seqq.)

48 1 And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell ⟨in 2372
the land of Midian⟩ five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week
2 in the second year in the fiftieth jubilee. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on 2410
Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt

13. **our enemies**: so Lat.; Eth. 'the enemy'.
their hearts, &c. Rönsch compares Ezek. xxi. 2.
14. **strong cities**: with LXX. Heb. = ערי מסכנות.
Raamses: Latin adds 'et Oon' from LXX, Exod. i. 11.

XLVII. 2–4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2–4.
3. **seven months**: Cedren. i. 85, quotes it as 'ten months'.
5. Greek form 'Thermuthis' in Syr. Frag.; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5; Syncell. i. 227.
her maidens: plural only in Syr. of Exod. ii. 5.
7. ⟨**unto her**⟩ restored from Latin and Exod. ii. 8.
8. **Jochebed**: Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.
9–12. Exod. ii. 10–14.
9. **daughter** = Exod. i. 10. Eth. and Lat. = 'house'.
'Amram . . . taught thee writing: not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, *Vit. Mosis*, ii. 83.
three weeks: cf. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 6.

XLVIII. 1. **in the land of Midian**: restored from Latin with Exod. ii. 15.
one year: read 'three years'.
return into Egypt, as Exod. iv. 19.
2. Author avoids offence by ascribing God's deed to Mastêmâ. Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Jubilees xvii. 16. ⟨ ⟩ Eth. text corrupt; emended from Latin.

3 ⟨on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place⟩. Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute 4 judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and 5 against all his house, and against his servants and his people. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and ⟨by the death⟩ of the first-born of 6 men and animals, and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people. 7 And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the 8 land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He 9 would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. And the prince Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped 10 the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. The evils indeed we permitted 11 them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that 12 they could not perform a single sign. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince Mastêmâ was not put to shame **because** he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the 13 hosts of the peoples of Egypt. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the 14 midst of the sea as if it were dry land. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on 15 account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he 16 might not accuse them. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the 17 Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and 18 cast them into the sea. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in 19 which they had forced them to serve. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22–3, 30, 46; xv. 22.)

49 1 Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill

3. Author explains away meaning of Exod. iv. 24, unlike Jerahmeel xlvii. 1, 2, where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son.
5. **⟨by the death⟩**: Lat. and Eth. omit.
6. **declare** (*tenger*) emended from 'shouldest do' (*tegbar*).
8. Gen. xv. 13, 14.
9. **prince Mastêmâ**: *a b* here and in verses 12 and 15, and xviii. 9, 12 read 'prince of the Mastêmâ'.
11. Exod. ix. 11.
12. Exod. xiv. 8, 9. **because.** So I read for 'until'.
took courage: *a* has 'took thought'.
13. *a b* read 'between thee and' before 'between'; *c d* add these words after 'Egyptians and'.
14. *Lex talionis*: cf. iv. 31; Wisd. xi. 1, 7, 8, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 45; Philo, *adv. Flacc.* xx; Joseph. *contra Ap.* ii. 13; Exod. xviii. 11; Gen. ix. 6.
17. Cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2.
18. **fourteenth**: with *b* and Cedren. i. 87; *a d* read 'seventeenth'.

XLIX. 1–21. Exod. xii. 6, 13, 22, 23, 28.

it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the
2 time of the setting of the sun. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning
of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let
loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born
3 of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. And this is the sign which the Lord gave
them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into
(that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that
4 were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. And the powers of the Lord did
everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel,
and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or
5 man, or dog. And the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt
6 where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. And all Israel was eating the flesh
of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to
the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from
7 the evil bondage. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to
year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not
8 adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven
on the heavenly tablets **regarding all** the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on
its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained
9 for ever. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion
of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the
Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand shall be cut off: because
he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he shall take the guilt upon himself.
10 Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth
day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of
11 the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light, and a third part to the evening. This
12 is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. And
it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the
evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and
whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn
13 it with fire. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the
fire. **they shall eat it** with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast
with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†.
14 For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its
fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded,
and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its
15 festival let it be observed. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover

2. See notes on xlviii. 17, x. 8, &c.
5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.
6. **drinking the wine**: first mention of this practice at the Passover.
7–8. Cf. vi. 20, 22.
8. **regarding all** = *lakuĕllômû* emended with Lat. from *la'ĕla*.
9. Cf. Numb. ix. 13. Explained in Pesach. ix. 4.
10. Exod. xii. 6.
12. **slay it . . . during the period** (or '**time**') **bordering on the evening.** According to our text the Passover victim might be slain 'during the period bordering on the evening'. This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase 'between the evenings' (בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם). It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover 'at even, at the going down of the sun'. But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—'from the third part of the day to the third part of the night.'—The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase 'between the evenings'. The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, i.e. from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, i.e. 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (*θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης*). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during 'the third part of the day' before sunset; and this harmonizes on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jews support the usage of the Sadducees in limiting the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts: 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. **they shall eat it**: emended with Lat.

†**of the children . . .** †. The Latin seems better: 'non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac.'

15. No evil will come in the year of a Passover rightly performed.

throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it shall come for
a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague shall come upon them to slay or to smite
in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His
16 command. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of
the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season.
17 And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord
from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it
18 in the sanctuary of the Lord. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they
are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of
the land in one of their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them
come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it
19 before the Lord from year to year. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of
the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at
20 sunset, at the third part of the day. And they shall offer its blood on the threshold of the altar,
and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted
21 with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. And
they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the
Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they shall not go astray from the Lord.
22 And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it
was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and† the
festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they
should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of
23 joy before the Lord on the altar of your God. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when
ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye
completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, *and the Sabbath,* 6–13.

50 1 And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which
2 is between Elim and Sinai. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told
thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye
3 enter the land which ye are to possess. And the land also shall keep its sabbaths while they dwell
4 upon it, and they shall know the jubilee year. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks
and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day, 2410 A.M.
and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit. 'distant') for learning the 2450 A.M.
commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the
5 west. And the jubilees shall pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and
uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there
shall be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land shall be clean from that time for evermore.
6 And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—
7 and all the judgments of its laws. Six days shalt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath
of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-
8 servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. And
the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his)

17. **from twenty years old** (Exod. xxx. 14, Numb. i. 32). Rabbis said fourteen.
20. **Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house,** &c. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) "thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose'. But the Mishnah extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).
21. Based on Deut. xvi. 5 (LXX).
nor. Eth. reads 'and' but Latin omits.
go astray from the Lord: Zeph. i. 6.
22. **†and the day of its days, and†**—Latin *in tempore dierum suorum*, 'during its days.'
23. Cf. Exod. xii. 11.
Shur: from Exod. xv. 22.

L. 1. Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. **Sinai,** corrupt for Sin.
2. Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.
3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34.
4. 'Jubilees' are periods of forty-nine years in our author's opinion; of fifty in most Jewish writers.
5. Cf. xxiii. 26–8.
7. Exod. xx. 9, 10.
8. **The man that does any work on it shall die.** This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.
Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprang probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46 *a*.

wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house
9 shall die. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival and a holy day: and
10 a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for
11 Sabbaths. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou
12 hast been commanded. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or
13 whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tablets, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise Nidda 38 *a*. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishnah on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in Nedar iii. 10, viii. 6, while in Baba kamma 82 *a* it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should 'eat garlic' (i.e. cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.* 1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198–9 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of Exod. xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 54) argues that the text in Nedar iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 seq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (*b d*). *a c* omit 'thereon'. This command was derived from Exod. xvi. 29, where the people are bidden to 'abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day' and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2,000 cubits (Erubin iv. 3, 1, v. 7), which was called the 'Sabbath limit' (תחום השבת) or simply 'limit' (תחום), or Sabbath-day's journey (σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitations on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's Lexicons on תחום; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, ii. 2. 102–3. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: *οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν οὔτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτ' ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν.*

In regard to any buying or selling. All the MSS. prefix 'and'. The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against 'eating or drinking anything' may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

takes up any burden to carry it, &c. See note on ii. 29. This is the thirty-ninth form of work forbidden in the treatise Shabbath. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a 'burden'. Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,[2] ii. 782, 784).

12. **tills (his) farm**: cf. Exod. xxxiv. 21; Shabb. vii. 2.

lights a fire: forbidden in Exod. xxxv. 3; Numb. xv. 32, 33.

rides on any beast: cf. Sanh. 46 *a*; Beza v. 2.

strikes or kills anything: cf. Shabb. vii. 2.

fasts: cf. Judith, viii. 6.

makes war: cf. Shabb. vi. 2, 4; 1 Macc. ii. 31–8; 2 Macc. vi. 11, xv. 1; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xiv. 4. 2. Partially superseded in 1 Macc. ii. 41. It was a constant hindrance to the Jews, especially at Pompey's siege of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but was once abandoned with success in the final war (Joseph. *Bell.* ii. 19. 2).

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Character of the Epistle.

The Epistle claims to be a contemporary record, written with the personal knowledge of an eye-witness, by Aristeas, an officer at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), to his brother Philocrates, giving an account of the circumstances which led up to the composition of the LXX version of the Jewish law. The events with which it deals are supposed to take place during the lifetime of Queen Arsinoe (§ 41). As Arsinoe became Queen about 278 B.C. and died in 270 B.C., these dates provide us with the time limits within which the story must be placed. If the allusion to the royal children in § 41 is not an anachronism, but contains a reference to the fact that Arsinoe, finding herself childless, adopted the offspring of her predecessor, the date must be fixed towards the end of this period.[1] The writer strives to give us the impression that the Epistle was composed almost immediately after the occurrence of the events which it records.

This claim, however, cannot be sustained. There are many reasons which make it quite certain that the Epistle could not have been written by a Greek Court-official in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

1. On two occasions the writer makes statements which betray the fact that he belongs to a later age. In § 28 he speaks of the manner in which 'the affairs of state *used to be carried out* by these Egyptian kings' and in § 182, after referring to the arrangement which was made for the entertainment of guests at court in the time of Philadelphus, he adds the significant words, 'it is an arrangement which is still maintained to-day'.

2. The writer is guilty of several serious historical anachronisms.

(*a*) He represents Demetrius of Phalerum as head of the library of Alexandria and ascribes the translation of the law to his influence and initiative (§§ 9–11 *et passim*). The evidence, however, proves quite conclusively that Demetrius was banished by Philadelphus at the commencement of his reign (*c.* 283 B.C.) for supporting the claim of Keraunos to the throne, and died shortly afterwards (see note on § 9).

(*b*) In § 180 Aristeas makes Philadelphus allude to a 'naval victory over Antigonus'. If the reference is to the battle of Kos (258 B.C.), he is guilty not only of turning a defeat into a victory, but also of antedating the event by some twenty years or so. If, as many scholars suppose, the reference is to the battle of Andros, the former objection is removed (for Egypt was victorious at Andros) but the latter difficulty is intensified, for the battle was not fought till at any rate the last year of the reign of Philadelphus (247 B.C.) and possibly not till the beginning of the reign of his successor.

(*c*) In § 201 Menedemus the philosopher is represented as being present at the banquet and taking part in the discussion. Menedemus lived at Eretria and we have no evidence that he ever visited Alexandria. Moreover, he probably died in 277 B.C., a year or two before the time when Aristeas introduces him into the narrative. The references to Theopompus (§ 314) and Theodektes (§ 316) seem to be equally impossible, and the stories which are told about them must be regarded as purely fictitious.

(*d*) At times the Epistle assumes the existence of the LXX before the translation was made. In §§ 57–8 the specifications of the table which Philadelphus sent as a present to Eleazar are taken from the LXX, which differs very considerably from the Hebrew. In § 228 a phrase from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 is put into the mouth of one of the Jewish envoys. In the description of the dress of the High Priest (§§ 96–9) many terms are used from the LXX of Exodus xxviii and xxix.

[1] Epiphanius gives the date as the 7th year of Philadelphus 'more or less'; other ecclesiastical writers give the 2nd 17th, 19th, or 20th year.

In § 155 there is a conflate quotation made up of phrases taken from the LXX of two different passages in Deuteronomy. And—most important of all—the law is spoken of as Scripture (§§ 155 and 168).

3. The writer of the Epistle could not have been a Greek courtier, as he claims to be in § 16. To write under a Greek mask was a favourite literary device of Jewish apologists. We have examples of it in the Sibylline books, in pseudo-Hecataeus, and in the forged additions which were made to the Greek poets (Schürer, *ET* ii. 3, p. 294 ff.). The whole tone of the letter from beginning to end proves conclusively that its author was a Jew and that the Greek rôle was assumed to strengthen the force of the argument and commend it to non-Jewish readers.

The Epistle of Aristeas therefore must not, in spite of its author's asseverations, be regarded as a historical document. It is really a piece of apologetic—'a panegyric' as Schürer describes it—'upon Jewish law, Jewish wisdom, and the Jewish name in general'. We may compare it to a modern historical novel written with a purpose. It is only valuable because it indicates the views which were held at the time when it was written with regard to the origin of the LXX.

It may be added that the genuineness and authenticity of the letter were first questioned by Ludovicus de Vives in his commentary on Aug. *de Civ. Dei* xviii. 4 (1522), and subsequently by Scaliger. Ussher and Voss defended the letter, but its claim to belong to the period of Philadelphus was finally destroyed by Humphry Hody (1684–1705), though unsuccessful attempts were made later on by Grinfield in his *Apology for the LXX* (1850) and by Oeconomus in his περὶ τῶν ο' ἑρμηνευτῶν (Athens, 1844–9) to resuscitate its reputation.

§ 2. The Contents and Purpose of the Epistle.

The contents of the Epistle may be analysed as follows:—

I. Introduction, dedicating the book to Philocrates, §§ 1–8.

II. Preliminary proceedings, §§ 9–51.
- (*a*) The proposal of Demetrius, §§ 9–12.
- (*b*) The emancipation of the Jewish captives, §§ 13–28.
- (*c*) The letter of Philadelphus to Eleazar, §§ 29–40.
- (*d*) The reply of Eleazar, §§ 41–6.
- (*e*) The names of the translators, §§ 47–50.

III. The description of the royal presents to Eleazar, §§ 52–82.
- (*a*) The sacred table, §§ 52–72.
- (*b*) The other presents, §§ 73–82.

IV. The description of Jerusalem, §§ 83–120.
- (*a*) The temple, including the arrangements for the water supply, §§ 83–91.
- (*b*) The ministration of the priests and of Eleazar in particular, §§ 92–9.
- (*c*) The Akra or citadel, §§ 100–4.
- (*d*) A brief description of the city itself, §§ 105–6.
- (*e*) A description of the country districts of Palestine, §§ 107–20.

V. Eleazar's farewell to the translators, §§ 120–7.

VI. Eleazar's defence of the Jewish law, §§ 128–71.

VII. The reception of the translators at Alexandria, §§ 172–86.

VIII. The banquet, and the table-talk of the translators. The 72 questions and answers, §§ 187–300.

IX. The translation and reception of the law, §§ 301–22.

The apologetic interest of the Epistle reveals itself in the following directions:—

1. The account of the liberation of the Jewish captives by Ptolemy Philadelphus indicates that one of the aims of the author was to vindicate the right of the Jewish people to political liberty. The writer holds up the magnanimity of the king as a mirror to his own age and cites it as an illustration of the attitude which ought to be adopted by rulers towards the Jewish race. The appeal of Aristeas and Sosibius to Philadelphus is really directed to the authorities of the writer's own day.

2. The vindication of the purpose and function of the Jewish law forms the theme of one of the most important sections of the book (§§ 128–71). The writer admits that there were many enact-

ments in the Mosaic code which seemed incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, e.g. the distinction between clean and unclean meats. The method by which he justifies these injunctions is ingenious and interesting. For the first time in the history of Jewish apologetic he resorts to the allegorical method for which Alexandria in later times became so famous. He rejects 'the degrading notion' that the regulations were made in the interests of the animals themselves (§ 144) and insists that they are merely 'symbols', drawn up to teach men lessons of righteousness (§ 151).

3. The long section, which relates the table-talk between Philadelphus and his guests, is introduced to exemplify the wisdom, moral insight, intellectual ability, and philosophical acumen of the leaders of the Jewish people. The high commendation which is given to the answers by the philosophers at the court and especially by Menedemus (§§ 200, 201) serves to exalt the endowments of the Jewish translators at the expense of other teachers. The writer, however, is aware that he has overdone the encomium on Jewish wisdom, for he adds: 'I suppose it will seem incredible to those who will read my narrative', § 296. The writer's argument is in line with the theory commonly adopted by Jewish apologists, that the philosophers of Greece derived their wisdom from the teaching of Moses.

4. There are other signs, too, that the Epistle was intended by its author to advocate the Jewish propaganda:—

(*a*) In § 16 an attempt is made to show that the God of the Jews is to be identified with the being 'whom all men worship', though they call him by other names.

(*b*) The idealized picture of Eleazar and the Jewish priests in §§ 92–9 is obviously intended to affect the mind of the reader. 'I am convinced', writes Aristeas, 'that any man who takes part in the spectacle . . . will be filled with indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind', § 99.

(*c*) The stamp of approval which is given to the LXX in § 310 is intended to vindicate it against the attacks of critics and secure appreciation for it in the minds of Greek readers.

It is not too much to say that the writer's one object is to demonstrate the supremacy of the Jewish people—the Jewish priesthood, the Jewish law, the Jewish philosophy, and the Jewish Bible.

§ 3. The Date of the Epistle.

The date of the Epistle constitutes an almost insoluble problem. There are three main theories—(1) Schürer holds that it was written about 200 B.C.; (2) Wendland places it between 96–93 B.C.; (3) Graetz and Willrich assign it to the age of Caligula (later than 33 A.D.).

The arguments upon which Schürer relies are as follows:—(1) The reference to the translation of the LXX in Aristobulus (170–150 B.C.). The words of Aristobulus as reported by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12. 2) are as follows:—ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως. . . . Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων. 'The complete translation of the whole of the Jewish law *was made* in the time of the king who was surnamed Philadelphus, and was due to the efforts of Demetrius of Phalerum.' Schürer argues that the introduction of the anachronism with regard to Demetrius makes it certain that Aristobulus is dependent upon Aristeas, and as Aristobulus is dated about 170–150 B.C., Aristeas must be written some years earlier. The argument of Schürer is corroborated to some extent by the interesting parallel between Aristeas § 306 and a passage of Aristobulus quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 10. 377 a.

Aristeas.	Aristobulus.
πᾶσα γὰρ ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεται.	ὥστε . . . τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι.

Unfortunately for Schürer, however, the genuineness of these quotations, and indeed of the whole work attributed to Aristobulus, has been seriously questioned by some modern scholars, e.g. Kuenen, Graetz, Joel, L. Cohn, and Wendland. And even if their authenticity be admitted, there is nothing to prove that Aristeas must be the earlier of the two writers. It is quite possible that, instead of Aristobulus using Aristeas as Schürer supposes, it may have been Aristeas who used Aristobulus.

(2) Schürer lays great stress on the political condition of Palestine as described in the Epistle: 'A period when the Jewish people were leading a peaceful and prosperous existence under the conduct of their high priest and in a relation of very slight dependence upon Egypt, i.e. the *period before the conquest of Palestine by the Seleucidae*, evidently from the background of the book. There is nowhere any allusion to the complications which begin with the Seleucidian conquest. The

Jewish people and their high priest appear as almost politically independent. Especially is it worthy of remark that the fortress of Jerusalem is in the possession of the Jews' (*ET* ii. 3. 309 f.). There would be additional force in Schürer's argument if we could rely upon the statement of Josephus that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the Akra to the ground (see note on § 100). In view of the fact, however, that Josephus is in conflict with 1 Maccabees and the possibility, which G. A. Smith suggests, that Aristeas may not be referring to the original Akra but to the later Baris, the point cannot be pressed.

The argument would possess considerable weight if it could be proved that the section which deals with Palestine was written from the author's own observations. But if, as Wendland has made extremely probable, Aristeas obtained his information second-hand from the writings of Hecataeus, the data cannot be used as Schürer uses them and the ground is cut from underneath his position.

It is extremely difficult to maintain so early a date as 200 B.C. in view of the internal evidence supplied by the Epistle itself. There are a number of points—none of them conclusive in itself, but possessing cumulative effect when they are taken together—which seem to render it extremely probable that the document belongs to the post-Maccabean period:—

1. In the list of the seventy-two translators, which is due to the writer's imagination, there are many names which are particularly associated with the Maccabean age, e.g. Mattathias, Judas (three times), Simon (three times), Jonathan (three times). Moreover, the high priest in Aristeas bears the same name as the famous Eleazar who is the hero of 2 Maccabees. The unusual names Chelchias (among the 72), Sosibius, and Dositheus are found among the courtiers of the later Ptolemies, and possibly the author himself, as Wendland suggests, assumes the name of the later historian Aristeas (see note on § 6).

2. The evidence of the Papyri affords a clear presumption in favour of the later date. Three points seem to have been made out:—

(*a*) The omission of the pronoun in the formula *ἐὰν φαίνηται* does not occur on the Papyri till 163 B.C. (see note on § 32).

(*b*) Strack has proved that while the title *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ* is often found in the singular in the Papyri of the third cent. B.C., the plural form which is used in § 40 of Aristeas does not occur till about 145 B.C.

(*c*) The use of the word 'friends' as a court title is not found till the Papyri of the period of Ptolemy V (205–182 B.C.), see note on § 45.[1]

3. Certain statements of the Epistle seem to bear out the same point. To quote Thackeray: 'The alleged widespread interest in the Jewish law (§ 128) and the false views which were in circulation about it (§ 144), the pointed reference to a difference between the Greek text and the Hebrew in a passage of Exodus (§ 57), and the probable allusion to attempts which had been made to improve on the rendering of the translators—all these appear to indicate a date further removed from the age of Philadelphus than that which Schürer would adopt.

If Schürer's view is too early, the date assigned to the Epistle by[2] Graetz and Willrich is too late. It is difficult to see how the document could have sufficiently established its reputation to be used by Philo and Josephus, if it had been composed as late as 33 B.C. Moreover, the description of Palestine, even though it is borrowed from Hecataeus, could scarcely have been written in its present form after the Roman occupation of Palestine. The island of Pharos, too, is described as inhabited. The conquest of Egypt by Julius Caesar rendered it desolate (Strabo xvii. 6).

The evidence seems to suggest a date between 130 and 70 B.C. May we go further with Wendland and fix upon a definite point within this period? The grounds upon which Wendland decides for 96–93 B.C. are as follows:—In § 115 the ports of Ascalon, Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais are said to be in possession of the Jews. Joppa was conquered about 146 B.C., but Gaza was not captured till 96 B.C., and Ascalon and Ptolemais never became Jewish territory. It is of course the capture of Gaza which is the determining point with Wendland. It is quite conceivable, however, that the author, writing at an earlier time, may have made the same mistake about Gaza as he did about Ptolemais and Ascalon.

There are one or two facts, however, which it seems difficult to reconcile with a date within the period 130–70 B.C. Twice in the Epistle the law is spoken of as Scripture. There seems to be no trace of the application of the term Scripture to the Old Testament before the commencement of the Christian era. We have no other instance either of the application of the allegorical method in the manner in which it is used in Aristeas before that date.

[1] Too much stress should not perhaps be laid on this point as the term may possibly be used in the technical sense in 1 Kings iv. 5.

[2] For the arguments of Graetz see notes on §§ 28, 167. Drummond, *Philo*, 233 ff.

We seem to have therefore one set of facts, e.g. the Ptolemaic background and the absence of any reference to the Roman occupation of Palestine, which compel us to date the Epistle before 70 B.C., and another set of facts which suggest that it could not have originated till the Christian era.

The solution of the problem will probably be found in some such hypothesis as the following. The Epistle was issued in its present form at the commencement of the Christian era, possibly as late as the date suggested by Graetz and Willrich—but a large part of it—possibly the whole except the law section, §§ 128–71—was in existence before and belongs to the period 130–70 B.C. The law section is quite separate from the rest of the book and might easily have been inserted. It may also be found, when a detailed comparison has been made between Aristeas and 2 and 3 Maccabees, that other sections or at any rate sentences are the work of the later editor. Nothing except some form of the partition theory seems likely to provide the key for the riddle.

§ 4. The Author.

Nothing is known with regard to the author of the Epistle. We may, however, draw some inferences from the book with regard to his personality. We may conclude that (1) *he was a Jew.* This is obvious from the tone and purpose of the book; (2) *he belonged to Alexandria.* Lumbroso has proved that the acquaintance which the book shows with the technicalities of the Court life of the later Ptolemies clearly indicates that it was of Alexandrian origin. The employment of the allegorical method of interpreting the law points to the same conclusion. (3) *He was a propagandist,* as is evidenced by the apologetic interest of the book. (4) He belonged to what may be termed 'the common sense school of philosophy'. There are no flights of speculation in the book. No problems trouble the mind of the author, who is simple and conventional in his treatment of the ethical and religious questions which emerge. (5) His attachment and devotion to the Jewish law indicate that the *author had leanings towards Pharisaism,* though it must be admitted that his Pharisaism is not of a pronounced type, except in the section dealing with the Jewish law. (6) He was interested (*a*) in psychology (§§ 155–6) and especially in the psychology of sleep (§§ 160, 213–16); (*b*) in political and social problems (*passim*, see Introduction, § 6). (7) Swete has an interesting suggestion that he was a native of Cyprus, based on the fact that his brother came from that island, and that the name Aristeas frequently occurs on the Inscriptions found in the islands of the Aegean (*Introd. to LXX.* 10).

§ 5. Sources.

The author claims to write as an eyewitness and consequently gives little indication of the sources from which his information was derived. The only indications which he affords us of having used other authorities are (1) the quotation from Hecataeus in § 31; (2) his reference to the Minutes of Court Proceedings in § 298. We may dismiss the latter at once as an attempt on the part of the author to secure credence for his narrative. The allusion to Hecataeus, however, is more important, and if Wendland is right, reveals the real source which lies behind the Epistle. The quotations which Josephus gives from Hecataeus, though they may be coloured by later tradition or even by Josephus himself, indicate that he covered pretty much the same ground as Aristeas in his description of Palestine. Similar resemblances are pointed out between Diodorus Siculus, who embodied a great deal of Hecataeus in his writings, and our Epistle. Among the points of similarity between the statements of Aristeas and what may be assumed to have been said by Hecataeus, Wendland mentions the following—(*a*) the account of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt, §§ 12, 13; (*b*) the comparison between the God of the Jews and Zeus (§ 16); (*c*) the high praise which is bestowed upon agriculture (§ 107 ff.); (*d*) the description of the Temple and the priesthood at Jerusalem (§§ 83 f., 92 f.); (*e*) the description of the produce and agriculture of Palestine (§§ 107–20).

There are, however, some points of discrepancy between Hecataeus and Aristeas which weaken the force of Wendland's argument; (*a*) in § 105 Aristeas describes the extent of the city as 40 furlongs, while Hecataeus says 50; (*b*) in § 95 Aristeas estimates the number of Jewish priests at 700, while Hecataeus puts the figure at 1,500. We may conclude therefore that while it is certain that Aristeas made use of Hecataeus, very possibly Wendland has exaggerated the extent of his indebtedness.

For the table-talk section it is possible that Aristeas made use of a collection of 'Moral Sayings', though whether they were Jewish or Greek cannot be determined. The theological conclusion, which the writer adds, is sometimes forced and fails to fit on to the previous statement.

§ 6. Theology and Ethical Teaching.

The Epistle is not directly interested in theological problems. The most interesting features are its doctrine of God and its view with regard to the significance of the Jewish law.

1. The conception of God is in many ways quite modern. The most noteworthy point is the identification of the God of the Hebrews with Zeus (§ 16). Stress is laid upon Monotheism (§§ 132, 139). It is through God that 'all things are endowed with life and come into being' (§ 16). 'His power is manifested throughout the Universe and every place is filled with His sovereignty' (§ 132). He is the source of all the endowments and blessings of life (§ 190). Evil as well as good comes from His hand (§ 197). We are dependent upon him for success (§ 196) and for virtue (§ 226 *et passim*). He is the 'ruler and lord of the Universe' (§§ 16, 201, 210), ὁ κυριεύων ἁπάντων θεός (§§ 18, 45), the most High God (μέγιστος θεός § 19), the great godhead (μεγάλη θειότης § 95), the Almighty (ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός § 185). Nothing can be hid from Him. 'None of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge' (§ 132). He sways the lives of men (§ 17) and grants answers to their prayers (§ 192). The utmost emphasis is laid upon the benignity, the forbearance, and the forgiveness of God, who is described as χωρὶς ὀργῆς ἁπάσης (§ 254). Though there is a general reference to the punishments which He inflicts upon the guilty in § 131, yet it is elsewhere asserted that these punishments are mild and that 'God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and makes merely a display of the greatness of his power' (§ 194). There is a vigorous attack upon idolatry in §§ 134–7 which is remarkable for its Euhemeristic explanation of the origin of idol-worship.

2. The section on the Jewish law is the outstanding feature of the book. The law is described as 'Scripture' (§ 168, cf. § 155) and as the 'Oracles of God' (§§ 158, 177). Its divine origin is continually emphasized (§§ 31, 240, 313). It is entirely free from blemish (§ 31), and the utmost sanctity attaches to it (§§ 31, 171). It is the peculiar protection of Israel, 'It has fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron that we might not mingle with the other nations' (§ 139). It contains the moral ideal. 'The good life consists in keeping the enactments of the law' (§ 127). 'All its ordinances have been drawn up to assist the quest for virtue and the perfecting of character' (§ 144, cf. §§ 168, 169). Some of its regulations may seem trivial but there is a hidden meaning attached to them, and they are all intended to teach a moral lesson (§ 150). By a novel application of the allegorical method, Aristeas endeavours to show the real significance of the law with regard to unclean food, and he is specially ingenious in his interpretation of the 'cloven hoof' and 'chewing the cud' (§§ 150–6).

3. Aristeas has no doctrine of sin. The word only occurs once and then it is used in quite a general sense (§ 192). On more than one occasion, however, he refers to the natural bias toward evil in human nature. 'Every man has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure' (§ 108, cf. §§ 222–3). 'All men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence injustice springs up and a flood of avarice' (§ 277).

4. *Ethical Teaching.* A great part of the book is devoted to ethical teaching but it is very largely conventional and possesses very little originality. The utmost emphasis is laid on the connexion between morality and religion. God is 'the starting point' (καταρχή) of ethics (§§ 189, 200, 235). The moral ideal is embodied in the law (§ 127), and it is through the power of God that its realization becomes possible. The latter point is brought out clearly in § 236, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power alone to receive the good and reject the opposite'; and again, in § 231, 'It is the gift of God to be able to do good actions' (see also §§ 226, 238, 248). Virtue is spoken of as a general principle which is 'the source of good deeds' (§ 272). The Aristotelian virtue of 'the middle course' or moderation comes into prominence on several occasions (§§ 122, 223, 256). A version of 'the Golden Rule' in its negative form appears in § 207. There is no trace of dualism—in fact the divine origin of the body, and the manifestation of the wisdom of God in its various organs and functions are clearly enunciated in §§ 155–6. Stress is sometimes laid on outward observances and etiquette (§ 246). The teaching shows no sign of asceticism though men are constantly warned not to allow themselves to be carried away by passion and impulse and urged to a life of self-discipline and self-control (§§ 209, 216, 221, 238, 248, 256). The other virtues emphasized are justice and righteousness ('injustice is equivalent to the deprivation of life', § 212), sobriety, temperance, kindness, duty to parents and children, truthfulness, forbearance, sympathy, and forgiveness. Among the vices to be avoided are injustice, pride, intemperance, lying, pleasure-seeking, churlishness, anger, and malice. The general teaching of the book may be summed up in the words of § 195: 'The highest good in life is to know that God is the Lord of the Universe and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us to the goal'.

5. *Political Philosophy.* Aristeas incidentally draws a picture of the ideal monarch who is portrayed as a benevolent despot and a philosopher-king. No other form of government is discussed at all. The question is indeed raised as to whether a man born to the purple or a private citizen makes the best ruler, but it is left unanswered (§§ 288–90). The absoluteness of the monarchy is taken for granted. He has power of life and death over his subjects (§ 253). But he is urged to remember that only justice and benevolence, and clemency, and a real desire to promote the welfare of his subjects can render his throne secure (§§ 205, 225, and 283). The ideal condition is reached 'when subjects continually dwell in a state of peace and justice is speedily administered' (§ 291). In order to secure this end, the king must study the part he has to play, as actors do (§ 219), and strict rules of etiquette must be maintained at Court (§ 246). He must pay careful attention to the official reports which are sent up from the provinces, with a view to the correction of abuses and the removal of grievances (§ 283). He must take special precautions to see that his subordinates are not guilty of injustice or oppression (§ 271), and he must put down informers with a strong hand (§§ 166, 167). Moreover, he must see to it that his employés are paid a fair wage (§ 258). Above all he must remember that he owes his throne to God and only the power of God can keep it secure (§ 224).

The interest which Aristeas takes *in social problems* is seen in his views on the following points—(*a*) He advocates *mild* forms of punishment for offenders. 'If you exhibit clemency, . . . you will turn men from evil and lead them to repentance' (§ 188, see also § 208). (*b*) He gives an account of the measures which were adopted at Alexandria to prevent the depopulation of the rural districts by influx into the towns (§§ 107–11), and his words seem to suggest that the question was as acute in his day as it is in modern times. (*c*) He is impressed with the difficulties that arise from the mingling of different races in the big centres, and is opposed to 'residence abroad' whether for rich or poor (§ 249). (*d*) He is emphatic in demanding fair wages for artisans (§§ 258–9). (*e*) He holds pronounced views on the inferiority of women, 'Women are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and they are essentially weak' (§ 250).

§ 7. The Manuscripts.

The two chief authorities on the textual criticism of Aristeas are Wendland and Thackeray, both of whom have constructed a modern text of the Epistle. Thackeray's text was published in 1900 as an appendix to Swete's 'Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek', and Wendland's appeared the same year.

The two texts are not made entirely out of the same materials and unfortunately the Editors use a different system of denominating the MSS. in their *apparatus criticus.*

I propose to state first the MSS. which have been used by both Editors, and then those which have been used by one of them, and finally those which do not seem as yet to have been used at all.

I. The MSS. which have been used by both editors. For the purpose of convenience I give both systems of notation.

	Wend.	Thack.
Vaticanus 383	A.	K.
Venice 534	V.	G.
Palat. 203	P.	I.
Flor. Laur. 44	L.	T.
Barberini iv. 56	B.	P.
Vaticanus 747	C.	H.

II. In addition to these Wendland has used

Monacensis 9	M.

III. The additional MSS. used by Thackeray are

Paris 128	A.
Paris 129	B.
Paris 5	C.
Paris 950	Q.
Zürich (Omont 169)	Z.

We may include also three MSS. which are the descendants of Paris 128 (A.)

Paris 130	D.
Brit. Mus. Burney 34	F.
Vatican 746	L.

and one MS. which is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K.)

Basileensis O. iv. 10 . . . . . R.

Partial use has also been made of

Vaticanus 1668 . . . . . S.

Mention is made too in the introduction of a MS. which does not appear to be cited in the *apparatus criticus*.

Ottobonianus 32 . . . . . M.

IV. Certain other MSS. are known to exist but do not appear to have been collated.

Atheniensis 389.
Scorialensis Σ. 1. 6.
Monacensis 82.

V. In addition to the MSS., we have (*a*) the paraphrase of Josephus which covers the ground of §§ 9–81, &c.; (*b*) the citations in Eusebius, of §§ 9–11, §§ 28–46, §§ 88–90, §§ 128–71. Eusebius is the more valuable of the two, because Josephus has taken the trouble to rewrite every sentence, and though he still employs the characteristic words and phrases of Aristeas, it is very often impossible to reconstruct the text which he was using. The citations in Eusebius are on the whole accurate and reliable; he sometimes abbreviates a little and sometimes misquotes, but as Freudenthal says, 'it is only in extremely rare cases that he inserts additions of his own, and the cases in which we meet with fundamental alterations of the text are still more uncommon.' (Quoted by Thackeray, Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 576.)

Classification of MSS. With regard to the classification of the MSS. Wendland and Thackeray are on the whole in agreement, though there is some difference as to details. For the sake of comparison I append a table, giving the two classifications, using the notation of Thackeray in order to make the agreements and differences obvious:

	Thackeray.	Wendland.
Group I	(*a*) T B (*b*) C P S Z	T B P S Z
Group II	(*a*) G I M (*b*) H A (D F L) K (R)	(*a*) G I M C (*b*) H K A D F
Group III	wanting	Cod. Monacensis 9

It will be seen that the only essential differences are (*a*) Thackeray puts C (Paris 5) in group I, Wendland in group II; (*b*) Wendland uses Cod. Monacensis 9 and places it in a group by itself.

But though the two editors are in general agreement with regard to classification, they differ with regard to the comparative value of the groups. Wendland holds that the purest text is found in Cod. Monacensis 9 which Thackeray does not use at all, the next most important MSS. being T, P, and the MSS. of the first group, while the second group is 'minoris pretii'. Thackeray, on the other hand, maintains that the first group 'while presenting a specious text is in reality based upon a recension, though in a few passages it has kept the original readings'. In the second group 'no correction has taken place, and though the text which has been handed down is not altogether free from corruption, yet the true reading is in most cases to be looked for here'.

A full account of the different MSS. will be found in Swete (*Introd. to LXX*, 504–16).

It remains to add the names of scholars who have worked on the emendation of the text.

C. L. Struve, *Opuscula Selecta* II, pp. 195–7, 270, 277, 310, 311, 329. Lipsiae, 1854.
C. G. Cobet, Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, vol. i, pp. 177–81. Leyden, 1866.
Lumbroso, *Dell' uso delle iscrizioni e dei papyri per la critica del libro di Aristea: Atti della R. Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. iv, 1868–9, pp. 229–54.
L. Mendelssohn, *Zum Aristeasbriefe*: Rhein. Mus. xxx. 1875, pp. 631, 632.
Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem Epistulae initium. Jurievi, 1897.
Kuiper, *De Aristeae ad Philocratem fratrem epistola.* Mnemosyne, xx. 1892, pp. 252–72.

§ 8. Editions.

The earliest edition of Aristeas appeared in the form of a Latin translation by Matthias Palmerius which was published at Rome in 1471 in the famous Roman Bible of Sueynheym and Pannartz, reprinted at Nürnberg 1475, and issued separately at Erfurt 1483. The *Editio princeps* in Greek was issued by Simon Schard at Basle in 1561. Upon what MSS. Schard's edition rested, is

a matter of dispute. We know that Codex Basileensis O. iv. 10 (R) was presented to the library at Basle by Schard, but we may be certain that he did not use it as the basis of his text. R is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K), and it is from this MSS. that Schard's *variae lectiones* were taken. Wendland thinks that the text was derived from Codex Monacensis 9.

Up till 1870 all editions were simply reprints of Schard, e. g. the text prefixed by Hody to his *De Bibliorum Textibus* in 1705, or the text in Havercamp's *Josephus*, or in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Patrum* (ii. 773–804).

The modern study of Aristeas began with the publication of Schmidt's new text, which was published in Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des Alten Testamentes*, vol. i (1870), pp. 241–312. Schmidt collated and used the two Paris MSS. known as B and C. In the same year a valuable contribution was made to the subject by Prof. Lumbroso, who examined the text of Aristeas in the light of the Papyri and published his results in his *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Turin, 1870). His critical study and his emendations have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Some twenty-five years later Mendelssohn of Dorpat undertook the task of examining and collating the MSS. with a view to the construction of a scientific text. He only lived, however, to complete the text of §§ 1–51, which was published in 1897 under the title *Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem epistulae initium.* The work which he left unfinished was taken up by Wendland in Germany and Thackeray in England, whose texts were published in 1900 (see Introduction, § 7).

Little has been done at present in the way of commentary. The Epistle is still very largely virgin soil. The absence of a proper text, and the difficulty of looking up references, since the text was not broken up into sections till Wendland's edition, together with the general neglect of the study of non-canonical Jewish literature until the recent revival, have left, what is from many points of view a most valuable document, in obscurity.

The only good translations are Wendland's in German (Kautzsch ii. 1–30) and Thackeray's in English (*JQR* xv. 337–91). I regret that I did not discover the latter till my own translation was complete, but I have found it extremely helpful in revision, and I have made very considerable use of the footnotes, which are more extensive than those in Kautzsch.

With regard to the general literature on the Epistle, there is not very much to be said. The best account of the book (apart from the introductions in Kautzsch and Thackeray) is in Schürer, *ET* ii. 3. 306–17, where a full account is given of the older literature, and in Drummond, *Philo*, i. pp. 230–42. The only important monographs are Kurz, *Aristeae epistula ad Philocraten*, Bern, 1872; Graetz, *Die Abfassungszeit des Pseudo-Aristeas* (*Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1876, pp. 289 f., 337 f.); Papageorgios, *Ueber den Aristeasbrief*, München, 1880. References are found in many Jewish Histories and Introductions to the Old Testament, e. g. Nöldeke, Freudenthal, Ewald, Hitzig. Amongst the more recent discussions may be mentioned, the articles by L. Cohn on the relation between Aristeas and Philo in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Alterth.* i (1898), 521 ff., and H. Willrich on the date in *Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, pp. 111–30, and the references in Nestle's article on the 'Septuagint', *DBH* iv. 438 f., and in Swete's *Introduction to LXX*, pp. 10–20, 500–74, and Nestle's article on Aristeas in *Realencyclopädie.*

§ 9. The Influence of Aristeas on Later Literature.

A complete *catena* of 'Testimonia' is printed in full in Wendland's edition of the text of Aristeas (pp. 87–166), to which some few addenda have been made by Nestle, *DBH* iv. 439. It will only be possible to mention the more important facts here.

A. *Jewish Literature.*

The earliest authority generally cited is Aristobulus. The relevant passages have already been quoted in Introduction § 3. See also note on § 30. The grounds for rejecting the genuineness of the fragments ascribed to Aristobulus by Eusebius are given by L. Cohn (*Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Alterthum*, i. 8 (1895)) and Wendland (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii (1898), 447–9).

The use of Aristeas by Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, ii. 5–7) seems clearer, though this too has been denied by Cohn (ib. 1898, i. 521). Philo states that Philadelphus, 'the greatest of the Ptolemies,' in his anxiety to obtain a translation of the Jewish law, sent ambassadors to the Jewish High Priest, and requested him to select men to carry out his wish. The High Priest, thinking that Ptolemy's desire was due to divine inspiration, sent some of his most distinguished men to Alexandria. Upon their arrival the king fêted them, and put questions to them to test their wisdom. Owing to the unhealthiness of the town, they were located on the island of Pharos, where the translation was

made. The principle which governed it was that the translators regarded themselves as *μήτ' ἀφελεῖν τι μήτε προσθεῖναι ἢ μεταθεῖναι δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας* (cf. Aristeas, § 311). There is no specific reference to the Epistle, and many of its salient features are omitted, but on the whole it seems probable that it formed the basis of Philo's statement.

With regard to Josephus there is no possibility of doubt. In *Antiq.* xii. 2 he gives us a running paraphrase of (*a*) §§ 9–81, (*b*) §§ 172–87, (*c*) §§ 201, 293, 294, (*d*) §§ 301–21. There is a specific reference to the book itself—*ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψε διὰ ταῦτα* (§ 100 in the edition of Niese). It should be noted that Josephus always spells the name Ἀρισταῖος, instead of Ἀριστέας. There are further references to the subject matter of the Epistle in *Antiq.* i. 10; *c. Apion.* ii. 44.

B. *Christian.*

There is no clear proof that Aristeas directly influenced the language of the New Testament, though there are a few interesting parallels.

(1)

Aristeas § 177 (cf. § 158).	Romans iii. 2.
εὐχαριστῶ . . . . τῷ θεῷ οὕτινός ἐστι τὰ λόγια ταῦτα.	*ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.*
	Hebrews v. 12.
	τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ.

(2)

§ 280.	2 Tim. iv. 8.
θεοῦ σοὶ στέφανον δικαιοσύνης δεδωκότος.	*ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.*

This phrase also occurs in the Testaments of the Patriarchs (T. Levi viii. 2).

(3)

§§ 140–1.	Matt. vi. 31–3.
. . . ὃ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ πρόσεστιν, . . . ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ σκέπης. . . . τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα λελόγισται, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυναστείας δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν ἡ σκέψις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν.	*μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες Τί φάγωμεν; ἢ Τί πίωμεν; . . . πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν. . . . ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν . . .*

(4) Compare also the argument of

§ 144.

You must not fall into the degrading idea that it was for the sake of mice and weasels that Moses drew up his laws. These ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness.

with

1 Cor. ix. 9.

Is it for the oxen that God careth, or saith he it altogether for our sake? Yea for our sake it was written.

The earliest reference to the translation of the LXX in Patristic literature is found in JUSTIN MARTYR (*Apol.* i. 31), who states that Philadelphus, wishing to obtain a copy of the Hebrew *prophets*, sent to King *Herod* for the Book. When it arrived, it was found to be unintelligible owing to the language, and Philadelphus sent a second request to the King to send translators.

In the anonymous *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 13 we find what is probably the first attempt to embellish the story. The seventy translators were separated, and placed in cells or huts and not allowed to have any communication with each other. Their translations, when compared, were found to be in complete agreement, without the slightest variation even of language. The writer adds that during a visit to Alexandria, he had been shown the tracks (*τὰ ἴχνη*) of the cells in which the translators worked.

The same legendary element is repeated in almost the same form by IRENAEUS (iii. 21, 2, quoted by Eusebius, *HE* v. 8. 11) and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromateis* i. § 148.

TERTULLIAN (*Apolog.* c. 18) is the first writer to mention Aristaeus, as he calls him, by name, and his version is more sober, but he adds 'hodie apud Serapeum Ptolomaei bibliothecae cum ipsis Hebraicis litteris exhibentur'.

The long quotations from the Epistle in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Aristeas (Ἀρισταῖος) is described as *ἀνὴρ λόγιος μὲν ἄλλως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρατυχὼν τοῖς πραχθεῖσι κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον* Πτολεμαῖον (viii. 1. 8), and on one occasion the title of the book is given as *Περὶ τῆς Ἑρμηνείας τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμου* (ix. 38).

EPIPHANIUS (*De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 3, p. 155) has a long account of the translation of the Hebrew Bible. Though he quotes Aristeas as his authority (*ὡς ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρισταῖος ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι*) there are many discrepancies. (1) He gives the number of the books in the Alexandrian

library as 54,800 πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω. (2) He says that the 72 translators were placed in 36 cells, and that their translations were found to be in absolute verbal agreement even in their additions and omissions. (3) He inserts two letters from Philadelphus to the teachers in Jerusalem, neither of which agrees with the letter to Eleazar in Aristeas, §§ 35 ff., and the second of which contains a quotation from Sirach xx. 30 = xli. 14 θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου . . . . τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν ἀμφοτέροις; (4) He adds the information that it was 'the seventh year of Philadelphus more or less' when the translation was made. Draeseke maintains that Epiphanius drew his information from the lost chronicle of Justus of Tiberias.

JEROME (*Praef. in Pentateuch.* xxxviii, p. 181) takes a more sober view and rejects the story of the separate cells as being incompatible with the accounts of Aristeas and Josephus, 'nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo exstruxerit . . . cum Aristeas . . . et multo post tempore Iosephus nihil tale retulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant.'

The embellishments, however, appear again in the account which is given by Augustine of the origin of the LXX, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 42. For other 'Testimonia' see Wendland.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

1 SINCE I have collected *material* for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the High priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission, I have attempted to draw up a clear exposition of the matter for you, for I perceive that you possess a natural love of learning,
2 *a quality* which is the highest possession of man—to be constantly attempting 'to add to his stock of knowledge and acquirements' whether through the study of history or by actually participating in the events themselves. It is by this means, by taking up into itself the noblest elements, that the soul is established in purity, and having fixed its aim on piety, the noblest goal of all, it uses this as its infallible guide and so acquires a definite purpose.

3 It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his own citizens and by others both for his virtue and his majesty and who had in his possession *documents of* the highest value to the Jews in his own country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of the divine law, for their
4 laws are written on leather parchments in Jewish characters. This *embassy* then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all found an opportunity *of pleading* with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king's father, when he first obtained possession of this city and conquered the land of Egypt. It is worth while that I should tell
5 you this story, too, since I am convinced that you, with your disposition towards holiness and your sympathy with men who are living in accordance with the holy law, will all the more readily listen to the account which I purpose to set forth, since you yourself have lately come to us from the
6 island and are anxious to hear everything that tends to build up the soul. On a former occasion,

1. **Since I have collected.** Ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως . . . συνεσταμένης. Thackeray renders 'As the story of our interview . . . is a remarkable one'—but this does not bring out the full force of συνεσταμένης.

as you lose no opportunity, &c. This translation is based on an emendation of Wendland, who reads παρ' ἕκαστα ὑπομιμνήσκειν for the MSS. παρ' ἕκαστα ὑπομιμνήσκων which is untranslatable.

2. **to add to his stock of knowledge.** As Thackeray points out, 'these words form an iambic line in Greek and are probably a quotation from a lost tragedy.' He quotes two fragments from Sophocles which convey a similar idea: 'And we must ever be daily acquiring knowledge while it is possible to learn better things,' and 'Ever desire to add something useful to thy knowledge'. (*Frag.* 779 and 662 in Dindorf, *Poetae Scenici Graeci*) *JQR* xv, p. 341.

and so acquires a definite purpose. This rendering follows the text of Thackeray. Wendland connects τὴν προαίρεσιν with the following sentence. The translation in this case would be, 'Having fixed its aim on piety . . . it directs its course by an infallible rule. It was my determination to make a careful study of things divine that led me,' &c.

3. *Documents of* **the highest value.** There is no word for 'documents' in the Greek, which reads κατακεκτημένον μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν. I have adopted the rendering of Wendland and Thackeray though with some hesitation. Possibly we should translate more simply 'who had acquired the power of rendering the greatest benefits to the Jews by his interpretation of the divine law.'

for the interpretation. Thackeray disagreeing with Wendland connects this phrase with the following clause which he translates 'the object of our mission was the translation of the law of God'.

4. **This embassy then I undertook,** ἣν δὴ καὶ ἐποιησάμεθα ἡμεῖς σπουδῇ. Mendelssohn emends by reading σπουδήν on the ground that it is difficult to supply πρεσβείαν as an antecedent, owing to the distance which separates it from the relative, and Thackeray following this suggestion translates 'And the interest which we displayed when an opportunity offered itself, in bringing before the king the case of the men . . . this also is worth while my telling thee'.

transported . . . by the king's father. Ptolemy I (Lagus) 322–285 B.C. 'When Ptolemy had succeeded to the throne of Egypt and had beaten off the attack of Perdikkas, he forthwith made an invasion into Palestine and Syria and annexed all the country. When driven out of it by Antigonus, we hear that he carried off to Egypt a large number of the inhabitants either as slaves or as compulsory settlers. And this happened apparently four times. He always retreated in time to carry his booty with him. But in spite of these repeated raids or temporary occupations and this repeated carrying off of plunder from Palestine, we are persistently informed that the house of Ptolemy was most popular with the Jews.' (Mahaffy, *EP*, p. 87.)

5. **from the island.** This is generally supposed to refer to Pharos, but it is difficult to see how Philocrates could have been in ignorance of the events recorded in the Epistle if he had been living so near to Alexandria as Pharos, especially as the translation of the LXX was made on the island, § 301. Possibly Cyprus is meant; cf. Swete (*Introd. to LXX*, p. 10, footnote), who draws an inference that Aristeas himself may have been a Cypriote.

too, I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race,—the record
7 which I had obtained from the most learned high priests of the † most learned † land of Egypt. As you are so eager to acquire the knowledge of those things which can benefit the mind, I feel it incumbent upon me to impart to you *all the information in my power. I should feel the same duty* towards all who possessed the same disposition but I feel it especially towards you since you have aspirations which are so noble, and since you are not only my brother in character no less than in blood
8 but are one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness. For neither the pleasure derived from gold nor any other of the possessions which are prized by shallow minds confers the same benefit as the pursuit of culture and the study which we expend in securing it. But that I may not weary you by a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative.

9 Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the king's library, received vast sums of money, for the purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world. By means of purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the king. On one occasion when I was present he was asked, How many thousand books are there *in the library*?
10 and he replied, 'More than two hundred thousand, O king, and I shall make endeavour in the immediate future *to gather together* the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in
11 your library.' 'What is to prevent you from doing this?' replied the king. 'Everything that is necessary has been placed at your disposal.' 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius, 'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use the Syriac tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.' And the king when he understood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.

12 Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the bodyguard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had been transported from Judea by the king's father—for when by a combination of good fortune and courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful

6. **I sent you a record.** This seems to be an attempt on the part of the author to identify himself with the historian Aristeas, the writer of a book called Περὶ Ἰουδαίων referred to in Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* ix. 25. The fragment of this Aristeas quoted by Eusebius is taken from the treatise of Alexander Polyhistor, who is dated *c.* 50 B.C. Aristeas himself belongs probably to the second century B.C. If there is any reference to this Aristeas here, this date would constitute a *terminus a quo* for our Epistle. It is quite possible, however, that the Author of the Epistle is referring to another book written by himself which has been lost.

the most learned land, λογιωτάτην probably a textual corruption accidentally introduced from the following phrase λογιωτάτων ἀρχιερέων.

9. **Demetrius of Phalerum.** The facts known about Demetrius are as follows:—About the year 307 B.C. he was driven out of Athens, where he had ruled for ten years as deputy for Cassander, by Demetrius the Besieger. He was persuaded by Ptolemy I, who happened to be visiting Greece at the time, to migrate to Alexandria, where he was afterwards associated with the Museum. At the end of the reign of Ptolemy I he fell into disfavour because he opposed the king's desire to make his youngest son Philadelphus successor to the throne, and advocated the claims of the eldest son Keraunos, who possessed the right of primogeniture. As a result Demetrius was sent into exile and died soon afterwards from the bite of an asp (*c.* 283 B.C.). The fact and date of the exile seem to be substantiated by the statements of Plutarch (*de Exil.* p. 602), Diogenes Laertius (v. 78), and Cicero (*pro Rabir. Post.* 9), which have behind them the authority of Hermippus Callimachus, who lived under the third and fourth Ptolemies. The statements of Aristeas must therefore be regarded as an anachronism, since Demetrius could not possibly have exercised any influence over Philadelphus. Moreover, we know from the investigations of Busch (*de bibliothecariis Alexandrinis*, p. 1 ff.) that the office of librarian under Philadelphus was held first by Zenodotus of Ephesus and then by Erastosthenes. It is possible, however, as Swete suggests, that the project of translating the Jewish law may have been mooted by Demetrius in the time of Ptolemy I, though it was not carried out till the reign of his successor (see Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 19; *JQR*, Jan. 1902, p. 338, Ostermann, *de Demetrii Ph. vita* (1857), Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* I, p. 6, 138).

10. **above two hundred thousand.** Epiphanius gives the number of the books as 54,800 πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω.

11. **speak a peculiar dialect**, i.e. Aramaic.

12. **his attack on Coele-Syria.** The reference is probably to Ptolemy I's second campaign against Syria and Palestine which culminated in the battle of Gaza (312 B.C.). The fragments of Hecataeus in Josephus (*con. Ap.* i. 186), which though disputed are probably genuine, confirm the statements of Aristeas and may have been the source from which they were taken. Hecataeus (see Note on § 31) says, 'Ptolemy got possession of many places in Syria after the battle of Gaza, and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, they went along with him to Egypt and were willing to assist him in his affairs.' The impression given by this fragment is that the action of Ptolemy's army was much less drastic than is represented in Aristeas. The presence of large settlements of Jews in Egypt at this time, though denied by Willrich, seems to be abundantly proved by the Papyri. A village named Samareia in the Fayyum is mentioned more than once in the Petrie collection of Papyri. There was a Jewish colony at Psenuris (cf. *P.P.* 1. 43 παρα των Ιουδαιων και τῶν Ελληνων, in which mention is also made of Jewish slaves). For further evidence see Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 93.

issue, in the process of terrorising the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and
others he reduced to captivity. The number of those whom he transported from the country of the
13 Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand. Of these he armed thirty thousand
picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts. (And even before this time large
numbers of Jews had come into Egypt with the Persian, and in an earlier period still others had
been sent *to Egypt* to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But
these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.)
14 As I have already said Ptolemy picked out the best of these, the men who were in the prime of
life and distinguished for their courage, and armed them, but the great mass of the others, those
who were too old or too young for this purpose, and the women too, he reduced to slavery, not
that he wished to do this of his own free will, but he was compelled by his soldiers who claimed
them as a reward for the services which they had rendered in war.

Having, as has already been stated, obtained an opportunity for securing their emancipation,
I addressed the king with the following arguments. 'Let us not be so unreasonable as to allow
15 our deeds to give the lie to our words. Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but
also to translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for
our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom? In
the perfection and wealth of your clemency release those who are held in such miserable bondage,
since as I have been at pains to discover, the God who gave them their law is the God who
maintains your kingdom. They worship the same God—the Lord and Creator of the Universe,
as all other men, as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or
16 Dis. This name was very appropriately bestowed upon him by our first ancestors, in order to
signify that He through whom all things are endowed with life and come into being, is necessarily
the ruler and lord of the Universe. Set all mankind an example of magnanimity by releasing
those who are held in bondage.'

17 After a brief interval, while I was offering up an earnest prayer to God that He would so dispose
the mind of the king that all the captives might be set at liberty—(for the human race, being
the creation of God, is swayed and influenced by Him. Therefore with many divers prayers I called
upon Him who ruleth the heart that *the king* might be constrained to grant my request. For I had
18 great hopes with regard to the salvation of the men since I was assured that God would grant a
fulfilment of my prayer. For when men from pure motives plan some action in the interest of
righteousness and the performance of noble deeds, Almighty God brings their efforts and purposes
to a successful issue)—*the king* raised his head and looking up at me with a cheerful countenance
asked, 'How many thousands do you think they will number?' Andreas, who was standing near,
19 replied, 'A little more than a hundred thousand.' 'It is a small boon indeed,' said the king, 'that
Aristeas asks of us!' Then Sosibius and some others who were present said, 'Yes, but it will be a fit
tribute to your magnanimity for you to offer the enfranchisement of these men as an act of devotion
to the supreme God. You have been greatly honoured by Almighty God and exalted above all your
forefathers in glory and it is only fitting that you should render to Him the greatest thankoffering
in your power.' Extremely pleased *with these arguments* he gave orders that an addition should be
20 made to the wages *of the soldiers by the amount of the redemption money*, that twenty drachmae should
be paid *to the owners* for every slave, that a public order should be issued and that registers of the
captives should be attached to it. He showed the greatest enthusiasm in the business, for it was God
who had brought our purpose to fulfilment in its entirety and constrained him to redeem not only those
who had come into Egypt with the army of his father but any who had come before that time

13. **The Persian.** The reference seems to be to Cambyses who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Wendland thinks that this statement is due to a misunderstanding of Hecataeus who says, 'the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon as also not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia'.

Psammetichus. We know from Herodotus (II. 151, fol.) that Psammetichus I (*c.* 671–617 B.C.) was the first Egyptian king to employ Greek mercenaries and that Psammetichus II, who became king in 595 B.C., carried on a campaign against the Aethiopians (Her. II. 159-61), but we have no evidence to connect the Jewish people with either. Wendland thinks the allusion a pure fiction.

16. **Zeus or Dis.** The two accusative forms of Ζεύς, viz. Ζῆνα and Δία, are here used, and it is difficult to translate them as the nominative of the second form is obsolete. They are derived by Aristeas, as by the Stoics and Orphic writers, from ζῆν (to live) and διά (through) respectively. Compare the statement of Aristobulus (quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12. 7) καθὼς δὲ δεῖ σεσημάγκαμεν περιαιροῦντες τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα. For a similar comparison between Jehovah and Zeus see Diodor. Sic. i. 12. 2, who probably derived the idea from Hecataeus.

18. **I had great hopes, &c.** This rendering follows the suggestion of Mendelssohn who supplies τῶν before ἀνθρώπων. Otherwise we must translate with Thackeray, 'I had a good hope in bringing forward a proposal concerning the deliverance of men.' The phrase προτιθέμενος λόγον may mean either 'bringing forward a proposal' or 'giving a reason to oneself'—'assuring oneself'.

or had been subsequently brought into the kingdom. It was pointed out to him that the ransom money would exceed four hundred talents.

21 I think it will be useful to insert a copy of the decree, for in this way the magnanimity of the king, who was empowered by God to save such vast multitudes, will be made clearer and more
22 manifest. The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city *of Alexandria* and the land *of Egypt* or sold them to others—and in the same way any captives who were in our land before that time or were brought hither afterwards—all who possess such captives are required to set them at liberty at once, receiving twenty drachmae per head as ransom money. The soldiers will receive
23 this money as a gift added to their wages, the others from the king's treasury. We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness. The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field *of battle* was all the booty which they should have claimed. To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of
24 absolute injustice. Wherefore since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations. Within three days after the publication of this decree, they must make lists *of slaves* for the officers appointed to carry out our will,
25 and immediately produce the persons *of the captives*. For we consider that it will be advantageous to us and to our affairs that the matter should be brought to a conclusion. Any one who likes may give information about any who disobey the decree, on condition that if the man is proved guilty he will become his slave; his property, however, will be handed over to the royal treasury.'

26 When the decree was brought to be read over to the king for his approval, it contained all the other provisions except the phrase 'any captives who were in the land before that time or were brought hither afterwards,' and in his magnanimity and the largeness of his heart the king inserted this clause and gave orders that the grant of money required for the redemption should be deposited in full with the paymasters of the forces and the royal bankers, and so the matter was decided and the
27 decree ratified within seven days. The grant for the redemption amounted to more than six hundred and sixty talents; for many infants at the breast were emancipated together with their mothers. When the question was raised whether the sum of twenty talents was to be paid for these, the king ordered that it should be done, and thus he carried out his decision in the most comprehensive way.

28 When this had been done, he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books. For all affairs of state used to be carried out by means of decrees and with the most painstaking accuracy by these *Egyptian* kings, and nothing was done in a slipshod or haphazard fashion. And so I have inserted copies of the memorial and the letters, the number of the presents sent and the nature of each, since every one of them excelled in
29 magnificence and technical skill. The following is a copy of the memorial. *The Memorial* of Demetrius to the great king. 'Since you have given me instructions, O king, that the books which are needed to complete your library should be collected together, and that those which are defective should be repaired, I have devoted myself with the utmost care to the fulfilment of your wishes,

20. **four hundred talents.** In § 19 the number of captives is given as a 'little more than 100,000'. The redemption money at 20 drachmae a piece comes to 2,000,000 drachmae or 333⅓ talents. Thus 66⅔ talents are allowed for the redemption of the captives, whose release was provided for by the additional clause. The number was therefore estimated at 20,000, making a total of 120,000 slaves to be emancipated. This estimate was greatly exceeded, see § 27.

27. **six hundred and sixty talents.** The estimate of 400 talents (§ 20) was found to be considerably below the mark; 660 talents provided ransom for 198,000 captives. It is difficult to account for the additional 78,000. The children could not possibly have reached that number. We must either assume that the mothers had been omitted in the previous estimate or follow Wendland in supposing that Aristeas has grossly exaggerated the total. The estimate of Josephus, i. e. 460 talents, is much more probable. This makes the total number of captives 138,000, and the number of children therefore 18,000, a much more reasonable figure. Possibly, however, the difference between the 460 of Josephus and the 660 of Aristeas is due to a copyist's blunder in the case of the latter.

28. **used to be carried out.** This phrase indicates that the Epistle belongs to a later date than the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Cp. also § 182. Graetz thinks that it proves that the Epistle was written after the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

29. **which are defective.** The Greek words *ἵνα . . . τὰ διαπεπτωκότα τύχῃ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκευῆς* might mean 'that those which have been lost shall be duly replaced' (Thackeray). The translation given above is supported by Gifford, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3.

30 and I now have the following proposal to lay before you. The books of the law of the Jews (with some few others) are absent *from the library*. They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am
31 informed by those who know; for they have never had a king's care to protect them. It is necessary that these should be made accurate for your library since the law which they contain, in as much as it is of divine origin, is full of wisdom and free from all blemish. For this reason literary men and poets and the mass of historical writers have held aloof from referring to these books and the men who have lived †and are living† in accordance with them, because their
32 conception of life is so sacred and religious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says. If it please you, O king, a letter shall be written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, asking him to send six elders out of every tribe—men who have lived the noblest life and are most skilled in their law—that we may find out the points in which the majority of them are in agreement, and so having obtained an accurate translation may place it in a conspicuous place in a manner worthy of the work itself and your purpose. May continual prosperity be yours!'

33 When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the *Jewish* captives. And he gave fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of his coffers to allow the artificers to make a selection of any materials they might require for the purpose, and that a hundred talents in money should be sent to provide sacrifices for the temple and
34 for other needs. I shall give you a full account of the workmanship after I have set before you copies of the letters. The letter of the king ran as follows:

35 'King Ptolemy sends greeting and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar. Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their
36 power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives—large numbers of these he placed in the army and paid them higher wages than usual, and when he had proved the loyalty of their leaders he built fortresses and placed them in their charge that the native Egyptians might be

30. **The books of the law.** There is no article before 'books' in the MSS., though most editors insert or supply it. Thackeray omits and translates 'certain books of the Jewish law'.

carelessly interpreted. The exact force of σεσήμανται is uncertain. If we translate 'interpreted' it involves the supposition that an earlier, though imperfect, translation of the law into Greek was in existence. This hypothesis is supported by the statement of Aristobulus, διηρμήνευται δὲ πρὸ Δημητρίου ὑφ' ἑτέρου [*v. l.* δι' ἑτέρων] πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἁπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις. (Swete, Introd. to LXX, 1, 2), cp. also the reference to earlier and unreliable translations in § 314. The term σεσήμανται need not, however, imply translation. It may simply mean 'copied' or 'committed to writing' (cp. Plutarch, *Moral.* 204 E τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γράμμασιν ἐσήμανεν), or as Diels suggests 'vocalized'.

31. **have lived and †are living†:** τῶν κατ' αὐτὰ πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἀνδρῶν. Wendland and Thackeray obelise the words καὶ πολιτευομένων as a later addition, since they are omitted in Eusebius and Josephus. The explanation given here of the absence of any reference to the Jewish Scriptures in Greek literature is further elaborated in §§ 312–316.

Hecataeus of Abdera lived in the time of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I, and wrote a history of Egypt, which probably contained many references to Jewish History. He is credited by Josephus (*c. Apion.* 22) with being the author of a special history of the Jews, which most modern authorities regard as a later forgery, worked up from the material obtained from the History of Egypt (see Schürer, ii, 3, p. 302 *ET*). Wendland holds that Aristeas used not the later Pseudo-Hecataeus but the genuine 'History of Egypt'. His conclusion is based on numerous resemblances which he finds between Aristeas and the statements of Didorus Siculus, who used Hecataeus as his main authority in his first book. Whether the quotations in Josephus (*c. Apion.*) came from the genuine or the pseudo-Hecataeus is more difficult to decide.

32. **If it please you:** ἐὰν οὖν φαίνηται, a later formula as Thackeray has shown by an examination of the Papyri (*JQR* xv, 348). In the early Ptolemaic period we find the classical formula εἴ σοι δοκεῖ or ἐάν σοι δοκῇ in general use. Between 252 B.C. and 163 B.C. ἐάν σοι φαίνηται is generally substituted for the earlier form. From 163 B.C. to 70 B.C. the pronoun is generally omitted and the phrase is used as in Aristeas. There is no instance, however, of the omission of the pronoun in the Papyri before 163 B.C. These facts seem to indicate that our book must be later than this date.

in a conspicuous place. The meaning of the Greek θῶμεν εὐσήμως is uncertain. The rendering given above is that of Thackeray and Gifford (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3) and refers of course to the library at Alexandria, though it is difficult to see why the idea is not conveyed in plainer terms. The words might mean 'that we may place it on record in seemly fashion' or 'make the meaning plain'.

continual prosperity, εὐτύχει, the regular salutation used by a subordinate to his superior. The formula for addressing an equal or a subordinate is ἔρρωσο (see Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri*, 1891, 80), which is the word used by Ptolemy and Eleazar in their correspondence with each other, §§ 40, 46.

36. **when he had proved the loyalty, &c.:** ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προόντας. This rendering is supported by Gifford, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3. Thackeray, however, takes τοὺς προόντας to mean 'those who were already in the country'—'in like manner from his confidence in those who were already in the country he placed under their charge' [i.e. under the charge of the newly imported Jews], &c.

might be intimidated. The MSS. of Aristeas read ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον μὴ ἔχῃ, 'that native Egyptians might be free from fear.' Both Josephus and Eusebius, however, omit μή, and most modern editors follow them.'

intimidated by them. And I, when I ascended the throne, adopted a kindly attitude towards all
37 my subjects, and more particularly to those who were citizens of yours—I have set at liberty more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the appropriate market price for them, and if ever evil has been done to your people through the passions of the mob, I have made them reparation. The motive which prompted my action has been the desire to act piously and render unto the supreme God a thankoffering for maintaining my kingdom in peace and great glory in all the world. Moreover those of your people who were in the prime of life I have drafted into my army, and those who were fit to be attached to my person and worthy of the confidence of the
38 court, I have established in official positions. Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you
39 into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library. It will be a kindness on your part and a reward for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that *in questions of dispute* we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree, for the investigation is of the highest possible importance. I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this
40 work. I have sent Andreas, the chief of my bodyguard, and Aristeas—men whom I hold in high esteem—to lay the matter before you and present you with a hundred talents of silver, the firstfruits of my offering for the temple and the sacrifices and other religious rites. If you will write to me concerning your wishes in these matters, you will confer a great favour upon me and afford me a *new* pledge of friendship, for all your wishes shall be carried out as speedily as possible. Farewell.'
41 To this letter Eleazar replied appropriately as follows: 'Eleazar the High priest sends greetings to King Ptolemy his true friend. My highest wishes are for your welfare and the welfare of Queen Arsinoe your sister and your children. I also am well. I have received your letter and am greatly
42 rejoiced by your purpose and your noble counsel. I summoned together the whole people and read it to them that they might know of your devotion to our God. I showed them too the cups which you sent, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls and the table of dedication, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of the sacrifices and providing the things of which the
43 temple stands in need. These gifts were brought to me by Andreas, one of your most honoured servants, and by Aristeas, both good men and true, distinguished by their learning, and worthy in every way to be the representatives of your high principles and righteous purposes. These men imparted to me your message and received from me an answer in agreement with your letter.
44 I will consent to everything which is advantageous to you even though your request is very

40. **Andreas chief of the bodyguard.** Ἀνδρέαν τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων. Strack has proved that the plural form of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ does not occur in the Papyri till 145 B.C. Jerome describes Aristeas as Ptolemaei ὑπερασπιστής (*Praef. in Pent.* xxviii, p. 181).

41. **replied appropriately.** There is some question as to the meaning of ἐνδεχομένως which I have rendered 'appropriately' (so too Gifford), cp. αἱ ἐνδεχόμεναι τιμωρίαι, Lycurg. 164. 38. The adverb, however, seems to be generally used as the equivalent of ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, 'as far as possible'. Wendland suggests 'so far as he could write Greek'. Diels would substitute ἐκδεχομένως = straightway. Josephus paraphrases ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως. Thackeray renders 'Eleazar wrote much as follows'.

Queen Arsinoe your sister. On the famous Mendes stele Arsinoe is described as 'the daughter, sister and great wife of a king who loves him, the divine Arsinoe Philadelphos'. Arsinoe was the daughter of Ptolemy I. She was first married about 301 B.C. to Lysimachus King of Thrace to whom she bore at least three children. After the death of Lysimachus, who was killed at the battle of Korupedion 281 B.C., she married Ptolemy Keraunos her half-brother who was endeavouring to secure the throne of Thrace. No sooner, however, had Keraunos got Arsinoe into his power than he murdered her children whom he regarded as his rivals, and banished her to Samothrace. Arsinoe was not content to remain quietly in exile but made her way to Egypt, where she succeeded in inducing Ptolemy Philadelphus to abandon his wife, her namesake and stepdaughter Arsinoe I, and marry her instead. Arsinoe's third marriage took place about 278 B.C. With regard to this type of Marriage Mahaffy remarks 'It is only in the researches of our own day that the Egyptian dogmas and sentiment in this matter have been duly examined and it is now clear that far from being a licence or an outrage, the marriage of full brother and sister was in the royal family of Egypt, the purest and most excellent of all marriages and the highest security that the sacred blood of kings was not polluted by inferior strains' (*The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 77). Compare the statement of Maspero. 'The marriage of brother and sister was the marriage *par excellence*, and it contracted an unspeakable sanctity when this brother and sister were born of parents who stood in the same relation' (*Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études* for 1896, p. 19, quoted by Mahaffy, p. 77). From the time of her marriage to her death in 270 B.C. Arsinoe held the highest possible place in popular esteem. 'She became a great figure not only in the Egyptian but in the Hellenistic world. Of no other queen do we find so many memorials in various parts of the Greek world.' (Mahaffy, p. 76.)

your children, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II had no children of their own, and this statement is often supposed to be another instance of Aristeas' mistakes. We know, however, that Arsinoe II adopted the children of her predecessor and the reference may be to these. Compare the statement of Theocritus in the scholia on the Encomium of Ptolemy II (Idyll. xviii) καὶ εἰσεποιήσατο αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας Ἀρσινόης γεννηθέντας παῖδας· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ Ἀρσινόη ἄτεκνος ἀπέθανεν.

unusual. For you have bestowed upon our citizens great and never to be forgotten benefits in many
45 ⟨ways⟩. Immediately therefore I offered sacrifices on behalf of you, your sister, your children, and your friends, and all the people prayed that your plans might prosper continually, and that Almighty God might preserve your kingdom in peace with honour, and that the translation of the
46 holy law might prove advantageous to you and be carried out successfully. In the presence of all the people I selected six elders from each tribe, good men and true, and I have sent them to you with *a copy* of our law. It will be a kindness, O righteous king, if you will give instruction that as soon as the translation of the law is completed, the men shall be restored again to us in safety. Farewell.'

47 *The following* are the names *of the elders*: Of the first tribe, Joseph, Ezekiah, Zachariah, John, Ezekiah, Elisha. Of the second tribe, Judas, Simon, Samuel, Adaeus, Mattathias, Eschlemias. Of
48 the third tribe, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas, Ornias, Dakis. Of the fourth tribe, Jonathan, Abraeus, Elisha, Ananias, Chabrias. . . . Of the fifth tribe, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sab-
49 bataeus, Simon, Levi. Of the sixth tribe, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemias. Of the seventh tribe, Sabbataeus, Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesias, Natthaeus. Of the eighth tribe, Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathan. Of the ninth tribe, Theophilus, Abraham,
50 Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel. Of the tenth tribe, Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zachariah, Baneas, Elisha, Dathaeus. Of the eleventh tribe, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathes, Chabu, Dositheus. Of the twelfth tribe, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abietes, Ezekiel. They were seventy-two in all. Such was the answer which Eleazar and his friends gave to the king's letter.

51 I will now proceed to redeem my promise and give a description of the works of art. They were wrought with exceptional skill, for the king spared no expense and personally superintended the workmen individually. They could not therefore scamp any part of the work or finish it off negli-
52 gently. First of all I will give you a description of the table. The king was anxious that this piece of work should be of exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews
53 in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem. And when they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure. And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that there was nothing to prevent him. And he said that he was anxious to make it five times the size, but he hesitated lest it should prove useless
54 for the temple services. He was desirous that his gift should not merely be stationed in the temple, for it would afford him much greater pleasure if the men whose duty it was to offer the fitting
55 sacrifices were able to do so appropriately on the table which he had made. He did not suppose that it was owing to lack of gold that the former table had been made of small size, but there seems to have been, he said, some reason why it was made of this dimension. †For **had the order been given**, there would have been no lack of means†. Wherefore we must not transgress or go beyond the proper
56 measure. At the same time he ordered them to press into service all the manifold forms of art, for he was a man of the most lofty conceptions and nature had endowed him with a keen imagination which enabled him to picture the appearance which would be presented *by the finished work*. He gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the *Jewish* Scriptures, everything should be made as beautiful as possible. When such instructions were laid down, they were to be carried out to the letter.

57 They made the table two cubits long ⟨one cubit broad⟩ one and a half cubits high, fashioning it of

44. **unusual**, lit. contrary to nature, *παρὰ φύσιν*. The translation of the Jewish law into a foreign language was regarded as contrary to nature.

in many ways. In the MSS. of Aristeas we read simply *κατὰ πολλούς*. Eusebius, however, adds *τρόπους*, which is the justification for the translation given above.

45. **friends**, a special court title, which came into prominence in the time of Ptolemy V. (205–182 B.C.). It occurs frequently on the Papyri of this period but is not found at an earlier date, though Strack thinks it may have occurred in some of the *lacunae* of the Papyri of Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.). We seem to have here another anachronism (Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 161), though as the title is apparently used in the O.T. (1 Kings, iv. 5) too much stress must not be laid upon this point.

48. The fifth and sixth names of the fourth tribe are given by Epiphanius, who uses Aristeas in his *De mens. et pond.* as Zacharias and Chelkias. Probably the Chabrias of Aristeas is a corruption.

50. For Chabu (*Χαβεῦ*) Epiphanius reads Caleb, which seems obviously to be correct.

55. **had the order been given**: the text is corrupt at this point. The MSS. read *ἔτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς οὔσης, οὐθὲν ἂν ἐσπάνιζε*. This is difficult to translate, though it might perhaps be rendered 'Nothing would have been lacking for the present table'. It is better, however, to accept Mendelssohn's brilliant conjecture and substitute *ἐπιταγῆς* for *ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς*.

56. **picture the appearance**, *εἰς τὸ συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν*. This might also mean 'To design the appearance of objects'. The interest which Philadelphus took in art and architecture is well attested.

in the scriptures: the reference is to the instructions laid down in Exodus, xxv. 23, 24. The technical term for Scripture (*ἡ γραφή*) does not occur here—though it is found in §§ 155, 168. The phrases used here are *ὅσα δ' ἂν ᾖ ἄγραφα, . . . ὅσα δὲ διὰ γραπτῶν*, see note on § 168.

57. **one cubit broad**: these words are not in the MSS. of Aristeas but are found in Josephus and in Exodus xxv, 23. Wendland thinks that their omission here is purely accidental.

pure solid gold. What I am describing was not thin gold laid over another foundation, but the whole
58 structure was of massive gold welded together. And they made a border of a hand's breadth round about it. And there was a wreath of wave-work, engraved in relief in the form of ropes marvellously
59 wrought on its three sides. For it was triangular in shape and the style of the work was exactly the same on each of the sides, so that whichever side they were turned, they presented the same appearance. †Of the two sides under the border, the one which sloped down to the table was a very
60 beautiful piece of work, but it was the outer side which attracted the gaze of the spectator†. Now the upper edge of the two sides, being elevated, was sharp since, as we have said, *the rim* was three-sided, †from whatever point of view one approached it†. And there were layers of precious stones on it in the midst of the embossed cord-work, and they were interwoven with one another by an inimitable artistic
61 device. For the sake of security they were all fixed by golden needles which were inserted in perfora-
62 tions *in the stones*. At the sides they were clamped together by fastenings to hold them firm. On the part of the border round the table which slanted upwards and met the eyes, there was wrought a pattern of eggs in precious stones, †elaborately engraved† by a continuous piece of fluted relief-work, closely
63 connected together round the whole table. And under the stones which had been arranged to represent eggs the artists made a crown containing all kinds of fruits, having at its top clusters of grapes and ears of corn, dates also and apples, and pomegranates and the like, conspicuously arranged. These fruits were wrought out of precious stones, of the same colour as the fruits themselves and
64 they fastened them edgeways round all the sides of the table with a band of gold. And after the crown *of fruit* had been put on, *underneath* there was inserted another pattern of eggs *in precious stones*, and other fluting and embossed work, that both sides of the table might be used, according to **the wishes** of the owners and for this reason the wave-work and the border were extended
65 down to the feet of the table. They made and fastened under the whole width of the table a massive plate four fingers thick, that the feet might be inserted into it, and clamped fast with linch-pins which fitted into sockets under the border, so that which ever side of the table people preferred, might be used. Thus it became manifestly clear that the work was intended to be used

massive gold welded together: lit. the plate of beaten metal was attached to it.

58. **They made a border.** The description of the table is an elaboration of the data in Exod. xxv. 23: 'Thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold and make thereto a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make a border of an handbreadth round about and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about'. In the LXX as in Aristeas there is no mention of the foundation of acacia wood. The whole table is to be made *χρυσῆν χρυσίου καθαροῦ*. The use of the LXX phrase *στρεπτὰ κυμάτια* is also significant. Either we have an anachronism. The table is supposed to be made according to the specifications of the LXX text which did not as yet exist. Or else the LXX translation was influenced by the table of Philadelphus, and the differences between it and the Hebrew were introduced to bring the new table more into accord with Scripture.

There is considerable difficulty with regard to the exact significance of the word translated border (זֵר, *στέφάνη*, *κυμάτια στρεπτά*). AV and RV render by 'crown', RV m. by 'rim or moulding'. The phrase *κυμάτια στρεπτά* suggests a cable moulding—and this is the interpretation which Aristeas puts upon it; (so also Josephus, *τὸ ἔδαφος ἕλικος*, a spiral). On the other hand 'the same phrase is used in architecture to denote an ogee moulding, and this is certainly the nature of the ornament on the table of the Arch of Titus. In any case both the sides and the ends of the massive top were separately decorated by a solid gold moulding which gave them the appearance of four panels sunk into the table', *DBH* iv. 663.

wreath of wavework: the meaning of this phrase, and indeed of the whole sentence, is very dubious. Thackeray translates 'They made . . . its ledges of twisted work' but suggests that the phrase may mean 'its mouldings (or rims) were made so as to revolve'.

59. **It was triangular**, *ἦν γὰρ τριγωνία*. This cannot refer to the table, which had four legs and must have been oblong in shape. If the text is correct, it must refer to the border. Thackeray suggests that we ought to follow Josephus in reading *τρίγωνα* and translate 'the ledges were triangular in shape'.

whichever side they were turned: the meaning is very obscure. The words might be translated 'to whichever side a man turned himself, the same appearance met his eyes' (Wendland).

Of the two sides, &c. The text of this sentence is so corrupt that its meaning cannot be made out. I have followed the conjecture which substitutes *κειμένω*, for the *κειμένου* or *κειμένης* of the MSS. at the commencement of the sentence. Thackeray translates 'and while the ledge rested on the border that side of it which sloped towards the table was beautifully worked although the side which sloped outwards [alone] met the eye of the spectator'. Wendland renders 'Während aber die nach dem Tische gerichtete Seite der auf dem Rand aufliegenden [Leiste] ihre schöne Arbeit dem Anblick entzog, bot sich die äussere Seite den Blicken des Beschauers dar'.

62. **elaborately engraved**: the text *ἐκτύπωσιν ἔχουσα προσοχῆς* is corrupt and we can only conjecture its meaning.

63. **These fruits were wrought**, lit. 'They worked the stones which had the colour of each species of the aforesaid fruits to resemble those fruits'.

with a band of gold, or 'they attached them to the gold all round the table' (Thackeray).

64. **according to the wishes.** We must follow Wendland and read *αἱρῶνται* for *αἴρωνται* here and in the following section.

the wave work, &c. Thackeray translates this sentence 'with such symmetry that the ledges and the border reappeared on the side nearest the feet'.

65. **Thus it became**, &c. The meaning of the Greek is obscure. Thackeray renders 'This metal plate was visible on the surface as the work was constructed so as to be reversible'.

66 either way. On the table itself they engraved a 'maeander', having precious stones standing out in the middle of it, rubies and emeralds and an onyx too and many other kinds of stones which excel
67 in beauty. And next to the 'maeander' there was placed a wonderful piece of network, which made the centre of the table appear like a rhomboid in shape, and on it a crystal and amber, as it is called,
68 had been wrought, which produced an incomparable impression on the beholders. They made the feet *of the table* with heads like lilies, so that they seemed to be like lilies bending down beneath the
69 table, and the parts which were visible represented leaves which stood upright. The basis of the foot on the ground consisted of a ruby and measured a hand's breadth *high* all round. It had the appearance of a shoe and was eight fingers broad. Upon it the whole expanse of the foot rested.
70 And they made *the foot appear like* ivy growing out of the stone, interwoven with akanthus and surrounded with a vine which encircled it with clusters of grapes, which were worked in stones, up to the top *of the foot.* All the four feet were made in the same style, and everything was wrought and fitted so skilfully, and such remarkable skill and knowledge were expended upon making it true to nature, that when the air was stirred by a breath of wind, movement was imparted to the leaves, and
71 everything was fashioned to correspond with the actual reality *which it represented.* And they made the top of the table in three parts like a triptychon, and they were so fitted and dovetailed together with spigots along the whole breadth of the work, that the meeting of the joints could not be seen or even discovered. The thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit, so that the whole work
72 must have cost many talents. For since the king did not wish to add to its size he expended on the details the same sum of money which would have been required if the table could have been of larger dimensions. And everything was completed in accordance with his plan, in a most wonderful and remarkable way, with inimitable art and incomparable beauty.

73 Of the mixing bowls, two were wrought ⟨in gold⟩, and from the base to the middle were engraved with relief work in the pattern of scales, and between the scales precious stones were inserted with
74 great artistic skill. Then there was a 'maeander' a cubit in height, **with its surface** wrought out of precious stones of many colours, displaying great artistic effort and beauty. Upon this there was a mosaic, worked in the form of a rhombus, having a net-like appearance and reaching right up to the
75 brim. In the middle, small shields which were made of different precious stones, placed alternately, and varying in kind, not less than four fingers broad, enhanced the beauty of their appearance. On the top of the brim there was an ornament of lilies in bloom, and intertwining clusters of grapes were
76 engraven all round. Such then was the construction of the golden bowls, and they held more than two firkins each. The silver bowls had a smooth surface, and were wonderfully made as if they were intended for looking-glasses, so that everything which was brought near to them was reflected even more
77 clearly than in mirrors. But it is impossible to describe the real impression which these works of art produced upon the mind when they were finished. For, when these vessels had been completed and placed side by side, first a silver bowl and then a golden, then another silver, and then another golden, the appearance they presented is altogether indescribable, and those who came to see
78 them were not able to tear themselves from the brilliant sight and entrancing spectacle. The impressions produced by the spectacle were various in kind. When men looked at the golden vessels, and their minds made a complete survey of each detail of workmanship, their souls were thrilled with wonder. Again when a man wished to direct his gaze to the silver vessels, as they stood before him, everything seemed to flash with light round about the place where he was standing, and afforded a still greater delight to the onlookers. So that it is really impossible to describe the artistic beauty of the works.

79 The golden vials they engraved in the centre with vine wreaths. And about the rims they wove a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive in relief work and inserted precious stones in it. The other parts of the relief work they wrought in different patterns, since they made it a point of honour to
80 complete everything in a way worthy of the majesty of the king. In a word it may be said that neither in the king's treasury nor in any other, were there any works which equalled these in costliness or in artistic skill. For the king spent no little thought upon them, for he loved to gain glory for the
81 excellence of his *designs.* For oftentimes he would neglect his official business, and spend his time with the artists in his anxiety that they should complete everything in a manner worthy of the place to which the gifts were to be sent. So everything was carried out on a grand scale, in a manner
82 worthy of the king who sent the gifts and of the high priest who was the ruler of the land. There was no stint of precious stones, for not less than five thousand were used and they were all of large size.

69. **the whole expanse of the foot**, lit. 'the whole plate of the foot'. Thackeray renders 'upon this rested the whole plate into which the leg was inserted'.

71. **fitted and dovetailed**, lit. 'being fitted together by dove-tailing which was secured by pegs in the thickness of the structure' (Thackeray).

74. **with its surface**: we must read here with Wendland ἐν ὑπεροχῇ for ἐνυπῆρχε.

The most exceptional artistic skill was employed, so that the cost of the stones and the workmanship was five times as much as that of the gold.

83 I have given you this description of the presents because I thought it was necessary. The next point in the narrative is an account of our journey to Eleazar, but I will first of all give you a description of the whole country. When we arrived **in the land of the Jews** we saw the city situated
84 in the middle of the whole of Judea on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude. On the summit the temple had been built in all its splendour. It was surrounded by three walls more than seventy cubits high and in length and breadth corresponding to the structure of the edifice. All the buildings
85 were characterised by a magnificence and costliness quite unprecedented. It was obvious that no expense had been spared on the door and the fastenings, which connected it with the door-posts, and
86 the stability of the lintel. The style of the curtain too was thoroughly in proportion to that of the entrance. Its fabric owing to the draught of wind was in perpetual motion, and as this motion was communicated from the bottom and the curtain bulged out to its highest extent, it afforded a pleasant
87 spectacle from which a man could scarcely tear himself away. The construction of the altar **was in keeping** with the place itself and with the burnt offerings which were consumed by fire upon it, and the approach to it was on a similar scale. There was a *gradual* slope up to it, conveniently arranged for the purpose of decency, and the ministering priests were robed in linen garments, down to their
88 ankles. The Temple faces the east and its back is toward the west. The whole of the floor is paved with stones and slopes down to the appointed places, that water may be conveyed to wash away the
89 blood from the sacrifices, for many thousand beasts are sacrificed there on the feast days. And there is an inexhaustible supply of water, because an abundant natural spring gushes up from within the temple area. There are moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns underground, as they pointed out to me, at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and each of them has countless pipes
90 so that the different streams converge together. And all these were fastened with lead at the bottom and at the sidewalls, and over them a great quantity of plaster had been spread, and every part of the work had been most carefully carried out. There are many openings for water at the base *of the altar* which are invisible to all except to those who are engaged in the ministration, so that all the blood of the sacrifices which is collected in great quantities is washed away in the twinkling of an
91 eye. Such is my opinion with regard to the character of the reservoirs and I will now show you how it was confirmed. They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me, as has already been pointed out.

92 The ministration of the priests is in every way unsurpassed both for its physical endurance and for its orderly and silent service. For they all work spontaneously, though it entails much painful exertion, and each one has a special task allotted to him. The service is carried on without interruption—some provide the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheat flour, others the spices; others
93 again bring the pieces of flesh for the burnt offering, exhibiting a wonderful degree of strength. For they take up with both hands the limbs of a calf, each of them weighing more than two talents, and throw them with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place *of the altar* and never miss placing them on the proper spot. In the same way the pieces of the sheep and also of the goats are wonderful both for their weight and their fatness. For those, whose business it is, always select *the beasts* which are without blemish and specially fat, and thus the sacrifice which I have described,

83. **In the land of the Jews.** Text corrupt.

86. **in proportion to that of the entrance.** Reading *θυρῶσι.* Thackeray prefers the reading *θυρώσει* and translates 'The fashion of the curtain bore a very close resemblance to a door'.

the curtain bulged out. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read *κατὰ τὴν κόλπωσιν μέχρι τῆς ἄνω διατάσεως.* Schmidt conjectures *κατατείνειν* for *κατά.* Thackeray renders 'the swell extended to the upper and tauter part of the curtain'.

87. **was in keeping.** Following the conjecture of Mendelssohn *συμμέτρως ἔχουσαν.*

in linen garments. *Βυσσίνοις χιτῶσιν,* quoted from LXX of Ex. xxxvi. 35. See note § 228.

89. **an abundant natural spring.** This statement is supported by Tacitus, who speaks of a 'fons perennis aquae' (*Hist.* v. 12). There are objections, however, to the statement: (*a*) No trace of such a well has been discovered, (*b*) the system of aqueducts which brought water from a distance would have been unnecessary if such a spring had existed. These 'two facts or rather our *present* evidence for them are sufficient to make very doubtful the existence of a fountain within the Temple *enceinte*', G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 85, 86.

wonderful . . . cisterns. Some thirty-six or thirty-seven of these remarkable reservoirs have been discovered and surveyed. Full lists and descriptions are given in *Recovery of Jerus.* 204 ff.; P. E. F. *Mem.* 'Jerus.' 217 ff.; P. E. F. 2. 1880; Schick, *Stiftshütte u. Tempel*, 292 ff. Speaking of their general characteristics, G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 120, says: 'They may be distinguished into the smaller surface pits arched over, and probably not all originally cisterns; and the great deep basins hollowed out of the low-lying *meleki* rock, 30, 40, 50, and 60 feet deep (one of them 'the Great Sea' with a capacity of two million gallons) carefully cemented; their roofs of the harder upper *mizzeh* rock, occasionally supported by heavy piers of masonry; with channels of communication, passages for inspection and conduits for draining the water at different levels.'

90. **fastened with lead**, or 'had their bases and sides of lead'.

94 is carried out. There is a special place set apart for them to rest in, where those who are relieved from duty sit. When this takes place, those who have already rested and are ready *to resume their duties* rise up *spontaneously* since there is no one to give orders with regard to the arrangement of
95 the sacrifices. The most complete silence reigns so that one might imagine that there was not a single person present, though there are actually seven hundred men engaged in the work, besides the vast number of those who are occupied in bringing up the sacrifices. Everything is carried out with
96 reverence and in a way worthy of the great God.

We were greatly astonished, when we saw Eleazar engaged in the ministration, at the mode of his dress, and the majesty *of his appearance*, which was revealed in the robe which he wore and the precious stones upon his person. There were golden bells *upon the garment* which reached down to his feet, giving forth a peculiar kind of melody, and on both sides of them there were pomegranates
97 with variegated flowers of a wonderful hue. He was girded with a girdle of conspicuous beauty woven in the most beautiful colours. On his breast he wore the oracle of God, as it is called, on which twelve stones, of different kinds, were inset, fastened together with gold, containing the names of the leaders of the tribes, according to their original order, each one flashing forth in an indescribable way
98 its own particular colour. On his head he wore a tiara, as it is called, and upon this in the middle of his forehead an inimitable turban, the royal diadem full of glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold . . . having been judged worthy to wear these *emblems* in the
99 ministrations. **Their appearance** created such awe and confusion *of mind* as to make one feel that one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world. I am convinced that any one who takes part in the spectacle which I have described will be filled with astonishment and indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind at the thought of the sanctity which is attached to each detail of the service.

100 But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel and looked around us. It is situated in a very lofty spot, and is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top of immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of
101 guarding the temple precincts, so that if there were an attack, or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that surround the temple. On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was
102 much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned. The towers were guarded too by most

95. **seven hundred.** This number is at variance with the estimate given in the passage from Hecataeus which is quoted by Josephus *c. Apion.* i. 22: 'All the Jewish priests who are in receipt of the tithe of the produce [of the soil] and administer the public moneys [or affairs] are at the most fifteen hundred'. Josephus states that there were four tribes of priests, each containing more than five thousand (*c. Apion.* ii. 8) but probably he includes the Levites and the servants.

96–9. The description of the dress of the High-priest is based upon Exodus xxviii and xxix. For other accounts of this dress see Charles' *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, ET, p. 42. Many phrases are taken from the LXX, showing that the writer must have been perfectly familiar with the version. For further illustrations of the use of the LXX see §§ 56, 57, 87, 228.

97. **the oracle of God.** Exod. xxviii. 30 reads: 'Thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim'—which the LXX renders *καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.* This mistaken rendering (which is followed by Aristeas) is mainly responsible for the view that the Urim and Thummim are to be identified with the jewels in the breastplate, see *DBH*, iv. 839. We have here another proof that the LXX translation had superseded, in the mind of Aristeas, the Hebrew original before our Epistle was written.

98. **sacred letters**—i.e. the older Hebrew characters such as are found on old Hebrew seals, the Moabite Stone, and in Phoenician inscriptions before they had changed into the later square characters. Driver, *Exodus* (*Cam. Bib.*, p. 309).

99. **Their appearance.** Following an emendation of Wendland, who reads *ἐμφάνεια* for *συμφάνεια.*

100. **the summit of the neighbouring citadel.** There are many problems connected with the site and the history of the *ἄκρα.* 'Theories of the position of the Akra are almost as numerous as the writers who have devoted attention to the subject' (for a discussion of the various views see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 444 ff). The earliest reference to the *ἄκρα* is found in Josephus, who says that it was occupied by an Egyptian garrison when in 198 B.C. the Jews welcomed Antiochus the Great to Jerusalem. In 168 B.C. the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes 'fortified the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an *ἄκρα* or citadel' (1 Mac. i. 33–6). 'It became a great trap, an ambush against the Sanctuary and throughout an evil adversary to Israel' (1 Mac. iv. 40). For further references in the Maccabean period see G. Adam Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 157 f. Josephus, however, tells us that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the *ἄκρα* to the ground. (*BJ*, ii. 2, iv. 1, *Ant.* xiii. 6. 7). In the passages in the *Antiquities* he states that Simon, anxious 'that the Akra should no more be a base from which the foe might storm or harass Jerusalem, thought it the best way to cut down also the hill on which the Akra stood, so that the temple should be higher. Having called the people to an assembly, he persuaded them to set themselves to the work, which cost them three whole years, night and day, before they reduced the hill to its base and made it a perfect level. Thereafter the temple overtopped everything, both the Akra and the hill on which it stood being demolished.' This statement, however, is difficult to reconcile with the assertion of 1 Mac. xiv. 37 that 'Simon garrisoned and fortified the Akra.' If the assertion of Josephus could be relied upon, it would suggest a point which would have to be considered in discussing the date of Aristeas. There is a further difficulty, however. Possibly, as G. Adam Smith suggests (ib. ii. 447) Aristeas is referring not to the Akra but to the later Baris. Graetz thinks that the description of the Castle points to the tower of Antonia built by Herod the Great (*op. cit.* 295–6).

trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country. These men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments, nor did they permit any
103 stranger to enter it. They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our own experience taught us. They were very reluctant
104 to admit us,—though we were but two unarmed men—to view the offering of the sacrifices. And they asserted that they were bound by an oath when the trust was committed to them, for they had all sworn and were bound to carry out the oath sacredly to the letter, that though they were five hundred in number they would not permit more than five men to enter at one time. The citadel was the special protection of the temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might *efficiently* protect it.

105 The size of the city is of moderate dimensions. It is about forty furlongs in circumference, as far as one could conjecture. It has its towers arranged in the shape of a theatre, with thoroughfares leading between them† now the cross roads of the lower towers are visible but those of the upper
106 towers are more frequented†. For the ground ascends, since the city is built upon a mountain. There are steps too which lead up to the cross roads, and †some people are always going up, and others down and they keep as far apart from each other as possible on the road† because of those who
107 are bound by the rules of purity, lest they should touch anything which is unlawful. It was not without reason that the original founders of the city built it in due proportions, for they possessed clear insight *with regard to what was required.* For the country is extensive and beautiful. Some parts of it are level, especially the districts which belong to Samaria, as it is called, and which border on the land of the Idumeans, other parts are mountainous, especially ⟨those which are contiguous to the land of Judea⟩. The people therefore are bound to devote themselves to agriculture and the cultivation of the soil that by this means they may have a plentiful supply of crops. In this way
108 cultivation of every kind is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped in the whole of the aforesaid land. The cities which are large and enjoy a corresponding prosperity are well-populated, but they neglect the country districts, since all men are inclined to a life of enjoyment, for every one has
109 a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure. The same thing happened in Alexandria, which excels all cities in size and prosperity. Country people by migrating from the rural districts and settling
110 in the city brought agriculture into disrepute: and so to prevent them from settling *in the city*, the king issued orders that they should not stay in it for more than twenty days. And in the same way he gave the judges written instructions, that if it was necessary to issue a summons against any one
111 *who lived in the country*, the case must be settled within five days. And since he considered the matter one of great importance, he appointed also legal officers for every district with their assistants, that the farmers and their advocates might not in the interests of business empty the granaries of the
112 city, I mean, of the produce of husbandry. I have permitted this digression because it was Eleazar who pointed out with great clearness the points which have been mentioned. For great is the energy

104. **And were . . . to carry out.** So Thackeray emends.

105. **forty furlongs.** This estimate agrees with the statement of Timochares (quoted by Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 34), but Hecataeus states that the circuit was about 'fifty furlongs' (quoted by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 197).

in the shape of a theatre, 'with the comparison to a theatre,' cf. *Ency. Bib.* ii. 2412. 'There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropoeon valley on the west side of its main course—a kind of dell or *theatre-shaped* depression extending westwards, a depression which would face a spectator looking westwards from the temple-mount, where the writer of our letter professes to be standing' (Thackeray, *JQR*, xv. 360).

now the cross roads. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read *καὶ φαινομένων διόδων τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν ἠθισμένων,* but it seems impossible to extract any relevant meaning from the words as they stand. In the phrase *τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν εἰθισμένων* Thackeray reads *εἰθισμένως* and translates 'the resemblance extending to the cross streets, which are seen some below, some above, in the usual manner [of a theatre]'. Wendland following a conjecture of Diels substitutes *μή* for *καί* at the commencement of the sentence, and *ἐσχισμένων* for *ἠθισμένων* and renders 'und man sieht zwar nicht die Durchgänge der unteren [Türme], wohl aber die der oberen, die bei den Durchgängen durchbrochen sind.'

106. **the ground ascends,** *ἀνάκλασιν γὰρ τὰ τῶν τόπων.* Thackeray translates 'the ground is irregular' and takes *ἀνάκλασιν* to mean 'a bending back'. He quotes in illustration a statement from Smith's *DB* 1, ii, 1587: 'the northern and southern outliers of the Mount of Olives *bend round slightly towards the city.*'

some . . . are . . . going up. The meaning is obscure. Thackeray translates: 'Some persons take their way along the higher level, and others underneath, the distinction in the means of journeying being chiefly made for the sake of those who are undergoing the usual purifications'. Wendland substitutes *διεστηκυίας* for *διεστηκότες.* 'They ascend by the one, they descend by the other, especially if they have a long journey to make, with a view to observing', &c.

107. **contiguous to the land of Judea.** These words are supplied by conjecture to fill a *lacuna* in the MSS. Wendland's reading, 'namely those which are in the centre', is possibly more correct.

108. **a natural tendency.** For a further explanation of this inherent bias in human nature, see §§ 222–3, and especially 277.

111. **farmers and their advocates.** The meaning of the latter term (*προστάται*) is uncertain. Thackeray translates 'directors or agents', but suggests that we might render 'the agricultural class who are also the protectors (backbone) of the country.' Legislation in the interests of agriculture is illustrated in the Papyri (cf. Paris Papyri, no. 63, *Notices et Extraits*, tom. xviii, Letronne and Brunet, and Thackeray's Note, *JQR*, p. 361).

which they expend on the tillage of the soil. For the land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is abundance of honey. Other kinds of fruit trees and dates do not count compared with these. There are cattle of all kinds in
113 great quantities and a rich pasturage for them. Wherefore they rightly recognise that the country districts need a large population, and the relations between the city and the villages are properly
114 regulated. A great quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought into the country by the Arabs. For the country is well adapted not only for agriculture but also for commerce, and the
115 city is rich in the arts and lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea. It possesses too suitable and commodious harbours at Askalon, Joppa, and Gaza, as well as at Ptolemais which was founded by the King and holds a central position compared with the other places named, being not far distant from any of them. The country produces everything in abundance,
116 since it is well watered in all directions and well protected *from storms*. The river Jordan, as it is called, which never runs dry, flows through the land. Originally ⟨the country⟩ contained not less than 60 million acres—though afterwards the neighbouring peoples made incursions against it—and 600,000 men were settled upon it in farms of a hundred acres each. The river like the Nile rises in harvest-time and irrigates a large portion of the land. Near the district belonging to the people of
117 Ptolemais it issues into another river and this flows out into the sea. Other mountain torrents, as they are called, flow down into the plain and encompass the parts about Gaza and the district of
118 Ashdod. The country is encircled by a natural fence and is very difficult to attack and cannot be assailed by large forces, owing to the narrow passes, with their overhanging precipices and deep
119 ravines, and the rugged character of the mountainous regions which surround all the land.

We were told that from the neighbouring mountains of Arabia copper and iron were formerly obtained. This was stopped, however, at the time of the Persian rule, since the authorities of the time spread
120 abroad a false report that the working of the mines was useless and expensive, in order to prevent their country from being destroyed by the mining in these districts and possibly taken away from them owing to the *Persian* rule, †since by the assistance of this false report they found an excuse for entering the district†.

I have now, my dear brother Philocrates, given you all the essential information upon this subject
121 in brief form. I shall describe the work of translation in the sequel. The High priest selected men of the finest character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage. They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature, but had studied most
122 carefully that of the Greeks as well. They were specially qualified therefore for serving on embassies and they undertook this duty whenever it was necessary. They possessed a great facility for conferences and the discussion of problems connected with the law. They espoused the middle course—and this is always the best course to pursue. They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, but they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question. And all of them carefully observed this rule and were anxious above everything else to excel each other in
123 its observance and they were all of them worthy of their leader and of his virtue. And one could observe how they loved Eleazar by their unwillingness to be torn away from him and how he loved them. For besides the letter which he wrote to the king concerning their safe return, he also earnestly
124 besought Andreas to work *for the same end* and urged me, too, to assist to the best of my ability. And

114. **rich in the arts,** πολύτεχνος. The description of Jerusalem as 'a city of many crafts' is an exaggeration even when we admit that the phrase need not necessarily imply technical originality. Apollonius of Rhodes goes to the opposite extremes when he says 'the Jews are the most inept of the Barbarians and the only ones who have not contributed any invention useful to life', Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 15. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 373.

115. **Ptolemais founded by the King.** The reference is to Philadelphus II, who gave his name to the town which was previously called Acco or Akka, though some authorities regard it as the foundation of Ptolemy I (cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 60). The place figures very largely in the relations between Egypt and Palestine, see *Ency. Bib.*, art. 'Ptolemais'. Wendland attaches considerable importance to the data afforded by the mention of these harbours for fixing the date of Aristeas. Joppa did not belong to the Jews till after 146 B.C. (1 Mac. x. 76, xiv. 5, 34) Gaza was not Jewish territory till it was captured by Alexander Jannaeus about 96 B.C. The fact, however, that Ascalon and Ptolemais were never Jewish towns makes it impossible to attach too much importance to this evidence. The writer might obviously have made the same mistake about Joppa and Gaza as about Ascalon and Ptolemais.

116. **made incursions.** Two MSS. read ὑπέβησαν ('retired') for ἐπέβησαν. It is difficult, however, to make this reading fit in with the general sense of the passage.

a hundred acres. The writer may possibly be transferring the land system of the Fayûm to Palestine. We know from the Papyri that cleruchies of 100 arourae were common in this district of Egypt. Cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 90.

122. **They espoused the middle course.** An illustration of the influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean on Jewish thought, cp. § 223 πλὴν ἐν πᾶσι μετριότης καλόν, and also § 256.

although we promised to give our best attention to the matter, he said that he was still greatly distressed, for he knew that the king out of the goodness of his nature considered it his highest privilege, whenever he heard of a man who was superior to his fellows in culture and wisdom, to
125 summon him to his court. For I have heard of a fine saying of his to the effect that by securing just and prudent men about his person he would secure the greatest protection for his kingdom, since such friends would unreservedly give him the most beneficial advice. And the men who were
126 now being sent to him by Eleazar undoubtedly possessed these qualities. And he frequently asserted upon oath that he would never let the men go if it were merely some private interest of his own that constituted the impelling motive—but it was for the common advantage of
127 all the citizens that he was sending them. For, *he explained*, the good life consists in the keeping of the enactments of the law, and this end is achieved much more by hearing than by reading. From this and other similar statements it was clear what his feelings towards them were.

128 It is worth while to mention briefly the information which he gave in reply to our questions. For **I suppose that most people** feel a curiosity with regard to some of the enactments in the law,
129 especially those about meats and drinks and animals recognised as unclean. When we asked why, since there is but one form of creation, some animals are regarded as unclean for eating, and others unclean even to the touch (for though the law is scrupulous on most points, it is specially scrupulous on such
130 matters as these) he began his reply as follows: 'You observe,' he said, 'what an effect our modes of life and our associations produce upon us; by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities and become miserable throughout their life; but if they live with the wise and prudent, they find
131 the means of escaping from ignorance and amending their lives. Our Lawgiver first of all laid down the principles of piety and righteousness and inculcated them point by point, not merely by prohibitions but by the use of examples as well, demonstrating the injurious effects *of sin* and the
132 punishments inflicted by God upon the guilty. For he proved first of all that there is only one God and that his power is manifested throughout the universe, since every place is filled with his sovereignty and none of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge. For all that a man does and all that is to come to pass in the future are manifest to
133 Him. Working out these truths carefully and having made them plain, he showed that even if a man should think of doing evil—to say nothing of actually effecting it,—he would not escape
134 detection, for he made it clear that the power of God pervaded the whole of the law. Beginning from this starting point he went on to show that all mankind except ourselves believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom
135 they vainly worship. For when they have made statues of stone and wood, they say that they are the images of those who have invented something useful for life and they worship them, though
136 they have clear proof that they possess no feeling. For it would be utterly **foolish** to suppose that any one **became a god** in virtue of his inventions. For *the inventors* simply took certain objects already created and by combining them together, showed that they possessed a fresh utility: they
137 did not themselves create the substance of the thing, and so it is a vain and foolish thing for people to make gods of men like themselves. For in our times there are many who are much more inventive and much more learned than the men of former days *who have been deified*, and yet they would never come to worship them. The makers and authors of these myths think that they are
138 the wisest of the Greeks. Why need we speak of other infatuated people, Egyptians and the like, who place their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifices to them both while living and when dead?'

139 'Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took

124. **to give our best attention.** The MSS. read ἀφροντίσειν which is obviously a corruption. Wendland suggests εὖ φροντίσειν, which gives the sense required.

127. **The good life consists**: a good statement of the Pharisaic position which is advocated in this section of the Epistle. For the ethical function of the law cp. §§ 144, 168, 169.

128. **I suppose people.** So Euseb.

129. **specially scrupulous.** The reading is uncertain. Some MSS. read πάνυ δεισιδαιμόνως. Eusebius has πάλιν for πάνυ. Other MSS. of Aristeas combine the two. Schmidt suggests παντάπασι and Wendland reads παντελῶς. The meaning however is clear.

133. **the power of God pervaded**, or 'throughout the whole of the law, he displayed the power of God' (Thackeray).

135. **who have invented something useful.** Aristeas' explanation of the origin of idolatry is Euhemeristic. Euhemerus, who lived at the Court of Cassander in Macedonia about 316 B.C., maintained that the gods were originally men who had distinguished themselves either as warriors or benefactors of mankind, and who after their death received divine worship from the grateful people. Contrast the explanation of the origin of idolatry in the *Book of Wisdom*, where it is derived from Nature-worship (ch. xiii), 'Vain are all men by nature who are ignorant of God . . . and deem either fire or wind or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the turbulent water, or the lights of heaven to be the gods which govern the world.'

136. **it would be . . . foolish**, reading ἀνόητον (Eusebius) for the MSS. ἀνόητοι.
became a god. So Wendland emends.

a comprehensive view of each particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole
140 creation. Hence the leading Egyptian priests having looked carefully into many matters, and being cognizant with (our) affairs, call us "men of God". This is a title which does not belong to the rest of mankind but only to those who worship the true God. The rest are men *not of God* but of meats and drinks and clothing. For their whole disposition leads them to find solace in these things.
141 Among our people such things are reckoned of no account, but throughout their whole life their
142 main consideration is the sovereignty of God. Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by
143 rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see. For though, speaking generally, all things are alike in their natural constitution, since they are all governed by one and the same power, yet there is a deep reason in each individual case why we abstain from the use of certain things and enjoy the common use of others. For the sake of illustration I will run over one or two
144 points and explain them to you. For you must not fall into the degrading idea that it was out of regard to mice and weasels and other such things that Moses drew up his laws with such exceeding care. All these ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness to aid the quest for virtue and
145 the perfecting of character. For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by their cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, such as for instance pigeons, turtle-doves,
146 locusts, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this class. But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be wild and carnivorous, tyrannising over the others by the strength which they possess, and cruelly obtaining food by preying on the tame birds enumerated above. And not only so, but
147 they seize lambs and kids, and injure human beings too, whether dead or alive, and so by naming them unclean, he gave a sign by means of them that those, for whom the legislation was ordained, must practise righteousness in their hearts and not tyrannise over any one in reliance upon their own strength nor rob them of anything, but steer their course of life in accordance with justice, just as the tame birds, already mentioned, consume the different kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth
148 and do not tyrannise to the destruction of their own kindred. Our legislator taught us therefore that it is by such methods as these that indications are given to the wise, that they must be just and effect nothing by violence, and refrain from tyrannising over others in reliance upon their own
149 strength. For since it is *considered* unseemly even to touch such *unclean* animals, as have been mentioned, on account of their particular habits, ought we not to take every precaution lest our own
150 characters should be destroyed to the same extent? Wherefore all the rules which he has laid down with regard to what is permitted in the case of these *birds* and other animals, he has enacted with the object of teaching us a moral lesson. For the division of the hoof and the separation of the claws are intended to teach us that we must discriminate between our individual actions with a view
151 to the practice of virtue. For the strength of our whole body and its activity depend upon our shoulders and limbs. Therefore he compels us to recognise that we must perform all our actions

140. **cognizant with (our) affairs**, *μετεσχηκότες πραγμάτων*, 'conversant with the world' (Thackeray). Diels suggests *γραμμάτων*, for *πραγμάτων*, 'conversant with literature.'

men of meats and drinks, &c. Cp. Matt. vi. 31–2 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek.' The word translated 'clothing' (*σκέπη*) also means 'shelter' or 'protection' and this may possibly be the meaning here.

144. **the degrading idea**, *εἰς τὸν καταπεπτωκότα λόγον*, or 'Thou must not be led to follow the rejected view' (Thackeray).

mice. In Eusebius the best attested reading seems to be *μυιῶν*, 'flies'. For the Mosaic prohibition see Lev. xi. 29. For the argument cp. 1 Cor. ix. 9, 'Doth God care for the oxen?'

145. **locusts**, Lev. xi. 22. In both RV and AV the word *ἀττάκης* is translated 'bald locust'. In Eusebius the best attested reading is *ἀτταγαί* a species of moor-fowl. There is a full description of this bird in Athen. ix. 387, where it is said to be 'rather bigger than a partridge, striped all over the back and of the colour of clay but rather redder, corresponding perhaps to the "attagen Ionicus" of Hor. *Epod.* ii. 54.' Cp. Gifford's note on Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 372 c.

147. **destruction of their own kindred**. Eusebius (whom Wendland follows here) inserts *οὔτε τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων οὔτε*, before *τῶν συγγενικῶν* 'for the destruction either of those beneath them or of their own kind'.

150. **teaching us a moral lesson**. The allegorical method seems to have been first employed on a large scale by the Stoics, though there are traces of it in Plato and Aristotle. Philo is of course the great exponent of the method, though the fact that he speaks of it as a well-established system and warns men that the allegorical interpretation does not destroy the literal force of the enactments of the law, proves that it had already found its way into Jewish circles—a fact which is further substantiated by the New Testament (Drummond, *Philo*, i. 20). There is a sign of it, too, in the Book of Wisdom (x. 17, xviii. 24). But we have no trace of so elaborate an employment of the method, as we find in Aristeas, amongst the Jews before Philo. It is curious, too, that it is only used in the law section. Aristeas does not take the opportunity of introducing it into his explanation of the High Priest's dress, which was a favourite subject with later allegorists (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 11–14, *De Monarchia*, ii. 225. 7 and Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 7. 7). The best illustration of the method of Aristeas is found in the Epistle of Barnabas.

division of the hoof, cp. Lev. xi. 3 ff., Deut. xiv. 6 ff.

151. **compels us to recognise**. The text is uncertain. There are two readings (1) *ἀναγκάζει τὸ σημειοῦσθαι*,

with discrimination according to the standard of righteousness—more especially because we have
152 been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind. For most other men defile themselves by
promiscuous intercourse, thereby working great iniquity, and whole countries and cities pride them-
selves upon such vices. For they not only have intercourse with men but they defile their own
153 mothers and even their daughters. But we have been kept separate from such sins. And the
people who have been separated in the aforementioned way are also characterised *by the Lawgiver*
as possessing the *gift* of memory. For all animals "which are cloven-footed and chew the cud"
154 represent to the initiated the *symbol* of memory. For the act of chewing the cud is nothing else
than the reminiscence of life and existence. For life is wont to be sustained by means of food,
155 wherefore he exhorts us in the Scripture also in these words: "Thou shalt surely remember the Lord
that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things". For when they are properly conceived,
they are manifestly great and glorious; first the construction of the body and the disposition of the
156 food and the separation of each individual limb and, far more, the organisation of the senses, the operation
and invisible movement of the mind, the rapidity of its particular actions and its discovery of the
157 arts, display an infinite *resourcefulness*. Wherefore he exhorts us to remember that the aforesaid
parts are kept together by the divine power with consummate skill. For he has marked out every
158 time and place that we may continually remember the God who rules and preserves (us). For in the
matter of meats and drinks he bids us first of all offer part as a sacrifice and then forthwith **enjoy**
our meal. Moreover, upon our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance, and in like
manner he has ordered us to put the *divine* oracles upon our gates and doors as a remembrance of
159 God. And upon our hands, too, he expressly orders the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that
we ought to perform every act in righteousness, remembering ⟨our own creation⟩, and above all the
160 fear of God. He bids men also, when lying down to sleep and rising up again, to meditate upon the
works of God, not only in word, but by observing distinctly the change and impression produced
upon them, when they are going to sleep, and also their waking, how divine and incomprehensible
161 the change from one of these states to the other is. The excellency of the analogy in regard to
discrimination and memory has now been pointed out to you, according to our interpretation of "the
cloven hoof and the chewing of the cud". For our laws have not been drawn up at random or in
accordance with the first *casual* thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the
162 indication of right reason. For by means of the directions which he gives with regard to meats and
drinks and particular cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor listen to anything thoughtlessly
163 nor to resort to injustice by the abuse of the power of reason. In the case of the wild animals, too,
the same principle may be discovered. For the character of the weasel and of mice and such
164 animals as these, which are expressly mentioned, is destructive. Mice defile and damage everything,
not only for their own food but even to the extent of rendering absolutely useless to man whatever
165 it falls in their way to damage. The weasel class, too, is peculiar: for besides what has been said, it

(2) . . . *τῷ σημειοῦσθαι.* Thackeray conjectures *ὃ σημειοῦται*, and translates 'He constrains us to do everything . . . as he signifies by these symbols'. Gifford in Eusebius rendering (2) translates 'by the signification herein given'.

152. **we have been kept separate**, *διεστάλμεθα* or 'we have received express injunctions', see Lev. xviii. 6 ff. It is significant as Wendland says that there is no reference to the Egyptian practice of marrying a sister.

154. **life is wont to be sustained**, or 'He considers that life exists by taking food' (Thackeray).

155. **in the scripture.** For this remarkable introduction to the quotation, see note on § 168.

Thou shalt remember. A loose quotation of phrases conflated from Deut. vii. 18, 19, and x. 21. 'The great and wonderful things' of Deut. refer to the Divine deliverances of Israel, but here the phrase is applied to the human anatomy. Gifford thinks there is a reminiscence of Job xlii. 3.

156. **display an infinite**, &c., lit. 'contain an infinite manner,' *ἀπέραστον περιέχει τρόπον.* Thackeray renders 'bear the marks of an infinite wisdom'. Gifford, reading *ἐπέραστον*, renders 'have a delightful character'.

157. **kept together . . . with consummate skill.** Thackeray renders 'are both created and preserved'.

158. **enjoy.** So Euseb.

upon our garments, *ἐκ τῶν περιβολαίων.* There seems to be an allusion to Num. xv. 38, and Deut. xxii. 12 *ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κρασπέδων τῶν περιβολαίων σου.* The reference is to the *zizith* or *gedilim* fringes or twisted threads at the four corners of the garment, see *DBH* art. 'Fringes'. Schürer, *ET* ii. 2. 112.

the divine oracles, see note on § 177.

upon our gates, cp. Deut. vi. 7 ff., a reference to the *Mesusa*, an oblong box fixed to house and room doors above the right-hand door-post on which was written in twenty-two lines the two paragraphs, Deut. vi. 4–9, xi. 13–21. Schürer, *ET*. ii. 2. 112.

159. **upon our hands**, cp. Deut. vi. 8, a reference to the *Tephilla*, a small dice-shaped hollow parchment case on which were written the passages Ex. xiii. 1–10, xiii. 11–16; Deut. vi. 4–9. xi. 13–21. It was fastened by means of a strap drawn through it to the upper part of the left arm, Schürer *ET*, ii. 2. 113.

our own creation. Restored from Euseb.

160. **going to sleep.** Aristeas seems to have been interested in the psychology of sleep. See §§ 213–16, and cp. the discussion in 3 Mac. v. 11.

162. **by the abuse of the power**, &c., or 'and not by availing ourselves of the overbearing power of speech have recourse to unrighteousness' (Thackeray), or 'nor to resort to injustice by employing the mastery of language'.

has a characteristic which is defiling: It conceives through the ears and brings forth through the
166 mouth. And it is for this reason that a like practice is declared unclean in men. For by embodying in speech all that they receive through the ears, they involve others in evils and work no ordinary impurity, being themselves altogether defiled by the pollution of impiety. And your king, as we are informed, does quite right in destroying such men.'

167 Then I said 'I suppose you mean the informers, for he constantly exposes them to tortures and to
168 painful forms of death'. 'Yes,' he replied, 'these are the men I mean; for to watch for men's destruction is an unholy thing. And our law forbids us to injure any one either by word or deed. My brief account of these matters ought to have convinced you, that all our regulations have been drawn up with a view to righteousness, and that nothing has been enacted in the Scripture thoughtlessly or without due reason, but its purpose is to enable us throughout our whole life and in all our actions
169 to practise righteousness before all men, being mindful of Almighty God. And so concerning meats and things unclean, creeping things, and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness and righteous relationships between man and man.'

170 He seemed to me to have made a good defence on all the points; for in reference also to the calves and rams and goats which are offered, he said that it was necessary to take them from the herds and flocks, and sacrifice tame animals and offer nothing wild, that the offerers of the sacrifices might understand the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver and not be under the influence of an arrogant self-consciousness. For he, who offers a sacrifice, makes an offering also of his own soul in all
171 its moods. I think that these particulars with regard to our discussion are worth narrating, and on account of the sanctity and natural meaning of the law, I have been induced to explain them to you clearly, Philocrates, because of your own devotion to learning.

172 And Eleazar, after offering the sacrifice, and selecting the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the
173 king, despatched us on our journey in great security. And when we reached Alexandria, the king was at once informed of our arrival. On our admission to the palace, Andreas and I warmly greeted
174 the king and handed over to him the letter written by Eleazar. The king was very anxious to meet the envoys, and gave orders that all the other officials should be dismissed and the envoys
175 summoned to his presence *at once*. Now this excited general surprise, for it is customary for those who come to seek an audience with the king on matters of importance to be admitted to his presence on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or very important cities with difficulty secure admission to the Court in thirty days—but these men he counted worthy of greater honour, since he held their master in such high esteem, and so he immediately dismissed those whose presence he regarded as superfluous and continued walking about until they came in and he was able to welcome them.
176 When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connexion *between the pages* had been so effected as to be invisible, the king as soon
177 as he saw them began to ask them about the books. And when they had taken the rolls out of their coverings and unfolded the pages, the king stood still for a long time and then making obeisance about seven times, he said: 'I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that sent you still more, and

165. **through the mouth**, cf. *Ep. Barn.* x. 8. Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, iii. 6. 5, refutes this common belief and explains its origin. 'The weasel has just the same kind of womb as all other quadrupeds. How then can the embryo pass from it into the mouth? But because the weasel, like all other cloven-footed animals . . . brings forth extremely small young and often carries them from place to place in her mouth, she has given rise to this opinion' (quoted by Gifford, *Euseb.* 374 d).

167. **informers**, *ἐμφανισταί—delatores.* Graetz cites this passage as an argument for the late date of the Epistle—and thinks that it refers incontestably to the punishment inflicted on two Roman knights at the instigation of the Emperor for bringing false charges against the Praetor Magius Caecilianus in A.D. 21: cp. the concluding words of § 166, 'Your king as we are informed does quite right in putting such men to death'.

168. **has been enacted in the Scripture**, *οὐδὲν εἰκῇ κατατέτακται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς.* Compare § 155. This is probably the first instance where the law is spoken of as Scripture. It is quite a question whether *ἡ γραφή* is used in this sense even in the New Testament (see Lightfoot's note on Gal. iii. 22). We find the phrase *ἐν γραφῇ νόμου Μωυσέως* used in the *Testaments of the Patriarchs* (T. Zab. iii. 4), but there appears to be no instance of *ἡ γραφή* used alone in the pre-Christian era. Deissmann has shown that the phrase [*κατὰ τὴ*]*ν γραφήν* is found on a Fayûm Papyrus of 5–6 A.D.—and argues that in the first instance it was used as the equivalent of *τὸ γεγραμμένον* in legal documents (*Biblical Studies*, p. 250). Compare the use of *ἄγραφα* and *διὰ γραπτῶν* in § 56. Possibly the usage may go back to earlier times.

168. **without due reason**, lit. 'of a legendary character', or 'in a fabulous way', reading *μυθωδῶς* (as in Eusebius) for *θυμωδῶς* as in the MSS.

170. **He seemed to me.** There is some doubt as to whether this rendering of *ἐνόμιζε* is possible. Gifford thinks this usage of the word is peculiar to Aristeas and compares the phrases *νομίζειν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς* in § 128. Wendland and Thackeray conjecture *ἐνομίζετο.* Otherwise we must translate 'He thought that he had given me a good defence on all the points'.

171. **sanctity and natural meaning**, *διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ φυσικὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νόμου.* The meaning of the latter phrase is uncertain. Schürer thinks it refers to the 'naturalness' or 'reasonableness' of the law. Thackeray translates 'the solemnity and inner meaning of the law'.

178 most of all God, whose oracles these are.' And when all, the envoys and the others who were present as well, shouted out at one time and with one voice: 'God save the King!' he burst into tears of joy. For his exaltation of soul and the *sense of the* overwhelming honour which had been
179 paid him compelled him to weep over his good fortune. He commanded them to put the rolls back in their places and then after saluting the men, said: 'It was right, men of God, that I should first of all pay my reverence to the books for the sake of which I summoned you here and then, when I had done that, to extend the right-hand *of friendship* to you. It was for this reason that I
180 did this first. I have enacted that this day, on which you arrived, shall be kept as a great day and it will be celebrated annually throughout my life time. It happens also that it is the anniversary of
181 my naval victory over Antigonus. Therefore I shall be glad to feast with you to-day.' 'Everything that you may have occasion to use', he said, 'shall be prepared ⟨for you⟩ in a befitting manner and for me also with you.' After they had expressed their delight, he gave orders that the best quarters near the citadel should be assigned to them, and that preparations should be made for the banquet.
182 And Nicanor summoned **the lord high steward**, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after *the Jews*, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one. For this arrangement had been made by the king and it is an arrangement which you see maintained to-day. For as many cities ⟨as⟩ have ⟨special⟩ customs in the matter of drinking, eating, and reclining, have special officers appointed *to look after their requirements*. And whenever they come to visit the kings, preparations are made in accordance with their own customs, in order that there may be no discomfort to disturb the enjoyment of their visit. The same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys. Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after *Jewish* guests was
183 a very conscientious man. All the stores which were under his control and set apart for the reception of such guests, he brought out for the feast. He arranged the seats in two rows in accordance with the king's instructions. For he had ordered him to make half the men sit at his right hand and the rest behind him, in order that he might not withhold from them the highest possible honour. When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in
184 accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests. Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer the prayers, and called upon one of our number, Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead. And he rose up and made a remarkable prayer. 'May Almighty
185 God enrich you, O king, with all the good things which He has made and may He grant you and your wife and your children and your comrades the continual possession of them as long as you live!' At these words a loud and joyous applause broke out which lasted for a considerable time, and then
186 they turned to the enjoyment of the banquet which had been prepared. All the arrangements for service at table were carried out in accordance with the injunction of Dorotheus. Among the *attendants* were the royal pages and others who held places of honour at the king's court.
187 Taking an opportunity afforded by a pause *in the banquet* the king asked the envoy who sat in

177. **whose oracles these are.** Cp. § 158. This is probably the earliest instance of the application of the term *τὰ λόγια* to the law as a whole, though it is used in Sirach xxxvi. 14 of divine utterances in general. This use of the word is found several times in the New Testament: Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12.

180. **celebrated annually.** Philo asserts that an annual festival was held at Pharos in his day to celebrate the translation of the LXX (*de vita Moysis*, ii. 7. 140 M).

naval victory over Antigonus. Philadelphus was decisively defeated by Antigonus Gonatas at the battle of Kos (*c.* 258). As a result of this battle Egypt lost its supremacy for some years, though it regained its power in the battle of Andros. Wendland thinks that Aristeas has purposely turned a defeat into a victory. Thackeray holds that the reference may be to the victory at Andros. This latter suggestion seems very improbable. According to Droysen the battle of Andros did not take place till 245 B.C.—two years after the death of Philadelphus. And even if with Mahaffy we date it 247 B.C.—in the last year of the reign of Philadelphus—it would be impossible to reconcile the statement here with other historical data in Aristeas. A victory in 247 B.C. could not have been made the subject of an annual celebration before the death of Arsinoe (in 270 B.C.), who is assumed to be alive throughout the Epistle.

181. **that you may have occasion to use.** I adopt the conjecture of Wendland, who reads *οἷς συγχρῆσθε* for the *συγχρήσεσθε* or *συγχρήσησθε* of the MSS. One important MS. reads *συγχρῆσθαι*, which seems to justify the emendation.

near the citadel. See note on § 41.

182. **the lord high steward.** The MSS. read *ἀρχίητρος*, the chief physician. This does not seem satisfactory, and Josephus paraphrases *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος* . . . Letronne conjectures *ἀρχεδέατρος* (which is accepted by Wendland). This word is found only on an Inscription (C.I.G. 4678). The term *ἐδέατρος* originally meant the official who tasted dishes before the king, and was borrowed from Persia by Alexandria. *Ἀρχεδέατρος* may be translated 'the lord high steward', cp. Thackeray, *JQR*, xv, p. 371. Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie polit. de l'Égypte*, 205.

183. **all the stores,** &c. Thackeray translates 'He laid out all the coverings for the couches which were in his keeping and were set apart for receptions of this kind'.

184. **Eleazar.** According to Josephus the man's name was Elisha, and Wendland suggests that this ought to be regarded as the true reading here.

185. **your wife and your children.** See notes on § 41.

your comrades: *ὁμονοοῦσι*, lit. 'Those who are in harmony with you.' Wendland suggests *ὁμογενέσι* 'relatives'.

186. **among the attendants,** or 'among the guests were royal children', &c.

the seat of honour (for they were arranged according to seniority), How he could keep his kingdom
188 unimpaired to the end? After pondering for a moment he replied, 'You could best establish its security if you were to imitate the unceasing benignity of God. For if you exhibit clemency and inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them in accordance with their deserts, you will
189 turn them from evil and lead them to repentance.' The king praised the answer and then asked the next man, How he could do everything for the best in all his actions? And he replied, 'If a man maintains a just bearing towards all, he will always act rightly on every occasion, remembering that every thought is known to God. If you take the fear of God as your starting-point, you will never miss the goal.'

190 The king complimented this man, too, upon his answer and asked another, How he could have friends like-minded with himself? He replied, 'If they see you studying the interests of the multitudes over whom you rule; you will do well to observe how God bestows his benefits on the
191 human race, providing for them health and food and all other things in due season.' After expressing his agreement with the reply, the king asked the next guest, How in giving audiences and passing judgments he could gain the praise even of those who failed to win their suit? And he said, 'If you are fair in speech to all alike and never act insolently nor tyrannically in your treatment of
192 offenders. And you will do this if you watch the method by which God acts. The petitions of the worthy are always fulfilled, while those who fail to obtain an answer to their prayers are informed by means of dreams or events of what was harmful *in their requests* and that God does not smite them according to their sins or the greatness of His strength, but acts with forbearance towards them.'

193 The king praised the man warmly for his answer and asked the next in order, How he could be invincible in military affairs? And he replied, 'If he did not trust entirely to his multitudes or his warlike forces, but called upon God continually to bring his enterprises to a successful issue, while
194 he himself discharged all his duties in the spirit of justice.' Welcoming this answer, he asked another how he might become an object of dread to his enemies. And he replied, 'If while maintaining a vast supply of arms and forces he remembered that these things were powerless to achieve a permanent and conclusive result. For even God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and making merely a display of the greatness of his power.'

195 This man the king praised and then said to the next, What is the highest good in life? And he answered 'To know that God is Lord of the Universe, and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us *to the goal.*'

196 The king exclaimed that the man had answered well and then asked the next How he could keep all his possessions intact and finally hand them down to his successors in the same condition? And he answered 'By praying constantly to God that you may be inspired with high motives in all your undertakings and by warning your descendants not to be dazzled by fame or wealth, for it is God who bestows all these gifts and men never by themselves win the supremacy'.

197 The king expressed his agreement with the answer and enquired of the next guest, How he could bear with equanimity whatever befell him? And he said, 'If you have a firm grasp of the thought that all men are appointed by God to share the greatest evil as well as the greatest good, since it is impossible for one who is a man to be exempt from these. But God, to whom we ought *always* to pray, inspires us with courage to endure.'

198 Delighted with the man's reply, the king said that all their answers had been good. 'I will put a question to one other', *he added*, 'and then I will stop for the present: that we may turn our attention
199 to the enjoyment *of the feast* and spend a pleasant time.' Thereupon he asked the man, What is the true aim of courage? And he answered, 'If a right plan is carried out in the hour of danger in accordance with the original intention. For all things are accomplished by God to your advantage, O king, since your purpose is good.'

188. **inflict mild punishments,** *βλιμάζων τοὺς ἀξίους ἐπιεικέστερον καθώς εἰσιν ἄξιοι.* Thackeray, following Schmidt, inserts *ἢ* before *καθώς*, 'punish with greater forbearance than is due to them.' Cp. also § 208.

189. **do everything for the best,** following the emendation of Wendland *πῶς ἂν ἕκαστα ⟨κάλλιστα⟩ πράττοι.*

If a man . . . act rightly. I follow the text of Wendland here: *δίκαιον εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας διατηροῖ ἑαυτόν, καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει.* Thackeray reads *ἑαυτῷ* and connects with the following clause *ἑαυτῷ καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει.* This is very difficult to translate because we cannot render 'he will act rightly by Himself.' Dr. Charles has suggested to me that we might possibly read *ἑαυτόν* (which is found in some MSS.) and translate 'He will do everything best as regards himself so long as he observes what is just towards all'; or else we might suppose that a *καί* has dropped out before *ἑαυτῷ*, and then changing *πράξει* to *πράσσοι* or *πράσσει* we might translate 'If a man maintains righteousness towards all and always acts rightly in himself,' &c.

starting-point. The emphasis on the connexion between morality and religion is one of the characteristics of the Epistle. For the conception of God as the *καταρχή* of Ethics see §§ 200, 235.

194. **Even God instils.** It will be observed that there is no logical parallel here between the human and divine action. Wendland suggests that Aristeas makes use of an older collection of sayings, appending to each of them a not always appropriate theological conclusion.

200 When all had signified by their applause their agreement with the answer, the king said to the philosophers (for not a few of them were present), 'It is my opinion that these men excel in virtue and possess extraordinary knowledge, since on the spur of the moment they have given fitting answers to these questions which I have put to them, and have all made God the starting-point of their words.'

201 And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria, said, 'True, O King—for since the universe is managed by providence and since we rightly perceive that man is the creation of God, it follows
202 that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God.' When the king had nodded his assent to this sentiment, the speaking ceased and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. When evening came on, the banquet ended.

203 On the following day they sat down to table again and continued the banquet according to the same arrangements. When the king thought that a fitting opportunity had arrived to put inquiries to his guests, he proceeded to ask further questions of the men who sat next in order to those who
204 had given answers on the previous day. He began to open the conversation with the eleventh man, for there were ten who had been asked questions on the former occasion. When silence was
205 established, he asked How he could continue to be rich? After a brief reflection, the man who had been asked the question replied—'If he did nothing unworthy of his position, never acted licentiously, never lavished expense on empty and vain pursuits, but by acts of benevolence made all his subjects well disposed towards himself. For it is God who is the author of all good things and
206 Him man must needs obey.' The king bestowed praise upon him and then asked another How he could maintain the truth? In reply to the question he said, 'By recognizing that a lie brings great disgrace upon all men, and more especially upon kings. For since they have the power to do whatever they wish, why should they resort to lies? In addition to this you must always remember, O King, that God is a lover of the truth.'

207 The king received the answer with great delight and looking *at another* said, 'What is the teaching of wisdom?' And the other replied, 'As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders, and you should mildly admonish the noble and good. For God draws all men *to Himself* by his benignity.'

208 The king praised him and asked the next in order How he could be the friend of men? And he replied, 'By observing that the human race increases and is born with much **trouble** and great suffering: wherefore you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of men is made up of pains and penalties. For if you understood everything you would be filled with pity, for God also is pitiful.'

209 The king received the answer with approbation and inquired of the next 'What is the most essential qualification for ruling?' 'To keep oneself', he answered, 'free from bribery and to practise sobriety during the greater part of one's life, to honour righteousness above all things, and to make friends of men of this type. For God, too, is a lover of justice.'

10 Having signified his approval, the king said to another 'What is the true mark of piety?' And he replied, 'To perceive that God constantly works in the Universe and knows all things, and no man who acts unjustly and works wickedness can escape His notice. As God is the benefactor of the whole world, so you, too, must imitate Him and be void of offence.'

211 The king signified his agreement and said to another 'What is the essence of kingship?' And he replied, 'To rule oneself well and not to be led astray by wealth or fame to immoderate or unseemly desires, *this is the true way of ruling* if you reason the matter well out. For **all that you really need** is yours, and God is free from need and benignant withal. Let your thoughts be such as become a man, and desire not many things but only such as are necessary for ruling.'

201. **Menedemus**, a Greek philosopher who lived at Eretria in Euboea, where he founded a school of thought. Born about 350 and died between 278 and 275 B.C. He was the disciple of Stilpo and the friend of Antigonus Gonatas. Our knowledge of his philosophy is limited and indefinite; it is derived from statements in Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, and Plutarch. We have no knowledge that he ever visited Alexandria, and his death had in all probability occurred before he is introduced into the narrative here. See Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, ii. 205 ff.; H. Mallett, *Histoire de l'école de Mégare et des écoles d'Élis et d'Érétrie* (1845).

206. **in addition to this**, reading προσλαμβάνειν. Wendland prefers προλαμβάνειν, which would be translated 'you must always set before your mind'.

207. **As you wish that no evil.** A similar statement of 'the golden rule' in its negative form is found in Tob. iv. 15 καὶ ὃ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς. Cp. Hillel, 'What is hateful to thyself, do not to thy fellow man.'

208. **with much trouble**, following an emendation of Wendland, who conjectures πόνῳ for χρόνῳ. If we take the MSS. reading we must translate with Thackeray, 'By considering after how long a time and through what great sufferings the human race comes to maturity, aye and to the birth!'

211. **This is the true way.** The text is corrupt and some such words must be supplied to make sense.

All that you really need, following a conjecture of Wendland, who suggests ὅσα δέον, for ὡς οὐδέν. With the

212 The king praised him and asked another man How his deliberations might be for the best? and he replied, 'If he constantly set justice before him in everything and thought that injustice was equivalent to deprivation of life. For God always promises the highest blessings to the just.'

213 Having praised him, the king asked the next How he could be free from disturbing thoughts in his sleep? And he replied, 'You have asked me a question which is very difficult to answer, for we cannot bring our true selves into play during the hours of sleep, but are held fast **in these**
214 by imaginations that cannot be controlled by reason. For our souls possess the feeling that they actually see the things that enter into our consciousness *during sleep*. But we make a mistake if we suppose that we are actually sailing on the sea in boats or flying through the air or travelling to other regions or anything else of the kind. **And yet we actually do imagine such**
215 **things** to be taking place. So far as it is possible for me to decide, I have reached the following conclusion. You must in every possible way, O King, govern your words and actions by the rule of piety that you may have the consciousness that you are maintaining virtue and that you never choose to gratify yourself at the expense of reason and never by abusing your power do
216 despite to righteousness. For the mind mostly busies itself in sleep with the same things with which it occupies itself when awake. And **he who** has all his thoughts and actions set towards the noblest ends establishes himself *in righteousness* both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Wherefore you must be stedfast in the constant discipline of self.'

217 The king bestowed praise on the man and said to another—'Since you are the tenth to answer, when you have spoken, we will devote ourselves to the banquet.' And then he put the question,
218 How can I avoid doing anything unworthy of myself? And he replied, 'Look always to your own fame and your own supreme position, that you may speak and think only such things as are
219 consistent therewith, knowing that all your subjects think and talk about you. For you must not appear to be worse than the actors, who study carefully the rôle, which it is necessary for them to play, and shape all their actions in accordance with it. You are not acting a part, but are really a king, since God has bestowed upon you a royal authority in keeping with your character.'

220 When the king had applauded loud and long in the most gracious way, the guests were urged to seek repose. So when the conversation ceased, they devoted themselves to the next course of the feast.

221 On the following day, the same arrangement was observed, and when the king found an opportunity of putting questions to the men, he questioned the first of those who had been left over
222 for the next interrogation, What is the highest form of government? And he replied, 'To rule oneself and not to be carried away by impulses. For all men possess a certain natural bent of mind.
223 It is probable that most men have an inclination towards food and drink and pleasure, and kings a bent towards the acquisition of territory and great renown. But it is good that there should be moderation in all things. What God gives, that you must take and keep, but never yearn for things that are beyond your reach.'

224 Pleased with these words, the king asked the next How he could be free from envy? And he after a brief pause replied, 'If you consider first of all that it is God who bestows on all kings glory and great wealth and no one is king by his own power. All men wish to share this glory but cannot, since it is the gift of God.'

225 The king praised the man in a long speech and then asked another How he could despise his enemies? And he replied, 'If you show kindness to all men and win their friendship, you need fear no one. To be popular with all men is the best of **good gifts** to receive from God.'

reading of the MSS. we must translate, 'Everything is at your command, and it is as nothing.' Mendelssohn conjectures *ὡς οὐδενί* 'you, as no one else, possess everything you need.'

214. **And yet we actually**, following the conjecture of Schmidt, *καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ὑπολαμβάνομεν καθεστάναι.* Thackeray connects with the previous sentence and reads *ἃ κατὰ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνομεν. . . .* 'Other such things which we then suppose to be taking place.' Mendelssohn would substitute *σφάλλεται* for *καθεστάναι*, reading *καὶ ὁ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνων σφάλλεται*, 'He who makes this supposition is under a delusion.'

216. **he who has all his thoughts.** Reading with Wendland *ὃς δὲ πάντα διαλογισμόν* for the MSS. *ὡς δέ.* Thackeray suggests *θεὸς δέ* (on the ground that the divine name is always used in the concluding sentence of each response), and further *ἐγρηγορότος* for *ἐγρηγορώς.* The translation then runs 'but God directs every thought and action which aims at the highest both in waking hours and in sleep.'

219. **worse than the actors**, lit. 'the least of the actors.'

220. **the guests were urged**, 'they urged the guests to sleep.' The text appears to have suffered dislocation.

when the conversation ceased, *καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ὡς ἔληξεν*, lit. 'when the turn of these men was ended' (Thackeray), but probably the text is corrupt.

222. **natural bent.** For a further account of this inherent bias in human nature see § 108 and especially 277.

223. **and great renown**, following the emendation of Wendland *καὶ* (for *κατὰ*) *τὸ τῆς δόξης μέγεθος.* If we follow the MSS., the meaning is 'in proportion to the greatness of their renown.'

moderation in all things. See note on § 122, and compare § 156.

224. **by his own power**, following the reading of Wendland, *παρ' ἑαυτόν* for *ἑαυτοῦ*, 'king of himself.'

225. **best of good gifts.** The text is corrupt. For the MSS. *καὶ καλὸν δῶρον εἰληφέναι παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ κράτιστο*—

226 Having praised this answer the king ordered the next man to reply to the question, How he could maintain his great renown? and he replied that 'If you are generous and large-hearted in bestowing kindness and acts of grace upon others, you will never lose your renown, but if you wish the aforesaid graces to continue yours, you must call upon God continually.'

227 The king expressed his approval and asked the next, To whom ought a man to show liberality? And he replied, 'All men acknowledge that we ought to show liberality to those who are well disposed towards us, but I think that we ought to show the same keen spirit of generosity to those who are opposed to us that by this means we may win them over to the right and to what is advantageous to ourselves. But we must pray to God that this may be accomplished, for he rules the minds of all men.'

228 Having expressed his agreement with the answer, the king asked the sixth to reply to the question, To whom ought we to exhibit gratitude? And he replied, 'To our parents continually, for God has given us a most important commandment with regard to the honour due to parents. In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend for He speaks of "a friend which is as thine own soul". You do well in trying to bring all men into friendship with yourself.'

229 The king spoke kindly to him and then asked the next, What is it that resembles beauty in value? And he said, 'Piety, for it is the pre-eminent form of beauty, and its power lies in love, which is the gift of God. This you have already acquired and with it all the blessings of life.'

230 The king in the most gracious way applauded the answer and asked another How, if he were to fail, he could regain his reputation again in the same degree? And he said, 'It is not possible for you to fail, for you have sown in all men the seeds of gratitude which produce a harvest of goodwill,
231 and this is mightier than the strongest weapons and guarantees the greatest security. But if any man does fail, he must never again do those things which caused his failure, but he must form friendships and act justly. For it is the gift of God to be able to do good actions and not the contrary.'

232 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from grief? And he replied, 'If he never injured any one, but did good to everybody and followed the pathway of
233 righteousness, for its fruits bring freedom from grief. But we must pray to God that unexpected evils such as death or disease or pain or anything of this kind may not come upon us and injure us. But since you are devoted to piety, no such misfortune will ever come upon you.'

234 The king bestowed great praise upon him and asked the tenth, What is the highest form of glory? And he said, 'To honour God, and this is done not with gifts and sacrifices but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are fashioned and governed by God in accordance with His will. Of this purpose you are in constant possession as all men can see from your achievements in the past and in the present.'

235 With loud voice the king greeted them all and spoke kindly to them, and all those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they were far superior to them [i.e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting-point. After this the king to show his good feeling proceeded to drink the health of his guests.

236 On the following day the same arrangements were made for the banquet, and the king, as soon as an opportunity occurred, began to put questions to the men who sat next to those who had already responded, and he said to the first 'Is wisdom capable of being taught?' And he said, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power to receive all the good and reject the contrary.'

237 The king expressed approval and asked the next man, What is it that is most beneficial to health? And he said, 'Temperance, and it is not possible to acquire this unless God create a disposition towards it.'

238 The king spoke kindly to the man and said to another, 'How can a man worthily pay the debt of gratitude to his parents?' And he said, 'By never causing them pain, and this is not possible unless God dispose the mind to the pursuit of the noblest ends.'

239 The king expressed agreement and asked the next How he could become an eager listener? And he said, 'By remembering that all knowledge is useful, because it enables you by the help of God in

Thackeray suggests *καὶ καλῶν δώρων* (as above). Wendland conjectures *καὶ καλὴν δόξαν εἰληφέναι δῶρον*—'To win a fair reputation is the highest gift of God.'

227. **To whom ought a man**, reading with Wendland *πρὸς τίνα* for the MSS. *πῶς τινα*.

228. **most important commandment.** Exod. xx. 12.

a friend . . . as thine own soul, *ἴσον τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν φίλον*, quoted from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 *φίλος ἴσος τῆς ψυχῆς σου* (A *τῇ ψυχῇ*). For the use of the LXX see §§ 56–7, 87, 96–9.

236. **The soul is so constituted,** &c., or 'The soul is through God's power so adapted as to accept all that is good and to reject what is contrary thereto' (Thackeray). For the conception that Divine assistance is needed for the attainment of virtue see §§ 226, 238, 248.

a time of emergency to select some of the things which you have learned and apply them to the crisis which confronts you. And so the efforts of men are fulfilled by the assistance of God.'

240 The king praised him and asked the next How he could avoid doing anything contrary to law? And he said, 'If you recognize that it is God who has put the thoughts into the hearts of the lawgivers that the lives of men might be preserved, you will follow them.'

241 The king acknowledged the man's answer and said to another, 'What is the advantage of kinship?' And he replied, 'If we consider that we ourselves are afflicted by the misfortunes which fall upon our relatives and if their sufferings become our own—then the strength of kinship is
242 apparent at once, for it is only when such feeling is shown that we shall win honour and esteem in their eyes. For help, when it is linked with kindliness, is of itself a bond which is altogether indissoluble. And in the day of their prosperity we must not crave their possessions, but must pray God to bestow all manner of good upon them.'

243 And having accorded to him the same praise as to the rest, the king asked another How he could attain freedom from fear? And he said, 'When the mind is conscious that it has wrought no evil, and when God directs it to all noble counsels.'

244 The king expressed his approval and asked another How he could always maintain a right judgement? And he replied, 'If he constantly set before his eyes the misfortunes which befall men and recognized that it is God who takes away prosperity *from some* and brings others to great honour and glory.'

245 The king gave a kindly reception to the man and asked the next to answer the question How he could avoid a life of ease and pleasure? And he replied, 'If he continually remembered that he was the ruler of a great empire and the lord of vast multitudes, and that his mind ought not to be occupied with other things, but he ought always to be considering how he could best promote their welfare. He must pray, too, to God that no duty might be neglected.'

246 Having bestowed praise upon him, the king asked the tenth How he could recognize those who were dealing treacherously with him? And he replied to the question, 'If he observed whether the bearing of those about him was natural and whether they maintained the proper rule of precedence at receptions and councils, and in their general intercourse, never going beyond the bounds of
247 propriety in congratulations or in other matters of deportment. But God will incline your mind, O King, to all that is noble.' When the king had expressed his loud approval and praised them all individually (amid the plaudits of all who were present), they turned to the enjoyment of the feast.

248 And on the next day, when the opportunity offered, the king asked the next man, What is the grossest form of neglect? And he replied, 'If a man does not care for his children and devote every effort to their education. For we always pray to God not so much for ourselves as for our children that every blessing may be theirs. Our desire that **our children** may possess self-control is only realized by the power of God.'

249 The king said that he had spoken well and then asked another How he could be patriotic? 'By keeping before your mind,' he replied, 'the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been banished for a crime. If you bestow benefits upon all, as you continually do, God will give you favour with all and you will be accounted patriotic.'

250 After listening to this man, the king asked the next in order How he could live amicably with his wife? And he answered, 'By recognizing that womankind are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak. It is necessary to deal wisely with them
251 and not to provoke strife. For the successful conduct of life the steersman must know the goal toward which he ought to direct his course. It is only by calling upon the help of God that men can steer a true course of life at all times.'

252 The king expressed his agreement and asked the next How he could be free from error? And

239. **apply them to the crisis.** The text is uncertain. The MSS. read *ἀνθυποτιθῆς πρὸς τὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἂν ἀντιπράσσηται*, which is obviously corrupt. Thackeray renders 'that . . . bringing it to bear upon an emergency thou mayest counteract the events of critical times'.

242. **help, when it is linked,** *τὸ γὰρ συνεργὲς εὐνόως γινόμενον*. Some editors prefer *τὸ γὰρ συγγενές*, 'kinship.'

246. **natural,** lit. 'free', *ἐλευθέριον*.

If he observed whether. It is doubtful whether the sentence refers to the conduct of the king or the courtiers. If we read *μηδὲν ὑπερτείνοντας τοῦ δέοντος*, we must adopt the latter alternative. If we read *ὑπερτείνειν*, the former is just possible and we may translate, 'If he maintained a free bearing and constantly observed the proper rule of precedence at receptions, councils, and in his general intercourse with those about him and took care to avoid exceeding the bounds of propriety in his congratulations,' &c. The other reading and rendering, however, provides the best answer to the question.

248. **Our desire,** *τὸ δὲ ἐπιδεῖσθαι παιδία* for the MSS. *παιδείαν*. Wendland also suggests that we should read *ἐπιδέσθαι*, 'But to live to see our children endowed with self-control is a gift,' &c.

he replied, 'If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgement the requests which are made to you and carry out everything in the light of your judgement, you will be free from error, O King. But the knowledge and practice of these things is the work of the Divine power.'

253 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from wrath? And he said in reply to the question, 'If he recognized that he had power over all even to inflict death upon them, if he gave way to wrath, and that it would be useless and pitiful if he, just because he was lord,
254 deprived many of life. What need was there for wrath, when all men were in subjection and no one was hostile to him? It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all, and you,' said he, 'O King, must of necessity copy His example.'

255 The king said that he had answered well and then inquired of the next man, What is good counsel? 'To act well at all times and with due reflection,' he explained, 'comparing *what is advantageous* to our own policy with the injurious effects that would result from the adoption of the opposite view, in order that by weighing every point we may be well advised and our purpose may be accomplished. And most important of all, by the power of God every plan of yours **will find fulfilment** because you practise piety.'

256 The king said that this man had answered well, and asked another What is philosophy? And he explained, 'To deliberate well in reference to any question that emerges and never to be carried away by impulses, but to ponder over the injuries that result from the passions, and to act rightly as the circumstances demand, practising moderation. But we must pray to God to instil into our mind a regard for these things.'

257 The king signified his consent and asked another How he could meet with recognition when travelling abroad? 'By being fair to all men,' he replied, 'and by appearing to be inferior rather than superior to those amongst whom he was travelling. For it is a recognized principle that God by His very nature accepts the humble. And the human race loves those who are willing to be in subjection to them.'

258 Having expressed his approval at this reply, the king asked another How he could build in such a way that his structures would endure after him? And he replied to the question, 'If his creations were on a great and noble scale, so that the beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he never dismissed any of those who wrought such works and never compelled others to minister to his
259 needs without wages. For observing how God provides for the human race, granting them health and mental capacity and all other gifts, he himself should follow His example by rendering to men a recompense for their arduous toil. For it is the deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually.'

260 The king said that this man, too, had answered well and asked the tenth, What is the fruit of wisdom? And he replied, 'That a man should be conscious in himself that he has wrought no evil
261 and that he should live his life in the truth. Since it is from these, O mighty King, that the greatest joy and stedfastness of soul and strong faith in God accrue to you if you rule your realm in piety.' And when they heard the answer they all shouted with loud acclaim, and afterwards the king in the fullness of his joy began to drink their healths.

262 And on the next day the banquet followed the same course as on previous occasions, and when the opportunity presented itself the king proceeded to put questions to the remaining guests, and
263 he said to the first, 'How can a man keep himself from pride?' And he replied, 'If he maintains equality and remembers on all occasions that he is a man ruling over men. And God brings the proud to nought, and exalts the meek and humble.'

264 The king spoke kindly to him and asked the next, Whom ought a man to select as his counsellors? and he replied, 'Those who have been tested in many affairs and maintain unmingled goodwill towards him and partake of his own disposition. And God manifests Himself to those who are worthy that these ends may be attained.'

265 The king praised him and asked another, What is the most necessary possession for a king? 'The friendship and love of his subjects,' he replied, 'for it is through this that the bond of goodwill is rendered indissoluble. And it is God who ensures that this may come to pass in accordance with *your* wish.'

266 The king praised him and inquired of another, What is goal of speech? And he replied, 'To

255. **comparing what is advantageous.** The meaning is not clear. I follow Wendland in supplying the clause in italics. Thackeray translates, 'And while forming our decisions not neglecting to weigh [lit. comparing] the injurious effects of following the opposite view.'

257. **It is a recognized principle,** κοινῶς. Thackeray takes the word with the latter clause only: 'the human race *commonly* loves,' &c.

convince your opponent by showing him his mistakes in a well-ordered array *of arguments*. For in this way you will win your hearer, not by opposing him, but by bestowing praise upon him with a view to persuading him. And it is by the power of God that persuasion is accomplished.'

267 The king said that he had given a good answer, and asked another How he could live amicably with the many different races who formed the population of his kingdom? 'By acting the proper part towards each,' he replied, 'and taking righteousness as your guide, as you are now doing with the help of the insight which God bestows upon you.'

268 The king was delighted by this reply, and asked another 'Under what circumstances ought a man to suffer grief?' 'In the misfortunes that befall our friends,' he replied, 'when we see that they are protracted and irremediable. Reason does not allow us to grieve for those who are dead and set free from evil, but all men do grieve *over them* because they think only of themselves and their own advantage. It is by the power of God alone that we can escape all evil.'

269 The king said that he had given a fitting answer, and asked another, How is reputation lost? And he replied, 'When pride and unbounded self-confidence hold sway, dishonour and loss of reputation are engendered. For God is the Lord of all reputation and bestows it where He will.'

270 The king gave his confirmation to the answer, and asked the next man, To whom ought men to entrust themselves? 'To those,' he replied, 'who serve you from goodwill and not from fear or self-interest, thinking only of their own gain. For the one is the sign of love, the other the mark of ill-will and time-serving. For the man who is always watching for his own gain is a traitor at heart. But you possess the affection of all your subjects by the help of the good counsel which God bestows upon you.'

271 The king said that he had answered wisely, and asked another, What is it that keeps a kingdom safe? And he replied to the question, 'Care and forethought that no evil may be wrought by those who are placed in a position of authority over the people, and this you always do by the help of God who inspires you with grave judgement'.

272 The king spoke words of encouragement to him, and asked another, What is it that maintains gratitude and honour? And he replied, 'Virtue, for it is the creator of good deeds, and by it evil is destroyed, even as you exhibit nobility of character towards all by the gift which God bestows upon you.'

273 The king graciously acknowledged the answer and asked the eleventh (since there were two more than seventy), How he could in time of war maintain tranquillity of soul? And he replied, 'By remembering that he had done no evil to any of his subjects, and that all would fight for him in return for the benefits which they had received, knowing that even if they lose their lives, you will care for those
274 dependent on them. For you never fail to make reparation to any—such is the kind-heartedness with which God has inspired you.' The king loudly applauded them all and spoke very kindly to them and then drank a long draught to the health of each, giving himself up to enjoyment, and lavishing the most generous and joyous friendship upon his guests.

275 On the seventh day much more extensive preparations were made, and many others were present from the different cities (among them a large number of ambassadors). When an opportunity occurred, the king asked the first of those who had not yet been questioned How he could avoid
276 being deceived *by fallacious reasoning*? and he replied, 'By noticing carefully the speaker, the thing spoken, and the subject under discussion, and by putting the same questions again after an interval in different forms. But to possess an alert mind and to be able to form a sound judgement in every case is one of the good gifts of God, and you possess it, O King.'

277 The king loudly applauded the answer and asked another, Why is it that the majority of men never become virtuous? 'Because,' he replied, 'all men are by nature intemperate and inclined to
278 pleasure. Hence, injustice springs up and a flood of avarice. The habit of virtue is a hindrance to those who are devoted to a life of pleasure because it enjoins upon them the preference of temperance and righteousness. For it is God who is the master of these things.'

279 The king said that he had answered well, and asked, What ought kings to obey? And he said, 'The laws, in order that by righteous enactments they may restore the lives of men. Even as you

266. **by showing him his mistakes**, &c., or 'pointing out his errors by means of the chain of arguments which he has formulated' (Thackeray).

273. **in return for the benefits,** or 'for the glory of rendering thee service' (Thackeray).
for those dependent on them, *τῶν βίων*, or 'for their welfare' (Thackeray).

277. **by nature intemperate.** Aristeas has no developed doctrine of original sin but he lays stress on the natural bias or *yezer* in human nature, cp. § 108, 222 f. His clear enunciation of this view is remarkable, because there is little reference to the *yezer* in Alexandrian literature. Tennant says that he is unable to find 'any certain proof that the *yezer* doctrine was adopted by the Alexandrian' (*The Fall and Original Sin*, p. 138). It is of course common in Sirach and Palestinian literature.

by such conduct in obedience to the Divine command have laid up in store for yourself a perpetual memorial.'

280 The king said that this man, too, had spoken well, and asked the next, Whom ought we to appoint as governors? And he replied, 'All who hate wickedness, and imitating your own conduct act righteously that they may maintain a good reputation constantly. For this is what you do, O mighty King,' he said, 'and it is God who has bestowed upon you the crown of righteousness.'

281 The king loudly acclaimed the answer and then looking at the next man said, 'Whom ought we to appoint as officers over the forces?' And he explained, 'Those who excel in courage and righteousness and those who are more anxious about the safety of their men than to gain a victory by **risking** their lives through rashness. For as God acts well towards all men, so too you in imitation of Him are the benefactor of all your subjects.'

282 The king said that he had given a good answer and asked another, What man is worthy of admiration? And he replied, 'The man who is furnished with reputation and wealth and power and possesses a soul equal to it all. You yourself show by your actions that you are most worthy of admiration through the help of God who makes you care for these things.'

283 The king expressed his approval and said to another 'To what affairs ought kings to devote most time?' And he replied, 'To reading and the *study of* the records of official journeys, which are written in reference to the *various* kingdoms, with a view to the reformation and preservation of the subjects. And it is by such activity that you have attained to a glory which has never been approached by others, through the help of God who fulfils all your desires.'

284 The king spoke enthusiastically to the man and asked another How ought a man to occupy himself during his hours of relaxation and recreation? And he replied, 'To watch those plays which can be acted with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes taken from life and enacted
285 with dignity and decency is **profitable and appropriate.** For there is some edification to be found even in these amusements, for often some desirable lesson is taught by the most insignificant affairs of life. But by practising the utmost propriety in all your actions, you have shown that you are a philosopher and you are honoured by God on account of your virtue.'

286 The king, pleased with the words which had just been spoken, said to the ninth man, How ought a man to conduct himself at banquets? And he replied, 'You should summon to your side men of learning and those who are able to give you **useful hints** with regard to the affairs of your kingdom and the lives of your subjects (for you could not find any theme more suitable or more
287 educative than this) since such men are dear to God because they have trained their minds to contemplate the noblest themes—as you indeed are doing yourself, since all your actions are directed by God.'

288 Delighted with the reply, the king inquired of the next man, What is best for the people? That a private citizen should be made king **over** them or a member of the royal family? And he
289 replied, '**He** who is best by nature. For kings who come of royal lineage are often harsh and severe towards their subjects. And still more is this the case with some of those who have risen from the ranks of private citizens, who after having experienced evil and borne their share of
290 poverty, when they rule over multitudes turn out to be more cruel than the godless tyrants. But, as I have said, a good nature which has been properly trained is capable of ruling, and you are a great king, not so much because you excel in the glory of your rule and your wealth but rather because you have surpassed all men in clemency and philanthropy, thanks to God who has endowed you with these qualities.'

291 The king spent some time in praising this man and then asked the last of all, What is the

280. **crown of righteousness**, cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8. The phrase is also found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (T.Levi viii. 1) where it is used of the crown of the High Priest.

281. **risking.** MSS. read *περιβάλλοντας*, which Schmidt has emended into *παραβάλλοντας*.

282. **possesses a soul equal to it all**, or 'yet inwardly regards himself as on an equality with all men' (Thackeray).

who makes you care, *διδόντος εἰς ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*. This is the reading of the MSS., but Wendland prefers to emend *ἐπιμέλειαν* into *ἐπιτέλειαν*. 'Who grants you the capacity for attaining these things.'

283. **the records of official journeys.** Illustrations of these travel-diaries or *acta diurna* are to be found in the Papyri as Wendland points out. See Wilcken, article on *ὑπομνηματισμοί* in *Philologus*, liii. 80 ff.

written in reference to the kingdoms. Mendelssohn reads *τοὺς βασιλεῖς* for *τὰς βασιλείας*, 'written for kings.'

284. **is profitable and appropriate**, following the suggestion of Mendelssohn to read *βίῳ σύμφορον καὶ καθῆκον* for the MSS. *βιοῖ (βιοῖς) σωφρονῶν καὶ κατέχων*, which cannot be translated without infringing the canons of Greek syntax.

286. **give you useful hints**, reading with Wendland *χρήσιμα* for *χρήματα*.

more suitable or . . . educative, *ἐμμελέστερον ἢ μουσικώτερον*. Thackeray renders 'No more harmonious or sweeter music could'st thou find'.

288. **king over them**, reading *ἐπ' αὐτῶν* (Wendland) for *ὑπ' αὐτῶν* 'appointed by them'.

He who is best, reading *τὸν ἄριστον* (with Schmidt) for *τὸ ἄριστον*.

291. **some time.** Wendland attaches this phrase to the previous clause.

greatest achievement in ruling an empire? And he replied, 'That the subjects should continually dwell in a state of peace, and that justice should be speedily administered in cases of dispute.
292 These results are achieved through the influence of the ruler, when he is a man who hates evil and loves the good and devotes his energies to saving the lives of men, just as you consider injustice the worst form of evil and by your just administration have fashioned for yourself an undying reputation, since God bestows upon you a mind which is pure and untainted by any evil.'

293 And when he ceased, loud and joyful applause broke out for some considerable time. When it stopped the king took a cup and gave a toast in honour of all his guests and the words which they had uttered. Then in conclusion he said, 'I have derived the greatest benefit from your presence.
294 I have profited much by the wise teaching which you have given me in reference to the art of ruling.' Then he ordered that three talents of silver should be presented to each of them, and *appointed* one of his slaves to deliver over the money. All at once shouted their approval, and the banquet became a scene of joy, while the king gave himself up to a continuous round of festivity.

295 I have written at length and must crave your pardon, Philocrates. I was astonished beyond measure at the men and the way in which on the spur of the moment they gave answers which
296 really needed a long time to devise. For though the questioner had given great thought to each particular question, those who replied one after the other had their answers to the questions *ready at once* and so they seemed to me and to all who were present and especially to the philosophers to be worthy of admiration. And I suppose that the thing will seem incredible to those who will
297 read my narrative in the future. But it is unseemly to misrepresent facts which are recorded in the public archives. And it would not be right for me to transgress in such a matter as this. I tell the story just as it happened, conscientiously avoiding any error. I was so impressed by the force of their utterances, that I made an effort to consult those whose business it was to make
298 a record of all that happened at the royal audiences and banquets. For it is the custom, as you know, from the moment the king begins to transact business until the time when he retires to rest, for a record to be taken of all his sayings and doings—a most excellent and useful arrangement.
299 For on the following day *the minutes of the* doings and sayings of the previous day are read over before business commences, and if there has been any irregularity, the matter is at once set right.
300 I obtained therefore, as has been said, accurate information from the public records, and I have set forth the facts in proper order since I know how eager you are to obtain useful information.

301 Three days later Demetrius took the men and passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia long, to the island, crossed the bridge and made for the northern districts *of Pharos*. There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the sea-shore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything that they needed for the purpose
302 was placed at their disposal. So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius.
303 And the session lasted until the ninth hour; after this they were set free to minister to their physical
304 needs. Everything they wanted was furnished for them on a lavish scale. In addition to this Dorotheus made the same preparations for them daily as were made for the king himself—for thus he had been commanded by the king. In the early morning they appeared daily at the Court, and
305 after saluting the king went back to their own place. And as is the custom of all the Jews, they washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and
306 translating the particular passage *upon which they were engaged*, and I put the question to them, Why it was that they washed their hands before they prayed? And they explained that it was a token that they had done no evil (for every form of activity is wrought by means of the hands) since in their noble and holy way they regard everything as a symbol of righteousness and truth.

295. **I have written at length,** *εἶπα πλείονα.* Mendelssohn suggests *εἰ πεπλεόνακα* ('if I have been too prolix') and this emendation is accepted by Wendland and Thackeray.

297. **I was so impressed,** or 'after hearing with approval at their own mouth their powers of speech' (Thackeray). For the allusion to the recorders see Wilcken's article mentioned in § 283.

298. **from the moment.** The MSS. read *ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας* for which Mendelssohn reads *ὥρας.* Probably, as Thackeray suggests, the original text ran *ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρξηται* with an ellipse of *ὥρας* (cp. Luke vii. 45) and *ἡμέρας* is an interpolation.

300. **from the public records,** or 'from the keepers of the public records' (Thackeray).

301. **the sea-wall.** The Heptastadion or breakwater which connected Alexandria with the island of Pharos and divided the bay into two main harbours. See the description in Strabo, xvii. 6. 792, and Botti's map of Alexandria in Mahaffy's *Ptolemaic Dynasty.*

302. **making them agree.** Contrast the later traditions which represent the agreement as supernatural. See Introduction ix on Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, Irenaeus, Clement of Alex. and Epiphanius.

304. **Dorotheus** is represented in § 182 as the special officer appointed to look after the needs of Jewish guests.

305. **they washed their hands.** For the Jewish customs of purification see Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 109; the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 591, and the references in the New Test.: Matt. xv. 2, xxiii. 25, 26; Mark vii. 2–5; Luke xi. 38, 39.

306. **every form of activity.** Thackeray compares the statement of Aristobulus (ap. Eusebius, *PE*, viii. 10. 377 a)

307 As I have already said, they met together daily in the place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness and applied themselves to their task. And it so chanced that the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days, just as if this had been arranged of set purpose.

308 When the work was completed, Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presence of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had
309 conferred upon them. They bestowed warm praise upon Demetrius, too, and urged him to have the whole law transcribed and present a copy to their leaders.

310 After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no
311 alteration should be made in it. And when the whole company expressed their approval, they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any one who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making any omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.

312 When the matter was reported to the king, he rejoiced greatly, for he felt that the design which he had formed had been safely carried out. The whole book was read over to him and he was greatly astonished at the spirit of the lawgiver. And he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that none of the historians or the poets have ever thought it worth their while to allude to such a wonderful
313 achievement?' And he replied, 'Because the law is sacred and of divine origin. And some of those who formed the intention *of dealing with it* have been smitten by God and therefore desisted from
314 their purpose.' He said that he had heard from Theopompus that he had been driven out of his mind for more than thirty days because he intended to insert in his history some of the incidents from the earlier and somewhat unreliable translations of the law. When he had recovered
315 a little, he besought God to make it clear to him why the misfortune had befallen him. And it was revealed to him in a dream, that from idle curiosity he was wishing to communicate sacred truths to common men, and that if he desisted he would recover his health. I have heard, too, from the lips
316 of Theodektes, one of the tragic poets, that when he was about to adapt some of the incidents recorded in the book for one of his plays, he was affected with cataract in both his eyes. And when

ὥστε αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ δυνάμεως νοοῦνται θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι. Cp. also the reference to the *Tephilla*, § 159.

310. **the Jewish community**, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος. Though the Jews enjoyed the rights of citizenship at Alexandria, they nevertheless formed an independent and separate community within the city. This community, as Strabo (quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 7. 2) tells us, was presided over by an ἐθνάρχης, 'who governs the people and administers justice among them and sees that they fulfil their obligations and obey orders just like the archon of an independent city.' The use of the term πολίτευμα for the Jewish community is confirmed by the Berenice inscription quoted by Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 246. It is rather striking that there should be no allusion to the ethnarch in the present passage, and that the term πρεσβύτεροι should be used in connexion both with the translators and the community. It almost looks as if the word 'ethnarch' had accidentally dropped out.

311. **They bade them**, so Eusebius. The MSS. of Aristeas read 'He (i. e. Demetrius) gave orders'.

in accordance with their custom, cf. Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32; Rev. xxii. 18 f. Possibly this statement may point to the fact that at the time when the Epistle was written, the text of the LXX had begun to be tampered with. We know that corruptions had crept into the text as early as the time of Philo, and Justin Martyr charges the Jewish authorities with the deliberate excision of many passages; see Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 478–9.

314. **Theopompus**, a Greek historian and rhetorician, born *c.* 380 B.C. at Chios. He became the pupil of Isocrates, who advised him to devote himself to writing history. He lived under the protection of Alexander, and after his death was expelled from Chios: he went to Egypt about 305 B.C., but was coldly received by Ptolemy I. Among the writings ascribed to him are *The Hellenica*, *The Epitome of Herodotus*, *The History of Philip*, and several panegyrics and hortatory addresses, the chief of which is *The Letter to Alexander*. The papyrus fragment of a Greek historian discovered by Grenfell and Hunt is regarded by some authorities as an extract from the *Hellenica* (*Oxyrhynchus Pap.* V, 1908). He is described (*Phot. Cod.* 176) as a busybody (πολυπράγμων), which gives point to the περιεργασάμενος of § 315. Theopompus' writings seem to have been characterized by a pretentious and turgid rhetoric, and a fondness for sensational stories. The fragments which remain of his works are collected in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i, and in *The Fragments of Theopompus and Cratippus* (Oxford, 1909).

earlier and . . . unreliable translations, τινὰ τῶν προηρμηνευμένων ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκ τοῦ νόμου προσιστορεῖν. I follow Wendland in taking ἐπισφαλέστερον with προηρμηνευμένων. Thackeray, however, takes it with προσιστορεῖν and translates, 'when he was too rashly intending to introduce into his history some of the incidents from the law which had previously been translated.' For the reference to Greek translations earlier than the LXX, see note on § 30.

316. **Theodektes** (*c.* 380–340 B.C.), Greek rhetorician and tragic poet, pupil of Isocrates and Plato and friend of Aristotle, lived the greater part of his life at Athens. He is said to have been defeated by Theopompus in the contest for the oratorical prize arranged by Artemisia, though he won the prize for tragedy. He is said to have been victorious eight times out of thirteen dramatic contests. The fragments of his works are collected in Nauck (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1887). See monograph by C. F. Märker (Breslau, 1835), and article in Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.*

in the book. As Thackeray says, 'This seems to be the earliest use of ἡ βίβλος for a collection of sacred writings.'

he perceived the reason why the misfortune had befallen him, he prayed to God for many days and was afterwards restored.

317 And after the king, as I have already said, had received the explanation of Demetrius on this point, he did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should 318 be sacredly guarded. And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judea, for it was only right, he said, that he should now send them home. But when they came back, he 319 would treat them as friends, as was right, and they would receive rich presents from him. He ordered preparations to be made for them to return home, and treated them most munificently. He presented each one of them with three robes of the finest sort, two talents of gold, a sideboard weighing one talent, all the furniture for three couches.

320 And with the escort he sent Eleazar ten couches with silver legs and all the necessary equipment, a sideboard worth thirty talents, ten robes, purple, and a magnificent crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, also bowls and dishes, and two golden beakers to be dedicated to God. 321 He urged him also in a letter that if any of the men preferred to come back to him, not to hinder them. For he counted it a great privilege to enjoy the society of such learned men, and he would rather lavish his wealth upon them than upon vanities.

322 And now Philocrates, you have the complete story in accordance with my promise. I think that you find greater pleasure in these matters than in the writings of the mythologists. For you are devoted to the study of those things which can benefit the soul, and spend much time upon it. I shall attempt to narrate whatever other events are worth recording, that by perusing them you may secure the highest reward for your zeal.

We have elsewhere *βίβλος* or *βιβλίον διαθήκης* (Ecclus. xxiv. 23; 1 Macc. i. 57), *τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου* (1 Macc. i. 56) *τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια* (1 Macc. xii. 9). It is possible, however, that the reference to the *τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον* in 2 Macc. viii. 23 may be earlier. Cp. also the allusion to the line as Scripture, *διὰ τῆς γραφῆς* in § 168.

318. **they would receive rich presents**, *καὶ πολυδωρίας τῆς μεγίστης τεύξεσθαι.* For *πολυδωρίας* (MSS. and Joseph.) Mahaffy (*Class. Rev.* viii. 349) suggests *πολυωρίας*, which is adopted by Wendland and Thackeray, 'They would meet with the utmost consideration at his hands.'

319, 320. **a sideboard.** The MSS. read *κυλίκιον* (in both paragraphs), which generally means goblet or beaker. Wendland suggests *κυλικεῖον*—side-board. 'The form *κυλίκιον*, however, occurs in 1 Macc. xv. 32, where a piece of furniture for supporting vessels is clearly intended, and that is probably the meaning here' (Thackeray).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. A Short Account of the Book.

The Book, or rather Books, which bear the name of Adam belong to a cycle of legendary matter, of which the Jews were fond, and which the Christians took, and developed, from them. It is hard to tell how much belongs to the original Jewish kernel.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 179–81, 'Book of Adam'), in reconstructing this, combines most of the matter to be found in the Greek and Latin versions of the story, even including those parts of the Latin which the editor of the Slavonic saw fit to omit.

The Book opens with the period immediately following the expulsion from paradise, which is treated as a garden of fruit-trees; not in Heaven, but separated only by a low wall from the earth (cf. Apoc. Mos. xvii. 1). If we endeavour to reconstruct the Greek 'Apocalypsis Mosis' by the aid of the Slavonic Life of Adam, we shall be compelled to pass over the opening sections of the Latin 'Vita' and begin with the dream of Eve, which follows immediately on their departure to the west, where they sojourn eighteen years and two months, and where Cain and Abel are born. This dream foreshadows Abel's murder which is then related.[1] The parents are overcome with grief, but comforted by the appearance of Michael, who promises them another son. After this Seth is born.

The story then hastens at once to the death-bed scene where Adam is lying ill, surrounded by his sixty-three children, whom he intends to bless before he dies. Seth is distressed and surprised at his condition, for pain and sickness is to him a thing unknown. Adam tells the story of his fall and God's curse upon him. Adam's cries of woe rouse Seth to action, and at his father's request he undertakes to go with Eve to the gate of paradise, there to pray God to give him oil from the Tree of Life to anoint Adam. On their way they are attacked by a beast (which the Vita wrongly calls a serpent and identifies with the devil); this is merely a sign of the beast's revolt, which followed the Fall (Apoc. Mos. xi). Eve is powerless before it, Seth is bitten, Vit. xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 2 = Apoc. Mos. xii. 1–2 (A) x. 3, but succeeds in escaping by frightening it with God's judgement. Their prayers for mercy are answered by a promise of a pure heart in the future, Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3–5. The Vita turns this into a prophecy of Christ (xlii. 2).

They are told to go back, as Adam will die 'in six days'. On their return Adam abuses Eve, who has brought a curse on all mankind, and asks her to tell their children how she was deceived (the Vita evades this by adding 'after my death'), which she proceeds to do; cf. Apoc. Mos. x, xiv, with Vita xliv. Her fall is told in such a way as to suggest a double element in the source of the narrative. The devil sometimes appears as the inspirer, sometimes rather as the *alias* of the serpent, Apoc. Mos. xvii. The story is brought down to the time of their expulsion from paradise, when they were comforted by a gift of perfumes, seeds for their food, and a promise of future resurrection, Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 4, xxix.

Thereupon Eve witnesses marvellous scenes accompanying Adam's reconciliation, but falls asleep when God comes down to paradise before the burial of Adam.

In answer to the prayer of the angels Adam is pardoned, and his soul given to Michael to be cleansed in the Acherusian stream, Apoc. Mos. xxxvii–xxxix, and kept in paradise till the end of the times, when a resurrection is promised. His body is then buried by the archangels in the neighbourhood of the earthly paradise, Apoc. Mos. xl–xliii = Vita xlviii.

The book ends with a typical Jewish admonition given by Michael, Israel's guardian angel, to Seth not to mourn on the Sabbath day, Vita li, Apoc. Mos. xviii; cf. Jubilees ii. 23, &c.

Chapters xxviii–xl of the Slavonic Vita are in reality a recension of the same subject-matter of the Latin Vita i–x. It deals with the penitence of Adam and Eve and the second temptation of Eve by Satan, and chapters xii–xvii of the Latin Vita explain the envy and fall of Satan.

The Vita also inserts before Eve's death an account of her directions to Seth concerning memorials of her life, which are mentioned by Josephus. Lastly, this version expands in non-

[1] According to the Slavonic, Adam dreams this dream before the birth of his children.

ascetic Jewish tone the story of Cain's birth. Ginzberg (contrary to Israel Levi) seems to have established the Jewish nature of all these pieces. I have given elsewhere my reasons for believing they never formed one book with the rest of the Apoc. Mos.

Two more pieces remain. These are Vit. xxv–xxx—Adam's vision of the future, seen after he 'had eaten of the tree of knowledge', and ending in a specifically Christian prophecy. The other in the Slav. Vit. xxxiii is strongly dualistic in tone, and is taken by Jagić to be a mediaeval interpolation by a writer of the Bogomilian heresy.

For other versions of the story, see 'Ancient Versions,' § 4.

§ 2. Title of the Books.

The title 'Apocalypsis Mosis' (Tischendorf, 1866, Ceriani) is an erroneous one; it perhaps arose through a confusion with the book of 'Jubilees', which was a revelation to Moses through the Angel of the Presence (Jub. i. 29, ii. 1). Cf. heading to Apoc. Mos. (A B C D Arm. slight variations only). See Fuchs in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 507.

Still less can 'Apocalypsis Seth' (Hort) be original. The 'Sethite' character of these books, which is much exaggerated in the case of the Armenian by Preuschen, is reduced to a minimum in the case of the oldest text (cf. Kabisch Liechtenhan in *ZNTW.*, Giessen, 1903, 1906).

It is not the same as the 'Apocalypsis' = 'Testament of Adam' (M. R. James, Renan) in Syriac, Coptic, and Greek Fragment.

Latin and Russian versions simply 'Vita Adae et Evae', to be carefully distinguished from 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' (in Ethiopic), Dillmann and Trumpp's *Adambuch des Morgenlandes.*

According to Ginzberg (*Jew. Encyc.* i. 179), the statement of Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, as to the mention of a Hebrew 'Book of Adam' in the Talmud, from Aboda Zarah 5 a, Gen. R. xxiv. 2, is incorrect, though such a book must have existed whatever its name. Moreover, Zunz mentions also Baba Mezia 86 a—Wajjikra rabb. 181 b, Midrash Koheleth 84 a in support of a book of Adam at the beginning of the third century. Fuchs supposes that the original was the work of a Hellenistic Jew in language influenced by the LXX, Ginzberg would say in Aramaic.

The book in its mediaeval form, and connected with a 'Lignum Crucis' (Holy Rood) legend, had an extensive circulation in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, not only in England, Germany, and Russia, but in Bulgaria, Italy, and Servia, &c., being translated into many languages. The original of these translations is nearly always the Latin, not the Greek form of the story. The exception is the Slavonic version extant in two recensions, which are probably composed out of two or more independent tales. See § 6.

§ 3. The MSS.

1° *Apoc. Mosis.* Six MSS. are at present known of the Apoc. Mosis.

A	Venice.	Thirteenth century.	Tischendorf.
B	Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	Tischendorf.
C	Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	Tischendorf.
D	Milan.	Eleventh century.	Ceriani.
E^1	Paris.	Fifteenth century.	Fuchs.
E^2	Montpellier.		Fuchs.

The names are those of Ceriani, Tischendorf, and Fuchs. I owe my knowledge of the different readings of E^1 and E^2 to the great kindness of Dr. Fuchs, who placed all his notes at my disposal. The knowledge of the other MSS. is derived from Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocryphae*, 1866, and Ceriani, *Monumenta*, v. 1.

It will be observed that all these MSS. are more or less fragmentary with the exception of C. This, however, is often obscure. A, though nearly complete till xxxvi, is rightly regarded by Fuchs as very untrustworthy, and is much spoilt by glosses, Apoc. Mos. xvi. 2, xiv. 2, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 3, xxxii. 4, even while it preserves some good readings, especially xxii. 2 ('judgement'), and retains Apocalypse in xiii, which I believe to be original, and elsewhere lost through influence of Latin version.

D, where it is to be had (i–xvi, xxxvi–xliv) seems the safest to follow; but it appears, especially at the end, to aim too much at clearness and classical Greek, and I have often found myself suspecting that the less easy and more clumsy sentences of C had a closer affinity with the original text; even though conscious that in so doing I have been compelled to depart from the precedent set by Dr. Fuchs, whose work marks an epoch in the study of this literature, and to whom I owe much.

Besides D, like B, though to a less extent, is not above filling up the gaps from the Scriptures (cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, &c.), and altering phrase or word to correspond with a biblical text (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1–2, &c.).

E, like B, is often redundant and diffuse. Its chief interest lies in its very near relationship to the Armenian Version, with which it often agrees against all the others; if not the source of that translation, it is very closely related to it.

In the following translation, I have taken D and C as the chief guides, but, where they are unsatisfactory, have often thought it wiser to follow one of the others. Cf. xxvi. 4 (AB), xxix. 5 (E). I agree with Fuchs that the construction of the true text is 'schwierig' and largely guesswork, but have adopted no reading without comparing all MSS.

2° *Vita Adae et Evae.* Numerous MSS. and versions exist of the Latin Vita, which Meyer has divided into four classes.

Cod. Arund., 326. 10, which I have seen at the British Museum, seems to belong to Class II and contains the additional paragraph describing Solomon's finding of the tables.

To Class III, which contains 'legend of the holy rood' in an expanded form, belong most of the mediaeval versions, e. g. Deutsches Adam-Buch, 'Herlwin', and others.

Meyer's text from which I have translated is based principally on Class I, and omits all the additions in the other classes. Where I have departed from it, I have noted the fact.

Class IV. The text of the Paris MSS. of the eighth or ninth century, often abbreviated and corrupt, is interesting if it is, as Meyer believes, an autograph of the tutor of Charles Martel and shows the early interest taken in the book. It is occasionally used and forms one of the authorities for the text of the long interpolation in Vit. xxix.

§ 4. The Ancient Versions of the Adam Books.

1° *Armenian.* Besides those of the Latin Vita we have two others of the Apoc. Mosis. First, the Armenian (translated by Conybeare in *JQR.*, 1895, vol. vii; Preuschen, *Armen.-Gnostische Adam-Schriften*, 1904) is based on three MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin. This has been published by Mechitarist Fathers at Venice, and contains an edited and expanded version of the tale. Most of the additions and verbal alterations, especially those not already found in E, are in a Gnostic direction, and their presence as well as that of other similar Gnostic works on Seth, &c., has led Preuschen to suggest a Gnostic origin for the whole Adam literature, which is an untenable hypothesis. The present Arm. text is from a Gk. MS. akin to E.

The names of herbs in xxix. 6 are transliterations of the Greek. Sea 'not made with hands' (ἀχειροποίητον) is a scribal emendation of (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) Ἀχερουσίαν; cf. 'Hojil' for 'Jael' in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 7.

2° *Slavonic.* The Slavonic has been edited with Latin and German translations by Jagić from nine MSS. It presents longer and shorter (South Slav.) recensions of the same book. (*Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad. Wissensch.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., xlii, Vienna, 1893). Jagić is convinced that these are from the same original. The present version is closely parallel to the Greek from which, like the Armenian (Kabisch), it is evidently translated; but at xxxvii, Eve goes on to tell a tale of penance in the water on the lines of that described in Vita i–xii, though with many significant variations, e.g. '44' for '37' (Slav. Vit. xxxv. 3). The devil's story of his own Fall, Vit. xii–xviii, is left out, but another incident of the devil claiming rule over man (Slav. Vit. xxxiii–xxxiv), strongly dualistic and perhaps connected with Bogomilian heresy, takes its place. The end of the book is very abbreviated and several passages are rudely Christianized by a phrase, e. g. xlvi. 1 ('Christ'), xlvii. 3 ('Sign of the Cross'), l. 1.

The misunderstanding of the old Hebrew name of Jah-El had led to the creation of a new and imaginary angel named 'Joel' (see notes). While the beast who attacks the penitents is described not as a serpent but a 'cotur', which Vollmer (*Deutsches Adam-Buch*, 1908) would translate as *felis* = 'a cat.'

The old Jewish ending in praise of the Sabbath (Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li) is obscured.

3° *Christian and Gnostic.* Besides these Christian editions of the Jewish original, numerous other versions of the Adam tales exist, to which a Christian or Gnostic author can definitely be assigned.

Such are the Gnostic 'Testament' or 'Apocalypse of Adam'—the two names belong to two recensions—in Syriac and Arabic, rightly mentioned by Renan as the piece referred to in Gelasius' decree, 'Liber qui appellatur Penitentia Adae Apocryphus.' Renan thinks its liturgy of 'the hours' became through Coptic and then Apost. Constitutions, viii–xxiv, a chief source for determining the 'Canonical Hours'.

It is probable that this book (which is mainly concerned with an elaborate breviary and angelology) has borrowed from the Apoc. Mos. xxxvi–xl its account of the gloom of sun and moon after Adam's death and the funeral carried out by the 'virtues' (cf. Vita Ad. xxi). It has been used in turn by the Ethiopic Adam Book, which follows it in bringing the story down to the prophecy of Christ, of whom Seth, not Adam, is regarded as the prototype (cf. Gloss in Slav. Vita, xlvi). This latter has taken largely from a Syriac work, *The Cave of Treasure*, translated by Bezold into German, *Die Schatzhöhle*. Hort supposed this might be derived from the Ethiopic, but this is very unlikely. Both these works are strongly Christian and plainly ascetic. In both, 'sons of God' (Gen. vi. 1) = 'sons of Seth'. Holiness consists in celibacy.

All these later works differ from our books in making Adam's life and death but a starting-point for further chronicles, prophecies, and expectations of later ages. In the last two, the point of Adam's death lies in the history of the fortunes of his corpse in its progress to Mount Calvary. This is embalmed and placed in a cave with the treasures the Magi are to bring to the second Adam (this is the new version of the fragrant herbs for which Adam made request in the Apoc. Mosis xxix).

The *Conflict*[1] is the latest and most elaborate, but this work and the *Schatzhöhle* are entirely Christian, and wholly unlike our works, though they employ very little new material.

§ 5. Date of Original Text.

Terminus ad quem. Frequently the principal means of ascertaining the date of ancient books is the nature of the ideas which appear in their pages. In the case of the Books of Adam as in the 'Odes' of Solomon historical allusions are conspicuously absent. The chief, if not the only criterion of date, is the relation of religious notions to those of other works. Still we are in a position at once to place the composition both of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita Adae before the appearance of the Ethiopic Adambuch (dated to seventh century by Dillmann and Malan; fifth century by Charles, 2 En., Intro. § 5, p. xviii) which borrows largely from both; and also before the Armenian version which dates, perhaps, from a period before 360 (Preuschen). The mention of the Acherusian lake (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) is perhaps the original of the Apoc. Pauli xxii which was 'revealed' in A.D. 380 (Tisch.). Charles (*Encycl. Brit.*, ii. 175) dates it A.D. 388 from internal evidence.

Meyer thinks the Vita Adae xlii (= Ev. Nicodemi xix of A. D. 405–50) was a later interpolation into the text of Vita which existed before. Bousset thinks that the interpolation in Vita xxix, 'maior quam prius,' is part of a Jewish Apocalypse to which a Christian has added a long piece (like a gloss). If so, he thinks it refers to Herod's temple, which was built in the author's lifetime. For another view of this, see my note *in loc.*

Only general considerations remain to fix the date more exactly, but they are the most important. We have ample evidence to prove (1) that the contents are Jewish; (2) that the tone and temper is earlier than the Golden Age of the Rabbis, e.g. it has no polemic against the Christians; (3) that the Theology and Eschatology are that of the later Judaism and akin to that of the 2 Enoch.

There is little doubt that the author of the Apoc. Mos. is indebted to the latter book, or the school where it originated, for some of his most characteristic traits, e. g. its conception of the Tree of Life and of the sacred oil (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3), the sin of Eve, and the lake of purification, the 'seven Heavens', &c. His relation to the older books of Enoch is more remote and his angelology is more developed than even that in the 'Parables' (1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi). The Demonology outside the Vita xiii–xvii is of a pre-Christian type, and Kabisch may be right in claiming that 2 Cor. xi. 14 is quoted from our text or more likely from the source of our text. Of the angelology and the eschatology, especially the doctrine of the Heavens, the same is true. See §§ 7–9.

It is equally certain that the Book (apart from brief interpolations and possibly Vita xxv–xxix) is of purely Jewish origin. As Ginzberg, Kabisch, and Fuchs unanimously declare, there is absolutely nothing specifically Christian in the contents. Many of the cited Christian phrases, e. g. 'son of wrath' (Apoc. Mos. iii. 2), are Hebraisms and in accordance with Rabbinic usage. (Cf. Hort's list with Ginzberg's article, 'Book of Adam,' in *Jew. Encyc.*) The complete absence of references,

[1] In *Conflict*, Bk. i, the following appear to be derived from the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita:—vi, xvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxvii (Acherusian lake); xxviii = Apoc. Mos. vi. 2, xxix. 3; Vita xxxi. 1; v. xx = Apoc. Mos. xlii. 4; vi = Vita xiii, xviii, xv. 3; cf. Koran Sura ii. 30; xviii = Vita xxxvii–xl; ix, xxi = Vita iii. 1; xvii = Apoc. Mos. xvi; xxxii, xxxiii = Vita vi–x; xxxvii = Vita xxxvi. 2; Apoc. Mos. ix. 3; xxxviii. 2 = Vita xlii = Evangel Nicodemi xix. 1; xlv. 9 = Apoc. Mos. x. 1–2, xi. 2; Vita xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 2; xxxix = Vita iv. 2, v. 2.

The 'water of life' in *Conflict* is not referred to in Apoc. Mos. or in Vita (save interpolation in Vita xxix). It is Christian substitute for 'oil of life' (Apoc. Mos. ix, xiii, xxviii; Vita xxxvi, xl–xlii).

direct or indirect, to Christian notions of Incarnation, Redemption, even of Christian higher moral teaching, would make it impossible to assign to most of the work a Christian origin. The startling abruptness of Christian interpolations serves, as in the case of Test. Twelve Patriarchs *passim*, to clinch the argument from silence; which is the stronger, since the doctrine of a future judgement and future resurrection is clearly taught (Apoc. Mos. x, xii, xiii, xxviii, xxxvii, xli, xliii, Vita xxxix, xlvii, li); even though the Messiah plays no part and no judge other than God is mentioned. The Resurrection is rather connected in both the Vita and the Apoc. Mos. with the weekly rest of the Sabbath. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii, Vita li with Jub. iii. 17. Nor can Preuschen's theory of a Gnostic (Sethite) origin for these pieces be accepted, even in the case of the Armenian version (though we have sought to show in the notes how this version has been subsequently modified in a Sethite direction on the lines of 'the Gospel of Seth' and other Adam legends preserved only in Armenian, which have so largely modified Preuschen's conclusion); see his Adam Books, ii–vii. See § 9.

Terminus a quo. Hort was ready to admit a date anywhere in the first three centuries for the Apoc. Mos. It seems certain that the whole material contained in our Adam Books belongs to a period not earlier than the first century A.D. or later than the fourth century; but the uniform absence of polemic against the Christians, the wide and tolerant view of the future of the Gentiles, the conception of Adam's or rather Eve's sin (so nearly akin to that in Paul and 4 Ezra), the old simple hopes of the future Resurrection, the glaring dissimilarity of the Christian interpolated passages (Vita xlii, xxix; Apoc. Mos. xliii–end, xxxvi–end, A only) render the earlier date far the more probable for the bulk of the work. The absence of any Messiah in the future prospects (see § 9) is yet another link with the 2 Enoch, and points not obscurely to an author of 'the Dispersion', perhaps in Alexandria. Since it is certain that both the Latin, the Slavonic, and the Armenian, are from a Greek original, though ultimately parts of the book may be based on Hebrew documents (see § 5[a]), seeing that the text is strongly coloured by Hebrew words and phrases, a further proof is forthcoming that the author or authors were Jewish Hellenists. For the date of the several parts, or books, included in this material, and especially for the relation of the Greek Apoc. Mos. to the Latin Vita, see § 6.

§ 5[a]. Date of Versions of the Adam Books.

Armenian. The MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin were written by Mechitarist fathers in 1539. Preuschen ascribes the earliest translation in Armenian to an Archontic heretic Eutaktus in 360, but this is bound up with his view of the Gnostic character of these works. Conybeare would admit a date in fifth century.

Slavonic. Jagić ascribes the earliest of these MSS. to a date not later than the fourteenth century, but the existence of a second Bulgarian recension probably derived from it renders this date none too early. Both are from the Greek, much modified by similar tales in the Russian 'Palaea', the Bohemian 'Life of Adam' (containing also parts of the Vita absent here), and other Polish and Slavonic Adam tales of the sixteenth century.

Syriac. 'The Cave of Treasure.' Bezold assigns the *Schatzhöhle* to sixth century. Undoubtedly written in Syriac, which language it declares to be 'the queen of tongues', the speech of paradise and of Heaven. Written not by S. Ephraem but by a Christian and one of his disciples. Hort thinks this and 'Conflict' are based on fourth century traditions.

Syriac and Arabic. 'The Apocalypse or Testament of Adam.' Probably not later than fourth century. Decret. Gelasii-Lücke, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, i. 232, referred to by Syncell. *Chron.* xviii, Cedren. I. In Syriac, Arabic and Greek fragment. Renan decides it is early Gnostic. Hort says not Gnostic but 'lies outside Greek and Latin Christianity'.

Ethiopic. 'Conflict of Adam and Eve.' From Ethiopic (Kraft's) MSS. Since the author of the 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' criticises Syrians, Greeks and Hebrews, he was none of these (Hort). Dillmann assigns it to the seventh, Charles to the sixth century. The original was Arabic.

Gospel of Eve. A Gnostic work describing Eve's seduction by Satan and the birth of Cain and Abel, sons of Satan (the Serpent). Epiphanius, *adv. Haereses*, xxvi. Date uncertain. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 95. (1712.)

Armenian Adam Books bound up in MSS. with Armen. Version of the Vita Adae, treated as one, by Preuschen, include 'Gospel of Seth', 'Words of Adam to Seth', 'Tale of the Sons of Adam', 'Tale of the penance of Adam and Eve', 'Death of Adam', 'Tale of the Creation of Adam and Eve', 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve.' Compare Story of Satan's trick in 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve' with Slav. Vita Ad. xxxi, xxxii.

All these are Christian, or Gnostic anti-Jewish pieces (in 'Death of Adam', Jerusalem is called 'place of the fallen angels'), and are far more akin to the 'Conflict', especially in attitude to celibacy, than to the Armenian Version of Apoc. Mos. Probably this latter was modified to agree with them.

Seth is here always the hero. Satan's fall is narrated, and history brought down to Christ as in other Christian books. The Trinity is definitely and crudely taught. Preuschen's derivation from Archontic heretics through Eutaktus A.D. 360 may be right. (Cf. Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* xl–xlvi.) They show a complete knowledge of the contents of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita (except i–xii).

§ 6. Composite nature of the Text.

The Problems. It is plain at first glance, that the three versions with which we are here concerned, though exhibiting a great deal of unity, are also in some respects strikingly divergent. In § 1 we found that to the main narrative in Apoc. Mos. a number of separate pieces are attached both in the Slav. and Latin versions [1] of the legend. Before discussing the nature and origin of these, we must pause to justify the position. 1°. That the Apoc. Mos. and not the Vita is the main narrative. 2°. That this story possesses a unity of its own which is disturbed by the addition of the separate legends referred to.

Both positions have been and will be challenged; and it must be admitted that neither can be proved to demonstration. The defence of the first is based on Dr. Fuchs' masterly essay in his introduction to these books. He seeks to show that (*a*) the material of the Apoc. Mos. was certainly before the editor of the Vita. It may further be urged (*b*) that the Vita was unknown or at least unemployed by the author of the Apoc. Mos.

(*a*) It is hard to see how any careful reader of the books can deny this first proposition. From xxix–li the Vita is little more than a condensed abstract of the picturesque and extravagant descriptions of the Apoc. Mos. To suppose that these represent a working up of the earlier simple language of the Vita seems to be a direct misunderstanding of the methods and style of Jewish Apocalyptic, as they appear in all the mass of literature which still remains. Moreover, if these phantasies are a later production, despite the countless parallels in Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature, some few of which are adduced in our notes, how is it that they have received so faint a colouring from their presumably Christian authors? In § 9 it is intended to illustrate the purely Jewish nature of the theology which these sections exhibit even down to the fact that Jehovah still bears his ancient name; that marriage is still regarded as a holy thing, and not denounced as by the monks who wrote romances for Christians. Besides, the Vita, though it omits Eve's tale (Apoc. Mos. xv–xxx) in its proper place, has incorporated practically the whole of the material therein contained; thus the division of paradise into two parts for Adam and Eve (Vita xxxii. 2) is taken from Apoc. Mos. xv. 2; Vita xi–xvii seems almost like an expansion of Apoc. Mos. xvi. 3; Vita xliv contains preface to Eve's tale, only postponed by three additional words, 'after my death'; but the most striking fact of all is that the account of their attempt to get food in Vita v does not prevent Vita xliii from taking Eve's account in Apoc. Mos. xxix; leaving out the 'seeds for his food' and delaying the events till after their quest for the oil of life, making this a sort of substitute for that which they were 'not to receive now'.

Lastly, the interpolation from Ev. Nicodemi replaces an obviously Jewish, if not original, Apocalypse, in this same section of the Apoc. Mos. Since this interpolation is found in Vit. xiii (eighth century) earliest MS. of Vita, it is of some age, though not, perhaps, in the first text.

(*b*) On the other hand, the present text of the Apoc. Mos. shows no trace of the special matter peculiar to the two other versions, though this matter is of Jewish origin, as Ginzberg has shown that it is *well known in other Jewish works.* The long account of the devil's fall, not in the Slavonic, but closely akin to the legends on which both the Slav. Palaea Historica, the Koran, and the Mandean Book of Adam are based, presupposes a wholly different demonology to that in the Apoc. Mos. The nearest approach is in Apoc. Mos. xxxix. 3, but 'those who have hearkened to him' is most naturally taken of wicked men. The whole piece seems to be introduced through the second failure of Eve, which is omitted even in the Slavonic, and never hinted at in the Apoc. Mos. The elaborate Midrash on Cain's birth (Vita xvii–xxii) has no parallel in the Apoc. Mos., though it is thoroughly Jewish and quite innocent of any doctrinal application, to which the author might have objected. The explanation of the way Adam and Eve obtained food from God (whose object is obscured by the new ending put on the story to find room for Satan's narrative) is not only different from, but inconsistent with, the story that Adam obtained this help from God by the angel's prayers at the time of his expulsion, Apoc. Mos. xxix, a relic of which has, as we have seen, been retained by the Vita in a wrong connexion. The forty days' fast in Jordan is entirely ignored in Apoc. Mos.,

[1] Both these seem plainly translations from the Greek. For Slav. see §§ 4, 5. In the Latin Vita, apart from transliteration of Greek names of herbs (Vita xliii. 3) 'cinnamomum et calaminthen et nardum', there are many Graecisms, e.g. *plagas* = πληγάς (Vita xxxiv. 1); *plasma* = πλάσμα (Vita xlvi. 3, cf. xxvii. 2); *sindones byssinas* (xlviii. 4), σινδόνας βυσσίνας.

nor is fasting mentioned as a means by which Eve and Seth may induce God to grant them the Tree of Life. The fact that this tale is amplified in the Pirke Eliezer, where forty-nine days are assigned to it, does not even prove an early origin, for Israel Levi in *JQR*, 1895, has shown that this work is subsequent to the Mohammedan movement and mentions the Mosque of Omar. Early or not, the story is ignored by the author of the Apoc. Mos., and its inclusion in the Slav. version tends to show rather the acquaintance of the Slav. editor with several Adam books, *of which the original Greek form of the Vita may be one*, for it comes very awkwardly after God has granted to Adam 'the seeds for his food'; it contrasts alike with the heretical interpolation of xxxii–xxxiii, and the bald statement of the Vita xxii. 1 that God gave them 'seeds for their food' after Cain's birth (a new version of the Apoc. Mos. xxix). Lastly, its triumphant conclusion in the Slav. version compels the alteration of Adam's words to Eve at the close of her tale (Slav. Vita xl; Apoc. Mos. xxxi).

The final directions of Eve concerning the tables (though the story is as old as Josephus) are not represented in the Apoc. Mos., even though she tells her story to warn future generations (Apoc. Mos. xxx. 1).

Vita xxv–xxix, quite apart from the markedly Christian ending, which is probably a later gloss, is somewhat removed in tone, temper, and theology, from the rest of the Vita, and the whole of the Apoc. Mos. Adam and Seth are here glorified, despite a possible reference to Apoc. Mos. xxiv. 1. Paradise is treated not as the garden of Eden, but as a celestial realm, the abode of God (Vita xxv. 3, cf. 2 Enoch viii) into which Adam is translated long before 'the end of the times' (Apoc. Mos. xiii) in contradiction to the whole tenor of both the Vita and the Apoc. Mosis.[1]

Still more astonishing is the new attitude towards knowledge and the Tree of Knowledge, the eating of which has brought, not death, but supernatural wisdom (xxix. 2, xxvii. 3).[2]

Besides these facts, the new names for God, 'Light,' 'Life,' 'Almighty,' 'Power,' &c., the new date for the 'translation'[3] immediately after the expulsion, the abrupt entrance of the story into the narrative, no preface or attempt to soften the break, are comparatively insignificant, though sufficiently remarkable features. It seems possible that the author of this piece had both our works before him—e. g. xxv. 3 seems borrowed from the account of God's coming to paradise in Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3, cf. xxxiii. 2—but he used them merely as ornament to his own wholly original vision, of which the ending seems to be lost. I confess it seems strange to me that the separate nature of this piece has not been more remarked.[4] It appears as if the editor of the Latin Vita put this and other pieces together with little regard to order or probability. His object was, perhaps, merely the collection of all the oldest legends relating to our 'first father'.

The Apoc. Mos. is thus in our view the oldest document. This was then combined with other Jewish legends about Adam and Eve and translated into Latin. Possibly the translator incorporated xxv–xxix of the Vita, perhaps also xiii–xvii, from earlier Jewish sources. The addition of Christian touches, e. g. Jordan for Gihon (Vit. vi), &c., and interpolations, such as xlii, may have been made subsequently. Whether the Apoc. Mos. as it stands is a complete unity is a hard question. The text is at any rate much injured and disarranged, and the original hard to find. I have taken the liberty of altering the order in my translation of xxxix and xxxvii in deference to a suggestion in Dr. Fuchs' edition.

§ 7. Authorship.

I have attempted to show, in examining the date of these works, that the author of the original Apocalypsis Mosis, and very probably also the editor, who put together the other legends concerning Adam and Eve contained in the Latin Vita, was a Jew of the Dispersion writing between A. D. 60 and 300, and probably in the earliest years of this period.

The Greek text is full of Hebraic words and phrases, of which Fuchs (in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 511) gives a fairly full list; most of these will be found mentioned in the notes with a few others, such as the constant use of καί, where we should expect ὥστε (Deissmann, *Light from Ancient East*, shows this use of 'and' was common in Greek popular dialect of N.T. times), and a very frequent use of cognates, 'die the death', 'weep with tears', &c., or plays on words, which are so frequent in the Old Testament and later Jewish books (see critical notes).

Perhaps the most striking of Dr. Fuchs' examples, besides Jael (xxix–xxxiii), (Jahwe-Elohim)

[1] Since the Adam literature is dependent on 2 Enoch, the reference to the 'Paradise of Righteousness' in this section is quite consistent with its belonging to this literature. As regards Adam's *temporary* translation see note 3. —[Gen. Editor.]

[2] This idea is Judaistic and pre-Christian: cf. 1 Enoch xxxii. 6.—[Gen. Editor.]

[3] Adam is not here finally translated but only temporarily in order to receive the revelation. The same type of translation is found in the Books of Enoch and other Apocalypses.—[Gen. Editor.]

[4] The Vision in xxv–xxix is already referred to in the Apoc. Mos. iii.—[Gen. Editor.]

are Ἀλληλούια (xliii); λόγοι παρανομίας (xxi) = 'words of Belial' דברי בליעל (cf. Ps. Sol. iv. 11) and the strange names for Cain (Diaphotos or Barekhooh, or Adiaphotos I) and Abel (Amilabes see note on i. 1): σκεῦος ἀχάριστον (xxvi. 1), ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου (I confess I do not understand why Fuchs says 'nicht als ein Wortspiel zu beurteilen'); on the contrary, the parallel in Vita seems to prove this. The curious use of the relative and the article with the infinitive in conjunction with the preposition ἐν may stand for Hebrew ל or even ב, e. g. xvi. 1 ῥῆμα ἐν ᾧ, cf. τρόπον ἐν ᾧ (xxx. i), ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ φυλάσσειν ἡμᾶς (xv. 2), ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ῥέει ἐξ αὐτοῦ (xiii. 2). Other Hebraisms may be exclamations such as Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, ii. 2 cf. 1 Sam. iii. 4–5; ζῇ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι (xviii), cf. 2 Kings xi. 1. The obvious error in A. M. xxv. 1 ἐν ματαίοις (see note) is a strong evidence of a Hebrew source, also οὗ εἶπεν μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (xxi. 3).

On the other hand, most of the quotations are from LXX (Fuchs, 511 f.), and for Hebrew conceptions such as 'Gan Eden', Sheôl, Gehenna; Greek words παράδεισος, Ἀχερουσία (or Ἀχέρουσα) are employed, or phrases, e. g. τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (Apoc. Mos. xxxix).

Dr. Fuchs seems to rest his faith on an Aramaic original from which his Hellenist has translated; or a supposed 'Book of Adam', containing all existing traditions on the subject. If such existed, it was probably not the work of a single author. For any nearer determination of the author's place and time, our only guide is the author's literary connexion with other works whose date is approximately known. Since a fuller treatment of the theology of this work is given in § 9, while its influence on subsequent writings is discussed in § 8, it must suffice here to point out some of the links connecting it with earlier literature. It is, as we have seen, a commentary on the ancient books of the Law written from a didactic standpoint. As such it belongs to a period when reflection on the Old Testament narratives had passed through a considerable process of development and reached some striking conclusions as to the real events connected with 'the Fall' and its consequences upon the race of men. The blessing of deliverance from this curse (not restricted as in the Palestinian 4 Ezra to the Jews, but extended to all men) is taught as a hope in the future, but it is not connected with a Messiah. (This omission is of course soon supplied by Christian interpolators in Slav. and Latin versions.) There is, therefore, no polemic in the book, though it moves in the circle of ideas familiar to readers of Paul and 4 Ezra (cf. 4 Ezra iii. 21, iv. 30, vii. 118), esp. Apoc. Mos. x. 2, xiv. 2 (cf. Rom. v. 12–14); but a 'Christ' as either the Jews or the Christians expected him is wholly ignored (whereas in 4 Ezra vii he is attacked); as he is in the 2 Enoch. As in Paul, the mercy of God (quite unlike 4 Ezra and Apoc. Bar.) is repeatedly dwelt on, but God pities man 'because he made him' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 2), not because 'Christ died for him'; cf. Rom. iv. 25, 30.

(Only in Apoc. Mos. xxviii is a condition attached to the promise of Resurrection, 'if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil,' but this is not to be compared with the doctrine of works of merit as it is taught in Apoc. Baruch; cf. esp. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 12.)

It is perhaps not without significance that sacrifice, though alluded to in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 3, iv. 2, is not treated as a cause of God's pardon to Adam; which is due to God's mercy and the angel's prayers (Apoc. Mos. xxxv–xxxvii; cf. 2 En. lxi. 4).

The resemblance to the Pauline teaching is the more remarkable since Everling (*Paulinische Demonologie*) and Thackeray (*St. Paul and Contemporary Thought*) have shown that the two appear to agree very closely in their estimate of Eve's part in the fall of man. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 10, esp. 1 Tim. ii. 14 and 2 Cor. xi. 3 and 13–15. (See Thackeray's note on pp. 53–4.) Cf. Apoc. Mos. xix. 1, 2, 3 with xvii. 1 = Vita ix and Apoc. Mos. xxv. 3; 2 En. xxxi. 1, Sir. xxv. 23; Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, x. 2 = Vita iii. 2, v. 3. Cf. Philo, Quaestiones, 1–33.

2 Cor. xi. 14 reads almost like a quotation from Apoc. Mos. xvii or its prototype. It is of comparatively minor importance that Everling notices the close resemblance of Paul's early conception of the Parousia in 1 Thess. ii. 14 with that portrayed in Apoc. Mos. xxii; while 'the Paradise in the Third Heaven' of 2 Cor. xii. 2 is identical with that in Apoc. Mos. xl. 1, xxxvii. 5. These are common features in the Rabbinic writings, though Talmud (Ber. Rabb. vi, Chagiga 12 b) changed the order of the Heavens (see Charles, 2 En. xxxviii).

If Kabisch goes too far in identifying our Apoc. Mosis with the source used by St. Paul, it seems at least tenable that S. Paul and the author of the 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of Apoc. Mos. and moved in the same circle of ideas; profoundly modified in St. Paul's case by his Christian convictions; in the case of 2 Enoch by the author's interest in the Philonic and Platonic speculations, e. g. of Pre-Existence; in the case of the author of Apoc. Mos. by his love of the picturesque and extravagant use of Jewish Haggada. In that case, we may assign the original nucleus of the Apoc. Mos., of which our Greek copy is a slightly revised version, to the middle or end of the first century A. D. and picture the author as a religious Jew of Alexandria.[1]

[1] If the author was an Alexandrian Jew, then he must have drawn on Hebrew or Aramaic sources, since the text in certain passages presupposes mistranslations of a Semitic original.—[Gen. Editor.]

§ 8. Influence on Later Literature.

Some traditions included in the Latin version are not without early attestation. In the Vita L., the request of Eve concerning the two 'tables', which are to commemorate her life and Adam's, is probably parallel with, not derived from, the legend in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 2. 3, perhaps from a Babylonian original.[1] See note *in loc.*

The way by which Satan secured his bond over man (Slav. Vita xxxiii–iv) appears in a new form in the Arm. 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve', ii, iii, connected with fear of darkness; cf. also Aboda Zara 8 a, Conflict of Adam and Eve, I, xii; both appear to be of later origin. But the devil's claim seems to have appeared in embryo form also in the original 'Assumption of Moses' as reconstructed by Charles from later allusions (Charles, *Ass. Mosis*, p. 106).

The story of the serpent putting the poison of lust on the fruit (connected with Rabbinic teaching of yeṣer hara (יֵצֶר הָרָע) 4 Ezra's 'evil seed' in man) has been frequently dwelt upon in the Rabbis and in the Jewish Apocalypses (now Christianized), Slav. Bar. xcvii, Apoc. Abraham xxiii (cited by Ginzberg).

The glory of Adam and Eve before the Fall, the brightness they lost, the Resurrection that was promised to Adam, the nature of the serpent's temptation, the limbs of the serpent, the kind of the tree of knowledge, the trumpet of Michael the guardian angel of Eve, the judgement of God coming with his angels, the mutilation of the serpent, all are enumerated in Rabbinic literature (see notes on Apoc. Mos. xvii, xviii, xx, xxvi, xxxii–xxxvii, xxix, &c.).

Far from showing no repentance, Adam is regarded already in Jub. xix. 24 as a righteous patriarch, and the nature of his penance is described in Erubin 18 b, Ab. Zara 18 a, Ab. R. Nath. i (cited by Ginzberg). The sacrifice of fragrant herbs offered by Adam (xxix) and the failure of Cain to bury Abel (xl) are both already known to the author of Jubilees. With the seventy-two 'plagues' of God's curse on Adam in Apoc. Mos. viii. 2; cf. Mishna, *Neg.* i. 4 (Ginzberg), as also God's words in Targ. Jer. iii. 9, with Apoc. Mos. viii. 1 (= xxiii. 1). The later scenes in God's care of Adam's soul and body after death are all to be found in the Rabbinic commentaries, very likely derived from this book. The 'Apocalypse' or 'Testament of Abraham', which according to James, *Texts and Studies*, and Kohler (*JQR*, 1895, 581–601), is in the main pre-Christian, Jewish, or Essene, and certainly dates before Origen, i. e. circ. A. D. 200, has taken much from our book for the material on which it is based; concerning the nature of the Fall, the tree of which they ate, even the old Hebrew name of Jael for God, also the seventy-two kinds of death (cf. Apoc. Mos. viii. 2, seventy-two 'plagues' or 'strokes').

With regard to the more general features of belief in angels, seven 'Heavens', two abodes of Paradise, 'chariot of cherubim,' revolt of the beasts, Acherusian lake, &c., see § 9, 'Theology.' These, alike in Christian and Jewish Apocalypse, form a large body of common ground not derived from a single work, but the crystallized conceptions of generations. Cf. art. 'Apocalyptic' in *Jewish Encyc.*

When we come to a consideration of Christian, Gnostic, and Moslem productions, the suspicion of a direct influence becomes more pressing, though it is still hard to decide in individual cases. It has already appeared that both Syriac *Schatzhöhle* and Ethiopic *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, and especially the latter, are full of comments on, and expansions of, the subject-matter of both the Vita and the Apoc. Mos. A reader of these works and of the Gnostic Armenian Tales of Adam and Seth, and the Syriac 'Testament of Adam', will be struck at once by the contrast of the tone and likeness of the events narrated in the two literary cycles. The most marked characteristic of these Christian and Gnostic books is the new part played by the ascetic life as such. Ascetic touches, e. g. division of paradise for males and females (Vita xxxii = Apoc. Mos. xv), Eve's 'sin of the flesh' (Apoc. Mos. xxv), the fasting in Jordan (Vita i–xii), the birth of Cain after the Expulsion from Eden (Apoc. Mos. i, Vita xix–xxi) are not wanting in our Adam books; but they are far removed from the way of thinking presented by those products of the pious imagination of monks, where it is on account of their fasting and celibacy that the children of Seth are styled 'Sons of God', and live apart on a holy mountain; where the temptation of Adam is an incitement to marry Eve, where long years of separation between husband and wife are only brought to an end by the special command of God (even as Noah is only induced to take a wife against his will by the same command), where fasting is a constant practice, and celibacy a necessary mark of saintliness.

In the 'Testament' yet another feature of our books is taken up and enormously expanded. This is the old Hebrew notion of the sympathy of the elements, conceived almost as angels (so in 1 En. lxxxvi, 'those stars', also xxi. 3) in the sorrows of men. The prayers of the sun and moon for Adam (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi–xxxvii, condensed in Vita xlvi) and the darkness of the sun in the presence of God (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi = 2 En. xiv. 2 (Charles' note), cf. Vita viii, Slav. Vit. xxxvii), are the basis of the elaborate poetical description of the combined intercessions of all the powers of

[1] This seems to be a late development of the myth found in Jubilees viii. 3. See my edition *in loc.*—[Gen. Editor.]

Heaven, of which we are told in this work. The arrangement into hours of day and night is perhaps based on Gnostic imaginations of the 'aeons' of the world, but serves to give a grandeur and completeness to the representation. A more direct reference to the words of Apoc. Mos. xxxv is to be found possibly in the Dormitio Mariae xxxviii (Tisch.), a late Christian book, condemned in Decret. Gelasii vi. 28, and perhaps this account is copied from Apoc. Mos. Probably the censing by angels of Mary's corpse in Dorm. Mar. xxvi repeats idea of Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4.

The pleading of Seth and Eve for the oil of mercy is probably taken down by the author of the Ev. Nicodemi xix direct from our text (Apoc. Mos. xiii = Vita xli), though in a later form (but before Ethiopic 'Conflict', sixth century) of the Latin version his own statement of the promise has taken the place of the Jewish 'Apocalypse' in Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3–5; where its presence seems to me (with Fuchs, Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 509) to need no apology.

Similarly the Apoc. Pauli xxii seems to have taken the name 'Acherusian lake', though not the thing, which is very old, from Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3; cf. *Orac. Sibyl.* i. 302, ii. 341. Apoc. Pauli xliv claims for Sunday rest and peace even in Hell, which Jews and Essenes ascribed to the Sabbath, as in Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li.

§ 9. Theology of the Apocalypsis Mosis.

Nothing could more effectually demonstrate that the Apocalypsis Mosis originated in a foreign city than the complete absence, outside the manifest insertion in Vita xxix, of any reference to the Jerusalem temple; unless 'the place where he was accustomed to pray', on which the Moslems learnt to build their reverence for the sacred Caaba, may be taken as a distant allusion (Vit. xxx. 1 = Apoc. Mos. v. 1) to some specially holy place. This distinguishes it from the 'Assumptio Mosis', the work of a Palestinian, a Pharisaic Quietist, without a Messiah. Nor, as we have seen, does the author follow his teacher, the author of 2 Enoch (xlii. 6, lix. 1, 2, lxvi. 2), in giving prominence to sacrifice, which is here treated as entirely subsidiary, and plays no part in attaining the desired pardon. Yet the God he pictures, like the future he prophesies, is a naïve and childlike conception only one step removed from the primitive figure in Genesis. Despite occasional higher flights, e. g. xxxvii, Eve's prayers in xxxii. 2 and xlii. 4–8, the studied anthropomorphism is so marked as almost to suggest an antiquarian design. In this respect, he goes far beyond 2 Enoch. God not only speaks to Adam and Eve (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1, xxviii. 1, xxix. 5), comes to the garden in a chariot of his Cherubim (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3), or as Slav. has it, 'on their shoulders', sits on a throne placed at the tree of life (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 4), rebukes the angels for being more merciful than Himself (Apoc. Mos. xxvii. 4; cf. Apoc. Abraham xxviii), puts out his hand and lifts up Adam from the Acherusian lake after handing him over to Michael to be dealt with, comes down to supervise the arrangements for Adam and Abel's burial (xxxviii. 3–5), and holds a conversation first with Adam's soul (xxxix), and then with his corpse (xli. 1, 3). Yet despite this curious humbling of the Almighty, the author shows many traces of the new and transcendent view of His attributes, which was causing men to lift Him ever further and further out of reach. Though God often speaks to Adam, his appearance after the Fall is not described as in Gen. iii. 8, but heralded by the 'trump of the archangel' (xxii. 1, cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16 of the 'Parousia'), and neither the expulsion, the funeral, nor the last injunctions are his direct work; they are entrusted to a host of subordinate beings. The two cherubim of Gen. iii. 24 are there (Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3) but their efforts are now supported by a host of other angelic beings. The archangels (four of whom are mentioned by name, xl. 1, cf. Vita xlviii. 6) and the Seraphim, one of whom (xxxvii. 3) is given the task of casting Adam's soul into the Acherusian lake, are the most important. Thus Michael's special concern is with the care of men's bodies (Apoc. Mos. xxxii. 3). This was a well-known conception of later Judaism (see Notes). The other archangels (Uriel, Raphael, Gabriel) who carry out the funeral, are all names well known to readers of 'Enoch' and parallel works of Jewish Apocalyptic. The 'virtues', who support Eve in her hour of trial, Vita xxii. 1, and watched her once in Paradise, Vita xxxiii. 1 (perhaps the latter passage in the Vita borrows them from here, i. e. Apoc. Mos. vii. 2) are the guardian angels of which Our Lord speaks (Matt. xviii. 10) and which are perhaps first mentioned in Jubilees xxxv. 17. In another respect the author follows the practice of the later Jews in ascribing great efficacy to the prayers not only of the righteous but of angels, for the departed (cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi; Vita xxi. 2, ix. 3). In this case he opposes the teaching of 2 Enoch (liii. 1) who, unlike Philo, attacked this practice.

The doctrine of a Future Life corresponds very nearly to the notion entertained by the later Judaism. The teaching of a Resurrection and a Judgement is clear and emphatic, as also is the doctrine concerning the intermediate abode of departed souls in Paradise, the third of the seven Heavens (Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4, (A) Tisch.), (xxxv. 2), (xxxvii. 3, 5, xl. 2) and thus quite distinct from the original Garden of Eden where Adam and Eve dwelt before the Fall. (Apoc. Mos. i, vi, viii, xiii, xvi, xxii, &c.; Vita xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xl, xlviii, &c.; Slav. Vita xxx, xxxi.)

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THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Vita Adae et Evae.

Penance of Adam and Eve, i–xi.

i. 1 When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.

ii. 1 But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for victual to eat, and they 2 found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for (something) for us to eat. Perchance the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place in which we were before.'

iii. 1 And Adam arose and walked seven days over all that land, and found no victual such as they 2 used to have in paradise. And Eve said to Adam: 'Wilt thou slay me? that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence.' 3 Adam answered: 'Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us. How is it possible that I should stretch forth my hand against my own flesh? Nay, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, that we fail not.'

iv. 1 And they walked about and searched for nine days, and they found none such as they were used to have in paradise, but found only animals' 2 food. And Adam said to Eve: 'This hath the Lord provided for animals and brutes to eat; 3 but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right that we lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perchance the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something for our living.'

Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae.

xxviii And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. 2 And seven days passed by and we had nothing to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I Eve cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O Lord, My Creator; for my sake Adam suffereth thus!'

xxix And I said to Adam: 'Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low.' 2 Then Adam spake to me: 'I have thoughts of killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee.'

xxx And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles (and) grass of the field. 2 And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: 'Have compassion on thy creature. O Lord Creator, allow us food.'

xxxi And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. 2 Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel praying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. 3 Then the Lord said: 'Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat (bread), and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee.'

xxxii The archangel Joel said to Adam: 'Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy wife?' 2 Again Joel the archangel bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame; 3 and to give names to all things. Then indeed he took the oxen and began to plough.

i. 1. **paradise.** Cod. Ar. + 'they went to the West'.

ii. 1. **after seven days.** Cod. Ar. has 'after six days'; cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6.
started to look for = *quaerebant.*

iii. 1. **seven days.** Mishna Taanit i. 6 says he fasted seven days, see Introd. §§ 4, 5.
victual . . . in paradise: eating beasts' food was one of Adam's curses in Ber. rabba xx, Pirke Eliezer. Slav. explains it as 'nettles'.

2. **on my account.** MSS. have doublet 'quoniam propter me iratus est tibi dominus deus vis interficere me ut moriar et forte introducet te dominus deus in paradisum, quia propter meam causam expulsus es inde'.

3. **bring . . . some other curse.** Cod. Ar. 'curse us with some other curse', Hebraism.
my own flesh = Gen. ii. 24.

iv. 2. **angels' food**: cf. Ps. lxxviii. 25 (Fuchs).

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xxviii. 1. **before the gate of paradise.** Slav. Vita i marks this off from Heavenly 'Paradise'.

xxxi. 2. **Joel.** Confusion with Jah-El. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii. 4 (note).

xxxii. 3. **plough.** No extreme asceticism—corn regarded as a blessing—just as there is no disparagement of marriage; contrast Christian version in Introd. § 5 *a*.

Vita Adae et Evae.

v. 1 And Eve said to Adam: 'What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not put too great a labour on ourselves, which we cannot endure, so that the Lord will
2 not hearken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not
3 fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought (to do) for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee?'

vi. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree.
2 And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan, perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us.'

vii. 1 And Eve walked to the river Tigris and did
2 as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

viii. 1 And Adam said: 'I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming (creatures), which are in thee, and let them sur-
2 round me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I.'
3 Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour, the water of Jordan stood (still) and its current was stayed.'

Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae.

xxxiii. 1 Then the devil approached and stood before the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field
2 and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things of earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go
3 away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'

xxxiv. 1 The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till the field, except thou write the bond that thou
2 art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord of the earth, to the same do I (belong) and my
3 children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord would descend on earth and tread the devil
4 under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thy bond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'

xxxv. 1 Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.'
2 But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest of thy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and
3 life.' I, for my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord, fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'

xxxvi. 1 And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart
2 and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' And I said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will
3 I call upon God.' And Adam said to me: 'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to
4 thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even (to) the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to Him.

vi. 1. **as thou hast strength for.** I *et salveris*: II *sed salveris.*
unlawful and forbidden. I *contradicti*: II III *illicito et contradicto.* Cor. Ar. *illicito.*
2. **Jordan.** Probably changed by Christian editor from 'Gihon', where Jews, e.g. Pirke Eliezer, placed Adam's penitence, for we expect another river of Paradise.
viii. 3. **stood still.** I *steterunt ex aqua non agentes cursum*†. Meyer gives singular as text. Katona's text says this lasted eighteen days.

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xxxiii–xxxv. Heretical interpolation by Bogomilian dualist (Jagić). 'Paradise' here is the *Heavenly* one, widely separated from the earth. For this whole section cf. Pauline phrase 'bond servants of sin'. It occurs in all Slav. MSS. of 'Solfernus' and Polish and Bohemian Adam tales.
xxxiv. 3. **But Adam,** &c. A gloss within a gloss.
xxxv. 3. **forty-four.** Eve stronger here. In Latin Vit. vi, I has 'thirty-seven', III 'thirty' days.
xxxvi. 3. **fall . . . snare** = *scandalizeris.*

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

ix. 1 And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was wroth and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the river 2 Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her: 'Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moans. Why art thou anxious 3 and thy husband Adam? The Lord God hath heard your groaning and hath accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and made supplication to the Lord; 4 and he hath sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying 5 out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your victual hath been made ready.'

x. 1 But Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was (trembling) 2 like grass, from the chill of the water. And when she had gone out, she fell on the earth and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. 3 But when Adam had seen her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: 'O Eve, Eve, where is the labour of thy penitence? 4 How hast thou been again ensnared by our adversary, by whose means we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy?'

xi. 1 And when she heard this, Eve understood that (it was) the devil (who) had persuaded her to go out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth and her sorrow and groaning and wailing 2 was redoubled. And she cried out and said: 'Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? What hast thou to do with us? What have we done to thee? for thou pursuest us with craft? Or why doth thy malice 3 assail us? Have we taken away thy glory and caused thee to be without honour? Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy (and persecute us) to the death in wickedness and envy?'

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

And there, the angels came together and all xxxv
living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, (and) they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam.

The devil came to me, wearing the form and xxxvi
brightness of an angel, and shedding big tear-drops, (and) said to me: 'Come out of the water, 2
Eve, God hath heard thy prayers and (heard) us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water.'

But I (Eve) perceived that he was the devil xxxi
and answered him nothing. But Adam (when) he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy (and) he took 2
me and led me out of the water.

Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: 'Be xl.
silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God.'

(Passage follows exactly parallel to Apocalypsis Mosis xxxii. seq., but in abbreviated form.)

ix. 1. **was wroth.** III >.
4. **crying out.** II III *plangitis*: I *planxistis*.
xi. 2. **with craft** = *dolose* Fuchs, Meyer, Katona: others *dolore*.

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xxxvii. 1. **a wall.** Far greater than concise Latin account. Cf. Rom. viii. 22. In Recension ii. Satan appears twice—the first time as Adam. The 'tokens' of xxxvi. 3 are explained there.

xxxix. 1. **answered nothing.** Here only, Eve is not deceived. Contrast 'Conflict' of Adam and Eve, I. xxxiii–xxxv.

xl. 1. **Adam cried out,** &c. Only here. Latin Vita xi perhaps inserted to link on story in xvi–xxiii. Eve deliberately compels Satan to come forward with his tale.

Vita Adae et Evae.

The Fall of the Devil, xii–xvii.

xii. 1 And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake: 'O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens
2 in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth.' Adam answered, 'What dost
3 thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?'

xiii. 1 The devil replied, 'Adam, what dost thou tell me? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled
2 from that place. When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made (us) worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness.'

xiv. 1 And Michael went out and called all the angels saying:

'Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded.'

2 And Michael himself worshipped first; then he called me and said: 'Worship the image of God
3 the Lord.' And I answered, 'I have no (need) to worship Adam.' And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, 'Why dost thou urge me? I will not worship an inferior and younger being (than I). I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me.'

xv. 1, 2 When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith, 'Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him, the Lord God will be wrath
3 with thee.' And I said, 'If He be wrath with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest.'

xvi. 1 And God the Lord was wrath with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on
2 thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And
3 straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we
4 were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her (doing) from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory.'

vii. 1 When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and spake: 'O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give
2, 3 me his glory which he himself hath lost.' And at that moment, the devil vanished before him. But Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days (on end) in the water of Jordan.

Birth of Cain and Abel; Death of Abel; Book of Seth, xviii–xxiv.

viii. 1 And Eve said to Adam: 'Live thou, my Lord, to thee life is granted, since thou hast committed neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray for I have not kept the commandment of God; and now banish me from the light of thy life and I will go to the sunsetting,
2 and there will I be, until I die.' And she began to walk towards the western parts and to mourn
3 and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb offspring of three months old.

xii. 1. **expelled** I. III + *et alienatus sum.* Story closely parallel to Al Koran Suras vii–xi, Codex Nazaraeus 67: 'The highest kings of light declared: "Let the kings of fire serve Adam." But one, the author of ill, did not follow the commands of the Lord and was hurled in chains.' Cf. Rabbi Moses-Hadarschan: 'When God made Adam, he said to the higher angels, "Bow yourselves down!"'

3. **no harm.** II III *non nocitus*: III 15 *damnatus*: I *natus.* II 9. 17, III 4 >.

xiii. 1. Cf. 2 En. xxxi. 3.

xiv. 2. **God the Lord** = Jahwe Elohim (יהוה אלוהים).

3. **I have no (need) to** = *non habeo* with infinitive.

xv. 1. **the angels . . . under me.** Sole reference to devils (in plural) in Vita or Apoc. Mos.

3. **like the Highest.** Midrasch on Isa. xiv (LXX). Cf. Dan. xi. 11. **stars** II III. 'throne' I.

xviii. 1. **error** = *praevaricatio.*

2. **western parts** = Apoc. Mos. i. 1.

3. **offspring.** So Meyer III I. Jewish anti-ascetic piece. Contrast 'Conflict' and Magyar 'Vita Adae', where they remain apart one hundred years and are only married at God's express command. Cf. Noah in Arm. 'Gospel of Seth' (Preuschen's translation).

three months old. So III 43; II 3. 9. II 17 + 'Cain'.

xix. 1 And when the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she
2 cried aloud to the Lord and said: 'Pity me, O Lord, assist me.' And she was not heard and the
3 mercy of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: 'Who shall tell my lord Adam? I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my lord Adam.'

xx. 1 But in that hour, Adam said: 'The complaint of Eve hath come to me. Perchance, once more hath the serpent fought with her.'

2 And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said: 'From the moment I saw thee, my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to
3 hearken unto thee and look upon me and free me from my awful pains.' And Adam entreated the Lord for Eve.

xxi. 1 And behold, there came twelve angels and two 'virtues', standing on the right and on the left
2 of Eve; and Michael was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to the breast and said to Eve: 'Blessed art thou, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and intercessions are great, I have been sent that thou mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and
3 prepare thee to bear. And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was called Cain.

Vita Adae et Evae.

xxii. 1 And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led
2 them to the East. And the Lord God sent divers seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground, that they might have fruit by which they and all their generations might live.

3 For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son, whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used to stay together.

4 And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have sorrow.'

5 And Adam said, 'Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet let us separate them from each other mutually,

Apocalypsis Mosis.

This is the story of Adam and Eve after they had i. 1
gone out of Paradise. And Adam knew his wife 2
Eve and went upwards to the sun-rising and abode there eighteen years and two months. And Eve 3
conceived and bare two sons; Adiaphotos, who is called Cain and Amilabes who is called Abel.

And after this, Adam and Eve were with one ii. 1
another and while they were sleeping, Eve said to Adam her lord: 'My lord, Adam, behold, I 2
have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went on drinking it without pity. But he begged him to leave him a little of it. Yet he hearkened 3
not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his

xix. 2. **did not encircle her.** Not a Christian sentiment, but Jewish.
3. **what time . . . to the east.** Cf. Test. Adam, describing the fourth hour of the night.
xx. 1. **the serpent.** Cf. Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv–xxx. Also attack of beast in Vita xxxvii, Apoc. Mos. x–xi.
2. **was refreshed.** *refrigeravit* Meyer: I *infrigeravit.*
xxi. 1. **virtues** (or 'powers' Fuchs). Probably 'guardian angels' (Ginzberg). Cf. Apoc. Mos. vii. Like Pauline 'principalities, thrones, powers', &c. Name agrees in Test. Adam.
and Michael . . . right. II only. So Meyer.
2. **on the face.** I *faciem eius*: II, III *eam a facie.*
3. **shining** (*lucidus*). Cf. Adiaphotos, Apoc. Mos. i. The 'Incunabulum' (see Meyer 215), the Deutsches Adam Buch and III say Eve was frightened and wished to kill Cain. Perhaps alludes to myth that he was Satan's child.
blade of grass . . . Cain. Better 'reed.' Play on words—Hebrew קָנֶה (Kâněh) and קַיִן (Cain). Some Rabbis say Cain slew Abel with a reed.
xxii. 4. **I saw.** In Slav. Adam sees it before Cain's birth.
5. **separate . . . mutually.** Midrasch on Gen. iv. 2, 7–10.

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i. All MSS. (A B C D and Arm.) give preface describing book as taught to Moses by Michael the archangel. Like the title, this is a later addition. Slav. describes subjection of all animals in first chapter (cf. beasts' words in Apoc. Mos. xi. 1).
2. **knew.** ἔγνω (Gen. iv. 1) D E Arm.: A C 'took' (ἔλαβεν).
went upwards (ἀνῆλθεν) A C: D 'went out' (ἐξῆλθεν).
3. **Adiaphotos** D: other MSS†. Arm. 'Anloys' = 'full of light.' Cf. Vita xxi. 3 *lucidus.* The translator in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, xvi, 1870, suggests διαφύτωρ or διαφυτευτής, 'a planter,' for Adiaphotos and μηλοβότης, 'a keeper of sheep' for Amilabes.
Amilabes A D: C B corrupt. Arm. 'Barekhooh' = 'well-minded' (Conybeare).
ii. 2. **went on drinking** E: A C D has aorist (ἔπιεν).

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and let us make for each of them separate dwellings.'

xiii. 1 And they made Cain an husbandman, (but) Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated.
2 And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years.

3 And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.

xiv. 1 And Adam said to Eve, 'Behold, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew.'
2 And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the earth in their nations.

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mouth. And Adam said, 'Let us arise and go 4
and see what has happened to them. (I fear)
lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere.'

And they both went and found Abel murdered iii. 1
by the hand of Cain his brother. And God 2
saith to Michael the archangel: 'Say to Adam:
"Reveal not the secret that thou knowest to Cain
thy son, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve
not, for I will give thee another son in his stead;
he shall show (to thee) all that thou shalt do. Do
thou tell him nothing."' Thus spake the arch- 3
angel to Adam. But he kept the word in his
heart, and with him also Eve, though they grieved
concerning Abel their son.

And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and iv. 1
she conceived and bare Seth.

And Adam said to Eve: 'See! we have be- 2
gotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain slew,
let us give glory and sacrifice to God.'

And Adam begat thirty sons and thirty v. 1
daughters and Adam lived nine hundred and
thirty years; and he fell sick and cried with a loud 2
voice and said, 'Let all my sons come to me
that I may see them before I die.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Vision of Adam, xxv–xxix.

xxv. 1 And Adam said to Seth, 'Hear, my son Seth, that I may relate to thee what I heard and
2 saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there
3 came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind and its wheels were fiery and I was caught up into the Paradise of righteousness, and I saw the

xxiii. 2. **one hundred and twenty-two.** Cf. Jub. iv. 3 (Charles's note); Abel there is twenty-two.
xxiv. 2. **sixty-three.** Cf. Jub. iv. 10 (Charles' note): Jub. says 'nine'; 'Conflict of A. and E.' says 'five'; Arm. omits 'thirty daughters'.
xxv. 1. **Seth.** Some MSS. have preface explaining choice of Seth. *D.A.B.* says it was told to *all* his sons.
2. **at prayer.** *D.A.B.* says 'where he was standing in Jordan'.
3. **fiery.** Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11; Ezek. i; Apoc. Mos. xxxiii.
Paradise of righteousness. Heavenly Paradise, as in 2 En. and 1 En. (xxxii. 3). Elsewhere in Vita either garden of Eden on *earth* or 'third Heaven' (e.g. Apoc. Mos. xxvii, xl.1), not in presence of God, as here.

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4. **said** D E: A C +'to Eve'.
Let us arise and go C E: D is better Greek (ἀναστάντες), but less original.
what has happened A D: C 'what is this dream about our sons': Arm. 'to see about our sons'.
assailing. C prefixes ἐλθών = 'has come and is assailing'.
iii. 2. **archangel** B C E Slav.: A D 'angel'.
the secret. Arm. changes to 'the secret of the vision' (i.e. Vita xxv–xxix).
son of wrath. Eph. ii. 3.
his stead (Gen. iv. 25). Here not in Abel's, but in Cain's stead (Kabisch).
all that thou shalt do. Arm. alters to 'all that I shall do' (for same reason cf. Introd. 3, 4). A+'to him'.
tell him nothing A C Arm. Tisch.
3. **also Eve.** E Slav. expand.
iv. 2. **glory and sacrifice**: So A. C D read 'glorify God and give worship': B 'glory': E Slav. 'praise and sacrifice': Arm. 'praise and glory'. Cf. 'Conflict', I. ii–xi.
v. 1. **And Adam lived . . . years** D B Slav. Arm. A C >.
2. **sick** Arm.: E 'a little sick': C 'a great disease'.
die C +'and he sent off his son Seth to all to tell them'.

Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and the left of that chariot.

xxvi. 1 When I saw this, I was confounded, and terror seized me and I bowed myself down before
2 God with my face to the earth. And God said to me, 'Behold thou diest, since thou hast transgressed the commandment of God, for thou didst hearken rather to the voice of thy wife, whom I gave into thy power, that thou mightst hold her to thy will. Yet thou didst listen to her and didst pass by My words.'

xxvii. 1 And when I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the earth and worshipped the Lord and said, 'My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Thy majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my
2 breath will go out of my mouth. Cast me not out from Thy presence, (me) whom Thou didst form of the clay of the earth. Do not banish from Thy favour him whom Thou didst nourish.'

3 And lo! a word concerning thee came upon me and the Lord said to me, 'Since thy days †were fashioned†, thou hast been created with a love of knowledge; therefore there shall not be taken from thy seed for ever the (right) to serve Me.'

xxviii. 1 And when I heard these words, I threw myself on the earth and adored the Lord God and said, 'Thou art the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give thee honour and praise.

2 'Thou art the true Light gleaming above all light(s), the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To Thee, the spiritual powers give honour and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the abundance of Thy mercy.'

3 After I had worshipped the Lord, straightway Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and
4 cast me out of the **paradise †of 'vision'† and of God's command.** And Michael held a rod in his hand, and he touched the waters, which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.

xxix. 1 And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to
2 the place whence he had caught me up. Hearken, my son Seth, even to the rest of the secrets [and sacraments] that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of the
3 knowledge, and knew and perceived what will come to pass in this age; [what God intends to do
4 to his creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire (and) from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes [from His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword] and they will sanctify Him in the house of the habitation of His majesty.
5 And He will show them the marvellous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them and there they will transgress His statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up and their land will be deserted and they
6 themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more He will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God;
7 and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And thereafter God will dwell with men on earth [in visible form]; and then, righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honoured in the age and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished

flaming fire. Cf. 1 En. (xiii–xvii) for description of God's dwelling, &c.

xxvi. 2. **rather** II *in primis*; I *prius*. III (Meyer) *plus*. **to thy wife.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxiv.

xxvii. 1. **name.** Hebrew expression = personality. Cf. Kautzsch, Hastings' *B. D.*, art. 'Religion of Israel'.

2. **didst form.** *plasmasti* (Graecism).

favour. II *gratia*: I *gratiae*.

3. **concerning thee** = *tuum* (*verbum*).

came upon me. *incedit* II 5: *incendit*, 'inflamed' II 17.

were fashioned. †*figurantur* (Meyer). All MSS. corrupt.

love of knowledge. See Introd. § 6.

xxviii. 2. **Light . . . Life . . . Power.** Gnostic epithets.

mighty. So Fuchs. MSS. corrupt. II 5, III 2 *magnitudinis*: I *matutine*: II 3 *magna*.

3. **vision and of God's command.** II 3. 17 *visionis*: II 5 and III *visitationis et visionis*: Fuchs with Cod. Wright *visitationis et iussionis*.

4. **a rod.** *virgam* II (and so Fuchs): I †*virtutes*.

froze hard. Sea of ice round Paradise. Cf. 2 En. iii. 3; Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2; Test. Lev. iii. 2; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* iv. 132. Perhaps = 'Acherusian Lake' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii–xxxix).

xxix. 2. **[and sacraments]** II III. Meyer brackets as a gloss. I (and Fuchs) >.

3–10. In II (3, 5, 9, 17), III (18 only), IV. Interpolation. First part (3–6)—'what God . . . than of old'—may be fragment of *Jewish* Apocalypse; last part certainly Christian.

6. **greater than of old** (*maior quam prius*). Bousset refers this to Herod's temple; perhaps more likely the Messianic one. Cf. 1 En. xci. 13.

7. **in visible form,** &c. These phrases are certain marks of Christian origin. [Cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 7, LXX Vulg. T. Zeb. ix. 8 where God is spoken of as being seen by men. There is no good reason for regarding xxix. 3–10 as Christian with the exception of a few words.—Gen. Editor.]

8 by God their king, the men who refused to love His law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their 9 works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And 10 in that time, shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be, who hath ruled his soul, when the Judgement shall come to pass and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God the just judge.

Vita Adae et Evae.	Apocalypsis Mosis.
xxx. 1 After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said: 'Let all my sons assemble themselves to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them.'	
2 And they were assembled in three parts, before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used 3 to worship the Lord God. And they asked him (saying): 'What concerns thee, Father, that thou shouldst assemble us, and why dost thou lie on 4 thy bed?' Then Adam answered and said: 'My sons, I am sick and in pain.' And all his sons said to him: 'What does it mean, father, this illness and pain?'	And all assembled, for the earth was divided v. 3 into three parts. And Seth his son said to him: 4 'Father Adam, what is thy complaint?' And he saith, 'My children, I am crushed by 5 the burden of trouble.' And they say to him, 'What is trouble?'
xxxi. 1 Then said Seth his son: 'O (my) lord, perchance thou hast longed after the fruit of paradise, which thou wast wont to eat, and therefore thou liest in sadness? Tell me and I will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the earth before the gates of paradise and lament and make entreaty to God with loud lamentation; perchance he will hearken to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which thou hast longed.'	And Seth answered and said to him: 'Hast vi. 1 thou called to mind, father, the fruit of paradise of which thou usedst to eat, and hast been grieved in yearning for it?' 'If this be so, tell me, (and) I will go and 2 bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will set dung upon my head and will weep and pray that the Lord will hearken to me and send his angel (and bring me a plant from paradise), and I will bring it thee that thy trouble may cease from thee.'
2 Adam answered and said: 'No, my son, I do not long (for this), but I feel weakness and great 3 pain in my body.' Seth answered, 'What is pain, my lord father? I am ignorant; but hide it not from us, but tell us (about it).'	Adam saith to him: 'Nay, my son Seth, but 3 I have (much) sickness and trouble!' Seth saith to him: 'And how hath this come upon thee?'
xxii. 1 And Adam answered and said: 'Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree	And Adam said to him: 'When God made us, vii. 1 me and your mother, through whom also I die, He gave us power to eat of every tree which is in

9–10. **purified by water**, i. e. baptism.
xxx. 1. **bless them.** Cf. Gen. xxvii. 14, xlviii. 3, 2 En. lxiv. 4.
2. **in the house of prayer.** So I *coram oratorio*; II III *ante oratorium* Apoc. Mos. v (A C). Meyer and Kabisch find here origin of 'Caaba' legends (cf. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*). See Introd. §§ 1, 8, 9.

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3. **parts.** So D B. A + 'they came to the door of the house where he used to enter to pray to God.' So C except that it reads 'before him, where' instead of 'to the door of the house'.
4. **Adam** A B D : C >.
5. **I am crushed**, &c. Lit. 'great disease oppresses me'. A B C D Slav. (πόνος πολὺς συνέχει με).
What is trouble? B + 'father': A D + 'and sickness'.
vi. 1. **in yearning for it** (ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῶν). Arm. A Tisch. D B C >. ? a gloss.
2. **I will go** (πορεύσομαι) C D : A B 'I go': Slav. 'we'.
dung. Arm. 'dust'.
that. Lit. 'and' = vav conversive.
bring me a plant. Inserted for clearness—perhaps in original. B has ἐνέγκει (*sic*) μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ ἔλεος.
3. **how . . . upon thee** (πῶς σοι) A C E Arm. Slav.: D 'how much' (πόσοι).
vii. 1. **to him.** C only has πρὸς αὐτόν as often.
tree (ξύλου) C: A B D 'plant' (φυτοῦ): Arm. 'fruits'.
I die A C E D: B Arm. 'we die'.

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bearing fruit to eat, he laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; (saying)
2 'Do not eat of it.' But God gave a part of paradise to me and (a part) to your mother: the trees of the eastern part and the north, which is over against Aquilo he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

xxxiii. 1 (Moreover) God the Lord gave us two angels
2 to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; forthwith the adversary [the devil] found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the
3 unlawful and forbidden tree. And she did eat and gave to me.

xxxiv. 1 And immediately, the Lord God was wrath with us, and the Lord said to me: 'In that thou hast left behind my commandment and hast not kept my word, which I confirmed to thee; behold, I will bring upon thy body, seventy blows; with divers griefs, shalt thou be tormented, beginning at thy head and thine eyes and thine ears down to thy nails on thy toes, and in every
2 separate limb. These hath God †appointed for chastisement†. All these things hath the Lord sent to me and to all our race.'

xxxv. 1 Thus spake Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'What shall I do? I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am
2 beset.' And when Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said: 'O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned.'
3 And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, give me a part of thy pains, for this hath come to thee from fault of mine.'

xxxvi. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Rise up and go with

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paradise, but, concerning that one only, He charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die. And the hour drew nigh for the angels 2
who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate of the tree of which she had been told not to eat. Then she gave also to me to eat. 3

'And God was wroth with us, and the Lord viii. 1
came into paradise and called me in a terrible voice and said: "Adam, where art thou? And why hidest thou from my face? Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder?" And he 2
saith to me: "Since thou hast abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing, and likewise in turn all the strokes shall befall thee."'

As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned ix. 1
sore and said: 'What shall I do? I am in great distress.'

And Eve wept and said: 'My lord 2
Adam, rise up and give me half of thy trouble and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this hath happened to thee, on my account thou

xxxii. 2. **your mother.** Incident from Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv.
xxxiv. 1. **was wroth.** Condensed from story in Apoc. Mos. viii, xxi–xxiii.
confirmed. *confortavi* II III. I in margin *mandavi.*
seventy Apoc. Mos. viii. 2 (A B C). The 'Cant' (see Meyer 211) has 'sixty and two'.
2. **†appointed for chastisement†.** MSS. obscure.
all our race. Read *omne genus nostrum* with II III: Meyer 'all our generations' (*omnes nostras generationes*).

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that one only D B E C.
2. **guarding** A B C: 'watching' D E: Arm. 'looked to your mother for her to render worship'. Cf. Jub. iv. 22, Chagiga 16a, Ber. 60b. Ginzberg calls these angels 'virtues' (cf. Vita xxi).
Lord. C adds 'as their fashion (τύπος) was'; a gloss.
and I was far from her. C only.
of which . . . not to eat. C only.
viii. 1. **paradise.** A B + 'when we had eaten and placed His throne'.
Adam . . . thou. D adds gloss from Gen. iii. 12.
builder. This saying occurs in Targ. Jer. on Gen. iii. 9. > D.
2. **to me.** D B E only.
seventy-two D E, Slav., Mishna *Neg.* i. 4, but 'seventy' A B C, Vita; latter is common symbolic number, probably a correction.
ix. 1. **distress** (λύπη) C Arm. Slav.: D 'stress' (ἀνάγκη). D has a long gloss from Gen. iii. 19.
2. **thy trouble** D C Arm. A B 'sickness'.

my son Seth to the neighbourhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of
2 God. Perchance He will have pity (upon you) and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed.'

xvii. 1 Then Seth and his mother went off towards the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, lo! suddenly there came a beast
2 [a serpent] and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said: 'Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God.'
3 And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice: 'Accursed beast! how (is it that) thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God, but hast dared to fight with it?'

xviii. 1 The beast answered in the language of men: 'Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice (is directed)? Are not ye the objects of our rage?
2 Tell me, Eve, how was thy mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now if I shall begin to reprove thee thou canst not bear it.'

xix. 1 Then said Seth to the beast: 'God the Lord revile thee. Be silent, be dumb, shut thy mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Avaunt from the image of God till the day when the Lord God shall order thee to be
2 brought to the ordeal.' And the beast said to

art beset with toils and troubles.' But Adam 3
said to Eve, 'Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint.'

Then Seth and Eve went towards paradise, x. 1
and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: 'Woe is me; if 2
I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God.' And she 3
spake to the beast: 'Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with the image of God? How was thy mouth opened? How were thy teeth made strong? How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection? For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God.' Then the beast 4
cried out and said:

'It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy xi. 1
wailing, but thine own; for (it is) from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy 2
mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, 3
if I begin to reprove thee.'

Then Seth speaketh to the beast, 'Close thy xii. 1
mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment.' Then saith 2
the beast to Seth: 'Behold, I stand off from the image of God.' And he went to his lair.

xxxvi. 2. **oil of life.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 3 (note).
xxxvii. 1. **[a serpent].** A gloss to connect with tale of Fall. Originally this passage was midrash to explain beasts' revolt.
bit Seth proves work is not *Sethite*. Seth here is weak and fallible. Arm. version >.
3. **how is it that,** &c. II + (with A D of Apoc. Mos. x) 'how were thy teeth made strong?'
xxxviii. 2. **the fruit.** II + 'which the Lord commanded thee not to eat'.
reprove. *probationem* II III: Meyer *comprobationem* ('ordeal').
begin . . . bear it. Meyer II 3. 9: I >.
xxxix. 1. **confounder and destroyer** (*confusio perditionis*). A Hebraism.

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and troubles. A omits. D adds gloss from Gen. iii.
3. **earth** A C: Arm. Slav. D 'dust'.
the tree, i.e. the Tree of Life described in 1 En. xxiv. 3, 4; 2 En. viii. 3; Apoc. Paul. xlv; Test. Lev. xviii. 11; Rev. xxii. 2. Naturally conceived as an 'olive'—the great wealth of Mediterranean peoples. See Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, on 'Wild and tame olives'.
oil of pity: Latin Vita xli. 3. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiii. 1. A play on words in Greek—ἔλαιος, ἔλεος. Cf. Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 327; 2 En. xxii. 8, 9; Ps. Clem. *Recognitions* I. 45; 4 Ezra ii. 12.
have rest A D: C 'will be redeemed from (λυτρωθῶ ἐκ) the trouble': A B + 'I will show you the manner in which we were deceived in the former case'—a gloss.
x. 1. **a wild beast.** This passage is a midrash on Gen. iii. 15. Vita xxxix + 'a serpent', and implies it was Satan (xxxix. 1). Slav. calls it 'Cotur' or 'Gorgo', and adds it pursued him 'to devour him'.
Eve saw. C + 'from afar'.
2. **Resurrection** A C D: B 'Judgement': Slav. 'Second Advent'.
xi. 2. **transformed** C D: Arm. Slav. expand. Cf. Sanh. 106 b, Pesikt. 44 b (Ginzberg).
xii. 2. **lair** C (κοίτην): A B D E 'tent' (σκηνήν).

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Seth: 'See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as thou hast said.' Forthwith he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

xl. 1 But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam: and they arrived at the gates of paradise, (and) they took dust from the earth and placed it on their heads, and bowed themselves with their faces to the earth and began to lament and 2 make loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the 'tree of His mercy'.

xli. 1 But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, behold, the angel Michael ap- 2 peared to them and said: 'I have been sent to you from the Lord—I am set by God over the 3 bodies of men—I tell thee, Seth, (thou) man of God, weep not nor pray and entreat on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pains of his body.

xlii. 1 'For I tell thee that in no wise wilt thou be able to receive thereof save in the last days.'

2 [When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive 3 the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God, when He comes will be baptized in the river of Jordan, and when He hath come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the 4 oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of 5 water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth shall lead thy father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.]

xliii. 1 'But do thou, Seth, go to thy father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence, his soul shall go off his body and when

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And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and xiii. 1 they wept there, and prayed God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy.

And God 2 sent the archangel Michael and he spake to Seth: 'Seth, man of God, weary not thyself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which floweth with oil to anoint thy father Adam. For it shall not be thine now,

but in the end of the times. 3 Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day,—all that shall be of the holy people. Then shall the delights of paradise be 4 given to them and God shall be in their midst. And they shall no longer sin before his face, for 5 the evil heart shall be taken from them and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only.

But do thou go back to thy father. For the 6 term of his life hath been fulfilled and he will live three days from to-day and will die. But

2. **wounded by his teeth** II 17: I III ††.

xli. 1. **angel Michael.** Originally 'guardian angel of Israel' (Dan. xii). Cf. Midrash Konen. in *Bet ha-Midrasch* ii. 27 (Ginzberg), 2 En. xxii. 6, 1 En. xx. 5. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 168.

3. **man of God** = prophet. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 6, &c. Jewish trait.

xlii. 1. **that.** The MSS. reading *quia* = Greek ὅτι = 'that'.

2. **When five thousand five hundred years . . . tree of mercy.** Christian interpolation from Gospel of Nicodemus, xix (Greek work).

king I. II III >.

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xiii. 1. **there** A B C: D >.

oil of mercy A C Arm.: Slav. >: E B 'mercy of mercy' (ἔλεος ἐλέου): (ἔλεος ἐλαίου) D 'mercy of oil'; probably not dittography, as Fuchs supposes, but play on words.

2. **floweth with oil** C (Kabisch): 'in which flows the oil' D A B Tisch.: E_2 †.

with prayers and entreaties (εὐχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἱκεσίᾳ): a Hebraism.

it shall not B C + 'for' (γάρ).

3–6. **Then shall . . . God only** A B, Tisch., Fuchs). This short Apocalypse certainly Jewish, perhaps original. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3, 4 and cf. Jubilees xxiii. 26–9; Ezek. xxxvi. 27; 1 En. v. 4; Bamidbar rabba 17; Schem rabba 41; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 381, 400; Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 359.

5. **evil heart** (yeṣer hara (יֵצֶר הָרָע)). Prominent feature in later Jewish theology, as in St. Paul and 4 Ezra. See Introd. §§ 1, 5, 6, 9.

6. **will die** C: D†. **three days from to-day.** C only.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

it shall have gone out, thou shalt see great marvels in the heaven and in the earth and the
2 luminaries of heaven. With these words, straightway Michael departed from Seth.
3 And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, i.e. nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.
iv. 1 And when Seth and his mother had reached Adam, they told him, how the beast [the serpent]
2 bit Seth. And Adam said to Eve: 'What hast thou done? A great plague hast thou brought upon us, transgression and sin for all our generations: and this which thou hast done, tell thy
3 children after my death, [for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but they shall be
4 wanting and curse us (and) say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the
5 beginning].' When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

when his soul is departing, thou shalt behold the awful (scene of) his passing.'
Thus spake the angel and departed from them. xiv. 1
And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was laid. And Adam saith to Eve: 'Eve, what 2
hast thou wrought in us? Thou hast brought upon us great wrath which is death, [lording it over all our race].' And he saith to her, 'Call all 3
our children and our children's children and tell them the manner of our transgression.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

Eve's Account of her Fall.

v. 1 Then saith Eve to them: 'Hear all my children and children's children and I will relate to you
2 how the enemy deceived us. It befell that we were guarding paradise, each of us the portion
3 allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot, the west and the south. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were. [For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father and all the females he gave to me.]
vi. 1 And the devil spake to the serpent saying, "Rise up, come to me and I will tell thee a word
2 whereby thou mayst have profit." And he arose and came to him. And the devil saith to him:
3 "I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts, and I have come to counsel thee. Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of paradise? Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of paradise, even
4 as we were cast out through him." The serpent saith to him, "I fear lest the Lord be wroth with
5 me." The devil saith to him: "Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through thy mouth words to deceive him."

xliii. 1. **luminaries of Heaven.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi.
3. **herbs of fragrance.** From Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xxix = Slav. Vit. xxv—inconsistent with Vita x–xii; Slav. Vita xxviii–xxx. III + Christian gloss from *lignum crucis* legend.
xliv. 2. **tell.** II 9 *refer*: III *referent filiis nostris*: Meyer suggests *refert*.
after my death. Insertion. Contrast Apoc. Mos. xiv. 3. It shows intention of editor to omit Eve's tale (Fuchs).
3. **toil and fail.** Play on words in Latin: *sufficiant . . . deficiant.* Perhaps a gloss.
4. **All.** MS. prefixes *quoniam*; perhaps for ὅτι = 'that'. Cf. xlii. 1 (note).

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awful scene of his passing (*τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῆς φοβεράν*) A B D: C >.
xiv. 2. **what hast thou wrought.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxii, Vita xviii. 1. With St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 3, 1 Tim. ii. 14) and 2 En. xxx. 18, our author makes Eve primary cause of sin; 4 Ezra iii. 21 lays guilt on Adam.
which is death A B C D $E_{1,2}$: Arm. >. Cf. Rom. v. 14, 4 Ezra iv. 30.
[lording it over all our race] C >. Probably an interpolated gloss.
xv. 1. **Then saith Eve.** In Arm. E, Eve blames herself; in Slav. she is asked to tell her tale by her sons.
2. **the portion allotted.** Cf. Vita xxxii.
3. **where the male creatures.** Both Hebrew (נָחָשׁ) and Greek (ὄφις) words for 'serpent' are masculine.
[For God . . . to me.] A D only have this explanation. Cf. B. C is corrupt. Arm. >.
your father A B E: 'our father' C D.
xvi. 1. **to the serpent.** Cf. 'Conflict of A. and E.' i. 17; Ber. rabba, xix; Weber, *JT.* 219–20. Slav. + 'thou art beloved before God, Eve will believe thee'.
mayst have profit A B E (*ὀφεληθῇς*).
2. **I hear** A B D: C 'I learn': Arm. 'I behold'.
counsel thee C: A D 'I consort with thee' (*ὁμιλέω*): Arm. 'unite with': A B + 'yet dost thou worship the less!' Cf. Vita xiv. 3. A gloss from Vita.
3. **out of paradise.** A B + 'through his wife' (a gloss).
5. **deceive him** C: A 'deceive them'.

xvii. 1 And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to
2 worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And
I bent over the wall and saw him, like an angel. But he saith to me: "Art thou Eve?" And I said
3 to him, "I am." "What art thou doing in paradise?" And I said to him, "God set us to guard and
4 to eat of it." The devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: "Ye do well but ye do not eat
5 of every plant." And I said: "Yea, we eat of all, save one only, which is in the midst of paradise,
concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it: for, He said to us, on the day on which ye eat
of it, ye shall die the death."

xviii. 1 Then the serpent saith to me, "May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not
have you ignorant. But arise, (come) hither, hearken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree."
2, 3 But I said to him, "I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us." And he saith to me: "Fear
not, for as soon as thou eatest of it, ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil.
4 But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said, Ye shall not eat of
5, 6 it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and thou wilt see its great glory." Yet I feared to take
of the fruit. And he saith to me: "Come hither, and I will give it thee. Follow me."

xix. 1 And I opened to him and he walked a little way, then turned and said to me: "I have changed my
2 mind and I will not give thee to eat until thou swear to me to give also to thy husband." (And) I said,
"What sort of oath shall I swear to thee? Yet what I know, I say to thee: By the throne of the
3 Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life, I will give also to my husband to eat." And
when he had received the oath from me, he went and **poured upon** the fruit the poison of his wicked-
ness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took
of the fruit and I ate.

xx. 1 And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the right-
2 eousness with which I had been clothed (upon), and I wept and said to him: "Why hast thou
3 done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed?" But
I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished.
4 And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none,
for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig-
5 tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same
plant of which I had eaten.

xxi. 1 And I cried out in that very hour, "Adam, Adam, where art thou? Rise up, come to me and
2 I will show thee a great secret." But when your father came, I spake to him words of transgression
3 [which have brought us down from our great glory]. For, when he came, I opened my mouth and

xvii. 1. **he hung.** E reads 'the devil inside the serpent hung', as Moslem fable in Weil, *B. L. der M.*
when. A B prefix 'about the ('ninth' B) hour.'
form of an angel. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 14. Points to old idea of a literal seduction; cf. Gen. vi. 1–6; 1 En. vi–xii, lxxxviii–xc; Sota ix. 9: Ber. rabba xxiv; Jalk. Schim. Ber. xlii.
2. Slav. reads 'I thought him an angel since he came from Adam's district'—emphasizing this feature throughout; Arm. weakens it.
4. **every plant** B C D. 'all plants' A.
5. **die the death.** A Hebraism; lit. 'die with death' (*θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε*).
xviii. D breaks off here till xxxvi.
1. **I would not have you ignorant.** Arm. 'I desire not your ignorance': A B + 'for ye are as beasts'; a gloss: A B C E Slav. 'since ye understand nothing'.
3. **ye . . . as God** C.
4. **God perceived . . . envied you.** With Tisch. A B: C >.
5. **glory.** Arm. alters this Midrash on Gen. iii. 6 to 'the glory of the Highest' (Gnostic?): A B + long gloss (Gen. iii. 6).
xix. 1. **I opened.** C Arm.: E >: B 'he opened': Arm. + Gnostic gloss to the effect that Eve is without paradise —first brought in by the serpent.
2. **What sort of oath** (*ποῖον ὅρκον*) C: A B E Arm. + 'I know not'.
3. **poured upon.** So Tisch. emends MSS.
the root and beginning of every sin C: A B 'head'. Fuchs thinks this is play on words in Hebrew (*ἰόν* = ראש and *κεφαλή* = ראש = 'head'). Idea is common among Rabbis, e.g. Aboda Zara 22 b; 1 En. lxix. 6; Slav. Bar. xc. 7; Apoc. Abraham xxiii; Gen. Rabb. xix. 6; Ab. R. Nathan v. 6. Cf. James i. 15.
he bent E Arm.: A B C 'I bent'.
I ate (Gen. iii. 6) C E Arm. Slav.
xx. 1. **clothed (upon)** (*ἐνδεδυμένη*) A B Tisch. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 2; Isa. lxi. 10.
3. **which I had sworn** C E.
4. **my part** A B: C †.
5. **very same plant** A B C Slav. Ber. rabba xv; Schatzhöhle; Test. Adam. agree with our author that this was a fig-tree. Apoc. Abraham xxiii calls it 'a grape'; Beresch. xl. 8 'barley'; Samuel Ben Isaac 'a date'.
xxi. 1. **secret** (*μυστήριον*) C: Arm. Slav. *mirabilia.*
2. **[which have . . . glory].** Only A B Arm. A gloss.

the devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, "Come hither, my lord Adam, hearken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as
4 a God." And your father answered and said, "I fear lest God be wroth with me." And I said to
5 him, "Fear not, for as soon as thou hast eaten thou shalt know good and evil." And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate and straightway his eyes were opened and he too knew his nakedness.
6 And to me he saith, "O wicked woman! what have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God?"

xii. 1 And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing with his trumpet and calling to
2 the angels and saying: "Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise and hear the judgement with which I shall judge Adam."

3 And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises, all the plants of paradise, both of your father's lot
4 and mine, broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.

iii. 1 And God called Adam saying, "Adam, where art thou? Can the house be hidden from the presence
2 of its builder?" Then your father answered; "It is not because we think not to be found by thee, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before thy might,
3 (my) Master." God saith to him, "Who showed thee that thou art naked, unless thou hast forsaken my
4 commandment, which I delivered thee to keep (it)." Then Adam called to mind the word which I spake to him, (saying) "I will make thee secure before God"; and he turned and said to me: "Why
5 hast thou done this?" And I said, "The serpent deceived me."

iv. 1 God saith to Adam: "Since thou hast disregarded my commandment and hast hearkened to thy wife, cursed is the earth in thy labours.

2 Thou shalt work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. [Thou shalt be in manifold toils; thou shalt be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness shalt thou not taste.]

3 Weary shalt thou be and shalt not rest; by heat shalt thou be tired, by cold shalt thou be straitened: abundantly shalt thou busy thyself, but thou shalt not be rich; and thou shalt grow fat, but come to no end.

4 The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment."

xv. 1 And the Lord turned to me and said: "Since thou hast hearkened to the serpent, and turned
2 a deaf ear to my commandment, thou shalt be in **throes of travail** and intolerable agonies; thou shalt bear children in much **trembling** and in one hour thou shalt come to the birth, and lose thy
3 life, from thy sore trouble and anguish. But thou shalt confess and say: 'Lord, Lord, save me, and
4 I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh.' And on this account, from thine own words I will judge thee, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in thee."

vi. 1 But he turned to the serpent [in great wrath] and said: "Since thou hast done this, and become a thankless vessel until thou hast deceived the innocent hearts, accursed art thou among all beasts.

3. **my lord Adam.** Aboth. R. Nathan i. 6 (Ginzberg) says Eve always addressed Adam as 'lord'.
6. **what have I done** C: Arm. A 'what hast thou done?'.
that = *καί*, ? for vav conversive: Slav. reads 'why'. See Introd. § 7.
xxii. 1. [**with his trumpet**] interpolation: in A Arm. only. To soften anthropomorphisms in Genesis. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 52; cf. *Bet ha-Midrasch* ii. 61 (Jellinek).
2. **judgement . . . judge** (*κρίματος κρίνω*) A Arm. (? Hebraism): for *κρίματος* C has 'word' (*ῥήματος*): Slav. *sententiam et quale iudicium.*
3. **and mine.** Slav. contradicts—plants in Eve's part were *withered.*
4. **was fixed** (*ἐστηρίζετο*) C. Cf. Targ. Jer. on Gen. vi. 9. This statement modifies 2 En. viii. 3 'that place on which God rests'. A Arm. E slight variants (e.g. *εὐτρεπίζετο*).
xxiii. 1. '**where art thou**' C. 'where art thou hidden' A.
3. **forsaken** E A Tisch. (*ἐγκατέλειπες*): Arm. 'trangressed.'
4. **secure** A C E Arm. (*ἀκίνδυνον*).
5. **I said** A + 'remembered the word of the serpent and'.
xxiv. 1. **in thy works** E Arm. A: C 'for thy sake'.
2. **Thou shalt be . . . taste** A C; from Gen. iii. 18.
3. Only in A (gloss).
xxv. 1. **throes of travail.** So Fuchs emends from A C 'empty pains' (*ἐν ματαίοις*): E 'empty toils'. In Hebrew חבל was misread for חבל.
2. **trembling** (*τρόμοις*). Tisch. emends from *τρόποις* ('ways') C A: Arm. E 'with great sorrow'.
3. **no more** E (*οὐκέτι*) C 'not'.
sin of the flesh A: B C E 'thy flesh': Arm. 'against my body'!
4. **in thee.** A B + 'And thou shalt turn to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.'
xxvi. 1. **turned . . . and** C. A B >.
a thankless vessel (*σκεῦος ἀχάριστου*) A B E: Arm. 'offspring of wickedness', perhaps = Hebrew כלי בליעל = 'instrument of Belial' (Fuchs). Cf. xvi. 8.
innocent hearts (*παρειμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ*) A C: B *παρισταμένους*: Arm. 'the upright in heart.' E >.

2 Thou shalt be deprived of the victual of which thou didst eat and shalt feed on dust all the days of
3 thy life; on thy breast and thy belly shalt thou walk and be robbed of hands and feet. There shall not be left thee ear nor wing, nor one limb of all that with which thou didst ensnare them in
4 thy malice and causedst them to be cast out of paradise; and I will put enmity between thee and his seed: he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of Judgement."

xxvii. 1. 2 Thus he spake and bade the angels have us cast out of paradise: and as we were being driven out amid our loud lamentations, your father Adam besought the angels and said: "Leave me a little (space) that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only
3 have sinned." And they left off driving him and Adam cried aloud and wept saying: "Pardon me,
4 O Lord, my deed." Then the Lord saith to the angels, "Why have ye ceased from driving Adam from paradise? Why do ye not cast him out? Is it I who have done wrong? Or is my judgement
5 badly judged?" Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshipped the Lord saying, "Thou art just, O Lord, and thou judgest righteous judgement."

xxviii. 1 But the Lord turned to Adam and said: "I will not suffer thee henceforward to be in paradise."
2 And Adam answered and said, "Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before
3 I be cast out." Then the Lord spake to Adam, "Thou shalt not take of it now, for I have commanded the cherubim with the flaming sword that turneth (every way) to guard it from thee that
4 thou taste not of it; but thou hast the war which the adversary hath put into thee; yet when thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil, as one about to die, when again the Resurrection hath come to pass, I will raise thee up and then there shall be given to thee the Tree of Life."

xxix. 1. 2 Thus spake the Lord and ordered us to be cast out of paradise. But your father Adam wept before the angels opposite paradise and the angels say to him: "What wouldst thou have us to do,
3 Adam?" And your father saith to them, "Behold, ye cast me out. I pray you, allow me to take away fragrant herbs from paradise, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out
4 of paradise that he hear me." And the angels approached God and said: "JAEL, Eternal King, command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odour from paradise and seeds
5 for his food." And God bade Adam go in and take sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise
6 and seeds for his food. And the angels let him go and he took four kinds: crocus and nard and calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food: and, after taking these, he went out of
7 paradise. And we were on the earth.

xxx. 1 Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived; and do ye guard yourselves from transgressing against the good.'

xxxi. 1 And when Eve had said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and bound to die
2 after a single day from the sickness which had fastened upon him, she saith to him: 'How is it that
3 thou diest and I live or how long have I to live after thou art dead? Tell me.' And Adam saith to her: 'Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together.

2. **hands and feet** A + 'thy': B + long gloss explaining sin as sensual.
The serpent = (Satan) has limbs in Apoc. Abrah. xxiii; Targ. Jon. on Gen. iii; Ber. Rabb. xix, xx; Jalk. Schim. ix. 11. Cf. Wisd. ii. 26; 2 En. xxxi. 3; and cf. Jubilees iii. 23 (Charles' note).
4. **day of Judgement** A B Arm.: C 'day of thy life' (Gen. iii. 14).
xxvii. 3. **Pardon me** Slav. + 'Allow me food that I may live'. Text of Slav. in disorder; read xxvi after xxvii.
4. **driving Adam** A B: Arm. E + 'why have ye hearkened to him?'
xxviii. 2. **before** = πρό with genitive and infinitive.
3. **take of** B Tisch. Arm.: C 'taste of'.
of it A B Arm. + 'and be immortal for ever' (Gen. iii. 22).
4. **about to** (μέλλων) C: A B 'willing to' (βουλόμενος): Arm. 'thinkest on death'. Ginzberg, with Gen. rabba xx; Apost. Const. vii, xxiv, emends to 'thou wilt die.' Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiv; Haggada on Gen. iii. 17–22. Contrast Vita xxix, xli. (Christian.)
xxix. 3. **Behold** A B: C 'since'.
so that = ὅπως with future indicative (C).
Cf. 'Conflict' I. xxiv. Slight variations in A B C Arm. Slav.
4. **Jael** (A B) = 'Jah-El' (יה־אל), Hebrew for 'Lord God': C >. Arm. has 'Hojil': E Slav. 'Joel', confused with angel in xxxii and xliv, Apoc. Abraham x. 20, xvii. 22.
5. **and seeds for his food** E; cf. Slav. Vita xxv. 4, xxviii. Arm. omits the request, but says they were given: A C says God let him take 'fragrant herbs for his food' (cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6): B says 'for sacrifice' only; cf. Jub. iii. 27: E seems to preserve original.
6. **four** Arm. E: Slav. 'three': A B 'both'. Jubilees mentions 'frankincense, galbanum and stacte'. The same four as in our text are mentioned in Arm. A B C.
7. **were** (ἐγενόμεθα). C 'were present' (παραγεγόναμεν): Arm. 'saw ourselves placed on the earth': Slav. 'sat before gate of paradise'. Passage parallel to Vita i–x follows in Slav.
xxx. 1. **children** C: A Tisch. τεκνία; diminutive.
transgressing (παραβαίνειν) C. A B 'forsaking.'
xxxi. 2. **have I to live** B: C 'do I desire to live' (θέλω): A >.

And †she shall lie† in my place. But when I die, anoint me and let no man touch me till the
4 angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek His own creature; and now arise rather and pray to God till I give up my spirit into His hands who gave it me. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He be wroth with us, or be merciful and intend to pity and receive us.'

ii. 1, 2 And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground and began to say: 'I have sinned, O God, I have sinned, O God of All, I have sinned against Thee. I have sinned against the elect angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Thy fearful and unshakable Throne. I have sinned before Thee and all sin hath begun through my doing in the creation.'
3 Even thus prayed Eve on her knees; (and) behold, the angel of humanity came to her, and raised
4 her up and said: 'Rise up, Eve, (from thy penitence), for behold, Adam thy husband hath gone out of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to his Maker.'

xiii. 1 And Eve rose up and wiped off her tears with her hand, and the angel saith to her, 'Lift up thy-
2 self from the earth.' And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by four bright eagles, (and) it were impossible for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or
3 behold their face—and angels going before the chariot—and when they came to the place where
4 your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim. And I beheld golden censers, between your father and the chariot, and all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the
5 incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmaments. And the angels fell down and worshipped God, crying aloud and saying, 'JAEL, Holy One, have pardon, for he is Thy image, and the work of Thy holy hands.'

xiv. 1 And I Eve beheld two great and fearful wonders standing in the presence of God and I wept for
2 fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said, 'Rise up, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam, and come to me, and thou shalt see a spectacle which no man's eye hath yet beheld.'

Vita Adae et Evae.

xlv. 1 And just as Michael the archangel had fore-
2 told, after six days came Adam's death. When Adam perceived that the hour of his death was at hand, he said to all his sons: 'Behold, I am nine hundred and thirty years old, and if I die,
3 bury me towards the sunrising †in the field of yonder dwelling†.' And it came to pass that when he had finished all his discourse, he gave up the ghost.

Apocalypsis Mosis.

Then Seth arose and came to his mother and xxxv. 1
to her he saith: 'What is thy trouble? Why weepest thou?' (And) she saith to him: 'Look 2
up and see with thine eyes the seven heavens opened, and see how the soul of thy father lies on its face and all the holy angels are praying on his behalf and saying: "Pardon him, Father of All, for he is Thine image."' Pray, my child 3
Seth, what shall this mean? And will he one day be delivered into the hands of the Invisible Father, even our God? But who are the two 4

3. **she shall lie** A B C: Arm. E 'you shall be laid'—change of person marks confused text. So again in xxxiv. 1.
touch A C: 'see' Arm.
4. **His own creature** C: A B Arm. 'the vessel He hath fashioned': B + gloss from John vi. 37.
our Maker A B Arm.: C 'him' (*αὐτόν*).
pity us C: A >: B Arm. 'turn to pity us' (*ἐπιστρέψῃ τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι ἡμᾶς*).
xxxii. 2. **I have sinned.** Eve's prayer-text. So C. E A B Slav. expand. Cf. Luke xv. 21.
3. **the angel of humanity.** Michael (cf. Vita xli): Arm. B 'angel of the lover of mankind'.
4. **thy penitence.** B + 'and thy prayer'.
his Maker C: A B + 'to meet Him': Arm. + 'to be before Him'.
xxxiii. 1. **with her hand** Arm. E: A B C 'set her hand on her face'. Slav. >.
2. **gazed steadfastly** (*ἀτενίσασα*) C: A *ἠτένισεν*. Cf. Acts vii. 55.
(and) it. Lit. 'which' (*ὅ* A: *ἅ* C).
tell (*εἰπεῖν*) A C: Arm. 'write'.
3. Only in A Tisch.
B ends here.
4. **the firmaments.** A only. See Introd. § 9. Cf. xxxv. 2 (seven heavens). Cf. Charles, Introd. to 2 En. and notes on Test. Levi ii, iii.
5. **holy** (*ἁγίων*) **hands** C Tisch.: Arm. 'blameless hands': A 'hands' simply.
xxxiv. 1. **wonders** (*μυστήρια*). Lit. 'secrets' C: Arm. Slav. 'wonders': A + 'standing in the presence of God'.
xlv. 2. **†in the field of yonder dwelling.†** II III *in agro habitationis illius.* I *magnum*†.

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xxxv. 1. **what is thy trouble?** A: C >.
2. **soul.** Arm. only. Others read 'body' wrongly (so Charles). **holy angels** A: C > 'holy'.
3. **what shall this mean?** C: A E Slav. >: Arm. 'what shall I be?' **even our God** A >.
4. Text as C. A shorter.
who are Arm.
D begins again.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

(Then) was the sun darkened and the moon
xlvi. 1 and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his mourning embraced from above the body of his father, and Eve was looking on the ground with hands folded over her head, and all her children wept most bitterly. And behold, there appeared
2 Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam and said to Seth: 'Rise up from the body of thy
3 father and come to me and see what is the doom of the Lord God concerning him. His creature is he, and God hath pitied him.'

And all angels blew their trumpets, and cried:
xlvii. 1 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity on Thy creature.'

xlviii. 1 Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out holding Adam and he handed him over to
2 Michael, saying: 'Let him be in thy charge till the day of Judgement in punishment, till the last years when I will convert his sorrow into joy.
3 Then shall he sit on the throne of him who hath been his supplanter.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

negroes who stand by at the prayers for thy father Adam?'

And Seth telleth his mother, that they are xxxv 1
the sun and moon and themselves fall down and pray on behalf of my father Adam. Eve saith 2
to him: 'And where is their light and why have they taken on such a black appearance?' And 3
Seth answereth her, 'The light hath not left them, but they cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, the Father of Light; and on this account their light hath been hidden from them.'

Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, xxxv 1
lo, an angel blew the trumpet, and there stood up all the angels (and they were) lying on their faces, and they cried aloud in an awful voice and said: 'Blessed (be) the glory of the Lord from 2
the works of His making, for He hath pitied Adam the creature of His hands.' But when the 3
angels had said these words, lo, there came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

And God saith to him: 'Adam, what hast xxxi 1
thou done? If thou hadst kept my commandment, there would now be no rejoicing among those who are bringing thee down to this place. Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief 2
and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will transform thee to thy former glory, and set thee on the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast 3
into this place to see thee sitting above him, then he shall be condemned and they that heard him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth thee sitting on his honourable throne.'

xlvi. 1. **sun darkened**, &c. Abbreviated from Apoc. Mos. xxxvi—ordinary setting to Jewish 'Apocalypse'. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 29; 2 En. xiv. 2–4; Test. Adam, &c.
hands folded over her head. Fuchs compares 2 Sam. xiii. 19 for this attitude in mourning.
her head. II 9 Meyer + 'and leaning her head on her knees.'
most bitterly. Lit. 'wept with most bitter weeping', a Hebraism.
3. **what is the doom**: *quid disponat de eo*, Meyer I II.
xlvii. 1. **blew their trumpets.** Lit. 'sang and spake with the trumpets'.
xlviii. 2. **Judgement** = *dispensationis* Meyer II III. I *defensionis*†.
3. **his supplanter.** II *qui supplantavit*, III *seduxit*, I *plantavi cum* †; Vita xlvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxix.

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xxxvi. 1. **that** ὅτι D. So I read for οὗτοι. 'these' (A C Tisch.): Slav. >: Arm. 'those men.'
3. **Light of the Universe** A C D; cf. 2 En. xiv. 2–4.
Father of Light D Arm. only; cf. James i. 17.
A ends here.
xxxvii. 2. **Adam** C Arm. Slav.: D >.
3. **carried him off** D: C >.
Acherusian. So Tisch. E C: D 'Agerusian': Slav. *locum gerusi*: Arm. ἀχειροποίητον = (sea) 'not made with hands'. Cf. Apoc. Pauli xxxi; 2 En. x. 2; 'Conflict' I. vi. 17; Plato, *Phaedo*, 173 a. Cf. Greek Acheron, and 'fiery stream' of 1 En. xiv. 19 seq., xxiii. 2.
xxxix. This chapter displaced; see Introd. § 1.
1. **this place** = 'Acherusian lake'. E Arm. add gloss 'I send him into the Gehenna of fire.'
2. **transform thee**† . . . **glory.** So I read with Arm.: D 'to thy beginning': C †.
3. **grieved sore** C: D > 'sore' (πολλά).
honourable throne. D > 'honourable' (τιμίου).
sitting . . . throne. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12–18; Matt. xi. 23, xxiii. 12; Vita Adae xv, xvi.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

viii. 4 And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: 'Bring me three linen clothes of byssus and spread them out over Adam and other linen clothes over Abel his son and bury Adam and Abel his son.'
5 And all the 'powers' of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was
6 consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of Paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother
7 [and no one else], and Michael and Uriel said:

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

And he stayed there three hours, lying down, xxxvii. 4
and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying: 'Lift him up into Paradise unto 5
the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world.' Then Michael took Adam and left 6
him where God told him.

But after all this, the archangel asked concern- xxxviii.
ing the laying out of the remains. And God 2
commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo! the 'Lord 3
of Hosts' came on and four winds drew Him and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And 4
they came to paradise and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born 'according to the appointment of God'. Then Adam's body lay there in 5
paradise on the earth and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

Then God spake to the archangel(s) Michael, xl. 1
(Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael): 'Go away 2
to Paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance" and pour it over him. And they acted thus did the three great angels and they prepared him for burial. And God said: 'Let the body of Abel also be 3
brought.' And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his (body) also. For he was unburied 4
since the day when Cain his brother slew him;

xlviii. 4. **and bury . . . his son.** II III only.
5. **the sleep.** So II III. I has *dormitatio* = 'resting-place'. According to Schatzhöhle (Christian), Ibn Ater, Abdul Serag, Adam was buried at Jerusalem; according to Jews, e.g. Ber. Rabba 58, Erubin 53 a, Pirke R. Eliezer, and Vit. Adae (III and Slav.), at Hebron. Cf. Fabric. i. 10. (MSS. III + 'in a place called Calvary'; Christian.)
powers = *virtutes*. See xxi. 1.
6. **[and no one else]** I >. A gloss.

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xxxvii. 5. **third Heaven** C D: Arm. E 'second Heaven': Slav. is confused and corrupt, and separates paradise from 'third Heaven'.
my reckoning C D: Arm. 'day of renewal': Slav. 'my resurrection'. Cf. 2 En. viii. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 2; Apoc. Paul xviii. 2; Test. Levi iii; Chagiga 12 b.
6. **left him** (ἀφῆκεν D) D E Slav.; C † κατήλειψεν (κατήλιψεν).
told him. D + 'and all the angels sang an angels' hymn marvelling at the pardon of Adam.'
xxxviii. 1. **laying out of the remains** C: D corrupt and obscure.
3. **Lord of Hosts** (κύριος στρατιῶν) C: D 'mighty lord,' κραταιὸς κύριος.
4. **born according to the appointment of God** C (διὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι καθ' ὅρον τοῦ θεοῦ): D 'he was there' (ἐγένετο ἐκεῖσε): Charles emends to καθορᾶν ('to behold' God). Arm. characteristically reads 'for the Lord wished to show him a marvel.'
5. **Then Adam's body . . . over him** C only. May be right, as it leads on to xl (to glorify Seth).
xl. 1. C has a fuller text and in *v.* 2 gives the names of four archangels.
2. **third heaven** C: Arm. 'second heaven': D >.
oil of fragrance. Cf. 2 En. viii.
three great angels. C >.
3. **Let the body.** C imperative: D infinitive mood.
Abel. Arm. + 'righteous'.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

'Just as ye have seen, in like manner, bury your dead.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal (him) but could not, for the earth would not receive him for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying: 'I will not 5 receive a companion body, till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me.' At that time, the angels took it and placed it on a rock, till Adam his father was buried. And 6 both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they 7 brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

And God called and said, 'Adam, Adam.' And xli. 1 the body answered from the earth and said: 'Here am I, Lord.' And God saith to him: 'I told 2 thee (that) earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrec- 3 tion; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man, who is of thy seed.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Eve's directions as to the Memorials of her life.

xlix. 1 Six days after, Adam died; and Eve perceived that she would die, (so) she assembled all her sons
2 and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all: 'Hear me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God.

3 On account of your transgression, Our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgement, first by water, the second time by fire; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race.

l. 1 But hearken unto me, my children. Make ye then tables of stone and others of clay, and write
2 on them, all my life and your father's (all) that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked (hard).'

7. **bury your dead.** A feature of Adam legends; cf. Fabric. i. 1–100.
xlix. 3. **by fire** (Stoic). Greek idea adopted by Hellenist Jews, e.g. *Sibyl. Oracl.* iii. 760.
l. 2. **baked hard.** Well-known Jewish fable. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* I. xi; Bousset in *ZNTW*, 1902; Manetho, Syncell. *Chron.* xl; Jubilees, viii. 3 (Charles' note). Egyptian derivation has been suggested ΣΗΘ for ΘΩΘ (Thoth.); doubtful (?). Probably all accounts are *parallel*, not dependent.
In III (3, 5, 14, 17) and Jean is added the story of Solomon finding 'the tables', with a conclusion announcing the coming of Christ to judge the world. Of Greek origin (e.g. *tabulas achiliacas* = ἀχειροποιήτους). All MSS. explain this differently. Monkish scribes here knew but little Greek.

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4. **the body sprang up . . . saying.** So I read with D.
5. **a companion** (ἑταῖρον) C: D (and so Fuchs) reads ἕτερον, 'another'.
on a rock. 1 En. xxii. 7 and Jub. iv. 29 prove early date of this legend.
was buried D. C 'died.'
6. **and He caused . . . two** D.
7. **placed them** C: D >.
digged and builded C D.
xli. 1. **saith** (λέγει) C: D aorist.
2. **return.** Cf. Gen. iii. 19. Arm. and Slav. have crude Christian glosses.
3. **every man** C: D Arm. 'every race of man'. (? Christian.)

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

3 When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the earth, and while she worshipped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

li. 1 When they had been mourning four days, (then) Michael the archangel appeared and said
2 to Seth: 'Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works.'
3 Thereupon Seth made the tables.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

After these words, God made a seal and sealed xlii. 1
the tomb, that no one might do anything to him
for six days till his rib should return to him.
Then the Lord and his angels went to their place. 2
And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, 3
fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept
bitterly about Adam's falling on sleep, for she
knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord
came to paradise to bury Adam she was asleep,
and her sons too, except Seth, till He bade Adam
be prepared for burial; and no man knew on
earth, except her son Seth. And Eve prayed (in 4
the hour of her death) that she might be buried
in the place where her husband Adam was. And
after she had finished her prayer, she saith: 'Lord, 5
Master, God of all rule, estrange not me thy
handmaid from the body of Adam, for from his
members didst thou make me. But deem me 6
worthy, even me unworthy that I am and a sinner,
to enter into his tabernacle, even as I was with
him in paradise, both without separation from
each other; just as in our transgression, we were 7
(both) led astray and transgressed thy command,
but were not separated. Even so, Lord, do not 8
separate us now.'

But after she had prayed, she gazed heavenwards and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: 'God of All, receive my spirit,' and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God.

And Michael came and taught Seth how to xliii. 1
prepare Eve for burial. And there came three
angels and they buried her (body) where Adam's
body was and Abel's. And thereafter Michael 2
spake to Seth and saith: 'Lay out in this wise
every man that dieth till the day of the Resurrection.' And after giving him this rule; he 3
saith to him: 'Mourn not beyond six days, but
on the seventh day, rest and rejoice on it, because

li. 2. **Man of God.** Cf. xli.
the Lord rested. Motive here is, if possible, even more Jewish than the injunction. A symbol of Resurrection in Sanh. 97 a (Ginzberg); contrast motive in Hebrews iv. 9. This motive impossible to a Christian; cf. Jubilees ii. 17–21.

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xlii. 1. **sealed the tomb.** Slav. + 'and made the sign of the Cross'.
2. **their place** C: 'the heaven' D Arm. (an explanation).
3. **for she knew not.** Motive for Eve's grief same in all versions.
except Seth C: D says 'all slept'. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxviii, which contradicts Vit. xlviii.
4. **prayed** C + 'in the hour of her death'.
5. **rule** (ἀρχῆς) D: C ἀρετῆς ('virtue').
thy handmaid. C only.
didst thou make me. Cf. Gen. ii. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 12.
6. **enter into his tabernacle** D. C 'be buried with his body.'
8. C adds 'and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God': D >.
xliii. 1. **Michael came.** C expands—makes Michael present at her death.
2. **the Resurrection.** Arm. + 'and Advent' (Christian gloss).
3. **rest and rejoice on it** D Arm. Slav.: after these words, however, Arm. reads 'for on this day we rejoice, God and all his angels, besides all the spirits of his creatures, which may be upon the earth'. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 4, xxxii. 2; Test. Abraham ii, iii, vii; 1 En. lxvii. 2; Exod. xxxi. 13; Apoc. Zeph. xx; Sanh. 69 b; Test. Sim. viii. 11; Jub. ii. 19–21; 4 Ezra ii. 23. Both the practice, the injunction, and the symbol are typical and commonplace in later Judaism. Even the fires of Gehenna were cooled on the Sabbath (Test. Abrah.). Apoc. Pauli xliv transfers this notion to the 'Lord's Day' (Sunday). Aboda Zara says approach of Sabbath saved Adam from much worse punishment.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

There follows in the following MSS.: II 3, 5, 19, 17, Jean; and Ar. 210, a long story of Solomon finding 'tabulas achiliacas.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

on that very day, God rejoiceth (yea) and we angels (too) with the righteous soul, who hath passed away from the earth.' Even thus spake 4
the angel, and ascended into heaven, glorifying (God) and saying: 'Allelujah.'

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, in the glory of 5
God the Father, for to Him it is meet to give glory, honour and worship, with the eternal life-giving spirit now and always and for ever. Amen.]

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts. To whom be glory and power for ever and for ever. Amen.]

[Then the archangel Joel glorified God; saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, heaven and earth are full of thy glory.']

4. **the angel** D C E: Slav. 'archangel Joel'; see note on 'Jael', xxix. 4.
5. Doxologies are later Christian additions. The first paragraph occurs in C, the second in Arm., the third in Slav.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah has not survived independently, but as one of the three constituents of the Ascension of Isaiah. In its present form we cannot be sure that the Ascension of Isaiah existed earlier than the latter half of the second century of our era. The three constituents of which it consists are the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Testament of Hezekiah. The first of these with which we are here mainly concerned was of Jewish origin, and is of less interest than the other two, which were the work of Christian writers.

The Vision of Isaiah—vi—xi. 40 of the Ascension of Isaiah—is important for the knowledge it affords us of first-century beliefs in certain circles as to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Seven Heavens, &c.

The long-lost Testament of Hezekiah—ii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 of the same work—is of very great value for the insight it gives us into the history of the Christian Church at the close of the first century. Its descriptions of the worldliness and lawlessness which prevailed among clergy, of the covetousness and vainglory and growing heresies among Christians generally, agree with similar accounts in 2 Timothy, 2 Peter, and Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* iii, xxiii).

The Martyrdom of Isaiah—i. 1–2 *a*, 6 *b*–13 *a*, ii. 1–8, 10—iii. 12, v. 1 *c*–14—is fragmentary. It opens with Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh his son and of Isaiah into his presence in order that the former should receive his dying commands relative to his duty in the coming days (i. 1–2 *a*). But Isaiah assures Hezekiah that all his words will be of none effect inasmuch as Manasseh would become the servant of Beliar and he Isaiah would be sawn asunder by Manasseh, and that no action of Hezekiah's could prevent his martyrdom (i. 6 *b*–13 *a*). On the death of Hezekiah Manasseh turned to evil ways and became the servant of Beliar and caused Israel to sin in every form of witchcraft, and fornication and lawlessness (ii. 1–7). And Isaiah withdrew first to Bethlehem and then to the mountains beyond it, where he and the prophets with him spent two years mourning and fasting because of the apostasy of Israel (ii. 10–16). The false prophet Belchira discovers his retreat and accuses him before Manasseh on three grounds: that he had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, that he had claimed to see God, though Moses had said that no man could see God and live, and that he had called Jerusalem Sodom, and its princes and people Gomorrah (iii. 1–12). On account of these things Manasseh caused Isaiah to be sawn asunder with a wood saw, Belchira and the false prophets standing by and deriding him (v. 1 *c*–14).

§ 2 Title.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah has, as we have seen, been preserved to us only in a fragmentary form as part of the Ascension of Isaiah. The whole book was known under several names. (*a*) Ἀπόκρυφον Ἡσαΐου is the designation given to it early in the third century by Origen in his commentary on Matthew xiii. 57 (Lommatzsch, iii. 49) καὶ Ἡσαΐας δὲ πεπρίσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱστόρηται. εἰ δέ τις οὐ προσίεται τὴν ἱστορίαν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ Ἡσαΐᾳ αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι πιστευσάτω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους οὕτω γεγραμμένοις (Heb. xi. 37). See also *Ep. ad Afric.* 9, and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* vi. 26. (*b*) It was known in the fourth century as τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἡσαΐου according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* xl. 2, who says that it was used by his Archontici and his Hieracites. Cf. also lxvii. 3. In like manner Jerome (*Comm. in Isaiam* lxiv. 4) calls it his *Ascensio Isaiae.* (*c*) Again it went by the name Ὅρασις Ἡσαΐου as may be inferred from the texts of E S and L² of vi. 1. This designation appears in Montfaucon's and Pitra's list of Canonical and Apocryphal books, and was used by Euthymius Zigabenus in the eleventh century when anathematizing his Massaliani (*Victoria de Massal.* Anath. iv). This title belongs specifically and probably originally only to vi.—xi. 40. (*d*) Finally, it is named the Διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου by Cedrenus I. 120–1. That such a work was incorporated in the *Ascension* might also be inferred from i. 2 *b*–5 *a*, which describe the contents of Hezekiah's vision. This description is applicable to the Christian Apocalypse iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 and to it alone. The fact, too, that Cedrenus quotes partially iv. 12, 14 and refers to iv. 15–18 of this very section points to the conclusion that such a book existed independently.

§ 3. The Versions.

Since the Martyrdom of Isaiah was originally an independent work, we shall deal here only with the Versions of this work and not with those that reproduce the rest of the Ascension of Isaiah.

(*a*) *The Greek Version.* This version existed in two forms, G^1 and G^2, as early as the third century. The former is lost, but its characteristics are reproduced by the Ethiopic (= E) and the first Latin Version (= L^1). Phrases and sentences of G^1 from every chapter of the Ascension of Isaiah, except iv, have been preserved by the 'Greek Legend'. This work was found by von Gebhardt in a Greek MS. of the twelfth century, no. 1534 in the National Library at Paris, and published by him in the *ZfWT* 330–53. In my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* it is reprinted from Gebhardt's text with one or two necessary emendations, and all the phrases taken directly from G^1 are printed in thick type, and the chapter and verse placed in the margin. Of G^2 an actual fragment was discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century. On this fragment see my edition, pp. xxviii-xxxi, and for the fragment itself, pp. 84–95. G^1 and G^2 are in turn derived from a lost archetype G, which was known in its original form to the writer of the *Opus Imperfectum*: see pp. xl–xlii of my edition.

(*b*) *The Ethiopic Version.* This is the only version that preserves in its entirety the Ascension of Isaiah. It is, as I have shown in my edition, derived from G^1. It is a very faithful reproduction of the Greek. So closely does it follow the latter that it can almost always be retranslated without difficulty. Like every version, however, with a long history behind it, it has its defects. As yet only three MSS., *a b c*, have been brought to Europe from Abyssinia. The first of these was edited by Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, Oxoniae, 1819, and the whole three by Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae Aethiopice et Latine*, Lipsiae, 1877, and by the present writer, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the new Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic, is here published in full*, London, 1900. The last work is based on a fresh and more accurate collation of the MSS.

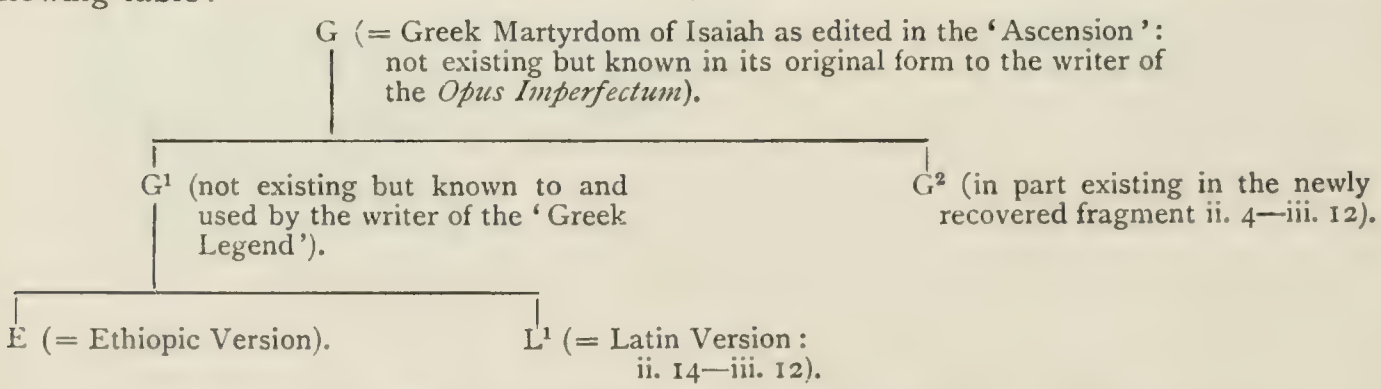
(*c*) *The Latin Versions.* There were two Latin versions, one of which, L^2, embraces vi—xi. 1–19, 23–40, the other, L^1, only ii. 14—iii. 13, vii. 1–19. The former was printed by Antonius de Fantis at Venice in 1522 from a MS. now unknown, and reprinted by Gieseler in 1832 and by Dillmann as an appendix to his edition in 1877, and by the present writer with critical notes and corrections in his edition of 1900.

The two smaller fragments, i. e. L^1, which were first edited by Mai in 1828 from a sixth-century Vatican MS., were re-edited by the present writer from a fresh collation of the MS.

A study of E, L^1, L^2, the 'Greek Legend', and of the Slavonic Version (= S) which exists only for vi–xi proves that E L^1 and the 'Greek Legend' go back to a definite Greek text, which we might name G^1, and that S L^2 go back similarly to G^2.

§ 4. Relations of the various Versions.

Some of these relations have already been briefly indicated in the preceding section. The student will find them dealt with at length in my edition, pp. xviii–xxxiii, xl–xlii. As regards the Martyrdom of Isaiah the textual affinities of all the textual authorities can be shortly summarized in the following table:—



§ 5. The Extent of the Martyrdom of Isaiah.

All writers save Laurence recognize a plurality of authorship in the Ascension of Isaiah, and the independent origin of the Martyrdom of Isaiah. Ewald was the first to distinguish the works of three different authors. Ewald's analysis was remodelled and issued in the following form by Dillmann:—

i. The Martyrdom of Isaiah, of Jewish origin: ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 2–14.

ii. The Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin: vi. 1—xi. 1, 23–40.

iii. The above two constituents were put together by a Christian writer, who prefixed i. 1, 2, 4 *b*–13 and appended xi. 42, 43.

iv. Finally a Christian editor incorporated the two sections iii. 13—v. 1 and xi. 2–22, and added also i. 3, 4 *a*, v. 15, 16, xi. 41.

Dillmann's analysis has on the whole been accepted by Harnack, Schürer, Deane, and Beer. All these scholars have been influenced by Gebhardt's statement that in his 'Greek Legend' there is not a trace of iii. 13—v. 1, xi. 2–22, and that, accordingly, these sections were absent from the text when the 'Greek Legend' was composed. Thus according to Gebhardt, Dillmann's analysis is confirmed by external evidence.

But Gebhardt's statement is wrong; for as I have shown in my edition the writer of the 'Greek Legend' was acquainted with both these sections, inasmuch as he incorporates phrases from iv. 2, 6, 8, 14, 19, xi. 19, 20. Hence Dillmann's analysis can no longer be maintained. With the full discussion of the questions at issue we are not here concerned. It will be sufficient to state the conclusions at which the present writer has arrived in his edition, and these are: 'The conditions of the problem are sufficiently satisfied by supposing a single editor, who had three works at his disposal, the Martyrdom of Isaiah of Jewish origin, and the two independent works, the Testament of Hezekiah (= iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and the Vision of Isaiah (= vi—xi. 40), of Christian origin. These he reduced or enlarged as it suited his purpose, and put them together as they stand in our text. Amongst the obvious editorial additions are i. 2 *b*—6 *a*, 13 *a*, ii. 9, iii. 13 *a*, iv. 1 *a*, 19—v. 1 *a*, 15, 16, xi. 41–3.'

We have herein given the extent of the Testament of Hezekiah, and the Vision of Isaiah, but that of the Martyrdom requires investigation. According to Dillmann the latter consists of ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 1 *b*–14. But with this view the present writer cannot agree. Other fragments survive in Chapter i. Thus in ii. 1 the words 'he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah' suggest the questions: What commands are these? and when were they given? Now we find the probable answer to the latter question in i. 1, 2 *a*, in which Hezekiah summons Manasseh before him in the presence of Isaiah and Josab. The answer to the former question is still preserved in our text, though obscurely, owing to editorial additions. Thus in i. 6 *b* we learn that Isaiah gave certain commands to Manasseh. These are referred to in i. 7, ii. 1. What these commands were is not recorded in our book, but they are found in the Latin fragments preserved in the *Opus Imperfectum*, which go back *not to our text but to the original Martyrdom.* There we find the explanation of many difficulties in our text. Thus in the first place we discover the reason for Isaiah summoning Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year; for the Latin supplies it: 'cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam.' In the next place the object with which Hezekiah summoned Manasseh is not, as in our text, to become the depository of certain visions i. 2 *b*–6 *a*, but to receive directions as to his religious duties and the government of the kingdom: 'Vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa.' But the final editor of the Ascension of Isaiah, whose interests were centred in the visions, omitted these words, and attributed quite a different object to Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh. Hezekiah, he tells us, in i. 2. 6, summoned Manasseh 'in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen' (i. e. iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and also those which Isaiah the son of Amoz had given to him (vi—xi. 40). Thus i. 2 *b*–6 *a* was added by the final editor to introduce the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah.

We have now seen that i. 1, 2 *a*, 6 *b* are derived from the original Martyrdom, but still more of this chapter comes from this source—indeed from 6 *b* to the close. This follows from the Latin passage in the *Opus Imperfectum* which either quotes or implies a knowledge of i. 7, 10, 12, 13. This passage, wherein I have italicized the words that are drawn from our book, runs as follows: 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia (ii. 1) *obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui* sanctam et omnia beneficia Dei pro merito eius collata in ipsum, et (i. 8, ii. 4) *stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo. . . .* Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, (i. 1, 6 *b*) *vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare*, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. (i. 7) *Et dixit ad eum Esaias*: vere quia *non descendunt verba tua in cor eius, sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici*: (i. 10, 12) *Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere*, dicens: Quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix *Esaias* propheta, *dicens*, (i. 13) *irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum* hoc.' (Printed with Chrysostom's works, vi, pp. xx–xxi.—Ed. Montfaucon.)

§ 6. The Date.

The Martyrdom is quoted by the *Opus Imperfectum*, Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Tertullian, and in all probability by Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαΐου ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε). It was not improbably known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37). This

brings us, if the last reference is trustworthy, to the first century A. D. And this appears to be the right date; for it is unlikely that works written by Jews in the second century should attain to circulation in the Christian Church.

§ 7. Authorship and Original Language.

The author was a Jew. The details as to the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh are found in the Talmud (*Jebamoth* 49 *b*) in a form closely related to that in our text. Thus it is told that Rabbi Simeon ben 'Azzai found in Jerusalem an account of the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh. Manasseh condemned Isaiah to death because he had claimed to see God (Isa. vi. 1 sqq.), whereas according to the Law it was declared that no man could see God and live (Exod. xxxiii. 20). The same passage tells also of Isaiah taking refuge in a cedar tree, and of the cedar being sawn in sunder and Isaiah within it. Another version of the same legend is given in the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x), and still another in Targum on Isaiah quoted by Jolowicz (*Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Prophets Jesajas*, p. 9). See *Jewish Encyc.*, viii. 636.

It is very probable that the original was written in Hebrew. The Jewish origin of the legend points in this direction, and particularly its recurrence in the Talmud. The following facts also lend confirmation to this hypothesis. In ii. 1 there is a paronomasia of the words 'Manasseh . . . did not remember' = when retranslated into Hebrew: מנשה נשה. Again in i. 8 Malchira is probably a transliteration of מלכי־רע or מלאכי־רע as S. A. Cook has pointed out. In iii. 2 we have the familiar Hebraism *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν . . . καί.* Finally, 'wooden saw', i. e. *πρίων ξύλινος* in v. 11, 14, appears to be a mistranslation of משור עץ, which means a saw for sawing wood. In the Greek Legend iii. 14 it is described as *πρίων σίδηρος.*

§ 8. The Martyrdom of Isaiah in Jewish and Christian Literature and the Oriental Influences apparent in it.

The legend of the Martyrdom of Isaiah took its origin most probably in 2 Kings xxi. 16. Although Josephus does not mention it, it was certainly a Jewish tradition. In Sanh. 103 *b* it is said that Manasseh put Isaiah to death; and in Jebamoth 49 *b* that Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh because he declared that he had seen God. There, as in our text, Isaiah is charged with contradicting the words of Moses in Exod. xxxiii. 20. His death also by being sawn in sunder is also recounted. This account is probably drawn ultimately from the Semitic original of our text. Another form of the Legend appears in Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x).

The legend was known in the Apostolic age, if, as is generally assumed, we have in Heb. xi. 37 (*ἐπρίσθησαν*) a reference to the specific mode of Isaiah's martyrdom. But, even if this is doubtful, there is the evidence of the *Ascension* (i. 1, 2 *a*, 6—iii. 12, v. 1 *b*–14) which cannot be much later than the middle of the first century A. D. In the next century Justin Martyr most probably quotes from our text (see note on v. 11), while somewhat later frequent references and quotations are found in Origen.

But though the legend is undoubtedly Jewish, it appears to have been derived from Eastern sources. According to the Zamyâd Yast 46 (*S. B. E.* xxiii. 297), Bundahis xxxi. 5, xxxiv. 4 (*op. cit.* v. 131, 150) Yima reigned 616½ years and was then dethroned for his blind pride in accepting divine worship and sawn in two by the serpent of three heads, Azhi Dahâka. In the Persian work 'The History of King Djemchid and the Devas' which Larionoff translated into French from the Persian (*Journal Asiat.* pp. 59–83, 1889) we find a nearly related legend. When Djemchid's throne was seized by Zohak, the man of serpents, he fled into the wilderness. One hundred years later Ahriman and Biver (i.e. Zohak) having come upon him there, God caused a tree to open itself, in order that Djemchid might conceal himself therein. Notwithstanding, through the help of Iblis they discovered his hiding-place and had the tree sawn in twain, and so Djemchid was killed. This legend appears to have directly influenced the Talmudic accounts of the martyrdom of Isaiah exactly in the points wherein they differ from that in our text.

§ 9. Bibliography.

For complete bibliography see the present writer's edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* and Schürer[3] iii. 283–5.

(*a*) The chief editions of the texts of the Ancient Versions will be found under § 3.

(*b*) *Critical Inquiries* (dealing with the Ascension of Isaiah as a whole and with its parts). Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819, pp. 141–80; Nitzsch, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1830, pp. 209–46; Lücke, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1852, pp. 274–302; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877, pp. v–xviii; Stokes, art. 'Ascension of Isaiah' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 1882, iii. 298–301; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 236–75; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, i. 854–6; ii. 573–9, 714; Clemen, 'Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja,' *ZfWT*, 1896, pp. 388–415; 1897, pp. 455–65; Robinson, 'Ascension of Isaiah' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, ii. 499–501; Beer, *Apok. und Pseudep.*, 1900, ii. 119–23; Littmann, *Jewish Encyc.*, 1904, vi. 642–3.

(*c*) *Editions.* Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the New Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic Version, is here published in full*, 1900.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

1 1 And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah that he
2 called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one. And he called him into the presence of
Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet; and into the presence of Jôsâb the son of Isaiah.
5 b, 7 And whilst he (*Hezekiah*) gave commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by, Isaiah said to
Hezekiah the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him: 'As the Lord
liveth, whose name has not been sent into this world, [and as the Beloved of my Lord liveth], and as
the Spirit which speaketh in me liveth, all these commands and these words shall be made of none
effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of
8 my body. And Sammael Malchîrâ shall serve Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he shall
9 become a follower of Beliar rather than of me. And many in Jerusalem and in Judaea he shall
cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar shall dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be
10 sawn asunder.' And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments,
11 and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face. And Isaiah said unto him: 'The counsel of
12 Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought shall avail thee.' **And on that day** Hezekiah

I. 1. 'in the twenty-fifth year', according to the *Greek Legend.*

2. **Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet.** Amoz אמוץ the father of Isaiah seems here to be confused with Amos the prophet עמוס. The LXX uses 'Αμώς for both, and the Asc. Isa. iv. 22 and Megilla 10[b] both regard Isaiah as a prophet's son. According to the latter the father of Isaiah and King Amaziah were brothers.

Jôsâb, i. e. Shear-jashub, Isa. vii. 3.

the son of Isaiah. The editorial addition 2[b]–6[a] that here follows is omitted as being of Christian origin. See my edition, p. 2.

6. **commands.** Cf. ii. 1.

7. **and as the Beloved . . . liveth.** This is an addition by the Christian editor who thus converts a reference to the transcendence of God into a doctrinal statement about the Trinity.

depart. +'from life', *Greek Legend*, i. 8.

8. **Sammael** סַמָּאֵל. Originally an archangel, he enticed the serpent to tempt Eve in order to make the earth his kingdom, Jalkut Shim Beresh. 25. He became a chief Satan, Debarim rabba, 11; and the angel of death, Targ. Jer. on Gen. iii. 6. See Weber's *Jüd. Theologie*, 169, 218, 219, 253.

Malchîrâ. This appears to be a surname of Sammael, cf. Asc. Isa. xi. 41 'Sammael Satan.' But it also appears as a variant of the name Balchîrâ in v. 8 below. S. A. Cook in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1901, p. 168, suggests מלכי־רע or מלאכי־רע, 'evil king' or 'evil angel'. Beer in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigr. des A. T.* suggests that that Bechira (see ii. 12) = Bevir, the other name of Zohak, the man of serpents, the associate of Ahriman in the persecution of Djemchid.

serve Manasseh. The idea of demons being at the behest of men seems out of place here. On the other hand Belchîrâ's service of Manasseh is equally unsuitable.

Beliar. Cf. i. 9; ii. 4; iii. 11; v. 4 (*ac*). E corruptly reads 'Berial'. He is the chief of the evil spirits, and the opponent of Christ, 2 Cor. vi. 15; cf. Jub. i. 20, xv. 33; Sib. Or. ii. 167 (to come as Antichrist), iii. 63–73, (to proceed from the emperors of Rome, working signs and deceiving the elect, and finally to be burnt up); Test. xii Patr. *passim.* For the etymology see *Encycl. Bibl.* 525–7.

Note Sammael's relation to Beliar. They are alike in taking possession of Manasseh, ii. 1 and i. 9, iii. 11. But Sammael is inferior, as he exerts himself to make Manasseh subject to Beliar i. 8 (ii. 1, 4).

9. **Beliar.** 'Satan,' *Greek Legend* i. 9.

10. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* i. 10.

11. **Sammael.** 'Satan,' *Gk. Leg.* i. 11.

12. **And on that day.** 'on this day and' *b c*, 'on those words' *a*; 'and in that hour' *Gk. Leg.*

I–II. 1. We may compare for the diction as well as the sense of many clauses in I–II. 1 the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum Homil. I* (printed with Chrysostom's works, vol. VI, pp. xx-xxi, Montfaucon). 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia *obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui* (ii. 1) sanctam et . . . *stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo* (i. 8, ii. 4) . . .: Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, *vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare* (i. 1, 6[b]), quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. *Et dixit ad eum Esaias*: vere quia *non descendunt verba tua in cor eius; sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici* (i. 7). *Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere* (i. 12) dicens: quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix *Esaias* propheta, *dicens: irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum* (i. 13) hoc, videns Ezechiae religionem, quia plus amabat Deum quam filium suum.'

8–12. For a different account of this interview of Isaiah and Hezekiah see Berachoth, 10 *a*. 'What is the meaning of the words "Thou shalt die and not live?" "Thou shalt die in this world and not live in the next world." He said: "Wherefore is all this?" He answered him: "Because thou hast not preached fruitfulness and increase." He rejoined: "Because it was revealed to me by the Holy Spirit that unprofitable children would spring from me." He replied: "What concern hast thou in the secrets of the All Merciful? Thou shouldst have done what was commanded thee, and the Holy One, blessed be He, may do what pleases Him." He replied thereto: "Give me thy daughter: perhaps my merits and thine together will bring it about that profitable children may spring from me." Then replied he: "The judgment is already determined regarding thee."'

13 resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son. And Isaiah said to Hezekiah: [' The Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and] the purpose of thy heart shall not be accomplished, for with this calling have I been called [and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved].'

2 1 And it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah his father but forgat them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh
2 and clung fast to him. And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served
3 Satan and his angels and his powers. And he turned aside the house of his father which had been
4 before the face of Hezekiah ⟨from⟩ the words of wisdom and **from** the service of God. And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar; for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs. And he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which was spread abroad in Jerusalem.
5 And witchcraft and magic increased and divination and auguration, and fornication, [and adultery], and the persecution of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachîrâ, and] Tobia the Canaanite, and John
6 of Anathoth, and by ⟨Zadok⟩ the chief of the works. And the rest of the acts, behold they are written
7 in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. And when Isaiah the son of Amoz saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship of Satan and his wantonness, he
8 withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. And there also there was much
9 lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place. [And Micaiah the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Jôsâb, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascension into heaven, withdrew and settled on the mountain.]
10 They were all clothed with garments of hair, and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going
11 astray of Israel. And these eat nothing save wild herbs which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two years of
12 days on the mountains and hills. [And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchîrâ, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false prophet whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now †Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab king of Israel had been the teacher of the 400 prophets of Baal,

13. [' **The Beloved hath . . . Beloved** ']. Editorial additions like 2^b–6^a.

II. 1. **Manasseh . . . forgat.** Cf. for the play on the words Gen. xli. 51; also the *Opus Imperf.*, and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2.
commands of Hezekiah. See i. 6.
Sammael. See i. 8 (note).

2. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2. A Jewish legend makes Manasseh remove the sacred name from the scriptures.

3. So the Ethiopic text. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3 *ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως.* Beer not so well renders ' changed in the house . . . all that had been ', &c.
from, supplied as in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.

4. **Beliar the angel of lawlessness.** Cf. Asc. Isa. iv. 2 'lawless king'; 2 Thess. ii. 3 ' the man of lawlessness' (= the Antichrist).
Beliar the ruler of this world. Cf. John xii. 31, xvi. 11; 2 Cor. iv. 4; also Eph. vi. 12 *κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, also ii. 2.
Matanbûchûs. ac. ' Metanbakas ' b. In v. 3 it occurs as Mechêmbêchûs.
in apostatizing. But *ἐν ἀποστάσει* 𝔊². Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 9.

5. See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6 (LXX) *ἐκληδονίζετο καὶ ἐφαρμακεύετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο*, also 2 Kings xxi. 6. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.
and adultery. > 𝔊 and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.
persecution. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 16.
Belachîrâ and. > 𝔊. A premature mention, see ii. 12.
Anathoth. See *Encycl. Bibl.* in loc.
Zadok. 𝔊 only.

6. 2 Kings xxi. 17, &c.

7. **wantonness** E; *πομπήν* 𝔊; *ἀσωτίαν Gk. Leg.* iii. 8.

9. An editorial addition from Asc. Isa. vi. 7; ' withdrew . . . mountain ' is from ver. 8 here; ' his son ' and ' many of the faithful . . . heaven ' are the editor's own.

11. **herbs.** Cf. 2 Kings iv. 38 ff. This asceticism was a preparation for visions and revelations. Cf. Dan. x. 2, 3; 4 Ezra ix. 26, xii. 51.

12–16. Belchîrâ and his history. 12–16 is an insertion and interrupts the narrative of ii. 11–iii. 1.

12. **Belchîrâ**, ii. 5, 12, 16; iii. 1, 6, 12; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 12. The Greek Papyrus gives four different forms Βελιχειάρ, Βελχειρά, Βεχειρά, and Μελχειρά. The *Gk. Leg.* gives Βεχειράς (iii. 10), the Latin *Bechira*. The Ethiopic varies even more. The most probable original is Melchîrâ or Melchiah. See i. 8 (note). Beer prefers Bechira. But the *Gk. Leg.* often mentions a false prophet Μελχίας. Perhaps there was a confusion between the demon's and the false prophet's names. Or more probably the tempter and tormentor of the prophet is regarded as an impersonation of the devil. See v. 9, 10. Isaiah calls him Διάβολος in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Ambrose on Ps. cxviii. uses diabolus. See v. 4 (note).
Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan. See 1 Kings xxii. 11.
Bethlehem. ' Bethany ' 𝔊.
†Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî E. Read 'Zedekiah,' as in Gk. Frag. For the variation cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 98 B *ἦσαν ψευδοπροφῆται Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλα* and 96 C *ψευδοπροφῆται Σεδεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι τετρακόσιοι.*
the 400 prophets of Baal. Cf. Chron. Pasch. *l. c.* Really the fellow-prophets of Zedekiah in 1 Kings xxii. 6 are nominally prophets of the Lord, and he is not connected with the 400 of Baal in 1 Kings xviii. 22.

13 had himself smitten and reproved Micaiah the son of Amâdâ the prophet. And he, Micaiah, had
been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. ⟨And he was⟩ with Zedekiah the prophet: they were
14 with Ahaziah the son of **Ahab, king in Samaria.** And Elijah the prophet of Têbôn of Gilead was
reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed
of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the hand of Leba Nâsr because he had slain
15 the prophets of God. And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and
16 their teacher Gemarias of Mount †Joel† had heard—now he was brother of Zedekiah—when
they had heard, they persuaded Ahaziah the king of †Aguaron† and *slew* Micaiah.

3 1 And Belchîrâ recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him; for
he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely
in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan.
2 And it came to pass when Alagar Zagâr, king of Assyria, had come and captured Samaria and
taken the nine ⟨and a half⟩ tribes captive, and led them away to the mountains of the Medes and the
3 rivers of Tâzôn; this (*Belchîrâ*) while still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days
of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria; for he feared
4 Hezekiah. And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem.
5 And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to the region of Bethlehem.
6 And they persuaded . . . And Belchîrâ accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him,
saying: 'Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of
Judah that they shall be laid waste and ⟨against the children of Judah and⟩ Benjamin also that they
shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O lord the king, that thou shalt go (*bound*) with hooks
7, 8 and iron chains': But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah. And Isaiah himself hath
9 said: 'I see more than Moses the prophet.' But Moses said: 'No man can see God and live':
10 and Isaiah hath said: 'I have seen God and behold I live.' Know, therefore, O king, that he is
lying. And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath

smitten, &c. 1 Kings xxii. 24.
Amâdâ = Imlah.
13. **And he was.** $\mathfrak{G}^2$ supplies.
Ahab, king in Samaria. Alamerem balalâ'aw E; Ἀλὰ(μ) ἐν Σεμμωμα $\mathfrak{G}^2$. For 'Alam' = 'Ahab' see $\mathfrak{G}^2$ ii. 15. balalâ'aw = probably basala'aw, i.e. βασιλέως. The '-erem' is explicable from ἐν Σεμμωμα $\mathfrak{G}^2$ as 'in Samaria'.
14. Elijah is introduced here unexpectedly.
of Têbôn of Gilead. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1 (LXX) ὁ Θεσβείτης ἐκ Θεσβῶν τῆς Γαλαάδ, and Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 13. 2 ἐκ πόλεως Θεσεβώνης τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας. This Thisbe is mentioned in Tobit i. 2. For the omission of ὁ Θεσβείτης cf. MS. A of the LXX. The Massoretic punctuation in 1 Kings xvii. 1 of מתשבי = 'of the sojourners of'.
prophesied regarding Ahaziah. 2 Kings i. 1–6.
Leba Nâsr. Corrupt for Salmanassar. Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 6 and 4 Ezra xiii. 40.
15. **Gemarias** $\mathfrak{L}^1$; Jâlerjâs E; Ἰαλλαριας $\mathfrak{G}^2$; corruptly Joel E; Ισλαλ $\mathfrak{G}^2$; Efrem $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Here again the Latin version gives the easier reading. S. A. Cook, *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.*, Jan. 1901, p. 168, suggests that Joel is a corruption of Ebal and Efrem of Gerizim, or that Rephaim (Joshua xv. 8) and Jeruel (2 Chron. xx. 16) are referred to. Probably, however, Joel is corrupt for Israel, for which $\mathfrak{L}$ boldly substitutes the familiar phrase 'Efrem' after 'mount'.
16. **now he** $\mathfrak{L}^1$; now Îbchîrâ E (*a*); now Βεχειρά $\mathfrak{G}^2$. $\mathfrak{L}^1$ makes Gemarias the brother of Zedekiah, E and $\mathfrak{G}^2$ make Belchîrâ, though in ver. 12 he is said to be his nephew.
†Aguaron† E; Gomorrha $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Probably שמרון was misread עמרה (Cooke). If so, restore 'Samaria'.

III. 1. **And Belchîrâ recognized.** $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$.
2. **Alagar Zagâr.** i. e. Salmanassar. Cf. ii. 14.
and a half. $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5; lxxvii. 19; lxxviii. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Syr. and Arab.). > and a half E.
mountains $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$; 'boundaries (?)' E. Cf. LXX and Mass. in 2 Kings xvii. 6.
Tâzôn = Gozan. 2 Kings xvii. 6.
5. **they persuaded** $\mathfrak{G}^2$; 'he persuaded' E. Who the 'they' are is uncertain. Perhaps the false prophets persuaded Belchîrâ.
6. **those** E; 'the prophets' $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$.
against the children of Judah and. Restored from $\mathfrak{L}^1$.
with hooks and iron chains. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 (LXX 'bonds' not 'hooks').
7. **Judah** + 'and Jerusalem' $\mathfrak{L}^1$; 'and Benjamin they hate, and their word is evil against Judah and Israel' $\mathfrak{G}^2$.
8–9. Cf. Origen, *In Iesaiam Homil.* i. 5 'Aiunt ideo Isaiam esse sectum a populo quasi legem praevaricantem et extra scripturas annuntiantem. Scriptura enim dicit: "Nemo videbit faciem meum et vivet." Iste vero ait: "Vidi Dominum Sabaoth." Moses, aiunt, non vidit et tu vidisti? Et propter hoc eum secuerunt et condemnaverunt ut impium.'
9. **No man**, &c. Exod. xxxiii. 20.
I have seen God. Isa. vi. 1.
10. **he is lying.** $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. 'they are lying prophets' E.
Jerusalem . . . Sodom, &c. Cf. Isa. i. 10. Cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Ies.* i. 10 'aiunt Hebraei ob duas causas interfectum Isaiam: quod principes Sodomorum et populum Gomorrhae eos appellaverit, et quod, Domino dicente ad Mosen Non poteris videre faciem meam, iste ausus sit dicere Vidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum.' Cf. Jebam. 49 *b*.

declared to be the people of Gomorrah. And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the
11 prophets before Manasseh. But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the
12 princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the councillors of the king. And the
words of Belchîrâ pleased him [exceedingly], and he sent and seized Isaiah.

5 1 b, 2 And he sawed him asunder with a **wood**-saw. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder
Balchîrâ stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because
3 of Isaiah. And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing]
4 deriding; And Belchîrâ said to Isaiah: 'Say: "I have lied in all that I have spoken, and likewise
5 the ways of Manasseh are good and right. And the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are
6, 7 good."' And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. But Isaiah was (absorbed)
8 in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them ⟨not⟩. And Balchîrâ spake
thus to Isaiah: 'Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh
9 and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee.' And Isaiah answered
and said: 'So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers and
10, 11 all thy house. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body.' And they
12 seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a **wood**-saw. And Manasseh and
13 Balchîrâ and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on. And to
the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: 'Go ye to the region
14 of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup.' And when Isaiah was being
sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he
was sawn in twain.

11. **Beliar.** See i. 9 (note).
12. **exceedingly.** E only.

V. 2. **wood-saw.** See note on ver. 11.
3. **Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs.** So all MSS. But the verbs following are in the plural. For Mechêmbêchûs see ii. 4.
laughing, a doublet.
4–8. **Balchîrâ** *b* (or 'Beliar' *a c*) tempts Isaiah.
4. Cf. Ambrose, *Comm.* on Ps. cxviii (ed. Bened. vol. i. 1124): 'ferunt quod Esaiae, in carcere posito cum mole imminentis urgeretur exitii, dixisse diabolum: Dic quia non a Domino locutus es, quae dixisti, et omnium in te mentes affectusque mutabo, ut qui indignantur iniuriam absolutionem in te conferant.'
7. **saw . . . not.** Negative supplied as in Asc. Isa. vi. 10.
8. **Balchîrâ** *b c.* Mîlchîras' *a.* See ii. 12 (note).
9. **So far . . . accursed** *b.* 'So far as I am concerned, accursed—that is to say—' *a.* The curse is against the false prophet as man ('house') and as an emissary of Satan ('powers'). Cf. *κατάθεμά σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφῆτα, διάβολε, Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Cf. also Matt. xvi. 23.
11. **a wood-saw.** For the sawing asunder of Isaiah cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15; Tert. *De Patientia,* 14 'His patientiae viribus secatur Esaias et de Domino non secat'; *Scorpiace* 8. A 'wooden saw' E, *Gk. Leg.* iii. 19, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 *περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαΐου, ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε,* &c., is a misunderstanding of מַשּׂוֹר עֵץ, which is a saw for sawing wood, whether of iron or any other metal. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 14 has *πρίονι σιδηρῷ.*
12. **and**—an intrusion.
13. **the cup.** Cf. Matt. xx. 22.
14. **neither cried aloud nor wept.** Cf. 'patientiae viribus,' Tert. *l. c.*

BOOK OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

It is seldom that authors attain to the immortality which they hope for, and it is still more seldom that anonymous authors achieve this distinction. And yet it is just such a distinction that the authors of the Book of Enoch have achieved. That such should be ultimately his lot was the deep-rooted conviction of one of this literary circle. He looked forward (civ. 11–12) to the time when his writings would be translated into various languages, and become to the righteous 'a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom'. This hope was to a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, when the currency of these apocalyptic writings was very widespread, because they almost alone represented the advance of the higher theology in Judaism, which culminated in Christianity.[1] But our book contained much of a questionable character, and from the fourth century of our era onward it fell into discredit; and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, it gradually passed out of circulation, and became lost to the knowledge of Western Christendom till over a century ago, when an Ethiopic version of the work was found in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought home three MSS. of it, from one of which Laurence made the first modern translation of Enoch. It was not, however, till recent years that the Book of Enoch and similar works have begun to come into their own owing to their immeasurable value as being practically the only historical memorials of the religious development of Judaism from 200 B. C. to 100 A. D., and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism, to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence.

The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B. C. Some of its authors—and there were many—belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character of the period, in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the O.T. prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the aegis of some ancient name. The Law which claimed to be the highest and final word from God could tolerate no fresh message from God, and so, when men were moved by the Spirit of God to make known their visions relating to the past, the present, and the future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truths they had won, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication.

To describe in short compass the Book of Enoch is impossible. It comes from many writers and almost as many periods. It touches upon every subject that could have arisen in the ancient schools of the prophets, but naturally it deals with these subjects in an advanced stage of development. Nearly every religious idea appears in a variety of forms, and, if these are studied in relation to their contexts and dates, we cannot fail to observe that in the age to which the Enoch literature belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere dogmatic fixity and finality. And though at times the movement may be reactionary, yet the general trend is onward and upward. In fact the history of the development of the higher theology during the two centuries before the Christian era could not be written without the Book of Enoch.

From what has been already said it is clear that no unity of time, authorship, or teaching is to be looked for. Indeed, certain considerable portions of the book belonged originally not to the Enoch literature at all, but to an earlier work, i. e. the Book of Noah, which probably exhibited in some degree the syncretism of the work into which it was subsequently incorporated. This Book of Noah clearly embraced chapters vi–xi, liv. 7–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25, cvi–cvii.[2]

[1] Nearly all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production of Enoch by St. Jude, and as Scripture by St. Barnabas. The authors of the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra, laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book.

[2] Portions have been preserved in Jubilees vii. 20–39, x. 1–15, but the date of this Noachic literature is at latest pre-Maccabean.

As regards the Enoch elements, the oldest portions of it are likewise pre-Maccabean, i. e. xii-xxxvi, and probably xc. 1–10, xci. 12–17, i. e. the Apocalypse of Weeks. The Dream Visions, i. e. lxxxiii–xc, were in all probability written when Judas the Maccabee was still warring, 165–161 B. C., lxxii–lxxxii before 110 B. C., the Parables, xxxvii–lxxi and xci–civ, 105–64 B. C.

The authors of all the sections belong to the Chasids or their successors the Pharisees.

Conflicting views are advanced on the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom, the origin of sin, Sheol, the final judgement, the resurrection, and the nature of the future life. There is an elaborate angelology and demonology, and much space is devoted to the calendar, and the heavenly bodies and their movements. Babylonian influences are here manifest and in a slight degree Greek.

The Book of Enoch, like the Book of Daniel, was written originally partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew. From an Aramaic original is derived vi–xxxvi, and possibly lxxxiii–xc, while the rest of the book comes from a Hebrew original. To determine these questions categorically is a task of no little difficulty, seeing that for four-fifths of the text we have only a translation of a translation, and that such close affinities exist between Hebrew and Aramaic. For the resemblances between the two languages are so great that frequently retranslation from the Ethiopic into either is sufficient to explain corruptions in the former. There has accordingly been great divergence of opinion on this question, but in the opinion of the present writer, who has spent considerable time on the problem, the balance of evidence is decidedly in favour of the view above stated.

In the course of his studies it suddenly dawned upon the writer that much of the text was originally written in verse. This discovery has frequently proved helpful in the criticism of difficult passages, and the recovery of the original in a multitude of cases.

§ 2. The Title.

Our book appears under various titles, which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1°. *Enoch.* Jude 14 ἐπροφήτευσεν . . . ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων.

Ep. Barn. ix. 3 ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει.

Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dindorf iii. 456) ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδόξων τῷ Ἐνώχ: also in iii. 474.

Origen, *In Ioannem* vi. 25 ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γέγραπται: *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γεγραμμένων.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* ii. 20 'ut Enoch refert'; *De Idol.* iv 'Enoch praedicens' xv; 'Spiritus . . . praececinit per . . . Enoch.'

Anatolius of Laodicaea (cited by Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32. 19 τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ μαθήματα).

2°. *The Books of Enoch.* This is probably the oldest title. The fifth section of the book itself opens with the words: xcii. 1 'The book written by Enoch'. cviii. 1 begins: 'Another book which Enoch wrote.' In lxxxii. 1 Enoch says to Methuselah: 'All these things I am recounting to thee . . . and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve . . . the books from thy father's hands.' xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness'. The third section, i. e. lxxii. 1, begins 'The book of the courses of the luminaries'. These passages imply a plurality of books.

But though apparently the oldest title, it has not the oldest independent attestation. It is found in the following works:

T. Jud. xviii. 1 (β A S[1]) ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

T. Lev. x. 5 (A) = καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνώχ.

Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία: *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2 'In libellis qui appellantur Enoch'.

Pistis Sophia 'ea in secundo libro teu, quae scripsit Enoch'.

Syncellus (*Chronographia*, ed. Dind.), i. 19 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τοῦ Ἐνώχ. The same phrase recurs in i. 20, 48. Cf. i. 42 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου Ἐνώχ. Here and in the preceding work the division of Enoch into books is clearly recognized. There were five such divisions or books; see § 6.

3°. *Book of Enoch.* This title is found in:

T. Levi x. 5 (*a*, *d e g*) καθὼς περιέχει ἡ (> *a b f*) βίβλος Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

Origen, *De Princ.* i. 3. 3 'In Enoch libro': iv. 35 'in libro suo Enoch ita ait'.

Hilary, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3 'Fertur id de quo etiam nescio cuius liber exstat'.

Jerome, *De Viris illustr.* iv 'De libro Enoch qui apocryphus est'.

Syncellus, *op. cit.* i. 60 ὡς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἐνὼχ φέρεται. But this title may refer merely to one of the books of Enoch, and so come under 2°.

3°. *Words of Enoch.* This title has the oldest external attestation. Jub. xxi. 10, 'For thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.'

T. Benj. ix. 1 ἀπὸ λογίων (= λόγων β–d) Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου. This title finds some justification in 1 Enoch i. 1 'words of the blessing of Enoch'; xiv. 1 'book of the words of righteousness.'

4°. *Writing of Enoch*:

T. Lev. xiv. 1 (β A), ἔγνων ἀπὸ γραφῆς Ἐνώχ. See also in T. Sim. v. 4, T. Naph. iv. 1.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'scio scripturam Enoch . . . cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit.'

§ 3. Its Canonicity.

The citations of Enoch by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and by the Book of Jubilees shows that at the close of the second century B.C., and during the first century B.C., this book was regarded in certain circles as inspired. When we come down to the first century A.D., we find that it is recognized as Scripture by Jude. See under § 2, 1°. In the next century this recognition is given amply in the Ep. Barnabas xvi. 5 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή; by Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 24 ἃ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται (referring to Enoch); in the third century by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Prophet.* ii, see § 2, 1°; by Irenaeus iv. 16. 2 'Enoch . . . placens Deo . . . legatione ad angelos fungebatur'; by Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3, *De Idol.* xv, see § 2, 1°; by Zosimus of Panopolis, quoted in Syncellus (Dind. i. 24) τοῦτο οὖν ἔφασαν αἱ ἀρχαῖαι καὶ αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, ὅτι ἄγγελοί τινες ἐπεθύμησαν τῶν γυναικῶν. After the third century the Book of Enoch fell into discredit and gradually passed out of circulation.

§ 4. The MSS.

a. Bodley, No. 4. Large quarto. 40 foll. 3 cols. 105 chapters. Latter half of eighteenth century. Enoch only.

b. Bodley, No. 5. Large quarto. 141 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century (?). Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Daniel.

c. Frankfort MS. Rüpp. II. 1. 34 × 30 cm. 181 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century. In several hands. Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Octateuch.

d. Curzon MS. Quarto. 91 foll. 2 cols. Enoch (102 chapters), Job, Daniel, 4 Ezra, Sirach.

e. Curzon MS. Small quarto. 101 foll. 2 cols. Marginal notes from another hand. Enoch (98 chapters ?), Samuel, Kings, and Apocryphal book.

f. British Museum. Add. 24185 (Wright's Catalogue, 1877, No. 5). 2 cols. of 23 lines. Nineteenth century. Enoch only. 106 chapters.

g. Brit. Mus. Orient. 485 (Wright, No. 6). 190 foll. 23 × 19 cm. 2 cols. of 23 or 24 lines. First half of sixteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Book of Jubilees. On foll. 168ᵃ–177ᵃ a duplicate of chapters xcvii. 6ᵇ–cviii. 10 is inserted from another MS. akin to *g*. See next MS.

$_1$*g.* This MS. consists only of xcvii. 6ᵇ–cviii. 10, and is found in foll. 168ᵃ–177ᵃ of *g*. It is inserted between the last word and the last but one of xci. 6. It is written by the same scribe, but the text though belonging to the best type differs from *g*.

h. Brit. Mus. Orient. 484 (Wright, No. 7). 3 cols. of 50 or 51 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (108 chapters), Octateuch, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, 1–4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Sirach.

i. Brit. Mus. Orient. 486 (Wright, No. 8). 3 cols. of 29 lines. Eighteenth century. Chapters i–lx. 13ᵃ missing. Nos. of remaining chapters erased. Enoch, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Sirach.

k. Brit. Mus. Orient. 490 (Wright, No. 12). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (107 chapters), Job, Daniel, 1 Ezra, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.

l. Brit. Mus. 24990 (Wright, No. 13). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (divided into chapters, but no numbers supplied), Job, Books ascribed to Solomon, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel.

m. Brit. Mus. Orient. 491 (Wright, No. 15). 219 foll. 40 × 32 cm. 3 cols. of 27 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Job, Twelve Minor Prophets, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Maccabees.

n. Brit. Mus. Orient. 492 (Wright, No. 16). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (87 chapters), Books ascribed to Solomon, Jeremiah, 1 Ezra, Canticles, Sirach, Judith, Esther, Tobit.

o. Brit. Mus. Orient. 499 (Wright, No. 23). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Sirach, Daniel, Enoch (106 chapters), Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.

p. Formerly in the possession of Lord Crawford—now in the Rylands Collection. 67 foll. 39 × 33 cm. 3 cols. Seventeenth century. Enoch and other books.

q. Berlin MS. Peterm. II. Nachtr. No. 29 (Dillmann's Cat. 1). 167 foll. 17 × 14 cm. 2 cols. of 13 to 14 lines. Sixteenth century. Without division into chapters. Enoch only.

r. Abbadianus 16 (vid. *Cat. raison. de mss. éthiop. appartenant à A. d'Abbadie*, Paris, 1859). Nineteenth century. Enoch (77 chapters) and other works. This is a poor MS., but it exhibits a few good readings.

s. Abbadianus 30. Eighteenth century. Enoch and other works. This is a poor MS., but has some notably good readings.

l. Abbadianus 35. 40 × 35 cm. 3 cols. of 38 to 39 lines. Seventeenth century. There are many erasures and corrections and marginal notes. The latter belong to the later type of text, and are designated as t^2. The division into chapters is marked in the margin on the first few folios. Enoch, Job, Samuel 1 and 2, Kings, Chronicles, Books ascribed to Solomon, Prophets, Sirach, 1–4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther.

u. Abbadianus 55. 191 foll. 51 × 39 cm. 3 cols. of 48 to 50 lines. Possibly as early as the fifteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters) and other works. Text of Enoch much abbreviated after chapter lxxxiii.

v. Abbadianus 99. 70 foll. 23 × 17 cm. 2 cols. Nineteenth century. Copy made for M. d'Abbadie from a MS. in high estimation among the native scholars. This MS. has all the bad characteristics of the later type of text, but has some excellent readings. Enoch only.

w. Abbadianus 197. 157 foll. 26 × 23 cm. 3 cols. of 29 lines. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Enoch (98 chapters) and other works.

x. Vatican MS. 71 (cf. Mai, *Script. veterum nova collectio*, Romae, 1831, tom. v. 2, p. 100). 27 foll. 3 cols. of 32 lines. Seventeenth century. Enoch only. 98 chapters.

y. Munich MS. 30. 61 foll. 25 × 15 cm. 2 cols. of 20 to 28 lines. Seventeenth century. Division into chapters only at the beginning. Enoch only.

z. Paris MS. 50 (see Zotenberg's Cat.). Seventeenth century. Enoch (division into chapters only at the beginning) and other works.

z^b. Paris MS. 49. Eighteenth century. Copy of *b*.

$_1a$. Garrett MS. 17 × 12 cm. 2 cols. of 22 lines. Nineteenth or end of eighteenth century. Enoch only.

$_1b$. Westenholz MS. 71 foll., of which first and last two are empty. 2 cols. of 24 lines. Eighteenth century. 106 chapters. Enoch only.

Relations of the Ethiopic MSS.

(*a*) There are two forms of text, α, β, of which β is late and secondary. α is represented by g_1gmqtu (and in some degree by *n*), while β, which owes its origin to native scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is represented by all the remaining MSS. The result of their labours has been on the whole disastrous, as these revisers had neither the knowledge of the subject-matter nor yet critical materials to guide them as to the true form of the text. The attestation, however, of neither group is uniform; especially is this so with α, which only once perhaps in twenty cases is undivided in its testimony. Thus it appears that the recension was not the work of a few years, but was rather a process which culminated in such a text as we find in β, and particularly in the MS. *v*.

(*b*) β or groups in β at times preserve the original text, where α is secondary.

(*c*) *The character and affinities of the chief MSS.*

g. Of the MSS. of α, *g* is decidedly the best all-round MS. It has been made the basis, so far as any single MS. can, of my text. It, however, exhibits much strange orthography and bad grammar.

$_1g$. This MS. (already described under *Ethiopic MSS.*) shows certain idiosyncrasies in ciii. 9–15, where it uses the first person over against the third in the other MSS. On the whole it is most nearly related to *g*.

m. This MS. is in some respects the weakest of the older group. It attaches itself so closely to *g*, that we must assume its having come under its influence. In the majority of its unique readings $_1g$ is unaccompanied by *m*, which, however, has many affinities with it.

q. Though teeming with errors in the way of additions, corruptions, and omissions, this MS. contains a larger number of unique original readings than any other used in our text. It approximates more closely to g_1gm than to *tu*.

t. This is a most interesting MS. as it gives the older type of reading in the text, and the later either over erasures or in the margin with the rejected words in the text bracketed. The corrector has not, however, done his work thoroughly. Moreover, in some cases the correction represents a return to the older text. *t* is closely connected with *u*.

u. This is a good MS. but very imperfect after lxxxiii. The omissions are capriciously made; sometimes words, sometimes phrases, sometimes whole sentences and paragraphs are excised to the entire destruction of the sense. Still, as *u* is a valuable MS. I faithfully record its omissions and changes.

n. Of the β class of MSS. *n* is by far the best. Indeed, though embodying in the main the second type of text, it attests more unique and original readings in i–xxxii than *m* or *t* or *u*. Also, at times, it alone of the β class supports various MSS. of the first class in the true reading.

§ 5. The Ancient Versions.

The Greek Versions.

The Greek Versions have only in part been preserved. Chapters i–xxxii. 6 and xix. 3–xxi. 9 in a duplicate form were discovered in 1886–7 at Akhmím by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published by M. Bouriant in 1892. They are designated G^g, and as G^{g1} and G^{g2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Large fragments have been preserved in Syncellus—vi–x. 14, xv. 8–xvi. 1; and viii. 4–ix. 4 in a duplicate form. These are designated G^s, and as G^{s1}, G^{s2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Another fragment is found in a Vatican Greek MS., No. 1809, written in tachygraphic characters. For Greek quotations from 1 *Enoch*, see § 10 (*b*, *c*).

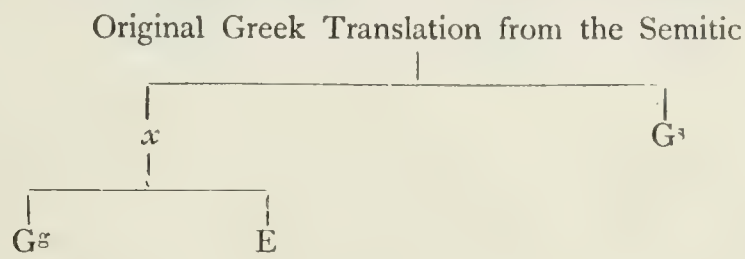
The relations of the G^s *and* G^g *to each other and to* E (*the Ethiopic Version*).

(*a*) G^s is more original than G^g. Though closely related these two fragments exhibit marks of independence. G^s has in several passages a different and undoubtedly better order of text. Thus it rightly places vii. 3–5 of G^g (or rather its equivalent of vii. 3–5) after viii. 3 of G^g. Again in viii. 3 G^g is very defective compared with G^s. The additional matter in G^s could not have been written by a Greek, as in every instance the office constitutes when translated into Aramaic a play on the name of the angel who discharges the office. Similarly in vi. 7 the order of the angels' names is different, and G^s is here again preferable to G^g E. Moreover, in viii. 4; ix. 9; x. 2, 4, G^s has a fuller and more original reading than G^g E. Finally G^s preserves several right readings over against G^g E. See x. 11, 14.

(*b*) Relations of G^s and G^g to E. E and G^g are more closely related than E and G^s, or G^s and G^g. They have the same corruptions over against the reading of G^s in x. 7, 11, 14; xiv. 8, 18; xv. 9; xviii. 5; xxii. 4; xxv. 5; xxviii. 2.

On the other hand, E preserves certain original readings lost by G^g and vice versa.

(*c*) From the above facts it follows that G^g and E spring from a common ancestor which we may designate *x*, and that this *x* and G^s proceed ultimately from the same original, the first Greek translation of the *Book of Enoch*, though the evidence postulates the existence of duplicate renderings in this translation, *x* adopting one rendering and G^s the other. In some cases *x* adopted both, which were reproduced respectively by G^g and E. In some cases there may have been variants in the Semitic original. Hence the genealogy of the above documents might be represented thus:



The Latin Version.

The Latin Fragment, which constitutes a very imperfect reproduction of cvi. 1–18, was discovered in 1893 in the British Museum by Dr. James. In the same year he issued it in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, II, No. 3, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp. 146–50. This MS. seems to point to a Latin translation of Enoch, and shows no signs of being an excerpt from a collection of excerpts.

For *Latin quotations* see under § 10 (*c*).

The Ethiopic Version.

The Ethiopic Version has been preserved in twenty-nine MSS. of which fifteen are to be found in England, eight in France, four in Germany, one in Italy, and one in America. Of these MSS. there are only three of which my knowledge is indirect and slight, *p* and *z*, z^b. Of these z^b is of no account as it is an exact transcript of *b*.

The division of Enoch into chapters was made apparently in the sixteenth century. The division into 108 chapters was made by Dillmann without MS. authority, and has been followed by all subsequent scholars. This division is indeed found in one MS., i.e. *h*, but it was unknown to Dillmann when he made his text. Moreover, the chapters in *h* vary frequently in length from those in Dillmann's text.

§ 6. The different Elements in the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Enoch was intended by its final editor to consist of five Sections, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and many other Jewish works. These consist of i–xxxvi, xxxvii–lxxi, lxxii–lxxxii, lxxxiii–xc, xci–cviii. Behind this apparently artificial division lies a real difference as to authorship, system of thought, and date. When I edited my first edition of Enoch in 1893 it was necessary for me to go at great length into the differentiae marking these divisions; since the accepted criticism of the day regarded i–xxxvi, lxxii–civ as forming the groundwork, and proceeding from one and the same author. Since that date this impossible hypothesis has vanished from the field of criticism. My task here is, therefore, no longer of a polemical nature, but simply to determine so far as possible the extent, character, and date of the various independent writings embodied in this work. The various sections will now be dealt with in the order of their occurrence.

Fragments of the Book of Noah. But before we enter on the criticism of the various elements in the book, we should observe first of all that it contains fragments of an earlier work—entitled the Book of Noah. Of the existence of this book we know independently from the Book of Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10, and later sources. But even if we had possessed no independent reference to such a book, we could have had no doubt as to its existence; for the contents of chapters lx, lxv–lxix. 25 prove conclusively that they are from this source; also cvi–cvii. Furthermore, vi–xi[1] are derived from the same work. These latter chapters never refer to Enoch, but to Noah. Moreover, where the author of Jubilees in vii. 20–25 describes the laws laid down by Noah for his children, and Noah's accounts of the evils that had brought the Flood upon the earth, he borrows not only the ideas, but at times the very phraseology of these chapters. Finally, we may observe that chapters lxxxviii–lxxxix. 1 presuppose a minute acquaintance with chapter x. liv. 7–lv. 2 probably belong to the same source. *The Noachic fragments preserved in this book are thus:* vi–xi, liv–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25, cvi–cvii.

These facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up on the débris of the former.

Having now disposed of the earlier materials utilized by the writers of the different Sections of Enoch, we shall now proceed to deal with the five Sections or Books in the order of their occurrence.

Section I. i–xxxvi. We have already seen that vi–xi belonged originally to the Book of Noah; xii–xvi, on the other hand, are a vision or visions of Enoch in which he intercedes on behalf of Azazel and the Watchers. These visions are preserved in a fragmentary form, and not in their original order—a fact which is most probably due to the editor of the whole work, since the same dislocation of the text recurs in lxxviii–lxxx and xci–xciii. The original order of xii–xvi was, so far as the present fragmentary text goes: xiv. 1 . . . xiii. 1–2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–10, xiv. 2–xvi. 2, xii. 4–6 || xvi. 3–4. xii. 1–2 is an editorial introduction.

This portion of our text began obviously with the words: xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers'. Then came a request on the part of Azazel that Enoch should intercede for him. This request was acceded to on the part of Enoch, who in a vision received God's judgement on Azazel. But both the request and the vision are lost. In xiii. 1–2, however, the answer to Azazel's request is given in the divine doom announced by Enoch. Next Enoch is besought by the Watchers to intercede for them, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–7. Thereupon Enoch has a vision regarding them, xiii. 8, which he recounts to them, xiii. 9–10, xiv. 2–xvi. 2. Finally the section closes with the message of doom, which Enoch is bidden to take to the Watchers, xvi. 3–4. Of xvi. 3–4 there is a doublet, xii. 4–6, which is more original than xvi. 3–4.

xvii–xix stand by themselves, exhibiting, as they do, strong traces of Greek influences in their description of the underworld, and yet showing a close affinity to xx–xxxvi, since xviii. 6–9 is a doublet of xxiv. 1–3, xviii. 11 of xxi. 7–10, xviii. 12–16 of xxi. 1–6; xix. 2, moreover, reflects the same view as x. 14.

xx–xxxvi come apparently from one and the same author: the functions ascribed to the archangels in xx are tolerably borne out in xxi–xxxvi. But since only four of the seven archangels mentioned in xx are dealt with in xxi–xxxvi, it is possible that a considerable passage was early lost.

[1] Even these chapters are composite; for they are a conflation of two distinct cycles of myths relating respectively to Semjaza and Azazel (see my second edition, pp. 13–14 notes), and this conflation was anterior to the date of the Dream Visions, which presuppose the existence of these chapters in their present form, or at all events of chapter x.

i–v now call for treatment. These chapters are connected in phraseology with every section of the book save lxxii–lxxxii. (See my edition, p. 2 sq.) Thus the phrase 'he took up his parable', i. 2, suggests a connexion with xxxvii–lxxi, but this may be a mere coincidence, since the writer is here consciously influenced by Num. xxiii–xxiv, where the phrase recurs several times. These chapters, moreover, appear to be of composite origin. ii–v seem to be a unity. But I see no satisfactory solution of the problem.

To sum up. i–xxxvi may be analysed into the following independent elements, i–v, v–xi, xii–xvi, xvii–xix, xx–xxxvi. When the Book of Jubilees was written we shall see that vi–xxxvi had already been put together.

SECTION II. xxxvii–lxxi. As all critics are now agreed that the Parables are distinct in origin from the rest of the book, I will simply refer the reader here to my edition, pp. 65 sq., for some of the grounds for this conclusion.

xxxvii–lxxi have been handed down in a fragmentary condition, and many of the problems they suggest can only be tentatively solved or merely stated.

xxxvii–lxxi consist in the main of three Parables, xxxviii–xliv, xlv–lvii, lviii–lxix. These are introduced by xxxvii and concluded by lxx, which describes Enoch's final translation in terms of that of Elijah. lxxi, which contains two visions received in his lifetime, belongs to one of the three Parables. We have already seen that liv. 7–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25, are interpolated from the ancient Book of Noah.

Behind the Parables there appear to lie two sources, as Beer suggested though he did not work out his suggestion. The one was the 'Son of Man' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel who went with me': i. e. xl. 3–7, xlvi–xlviii. 7, lii. 3–4, lxi. 3–4, lxii. 2–lxiii, lxix. 26–9, lxx–lxxi, and the other 'the Elect One' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel of peace': i. e. xxxviii–xxxix, xl. 1–2, 8–10, xli. 1–2, 9, xlv, xlviii. 8–10, l–lii. 1–2, 5–9, liii–liv. 6, lv. 3–lvii, lxi. 1–2, 5–13, lxii. 1. See my edition, pp. 64–5.

SECTION III. lxxii–lxxxii. Chapter lxxii introduces a scientific treatise. In this treatise the writer attempts to bring the many utterances in the O.T. regarding physical phenomena into one system. The sole aim of his book is to give the laws of the heavenly bodies, and this object he pursues undeviatingly to lxxix. 1, where it is said that his treatise is finished. Through all these chapters there is not a single ethical reference. The author's interest is scientific, and, like the author of Jubilees in vi. 32–6, he upholds the accuracy of the sun and stars as dividers of time, lxxiv. 12. And this order is inflexible and will not change till the new creation, lxxii. 1. But in lxxx. 2–8 the interest is ethical and nothing else, and though it recognizes an order of nature, this order is more conspicuous in its breach than in its observance. lxxx. 2–8 appears then to be an addition. Nor, again, can lxxxi belong to lxxii–lxxxii. Whereas the blessing of lxxii–lxxix, lxxxii is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years, the blessing of lxxxi. 4 is for the man 'who dies in righteousness'. lxxxi is of the nature of a mosaic and may come from the hand of the editor of the complete Enoch. Finally lxxxii stood originally before lxxix. 6 'Such is the . . . sketch of every luminary which Uriel . . . showed unto me'. After the long disquisition on the stars in lxxxii, the first words in lxxix. 1 come in most appropriately: 'I have shown thee everything, *and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed.*' If lxxxii did not precede, these words could not be justified. For like dislocations cf. xii–xvi, xci–xciii.

Thus the original order of this Section was: lxxii–lxxviii, lxxxii, lxxix. For a full discussion of this Section and its independence of i–xxxvi and the knowledge it implies of the Calendar, see my edition, pp. 147–50.

SECTION IV. lxxxiii–xc. This is the most complete and self-consistent of all the Sections, and has suffered least from the hand of the interpolator. For passages that have suffered in the course of transmission see xc. 19, which I have restored before xc. 14: also lxxxix. 48. In xc, *vv.* 13–15 are a doublet of *vv.* 16–18.

lxxxiii–xc is of different authorship to vi–xxxvi. (1) The descent of the Watchers in lxxxvi. 1–3 differs from that in vi. (2) The throne of judgement is in Palestine in xc. 20–6, but in the N.W. in the midst of the Seven Mountains in xviii. 8, xxv. 3. (3) The scene of the kingdom in lxxxiii–xc is the New Jerusalem set up by God Himself: in i–xxxvi it is Jerusalem and the earth *unchanged* though purified, x. 18, 20. (4) lxxxiii–xc are only visions assigned to Enoch's earlier and unwedded life: vi–xxxvi are accounts of actual bodily translations and are assigned to his later life. If these two Sections were from one and the same author, and that an ascetic, exactly the converse would have been the case. For other grounds see my edition, pp. 179 sq.

Identity of authorship appears, therefore, to be impossible ; but the similarities in phraseology and idea (see *op. cit.*) prove that one of the authors had the work of the other before him. Of the two Sections there is no room for doubt that lxxxiii–xc is the later.

SECTION V. xci–civ. *Critical Structure.* This Section is in the main complete and self-consistent. It has, however, suffered at the hands of the editor of the entire work in the way of direct interpolation and of severe dislocations of the text. We have already seen his handiwork in the case of xii–xvi and lxxviii–lxxxii. The dislocations of the text are a remarkable feature in this Section, and I cannot see any adequate explanation. The editor incorporated an earlier work—the Apocalypse of Weeks—into his text, xciii. 1–10, xci. 13–17, the former part dealing with the first seven weeks of the world's history and the latter with the last three. Taken together these form an independent whole. But this is not all. Since this Section is of different authorship to the other Sections of the book it is obvious that it began originally with xcii. 1, 'Written by Enoch the scribe,' &c. On xcii follows xci. 1–10, 18–19 as a natural sequel, where Enoch summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the Apocalypse of Weeks: xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17. Thus the original order of the book is xcii, xci. 1–10, 18–19, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, xciv.

Relation to vi–xxxvi. At first sight the evidence for the unity of authorship of these two Sections is very great. They have many phrases in common. In each there are references to the law, the eating of blood, and to the regularity of nature. There is no hint of a Messiah in either. There are other resemblances but they are seeming and not real. On the other hand, in vi–xxxvi the Messianic kingdom is eternal, in xci–civ it is temporary, if the Apocalypse of Weeks is taken to be a constituent part of xci–civ. In the former the final judgement is held before the establishment of the kingdom, x. 12, xvi. 1, in the latter at the close of the temporary kingdom (xciii. 1–10, xci. 1–10). Whereas the resurrection in vi–xxxvi is a resuscitation to a temporary blessedness, x. 17, xxv. 5, in the latter it is not to the temporary kingdom spoken of in xci. 13, 14, xcvi. 8, but to one of eternal blessedness subsequent to the final judgement, c. 4, 5. Whereas the resurrection in vi–xxxvi is a resuscitation in a physical body, in xci–civ it is a resurrection in a spiritual body, xcii. 3, 4, civ. 2, 6. In the latter there is a resurrection of the righteous only: not so in the former. For other grounds see my edition, 219 sq.

Relation to lxxxiii–xc. In xci–civ the Messianic kingdom is temporary in duration but not so in lxxxiii–xc: in the former the final judgement is consummated at the close of the kingdom, in the latter at its beginning. In xci–civ there is a resurrection of the righteous only; in lxxxiii–xc of the righteous and the apostate Jews. The kingdom to which the righteous rise in xci–civ is not the temporary kingdom on the earth but the new heaven, but in lxxxiii–xc it is the Messianic kingdom on the earth.

cv. This chapter appears to be an independent fragment.

cvi–cvii. These chapters have already been dealt with as part of the Book of Noah.

cviii. This chapter forms an appendix to the entire work added not by the editor but by a subsequent writer to confirm the righteous in the face of repeated disappointment in their expectations.

§ 7. DATES OF THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS.

I will here deal with these elements in the order of their age.

Book of Noah. This book was, as we have seen already, laid under contribution by the author of the Book of Jubilees and by the general editor of Enoch. Part of it is embodied in vi–xxxvi, and this part is presupposed as already existing by lxxxiii–xc. Now, since lxxxiii–xc cannot be later than 161 B.C., it follows that we have here the *terminus ad quem* of this work.

vi–xxxvi. Since vi–xvi, xxiii–xxxvi were known to the author of the Book of Jubilees (see my edition, p. lxix) this Section must have been written before the latter half of the second century B.C. Since, further, lxxxiii–xc, written before 161 B.C., show a minute acquaintance with x, the date of vi–xi must be put back to the first third of that century. Many other points in lxxxiii–xc (see my edition, p. 179) point to the acquaintance of the author of lxxxiii–xc with vi–xxxvi. Again, since vi–xxxvi makes no reference to the persecution of Antiochus, the *terminus ad quem* is thus fixed at 170 B.C. The fact that vi–xxxvi were written in Aramaic is in favour of pre-Maccabean date; for when once a nation recovers, or is trying to recover, its independence, we know from history that it seeks to revive its national language.

lxxxiii–xc. The fourth and last of the four periods into which lxxxiii–xc divide history between the destruction of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom began about 200 B.C. (see my edition, pp. 180 sq., 206 sqq.), and marks the transition of supremacy over Israel from the Graeco-Egyptians to the Graeco-Syrians, as well as the rise of the Chasids. The

Chasids, symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sheep, xc. 6, are already an organized party in the Maccabean revolt. But certain of these lambs became horned, i. e. the Maccabean family, and the great horn is Judas Maccabaeus, xc. 9. As this great horn is still warring at the close of the rule of the shepherds, xc. 16, this section must have been written before the death of Judas, 161 B. C.

xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17. This—the Apocalypse of Weeks—may have been written before the Maccabean revolt. There is no reference in it to the persecution of Antiochus. But the date is wholly doubtful.

lxxii–lxxxii. This section is referred to in Jubilees iv. 17, 21, where the author tells how Enoch wrote a book of the order of the months, the seasons of the years, and the rule of the sun. Hence the *terminus ad quem* is 110 B. C. or thereabouts.

xci–civ. In lxxxiii–xc the Maccabees were the religious champions of the nation and the friends of the Chasidim. Here they are leagued with the Sadducees and are the foes of the Pharisaic party. This section was written, therefore, after 109 B. C., when (?) the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees took place. But a later date must be assumed according to the literal interpretation of ciii. 14, 15, where the rulers are said to uphold the Sadducean oppressors and to share in the murder of the righteous. This charge is not justified before 95 B. C. As for the later limit, the Herodian princes cannot be the rulers here mentioned; for the Sadducees were irrevocably opposed to these as aliens and usurpers. The date, therefore, may be either 95–79 B. C. or 70–64 B. C., during which periods the Pharisees were oppressed by both rulers and Sadducees. In my edition of Jubilees, pp. lxix–lxxi, I have given various grounds for regarding xci–civ as dependent on Jubilees.

xxxvii–lxxi. From a full review of the evidence, which is given and discussed in the notes of my edition on xxxviii. 5, it appears that the kings and the mighty so often denounced in the Parables are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters—the later Maccabean princes, on the one hand, and not the earlier; for the blood of the righteous was not shed as the writer complains (xlvii. 1, 2, 4) before 95 B. C.: the later Maccabean princes, on the other hand, and not the Herodians; for (1) the Sadducees were not supporters of the latter, and (2) Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers—a fact which necessitates an earlier date than 64 B. C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judaea. Thus the date of the Similitudes could not have been earlier than 94 B. C. or later than 64 B. C. But it is possible to define the date more precisely. As the Pharisees enjoyed unbroken power and prosperity under Alexandra 79–70 B. C., the Parables must be assigned either to the years 94–79 or 70–64.

§ 8. The Poetical Element in 1 Enoch.

In the course of editing the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch I was fortunate enough to discover that no small proportion of it was written originally in verse. But the full extent of the poetical element was not recognized till the completion of the present edition. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book, but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connexions of wrongly disjoined clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Our recognition of this fact enables us to recognize the genuineness of verses which had hitherto been regarded as interpolations, and to excise others which were often in themselves unmeaning or at variance with their contexts. The very first chapter is the best witness in these respects. There we find that i. 6–9 consists of nine stanzas of three lines each. E had lost two of the lines of stanza seven, but happily these had been preserved by G^g. Again, in vi. 4–9 we have eight stanzas of four lines each. The order of the lines has been disarranged as will be seen in vi. 6–7, but here the parallelism enables us to effect their restoration. Ch. 51 would without a recognition of the poetical character be in many respects inexplicable. In other passages it enables us to recognize certain lines as dittographs: cf. lix. 6^d, lxxi. 3^c, lxxx. 7^c, lxxxii. 2^b, xciv. 7^d.

§ 9. Original Language of Chapters VI–XXXVI—Aramaic; of I–V, XXXVII–CIV—Hebrew.

That 1 Enoch was originally written in a Semitic language is now universally admitted. But what that language is is still, as regards portions of the book, a question of dispute. In the past, Murray, Jellinek, Hilgenfeld, Halévy, Goldschmidt, Charles (formerly), Littmann, and Martin have advocated a Hebrew original, while at various times an Aramaic original has been maintained by De Sacy, Lévi, Eerdmans, Schmidt, Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and Praetorius. Ewald, Dillmann

Lods, Flemming could not come to a decision between Hebrew and Aramaic. But of the above scholars only three have really grappled with the subject, i. e. Halévy, Charles, and Schmidt, and three different theses are advanced by them. While Halévy maintains a Hebrew original, and Schmidt an Aramaic, the present writer, as a result of his studies in editing the Ethiopic text and the translation and commentary based upon it, is convinced that neither view can be established, but that each appears to be true in part.[1] In other words, like the Book of Daniel, part of 1 Enoch was written originally in Aramaic and part in Hebrew. The proofs of this thesis amount in certain sections almost to demonstration: in the case of others only to a high probability. The results of the present study of this problem tend to show that chapters vi–xxxvi were originally written in Aramaic, and xxxvii–civ, and probably i–v in Hebrew.

Chapters i–v. *Probably from a Hebrew original.* These chapters, as we have shown elsewhere, do not come from the same author or period as vi–xxxvi.

i. 1. In E the text = *ἐξᾶραι πάντας τοὺς πονηρούς* whereas G^g has *ἐξᾶραι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς*. The former, as the context shows, as well as Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (see note on p. 4 of the Commentary), is original, the latter not. Now the former = כל־הרעים, the latter = כל־הצרים, a corruption of the former. The same corruption is found in the LXX of Prov. xx. 22. Since E and G^g are in the main derived from the same Greek translation, this fact, unless due to a sheer blunder of a copyist, points to the presence of alternative readings in the margin of the Hebrew archetype, which were reproduced by the Greek translator. Other facts point in the same direction: see note on v. 9^b below.

i. 9. In 'He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones' the text reproduces the Massoretic of Deut. xxxiii. 2 in reading אָתָא = *ἔρχεται*, whereas the three Targums, the Syriac and Vulgate read אִתֵּה = *μετ' αὐτοῦ*. Here the LXX diverges wholly. The reading אתא is recognized as original. The writer of i–v therefore used the Hebrew text and presumably wrote in Hebrew.

v. 6^b. *ἐν ὑμῖν καταράσονται πάντες οἱ καταρώμενοι* = בכם יקללו כל־המקללים is, so far as I am aware, a Hebrew idiom, and not an Aramaic. See note on p. 12 of my Commentary.

v. 9^b. Here G^g reads *ἁμάρτωσιν*, but E = *κριθήσονται* = יָאָשְׁמוּ (cf. Prov. xxx. 10; Isa. xxiv. 6; Jer. ii. 3, &c.). Here the parallelism shows that G^g is right. Here, as in i. 1 above, we can explain the double rendering by assuming that one of these readings stood in the text and the other in the margin.

Since none of the evidence favours an Aramaic original, and whatever linguistic evidence there is makes for a Hebrew, we may provisionally conclude in favour of the latter.

Chapters vi–xxxvi. The evidence in favour of an Aramaic original of these chapters is practically conclusive.

(*a*) *Aramaic words transliterated in the Greek or Ethiopic.* Amongst the many Semitic words transliterated in these versions the following are Aramaic and Aramaic only: in G^g *φουκά*, xviii. 8, i. e. פוכא, *μανδοβαρά*, xxviii. 1, and *βαβδηρά*, xxix. 1, i. e. מדברא. Another Aramaic form is *χερουβίν*, xiv. 11, 18, xx. 7, but this form is indecisive as it is found not infrequently in the LXX. In E manzerân[2] for manzerîn, x. 9, i. e. ממזרין: 'alwâ, xxxi. 2 (see note *in loc.*) = אהלא. The Hebrew form is אהלים.

Other transliterations are *βάτους*, x. 19, i. e. בת, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic: *χαλβάνη*, xxxi. 1, i. e. חלבנה Hebrew or חלבונא Aramaic. On the other hand there are two Hebrew words transliterated: thus *σαρράν*, xxxi. 1 = צָרִי, which is not found in Aramaic but which is rendered in Aramaic by קטף: and *γῇ*, xxvii. 2 = גיא = 'valley', which is a pure Hebrew word, the Aramaic being חילא. These last two cases are somewhat strange, but, since גיא is here used as a proper name, its use in an Aramaic document may be justified.

(*b*) *Aramaic constructions.* In xix. 2 we have the peculiar Greek *αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων*. This is a literal reproduction of the Aramaic idiom נשיהון די מלאכיא די חטו. The same construction recurs in E ix. 8 which = *συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν* = שכיבו עמהון עם נשיא. Here G^g, it is true, has omitted *μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν*. This omission was probably due to the unintelligibility of the construction to a Greek scribe. G^s, however, preserves the missing clause but wrongly connects it with the following verb—this change being due no doubt to an attempt to normalize the Greek. Thus G^s reads *συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμιάνθησαν*. Here the *καί* should be restored after *θηλείαις*. In vi. 8 we have a third instance of this idiom, though in a corrupt form: *οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν τῶν δεκά⟨δων⟩* = ראשיהון דעסריתא. This Aramaic idiom has found its way into the O.T. as in Cant. iii. 7.

(*c*) *Some of the proper names with which paronomasias are connected postulate an Aramaic original.* Thus in G^s viii. 3 we have *ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς*. Now the *ὁ τρίτος* in vi. 7 is *Ἀρακιήλ* = ארקיאל, where ארק is Aramaic for 'earth'. Thus this angel naturally taught the signs of the earth: ארקיאל יאליף אתי ארקא. Again in G^s viii. 3 we have *ὁ δὲ εἰκοστὸς ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης*, where *ὁ εἰκοστός* according to G^s vi. 7 is *Σαριήλ* = סהריאל. Here סהר is Aramaic for 'moon'. Again in viii. 3 the *ὁ ὄγδοος* in *ὁ ὄγδοος*

[1] This view was first advanced in my edition of the Ethiopic text, pp. xxvii–xxxiii.

[2] Here G^g has *μαζηρέους* and cannot account for E. Hence E here, as in i. 1, v. 9^b above, presupposes another reading than that in G^g, this reading being in the text or margin of the Greek translation.

ἐδίδαξε ἀεροσκοπίαν is in G^g vi. 7 Ἐζεκιήλ (G^s Ζακιήλ) = שחקיאל. שְׁחַק (= ἀήρ), it is true, is Hebrew as well as Aramaic.

In xiii. 7 it is said that 'the angels were mourning in Abilene', i. e. אבלין באבילין. In G^s vi. 7 the play on Hermon is possible both in Aramaic and Hebrew (see note *in loc.*), but the play on Jared in the same verse is only possible in Hebrew. Whence we may infer that this paronomasia originated in Hebrew and is only reproduced in this Aramaic document. Finally in E G^s x. 7 the command is given to Raphael: ἴασαι τὴν γῆν = רפי הארעא, in which there is an obvious play on Raphael's name. But though Nöldeke states that 'רפא ist gemeinsemitisch' (*ZDMG*, 1886, xl. 723, quoted by Schmidt) it is not found in the Targums and later rabbinical literature. Here, therefore, the play may be due to a pre-existing Hebrew document or myth, just as we are obliged to make the same presupposition in the case of 'Jared' above.

(*d*) *Text restored through retranslation into Aramaic.* In this section there are many corrupt passages, as might be expected, which can be restored through retranslation either into Aramaic or Hebrew, owing to the close affinities of these languages. This may be the case in ix. 4 מלכיא (i. e. τῶν βασιλέων E) corrupt for עלמיא = τῶν αἰώνων, or מלכים for עלמים: similarly in x. 7 ἐπάταξαν E G^g = אבדו, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic, and corrupt for אמרו = εἶπον G^s.[1] In x. 17 τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν = שַׁבַּתְהוֹן, wrongly vocalized for שְׁבָתְהוֹן, or = שַׁבָּתָם corrupt for שְׁבָתָם. xiv. 8 κατεσπούδαζον καὶ †ἐθορύβαζον†. Here the second verb is impossible. The clause in Aramaic = יוחון ויבהלון. Now the pael יבהלון = θορυβάζειν, ταράσσειν, or συνταράσσειν in Dan. iv. 2, 16; v. 9, 10; vii. 15, 28, and is rendered by Theodotion by the latter two verbs. On the other hand, the LXX renders the same Aramaic verb by κατασπεύδειν in iv. 16; v. 6. Thus the translator of the LXX, who, as we know from the rest of his translation of the Aramaic section of Daniel, was very familiar with Aramaic, assigns to the part of the Aramaic verb the same meaning as the piel and hiphil of the Hebrew בהל. Hence we may assume that the pael in Aramaic could mean κατασπεύδειν or θορυβάζειν. Thus we could explain ἐθορύβαζον as a mistranslation in this context of יבהלון. It is also possible that the two verbs are alternative renderings of one and the same verb in the Aramaic. This would have been possible also if the original had been Hebrew; for יבהלו pointed as a piel would mean κατεσπούδαζον and ἐθορύβαζον as a niphel. In xiii. 2; xv. 4, 11; xxix. 2 also the text can be restored by either language. (See notes *in loc.*)

But there are other passages that apparently defy restoration save through retranslation into Aramaic. In ix. 10 ἀνέβη ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ δύναται †ἐξελθεῖν†, the ἐξελθεῖν is meaningless, but by retranslation we discover the origin of the corruption. ἐξελθεῖν = למנפק corrupt for למפסק = 'cease'. The lamentations 'cannot *cease* because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth'.

In x. 7 (where see note) the variations of the versions can be explained through the Aramaic, where E has twice 'earth' (= γῆ), G^g has once γῆ and once πληγή, and G^s πληγή both times. The variations could, of course, have originated in G, but γῆ and πληγή can be readily accounted for as renderings of ארעה, which, punctuated as אַרְעָא = γῆ, and as אִרְעָא = πληγή.

In xvii. 7 E = τὰ ὄρη τῶν γνόφων = טורי קבלא. The phrase was derived most probably from Jer. xiii. 16 הרי נשף. But G^g reads ἀνέμους τῶν γνόφων = רוחי קבלא. Here, as we have seen several times already, the Greek translator appears to have found טורי in the text and רוחי in the margin (or vice versa), and to have rendered both, one of which was preserved by G^g and the other by the Greek ancestor of E.

In xviii. 2 the text ἴδον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας καὶ τὸ στερέωμα (G^g E) is quite impossible. The winds do not bear the earth. By retranslation into Aramaic we see that τὴν γῆν arose in the Aramaic through a dittography. The clause = חזית רוחיא ארבע ארעא מסוברין, where ארעא is a dittograph of ארבע. The winds bear the firmament, not the earth.

In xxviii. 2 πλήρης δένδρων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων. It would be absurd to speak of a plain as being 'full of trees and seeds'. Here ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων = ומזרעין, corrupt for וזרעונין (cf. Dan. i. 12, 16; Mishna, *Kil.* ii. 2; iii. 2) = καὶ τῶν φυτευμάτων. Or the wrong phrase may be due to a wrong punctuation of the Aramaic word by the Greek translator. See note *in loc.*

In xxxi. 3 ὅταν τρίβωσιν refer to certain fragrant trees mentioned in the preceding verse. These trees yielded a fragrant odour when burnt. (See note *in loc.*) Hence I assume that ידקקון (= τρίβωσιν) is corrupt for ידלקון = καύσωσιν.

Chapters xxxvii–lxxi *from a Hebrew original.* In support of this view Halévy (*op. cit.* pp. 364 sqq.) criticized over a dozen of passages from the Parables and the interpolations with a view to showing that the meaning of the text could not be recovered unless by retranslation from a Hebrew original. Unhappily Halévy based his work on the corrupt text of Dillmann, and most of his conclusions have thereby been invalidated. Some, however, are of permanent value. On the other hand Schmidt (*O.T. and Semitic Studies*, ii. 336–43) strongly contests this view, and maintains the hypothesis of an Aramaic original. I have studied carefully his ingenious essay, but this study has served to confirm me in the belief in a Hebrew original, which I assumed in my edition of 1893, and supported by arguments in my text of 1908. The preparation of my new edition has served to bring fresh evidence on this question to light.

[1] Here again the two readings in the Greek versions can be best explained by variants in the margin of the Semitic original. See footnote p. 173, and the paragraphs on xiv. 8 (*ad fin.*), xvii. 7.

First of all I will give (*a*) *a list of passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of either a Hebrew or an Aramaic original*; (*b*) *passages which are believed to presuppose an Aramaic only*; and (*c*) *passages which postulate a Hebrew original.*

(*a*) *Passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of a Hebrew or an Aramaic original.* xxxvii. 4 'Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits.' Here the Ethiopic has 'ĕmqĕdma = ἐκ προσώπου or ἔμπροσθεν = מִלְּפָנַי, 'from before,' or practically 'by', as I have rendered it. This late use of מלפני is found in Esther i. 19; iv. 8; 1 Chron. xxix. 12. The same idiom is found in Aramaic, i.e. מן־קדם: cf. Dan. vi. 27 (‖ iii. 29 מִנִּי). The same idiom recurs in lxv. 10, and possibly in xlviii. 2, 3, 6.

xl. 9. The play on the names of Raphael and Gabriel is found in Hebrew; it is possible in Aramaic in the case of Gabriel, but a play on Raphael has never been found in Aramaic. In fact, רפא is not found in the Targums.

xlv. 3. 'Shall **try** their works.' For 'try' the text reads 'choose'. Now, as I pointed out in 1908, this = יבחר, corrupt for יבחן: or, if the original had been Aramaic, we had to suppose that the translator followed the wrong meaning of יבחר. Schmidt accepts the latter supposition.

xlvi. 4[b]. 'Shall †raise up† the kings . . . from their seats.' A dittograph of this verse reappears in xlvi. 5[a] 'shall put down the kings from their thrones'. Here 'raise up' = יטול is corrupt for יַפִּיל = 'put down'. This restoration is possible either in Hebrew or Aramaic.

liv. 10. 'And **when**.' Here the text reads 'and because', but the context requires 'when'. The wrong rendering can be explained either from Hebrew or Aramaic (see note *in loc.*).

lv. 3. In my note I have restored the text by means of Hebrew: but it is possible also through Aramaic, since מן־קדם can also mean 'because of'.

lxv. 11. See note *in loc.*

lxvi. 2. Here the text reads 'hands' הידים or ידיא corrupt for המים or ימיא.

lxviii. 2. Text reads 'provokes me' = ירגיזני or יארגיזני.

lxix. 1. As in lxviii. 2.

lxix. 4. The corruption can be explained either by Hebrew or Aramaic.

lxix. 13. *Task.* Here 'number' = מנין (or מנינא as Schmidt points out) which seems corrupt for ענין (or ענינא) = 'task'.

lxxi. 1. Same corruption as in lxix. 4.

(*b*) *Phrases and passages which are adduced by Schmidt in support of an Aramaic original.* Some of these have been dealt with already under (*a*), i.e. xxxvii. 4; xl. 9; xlv. 3; lxv. 11; lxviii. 2; lxix. 13, in which cases Schmidt suggests that the corrupt passages in question can be best explained by an Aramaic original, though possible also by a Hebrew original. His suggestions on li. 3, xli. 5 are unnecessary, as the corruptions are native to E, and that on lii. 9, as we shall see later, is untenable, and his transformation of xxxviii. 2 'whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits' into 'whose worship has been rendered solely to the Lord of Spirits' is wholly uncalled for, since there is no difficulty in the phrase which recurs twice in xl. 5, xlvi. 8, and has a parallel in Judith viii. 24. The plurals Sûrâfên, Kîrûbên, Afnîn in lxi. 10, lxxi. 7 are certainly Aramaic in form, but σεραφείν which occurs only twice in the O.T., i.e. in Isa. vi. 2, 6, appears both times in the oldest MSS. of the א A of the LXX in this form, in Isa. vi. 2 and in B in vi. 6. The Aramaic form χερουβείν is often found in the LXX. Hence this evidence for an Aramaic original is without weight.

But 'the most convincing evidence . . . of an Aramaic original is furnished by the Ethiopic translations of the term "Son of Man". They are walda sab'ĕ xlvi. 2, 3, 4; xlviii. 2; lx. 10: walda b'ĕsî lxii. 5; lxix. 29[a,b]; lxxi. 14: and walda 'ĕguâla 'ĕma hĕjâw lxii. 7, 9, 14; lxiii. 11; lxix. 26, 27; lxx. 1; lxxi. 17. . . . Of these the last is the most peculiar. Literally it means "the son of the offspring of the mother of the living" . . . and is a rendering of οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων and especially of υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.' Schmidt then proceeds to emphasize the importance of these different renderings in the Parables, whereas in the N.T. it is the last that is uniformly used as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and observes: 'before lxii he uses no other term than walda sab'ĕ, the equivalent of the Aramaic בר נשא. Later he employs four times the phrase walda b'ĕsî which corresponds to the Aramaic ברה דגברא. . . . This title is found in the Palestinian Lectionary, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Sinaitic text'. From the above evidence Schmidt concludes that, if the translator had 'a Greek text before him in which the N.T. title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου was uniformly used', it would be scarcely conceivable that he would have used three distinct Ethiopic expressions to render it, and 'these of such a nature as to correspond exactly to the three different Ethiopic terms'. He holds, therefore, that 'the conclusion seems inevitable that he translated directly from the Aramaic. . . . General considerations strengthen this conclusion. If the Parables of Enoch were translated from a Greek text one would certainly expect to find somewhere a quotation from it or a reference to it in early Christian literature'. But Schmidt can find none.

The last argument I will answer first. The reader has only to refer to the list of parallels between the N.T. books and the Parables on pp. 180 sq. in order to learn that the Parables did influence, and that directly, the writers of the N.T. Further, Tertullian's words, when discussing the authenticity of 1 Enoch, cannot be adequately explained, unless as bearing on passages in the Parables referring to the Son of Man: 'Cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiiciendum est quod pertineat ad nos. . . . A Iudaeis potest iam videri propterea reiecta, sicut et cetera fere *quae sonant Christum*' (*De Cultu*

Fem. i. 3). The Noah Apocalypse, moreover, which is interpolated in the Parables, is referred to in Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 52 οὓς (i. e. τοὺς ἀγγέλους) γενέσθαι κακούς, καὶ κολάζεσθαι δεσμοῖς ὑποβληθέντας ἐν γῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς θερμὰς πηγὰς εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνων δάκρυα (1 En. lxvii. 6, 11, 12). This evidence necessitates the existence of a Greek Version of the Parables.

Let us turn now to the next argument. The Ethiopic must have been made direct from the Aramaic because of the three forms in which the title 'Son of Man' is given in the Ethiopic, since these, according to Schmidt, correspond exactly to the three forms in Aramaic. But here I must join issue. We have, unless I have failed wholly in this study, seen that the evidence adduced by Schmidt for an Aramaic original is quite inconclusive, and that on the contrary the evidence so far points, though not conclusively, to a Hebrew original. For this conclusion other evidence will be adduced later. We are not, therefore, predisposed to accept such an extraordinary thesis as that the Ethiopic must have been made directly from the Aramaic. Before dealing directly with the titles in question we might point to two facts which render this thesis not merely improbable, but incredible. 1°. No known Ethiopic version has been made directly from the Aramaic. 2°. The Book of Enoch, by its artificial division into five books, like the five books of the Pentateuch, the five books of the Psalms, the five Megilloth, the five books in Proverbs, in Ecclesiasticus, the five divisions in the Pirke Aboth, and the five books of the Maccabean wars by Jason of Cyrene (see Hawkins[2], *Horae Synopticae*, p. 164), was after its kind a carefully edited work in which the fragments of a literature were put together with just as much fitness and insight as that of the Proverbs or the Pirke Aboth. This five-fold division was thus a well-known Jewish device, and, since according to the use of the book made by the N.T. writers it existed in its completed form in the first half of the first century A. D., if not nearly a century earlier, we cannot understand how an Ethiopic translator in the sixth or seventh century A. D. could have used the Greek version for the four books of Enoch, i–xxxvi, lxxii–lxxxii, lxxxiii–xc, xc–cviii, and an Aramaic for the fifth, i. e. the Parables, xxxvii–lxxi. It is very probable that the entire book was translated early in the first century of the Christian era into Greek. That the Semitic original was early lost is to be inferred from the fact that no evidence of any kind testifies to its existence after the birth of Christianity, whereas multitudinous evidence attests the existence of the Greek version.

We may, therefore, safely relegate to the limbo of impossibilities the hypothesis that chapters xxxvii–lxxi of the Ethiopic version were translated directly from the Aramaic.

We have now to consider what Schmidt terms 'the most convincing evidence of an Aramaic original', i. e. the Ethiopic translations of the term 'Son of Man'. The Ethiopic translation was made, as we have just seen, from the Greek. Hence whatever explanation we give of the three forms must be justified by a Greek retranslation. This fact at once discounts any attempt to find a Greek prototype for 'ĕguâla 'ĕmaḥĕjâw 'offspring of the mother of the living'. This Ethiopic phrase is used indifferently as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἄνθρωποι, υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνήρ. And the full form walda 'ĕguâla 'ĕmaḥĕjâw = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in Dan. vii. 13, Ps. lxxix. 18, in Ezekiel about ninety times, Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, and in the Gospels always = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. In itself the Ethiopic phrase can mean 'son of man' or 'the Son of Man'. But if the translator wished to make it clear that the latter title was used, he could do so by prefixing a demonstrative pronoun as a rendering of the Greek article ὁ. This is done in every instance in the Parables save three. In the course of eight verses in lxxxix. 42–9 the Greek article is so rendered eleven times.

Let us now examine the other two titles walda sab'ĕ and walda b'ĕsî. sab'ĕ distinctively = ἄνθρωπος (though in a few cases it = ἀνήρ). Thus walda sab'ĕ = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου. It can also = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but to make this unmistakable the translator could prefix the demonstrative pronoun as the equivalent of ὁ.

Next comes walda b'ĕsî. b'ĕsî = ἀνήρ generally, but as Dillmann (*Lex.* 519) puts it, it stands *creberrime* for ἄνθρωπος. In fact in the Ethiopic Version of our book it is used as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος in i. 2, xv. 1. If more of the Greek version had survived we should no doubt find many other instances.

The result of the above examination comes to this. The above three renderings do not presuppose three different forms in the Greek. They most probably presuppose merely one, i. e. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but walda b'ĕsî may presuppose ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός. But I think the latter improbable. In lxii. 5; lxix. 29 (*bis*); lxxi. 14 b'ĕsî may be a rendering of ἀνθρώπου as in i. 2; xv. 1.

This change of rendering may seem surprising, but we have a perfect parallel in the Curetonian and Sinaitic versions of the Syriac N.T.[1] Thus whereas in the Peshitto b'reh dĕ-našâ (ברה דאנשא) occurs uniformly as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, in the Curetonian version we have b'reh de-gabrâ (ברה דגברא) in Luke vii. 34; ix. 26; xxii. 48, and in the Sinaitic version b'reh de-gabrâ in Mark viii. 38; Luke vii. 34; John xiii. 31, and elsewhere in both these versions b'reh de-našâ. In the Palestinian Lectionary there is still another way of rendering the phrase, but this does not concern us here. We have, however, learnt from these versions that differences in the manner of rendering the title 'Son of Man' in these versions does not imply any difference in the original Greek. Similarly we conclude that the three renderings of this title in the Parables do not presuppose corresponding variations in the Greek, but are due to the translator.

If, then, these variations in the Parables are due to the translator or translators it follows that these translators were Aramaic-speaking Jews, since the phrases walda b'ĕsî and walda sab'ĕ are respectively equivalents of b'reh de gabrâ and b'reh dĕ-našâ.[2]

On the above grounds we conclude that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου stood in all cases in the Greek version of the

[1] See Schmidt in *Encyc. Bibl.* iv. 4714.
[2] The Aramaisms in the Ethiopic version of the O.T. are probably due to Aramaean missionaries.

Parables.[1] That this Greek *phrase* represents the Hebrew בן־האדם, we shall further conclude from the evidence given in the next section.

(*c*) *Passages which postulate a Hebrew original.*

xxxix. 7[b]. 'The righteous . . . shall †be strong† (*a–m* : 'be beautiful†' *m*, *β*) as fiery lights'. Neither reading is satisfactory. *a–m* = יחזקו which may be corrupt for יַזְהִרוּ = 'shine': cf. Dan. xii. 3 יזהרו . . ככוכבים.

xlvi. 7. 'These are they who †judge† the stars of heaven.' Here, as I have shown, the text appears to be based on Dan. viii. 10, and should be read (see my note *in loc.*) as follows :—

'These are they who raise their hands against the Most High,
And cast down the stars of heaven,
And tread them upon the earth.'

Thus 'judge' = ידינו which the context shows to be corrupt for יַרִידוּ = 'cast down'.

xlvii. 4[b]. 'Because the number of the righteous **had been offered**.' As the context shows (see my note *in loc.*) these words mean that the number of the righteous, i. e. the martyrs, is complete: cf. Rev. vi. 10, 11. Now *a* reads qarĕba = ἤγγικε = קָרֵב, which in Mishnaic Hebrew = 'has been offered'. This meaning is not found in the qal of this verb in Aramaic.

lii. 9. 'All these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth.' Here there were two alternative Greek renderings of יְכַחֲדוּ. One was originally in the text, and the other in the margin, but subsequently both were incorporated into the text. Or the dittograph was native to the Hebrew, i. e. יכחשו and יכחדו. Schmidt attempts to explain the corruption from an Aramaic basis by assuming that יתרמאון stood in the original, and that this received the two renderings in the text. But רמא does not mean 'to destroy'. Moreover, the Ethiopic word kĕhĕda here, which means 'to deny', occurs again in xlv. 1 ; xlvi. 7 ; xlviii. 10, in which three passages Schmidt says it goes back to the Aramaic כפר. Thus his proposal is satisfactory in no respect.

lx. 6. I have followed *u* in the text, but the parallelism is in favour of regarding the text as corrupt in the word 'worship'. This word is wholly unsatisfactory. It = ישתחוו, which may be corrupt (or יַשְׁחִתוּ = 'pervert' or 'corrupt'). Thus we recover an excellent parallelism :—

'For those who corrupt the righteous law,
And for those who deny the righteous judgement,
And for those who take His name in vain.'

lxv. 10[a]. 'Their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by me for ever.'

For 'withheld' the text reads οὐ λογισθήσεται or ἀριθμήσεται. The Ethiopic word can mean either. The former rendering (as in lii. 8[d]) is generally followed here. It is, however, unsatisfactory. The true reading, as I pointed out in my text, can be recovered by retranslation into Hebrew. οὐ λογισθήσεται = לא יחשב, corrupt for לא יִחָשֵׂךְ = 'shall not be withheld'. Here Schmidt follows the other possible meaning of the Ethiopic word ἀριθμήσεται = יתמנא—a corruption of יתמנע.

lxv. 10[b]. 'Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed.' Instead of 'sorceries' the Ethiopic reads 'months' = חדשים, which Halévy rightly recognized as a corruption of חרשים = 'sorceries'. It is true that on an exceptional occasion Aramaic-speaking Jews used חדשיא instead of their own word ירחיא. Hence the evidence for a Hebrew original is slightly weakened here.

The text of this passage as known to Halévy and originally to myself was corrupt, and Schmidt rightly objected to this text even when emended as follows : 'because of the sorceries which they have searched out and (through which) they know that the earth . . . will be destroyed.' Schmidt observes that it 'is a strange idea that the terrible judgement of the flood would come because men had succeeded in discovering that the earth with its inhabitants would be destroyed.' This observation is just, but the remedy lies in the MSS. *g t u*, which omit the 'that'. The omission of this word restores the meaning of the whole verse. See note on p. 131 of my second edition of Enoch.

From the above evidence we infer a Hebrew original. As in the Hebrew chapters of Daniel, so here there were possibly many Aramaisms.

Chapters lxxii–lxxxii. *From a Hebrew original.*

lxxvi. 1, 14. Here the word in the text 'winds' = רוחות, which should have been rendered 'quarters'. This restoration is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

lxxvii. 1. In this verse there is a play on the four quarters of the earth. It is possible to recover this play by retranslation into either Hebrew or Aramaic in the case of the 'east' and 'north': קֶדֶם or קדום and צפון or צִפּוֹן.

But this is not so in the case of the south and west. As regards the first the text reads 'the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea there . . . will He . . . descend' = דָּרוֹם כִּי יֵרֵד רָם. This is possible only in Hebrew.

lxxvii. 2. 'And the west quarter is named (lit. 'its name') diminished because there all the luminaries wane.' והרוח המערבית שמו אחרון כי שם יאחרו כל־המאורות.

[1] There is just a possibility that two forms stood in the Greek version, i. e. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός, and that these were due to the translators, who in this case also would be Aramaic-speaking Jews, but this is highly improbable.

lxxviii. 1. Of the two names of the sun which are transliterated, though corruptly, in this verse, one is Hebrew and not Aramaic; i. e. Orjares = אוֹר חֶרֶס. The other, Tômâs, i. e. תַּמּוּז, is Hebrew and Aramaic; but if it is corrupt from חמה, as Halévy conjectures, it is Hebrew.

lxxviii. 2. Of the four names of the moon which are here transliterated, three are Hebrew only, Asônjâ, i. e. אִישׁוֹן, Eblâ, i. e. לְבָנָה, and Benâsê, i. e. בֶּן־כֶּסֶה.

lxxx. 5. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 10. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 15. 'Tamâinî and Sun.' These two names are one, i. e. שֶׁמֶשׁ תֵּימָנִי 'the southern sun'. This is Hebrew, and not Aramaic.

Chapters lxxxiii–xc. *From a Hebrew (or Aramaic?) original.*

lxxxix. 44. The emendation suggested here is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

xc. 13[a], 16[a]. In the duplicate version which we have of these verses, 'shepherds' in xc. 13 corresponds to 'ravens' in xc. 16. The latter is right. The corruption can be explained from a Hebrew background, רֹעִים, corrupt for עֹרְבִים, or from an Aramaic רעין, corrupt for עורבין.

xc. 13[b], 16[b]. In the former 'cried to' corresponds to 'were gathered together' in the latter. Now the former = *ἔκραζον* = יְזַעֲקוּ or יְצַעֲקוּ, and the latter יְזַעֲקוּ or יְצַעֲקוּ in Hebrew. But this explanation is impossible in Aramaic; for though זעק and צעק occur in the sense of 'to cry', no mood of this verb is used in the sense of 'to assemble'. For this word they use כנשׁ.

xc. 18. **covered them.** The Ethiopic expression here is not good Ethiopic, but reproduces the Greek *ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς*, which in turn is a literal rendering of כסה עליהם (Hebrew), or עליהון (or כסי) חפא in Aramaic.

xc. 27. 'I saw those sheep †burning and their bones burning†.' This clause is obviously corrupt. In 'bones' there appears to be a mistranslation of the late Hebrew עצם or the Aramaic גרם, which literally mean 'bone' or 'bones', but which when compounded with a suffix = 'self' or 'selves'. The participle is then a doublet. Hence we have וארא הצאן הזאת עצמה בערת = 'I saw these very sheep burning.' This is possible also in Aramaic.

xc. 38. 'The first among them became the **lamb.**' 'The lamb' = הטלה, which was corrupted into המלה, as Goldschmidt has pointed out, whence the Ethiopic text 'the word'. This explanation is possible also in Aramaic.

Chapters xci–civ. *From a Hebrew original.*

xciii. 5. Text reads 'after him' = אחריו, which I take to be corrupt for אחיתו = 'his posterity'.

xciii. 8[b]. The Ethiopic has a peculiar form, and = *ἀσεβήσουσιν καρδίαι πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας*, which is pure Hebrew = ירשע לבב כלם מחכמה. Cf. Ps. xviii. 22, רשעתי מאלהי.

xcv. 1[a]. 'Oh, that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters.' The bracketed word is either an intrusion and = ענן, a dittograph of עני = 'eyes', or ענן is corrupt for עין = 'fount', the corruption being due to the occurrence of the phrase 'cloud of waters' in xcv. 1[c]. Hence 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters'. This is possible also in Aramaic.

xcvi. 5. 'Who devour the finest of the wheat
And drink **wine in large bowls.**'

For the emended phrase E has here the extraordinary words 'strength of the root of the fountain' = *ἰσχὺν ῥίζης πηγῆς* = כח עיקר עין, corrupt for בְּמִזְרְקֵי יַיִן (Amos vi. 6). See my note *in loc.*

xcvi. 6[a]. **From every fountain.** E reads 'at every time' = בכל־עת, corrupt for מכל־עין.

xcvii. 8[b]–9. We have here a remarkable series of rhyming verses which arise on retranslation into Hebrew.

8	עשֶׂר עָשַׁרְנוּ	9[a]	ונעשה שֶׁחָשַׁבְנוּ
	וּרְכוּשׁ לָנוּ	b	כי כסף אסף אספנו
	וְכֹל קָנִינוּ	d	ורבים אכרי בתינו
	אֲשֶׁר אִוִּינוּ	c	ומלאים כמים אוצרינו

xcviii. 4[ab]. See note *in loc.*

xcix. 6. Here E = *εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀδιαλείπτου*, but in Tertullian (*De Idol.* iv) the phrase appears as 'in diem sanguinis *perditionis*' = *εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀπωλείας* = ליום דם לאיד, where לאיד is corrupt for לְעַד = *ἀδιαλείπτου*.

xcix. 16. E (*g β*) reads 'the spirit of His indignation' = רוח אפו, corrupt for חרון אפו = 'His fierce indignation.'

c. 6[a]. See note *in loc.*

ci. 4. E reads 'kings' = מַלְכֵי, corrupt for מלחי, 'sailors'. This is also possible in Aramaic.

§ 10. (*a*) Influence of 1 Enoch on Jewish Literature.

In the *Book of Jubilees*, written before 105 B.C., the older Sections of 1 *Enoch* are drawn upon, but in the later Sections the converse relation may be assumed:—

Jubilees.	1 *Enoch.*
i. 11. 'sacrifice . . . to demons'.	xix. 1. 'sacrificing to demons as gods'.
16. 'the plant of uprightness'.	xciii. 2. 'the plant of uprightness'.

Jubilees.	1 *Enoch.*
29. 'the heavens . . . shall be renewed . . . the powers of the heaven . . . the luminaries be renewed'.	xci. 16. 'a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light'.
ii. 2. 'the spirit . . . of snow . . . of hoar-frost'.	lx. 18. 'the spirit of the snow'.
	17. 'the spirit of the hoar-frost'.
iii. 10. 'the heavenly tablets', and *passim.*	lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2. 'the heavenly tablets'.
iv. 15. 'Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth'.	vi. 6. (the angels) 'descended in the days of Jared'.
'the Watchers'. Cf. x. 5.	i. 5, xii. 2–4. 'the Watchers'.
20. 'he took to himself a wife . . . Ednî'.	lxxxv. 3. 'Before I took . . . Edna'.
22. 'testified to the Watchers'.	xii. 3–6, xiii. 1–10, xiv. 4–7, xv. 2 sqq.
'unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men'.	x. 11. 'united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them'. Cf. xv. 3, 4.
23. 'we conducted him into the Garden of Eden'.	lx. 8. '. . . the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam'.
26. 'the Mount of the East'.	xviii. 7, 8. Cf. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3.
v. 1. 'they bare . . . giants'.	vii. 2. 'they bare great giants'.
6. 'He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth'. Cf. v. 10, x. 7.	x. 12. 'bind them fast . . . **in the valleys** (*emended*) of the earth'.
9. 'that each should slay his neighbour'.	x. 9. 'that they may destroy each other in battle'.
10. 'And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation when judgement is executed', &c.	x. 12. 'And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved, bind them fast for seventy generations **in the valleys** of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated'.
11, 12. 'He †destroyed† all . . . And He †made† . . . a new and righteous nature', &c.	x. 15, 16. 'destroy all . . . and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear', &c.
29. 'the (i. e. the seven) floodgates of heaven were restrained; and . . . all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below.'	lxxxix. 7. 'those (i. e. the seven) water torrents were removed from that high roof and the chasms of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. 8. Then the water began to run down into these', &c.
vii. 22. The Giants, the Nâphîl, the Eljô.	vii. 1. (*Syncellus' Greek Version*). The Giants, Nephilim, the Eliud.
'they devoured one another'. Cf. v. 2, 9.	lxxxvii. 1. 'devour each other'. Cf. vii. 5, x. 9, 12.
23. 'shed much blood . . . the earth was filled with iniquity'.	ix. 1. 'much blood being shed . . . all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth'.
29. 'into Sheol shall they go, and into the place of condemnation shall they descend, and into the darkness'. Cf. xxii. 22.	ciii. 7, 8. 'their souls shall be made to descend into Sheol . . . and into darkness . . . and a burning flame . . . grievous judgement'.
39. 'the seventh in his generation'.	xciii. 3. 'the seventh in the first week'.
viii. 12. 'the middle of the earth' (Shem's lot).	xxvi. 1. 'the middle of the earth' (Palestine).
x. 1. 'the unclean demons began to lead astray . . . and destroy them'.	xix. 1. 'their (i. e. the angels') spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray'. Cf. also xv. 8, 11; xvi. 1.
xii. 2. 'What help and profit have we from those idols?'	xcix. 7. 'shall get no manner of help from them'.
4. 'who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth'.	ci. 2. 'withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth'.
xv. 32. 'But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit for He alone is their ruler'. Contrast 1 En. lxxxix. 59.	lxxxix. 59. 'And He called seventy shepherds and cast those sheep to them'.
'He will . . . require them at the hands of His angels'.	xc. 17, 22.
xvi. 26. 'plant of righteousness'.	x. 16. 'plant of righteousness'.
xxii. 17. 'worship evil spirits'.	xcix. 7. 'worship impure spirits and demons'.
xxx. 22. 'the book of life'. Cf. xxxvi. 10.	xlvii. 3. 'the books of the living'.
xxxii. 18, 19. Jacob's seed are to rule and judge.	xcv. 3; xcvi. 1. The righteous rule and judge.
xxxvii. 20. 'the boar' (= Esau).	lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 66. 'wild boar', 'wild boars' (= Edom).

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, written between 109 and 105 B.C., there are nine direct references to Enoch.

T. Lev. x. 5. 'the house which the Lord shall choose . . . as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous'.	1 *En.* lxxxix. 50. 'the house for the Lord', &c.
xvi. 1. 'I have learned (+ 'in the book of Enoch' β A$^{\beta}$ S). . . . for seventy weeks,' &c.	lxxxix. 59 sqq. 'seventy shepherds'.
xiv. 1. 'I have learned ('from the writing of Enoch' β A$^{\beta}$ S^{1}), &c.'	xci. 6, 7.

The other six, *T. Sim.* v. 4; *T. Jud.* xviii. 1 (β A S^{1}); *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 (β S^{1}); *T. Dan.* v. 6; *T. Naph.* iv. 1; *T. Benj.* ix. 1, cannot be traced directly to any passage in 1 En. In *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 α reads 'Moses' for 'Enoch' in β S^{1}.

There are also parallels in the *Testaments* to 1 *Enoch*, e. g.:

T. Reub. v. 6, 7. The Watchers, the women, and the giants.	1 *En.* vi–ix. 2.
T. Lev. iii. 4. 'the Great Glory' (α β A$^{\beta}$ S^{1}).	xiv. 20; cii. 3.
xvi. 2. 'make void the law and set at naught . . . by evil perverseness'.	xcix. 2, 14; civ. 9, 10.
xviii. 5. 'The heavens shall exult in his days And the earth shall be glad . . . And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him'.	li. 4. 'And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams, And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy'.
T. Naph. iii. 5. 'the Watchers also changed the order of their nature'.	vi.–ix. 2.

Possibly 1 *Enoch* was used by the author of the *Assumption of Moses*, written between A.D. 7 and 30.

Ass. Mos.	1 *Enoch.*
x. 3. 'He will go forth from His holy habitation,	i. 4. 'will come forth from His dwelling'.
4. And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken: And the high mountains shall be made low, and the **hills** (*emended*) shall be shaken and fall'.	i. 5, 6. '. . . unto the ends of the earth. The high mountains shall be shaken And the high hills . . . made low'.

The affinities of 2 *Baruch* with 1 *Enoch* are more numerous.

2 *Bar.*	1 *Enoch.*
x. 8. 'Sirens'.	xix. 2. 'Sirens'.
xiii. 8. 'the judgement . . . no respect of persons'.	lxiii. 8. 'His judgements have no respect of persons'.
xxiv. 1. 'the books shall be opened'.	xc. 20. 'opened those books'.
xxix. 4. Myth of Behemoth and Leviathan.	lx. 7–9, 24. Myth of Leviathan and Behemoth (earlier form).
5. 'the earth shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold'.	x. 19. 'Each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand'.
xxxv. 2. Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye, mine eyelids, a fount of tears'.	xcv. 1. 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters', &c.
li. 10. 'they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars'.	civ. 2, 4. 'ye shall shine as the lights of heaven . . . have great joy as the angels'.
liv. 2. 'For whom nothing is too hard'.	lxxxiv. 3. 'nothing is too hard for Thee'.
lv. 3. Ramiel.	xx. 7. 'Remiel' (G^{g2}).
lvi. 12–13.	vi–x.
lix. 2. 'the eternal law'.	xcix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

In 4 *Ezra*, written between A.D. 81–96, we find an apparent use of 1 *Enoch*, particularly of the Parables.

4 *Ezra.*	1 *Enoch.*
vi. 49–52. Leviathan and Behemoth.	lx. 7–9, 24. Leviathan and Behemoth (earliest form of myth).
vii. 32, 33. 'Et terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria reddent quae eis commendatae sunt animae. Et revelabitur Altissimus super sedem iudicii.'	li. 1, 3. 'and in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, And hell shall give back that which it owes . . . And the Elect one shall . . . sit on My throne'.
37.	lxii. 1: lx. 6.
85, 95.	c. 5.
125. 'nostrae vero facies super tenebras nigrae'.	lxii. 10. 'the darkness shall grow deeper on their faces'.

From the second century A. D. onwards all knowledge of the *Book of Enoch* vanishes from Jewish literature with the exception of a few references that are given by Jellinek in the *Zeitschr. D. M. G.*, 1853, p. 249.

(*b*) The Influence of 1 Enoch on the New Testament.

1 *Enoch* has had more influence on the *New Testament* than has any other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic work. A few examples will clearly illustrate this.

New Testament.	1 *Enoch.*
(*a*) *General Epistles.*	
Jude 6. 'the angels which left their own habitation . . . reserved . . . great day'.	xii. 4. 'the Watchers . . . who have left the high heaven' . . .
14. 'the seventh from Adam'.	x. 4–6, 11, 12. 'Bind . . . darkness . . . judgement'.
14, 15.	lx. 8. 'the seventh from Adam'.
1 *John* i. 7. 'walk in the light'.	i. 9. Cf. v. 4; xxvii. 2.
ii. 8. 'the darkness is past'.	xcii. 4. 'walk in eternal light'.
15. 'Love not the world nor the things that are in the world'.	lviii. 5. 'the darkness is past'.
	cviii. 8. 'love . . . nor any of the good things which are in the world'.
(*b*) *Revelation.*	
ii. 7. 'the tree of life'. Cf. xxii. 2, 14, 19.	xxv. 4–6. The tree of life.
iii. 5. 'clothed in white raiment'.	xc. 31. 'clothed in white'.
10. 'them that dwell upon the earth'.	xxxvii. 5. 'those that dwell on the earth'.
17. 'I am rich and increased with goods'.	xcvii. 8. 'We have become rich with riches and have possessions'.
20. 'I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me'.	lxii. 14. 'and with that Son of Man shall they (i.e. the righteous) eat and lie down and rise up'.
iv. 6. 'round about the throne were four living creatures'.	xl. 2. 'On the four sides of the Lord of spirits I saw four presences'.
8. 'they rest not . . . saying'.	xxxix. 13. 'who sleep not . . . and say'.
vi. 10. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.	xlvii. 2. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.
15, 16. Compare the fear of the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, when they see 'the face of him that sitteth on the throne'.	lxii. 3. 'the kings, and the mighty, and the exalted 5. . . . shall be terrified . . . and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.
vii. 1. Angels of the winds.	lxix. 22. 'spirits . . . of the winds'.
15. 'He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them'.	xlv. 4. 'I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them'.
ix. 1. 'I saw a star from heaven fallen to the earth'.	lxxxvi. 1. 'And I saw . . . and behold a star fell from heaven'.
20. 'worship demons, and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood'.	xcix 7. 'worship stones, and grave images of gold, and silver, and wood, ⟨and stone⟩ and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons'.
xiii. 14. 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth'.	liv. 6. 'leading astray those who dwell on the earth'.
xiv. 9, 10. 'tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels . . .'.	xlviii. 9. 'burn before the face of the holy . . . sink before the face of the righteous'.
10. 'holy angels'.	xx. 1 and *passim*. 'holy angels'.
20. 'blood came out . . . even to the horses' bridles'.	c. 3. 'the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners'.
xvii. 14. 'Lord of lords and King of kings'.	ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.
xx. 13. 'the sea gave up the dead . . ., and death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them'.	li. 1. 'in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back . . . and hell shall give back . . .'.
15. 'cast into the lake of fire'.	xc. 26. 'cast into this fiery abyss'.
xxii. 3. 'no more curse'. Cf. xxi. 4.	xxv. 6. 'no sorrow or plague or torment or calamity'.
(*c*) *Epistles of St. Paul.*	1 *Enoch.*
Rom. viii. 38. 'angels . . . principalities . . . powers'. Cf. *Eph.* i. 21; *Col.* i. 16.	lxi. 10. 'angels of power and . . . angels of principalities'.
ix. 5. 'God blessed for ever'. Cf. xi. 31.	lxxvii. 1. 'He who is blessed for ever'.
1 *Cor.* vi. 11. 'justified in the name of the Lord Jesus'.	xlviii. 7. 'in his (i. e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

New Testament.

2 *Cor.* iv. 6. 'to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'.

Eph. i. 9. 'according to His good pleasure'.
v. 8. 'children of light'. Cf. 1 *Thess.* v. 5.
Col. ii. 3. 'in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge'.
1 *Thess.* v. 3. 'then sudden destruction cometh upon them as travail upon a woman with child'.
2 *Thess.* i. 7. 'the angels of His power'.
1 *Tim.* i. 9. 'law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless', &c.
i. 15. 'worthy of all acceptation'. Cf. iv. 9.
v. 21. 'the elect angels'.

vi. 15. 'King of kings and Lord of lords'.

(*d*) *Epistle to the Hebrews.*
iv. 13. 'there is no creature that is not manifest in His sight: but all things are naked and laid open before the eyes of Him with whom we have to do'.
xi. 5. 'Enoch was translated', &c.
xii. 9. 'Father of Spirits'.

(*e*) *Acts of the Apostles.*
iii. 14. 'the Righteous One' (= Christ).
iv. 12. 'none other name . . . whereby we must be saved'.
x. 4. 'thy prayers . . . are gone up for a memorial before God'.
xvii. 31. 'He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained'.

(*f*) *The Gospels.*
John v. 22. 'He hath committed all judgement unto the Son'.
xii. 36. 'sons of light'. Cf. *Luke* xvi. 8.
xiv. 2. 'mansions'.
Luke i. 52. 'He hath put down princes from their thrones'.
ix. 35. 'This is My Son, the Elect One'.

xviii. 7. 'Shall not God avenge His elect which cry unto Him day and night'. Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 9.
xxi. 28. 'your redemption draweth nigh'.

xxiii. 35. 'the Christ of God, the Elect One'.
Matt. xix. 28. 'when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory'.
'ye also shall sit on twelve thrones'.

xix. 29. 'inherit eternal life'.
xxv. 41. 'prepared for the devil and his angels'.

xxvi. 24. 'It had been good for that man if he had not been born'.

1 *Enoch.*

xxxviii. 4. 'the Lord of Spirits has **caused His light to appear** (*emended*) on the face of the holy, righteous and elect'.
xlix. 4. 'according to His good pleasure'.
cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.
xlvi. 3. 'the Son of Man . . . who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden'.
lxii. 4. 'Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail'.
lxi. 10. 'the angels of power'.
xciii. 4. 'a law shall be made for the sinners'.

xciv. 1. 'worthy of acceptation'.
xxxix. 1. 'elect and holy children . . . from the high heaven'.
ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.

1 *Enoch.*

ix. 5. 'all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee'.
xv. 1; lxx. 1–4.
xxxvii. 2. 'Lord of Spirits' (and *passim* in Parables).

1 *Enoch.*

liii. 6. 'the Righteous and Elect One' (= Messiah).
xlviii. 7. 'in His (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.
xcix. 3. 'raise your prayers as a memorial . . . before the Most High'.
xli. 9. 'He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him'.

1 *Enoch.*

lxix. 27. 'the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man'.
cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.
xxxix. 4. 'dwelling places of the holy', &c.
xlvi. 4. 'shall †raise up† (Read 'put down') the kings . . . from their thrones'.
xl. 5. 'the Elect One' (i. e. the Messiah). Cf. xlv. 3, 4 'Mine Elect One'; xlix. 2, 4.
xlvii. 1; 2. 'the prayer of the righteous . . . that judgement may be done unto them', &c.
li. 2. 'the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved'.
xl. 5. 'the Elect One'.
lxii. 5. 'When they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.
cviii. 12. 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour'.
xl. 9. 'inherit eternal life'.
liv. 4, 5. 'chains . . . prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl'.
xxxviii. 2. 'It had been good for them if they had not been born'.

(*c*) The Influence of 1 Enoch on Patristic Literature.

Epistle of Barnabas (soon after A. D. 70).
xvi. 4 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ παραδώσει Κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν.

1 *Enoch.*

lxxxix. 56. 'He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them (i.e. 'those sheep') all into the hands of the lions, to . . . devour them. 66. . . . devoured. . . those sheep . . . and they burnt that tower and demolished that house'.

	1 *Enoch.*
Apocalypse of Peter (ed. Robinson and James, 1892).	
2. τοὺς πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ θλιβομένους, &c.	cviii. 7–9.
3. σώματα . . . λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος καὶ ἐρυθρότερα παντὸς ῥόδου.	cvi. 2, 10.
5. μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν.	lxi. 9–11. 'one voice . . . bless', &c.
6. οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι.	liii. 3, &c. 'angels of punishment'.
8. ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.	
Justin Martyr.	
Apol. ii. 5 οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι . . . γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἵ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες . . . καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας . . . καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἔσπειραν. Cf. i. 5.	ix. 8, 9; xv. 8, 9.
Tatian (flor. A. D. 160).	
Oratio adv. Graecos, 8.	viii. 3. 'astrology'.
20.	vi. 6; xv. 8, 9.
Athenagoras (about A. D. 170).	
Legatio pro Christianis, 24, 25 οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐκπεσόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, . . . οὐκέτι εἰς τὰ ὑπερουράνια ὑπερκύψαι δυνάμενοι· καὶ αἱ τῶν γιγάντων ψυχαί, οἱ περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰσὶ πλανώμενοι δαίμονες.	vi; vii; xiii. 5; xv. 8, 10.
Minucius Felix.	
xxvi 'Isti igitur spiritus, posteaquam simplicitatem substantiae suae . . . perdiderunt . . . non desinunt perditi iam perdere . . . et alienati a Deo, inductis religionibus a Deo segregare. Eos spiritus daemonas esse poetae sciunt . . .'	viii; xv. 8–12; xvi. 1; xix. 1.
Irenaeus (ob. circa A. D. 202).	
i. 15. 6 . . . Δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζὴλ ποιεῖν.	viii. 1. Cf. also x. 8.
iv. 16. 2 (ed. Stieren) 'Sed et Enoch . . . cum esset homo, legatione ad angelos fungebatur et translatus est et conservatur usque nunc testis iudicii Dei, quoniam angeli quidam transgressi deciderunt in terram in iudicium.'	xii. 4–6; xiii; xiv. 3–7; xv; xvi.
iv. 36. 4.	x. 2, 'a deluge,' &c.
v. 28. 2 '. . . daemoniis et apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei, per eos faciet signa, in quibus seducat habitantes super terram.'	xix. 1.

Tertullian, writing between A. D. 197 and 223, regards Enoch as scripture.

Apol. xxii.	1 *En.* xv. 8, 9.
De Cultu Fem. i. 2.	viii. 1. 3.
ii. 10.	viii. 1.
De Idol. iv.	xix. 1; xcix. 6, 7.
De Idol. ix; *De Virg. Veland.* vii.	vi; xiv. 5.
Clement of Alexandria (circa A. D. 150–210).	
Eclogae Prophet. (ed. Dindorf), iii. 456.	xix. 3.
iii. 474.	viii. 2, 3.
Strom. iii. 9.	viii; xvi. 3.
Julius Africanus (ob. circa A. D. 237).	
Chronographia. . . . ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνῆλθον. Ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον 'οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους, τοὺς περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας, ἔτι δὲ ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως, τῶν μετεώρων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεδωκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησαν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας, δι' οὓς τῆς κακίας ἐπιγενομένης . . .	vii. 1; viii, &c.

Origen (A. D. 185–254) does not regard Enoch as inspired, and yet he does not wholly reject it. Cf. *Contra Celsum*, v. 52–4; *In Ioannem*, vi. 25; *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2; *De Princip.* i. 3. 3; iv. 35.

	1 *Enoch.*
Acta SS. Perpet. et Felic. (ed. Robinson, p. 72 sqq.).	
vii.	xxii. 9.
xii.	xiv. 9–17.
Commodianus (flor. A. D. 250), *Instructiones* (ed. Migne, P. L. v. 203–4).	
i. 3. (Deus) Visitari voluit terram ab angelis istam,	(Cf. *Jub.* iv. 15).
Legitima cuius spreverunt illi dimissi,	
Tanta fuit forma feminarum, quae flecteret illos,	vi. 1, 2.
Ut coinquinati non possent caelo redire.	xiv. 5.
Rebelles ex illo contra Deum verba misere.	i. 9; xiii. 2.
Altissimus inde sententiam misit in illos	x. 4 sq.; xii. sq.
De semine quorum gigantes nati feruntur.	vii. 2.
Ab ipsis in terra artes prolatae fuere,	
Et tingere lanas docuerunt et quaeque geruntur,	viii. 1.
Mortales et illi mortuos simulacro ponebant.	xix. 1.
Omnipotens autem, quod essent de semine pravo,	
Non censuit illos recipi defunctos e morte.	
Unde modo vagi subvertunt corpora multa	xv. 6.
Maxime quos hodie colitis et deos oratis.	xix. 1.
Cyprian (flor. A. D. 250).	
De Hab. Virg. 14 (ed. Hartel, i. p. 197) 'Neque Deus . . . tinguere . . . docuit . . . lapillis aut margaritis . . . quae omnia peccatores et apostatae angeli suis artibus prodiderunt . . . oculos circumducto nigrore fucare . . .'	1 *En.* viii. 1, &c.
Pseudo-Cyprian (third century A. D.).	
Ad Novatianum (ed. Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 67) 'Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum facere iudicium de omnibus et perdere omnes impios et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quae fecerunt impie et de omnibus verbis quae de Deo locuti sunt peccatores.'	i. 9.
Hippolytus (flor. A. D. 220).	
Or. adv. Graecos (ed. Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, i. 393). . . . Ἅιδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων . . . Ὁ Ἅιδης τόπος ἐστὶν . . . ἀκατασκεύαστος, χωρίον ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμου οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει.	xxii. 3. 'all the souls of the children of men'. xxi. 1. 'where things were chaotic' . . . 'a place chaotic'.
Zosimus of Panopolis (third century), quoted in *Syncellus* (Dindorf, i. 1829, p. 24).	vi–viii.
Clementine Homilies (fourth century?).	
viii. 12 sqq.	vi. 1–xix. 1.

The *Clementine Recognitions* has a parallel but independent passage, iv. 26, 27.

Lactantius (flor. A. D. 320) in his *Instit.* ii. 14 (Migne, P. L. vi. 330–2; Brandt and Laubmann, i. p. 162 sqq.) gives quite a long passage which for its main features is indebted to 1 *Enoch* xiv. 5–7; lxix. 4; vii. 1; liv. 6; xv. 8–11; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

Inst. iv. 27; v. 18.	xix. 1.
vii. 7.	xxii.
vii. 16.	lxxx. 2.
vii. 19.	xc. 19; xci. 12.
vii. 24.	x. 17 sq.
vii. 26.	xlviii. 9.
Cassianus (A. D. 360–435).	
Collatio viii. 21 '. . . illa opinio vulgi, qua credunt angelos vel maleficia vel diversas artes hominibus tradidisse.'	viii. 1.

Thenceforward 1 *Enoch* fails to secure a single favourable notice. See *Hilary, Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3; *Chrysostom, Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1; *Jerome, De Viris Illustr.* iv, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3, *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum* i. 12; *Augustine, De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23, 4, xviii. 38. The book is finally condemned in explicit terms in *Constit. Apost.* vi. 16. From this period the book fell into disuse and became lost to the Western Church, except in the fragments preserved by *Syncellus* in his *Chronography*, pp. 20–3; 42–7 (ed. Dindorf, 1829). These fragments are vi–ix. 4; viii. 4–x. 14; xv. 8–xvi. 1 and another.

There are also, as might be expected, many parallels in *Gnostic and Apocryphal Literature* to 1 *Enoch.*

Pistis Sophia (third century?) ed. Schwartze, 1851–3.	
p. 245.	1 *En.* xxxii. 3, 6.
p. 354.	vii. 1; viii. 3.
Acts of Thomas (Tisch. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*).	
p. 218, ch. xxxii.	vi. 6; lxxxvi. 3; vii. 2, 4.
Acts of 'the Disputation of Archelaus with Manes' (perhaps early in fourth century).	
ch. xxxii (Routh, *Reliquiae*, iv. p. 211).	lxxxvi. 1, 3; vii. 1; xv. 3; xviii. 11, 12.
The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea (date uncertain) has a close parallel to 1 *Enoch.*	
iii. 3 (ed. Tisch. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., Lipsiae, 1876, p. 465).	c. 10, 12.
The Apocalypse of Paul has a similar idea.	
4 sqq. (Tisch. *Apocal. Apocr.* p. 36).	c. 10, 12.
The Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan, 1882).	
ii. 8.	xxvi. 1; xc. 26.
ii. 19.	vi. 6; viii. 1.
ii. 22.	xxxix. 4, 6, 7.
iii. 4.	vi–x.

(For the above details in Patristic, and Apocryphal Literature I owe much to Dr. Lawlor in *Journal of Philology*, xxv (1897) 164–225.)

§ 11. Influence on New Testament Doctrine.

B. Doctrines in Enoch which had an undoubted share in moulding the corresponding New Testament doctrines, or are at all events necessary to the comprehension of the latter.

(*a*) The nature of the Messianic kingdom and of the future life.
(*b*) The Messiah.
(*c*) Sheol and the Resurrection.
(*d*) Demonology.

(*a*) *The Kingdom.* We shall only deal with one incident coming under this head; it is found in the three Synoptists: Matt. xxii. 23–33; Mark xii. 18–27; Luke xx. 27–36. This incident can only be rightly understood from Enoch. When the Sadducees said, 'Whose wife shall she be of them; for the seven had her to wife,' they are arguing from the sensuous conception of the Messianic kingdom—and this was no doubt the popular one—given in 1 Enoch i–xxxvi, according to which its members, including the risen righteous, were to enjoy every good thing of earth, and to have each a thousand children. The Sadducees thought thereby to place this young prophet on the horns of a dilemma, and oblige Him to confess either that there was no resurrection of the dead, or else that polygamy or polyandry would be practised in the coming kingdom. But the dilemma proves invalid; and the conception of the future life portrayed in our Lord's reply tallies almost exactly in thought, and partially in word, with that described in 1 En. xci–civ, according to which there is to be a resurrection indeed, but a resurrection of the spirit, and the risen righteous are to rejoice 'as the angels of heaven' (1 En. civ. 4; Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25), being 'companions of the hosts of heaven' (1 En. civ. 6).

(*b*) *The Messiah.* The Messiah is referred to in xc. 37, 38. He is represented as the head of the Messianic community out of which he proceeds, but he has no special rôle to fulfil, and his presence in that description seems due merely to literary reminiscence. This Messiah-reference exercised no influence on New Testament conceptions. But with regard to the Messiah described in the Parables the case is very different. Four titles applied for the first time in literature to the

personal Messiah in the Parables are afterwards reproduced in the New Testament. These are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One', 'the Righteous One', 'the Elect One', and 'the Son of Man'.

Christ or *the Anointed One.* This title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time—see xlviii. 10; lii. 4—applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is associated here with supernatural attributes. A few years later in another writing, the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. 36; xviii. 6, 8), it possesses quite a different connotation. In those Psalms the Messiah, though endowed with divine gifts, is a man and nothing more, and springs from the house of David.

The Righteous One. This title, which occurs in Acts iii. 14; vii. 52; xxii. 14 (cp. 1 John ii. 1), first appears in 1 Enoch as a Messianic designation; see 1 En. xxxviii. 2; liii. 6. Righteousness is one of the leading characteristics of the Messiah, xlvi. 3.

The Elect One. This title likewise appearing first in 1 En. xl. 5; xlv. 3–4; xlix. 2, 4; li. 3, 5, &c., passes over into the New Testament, Luke ix. 35; xxiii. 35, 'The Christ, the Elect One.' In the Old Testament we find 'Mine Elect', Isa. xlii. 1, but not 'the Elect One'.

The Son of Man. This definite title (see notes on xlvi. 2, 3) is found in 1 Enoch for the first time in Jewish literature, and is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, and contributes to it some of its most characteristic contents. For an account of the relations between the Enochic and New Testament uses of this title, we must refer to the Appendix on 'The Son of Man' at the close of the book.

(*c*) *Sheol.* If we except the Psalms we have in 1 Enoch the first instances in which this word is found in its New Testament signification. For the history of this word and its meanings, see note on lxii. 10. Observe that x. 6, 13 refers to an abyss of fire prepared for Semjaza and his angels (cf. Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xx. 4, 13–15).

It is further interesting to note that the writer of xci–civ delivers himself of a sustained polemic in cii. 4–civ. 9 against the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol, and the fact that this writer in xci. 4 borrows Sirach i. 25 makes it probable that the immediate book he had in view is Sirach, which enforces dogmatically and repeatedly the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol.

The Resurrection. This doctrine, which is first taught beyond possibility of doubt in Dan. xii, though a true exegesis will find many intimations of the doctrine in earlier books, was made a commonplace of Jewish theology by 1 Enoch. For the various forms this doctrine assumed, see note on li. 1.

(*d*) *The Demonology* of 1 Enoch reappears for the most part in the New Testament.

(*α*) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4, are the angelic Watchers who fell from lusting after the daughters of men, and whose fall and punishment are recounted in 1 En. vi–xvi. They have always been imprisoned in darkness from the time of their fall.

(*β*) Demons. These are, according to 1 En. xvi. 1, the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. These demons were to work moral ruin on the earth without hindrance till the final judgement as disembodied spirits.

So in the New Testament. The demons are disembodied spirits, Matt. xii. 43–5; Luke xi. 24–6. They are not punished till the final judgement: Matt. viii. 29, 'Art Thou come hither to torment us *before the time*?' They are subject to Satan, Matt. xii. 24–8.

(*γ*) Satan appears in Enoch as the ruler of a counter-kingdom of evil, yet a kingdom subject to the Lord of Spirits. He led astray the angels and made them his subjects, liv. 6; lxix. 5. A Satan also led astray Eve, lxix. 6. The Satans (as in Job) can still appear in heaven, xl. 7. The functions of the Satans are threefold: they tempted to evil, lxix. 4, 6; they accused the fallen, xl. 7; they punished the condemned as angels of punishment, liii. 3; lvi. 1.

So in the New Testament there is the counter-kingdom of sin, Matt. xii. 26; Luke xi. 18; 'if Satan cast out Satan, how shall his kingdom stand?' Satan led astray the angels, Rev. xii. 4, and led astray man, 2 Cor. xi. 3. The demons are subjects of Satan, Matt. xii. 24–8. The functions of Satan are tempting, Matt. iv. 1–12; Luke xxii. 31; accusing, Rev. xii. 10; punishing, 1 Cor. v. 5, where impenitent sinners are delivered over to Satan for punishment.

§ 12. Bibliography.

(*a*) Chief Editions of the Text.

i. Translations.

Laurence. *The Book of Enoch, an apocryphal production, now first translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1821.
Dillmann. *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853.
Schodde. *The Book of Enoch translated with Introduction and Notes*, Andover, 1882.
Charles. *The Book of Enoch translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments*, Oxford, 1893.
Beer in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen, 1900, ii. 236–310.
Flemming and Radermacher. *Das Buch Henoch herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1901.
Martin. *Le Livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris, 1906.
Charles. *The Book of Enoch, translated anew from the Editor's Text, with Introduction, Commentary, Critical Notes, and Appendices*, Oxford, 1912.

ii. Editions of the Versions.

Editions of the Greek Versions.

Bouriant. *Fragments grecs du livre d'Énoch. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, tom. ix, pp. 91–136, 1892.
L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre avec le texte grec du livre d'Énoch. Texte publié en fac-simile par l'héliogravure d'après les photographies du manuscrit de Gizeh, Paris, 1893.
Dillmann. *Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1892, li–liii, pp. 1039–54, 1079–92.
Lods. *Le Livre d'Hénoch: Fragments découverts à Akhmîm, publiés avec les variantes du texte éthiopien, traduits et annotés*, Paris, 1892.
Charles. *Book of Enoch*, pp. 318–70, Oxford, 1893. In this work I attempted an exhaustive comparison of the Greek and Ethiopic texts.
Swete. *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. iii.
Radermacher. *Das Buch Henoch, herausgegeben . . . von J. Flemming und L. Radermacher*, pp. 18–60, 113–14, Leipzig, 1901. This text on the whole is well edited. As Dr. Radermacher is not a Semitic scholar he was sorely handicapped in editing a Greek text which is Greek in vocabulary, but largely Semitic in idiom.
The Vatican Fragment, written in tachygraphic characters (Vatican, No. 1809), was published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, tom. ii, and deciphered by Gildemeister in *ZDMG*, 1885, pp. 621–4, and studied afresh by von Gebhardt in Merx' *Archiv*, ii. 243, 1872.

Editions of the Ethiopic Version.

Laurence. *Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica*, Oxoniae, 1838. This text was issued simply as a transcript of *a*, one of the MSS. brought to Europe by Bruce, the great Abyssinian traveller, in 1773.
Dillmann. *Liber Henoch, Aethopice, ad quinque codicum fidem editus, cum variis lectionibus*, Lipsiae, 1851.
Charles. *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1893. This translation was based on a drastic revision of Dillmann's text. Ten new MSS., belonging to the British Museum, were used, $g_1 g m$ being of primary importance, and *f h i k l n o* being of only secondary.
Flemming. *Das Buch Henoch: Aethiopischer Text herausgegeben von Joh. Flemming* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, vii. 1). Leipzig, 1902. Dr. Flemming's text is based on fifteen MSS., *a b c d e* g_1 *g m p q t u v w y*. This editor had been at no little pains in the preparation of the text. His collations of *g m q*, however, are inaccurate and defective.

(*b*) Chief Critical Inquiries.

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Dillmann. *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853. In this edition he insisted that the book proceeded from one author with the exception of certain historical allusions, vi–xvi; xci. 12–17; xciii; cvi, cvii; and certain Noachic interpolations, liv. 7–lv. 2; lx; lxv–lxix. 25, and also of xx; lxx; lxxv. 5; lxxxii. 9–20; cviii.
In 1860, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 1), vol. xii. 308–10, he recognized the separate authorship of xxxvii–lxxi, and its priority to the rest of the book.
In 1883, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 2), vol. xii. 350–2, he describes 1 Enoch as a mere 'combination of the Enoch and Noah writings', and concedes that xxxvii–lxxi are later than the rest of the book.
Ewald. *Abhandlung über des äthiopischen Buches Henokh Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*, 1855; *History of Israel*, v. 345–9 (translated from the German).
Hilgenfeld. *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, 1857, pp. 91–184.
Halévy. 'Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Énoch' (*Journal Asiatique*, 1867, pp. 352–95).

GEBHARDT. 'Die 70 Hirten des Buches Henoch und ihre Deutungen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Barkochba-Hypothese' (Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.*, 1872, vol. ii, Heft ii, pp. 163–246).
TIDEMAN. 'De Apocalypse van Henoch en het Essenisme' (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1875, pp. 261–96).
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CLEMEN. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1898, pp. 211–27, 'Die Zusammensetzung des Buches Henoch'.
BEER. 'Das Buch Henoch' in Kautzsch's *Die Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, vol. ii, 1900, pp. 224–30.
FLEMMING and RADERMACHER. *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1901.
MARTIN. *Le Livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris, 1906. [For further details see my new Commentary, *Introduction*, § 9.]

(*c*) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE BOOK.

See under Translations, § 12 (*a*) i.

LAURENCE.	BEER.
DILLMANN.	FLEMMING and RADERMACHER.
SCHODDE.	MARTIN.
CHARLES.	CHARLES.

§ 13. ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS SPECIALLY USED IN THE TRANSLATION OF 1 ENOCH.

a, *b*, *c*, *d*, &c., denote the Ethiopic MSS.
α denotes the earlier Ethiopic MSS., i. e. g_1 *g m q t u*.
β denotes the later Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *a b c d*, &c. (i. e. from *a* to $z_1 a_1 b$, with the exception of the earlier MSS.).
E denotes the Ethiopic Version.
G^s denotes the fragments of the Greek Version preserved in Syncellus: in the case of 8^b–9^b there are two forms of the text, G^{s1} G^{s2}.
G^g denotes the large fragment of the Greek Version discovered at Akhmîm, and deposited in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo.
Two special brackets are used in the translation of 1 Enoch:
⌜ ⌝. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in E but not in G^g or G^s.

BOOK OF ENOCH

Section I. Chapters I—XXXVI

Introduction

I–V. *Parable of Enoch on the Future Lot of the Wicked and the Righteous.*

1 1 The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect ⌜and⌝ righteous, who will be
2 living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked ⌜and godless⌝ are to be removed. And he took up his parable and said—Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, ⌜which⌝ the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is
3 for to come. Concerning the elect I said, and took up ⌜my⌝ parable concerning them :

The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,
4 And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai,
[And appear from His camp]
And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven ⌜of heavens⌝.

5 And all shall be smitten with fear,
And the Watchers shall quake,
And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.

6 And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame.

I. 1. **The blessing of Enoch.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 1, 'the blessing of Moses.'
the elect and righteous. This phrase is found also in xxxviii. 2, 3, 4, xxxix. 6, 7, xlviii. 1, lviii. 1, 2, lx. 13, lxiii. 12, 13, 15, lxx. 3.
day . . . removed. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (a citation ?).
all the wicked. Here Gk. reads *πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς* = כל־הצרים corrupt for כל־הרעים. So E.
removed + 'and the righteous will be saved' G^g.
2. **took up his parable,** &c. So G^g. Cf. Num. xxiv. 3, 4, whence also 'eyes were opened' (of Balaam).
saw. 'had' G^g, corrupt.
the Holy One. See verse 3. The change from the first to the third person, as here, is frequent in this book. Cf. xii. 1–3, xxxvii. 1, 2, lxx. 1, 3, lxxi. 5, xcii. 1, and esp. xci–civ.
to come + 'do I speak' G^g.
3. **the elect.** This designation belongs mainly to the Parables. It occurs in i. 8, v. 7, xxv. 5, xl. 5, xli. 2, xlviii. 1, 9, li. 5, lvi. 6, 8, lviii. 3, lxi. 4, 12, lxii. 7, 8, 11, xciii. 2.
3^b–9. A poem consisting of tristichs. The discovery of this structure is helpful in the restoration of the text, especially in stanzas 1 and 7.
Holy Great One. So G^g, E always has 'Holy and Great One'. Also in x. 1, xiv. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1, xcii. 2, xcvii. 6, xcviii. 6, civ. 9. God is called simply 'The Holy One' in i. 2, xciii. 11 ; and 'The Great One' in xiv. 2, ciii. 4, civ. 1 (twice).
come forth from His dwelling. Mic. i. 3, Isa. xxvi. 21, Ass. Mos. x. 3.
the eternal God = אלהי העולם, *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος.* Cf. Gen. xxi. 33, Isa. xl. 28, Rom xvi. 26. This could also be translated 'God of the world'. Cf. lviii. 4, lxxxi. 10, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2; also xii. 3, lxxxi. 3 ('Lord, King . . . of the world').
4. Sinai, where the law was given, will be the place of future judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2 ; Ps. lxviii. 17. Verses 4–9 all deal with the final judgement.
upon the earth G^g, 'thence' E.
[**And appear from His camp**]. So G^g, a needless repetition after 'from his dwelling'. It spoils the parallelism. E has 'and appear with His hosts'.
5. **Watchers.** Here and in x. 9, 15, xii. 4, xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, xv. 2, xvi. 1, 2, xci. 15 = fallen angels. In xii. 2, 3, xx. 1, xxxix. 12, 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12, lxxi. 7 = archangels. The name first occurs in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23. The Greek here inaptly inserts the singing of the Watchers (see 2 En. xviii).
quake E, 'believe' G^g.
6. Cf. O.T.; e.g. Ps. xcvii. 5, Mic. i. 4, and Ass. Mos. x. 4.
shaken + 'shall fall and be dissolved' G^g.
made low + 'so that the mountains shall waste away' G^g.

7 And the earth shall be ⌜wholly⌝ rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgement upon all (men).

8 But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall ⌜all⌝ be blessed.

⌜And He will help them all⌝,
And light shall appear unto them,
⌜And He will make peace with them⌝.

9 And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of ⌜His⌝ holy ones
To execute judgement upon all,
And to destroy ⌜all⌝ the ungodly:

And to convict all flesh
Of all the works ⌜of their ungodliness⌝ which they have ungodly committed,
⌜And of all the hard things which⌝ ungodly sinners ⌜have spoken⌝ against Him.

2 1 Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, ⌜and⌝ the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and trans-
2 gress not against their appointed order. Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, ⌜how **steadfast** they are⌝, how ⌜none of the things upon earth⌝
3 change, ⌜but⌝ all the works of God appear ⌜to you⌝. Behold the summer and the winter, ⌜how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.⌝

3 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees ⌜seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

4 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with glowing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

5 1 Observe ye⌝ how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed ⌜and know⌝ with regard to all ⌜His works⌝, and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.

2 And ⌜all⌝ His works go on ⌜thus⌝ from year to year ⌜for ever⌝, and all the tasks which they

8. **will make peace.** See v. 4 (note).
the righteous. i. 7, 8, v. 6, xxv. 4, xxxviii. 3, xxxix. 4, xliii. 4, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, xlviii. 1, 7, 9, l. 2, liii. 7, lvi. 7, lviii, 3, 5, lx. 2, lxi. 3, lxii. 3, lxxxii. 4, xciv. 3, 11, xcv. 3, 7, xcvi. 1, 8, xcvii. 1, 3, 5, xcviii. 12–14, xcix. 3, c. 5, 7, 10, cii. 4, 10, ciii. 1, civ. 1, 6, 12, 13.
will protect, &c. So E. G[g] has *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις.* Cf. Wisd. iv. 15.
they shall be prospered. *τὴν †εὐδοκίαν† δώσει αὐτοῖς* G[g], corrupt for *εὐοδίαν* as in Sir. xliii. 26.
light. Cf. xxxviii. 4. This 7th stanza is restored from the Greek. E omits two clauses of the tristich.
9. Quoted by St. Jude 14, 15; Pseudo-Cyprian (ed. Hartel iii. 67); Pseudo-Vigilius (Migne lxii. col. 363). The Greek supplies the defects in the Ethiopic, i.e. 'His', 'all', 'of their ungodliness' 'and hard words which' 'have spoken'. Cf. v. 4, xxvii. 2, ci. 3. For a full discussion of the literary problem see my edition of Enoch in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part xi, pages 5 and 7. The Greek, however, has *ὅτι* wrongly for *ἰδού*, and a dittograph in the last clause of stanza 9.
Ten thousands of His holy ones. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Dan. vii. 10. The angels are so called in xii. 2, xiv. 23, xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, lvii. 2, lx. 4, lxi. 8, 10, 12, lxv. 12, lxix. 13, lxxxi. 5, ciii. 2, cvi. 19, as already in Job v. 1, xv. 15, Zech. xiv. 5, Dan. iv. 13, viii. 13. They are called 'holy angels' in xx. 1–7, xxi. 5, 9, xxii. 3, xxiv. 6, xxvii. 2, xxxii. 6, lxxi. 8, xciii. 2. And 'holy ones of heaven' in ix. 3. For other names see vi. 2 (note).

II. In ii–v. 3 the order of nature is contrasted with the disorder of man's world. In Test. Naph. iii. 2, 3, men are told to observe God's law as sun, moon, and stars observe their appointed order, and the Watchers who left their natural order are held up as a warning. Cf. Sirach xvi. 26–28, Pss. Sol. xviii. 12–14.

2. **steadfast:** 'corruptible' G[g], possibly a misreading of נכנים as נבלים.
3. The Hebrews had two seasons only, Summer and Winter. Cf. Gen. viii. 22, Isa. xviii. 6, Zech. xiv. 8.

III. On the fourteen evergreen trees see Geoponica xi. 1. The twelve trees (see my Greek Verss. of Test. of xii Patr., pp. 248, 249) for use with sacrifices have nothing to do with this list here. The Greek has lost iii. 1[b]–v. 1[a] through homoeoteleuton.

V. 2. **all the tasks . . . change not** 'all His works serve Him and change not' E.

accomplish for Him, and ⌜their tasks⌝ change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.

3 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and ⌜change not⌝ their tasks ⌜from His commandments⌝.

4 But ye—ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord,
But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words
With your impure mouths against His greatness.
Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

5 Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,
And the ⌜years of your destruction⌝ shall be multiplied in eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.

6a In those days ye shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous,
b And by you shall ⌜all⌝ who curse, curse,
⌜And all⌝ the sinners ⌜and godless⌝ shall imprecate by you,
7c And for you the godless there shall be a curse.

6d ⌜And all the . . . shall rejoice,
e And there shall be forgiveness of sins,
f And every mercy and peace and forbearance:
g There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.

i And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation,
j But on you all shall abide a curse⌝.
7a But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace,
b And they shall inherit the earth.

8 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom,
And they shall all live and never again sin,
Either through ungodliness or through pride:
But they who are wise shall be humble.

9 And they shall not again transgress,
Nor shall they sin all the days of their life,
Nor shall they die of (the divine) anger or wrath,
But they shall complete the number of the days of their life.

And their lives shall be increased in peace,
And the years of their joy shall be multiplied,
In eternal gladness and peace,
All the days of their life.

4. **the commandments of the Lord.** Cf. xcix. 2 'the eternal law'.
of the Lord: 'His' G^g.
proud and hard words. See i. 9, note, and Cf. Ps. xii. 4; Dan. vii. 8, 11, 20. The charge of blasphemy is frequent in xci–civ, e.g. xci. 7, 11.
greatness + 'for ye have spoken with your lies' G^g, a gloss.
hard-hearted. Cf. xcviii. 11, c. 8 'obstinate of heart'.
ye shall find no peace. This phrase occurs only in i–xxxvi and xci–civ, v. 4, xii. 5, xiii. 1, xvi. 4, xciv. 6, xcviii. 11, 15, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, and cf. i. 8. Cf. Isa. xlviii. 22, lvii. 21.
5. **shall perish** G^g. 'ye shall destroy' E, corruptly.
6. **ye shall make your names** E (lit. 'give'). 'your names shall be' G^g. Read perhaps 'ye shall leave', &c., as in Isa. lxv. 15.
by you . . . curse G^g. 'you shall the sinners curse' E, wrongly. For G^g cf. Ps. cii. 9. G^g adds five lines, of which one or two only can be original. I have transferred 7c, so as to give three parallel tetrastichs in 6, 7.
7. The temporal blessings promised in the O.T., cf. Ps. xxxvii. 11, are here renewed, but the writer has forsaken O.T. ground on the question of Sheol and the Resurrection.
joy E, 'grace' G^g.
8. **bestowed upon the elect wisdom.** See xlii. 1, 2. G^g adds in this verse doublets from 7^{ac} 8^a.
wise . . . humble seems suspicious. G^g adds largely, and omits 'humble'.
9. Cf. Isa. lxv. 20, 22, Zech. viii. 4; 1 En. xxv. 4, 5 (note).
Sin G^g. 'be judged' E, another meaning of יָאִשְׁמוּ.
increased, multiplied. Cf. Gen. i. 22, &c., but here of spiritual expansion.

VI–XI. *The Fall of the Angels: the Demoralization of Mankind: the Intercession of the Angels on behalf of Mankind. The Dooms pronounced by God on the Angels: the Messianic Kingdom*—(a Noah fragment).

6 1 And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto
2 them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men
3 and beget us children.' And Semjâzâ, who was their leader, said unto them: 'I fear ye will not
4 indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations
5 not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then sware they all together and bound themselves
6 by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended ⌜in the days⌝ of **Jared** on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn
7 and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders: Samîazâz, their leader, Arâkîba, Râmêêl, Kôkabîêl, Tâmîêl, Râmîêl, Dânêl, Êzêqêêl, Barâqîjal,
8 Asâêl, Armârôs, Batârêl, Anânêl, Zaqîêl, Samsâpêêl, Satarêl, Tûrêl, Jômjâêl, Sariêl. These are their chiefs of tens.

VI–XI. These chapters are abruptly introduced. See introduction. vi. 3–8, viii. 1–3, ix. 7, x. 11 belong to a Semjaza cycle of myths. As in lxix. 2 he is chief and Azazel only tenth in command. Elsewhere in Enoch Azazel is chief and Semjaza is not mentioned. These myths, however, were already confused in their present form when lxxxviii–lxxxix. 1 were written. Again, x. 1–3 belongs to an Apocalypse of Noah, many fragments of which occur in Enoch. Syncellus gives an additional fragment of it after x. 3. Indeed, vi–xi is all Noachic; cf. Jub. vii. 21–25, and my edition of Jubilees lxxi seq., 264. xii–xvi, however, belong to the Book of Enoch.

VI. 2. **children of the heaven.** Cf. xiii. 8, xiv. 3, xxxix. 1. See xv. 1–7. Cf. 'sons of the holy angels' lxxi. 1, and note.

The entire myth of the angels and the daughters of men in Enoch arises from Gen. vi. 1–4: 'the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men.' This refers not to alliances between Sethites and Cainites, but to an early Persian (?) myth to the effect that before Zoroaster's coming demons had corrupted the earth and allied themselves with women (Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.* 382, 560). The original LXX rendering for 'sons of God' was ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, as in Philo, *de Gigantibus*, Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. 5, Eusebius, Augustine, and Ambrose. On the myths see Grünbaum in *ZDMG* xxxi. 225 ff., and for statements dependent on this account in Enoch, or harmonizing with it, cf. Jub. iv. 15, v. 1 seqq.; Test. Reub. v. 6, 7, Test. Naph. iii. 5, 2 En. vii, xviii, Jude 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Joseph, *Ant.* i. 3. 1; Philo, *de Gigantibus*; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 5; Ps. Clement, *Hom.* viii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 10; Tert. *de Virg. Veland.* vii; *Adv. Marcion.* v. 18; *De Idol.* ix; Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15; Commodian, *Instruct.* i. 3. In the *De Civ. Dei* xv. 23 Augustine combats this view and denies the inspiration of Enoch which Tertullian had upheld.

saw and >G[8].

4. **And they** >G[g].

and said >G[g].

6. **in the days of Jared** see cvi. 13. So the Greek; the Ethiopic is corrupt. We thus get two paronomasiae in the Hebrew: Jared, and ירד 'descend', and Hermon and חרם 'a curse'. For the tradition cf. Orig. *Comment. in Ioann.* tom. viii, p. 132, ed. Huet.; Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 4, ed. Petav., tom. i, p. 4; Hilary, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3.

The reasons for the angels' descent in the Book of Jubilees differ from those given in this chapter. There in iv and v it is said that the Watchers were sent to earth by God 'to instruct the children of men to do judgement and uprightness', and that when so doing they began to lust after the daughters of men. Cf. Test. Reub. v. 6. In 1 Enoch the angels are said to have descended because of their lust, and the same reason is given in Jalkut Shim. *Beresh.* 44. See Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 253.

The Book of Jubilees has an implicit polemic against this and other statements of Enoch. In later tradition Azazel could not return to heaven because he had outstayed the seven days' limit assigned to angelic visitants to earth.

7. This list is incomplete, as a name has been lost after Tûrêl.

Samîazâz: possibly שמעזיז or שמחזאי (cf. Shamchazai in Targ. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3).

Râmêêl: probably corrupt for Arakiêl as in G[8]. In viii. 3 G[8] says of Arakiêl, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now in Aramaic ערק = 'earth', and thus his duties are reflected in his name. He is mentioned as unfallen in Sib. Or. ii, 215–217.

Kôkabîêl = 'star of God'.

Tâmîêl = 'perfection of God'.

Râmîêl: see 2 Bar. lv. 3, Sib. Or. ii, 215–217.

Êzêqêêl: in viii. 3 G[8] says ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἐδίδαξεν ἀεροσκοπίαν; thus his name describes his function, as שחק = ἀήρ (2 Kings xxii. 12).

Barâqîjal = 'lightning of God'.

Armârôs or Pharmaros (G[8]), Arearôs (G[g]). In viii. 3 G[8] says he ἐδίδαξεν . . . ἐπαοιδάς . . . καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήριον: the name thus may come from חבר, a spell or incantation, and be Abarôs or something similar.

Samsâpêêl. G[8] in viii. 3 assigns to the 7th τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἡλίου. So the name should be Shamshiel. For the sun-god Shamash see *K.A.T.*[3] 367–370.

Tûrêl = 'rock of God'.

Jômjâêl = 'day of God'.

Sariêl, 'Arâzjâl (E), Esdrêêl (viii. 3). G[8] (viii. 3) assigns him τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, so these forms are corrupt for Sariel (G[8]) סהר = 'moon'. G[g] gives Seriel in viii. 3 but Atriel here.

8. **chiefs of tens.** G[g] has ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα, an Aramaic construction = our text. Cf. xix. 2 G.

7 1 And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to **defile** themselves with them, and they taught them charms
2 and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they
3 became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed
4 all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against
5 them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and
6 fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

8 1 And Azâzêl taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them **the metals** ⟨of the earth⟩ and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all
2 colouring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they
3 were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjâzâ taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, 'Armârôs the resolving of enchantments, Barâqîjâl (taught) astrology, Kôkabêl the constellations, **Êzêqêêl the knowledge of the clouds,** ⟨Araqiêl the signs of the earth, Shamsiêl the signs
4 of the sun⟩, and Sariêl the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven . . .

9 1 And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being
2 shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. And they said one to another: "The earth made †without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryings† up to the gates of heaven.
3 ⌜And now to you, the holy ones of heaven⌝, the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause

VII. The Ethiopic and Greek vary considerably in this and the eighth chapter. The notes of time in the Greek are due to later hands.

1. **charms and enchantments.** Cf. Wisdom xii. 4, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2. 5.

2. **great giants.** For further references to these cf. Wisdom xiv. 6, Tob. vi. 14, Sir. xvi. 7, 1 Bar. iii. 26, 3 Macc. ii. 4, Jubilees vii. 22, 23.

three thousand ells. Syncellus omits the height, and the misdeeds of the giants (verses 3–6), but adds 'And they bare unto them three kinds (of offspring); first, great giants. And the giants †begot the Naphilim and to the Naphilim were† born the Eliud. And they grew according to their greatness'. The Eth. and the Giz. Gk. have lost this from the original. Jub. vii. 21–22 is based on this passage and enables us to correct 'begot' and 'were born' to 'slew'. Also in vii. 24 Jub. quotes most of viii. 5. Cf. E and G^g (omitted by G^s). Thus both lines of text E G^g and G^s are here defective. The three classes of giants go back to Gen. vi. 4; cf., too, 1 En. lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2 and Jub. vii. 21, 22 (Giants, Nâphîl, Eljô).

5. **drink the blood.** With the Jews a great crime. Gen. ix. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 32–34; Acts xv. 20; Jub. vii. 28, xxi. 6, 1 En. xcviii. 11.

one another's flesh. One class of giants destroyed another. Cf. Jub. vii. 22.

VIII. 1. **Azâzêl.** See note on vi–xi, also x. 4 note. The origin of the name is unknown. See *Encyc. Bib. in loc.* Azâzêl here is first in order and tenth in command according to Syncellus, who alone adds a number. He calls Semjâzâ the πρώταρχος in verse 3.

metals . . . antimony, &c. Cf. Tert. *De Cultu Fem.* i. 2; ii. 10 ('ut Enoch refert'), where he follows this passage closely. Cf., too, Test. Reub. v. 5, 6; Isa. iii. 16–24. The Ethiopic misread μέταλλα (G^s) as μετ' αὐτά, G^g as μεγάλα.

the metals of the earth G^s. So E on repeating the phrase in a doublet. G^s ends this verse: 'And the children of men made (them) for themselves and their daughters and transgressed and led astray the holy ones.' This contradicts our Noachic text, and agrees with Jub. and Test. xii Patr. where the women by these arts seduce the angels.

2–3. The variations between the Eth. and G^s are here numerous.

2. **and they committed . . . astray** > G^s.

3. **resolving of enchantments.** Dan. v. 12; cf. 1 En. xcv. 4 'anathemas that cannot be resolved'.

astrology. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* Dind. iii. 474 Ἐνὼχ φησιν τοὺς παραβάντας ἀγγέλους διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας.

Several of these names correspond to the functions. See vi. 7 (notes). G^s alone gives us the complete list, and he gives their numbers not their names, according to their order in vi. 7.

Êzêqêêl. E reads Tâmîêl wrongly here (See vi. 7, note), G^g has Sathêl, and G^g E ἀστεροσκοπίαν for ἀεροσκοπίαν.

After viii. 3 G^s introduces 'after this the giants began to devour men's flesh', and this leads up to viii. 4, the cry of men.

4. **to heaven** + 'saying Bring our cause before the Most High and our destruction before the Great Glory, before the Lord of all the lords in greatness' $G^{s\,2}$. Cf. ix. 3.

IX. 1. **And then** (E), 'then' G^g, + 'the four great archangels hearing' $G^{s\,12}$.

The Eth. has Surjan and Urjan, i.e. Suriel and Uriel. For Suriel the Greek has Raphael, thus giving us the usual four archangels. See xl. 2 (note).

looked down from heaven. Ps. xiv. 2.

2. **the earth . . . heaven**: 'the voice of them that cry upon the earth to the gates of heaven' G^g.

without inhabitant. Cf. lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5; Test. Naph. iii. 5.

3. **and now . . . heaven.** Lost in $G^{gs\,12}$ through hmt.

holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

4 before the Most High." ' And they said to the Lord **of the ages**: ' Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, ⟨and God of the ages⟩, the throne of Thy glory (standeth) unto all the generations of the 5 ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou: and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all 6 things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee. Thou seest what Azâzêl hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which 7 men were striving to **learn**: And Semjâzâ, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over 8 his associates. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the 9 women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have 10 borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness. And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended: and cannôt **cease** because of the lawless deeds which are 11 wrought on the earth. And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them in regard to these.'

10 1 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent **Uriel** to the son of Lamech, 2 and said to him: ⟨' Go to Noah and⟩ tell him in my name " Hide thyself! " and reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come 3 upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape 4 and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world.' ⟨And again the Lord said to Raphael: ' Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening 5 in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged

Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

4. The angels' prayer is fuller in G^s, and a still more rhetorical form of it occurs in lxxxiv. 2, 3. For angelic intercession see *v.* 10 note.

Lord of the ages. So G^{s1}. Lord of the kings E, >G^{gs2}. ⟨**and God of the ages**⟩ G^{s12}.

5. **power over all things** EG^s, 'all power' G^g.

and nothing . . . seest. Lost in G^g through hmt.

6. **revealed . . to learn**, G^g. E corrupt, but easily emended to our text. For ἔγνωσαν G^g we read γνῶναι as G^s suggests. G^s 'revealed to the world the things which are (preserved) in heaven. And the children of men are practising his practices in order to know the mysteries'.

the eternal secrets, &c. What these are is not told.

7. ⟨**and**⟩ G^g. Semjaza is the leader in this verse, as Azazel in verse 6. See note on vi–xi.

8–9. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι—γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἵ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες —καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας—καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἔσπειραν.

8. **with the women** >G^g.

The Eth. contains an Aramaism μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν which has led G^s to add a verb ἐμιάνθησαν, and G^g to omit μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν.

all kinds of sins + 'and have taught them to make hate-producing charms' G^s, or reading μισητίαν for μίσητρα, 'to practise lewdness'.

9. **Giants.** τιτᾶνας G^g, γίγαντας G^s.

10. **cannot cease**, &c. ἐξελθεῖν, E G^{gs}=למנפק corrupt for למפסק='cease'.

The angels' intercession on men's behalf, as in this chapter and also in xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 1, is an O.T. doctrine; cf. Job ~~v. 1,~~ xxxiii. 23; Zech. i. 12. It was evidently a popular doctrine. Cf. Tobit xii. 12 (contrast Acts x. 4), xii. 15; Rev. viii. 3; Test. Levi iii. 5 and v. 6, 7 (see my full note on doctrine 200 B.C.–A.D. 100, T. Levi iii. 5).

11. **seest** G^{gs}, 'knowest' E.

suffer them. So Greek texts, misread by E τὰ εἰς for ἐᾷς.

X. 1 ⟨said⟩ >E.

the Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

the Holy and Great One (E). See i. 3 (note). 'And the Great Holy One' G^{gs}.

Uriel. So G^s, G^g has Istrael. E is corrupt.

son of Lamech, i.e. Noah.

2. ⟨**Go to Noah and**⟩ G^s; original, as each command begins with 'Go'. Cf. x. 4, 9, 11 in G^s.

Hide thyself; i.e. to receive further disclosures from the angel. Cf. xii. 1, 2.

3. G^s is much fuller. 'Instruct the righteous (man) what he is to do, from the son of Lamech, and he will preserve his soul unto life and escape through the world, and from him will be planted a plant and it will be established throughout all the generations of the world.'

of the world G^{gs} *n* >E–*n*.

4–8. Raphael's task—to remove Azazel and heal the earth; Uriel's task is given in 1–3, Gabriel's in 9–10, Michael's in 11–12.

4. Azazel as the chief offender and leader is first punished (in *v.* 11, Semjaza), by imprisonment now, and finally by fire. He is conceived as chained in the wilderness into which the scape-goat was led. The Jerusalem Targum (Ps. Jonathan) on Leviticus says that the goat was sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, i.e. Beth Chadure or Beth Chaduda (Joma, vi. 8). This Beth Chaduda (='Dudael' of this verse) was a definite locality near Jerusalem. Cf. Lev. xvi. 10, 22. On Semjaza and Azazel see Targ. Ps. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3, where both names occur and the myth is given. Observe that Azazel is punished in a place by himself; and also that in the Noah sections this place is in the valleys of the earth, but in the genuine Enoch beyond the earth.

5. **upon him**, 'under him' Gk. wrongly. Cf. liv. 5.

rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may
6, 7 not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire. And heal the
earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal
the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the
8 Watchers have **disclosed** and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted
9 through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin.' And to Gabriel said the
Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication:
and destroy [the children of fornication and] the children of the Watchers from amongst men: [and
cause them to go forth]: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in
10 battle: for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they (i.e. their fathers) make
of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and
11 that each one of them will live five hundred years.' And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, **bind**
Semjâzâ and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves
12 with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have
seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the **valleys**
of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is
13 for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: ⟨and⟩
14 to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. And whosoever shall be
condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all
15 generations. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because
16 they have wronged mankind. Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work
come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: ⌜and it shall prove a blessing;
the works of righteousness and truth⌝ shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

17 And then shall all the righteous escape,
And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
And all the days of their youth and their **old age**
Shall they complete in peace.

for ever, i.e. *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, may denote various periods, according to the context in which it is used. Here it equals seventy generations (cf. *v.* 12); in *v.* 10 five hundred years; elsewhere again an unending period.

For verses 5 and 12 cf. Jude 6.

6. **day of the great judgement** G^g, 'great day of judgement' E. See xlv. 2 (note). This judgement inaugurates the final judgement of the angels.

the fire. See xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7–10; 2 Bar. xliv. 15, xlviii. 39, lix. 2.

7. Raphael's name suggests 'healing'. Cf. Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14.

healing of the earth E G^g, 'healing of the plague' G^s.

the plague G^{gs}, 'the earth' E.

disclosed G^s, 'smitten' E G^g.

8. Note how all sin is ascribed to the fallen angels.

works that were taught G^{gs}, 'teaching of the works' E.

9, 10. Gabriel to destroy the giants. The account here is closely followed by Jubilees v. 6–11. The giants slay one another in the presence of their parents; cf. xiv. 6, and *v.* 12 here. The parents are then bound in the earth's abysses, and their power of hurting the earth is at an end; cf. xiv. 5. But it is not so with the spirits of the giants. They enjoy an impunity in wrong-doing until the final judgement. See xv. 11–xvi. 1.

9. **[the children . . . and]** >G^{gs}, dittograph in E.

[and cause . . . forth] dittograph in E of 'send'.

send . . . battle, 'send . . . war' G^g.

10. **an eternal life**, i.e. five hundred years. See *v.* 5 (note). As to the prayer of the fallen angels, cf. xii. 6, xiii. 4–6, xiv. 7.

11. This verse describes Michael's task, which is distinct from that of Gabriel. Cf. lxxxviii. 3 which is distinct from lxxxviii. 2.

the Lord >G^{gs}.

bind. So G^s, 'show' G^g and E, i.e *δηλῶσον* for *δῆσον*.

united . . . with them. Jub. iv. 22.

12. **their sons**: 'all these sons' E, 'all' being corrupt as often in E for def. art.

The binding of the angels in the valleys has been altered in E to 'in the hills' as in the Greek myths of the Titans. For the valley see lxvii. 4 sqq. and cf. Jub. v. 10 'in the depths of the earth', and Jude 6 *ὑπὸ ζόφον*.

seventy generations. This period has no connexion with the Apocalypse of Weeks.

13. **abyss of fire**, i.e. the same as that mentioned in *v.* 6, xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7–10, xc. 24. Cf. Rev. xx. 10, 14, 15 'lake of fire', and Matt. xxv. 41.

14. **condemned** G^s. *κατακαυσθῇ* G^g E corrupt for *κατακριθῇ*.

all generations E, 'the ('their' G^s) generation' G^g. Here G^s ends.

15. Gabriel is given this charge in *v.* 9.

16. **plant of righteousness**, i.e. Israel. Israel springs from a seed that 'is sown' by God, lxii. 8: hence it is established as 'a plant of the seed for ever', lxxxiv. 6; is called 'the plant of uprightness', xciii. 2; the plant of righteousness, xciii. 5; the eternal plant of righteousness, xciii. 10; and 'the plant of righteous judgement', xciii. 5.

17. The writer wanders off to a very sensuous picture of Messianic bliss; cf. xxv. 4 (note).

old age. The reading (E and G^g) 'Sabbath' is due to a corruption in the original Aramaic or Hebrew.

18 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and
19 be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield
20 ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth
21 destroy from off the earth. ⌈And all the children of men shall become righteous⌉, and all nations
22 shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. ⌊And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.

11 1 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send
2 them down ⌈upon the earth⌉ over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations **of men.**'

XII–XVI. *Dream-Vision of Enoch: his Intercession for Azazel and the fallen Angels: and his Announcement of their first and final Doom.*

12 1 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was
2 hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him. And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.
3 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of **majesty** and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers
4 called me—Enoch the scribe—and said to me: 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, †declare† to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves

18. **shall all be planted with trees** E, 'and a tree shall be planted in it' G^g.
18, 19. Cf. O.T. prophecies, Amos ix. 13, 14; Hos. ii. 22, 23; Jer. xxxi. 5; Isa. xxv. 6; Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 26, 27.
19. G^g corrupt.
each measure shall bear. Contrast Isa. v. 10, and cf. the chiliastic expectations of Papias in Iren. *adv. Haer.* v. 33. Cf., too, 2 Bar. xxix. 5.
20. The cleansing is by the Messianic kingdom probably, not by the deluge.
oppression E, 'impurity' G^g.
20, 21. **from off . . . righteous** E >G^g.
21. The conversion of the Gentiles. Cf. xc. 30 (note), xci. 14.
22. **the earth** E, 'all the earth' G^g.

XI. concludes an account of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 12.
upon the earth >G^g.
2. Cf. Ps. lxxxv. 10; Isa. xxxii. 17.
of men G^g, αἰώνων E †for ανπων.

XII–XVI. The visions are only preserved in fragments and are out of order. Cf. lxxviii–lxxx, xci–xciv. As Enoch can still intercede for the fallen Watchers their doom in x is not yet carried out. The original order was: Enoch was asked to intercede for Azazel (lost), vision (lost), answer in xiii. 1–2; then to intercede for the Watchers, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–7, vision in xiii. 8, answer to the Watchers xiii. 9–10. This second vision is given at length, with God's revelation about the Watchers' first estate, sin, and doom, xiv. 2–xvi. 2. The closing message of doom for the Watchers in xvi. 3–4 is a duplicate of xii. 4–6, which seems more original. This repetition is very Semitic. Thus the original order would be xiv. 1 . . ., xiii. 1–2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–10, xiv. 2–xvi. 2, xii. 4–6 ‖ xvi. 3–4. xii. 1–2 is an editorial introduction. Note that here in this Enoch section a man intercedes for angels: in the Noah section angels intercede for men (ix. 3, 4), but not for angels (lxviii. 3, Noachic).

XII. 1. **Before these things,** before the angels' intercession for men (ix) and God's doom (x) on the Watchers.
was hidden E, 'was taken' G^g, to receive the following revelation. Cf. x. 2. Enoch is still living, and not finally translated from earth as yet. As man he writes the petition for the fallen angels (xiii. 6); receives a vision in sleep, and is transported in spirit unto heaven (xiv. 2); speaks with a tongue of flesh (xiv. 2); and is terrified, like a mortal man, at the presence of God (xiv. 24).
2. **holy ones.** See i. 9 (note).
Watchers. See i. 5 (note).
3. **of majesty** G^g. So E by the slightest change.
King of the ages. See i. 3 (note). **Watchers** E, + 'of the Holy Great one' G.
called. Enoch is really asked to intercede. So read this verse after xiii. 3.
the scribe. Cf. xcii. 1. Enoch is further called the scribe of righteousness (xii. 4, xv. 1), because he is himself a righteous man (xv. 1, lxxi. 14–16) and also declares the righteous judgement that is coming (xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, lxxxi. 6, lxxxii. 1, &c.).
4–6. Really the close of xii–xvi. See note above.
4. Cf. Jude 6. † **declare** E, G^g 'and say', correctly. Cf. xvi. 4.
have left. Cf. xv. 3.
the holy eternal place E, 'the holiness of the eternal place' G^g.

5 wives: "Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: And ye shall have no peace nor forgive-
6 ness of sin: and inasmuch as †they† delight themselves in† their† children, The murder of †their†
beloved ones shall† they† see, and over the destruction of †their† children shall† they† lament, and
shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."'

13 1 And Enoch went and said: 'Azâzêl, thou shalt have no peace: a severe sentence has gone forth
2 against thee to put thee in bonds: And thou shalt not have toleration nor †request† granted to thee,
because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness
3 and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men.' Then I went and spoke to them all
4 together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to
draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence
5 of the Lord of heaven. For from thenceforward they could not speak (with Him) nor lift up their
6 eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out their
petition, and the prayer †in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their
7 requests that they should have forgiveness and length†. And I went off and sat down at the waters
of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon: I read their petition till I fell
8 asleep. And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of
chastisement, ⌜and a voice came bidding (me)⌝ to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them.
9 And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in
10 'Abelsjâîl, which is between Lebanon and Sênêsêr, with their faces covered. And I recounted before
them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and
to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

14 1 The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance
2 with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision. I saw in my sleep what I will now say with
a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to
3 converse therewith and understand with the heart. As He has created and given ⌜to man the power of
understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given⌝ me the power of reprimanding
4 the Watchers, the children of heaven. I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus,
that your petition will not be granted unto you ⌜throughout all the days of eternity, and that judge-

Ye have G^g, 'and have' E.
5. **And ye** G^g, 'and they' E.
no peace. Cf. v. 4, xiii. 1.
5, 6. †they, †their. Read 'ye', 'your'.
6. Cf. x. 10, 12, xiv. 6.

XIII. 1. Azazel addressed in conformity with x. 4. Message of his doom. See xii–xvi (note).
went and said E, 'said "Go"' G^g.
no peace xvi. 4, v. 4.
bonds x. 4.
2. †**request.** Read 'rest'.
4, 5. As the angels could not address God nor lift up their eyes to heaven, Enoch is besought to become their intercessor. As a scribe, he draws up their petition in writing, and does not present it by word of mouth.
4. **read** G^g, 'take up' E.
6. †**in regard to . . . length**†. For 'length' read 'length of days', x. 9, 10.
7. **waters of Dan.** This river, called also the Little Jordan (Joseph, *Ant.* v. 3. 1, viii. 8. 4) is a tributary of the Jordan. This place (from דין, to judge) is chosen because of the significance of its name here—judgement.
the west of Hermon E, 'Hermon of the West' G^g.
8. **to tell . . . and reprimand** E, 'Tell . . . to reprimand' G^g.
sons of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).
9. **'Abelsjâîl**, perhaps Abilene אבילין, with a play on אבלין, 'mourning'.
10. **Sênêsêr**—Senir, a name of Hermon—Deut. iii. 9, Cant. iv. 8.
recounted G^g, 'spake' E.
reprimand, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 3, 'judge angels'.
heavenly Watchers. See i. 5 (note). The vision follows in xiv. 2–xvi. 2.

XIV. 1. A title for the section xii–xvi.
The book of the words qG^g, 'This book is the word' E (rest of MSS.).
eternal, lit. 'who are from eternity', in the loose sense of that word. See x. 5 (note).
Holy Great one G^g, 'Holy and Great one' E. See i. 3 (note).

XIV. 2.–XVI. 2—the Vision.
2, 3. God has created man with a tongue for speech and a faculty of understanding, and so has created Enoch with a power of reprimanding the eternal watchers.
tongue of flesh. Cf. lxxxiv. 1.
the Great One. Cf. ciii. 4, civ. 1.
and understand with the heart E, 'with understanding of the heart' G^g.
3. **to man . . . and given** >G^g, through hmt.
children of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).
4–7. Enoch's reprimand to the Watchers.

5 ment has been finally passed upon you: yea (your petition) will not be granted unto you⌉. And from
henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and ⌈in bonds⌋ of the earth the decree
6 has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world. And (that) previously you shall have seen
the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before
7 you by the sword. And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own:
even though you weep and pray and **speak all the words** contained in the writing which I have
8 written. And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist
summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and **hastened** me, and the winds in
9 the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. And I went in till I drew
nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright
10 me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals:
and the walls of the house were like a tesselated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was
11 of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were
12 fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its
13 portals blazed with fire. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice: there
14 were no delights of life therein: fear covered me, and trembling gat hold upon me. And as I quaked
15 and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater
16 than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And
in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to
17 you its splendour and its extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path
18 of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw ⌈therein⌉ a lofty throne: its
appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the **vision** of
19 cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look
20 thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and
21 was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason
22 of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about
Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him; ten thousand times
23 ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no **counsellor**. And the most holy ones who were
24 nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on
my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: 'Come hither,

5. Cf. xiii. 5. Also Athenagoras' *Apology*, xxv. 1; Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.
in bonds of the earth G^g, 'on the earth' E. Read 'in bonds on the earth' or (cf. Lam. iii. 34) 'as prisoners of the earth'.
6. Cf. x. 9, xii. 6.
pleasure in them. Cf. xii. 6. So G^g. E has 'ye shall not possess them'.
7. **speak all the words.** I have emended μή into μήν in G^g καὶ μὴν λαλοῦντες πᾶν ῥῆμα (Cf. converse in x. 7 G^g). If we accept the negative and read λαχόντες for λαλοῦντες, we can take the phrase as an apodosis—'ye are not to be granted a single request', &c.
Iren. iv. 16. 2 refers to this passage and to Enoch's *legatio ad angelos*.
8. **clouds invited me.** The expression is peculiar. Cf. perhaps Matt. xvii. 5. We should expect, however, some such idea as in Ps. xviii. 10, 11, civ. 3.
sped E, κατεσπούδαζον G^g. Cf. *Passio Perpetuae* xi.
hastened ἐθορύβαζον G^gE. But בהל in Heb. and Aram. means also 'hasten', cf. Dan. iv. 5.
caused me to fly E=ἀνεπτέρωσαν, G^g=ἐξεπέτασαν. Perhaps read ἐξεπέρασαν, cf. Num. xi. 31.
9–13. Enoch is carried up into heaven and passes within the outer court of God's palace.
10. **crystals**=hailstones. Cf. Isa. xxx. 30. **(made) of crystals** E. G^g has 'and they were all of snow'.
13. **delights**=τρυφή. τροφή G^g.
14. Cf. lx. 3, lxxi. 11; Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 17, 18.
15. The doors are open so that Enoch can describe what is within. G^g is corrupt.
18–22. The writer draws on Isa. vi: Ezek. i. x.; Dan. vii. 9, 10. This passage is used by the author of lxxi. 5–8.
18. **therein** > G^g.
a lofty throne: Ezek. i. 26; Dan. vii. 9; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi. 1; Ass. Mos. iv. 2; Test. Levi v. 1; Rev. iv. 2.
vision. So I emend. E has 'voice' (ὀπός). G^g has *opos* corrupt for ὅρασις.
19. Dan. vii. 10.
streams of flaming fire E, 'flaming streams of fire' G^g.
20. **the Great Glory.** Cf. cii. 3; Test. Lev. iii. 4.
whiter than, &c. Cf. Dan. vii. 9; Ps. civ. 2; Jam. i. 17; Rev. iv. 3.
21. **enter** + 'into this house' G^g.
by reason of the magnificence and glory G^g, 'of the Magnificent and Glorious One' E (cf. ciii. 1), but this seems corrupt.
22. **could draw nigh.** Cf. 3 Macc. ii. 15; 1 Tim. vi. 16.
He needed no counsellor. Cf. Sir. xlii. 21, and 2 En. xxxiii. 4. E, with a slight change, gives our text. G^g has πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. 2 En. xxxiii. 4.
23. **the most holy ones** G^g, 'the holiness of the holy ones' E^a.
'did not leave.' Contrast lxxi. 8.
24. **prostrate** G^g. E is corrupt. Cf. Dan. viii. 17; 2 En. xxi. 2; Luke xxiv. 5.

25 Enoch, and hear my word.' ⌜And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me⌝, and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards.

15 1 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous 2 man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice. And go, say to ⌜the Watchers of heaven⌝, who have sent thee to intercede ⌜for them: "You should intercede⌝ for men, and not men 3 for you: Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children 4 of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons? And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) with the blood of flesh, and, **as the children** of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those ⌜also⌝ do who die 5 and perish. Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget 6 children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth. But you were ⌜formerly⌝ 7 spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling. 8 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon 9 the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling. Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from **men** ⌜and⌝ from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; 10 ⌜they shall be evil spirits on earth, and⌝ evil spirits shall they be called. [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth, 11 on the earth shall be their dwelling.] And the spirits of the giants **afflict**, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, ⌜but never- 12 theless hunger⌝ and thirst, and cause offences. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded ⌜from them⌝.

16 1 From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death ⌜of the giants⌝, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement—thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great ⌜judgement⌝ in which the age shall be con- 2 summated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated." And now as

hear my word G^g, 'to my holy word' E (*ἁγίου* for *ἄκουσον*).
25. **bowed**: so G^g. 'looked' E corruptly.

XV. 1. **scribe of righteousness.** See xii. 3 (note).
2. **Watchers of heaven** >G^g.
intercede. See ix. 10 (note).
for them . . intercede >G^g through hmt.
3. Cf. xii. 4; Jude 6.
4–7. For mortal man upon earth wedlock is appointed, to continue the race; but for immortal angels in heaven it involves pollution and guilt. Cf. Matt. xxii. 30, no marriage in heaven.
4. **spiritual, living the eternal life** E, 'and spirits, living, eternal' G^g.
as the children of men, 'with the blood of men' G^g E, i.e. ברם for כבני.
lusted after + 'and made' E.
5. **nothing . . to them.** E^{gtu} corrupt.
6. **spiritual,** &c. G^g as in *v.* 4.
8–9. The forbidden union of angels and the daughters of men gives rise to a monstrous race of giants, with spiritual powers and earthly desires. So from these giants when they die will proceed evil spirits, i.e. demons, living on earth. Moreover, these demons will not be restrained as the fallen angels are, nor slain like the mortal bodies of the giants. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5; Tert. *Apol.* xxii. Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15 regards the demons as wicked angels and no more.
8. **shall be called evil spirits** E G^s; *πνεύματα ἰσχυρά* G^g, defective and corrupt.
9. **from men** G^s, 'from those above' G^g E.
beginning E + 'of their creation' G^{gs}.
they shall be . . earth E G^s. > G^g.
10. G^s omits. The verse is only a repetition of 7, 8.
of the earth E, 'on the earth' G^g.
11. **afflict**: 'laying waste' G^s, 'clouds' E G^g, i.e. עננין corrupt for מעניין = 'afflict'. The demons' evil activities will continue on the earth.
trouble E; *δρόμους* G^{gs}, corrupt for *τρόμους* (?).
but nevertheless hunger G^{gs}. >E + *καὶ φάσματα ποιοῦντα* G^s, perhaps rightly.
cause offences G^{gs}, also E, easily corrected.
12. **against the women** E, 'of the women' G^{gs}.

XVI. 1. The demons will not be punished until the final judgement, whereas the watchers are punished before and again at that judgement. This doctrine also appears in Jubilees x. 5–11, and in the N.T. Cf. Matt. viii. 29, 'to torment us before the time.'
of the giants E G^s >G^g + *Ναφηλεὶμ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ μεγάλοι ὀνομαστοί* G^s. Cf. Gen. vi. 4.
from the souls of whose flesh E^{eny} G^g. All texts are here corrupt, though ^{eny} are best.
consummation. See xlv. 2 (note).
2. Here we might read a quotation in Syncellus ending—'and these are from the first book of Enoch concerning the watchers'. It limits the age of man to 120 years and so perhaps does belong to the lost Apocalypse of Noah. See my forthcoming Commentary on Enoch, pp. 14, 15.

to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been ⌜aforetime in heaven⌝, (say
3 to them): "You have been in heaven, but ⌜all⌝ the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."
4 Say to them therefore: "You have no peace."'

XVII–XXXVI. *Enoch's Journeys through the Earth and Sheol.*

XVII–XIX. *The First Journey.*

17 1 And they took ⌜and brought⌝ me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire,
2 and, when they wished, they appeared as men. And they brought me to the place of darkness, and
3 to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries ⌜and the treasuries of the stars⌝ and of the thunder, ⌜and⌝ in the **uttermost depths,** where were
4 a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, ⌜and a fiery sword⌝ and all the lightnings. And they took
5 me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun. And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards
6 the west. I saw the great rivers and came to the great ⌜river and to the great⌝ darkness, and went
7 to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place
8 whence all the waters of the deep flow. I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

18 1 I saw the treasuries of all the winds: I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation
2 and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four
3 winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven. ⌜And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven⌝, and have their station between heaven and earth: ⌜these are the pillars

aforetime E >G^{gs}.
3. E wrongly inserts 'and now' at the beginning of 3.
all G^{g} >E.
Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ed. Dindorf. iii. 9 is based on this statement.
4. **no peace.** See v. 4 (note).

XVII–XIX. These chapters are foreign to the rest of this section. They are full of Greek elements, e.g. Pyriphlegethon, Styx, Acheron and Cocytus (xvii. 5, 6); the Ocean Stream (xvii. 5, 7, 8; xviii. 10); Hades in the West (xvii. 6).
Again xviii. 6–9 is a duplicate account of xxiv. 1–3; xviii. 12–16 of xxi. 1–6; and xviii. 11 of xxi. 7–10.
Again xix. 1 contradicts x. 11–14; xiv. 5. How could the imprisoned angels (xv. 12–xvi) assume many forms and seduce men to sacrifice to the demons? Still these chapters do belong to the Enoch tradition.

XVII. 1. **and brought** supplied from G^{g}.
like flaming fire. Cf. Ps. civ. 4.
appeared as men. Cf. xix. 1, 'assuming many different forms', and 2 Cor. xi. 14.
2. **of darkness** G^{g} ζοφώδη, 'of whirlwind' E = γνοφώδη. Cf. Job xxxvii. 9.
the point of E >G^{g}.
3. **places of the luminaries:** perhaps the chambers of the sun and moon cf. xli. 5.
and the treasuries of the stars supplied from G^{g}.
of the thunder. Cf. xli. 3, xliv, lix, lx. 13–15 and notes.
in the uttermost depths. E is thus easily emended. G^{g} has εἰς τὰ ἀεροβαθῆ.
fiery bow, with which the lightnings are shot. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Hab. iii. 9; Lam. ii. 4, iii. 12.
arrows, i.e. lightnings. Ps. xviii. 14, lxxvii. 17, 18.
and a fiery sword E. >G^{g}. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Deut. xxxii. 41.
4. **took** E, 'brought' G^{g}.
The living waters G^{g}, 'waters of life' E. Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 9; Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, xvi. 22; and esp. Rev. xxii. 17.
fire of the west. See xxiii. (notes). This fire is not Gehenna as Enoch does not place that in the west.
receives E, παρέχον G^{g}.
5. **river of fire.** The Pyriphlegethon.
great sea. Ὠκεανός.
towards the west E, 'of the west' G^{g}.
6. **I saw** G^{g}, 'and I saw' E, also in verses 7 and 8, &c. The omission of the copula suits the Aramaic idiom.
the great rivers. Are these the Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus?
river and to the great supplied from G^{g}.
no flesh G^{g}, 'all flesh' E.
7. **the mountains of the darkness** E. 'the winds of the darkness' G^{g}.
8. **The mouths,** &c., i.e. Oceanus. Cf. 'the springs of the great deep' in Babylonian cosmogony: they are at the ends of the earth, and the mountains (cf. *v.* 7) are near by.

XVIII. 1. **treasuries of all the winds.** See xxxiv–xxxvi, xli. 4 (note), lx. 11, 12.
foundations of the earth. Cf. O.T. 2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 15.
2. **corner-stone.** Job xxxviii. 6.
the earth and G^{g} E, but a dittograph of ארבע 'four' in the Aramaic seems probable, misread ארעא 'earth'.
3. **And I saw . . . heaven** E, > G^{g} through hmt.
These are . . . heaven > G^{g} through hmt.
pillars of the heaven. Cf. Job. xxvi. 11 for the words but not the idea.

4 of the heaven⌉. I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and
5 all the stars to their setting. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw ⌈the paths
6 of the angels. I saw⌉ at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above. /And I proceeded
and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones,
7 three towards the east, and three towards the south. And as for those towards the east, ⟨one⟩ was
of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of **jacinth**, and those towards the south of red stone.
8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the
9, 10 throne was of sapphire. And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains Is a region the
11 end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed. And I saw a deep abyss, with columns ⌈of
heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns⌉ of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards
12 the height and towards the depth. And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament
of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no
13 birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains,
14 and to me, when I inquired regarding them, The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and
15 earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll
over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of
16 their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times. And He was wroth with them,
and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated (even) ⌈for ten thousand years⌉.'

19 1 And Uriel said to me: 'Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women,
and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray
into sacrificing to demons ⌈as gods⌉, (here shall they stand,) till ⌈the day of⌉ the great judgement in

4. **winds which turn . . . the sun.** Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.
bring . . . to . . . setting. = δύνοντας (Active). διανεύοντας G^g which Dillmann emends to δινεύοντας, 'whirling'.
5. **carrying the clouds** (*t*, *β* only) explains the difficulties in Job xxxvi. 29, xxxvii. 16. G^g*gmqu* read 'in the cloud'.
at the end of the earth the firmament. The firmament's ends rest on the earth's ends, cf. xxxiii. 2, while its vault is supported by the winds, xviii. 2, 3.
6–9. For the seven mountains see the other account in xxiv. 1–3. Also cf. Jubilees viii. 22.
6. **proceeded** + 'to the south' E. This addition is obviously wrong. The mountains are in the NW., lxxvii. 3, lxx. 3. Moreover, as three are towards the east and three towards the south, this *v.* (6) implies that the corner one must be in the NW.
and saw a place G^g > E which seems to have read εἰς τὸν νότον for εἶδον τόπον.
seven mountains. The Garden lies to the east of them xxxii. 1–2 and like them is in the NW. lxx. 3. Cf. too xxiv. 1–3 (the mountains), xxiv. sqq. (the Garden or at least the tree of life). See further lxxvii. 3, lx. 22, 23, lx. 8, xxxii. 1–3 for the Garden's position. For the number 'seven' cf. 4 Ezra vi. 42, 1 En. lxxvii. 5, 8. See full note in my new Comm. on 1 En. xviii. 6. With the mountains cf. those in lii. 2, liii. 7.
three[1°] E, > G^g.
7. **jacinth** (?) ἰάσεως E, corrupt for (?) ἰάσπιδος, 'jasper'. But G^g has ταθεν. So ἰακίνθου or ἰανθίνου is more probably original. We can neither be sure of identifying the stones or discovering the source of the ideas in our text. But cf. Ezek. xxviii. 13.
8. **like the throne of God.** In xxv. 3 it *is* the throne of God. God's mountain is in the north in Isa. xiv. 13. Cf. Ezek. i. 4; Job xxxvii. 22. Cf. 'the holy mountain of God', Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14, 16.
alabaster. φουκα G^g=פוכא.
sapphire. Ezek. i. 26.
9. **a flaming fire.** Cf. xxiv. 1.
And beyond these G^g. E attests, but here as always misrenders, as ἐπὶ ἐκείνων for ἐπέκεινα (G^g). Cf. ver. 12.
10. Cf. xviii. 5, xxxiii. 2.
11. Is this the final place of punishment for the fallen angels? If so, cf. x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, xxi. 7–10, xc. 24.
of heavenly fire . . . columns > G^g. Cf. Gen. xix. 24; Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xxxviii. 22.
height . . . depth E. ∽ G^g.
12–16. The place of punishment for the disobedient stars, already occupied. Cf. xxi. 1–6.
13–16. The stars are regarded as conscious, and therefore punished. Cf. Jude 13 ἀστέρες πλανῆται.
13. **and to me . . . them** G^g, E corrupt.
14. **host of heaven.** Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21.
15. **the Lord** G^g, 'God' E.
rising + ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστιν G^g—a gloss on *v.* 12.
16. **till the time** = ten thousand years, xxi. 6.
ten thousand years G^g, ἐνιαυτῷ μυστηρίου E corrupt.

XIX. This chapter disagrees with xv. 12–xvi, as here the spirits of the fallen angels are free to seduce men to sacrifice to demons. In fact the fallen angels here have the function of tempting men which is elsewhere assigned to the demons. The women too become female demons here. If, however, xix belongs to x–xvi, then xix is defective. 'Their spirits' should be followed by 'of the giants', which would be an Aramaic idiom likely to be misunderstood by a Greek translator.
1. **sacrificing to demons as gods.** Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37; Bar. iv. 7. This passage and xcix. 7 are the source of Tert. *De Idol.* iv.
as gods E > G^g.
the day of E > G^g.
the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

2 which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who
3 went astray shall become sirens.' And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and
no man shall see as I have seen.

XX. *Names and Functions of the Seven Archangels.*

) 1, 2 And these are the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is
3 over the world and over Tartarus. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.
4, 5 Raguel, one of the holy angels who †takes vengeance on† the world of the luminaries. Michael, one
6 of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind ⌜and⌝ over chaos. Saraqâêl,
7 one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit. Gabriel, one of the holy
8 angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim. Remiel, one of the holy angels,
whom God set over those who rise.

XXI—XXXVI. *The Second Journey of Enoch.*

XXI. *Preliminary and final Place of Punishment of the fallen Angels (stars).*

1, 2 And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither
3 a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. And there I saw
4 seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then
5 I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?' Then
said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: 'Enoch, why
6 dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars ⌜of heaven⌝,
which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years,
7 the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.' And from thence I went to another place, which
was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt
and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of
8 fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. Then I said: 'How

2. **the women . . . of the angels** G^g, 'lit. their women . . . of the angels'. An Aramaic idiom. E is corrupt.
will become sirens. So G^g. E is corrupt ὡς εἰρηναῖαι. For sirens cf. Apoc. Bar. x. 8. σειρήν in the LXX renders יענה e.g. Mic. i. 8.

3. **the ends of all things.** Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) as ὕλας πάσας and Origen, *De Princ.* iv. 35, as 'universas materias'.

XX. There are seven archangels in this chapter, but only four are mentioned in i–xix, cf. xxi–xxxvi. See lxxxi. 5. Other discrepancies, however, are reduced by the evidence of G^g.

1. $G^{g1,2}$ are defective, G^{g2} omits and G^{g1} reads only 'angels of the powers'. Both, however, in *v.* 8 end ὀνόματα ζ' ἀρχαγγέλων.
who watch. See i. 5, xii. 2.

2. Uriel's province here explains, e.g. xix, xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 1, where he is overseer of the world.
Tartarus $G^{s1,2}$. E = τρόμου, corrupt.

3. **Raphael.** See x. 4, 7. His province here suits admirably in xxii. 3, 6. In xxxii. 6, however, his province seems that assigned to Gabriel in xx. 7.

4. **Raguel.** There seems to be no connexion between name and function. Cf. xxiii. 4.
†takes vengeance on.† See xxiii. 4 (note).
world of $G^{g1,2}$. 'world and' E.

5. **Michael** is Israel's guardian angel, as in Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, and elsewhere. Cf. xxiv. 6.
(and) over chaos $G^{g1,2}$. ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ E.

6. **Saraqâêl** E, 'Sariel' $G^{g1,2}$.
spirits + 'of mankind' E.

7. Gabriel, not Raphael, should be the speaker in xxxii, according to this verse.

8. **Remiel.** This clause (only in G^{g2}) completes the *seven*, which number G^{g1} also mentions. For Remiel cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36.

XXI. 1–6. Cf. xviii. 12–16. The place where the disobedient stars are punished.

1. Origen cites in *De. Princ.* iv. 35 'ambulavi usque ad imperfectum.'
chaotic. So $G^{g1,2}$, and E is easily so emended.

3. **together** E. 'and cast down' $G^{g1,2}$.

5. **chief over them** $G^{g1,2}$. 'chief over me' E.
why art thou eager for the truth $G^{s1,2}$. The Aramaic original = Dan. vii. 16 (cf. 19), and the Greek text used by E, had ἀκρίβειαν, not ἀλήθειαν.

6. **of heaven** $G^{g1,2}$. > E.
the Lord $G^{g1,2}$ but late MSS. read 'Most High God', a title not found in Enoch, though 'Most High' occurs in all the sections. E has 'God'. See xcix. 3 (note).
ten thousand years $G^{g1,2}$. 'ten thousand ages' E, i.e. ʿâlam for ʿâm.
the time $G^{g1,2}$. 'the number of the days' E.

7–10. **Another place.** Apparently the final prison of the angels here is the abyss of xviii. 11, 12, which was below the waste place, where the seven stars are bound already. For this final prison, cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, liv. 6, xc. 24–5.

7. **conjecture.** E^{mu} $G^{g1,2}$. All E MSS. prefix a gloss 'to look upon'.

9 fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!' Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?' And
10 I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' And he said ⌜unto me⌝: 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

XXII. *Sheol or the Underworld.*

22 1 And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west ⌜another⌝ great and high mountain [and] of hard rock.

E

2 And there was in it †four† **hollow** places, deep and wide and very smooth. †How† smooth are **the hollow places** and deep and dark to look at.

Gg

And there were †four† hollow places in it, deep 2 and very smooth: †three† of them were dark and one bright and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said: '†How† smooth are these hollow places, and deep and dark to view.'

3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should
4 assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places **have been made** to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.'

E

5 I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven
6 and made suit. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit—whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit?'

Gg

I saw ⟨the spirit of⟩ a **dead man** making suit, 5 and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was 6 with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven?'

7 And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.'

8. **terrible,** δεινός, 'terrible' G^{g12}. E = ὀδυνηρός.
9. **Uriel** E > $G^{g1,2}$.
and I answered $G^{g1,2}$. > E which inserts 'and he answered me' after 'with me'.
the spectacle of the pain E (ὀδύνης), 'the terrible (δεινῆς) spectacle' G^{g}.
10. **unto me** E > G^{g}.
for ever G^{g} gives a doublet.

XXII. This chapter contains a very detailed account of Sheol or Hades. The writer places it in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews. In all other sections of Enoch the Hebrew view prevails. This is the earliest statement of the Pharisaic or Chasid doctrine of Sheol, but here it is already fullgrown. The departed have conscious existence, and moral, not social distinctions are observed in Sheol. See lxiii. 10, for the history of this doctrine. Cf. Dan. xii.

1. **[and]** > G^{g}.
2. **† four †**, three are gloomy and one bright, according to our text, but *vv.* 8 and 9 show that there are *three* in all, not *four* (G^{g}). E has there inserted 'regarding it and' to avoid the inconsistency.
† four † . . † three †. Read 'three . . two'.
hollow. καλοί E for κοῖλοι. So too in ver. 3.
† how †. Read 'why' to suit the reply 'for this very purpose' in *v.* 3. **hollow places**$^{2°}$. So G. E has κυκλώματα.
deep and dark. This seems to suit only the places of punishment. Contrast 'one bright' and *v.* 9.
3. **Raphael** has the same rôle in Tobit.
created E. ἐκρίθησαν G^{g} corruptly.
the spirits of the souls of the dead, G^{g} E^{gu}, E rest of MSS. corrupt. Cf. ix. 10.
4. **been made.** So I emend G^{g} E, which corruptly read 'made'.
to receive them. Cf. promptuaria of 4 Ezra iv. 35, vii. 95, 1 En. c. 4, 5 (note).
[till the period appointed.] A dittograph.

5–7. Formerly thought to describe the first division of Sheol, which contains the souls of the righteous, who in their life were persecuted, and suffered a violent and undeserved death. The idea of the righteous or of the angels crying for vengeance on the wicked occurs in all the sections of Enoch. Cf. ix. 1–3, 10, 11, xxii. 5–8, xlvii. 1, 2, lxxxix. 76, xcvii. 3, 5, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3. Cf. also Rev. vi. 10; 4 Ezra iv. 35. But really these verses describe not a division of Sheol, but the sight of a soul demanding vengeance.

5. **spirits . . dead.** E. ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς ἐντυγχάνοντος G^{g} defective and corrupt. Note the singular in *v.* 6.
6, 7. Abel's soul cries for vengeance. Gen. iv. 10.
6. **which maketh suit** > E.
answered + 'and said to me' E, a doublet of 'saying'.

E

8 Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the **hollow places**: 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9 And he answered me and said unto me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made ⟨for⟩ the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the **bright** spring of
10 water. **And** such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their
11 lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There
12 He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days
13 of the sinners. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever.'

Gg

Then I asked regarding all the **hollow places**: 8
'Why is one separated from the other?'

And he answered me saying: 'These three 9
have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And **this** division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And **this** 10
has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed upon them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great 11
pain, till the great day of judgement, scourgings, and torments of the accursed for ever, **so that** (there may be) retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And **this** 12
division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. And **this** has been 13
made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 14
'Blessed art Thou, Lord of righteousness, who ruleth over the world.'

XXIII. *The fire that deals with the Luminaries of Heaven.*

3 1, 2 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. And I saw a burning
3 fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but (ran) regularly. And

8. The three divisions of Sheol are now given.
hollow places. κριμάτων E, κυκλωμάτων Gg, both corrupt for κοιλωμάτων.
9. The first division is for the souls of the righteous, whether martyred or not. Thus good and ill fortune in life do not continue even after death, despite 5–7. 'The bright spring' seems to refer to an existing tradition. For the phrase 'water of life' in Babylonian literature see *K.A.T.*[3] 523 seqq.
spirits *n.* Rest of MSS. read 'souls', but 'nafs' often = 'spirits'. Cf. xv. 12, lxix. 12, xcix. 7.
bright. E has 'brightness'.
10. The second division is for those sinners who lived prosperously and attained to honourable burial, having escaped punishment in life.
this. Gg corruptly reads 'thus'.
11. **great pain.** Cf. ciii. 7, 8; Luke xvi. 23–5.
great day of judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
the accursed = τῶν κατηραμένων, which E wrongly takes actively.
so that, &c., emended by Radermacher.
for ever, in Greek, 'till the age', i.e. till the final judgement.
12. The third division is for the sinners who suffered in their life and therefore incur less penalty in Sheol. The suffering unrighteous cry to God for vengeance.
13. **their spirits shall not be slain.** There are degrees of suffering in Sheol. The worst penalty seems to be 'the slaying of the spirit', but even this did not imply annihilation. See cviii. 3 (note), also xcix. 11.
their spirits + 'because those who suffer affliction here are punished less' Gg, a gloss.
shall not be punished Gg. 'shall not be slain' E.
nor shall they be raised. The sinners in the second division will rise, but only for a severer condemnation. Is the Resurrection here general, or only for Israel? If general, this declaration is unique in pre-Christian Jewish Apocrypha.
14. After each fresh revelation Enoch generally bursts forth into a doxology. Cf. xxv. 7, xxvii. 5, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9–13, xlviii. 10, lxxxi. 3, lxxxiii. 11, lxxxiv, xc. 40.
Lord of glory. See xxv. 3 (note).
Lord of righteousness. Cf. xc. 40, cvi. 3.
XXIII. 1, 2. Enoch is still in the west, but proceeds to another quarter in it, where there is a restless river of fire. xvii. 4 seems to deal with the same subject.
1. **west of the ends** Gg. E = 'west, to the ends'.
2. **burning** E. > Gg.
but ran regularly E. Gg = ἅμα (corrupt for ἀλλὰ) διαμένον.

4 I asked saying: 'What is this which rests not?' Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me ⌜and said unto me⌝: 'This course ⌞of fire⌟ ⌜which thou hast seen⌝ is the fire in the west which †persecutes† all the luminaries of heaven.'

XXIV—XXV. *The Seven Mountains in the North-West and the Tree of Life.*

24 1 ⌜And from thence I went to another place of the earth⌝, and he showed me a mountain range of
2 fire which burnt ⌜day and⌝ night. And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: ⌜three towards⌝ the east, ⌜one⌝ founded on the other, and three towards the south, ⌜one⌝ upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which
3 joined with any other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them
4 in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever:
5 and its fruit ⌜is beautiful, and its fruit⌝ resembles the dates of a palm. Then I said: '⌞How⌟ beautiful is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms ⌜very⌝ delightful in appearance.'
6 Then answered Michael, one of the holy ⌜and honoured⌝ angels who was with me, and was their leader.

25 1 And he said unto me: 'Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree,
2 and ⌜why⌝ dost thou wish to learn the truth?' Then I answered him ⌜saying⌝: 'I wish to
3 know about everything, but especially about this tree.' And he answered saying: 'This high mountain ⌜which thou hast seen⌝, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit
4 the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation

4. **And said unto me** E. > G^g.
of fire G^g. > E.
which thou hast seen E. > G^g.
†persecutes† ἐκδιῶκον G^g (E supports) corrupt for ἐκδικῶν.

XXIV. Enoch has been in the extreme West in xxiii: now he goes to the NW. First he sees a mountain range of fire, and then the seven great mountains, one of which is the throne of God.

1. **And from thence . . . of the earth** E. > G^g.
day and E. > G^g.
2. **beyond it.** ἐπέκεινα αὐτῶν. E = 'towards it': cf. xviii. 9.
and beautiful E. 'in beauty' G^g.
three towards 1° E. > G^g.
one 1° 2° E. > G^g.
rough G^g. 'crooked' E.
3. **excelled them in height** ho_1b. G^g omits 'them'. All other MSS. of E read 'their height'.
resembling G^g. E easily emended.
fragrant E. 'of goodly appearance' G^g = εὐειδῆ for εὐώδη.
4. The tree of life. Cf. xxv. 4-6.
neither was any amongst them E. 'and no one else had enjoyed them' G^g.
is beautiful and its fruit E. > G^g through hmt.
5. **How** G^g. > E.
fragrant G^g. E = 'of goodly appearance'.
its blooms G^g. E corrupt.
very E. > G^g.
6. Michael, Israel's patron angel, is in charge of these treasures of the Messianic Kingdom. From xx. 7, we should expect Gabriel here.
and honoured E. > G^g.

XXV. 1. **ask** + 'and why didst thou marvel' G^g.
why 2° G^g. > E.
wish to learn the truth G^g, 'enquire accurately to learn' E.
2. **Then I** + 'Enoch' a-q,β. > G^g.
saying E. > G^g.
3. **This high mountain,** i.e. the middle one of the seven. Cf. xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3. It is not Sinai, but the throne of God when He descends to bless the earth. Cf. lxxvii. 1.
which thou hast seen E. > G^g.
the Holy Great One . . . Glory E. G^g = 'the Great Lord the Holy One of Glory'.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
Lord of Glory. Cf. xxii. 14, (xxv. 7), xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxxiii. 8.
Eternal King. Cf. *vv.* 5, 7, xxvii. 3; only found in i-xxxvi.
He shall come down. This mountain is in the north-west. In lxxvii, God will descend in the south.
4. **great judgement.** See xlv. 2 (note).

4, 5. This is the tree of life. After the final judgement men by eating of it will be endowed with a long life—not eternal life. Cf. *v.* 9, x. 17, xxv. 6. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxxiii. 2, 3, 6, 7; lxxiv. This materialistic conception of the tree of life, based on Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22, appears later, e.g. 4 Ezra viii. 52; ? Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14.

5 for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

6 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad,
And into the holy place shall they enter;
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,
Such as thy fathers lived:

And in their days shall no ⌜sorrow⌝ or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them.'

7 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

XXVI. *Jerusalem and the Mountains, Ravines, and Streams.*

26 1 And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place ⌜in which there were
2 trees⌝ with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree]. And there I saw a holy mountain,
3 ⌜and⌝ underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow
4 ravine: in it also ran a stream ⌜underneath⌝ the mountain. And to the west thereof there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine ⌜deep and dry⌝ between
5 them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three ⌜mountains⌝. And all the ravines were deep ⌜and narrow⌝, (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon
6 them. And I marvelled ⌜at the rocks, and I marvelled⌝ at the ravine, yea, I marvelled very much.

XXVII. *The Purpose of the Accursed Valley.*

27 1 Then said I: 'For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this
2 accursed valley ⌜between⌝?' ⌜Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said:

5. **then** G^g, E = 'this'.
holy G^g, 'humble' E.
Its fruit . . . to the elect. So G. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12. E is very corrupt.
elect. See i. 3 (note).
transplanted, i. e. the tree of life was moved from the earthly Eden to the Garden of Righteousness, and will thence be moved to Jerusalem.
to the holy place, i. e. Jerusalem when purified. For the divine New Jerusalem see xc. 29.
6. In this verse I have followed G^g. E differs in lines 2 and 3, where *gq*, o_1b read for 'shall . . . bones' 'and they shall draw the fragrance thereof into their bones,' i. e. into themselves. If we accept this, we might read 'Then shall they rejoice with joy And be glad in the holy place', &c.
no sorrow or plague. Cf. Isa. lxv. 19, 20. **torment . . touch them** cf. Wisd. iii. 1.
7. For doxology cf. xxii. 14 (note).
who, G. E = 'because'.
created them, G^g, 'created such things', E.
XXVI. Enoch visits Jerusalem and its vicinity.
1. **the middle of the earth**—Jerusalem. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 12, v. 5. In Jubilees, viii. 12, 19, it is called the earth's ὀμφαλός or navel, as Delphi was among the Greeks. In 1 En. xc. 26, Gehenna is 'in the midst of the earth'.
blessed place, all MSS. of E except *q* read 'blessed planted place'. Cf. xxvii. 1, lxxxix. 40; Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45.
branches abiding and blooming. Cf. the blessing of Joseph, Gen. xlix. 22: also John xv. 5.
2. **a holy mountain,** Zion.
and $^{2°}$ > G^g.
a stream, the brook of Siloah.
flowed E, G^g has δύσιν for ῥύσιν.
3. **another mountain,** the Mount of Olives.
between them E. 'between it' G.
a ravine, the valley of the Kedron, or of Jehoshaphat.
underneath G^g, 'towards' or 'alongside' E.
4. **another mountain,** i. e. the Mount of Offence.
a ravine, i. e. the valley of Hinnom.
deep and dry G^g, 'underneath it' E.
XXVII. 1. **and this accursed valley between** E. G^g = 'and (why is) this valley accursed?' i. e. G^g has lost ἡ. Gehenna was early associated with the worship of Moloch, repressed by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10), and cursed by Jeremiah (Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 2, 6, xxxii. 35). In Isa. lxvi. 24, the rebellious and apostate Jews suffer by fire there, in the presence of the righteous, as here. There are two stages in the growth of the idea. (1) In 1 Enoch xlviii. 9, liv. 1, 2, lxii. 12, 13, xc. 26, 27, the apostate Jews are there corporally and spiritually punished for ever. In xxxvii–lxx, the wicked are to be swept away after awhile. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12, 13. (2) It is a place of spiritual punishment only, for apostate Jews xci–civ. Cf. xcviii. 3. In the N. T. (e. g. Matt. v. 29, 30) Gehenna is for the wicked generally. Later Judaism regarded Gehenna as the purgatory of faithless Jews, and the place of eternal perdition for the Gentiles. Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 341 sqq.
2. **Then Uriel . . said: This** E. > G^g.

'This⌉ accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all ⌈the accursed⌉ be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things.

E

Here shall they be gathered together, and here
3 shall be their place of judgement. In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

Gg

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be the place of their habitation. In the last 3 times, in the days of the true judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the **godly** bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

4 In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with
5 which He has assigned them (their lot).' Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His ⌈glory⌉ and lauded Him gloriously.

XXVIII—XXXIII. *Further Journey to the East.*

28 1 And thence I went ⌈towards the east⌉, into the midst ⌈of the mountain range⌉ of the desert, and
2 I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees **and plants.** ⌈And⌉ water gushed forth from
3 above. Rushing like a copious watercourse [which flowed] towards the north-west it caused **clouds** and dew to ascend on every side.

29 1 And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain
2 range. And ⌈there⌉ I saw **aromatic** trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

30 1, 2 And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley (full) of water. And
3 therein there was a tree, the colour (?) of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

31 1 And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were ⌈groves of⌉ trees, and there flowed forth from
2 them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another

valley. Gg has γῆ—a transliteration of גאי as in Neh. xi. 35, &c.
the accursed > E.
unseemly words. Cf. v. 4 (note).
habitation Gg. 'judgement' E.
2–3. The text differs, according as we follow Gg or E.
3. **spectacle** E. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12.
the godly=εὐσεβεῖς emended from ἀσεβεῖς. E corrupt: ? emend to 'those who have obtained mercy'.
Lord of glory. See xxv. 3.
Eternal King. See xxv. 3 (note).
5. **His ⌈glory⌉** Gg. > 'glory' E. **lauded** Gg. 'remembered' E, zakarkû for zamarkû.

XXVIII. The Wilderness between Jerusalem and the Jordan according to Ezek. xlvii. 8, 12 was one day to be well watered and covered with trees.
1. **towards the east** > Gg.
of the mountain range > Gg.
and plants. E > 'and'. Both Gg and E misrender the Aramaic original as 'seeds'.
2. **and** > Gg.
3. **rushing** Gg. E φαινόμενον corrupt for φερόμενον.
which flowed. Added in E.
caused . . . to ascend Gg. E so emended by change of a vowel point.
clouds. Gg E read ὕδωρ, i. e. מיין for עננין.

XXIX. 1. Enoch goes further East to the region of fragrant trees.
and thence, E transposes before † 'water' (='clouds') in preceding verse.
2. **there** > Gg.
aromatic. A corruption in the Aramaic leads to a false reading—'of judgement'.
exhaling Gg. E=πλέον for πνέοντα.
almond tree Gg. > E, but after πλέον in line before has kuaskuas= ? καρύαις (Gg).

XXX. 1. **beyond** Gg. See xviii. 9 note.
went Gg. 'mountains' E.
afar Gg. 'not afar' E.
another + 'great' Gg.
water + 'like that which fails not' E—a gloss?
2. **therein was a tree** Gg. 'I saw a beautiful tree' E.
the colour Gg. 'like' E.
3. **beyond.** See xviii. 9 (note).

XXXI. 1. **groves** Gg. > E.
nectar. E prefixes 'as it were'.
sarara E. σαρραν Gg, a transliteration of צרי a kind of balsam.

mountain ⌜to the east of the ends of the earth⌝, ⌜whereon were aloe-trees⌝, and all the trees were full
3 of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

E

32 1 And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.

Gg

To the north-east I beheld seven mountains 1 full of choice nard and mastic and cinnamon and pepper.

2 And thence I went over the summits of ⌜all⌝ these mountains, far towards the east ⌜of the earth⌝, and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over ⌜the angel⌝ Zotîêl.

E

3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there and of goodly fragrance, large, very beautiful and glorious, and the tree of wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom.

Gg

And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, 3 and from afar off trees more numerous than these trees and great—†two† trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.

4 ⌜That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are⌝ like (those of) the Carob tree: and its fruit
5 is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then
6 I said: '⌜How⌝ beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me ⌜and said⌝: 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

2. **to the east of the ends of the earth** G^g. >E.
whereon were aloe trees E. >G^g. This aloe is the modern eagle wood. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 120–1.
all G^g. E corrupt.
of stacte i.e. στακτῆς emended from G εξ αυτης, and E=στερεός.
3. **burnt** τρίβωσιν G. E=λάβωσιν, probably corrupted from G's reading. G in turn follows a misreading of דלק 'burn' as דקק 'pound'.
it G^g reads διό corrupt for αὐτό. E=τὸν καρπόν.
smelt sweeter G^g. 'was better' E.

XXXII. The earthly Garden of Eden and the Tree of Knowledge.
1. **and after . . odours** >G^g through hmt.
To the north-east G^g, 'towards the North' E. That G^g is right appears from *v.* 2 'far towards the East'. in both G^g and E. So the Garden of Righteousness in lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3 in the NW. is distinct from the primitive earthly Garden of Righteousness or Eden in the NE. mentioned here. Also the seven mountains here in the NE. must be distinct from the seven mountains, one being God's throne, in the NW. in xviii. 6, xxiv, 2 seqq. The garden here seems not to be the abode of the departed righteous, unlike the garden in lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, lxv. 2, lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3. Instead their souls have a division in Sheol. xxii. 9.
2. **Erythraean sea.** The Persian and Indian Oceans. Cf. lxxvii. 6, 7.
went G^g. E corrupt.
far from it E. G^g corrupt.
the angel E. > G^g.
Zotîêl. Seemingly the angel who guarded the entrance to Paradise.
3. **Garden of Righteousness.** Cf. lxxvii. 3; also lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, with notes. This garden is in the East; that in lxxvii. 3 in a part of the North; in lxx. 3 in the NW.
In xxxvii–lxx, as well as in the Noachic fragments, this garden is the abode of the departed righteous; while in i–xxxvi a special division in Sheol is assigned to their spirits. Can this division and the garden be the same place? Both are in the West lxx. 3, 4 and xxii. 1. See my Commentary *in loc.*
beyond. So E which wrongly makes μακρόθεν govern the following words.
growing E (= φυόμενα). G^g reads δύω μέν, which would require 'the tree of life' before 'and the tree of wisdom'. But the tree of life is near the chief of the Seven Mountains in the NW. See xxxii. 1, xxv. 5, xviii. 9 (notes).
4. **That tree . . . its leaves are** G^g. > E through hmt.
the fragrance . . . afar E in *q*, but *gmu* add, after 'penetrates', 'proceeds', while *tβ* add 'and proceeds'. G^g reads 'its fragrance penetrates afar from the tree'.
5. **Then** G^g. 'and' E. G^g preserves the Aramaic idiom. Cf. ix. 1, &c.
How G^g, ὥς. > E as in xxiv. 5.
the tree G^g. 'this tree' E.
and how G^g *q* + 'beautiful and' E.
6. Adam and Eve here seem to be still alive. If x. 1 belongs to this section the Samaritan chronology is followed. See lxv. 2 (note). Note that Adam's sin is not regarded as the cause of man's fall.
Then G^g. 'and' E.
Raphael. xx. 7 leads us to expect Gabriel here.
and said E. >G^g.
thy father. G^g breaks off with 'thy father ate'.

33 1 And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and (I saw) birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other. And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven 2 rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and 3 I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their 4 times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me. He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

XXXIV—XXXV. *Enoch's Journey to the North.*

34 1 And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and 2 glorious device at the ends of the whole earth. And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, 3 snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, †it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence.†

35 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the †east†, the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

XXXVI. *The Journey to the South.*

36 1 And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals 2 of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, †and wind†. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals 3 above them. Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course 4 to the west on the path which is shown to them. And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to **spirits** and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

Section II. Chapters XXXVII—LXXI.

The Parables.

37 1 The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom—which Enoch the son of Jared, the son 2 of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy

XXXIII. 2. **whereon the heaven rests.** See xviii. 5 (note).
3. The portals of the stars are described at length in lxxii–lxxxii.
4. Uriel here writes down the accounts, but in *v.* 3 it is Enoch who writes.
companies, or 'companions'. So E*α*. E*β* reads 'functions.'

XXXIV. The portals of the North winds, and the nature of those winds. Cf. lxxvi. For the winds of the four quarters cf. Rev. vii. 1.
1. **device** (*a–m*) 'wonder' *mt*²*β*.
2. **and** > *q*. **north winds.** So apparently *gm*, *β* and also *t*¹*t*²*u*. 'winds through the north' *q*.

XXXV, XXXVI. Portals of the West and South and East winds.

XXXV. **the † east †.** Read the North. Or, better, transpose this chapter after xxxvi. 3.

XXXVI. 1. **come** + 'the south wind' *a–q*, *β*. 'from the south' *u*.
†And wind†. Meaningless. But cf. xxxiv. 2. Perhaps these stood originally 'and from thence come the south winds, and when they blow there is dew and rain'.
2, 3. Above the winds' portals are the stars' portals in the East.
4. **to spirits and to men** *gqu*¹ (but *gq* read nafâsât, *u* nafâsâtâ), other MSS. 'to the spirits of men'.
the work of His might. *q* reads 'the might of His work'.

XXXVII. 1. This genealogy helps to show that the Parables form an independent work.
The second vision. The first seems to be i. 2.
2. **beginning.** The Ethiopic word used here and in *v.* 3 may also = 'sum'.
and say. 'Say', *a–m*, *dy*₁*a*.
men of old time, including Cainan, Mahalalel, and Jared, according to the LXX chronology, followed in the Parables. See liv. 7 (note), lxx. 4 (note).
words of the Holy One *gmt*, *fv*₁*b*. Other MSS. 'holy words'.

3 One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom.
4 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of
5 eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

XXXVIII—XLIV. **The First Parable.**

XXXVIII. *The Coming Judgement of the Wicked.*

8 1 The first Parable.
When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
And shall be driven from the face of the earth:

2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous,
Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth,

Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits?
It had been good for them if they had not been born.

3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged,
And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,
4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted:

Lord of Spirits. Only in 2 Macc. iii. 24 in contemporary or earlier writings, yet cf. 'the God of the spirits of all flesh' Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. In Enoch it occurs in xxxvii. 4 (twice), xxxviii. 2 (twice), 4, 6, xxxix. 2, 7 (twice), 8, 9 (twice), 12, xl. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, xli. 2 (twice), 6, 7, xliii. 4 (twice), xlv. 1, 2, xlvi. 3 (twice), 6, 7, 8, xlvii. 1, 2 (twice), 4, xlviii. 2, 3, 5, 7 (twice), 10 (twice); xlix. 2, 4, l. 2, 3 (twice), 5, li. 3, lii. 5, 9, liii. 6, liv. 5, 7, lv. 3, 4, lvii. 3, lviii. 4, 6 (twice), lix. 1, 2, lx. 6, 8, 24, 25 (twice), lxi. 3, 5, 8, 9 (thrice) 11, 13 (twice), lxii. 2, 10, 12, 14, 16 (twice), lxiii. 1, 2 (twice), 7, 12 (twice), lxv. 9, 11, lxvi. 2, lxvii. 8, 9, lxviii. 4 (twice), lxix. 24 (twice), 29, lxx. 1, lxxi. 2, 17. We find it in all 104 times, and 28 of these at least in the Interpolations. In the genuine portions it fits the context most closely: cf. xxxix. 12, xl. 1–10, xlvi. 3–8, &c.: but in the Interpolations it is never so appropriate: cf. xli. 6, 7, lix. 1, 2 (context = natural phenomena).

3. **to the men of old time.** For 'ĕllû I read la'ĕlla.

4. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2; also 1 En. xciii. 10 seqq.

by i.e. 'ĕmqĕdma = מלפני.

the lot of eternal life. Cf. xl. 9, lviii. 3, lxii. 14. The life of a member of the Messianic kingdom is eternal in xxxvii–lxx; in i–xxxvi it is limited in duration, v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6, in the Dream Visions, lxxxiii–lxxxix, its duration is uncertain. The kingdom itself is temporary in xci–civ, and the real recompense of the righteous is the eternal life which follows on the close of the Messianic kingdom and the final judgement.

5. **Parables.** Cf. Num. xxxii. 7, 18, Job xxvii. 1 = elaborate discourses, in the form of a vision, a prophecy, or a poem.

those that dwell on the earth. This phrase has a good ethical sense in the genuine portions of this section, as xxxvii. 2, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5. So Rev. xiv. 6. In the Interpolations it has a bad sense in liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxv. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and doubtful or merely geographical elsewhere, never good. In the Rev. it always has the bad sense except in xiv. 6.

XXXVIII. The time of requital is coming. When righteousness appears, and the light of the Lord of Spirits shines on the face of the righteous and elect, where will the sinners and deniers dwell?

1. **the congregation of the righteous.** Peculiar to the Parables, and explained by xxxviii. 3, liii. 6, lxii. 8. Cf. Ps. i. 5, cxlix. 1, Pss. Sol. xvii. 18.

driven from the face of the earth. Cf. Ps. 1. 4, and 1 En. i. 1, xxxviii. 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 6, xlvi. 8, xlviii. 9, 10, liii. 2.

2. **the Righteous One** *mβ*. *a–m* read 'righteousness' i.e. ṣĕdĕq for ṣâdĕq cf. liii. 6. For other titles of the Messiah cf. xxxix. 6, xl. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, li. 3, 5, lii. 6, 9, lv. 4, lxi. 5, 8, 10.

works *q* prefixes 'hope and'.

hang upon the Lord of Spirits. Cf. Judith viii. 24.

denied the Lord of Spirits, a frequent charge against the sinners: in fact their chief offence. Cf. xli. 2, xlv. 2, xlvi. 7, xlviii. 10, lxiii. 7. Cf. Jude 4. They deny too the heavenly world xlv. 1, the Messiah, xlviii. 10, the spirit of God lxvii. 10, the righteous judgement, lx. 6, while the righteous believe in the name of the Lord xliii. 4. The phrase is borrowed by the Interpolations, lxvii. 8, 10.

denied 'outraged' *q*.

It had been good, &c., cf. Matt. xxvi. 24.

3. **the secrets of the righteous revealed.** The blessings in store for them are still hidden, lviii. 5, as also the Messiah, lxii. 7.

and the sinners *q*. Other MSS. omit 'and' and so make 'the sinners, &c.' the apodosis.

4. The supremacy and oppression of the earth's great ones are drawing speedily to a close. This is the Parables' constant theme, xlvi. 4–8, xlviii. 8–10, liii. 5, lxii. 1–12, lxiii; borrowed too by the Interpolations lxvii. 8–13. It distinguishes xxxvii–lxx from xci–civ.

From that time. MSS. prefix 'and', i.e. waw introducing the apodosis.

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits **has caused His light to appear**
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

5 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.
6 And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits
For their life is at an end.

XXXIX. *The Abode of the Righteous and of the Elect One: the Praises of the Blessed.*

39 1 [And it †shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children †will descend from the
2 high heaven, and their seed† will become one with the children of men. And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.]
And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.
3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.

4 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.

5 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.

And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,
And righteousness flowed before them as water,

And mercy like dew upon the earth:
Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.

6*a* And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,
7*a* And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.
6*b* And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

the holy and righteous and elect, xlviii. 1.

has caused . . . to appear. MSS. read 'is seen' but *a*, *d* have 'the Lord of Spirits' in the nom. and *q* has 'His light' in the acc.

His light, transfigures His saints. Light is the blessing of the kingdom. See v. 7, i. 8, xlv. 4, xxxviii. 2, l. 1, lviii. 3, xxxviii. 4, lviii. 3–6.

The idea is still further developed in xci–cviii, e.g. xcii. 4, civ. 2, cviii. 11, 12, 13.

5. **Then** *q*. 'and then' other MSS.

the kings and the mighty *a*. 'the mighty kings' $t^2\beta$. Cf. lxii. 1, 3, 6, 9, lxiii. 1, 2, 12, lxvii. 8, 12. They are the Jewish native rulers and the Sadducees, for they have denied the Lord and His Anointed (xlviii. 10), and a heavenly world (xlv. 1), they have persecuted the houses of His congregations and the faithful. Only xlvi. 7 seems to point to heathen rulers 'their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,' but this may refer only to the heathen or Sadducean attitude of the Maccabean princes (cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, viii. 14, xvii. 17), e.g. John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and above all Alexander Jannaeus.

perish and > *q*.

given into the hands of the righteous. Cf. xlviii. 9, also xli. 2, lxii. 11. This seems to imply that the judgement is not catastrophic.

righteous and holy. xlviii. 1, 4, 7, li. 2 (lxv. 12). In the former passages it is used of members of the kingdom.

6. The time for mercy is past, l. 5.

thenceforward. *q* reads 'there'.

for themselves *a*, cov_1b.

XXXIX, 1, 2[a], Interpolated. It seems to be a fragment of the older Book of Enoch such as we find in vi–xxxvi. The tenses should be past and not future.

elect and holy children, &c. *q* reads 'holy and elect'. Cf. cvi. 13. For 'elect' cf. 1 Tim. v. 21.

2. **Enoch received,** i.e. did not write himself.

zeal and wrath 'wrath and zeal' *q*.

3. A real translation here, like Elijah's, and no dream as in xiv. 8, 9.

4. **dwelling-places,** or 'dwellings' or 'abiding places'. See xxxix. 7, 8, xli. 2; 2 En. lxix. 2; John xiv. 2, a vision of the future Messianic kingdom under the protection of the Lord of Spirits. The unities of time and place are curiously neglected.

5. **His righteous angels** *a*. 'the angels' β.

water and dew = abundance. Cf. xlix. 1, Amos v. 24.

6–7. The text is slightly out of order.

6. **that place** *a–m*. 'those days' *m*, $t^2\beta$.

the Elect One *a–q*, 'the place of the elect' *q*, β–*ax*.

the Elect One of righteousness and of faith. See xlvi. 3 (note).

7[a]. **his** *gm*. 'their' *qtu*, β.

6[b]. **his days** *a*. 'their days' $t^2\beta$.

7*b* And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be †strong† as fiery lights,
And their mouth shall be full of blessing,

And their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And righteousness before Him shall never fail,
[And uprightness shall never fail before Him.]
8 There I wished to dwell,
And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place:

And there heretofore hath been my portion,
For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.
9 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises,
because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of
10 Spirits. For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying:
11 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him
there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from
12 generation unto generation. Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless,
praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with
13 spirits."' And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say:
14 'Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.' And my face was changed;
for I could no longer behold.

XL—XLI. 2. *The Four Archangels.*

O 1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude
2 beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. And on the four sides of the
Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names:
for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.
3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.
4, 5 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing
6 the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard
pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and **supplicate** in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord
8 of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went
with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four presences which I have
9 seen and whose words I have heard and written down?' And he said to me: 'This first is Michael,
the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds

7[b]. **be †strong†** *a–m*=יחזקו which may be corrupt for יזהירו='shine'. *mt*²*β-a* read 'be beautiful'.
fiery lights = stars, cf. Dan. xii. 3.
[and uprightness, &c.], a dittography.
8. Enoch predestined to a place in the kingdom. Cf. lxxi. 14–17, xc. 31; Dan. xii. 1.
and there *q,n*. Other MSS. 'there'.
9. As in xxxvii. 4 we have the free grace of God brought forward, though in that passage 'according to my insight' occurs as well.
12. **Those who sleep not.** Cf. xxxix. 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12 (and Interpolations lxxi. 7).
Lord of Spirits. 'Lord of Hosts' in the Trisagion, Isa. vi. 3.
13. **all** + 'the wakeful ones' *q*.
14. Cf. Ascensio Isaiae vii. 25. Here Enoch is 'blinded by excess of light.'
for *a*. 'till' *t*²*β–e*.

XL. 1. **thousands,** &c., Dan. vii. 10. (Interpolations lx. 1, lxxi. 8).
2. The angels of the presence come from Isa. lxiii. 9. This list is taken over by the Interpolations, lxxi. 9. For the chiefs' names contrast ix. 1, xx.
those that sleep not *a–m*, 'those that stand' *t*²*β*.
the angel that went with me. Cf. xliii. 3, &c., and 'the angel of peace' xl. 8, &c.
4. Michael 'who is like God?' in *v*. 9, is 'the merciful'.
5. Raphael is the 'healer' in *v*. 9. (Cf. Tobit iii. 17, xii. 14.)
the Elect One, Isa. xlii. 1. Used only in the Parables (see xlvi. 3) and Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35.
and the elect ones, 'of the elect ones' *q*.
6. Gabriel here intercedes, but in *v*. 9 is set over the powers.
pray and intercede . . . supplicate. These verbs are in the plural in all MSS. but *d*.
7. Phanuel is set over the repentance and hope of the inheritors of eternal life (*v*. 9), and here restrains the Satans. These are ruled by a chief, Satan (liii. 3) to whom the Watchers became subject and so fell (liv. 6). They had access into heaven, xl. 7 (cf. Job i. 6). They tempted to evil (lxix. 4, 6), they accused (xl. 7), they punished, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1. (Interpolations lxvi. 1.)
The Talmud confuses the Satans and the fallen angels, as does lxix. N.T. Demonology resembles that of Enoch.
8. **angel of peace.** Cf. xl. 2, Test. xii Patr. *Dan* vi. 5, also *Asher* vi. 6.
hidden + 'I said unto him' *abcdex*.
9. **Michael** *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'
10 And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

41 1 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the
2 actions of men are weighed in the balance. And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

XLI. 3–9. *Astronomical Secrets.*

3 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there
4 I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the
5 beginning of the world. And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they
6 are bound together. And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the command-
7 ment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.

And they give thanks and praise and rest not;
For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.
8 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse,
And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous
And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord,
Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,
And divided the spirits of men,
And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
In the name of His righteousness.

Gabriel *a*, 'the holy Gabriel' *β*.
repentance unto hope *a–q* and many *β* MSS. 'repentance unto repentance' *q*, 'repentance and hope' *abcex*. For our text cf. Acts xi. 18; 2 Cor. vii. 10.
is named *a*, 'is' *β*.
10. **Lord of Spirits** *a*, 'Most High God' *β*.

XLI. 1. What kingdom can this be? Is it the Messianic Kingdom, or the kingdom of this world, or a division (into seven parts) of heaven?
actions of men are weighed. Cf. lxi. 8; Job xxxi. 6; Prov. xvi. 2; Ps. lxii. 9; Dan. v. 27. The Talmud materializes this conception.
2. **and** 1° *q*. > *a-q*, *β*.
driven thence, xxxviii. 1.
deny, &c., xxxviii. 2.
3–8. This section is alien to the context. It may, however, belong to the Parables. Cf. Job, &c. It belongs certainly in character and detail to xliii. 1, 2, xliv, lix, lxix. 13–25. See xliii.
3. Lightning and thunder are often treated of. Cf. xvii. 3.
secrets of the winds. On the wind's functions cf. xviii. 1–5, xxxiv–xxxvi, lxxvi.
dusty earth *gt¹u*, 'dust of the earth' *mt²β*.
4. **And there** *mqtβ*, 'there' *gu*.
the chamber, &c. Based on Job xxxviii. 22.
and winds. > 'and' *β–hov₁b*.
and of the clouds > *gu²*.
5. for the sun and moon see further lxxii. 5.
the oath. Sun, moon, and stars seem conscious; they are subject only to God, xli. 6; they praise and rest not, xli. 7. Cf. lxix. 24, xliii. 1, 2.
by which they are bound together. So *k* alone, probably a fortunate conjecture.
6. **traverses,** 'returns' *qc*.
7. **hidden . . . path of the moon,** i. e. when the moon is invisible. See lxxiii–lxxiv.
before + 'the glory of' *mt¹u*.
8. Note the doctrine of predestination.
the sun *apy*, 'the shining sun' *mt²β–py*.

9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

XLII. *The Dwelling-places of Wisdom and of Unrighteousness.*

2 1 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.

2 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men,
And found no dwelling-place:

Wisdom returned to her place,
And took her seat among the angels.

3 And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,

As rain in a desert
And dew on a thirsty land.

XLIII—XLIV. *Astronomical Secrets.*

3 1 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their
2 names and they hearkened unto Him. And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and (I saw) their revolution according to the
3 number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went
4 with me who showed me what was hidden: 'What are these?' And he said to me: 'The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (lit. 'their parable'): these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'
4 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

XLV—LVII. **The Second Parable.**

XLV. *The Lot of the Apostates: the New Heaven and the New Earth.*

5 1 And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

2 And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come:

Such shall be the lot of the sinners

9. The judge appointed is the Messiah. Read this verse directly after xli. 2. Cf. Acts xvii. 31.
no angel hinders and no power *mqt²u* β–*y*. 'neither angel nor power' *gt¹y*.
He appoints. So *g* only.
a judge *a* only has the acc. The rest of the MSS. read 'the judge sees them all'.

XLII. A fragment out of connexion with its present context. Where it should come, I do not know.
1. 2. A favourite theme—the praise of wisdom. She dwelt in heaven, lxxxiv. 3; Job xxviii. 12–14, 20–4; Baruch iii. 29; Sirach xxiv. 4: came down among men, Prov. 1. 20, viii, ix. 1–10: no place was found for her, 1 En. xciv. 5. She will return in Messianic times, v. 8, xlviii. 1, xlix. 1, 3, xci. 10; 2 Bar. xliv. 14; 4 Ezra viii. 52.
2. **went forth** *a*, 'came' *abcex*.
3. The wicked refused Wisdom when she came; they welcomed Unrighteousness when she sought them not.

XLIII, XLIV. This passage shows the interest felt by the wise in Israel in ethical and cosmic questions at once. Cf. Job, Sirach, and Wisdom. But these sections on natural phenomena frequently disturb the context in this work.
XLIII. 1. **by their names.** Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.
2. **weighed,** &c. Cf. xli. 5.
how their revolution produces lightning *gqt¹(mu)*. 'and revolution: how one flash of lightning produces another' *t²β*.
3. Cf. xlvi. 2.
3, 4. The stars represent the holy: cf. Dan. viii. 10. See too civ. 2; Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43. For the stars as angels cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Deut. iv. 19.
4. **holy** *a*, 'righteous' *β*.
believe. Cf. 'faith' in xxxix. 6, lviii. 5, lxi. 4, 11, and 'denial' xxxviii. 2.

XLIV. Shooting stars. Cf. xliii. 2.

XLV. 1. The Second Parable begins.
deny the name of the dwelling, i. e. the Sadducees. Cf. xxxviii. 2, and note.
and the Lord *a*, 'and of the Lord' *β*.
2. **and** 1° *a-t*. > *t*,*β*.
The transformed earth (*v.* 5) will be for the righteous only.

Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall try their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.

And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name:

4 Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.

And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light:

5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing:

And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it:
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.

6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones
And have caused them to dwell before Me:

But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

XLVI. *The Head of Days and the Son of Man.*

46 1 And there I saw One who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2 And I asked the **angel** who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that
3 Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me:

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

denied the name . . . of the Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).

day of suffering and tribulation. Also called 'that great day', liv. 6, 'day of judgement and consummation', x. 12, 'of destruction', xcviii. 10, 'of darkness', xciv. 9. See my Commentary further *in loc.*

The phrase refers to (1) the Deluge in x. 4, 5, 12[b], liv. 5, 7–10, xci. 5, xciii. 4, (2) final world-judgement at the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom, x. 6, 12[c], xvi. 1, xix. 1, xxii. 4, 11, xxv. 4, xlv. 2, liv. 6, lv. 4, xc. 20–7. (3) Judgement of the sword by the righteous, also at the Messianic Kingdom's beginning, l. 2, xc. 19, xci. 12, xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcviii. 12. (4) Final world judgement at its close, xciv. 9, xcviii. 10, c. 4, ciii. 8, civ. 5. In xlviii. 8–10 (2) and (3) seem to be combined, and in xcix. 9, 15 (3) and (4).

3. **Mine Elect One,** *a–m.* 'the Elect One', *mt*[2]*β.* See xl. 5.

throne of glory. Cf. lv. 4, lxii. 3, 5. Also lxi. 8, lxii. 2, lxix. 27, 39 (as judge). The throne is that of the Head of Days, xlvii. 3, li. 3.

try. The translator read יבחר for יבחן or if the original was in Aramaic he followed the wrong meaning of יבחר.

And their places of rest, &c. This comes better in *v.* 5 or 6.

souls, *a*, 'spirits' *β.* See xxii.

elect ones, *a-m.* 'Elect One' *m, abcfhoxy*[1].

glorious *a.* 'holy and glorious' *t*[2]*β.*

4. **Elect One,** *mt,β–c.* 'elect ones', *gquncy*[2].

4, 5. After the judgement the Messianic Kingdom is set up in a transformed heaven (xlv. 4, li. 4) and earth (xli. 2, xlv. 5), with angels and men as members xxxix. 4 (note). Isa. lxv. 17 and lxvi. 22, have the idea, but without the logical consequence of a blessed immortality, as in 1 Enoch, 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75.

6. **destroy them . . earth.** Cf. lxix. 27.

XLVI. 1. Here and in the following chapters Dan. vii. has been drawn upon. The title, 'Head of Days' i. e. 'The Everlasting', occurs in xlvi. 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, and in the Interpolations lv. 1, lx. 2, lxxi. 10–14, but not so appropriately.

2. **the angel.** The MSS. wrongly read 'one of the angels'. See note on xl. 2.

that Son of Man. Cf. xlvi. 4, xlviii. 2, lxii. 9, 14, lxiii. 11, lxix. 26, 27, lxx. 1, lxxi. 1, in all of which passages the demonstrative occurs; it is missing only in lxii. 7. But, 'that' and 'this' in our translator are usually renderings of the Greek article, and so here. Thus in Enoch this title is the distinct designation of the personal Messiah, and the Greek equivalent must have been *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and not *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.*

3. The Messiah in the Parables is (1) Judge of the world, (2) Revealer of all things, (3) Champion and Ruler of the righteous. As (1) Judge he has righteousness (xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, liii. 6, and here. Cf. Ps. xlv. 4–7, lxxii; Isa. xi. 3–5), wisdom (xlix. 1, 3, li. 3), and power (xlix. 3, lxii. 6). As (2) Revealer He will bring to light the invisible worlds of righteousness and sin, xlvi. 3, xlix. 2, 4, and raise the dead, li. 1, lxi. 5, and judge all, li. 2, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxii. 2, 3, lxix. 27. As (3) Champion he upholds, vindicates, and rewards the righteous, xxxix. 7, xlviii. 4, 7, li. 5, liii. 6, lxii. 7, 8, 14, 15.

who hath righteousness. Cf. Isa. ix. 6–7, xi. 3 seqq.; Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. ix. 9; Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 seqq.

hath chosen him. Hence he is called the Elect one, xxxviii. 2, xl. 4.

And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.
4 And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.
5 [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.
6 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
†And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it†.
And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

XLVII. *The Prayer of the Righteous for Vengeance and their Joy at its coming.*

1' 1 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.
2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice
And supplicate and pray [and praise,
And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits]
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
That judgement may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.

hath the pre-eminence, *aefh¹k.* 'hath surpassed everything' *t²β-efh¹k.*
4, 6. Cf. O.T. e. g. Isa. xiv. 9, 11 ; Ps. iii. 7, lviii. 6 ; Lam. iii. 16.
4. **†raise up†.** Read 'put down' as in the dittograph in *v.* 5.
mighty from their seats. Cf. Luke i. 52 (a quotation?). *v.* 5 is a dittograph of this.
break the teeth, &c. Cf. Ps. iii. 7.
5. **whence the kingdom.** Cf. Wisdom vi. 23 ; Rom. xiii. 1.
6. **worms . . their bed.** Hardly refers to Antiochus Epiphanes' death in 2 Macc. ix. 5, 9, but to burial in general cf. Isa. lxvi. 24. Acts xii. 23 has a strangely similar connexion of thought to 'because they do not extol'.
7. This verse is an echo of Dan. viii. 10. We may reconstruct it thus:
'And these are they who cast down the stars of heaven
And tread to the earth those who dwell upon it.'
We require a distich here, and the title 'Most High' does not occur elsewhere in the Parables.
†judge† = ידינו corrupt perhaps for יורידו 'cast down'.
the stars, here = the righteous, as in Dan. viii. 10.
tread. Cf. 'stamped upon them' in Dan. viii. 10. So read 'to the earth'.
and dwell upon it possibly = וישבו בה corrupt for יוֹשְׁבֵיהָ.
manifest *a-q.* > q_1b. 'and manifest' *t²abcox.*
unrighteousness + 'their ('and all their' *gm*) works are unrighteousness' all MSS. except *qu,en₁b.*
their power rests upon their riches. Cf. Ps. xlix. 6, lii. 7 ; En. xciv. 8 (note).
their faith, &c. A strong expression for the idolatrous tendencies of the Sadducean court. See xxxviii. 5 (note).
8. **persecute** *gt,* 'are driven forth' *mqu,β.*
the houses *gmt¹u,* 'from the houses' *q,t²β.* Cf. liii. 6.
XLVII. 1. The judgement follows the dethronement of the mighty.
the righteous. Here in the plural, but in the next line in the singular (collective).
the blood, &c. Alex. Jannaeus was the first to shed the blood of the righteous, 95 B. C. See xxxviii. 5 (note).
2. On the angels' intercession. See xv. 2 (note).
the prayer of the righteous. Cf. Rev. vi. 10 ; En. xcvii. 5 (note).

3 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him:
And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him,
4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

XLVIII. *The Fount of Righteousness: the Son of Man—the Stay of the Righteous: Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty.*

48 1 And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom:
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.
2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.
3 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.
4 He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.
6 And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.
7 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous,

3. **books of the living.** In O.T. these are the registers of actual Israelite citizens, with a right to the *temporal* blessings of the chosen people. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 32, &c.; Ps. lxix. 28; Isa. iv. 3; also Jubilees xxx. 20, 22. In Dan. xii. 1, they refer to an immortality of blessedness. Cf. N.T. Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, &c., and the idea in Luke x. 20; Heb. xii. 23. Cf. too Enoch ciii. 4, 'the memorial of the righteous.'

There were also books recording good and evil deeds. Ps. lvi. 8; Mal. iii. 16; Jubilees xxx. 22; also Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; Asc. Isa. ix. 22, and in Enoch evil deeds only (as Isa. lxv. 6), lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61–77, xc. 17, 20, xcviii. 7, 8, civ. 7; also 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

Further there were the heavenly tablets of God's plans. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Dan. x. 21. Also in Enoch lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 1–3, ciii. 2, 3, cvi. 19, cvii. 1, cviii. 7 ('books of the holy ones' as ciii. 2). See my Commentary *in loc.*

4. **the number of the righteous had been offered.** Cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36; Rev. vi. 10, 11.
the righteous *m.* Other MSS. read 'righteousness'.
been offered, a late sense of קרב misrendered 'drawn nigh' here.

XLVIII. 1. **And** *qt,β.* > *gmu.*
fountains of wisdom. Cf. xlii. 1, 2 (note). Cf. Isa. lv. 1.
2. **at that hour,** i. e. when Enoch was beholding these visions.
The Parables assert the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man. See *vv.* 3 and 6, xlvi. 1, 2, xlix. 2, lxii. 7. Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiii. 26.
3. **the signs,** of the Zodiac, מזרות, Job xxxviii. 32. See also viii. 3, lxxii. 13, 19.
4. **righteous** + 'and to the holy' *β.*
whereon to stay themselves. Cf. lxi. 3.
the light of the Gentiles. Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 6. He will become their light through his future coming and character being made known to them.
troubled of heart. Cf. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.
5. **All shall fall down,** even his deniers, lxii. 6, 9, lxiii, xc. 37. Cf. Ps. lxxii. 9, 11; Phil. ii. 10.
praise and bless *a,* ∽ *q,β.*
the Lord *a–m,* 'the name of the Lord', *m,β.*
6. **and** *q,β.* > *a–q.*
hidden. 4 Ezra xiii. 52.
before Him. *q* reads after 'for evermore'.
7. **revealed,** through O.T. prophecy. Cf. lxii. 7.
holy and righteous ∽ *tu,l.*
preserved the lot, &c., i. e. guard their future inheritance.

Because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness,
And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

8 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands,
For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves.

9 And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:
As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy:
As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,
And no trace of them shall any more be found.

10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,
And before them they shall fall and not rise again:
And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them:
For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.
The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

XLIX. *The Power and Wisdom of the Elect One.*

49 1 For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.

2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.

3 And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

4 And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

hated and despised this world, &c. Cf. cviii. 8-10; Gal. i. 4.
in his name they are saved. Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 11; Acts iv. 12.
according to his good pleasure . . . life *g*: 'his good pleasure hath been for their life' owy_1b: 'he is the avenger of their life' *mtu*,β-owy_1b: *q* is corrupt: *g* = bafaqâdû: *mtu* = faqâdê.
8. **day of their anguish.** See xlv. 2 (note).
9. **into the hands.** Cf. xxxviii. 5 (note).
As straw . . . as lead. Cf. Exod. xv. 7, 10.
Gehenna is here visible to the righteous, cf. xxvii. 2, 3, xc. 26, 27; 4 Ezra vi. 1, but not so in En. lxii. 12, 13; Rev. xx. 14; or in the last clause here—'no trace'. Really the Parables transform the conception of Gehenna, and the spectacle is only temporary in this verse.
before the face of the righteous *a*, 'before . . holy' β.
10. **rest.** Cf. liii. 7.
And before them (> 'and' *q*) *a*, 'and before him' β.
fall and not rise again. Ps. xxxvi. 12.
the Lord . . . and His Anointed. Ps. ii. 2. In O.T. Messiah is not an exact technical term, but is used of the Davidic kings, and even Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1). It is first found in the later sense in the Parables here, xlviii. 10, lii. 4: then in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8; 4 Ezra vii. 29, xii. 32; 2 Bar. xxix. 3, &c.

XLIX. The Messiah's acts follow from his attributes. Cf. Isa. xi.
1. **wisdom.** Cf. Isa. xi. 9.
2. Cf. xlvi. 2 (note).
disappear as a shadow, &c. Job xiv. 2.
continuance, lit. 'standing-ground'.
glory . . . for ever. Cf. Isa. ix. 6, 7; Mic. v. 2.
3. **which gives** *gqtu*. 'Of Him who gives' *m*,β.
the spirit of those, &c. He perfectly realizes the eschatological hopes of those who in the past were faithful.
4. Cf. v. 2, xliii. 3 (note).
a lying word. Cf. lxii. 3, lxvii. 9.
Elect One. Cf. xlviii. 6.

L. *The Glorification and Victory of the Righteous: the Repentance of the Gentiles.*

50 1 And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect,
And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,
2 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners.
And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
And He will cause the others to witness (this)
That they may repent
And forgo the works of their hands.
3 They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.
4 And He is righteous also in His judgement,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself:
At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.
5 And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

LI. *The Resurrection of the Dead, and the Separation by the Judge of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

51 1 And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.
5*a* For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them:
For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.
3 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,

L. Interpolated or at least containing incongruous details due to literary reminiscence. As in lxxxiii–xc and xci–civ the judgement of the sword precedes the Messianic kingdom which comes gradually together with the conversion of the heathen, and the final judgement follows. But in xxxvii–lxx the Son of Man suddenly appears and begins his reign with the resurrection and final judgement, with no place of repentance or time for conversion; cf. lxii, lxiii.

1. A gradual change from the night of oppression to the light of glory and honour; cf. lviii. 5, 6.
holy and elect; cf. lxii. 8.
2. For the period of the sword; cf. xc. 19, 34, xci. 12.
On the day *a*: *β* prefixes 'and'.
day of affliction; cf. xlviii. 10, xlv. 2 (note).
on which *gmt.* > *qu*, *β*.
evil *g* wrongly in acc.
shall have been *gq*, 'shall be' *β–fy*, 'is' *ut*[2].
repent. Cf. the Gentiles' conversion in xc. 30–4, xci. 14.
3. They are saved without honour.
through the name of *a*, 'before' *t*[2]*β*.
4, 5. The final judgement. The unrepentant perish. Cf. lx. 5, 25; also 4 Ezra vii. 33–4; 2 Bar. lxxxv. 12.

LI. 1. There are three Jewish doctrines of the resurrection. (1) All Israelites are to rise. Dan. xii. 2; 1 En. i–xxxvi (except xxii. 13), xxxvii–lxx, lxxxiii–xc; Ps. lxv (title) in LXX; 2 Macc. vii. 9, &c.; 2 Bar. l–li. 6. (2) All righteous Israelites, Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19; Ps. xvi. 10, 11, xvii. 15, xlix. 15, lxxiii. 24–7; Job xiv. 13–15, xix. 26–7; 1 En. xci–civ; Pss. Sol. iii. 16, xiii. 9, xiv. 7, xv. 15; 2 Bar. xxx; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3; *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 14. This is the received Talmudic view. (3) All mankind are to rise, 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37; Test. 12 Patr. Benj. x. 6–8.

Some Jews believed the soul was immortal, but the body would not rise. Wisdom of Sol. iii. 1, &c., iv. 7, v. 16, viii. 20 (compared with ix. 15, xv. 8); Jubilees xxiii. 30.

the earth also . . . received. So *g* save that it substitutes a gloss 'those who are treasured up in it'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 32. *tu* are defective: 'Sheol shall give back that which has been entrusted to it, that which it has received.' *β* conflates *g* and *tu*.

The earth gives up the body just as Sheol and Abaddon give up the soul. They are both reunited at the Resurrection that they may be judged together, according to Sanh. 91[a].

Sheol and **hell** here = the intermediate state. See lxiii. 10 (note).

hell = destruction or Abaddon, Job xxvi. 6; Rev. ix. 10. Here the body rises, cf. lxii. 15, i–xxxvi, lxxxiii–xc. Also 2 Macc. vii. 9 seqq.; 2 Bar. xxx, l–li. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37. In xci–civ the soul and spirit rise. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, &c.

2–5. These verses are out of order. The 'he' in *v.* 2 refers to the Elect One in *v.* 3 or *v.* 5. If we bring 5[a] before 2 we get five stanzas of three lines each, and the first four begin with 'in those days'.

2. **choose.** Cf. Matt. xxv. 32.
the day has drawn nigh, &c. Cf. Luke xxi. 28.
3. Cf. xlviii. 1, xlix. 3, lxi. 7, 11, also xlii. 2 (note).
the Elect One *gmu*, *β*, 'Mine Elect One' *qt*[1].
My throne *a*, 'His throne' *t*[2]*β*.

And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel:
For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

4 And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

5*b* And the earth shall rejoice,
c And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
d And the elect shall walk thereon.

LII. *The Seven Metal Mountains and the Elect One.*

52 1 And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden—for
2 I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west—There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.
3 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in
4 secret?' And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'
5 And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: 'Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of Spirits.
6 And these mountains which thine eyes have seen,
The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver,
And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead,
All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One
As wax before the fire,
And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains],
And they shall become powerless before his feet.
7 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved,
Either by gold or by silver,
And none be able to escape.
8 And there shall be no iron for war,
Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate.
Bronze shall be of no service,
And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed,
And lead shall not be desired.

his . . . counsel. Emended. *q*,β = 'all the secrets of wisdom shall go forth from the counsel of his mouth'. *a–q* put 'all the secrets' in the acc. and *gu* insert 'and' after 'wisdom'.

4. **mountains leap.** Cf. Ps. cxiv. 4, 6; and for the whole verse cf. Test. 12 Patr. Levi xviii. 5.

angels . . . joy. Cf. Luke xv. 10. We can translate either 'the angels . . as to their faces' or 'the angels—their faces'.

[all] Omit, and read 'ĕllû for kuĕllû, as often.

5. Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 3, 9, 11, 29, 34.

walk *q*, 'go' *mtu*, 'go and walk' β (and *g* over an erasure).

LII. The mountains, and the metals symbolize the future kingdoms of the world. In Dan. ii. 31–45 the metals have this meaning, but the mountain is the Messianic kingdom.

This chapter, however, seems to contain two independent documents. In verses 1–4 the mountains serve to exalt the Messiah's dominion, in 5–9 they are destroyed before his presence. Again, verse 4 and verse 5 give two independent answers to verse 3. Of the two sources suggested by Beer for the Parables, verses 3–4 thus belong to the Son of Man source, verses 5–9 the Elect One source. Verses 1–2 are common to both sources.

1. **in that place,** i. e. in heaven, xxxix. 3.

2. **lead.** We expect seven mountains here. Five are given in lxvii. 4, and tin is added in lii. 8. Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi. 22 for the gates of the seven metals in the mysteries of Mithra.

4. These world powers show the Messiah's might by melting before him, as metals before the fire.

5. **that angel.** Here 'that' = Greek article.

a little + 'and thou shalt see' β.

surround the Lord of Spirits *a–m*: 'the Lord of Spirits has established' *m*,t^2β.

6–9. No metal will avail as ransom or weapon.

6. **wax before the fire,** Ps. xcvii. 5; 1 En. i. 6; Mic. i. 3, 4, where also 'water' and 'streams down'.

streams down + 'upon those mountains' MSS.

7. Zeph. i. 18; cf. Isa. xiii. 17.

8. Cf. Hos. ii. 18.

nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate (or 'coat of mail'). So *q*, but *u*,β = 'garment for a coat of mail' (or 'breastplate'). In *a–u* there is a dittograph.

[shall be . . . and]. A dittograph.

and shall not be esteemed > *q*.

9 And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth,
When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.'

LIII—LIV. 6. *The Valley of Judgement: the Angels of Punishment: the Communities of the Elect One.*

53 1 There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.
2 And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly **oppress**:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish for ever and ever.
3 For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'
5 And he said unto me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.
6 And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'

54 1 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning
2 fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.
3 And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being pre-
5 pared?' And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.
6 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance

be [denied] and destroyed. Two alternative renderings, cf. יְכַחֲדוּ.

LIII. The valley of Jehoshaphat, where God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles, Joel iii. 2, 12.

In Joel Theodotion renders τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως and the Targ. Jon. 'plain of the decision of judgement'. The Midrash Mishle 68[d] holds that God will judge the whole world in this valley. Though usually identified with the Kidron, the valley originally had no locality assigned to it. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2353.

1. **there** *a–q*, 'and there' *qβ*.
deep valley with open mouths *mqtu,β–n*. 'open and deep-mouthed valley' *g*.
not become full. This seems inexplicable.

1, 2. The presents and homage of the mighty ones avail not, as they are sinners and oppressors, and therefore torments await them.

2. **whom they lawlessly oppress.** I emend jĕṣâmĕwû 'produce' into jĕṣâmawû 'oppress', cf. *v.* 7.
shall perish. All MSS. insert a negative.

3. **angels of punishment.** See xl. 7 (note), also cf. liv. 3–5.
abiding *mqt(gu)*. Other MSS. 'going'.

5. **these** > *qu,nx*.
prepare *β*. > *a*.
this earth: 'this' = Greek article.

6. **house of his congregation.** See xxxviii. 1 (note) = synagogue. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 8.

7. Cf. lii. 6, and Isa. lxiv. 3; Zech. iv. 7. There is a return to the figurative language of lii, where the mountains = the kingdoms of the earth.
his righteousness *a–q*. 'His face' *q,t²β–n*.

LIV. The writer passes from the valley of judgement and the fetters still in making to the valley of Gehenna where the kings are cast. The fallen angels and the kings are mentioned together as in Isa. xxiv. 21, 22.

1. **a deep valley,** Gehenna. See xlviii. 9 (note), and cf. lvi. 3, 4. This valley of Hinnom lay to the south of Jerusalem.

3–5. The first judgement of the Watchers, cf. x–xvi. The 'abyss' here is only the preliminary place of punishment, cf. x. 5, 12.

4. **chains,** 'chains of ('and' *qt*) instruments' *mqt,β–dn*.

5. **and they shall cover.** *q* reads 'to cover'.

6. Their second judgement.
on that great day. See xlv. 2 (note).
Note that in the Parables the guilt of the Watchers lay in becoming subject to Satan. Cf. xl. 7; Jubilees x. 8 seqq.
and 5° > *q,abcde*.
cast them *tu,β*. > *gmq*.
furnace *a–q*, 'fire' *q,y*, 'furnace of fire' *β–y*. Cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7–10, xc. 24, 25. Not Gehenna.

on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.'

LIV. 7.—LV. 2. *Noachic Fragment on the first World Judgement.*

7 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth.
8 And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine,
9 and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. And they shall destroy all who dwell
10 on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And **when** they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.'

55 1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'In vain have I destroyed all who dwell
2 on the earth.' And He sware by His great name: 'Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

LV. 3—LVI. 4. *Final Judgement of Azazel, the Watchers and their children.*

3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain **because of** this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith
4 God, the Lord of Spirits. Ye† mighty kings† who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azâzêl, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

56 1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains
2 of iron and bronze. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are
3 these who hold the scourges going?' And he said unto me: 'To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.
4 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved,
And the days of their lives shall be at an end,
And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

LIV. 7—LV. 2. Interpolated. A digression on the first world-judgement—the Deluge and so a Noachic fragment. Cf. xxxix. 1, 2ᵃ, liv. 7–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25. These all (1) disturb the context; (2) claim to be by Noah lx. 7–11, 24, 25, lxv–lxviii. 1; (3) misunderstand the Parables, e.g. combine lii. 1, 2 with liv. 1; (4) give a definite date, lx. 1; (5) in lxviii. 2–5 contradict liv. 4–6, lv. 3, 4; (6) confuse the Satans and the fallen angels, lxix, and make Semjaza the leader, not Azazel; (7) misuse borrowed technical terms and phrases, lx. 11, 24, lxvii. 8, 10: also liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 10, lxvi. 1; (8) use the Samaritan chronology, not that of the LXX, see lxv. 2 (note).

Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10 mention a Book of Noah, whence these passages were interpolated to supply Enoch's silence about the Flood.

7. **above the heavens.** All MSS. but $_1b$ wrongly add 'and in addition to the fountains which are beneath the heavens'.

8. In primitive Babylonian cosmology water = the primitive element or the original male and female elements.

9. **all who dwell,** &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

10. **And** > *q*.

when, emended: 'inasmuch as' *tu,ew*. 'on this account' *gmqt²β–ew*. The translator misread כִּי (Heb.) or ארי (Aramaic). Yet 'on this account' may be right, but requires 'shall recognize'.

LV. 1. **the Head of Days,** inappropriately introduced by interpolator.

repented. Cf. Gen. viii. 21.

2. **so** *q,t²β*. > *gmt¹u,x*.

this is in accordance with My command *gt*, 'this is My command' *m*, 'this command is according to My desire' *q*, 'after this according to My command' *ut²β*.

3. resumes liv. 6.

day of tribulation and pain. See xlv. 2 (note).

because of this. Text = 'before this'.

I will cause . . . to abide *a–qu*, 'shall abide' *q,β–d*.

chastisement . . . wrath *a*, ∞ *β*.

4. The kings have to witness Azazel's judgement, and thence infer their own. Perhaps we should read 'Ye kings and mighty'.

of glory *a–q*, 'of My glory' *qβ*.

LVI. 1–4. The Watchers and the demons are now judged. The demons, or 'beloved' (x. 12, xiv. 6), at last fill the valley. See liii. 1.

1. **they held** *gq,β*. > *mtu*.

scourges and *g*. > *qt,β*: *mu* read 'and'.

2. **these who** *gt²*, 'these' *mqt¹u*, 'who' *β–n*.

the scourges *g*. > *a–gβ*.

3. **chasm of** > *q*.

4. **and** 1° > *q*.

reckoned, i.e. continued.

LVI. 5–8. *Last Struggle of the Heathen Powers against Israel.*

5 And in those days the angels shall return
And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes:

They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,
And they shall rouse them from their thrones,

That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,
And as hungry wolves among their flocks.

6 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones,
[And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway:]
7 But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.

And they shall begin to fight among themselves,
And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,

And a man shall not know his brother,
Nor a son his father or his mother,

Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter,
And their punishment be not in vain.

8 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,
And they shall be swallowed up therein,

And their destruction shall be at an end;
Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.'

LVII. *The Return from the Dispersion.*

57 1 And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and
2 coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. And the noise of their wagons
was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars
of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven
3 to the other, in one day. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this
is the end of the second Parable.

5–LVII. 3ª. Another section from the 'Elect One' source (see p. 169) which depicts the last struggle of the heathen powers against the Messianic kingdom set up in Jerusalem, and would suit lxxxiii–xc or xci–civ, but not xxxvii–lxix, where we have a superhuman Messiah with universal dominion, legions of angels, and the immediate presence of the Almighty, destroying all his enemies with the breath of his mouth. Not only is there a break in the context here, but the Parables deal only in general terms and avoid names and clear indications of date. Not Jerusalem, as here, but a new heaven and earth will be the seat of the kingdom. The date seems clear. The Syrians ceased to be formidable after 100 B.C.: while the Romans are not referred to here. Thus the Elect One Source, if this section belongs to it, may be fixed as written between 100–64 B.C.

5. The Gentiles are stirred up, not by God directly as in Ezek. xxxviii. 14–17, but by angels, as in Dan. x. 13 seqq.
return *gm*[1]*q*, 'assemble' *m*[2]*tu*,*β*.

6. **His elect ones** [1°] *gqt*. 'their elect ones' *mu*,*β–e*.
[And . . . highway]. The construction is against the insertion of these words.
threshing-floor. Cf. Isa. xxi. 10.

7. The attack fails, Zech. xii. 2, 3; the invaders disagree, Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Zech. xiv. 13; Hag. ii. 22, and destroy one another. Cf. c. 1–3.
But *tuβ*. >*gmq*.
his brother *a*, 'his neighbour and his brother' *β*.
no number . . slaughter. *q* reads 'for their number through their death and chastisement shall be corpses and it shall not be in vain'. In fact only a scribe in *t* inserts a negative. Possibly then we should restore 'till the number of the corpses be more than myriads', supposing ממותם corrupt for מֵרִבּוֹת.

8. **in** *a-q*, 'and in' *q*,*β*.
Sheol shall open its jaws. Cf. Num. xvi. 31–3; Isa. v. 14. See lxiii. 10.
shall be at an end *g*. >*t*,*β*, 'shall not end' *q*, 'has sunk down' *m*, 'has been destroyed' *u*.

LVII. Dispersed Israel returns from east and west. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13, xliii. 5, 6, xlix. 12, 22, 23.

1. **on the winds.** Perhaps read 'like the winds'.
from the west. 'to the west' *q*.

2. **was heard** *gq*,*β*, 'was' *mtu*.
the pillars . . moved. Cf. Hag. ii. 6, 7; Joel iii. 16.
one end . . . other *a–q*, 'the end of the earth to the end of the heaven' *β*.

LVIII—LXXI. **The Third Parable.**

LVIII. *The Blessedness of the Saints.*

58 1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2 Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
For glorious shall be your lot.

3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
And the elect in the light of eternal life:
The days of their life shall be unending,
And the days of the holy without number.

4 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits:
There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.

5 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith:
For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
And the darkness is past.

6 And there shall be a light that never endeth,
And to a limit (lit. 'number') of days they shall not come,
For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
[And the light established before the Lord of Spirits]
And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

LIX. *The Lights and the Thunder.*

59 1 [In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute (lit. 'their judgement'): and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of
2 Spirits willeth. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.
3 And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.]

Book of Noah—a Fragment.

LX. *Quaking of the Heaven: Behemoth and Leviathan: the Elements.*

60 1 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†. In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were

LVIII. The third Parable begins. Much seems to have been lost, to make room for the Noachic fragments. As it stands, it embraces lviii, lxi–lxiv, lxix. 26–9. The main theme is the final judgement by the Son of Man, especially over the great ones, and the ensuing bliss of the righteous.

2. **your lot,** preserved for them by the Messiah xlviii. 7.

3. **light of the sun.** See xxxviii. 4 (note), and verse 4 here.
eternal life. See xxxvii. 4 (note). Cf. Dan. xii. 2; Pss. Sol. iii. 16.

4. **the Eternal Lord** or 'Lord of the ages'. See lxxxi. 10. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

5. **secrets of righteousness,** i. e. their hidden recompense, as in xxxviii. 3, and xlviii. 7. They must still 'seek', and so their life is progressive.
heritage of faith. Cf. xxxix. 6, lxi. 4, 11.

6. **never endeth,** emended for MSS. 'cannot be numbered'.
[And . . . Spirits]. Dittograph of following line.

LIX. An intrusion of the same class as xli. 3–8, xliii, xliv, probably from a Noah-Apocalypse.

1. Cf. Job xxxvi. 31, xxxvii. 5, 13, xxxviii. 24–7, for their ethical ends.
In *a*, 'and in' *β*.
of the lights *a,ev*, 'the lights' *β–ev*.
a blessing or a curse. Cf. xli. 8; Job xxxvi. 31.

2. Cf. lx. 13–15.
he caused *a–u*, 'they caused' *abdovx*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*.
judgements. Text has read οἰκήματα for κρίματα.
on the earth. All MSS. but *u* add 'and the voice of the thunder'.

3. Job xxxviii. 24–7.

LX. One of the Noachic fragments. See liv. 7 (note), also notes on lx. 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, &c.

1. **the year 500.** This date is drawn from Gen. v. 32, and is a date in the life of Noah, not of Enoch; so for 'Enoch' read 'Noah'.
in the seventh month, &c., the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles according to the Levitical Law.
In that Parable, unsuitable to the words 'I saw', and so no doubt inserted by the interpolator. Read 'in that vision'.
host of the Most High, &c. Cf. i. 6, 7, 9, for the theophany, also for the host xl. 1, lxxi. 8, 13.

2 disquieted with a great disquiet. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.
3 And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.
4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the
5 commotion and the quaking of the heaven. And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and
6 long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.

25 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come, in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience.'

7 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the
8 abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named †Dûidâin†, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first
9 man whom the Lord of Spirits created. And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses
10 of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. And he said to me: 'Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden.'

2. **Head of Days.** See xlvi. 1 (note); liv. 7 (note).
the righteous could hardly have been before God's throne before the Deluge, as few if any righteous had as yet died.
3. Cf. xiv.14, 24.
loins gave way. Ps. lxix. 23; Isa. xlv. 1.
dissolved. All MSS. but *u,dy* add 'and'. Hence *β* supplies an extra verb 'melted' to 'reins.'
4. Cf. Dan. v. 6, viii. 17, x. 9, 10. Michael as chief archangel (xl. 4, 9) sends 'the angel of peace' (*v.* 24).
5. **Michael** *a*. 'the holy Michael' *β*.
merciful and long-suffering. Cf. lx. 25, l. 3, 5, lxi. 13.
6. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 37. The Deluge has here features belonging properly to the Messianic judgement of the Parables.
Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).
worship not. Only *u* has the negative. If we omit it, we might restore 'corrupt' instead of 'worship'.
law. Text = 'judgement'. Heb. משפט has both meanings.
25. **punishment . . . rest.** Cf. lxii. 12.
Afterwards . . . according to His mercy, i.e. after the Deluge. Cf. Gen. viii. 21, 22; En. lx. 5 (note).
There is a dittograph preceding this verse 'in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not be (*bcx*: 'may not come' *e*; all other MSS. omit negative and verb) in vain and may slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers'. Before the last sentence 'Afterwards, &c.' all MSS. insert another dittograph 'when the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon these'.
7–10. A fragment dealing with Creation myths.
7. This strange fancy about Behemoth and Leviathan occurs first in Job xl, xli, but Jewish expounders find it also in Gen. i. 21; Ps. l. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1. See 4 Ezra vi. 49–52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4, where these monsters are to be the food of the righteous in the Messianic age. See too Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 202, 389, 402.
that day, i.e. Creation.
fountains of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; Job xxxviii. 16; En. lxxxix. 7.
8. **†Dûidâin†** *u*, Dûnadâin *g*, 'Dûndâin' *t*, Dêndâin *m,β–eh*, Dêin (?) *h*. Cf. 'land of Nod' Gen. iv. 16. See *Jewish Encyc.* viii. 39.
the garden. See xxxii. 3 (note). Whether the earthly or the heavenly garden, it is empty in xxxii. 3–6, and the righteous dead are in the West xxii; it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch's and Noah's times, lxi. 12, lx. 8, 23: of the earliest fathers in Enoch's time, lxx. 2–4; of Enoch and Elijah in Elijah's time, lxxxix. 52; of Enoch in lxv. 2 (see note), and here. This passage (lx. 8) and the LXX are the oldest witnesses for the translation of Enoch into Paradise. Cf. Latin version of Sir. xliv. 16, Ethiopic of Gen. v. 24. See Weber, *L.d.T.* 251.
seventh from Adam. Cf. xciii. 3; Jude 14; Jubilees vii. 39.
7–9, 24. Both 4 Ezra vi. 49–52 and 2 Bar. xxix. 4 seem to have drawn on our text.
9. **the other angel,** see *vv.* 4 and 11. For the answer see *v.* 24. *q,β-n* read 'that' for 'the'.
10. **Thou son of man,** = Noah. Cf. Ezekiel's use of the phrase, and contrast the use in the Parables xlvi. 1–3 (note).

11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is
first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the
12 heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven. And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds
are divided, and how they are weighed, and (how) the portals of the winds are reckoned, each accord-
ing to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power
that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions
13 are divided. And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that
are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey.
14 For the thunder has †places of rest† (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and
the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together
15 through the spirit and separate not. For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice,
and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury
of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned
back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth.
16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws
it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains
17 of the earth. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good
18 angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength—There is a
19 special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit
of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course
is †glorious† both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel.
20 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the
chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the
21 mist are connected, and the one gives to the other. And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from
its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the
whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on
22 the earth . . . For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment
for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain,
23 and the angels take it in charge. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.
24 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: 'These two monsters, prepared conformably
to the greatness of God, shall feed . . .

LXI. *Angels go off to measure Paradise: the Judgement of the Righteous by the Elect One: the Praise of the Elect One and of God.*

1 1 And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

11–13. A long account about physical secrets. The answer to *v.* 9 comes in *v.* 24 and is given by the angel of peace.
11. **the other angel,** &c. Borrowed from xlvi. 2. Cf. xliii. 3.
12. The powers of nature are personified or regarded as conscious intelligences. Cf. Jubilees ii. 2 'angels of the spirit of fire', &c.; Rev. vii. 1, 2, xiv. 18, xix. 17; Asc. Isa. iv. 18.
chambers. All MSS. but *g* read 'in the chambers'.
how they are weighed. Cf. xliii. 2, Job. xxviii. 25.
portals. So Flemming emends.
lights of the moon. Its various phases.
13. Cf. Job xxxvii. 1–5.
16. The ebb and flow of the sea, which is also supposed to supply the springs in the mountains.
17. **a good angel.** Hail often hurts, but yet is not in charge of a demon.
19. Unlike the previous phenomena, mist appears in all seasons, and by night and by day.
is glorious. Text may = כבד. If so, it should have been rendered 'is oppressive'.
in its chamber is an angel *tu*, 'its chamber is an angel' *gmq*, 'in its chamber is light and its angel' *β*.
20. The dew dwells at the ends of the heaven. Cf. xxxiv. 1, 2; xxxvi. 1 and lxxv. 5.
21. The rain is so important for the well-being of man (Job xxxvii. 12, 13) that its spirit is not independent, but subordinated to the angels. Cf. Job xxviii. 26, xxxviii. 25–8.
and 1° > *gq*.
And whensoever . . . on the earth *a–q* (*u* omits 'with the water on the earth').
22. **for** *mt,β–doyb*. > *u*. *q,doy₁b* read 'from the place of'. *g* = a corruption of *mt*.
23. **the Garden.** See *v.* 8 (note). Note that the seas and the Garden adjoin as in lxxvii. 3, 4.
24. goes back to *v.* 9. The angel of peace is out of place here. See *vv.* 4, 9, 11.

LXI. 1. The true text of the Parables is resumed, but the opening verses are difficult.
those angels. The reference may be lost. *q* reads 'the two angels'.
wings, only assigned to angels in the latest books of the O. T. cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 16.
towards the north, perhaps Paradise. See xxxii. 3 (note); lxx. 3.

2 And I asked the angel, saying unto him: 'Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off?' And he said unto me: 'They have gone to measure.'

3 And the angel who went with me said unto me:
'These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
And which shall strengthen righteousness.

5 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,

That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed.

6 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

7 And that One (with) their first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

8 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory.
And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven,
And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.

9 And when he shall lift up his countenance
To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And their path according to the way of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits,
Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,
And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.

10 And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God,

the angel of peace, in the Elect One sections.
the cords *a*. 'the long cords' *β*.
have gone > *mud*. **to measure** (*q*)*tuβ*. 'to begin' *gm*.

3–5. The measures and ropes seem to represent the nature of the ideal community of the righteous living and departed, and the union and communion of such with one another and with the Lord of Spirits.

3–4. Belong to Son of Man source, as 'the angel who went with me' interprets.

3. **to the righteous** *gqtu,n*. > *m.β–n*.
stay themselves on. Cf. xlviii. 4, lxi. 5.

4. **righteousness** *a*. *β* prefixes 'the voice of'.

5. The righteous alone rise here; in li. 1, 2 all Israel.
devoured 1°. *q* omits next nine words through hmt.
by the beasts *tu*. 'by the treasuries' *gm*. *β–n* reads 'and by the beasts' after 'of the sea', omitting 'and .. devoured'.

6. **all who dwell above in the heaven**, i.e. the angels as in *vv*. 8, 10, 12, ix. 3, xlvii. 2.
one voice. Cf. 2 Bar. xxx. 2 'in one assemblage of one thought'.

7. **that One** = the Lord of Spirits, or else the Elect One, *v*. 5. Or better, for *la* read *ba* and render 'with their first words they blessed'.

8. See xlv. 3 (note): cf. Ps. cx. 1.
glory *a*. 'His glory' *β*.
the holy, i.e. the angels. Cf. lxi. 6. But *q* reads 'the righteous'.
shall their deeds be weighed *mqu*, *β*. 'they ('he' *t,abcdefhkl*) shall weigh their deeds' *g*. See xli. 1 (note).

9. **ways**, 'cause' *t*.
the word of the name, or 'command of the name'.
Lord of Spirits 2° *a*. 'Most High God' *β*.
sanctify *a*, *n*. 'praise' *β–n*.

10. **He will summon.** Or if jeṣêw'ĕ is a misrendering of βοήσει, render 'the host . . . shall cry out'.
Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophannin. Cf. xiv. 11, 18, xx. 7, lxxi. 7. The Cherubim were primarily symbolic figures, the means of revealing or concealing God's presence, but here = an order of angels. Cf. Rev. v. 6; 2 En. xix. 6, xx. 1. The Seraphim served in His immediate presence. They are not classed together in O. T. The Ophannim (i.e. wheels) come from Ezek. i. 15. The Talmud classes them with Cherubim and Seraphim, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 168, 205.

the Cherubin, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of prin-
11 cipalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."

12 All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him.
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:

And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,
And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.

13 For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is long-suffering,
And all His works and all that He has created
He has revealed to the righteous and elect
In the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

LXII. *Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty: Blessedness of the Righteous.*

2 1 And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said:
'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One.'

2 And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

3 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.

4 Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
[And she has pain in bringing forth]
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.

5 And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,

angels of power and . . . of principalities. Cf. Rom. viii. 38; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; Test. 12 Patr. Levi iii. 8.
the other powers on the earth, i. e. the lower angel-powers over nature.
11. The seven virtues of the praising angels. Cf. xlix. 3.
glorify + 'and praise' *β*.
exalt > *g*.
in the spirit of patience il_1a. 'in patience' other MSS.
Blessed is He, &c. Cf. xxxix. 10; and Rev. iv. 9, 11, v. 13.
12. **who sleep not.** See i. 5 (note).
the holy ones *a*, *bwxy*: 'His holy ones' *β–bwxy*.
garden of life. See lx. 8 (note). The LXX chronology is followed here as in all the Parables. Cf. liv. 7 (note).
spirit of light, i. e. good spirit, human or angelic. Cf. cviii. 11; Luke xvi. 8.
blessed *a*. 'holy' *β*.
13. **mercy.** See lx. 5 (note).

LXII. A long account of the judgement, esp. of the kings and mighty. Short accounts occur in xlvi. 4–8, xlviii. 8–10, liii–liv. 3. They behold the Messiah with anguish, and pray for mercy, but are carried off to torment. The righteous are glorified.
1. **the kings,** &c. See xxxviii. 5.
lift up your horns. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 4.
2. **seated him.** So Dillmann emends for MSS. 'sat'. Cf. Isa. xi. 4.
word of his mouth. The judgement is forensic.
all the sinners, cf. lxix. 27 (note).
from before *a*. 'and from before' *β*.
3. **righteousness** *a*. 'the righteous in righteousness' *β–ʒo*; *b*, 'the righteous' *ʒo*, *b*.
no lying word. xlix. 4.
4. Cf. Isa. xiii. 8, xxi. 3, xxvi. 17.
[and . . . forth] dittograph of line 4.
5. **one portion,** &c. Isa. xiii. 8. Cf. Wisdom v. 1 seqq.

And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.

6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,
And revealed him to the elect.

8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

10 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

11 And **He will deliver** them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect

12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect:
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.

13 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

14 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

15 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.

And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,

Son of Man *a–m*, 'Son of the woman' *m,β*. See xlvi. 2 (note).
Sitting on the throne of his glory. Cf. Matt. xxv. 31.
6. **the kings and the mighty** *a–u*. 'the mighty Kings' *u,β*.
rules over all. Dan. vii. 14.
who was hidden, or 'that was hidden', i.e. the unseen universe.
6, 7. **hidden.** Cf. xlviii. 6, 7. Revealed by the Lord of Spirits to the elect, who thus became a congregation, the plant of righteousness of x. 16.
7. **from the beginning.** So *mgt*, β–$_1a$.
8. **congregation.** Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).
elect and holy *a*, 'holy and elect' *β*.
10. **shame, and darkness.** Cf. xlvi. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 55. **grow deeper** *gt,β–f*. Cf. Nah. ii. 10.
11. **He will deliver them to,** &c. So Flemming emends. *mβ* read 'the angels of punishment shall take them in charge'.
angels for punishment. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liii. 3—liv. 2.
12. **spectacle.** See xlviii. 9 (note).
sword, used figuratively as in lxiii. 11.
drunk. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 6.
13. **saved,** cf. xlviii. 7.
14. God Himself (Isa. lx. 19, 20; Zeph. iii. 15–17) and the Messiah (xxxix. 6, 7, xlv. 4) will dwell with the righteous and elect for ever.
eat: 'abide and eat' *β–n*[1].
eat and lie down. Zeph. iii. 13.
15, 16. **garments of glory . . . of life.** Cf. 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2, also 1 En. cviii. 12.
15. **of glory** *a,in*. 'of life' *β–in*.

16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits:
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

LXIII. *The unavailing Repentance of the Kings and the Mighty.*

63 1 In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall
2 down and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him. And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say:
'Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,
3 And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation,
And Thy glory for ever and ever:

Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.

4 We have now learnt that we should glorify
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings.'
5 And they shall say:
'Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory!

6 And now we long for a little rest but find it not:
We follow hard upon and obtain (it) not:

And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever:

7 For we have not believed before Him
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our Lord]

But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom,
And in our glory.

8 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not,
And we find no respite for confession

That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice,
And His judgements have no respect of persons.

9 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works,
And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.'

garments of life *qβ*, *a–q* prefix 'your garments'.
from *a–t*[1], *t*[2], 'with' *β*.
not grow old; cf. Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5.

LXIII. A last despairing appeal by the kings and mighty. They justify God's judgement. Cf. Wisdom v. 3–8.
1. **the mighty and the kings** *a*, 'kings' *aehknvw*, 'mighty kings' *bcdfilopxy*$_1a_1b$.
His angels *a–tu β*, 'the angels' *t,q*[2].
2. They confess what before they denied, xlvi. 5.
3. Cf. xlix. 2.
splendid . . . power *a–mu*, 'every secret thing is lighted up and Thy power' *β*.
5. **glorify and give thanks** *a–q*. 'glorify Him and thank Him' *q,β* (+'and bless Him' *β*).
6. **And now** *q,β*. 'now' *a–q*.
follow hard upon *gt*[1]$_1b$. > *u,i*. 'are driven away' *mq*, *t*[2]*β–i*$_1a_1b$.
obtain, &c.: *q* reads 'obtain not light; it has', &c.
darkness is our dwelling-place. Cf. xlvi. 6.
7. **believed** or 'confessed'.
of spirits *gq*, *efv*. 'of lords' *m*. 'of kings' *tu*, *β–efv*.
[our Lord] *a*, 'the Lord in all His work' *β*.
sceptre *gm*, *io*$_1a_1b$. 'throne' *tu*, *fv*. 'sceptre of the throne' *q,dhkln*.
8. No place of repentance when the final judgement has come.
our Lord is true, &c. Cf. Jub. iv. 21.

10 Now they shall say unto themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the †burden† of Sheol.'
11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness
And shame before that Son of Man,
And they shall be driven from his presence,
And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

12 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.'

LXIV. *Vision of the fallen Angels in the Place of Punishment.*

64 1, 2 And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

LXV. *Enoch foretells to Noah the Deluge and his own Preservation.*

65 1, 2 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch:
3 and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: 'Hear me, hear me, hear me.' And I said unto him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight
4 and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?' And thereupon there was a great commotion
5 on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: 'Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?
6 And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers—the most secret ones—and all the power of those

10. Riches avail not to save them. Cf. lii. 7, liii. 1, 2; Ps. xlix. 7–12.
unrighteous gain. Cf. Luke xvi. 9, 11; Sir. v. 8.
from the midst thereof *gqu*. 'from the flame thereof' *mt*, *β–b*.
into the †burden†. Possibly *βάριν* = 'stronghold' was misread as *βάρος*, 'burden'. Or we might read 'into the burden of the flame of Sheol'.
Sheol. See my Commentary for a full discussion of this word's history. (1) The oldest view occurs in e.g. Job xxx. 23; Num. xvi. 30. It is the place appointed for all living, is beneath the earth, and is the land of destruction, forgetfulness, and silence. The individual does exist, but without joy or contact with God or man. Good and bad fare alike, but the family, and national and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced. Cf. the Homeric Hades. (2) In the second century B.C. the doctrine of future retribution and the Resurrection altered the conception to that of a place of reward, and also that of an intermediate state (cf. li. 1). (3) Owing to the Resurrection being limited to the righteous, Sheol came to mean hell, or Gehenna, as the preliminary or permanent abode of wicked souls (lxiii. 10, xcix. 11). See Charles, *The Doctrine of a Future Life,—passim.*
11. Bousset suggests that this verse is an interpolation. It resembles lxii. 10.
darkness and shame. Cf. xlvi. 6, lxii. 10.
12. **Thus** *a–g*, 'as' *g*, 'and thus' *β*.

LXIV. A digression on the fallen angels, judged in the second Parable, liv. 3, &c., lv. 3, 4. It is out of the context here, as 'that place' in *v.* 1 cannot be Sheol referred to in lxiii. 10.
2. **I heard,** 'and I heard' *m*, *vx*.
angel, 'angels' *m*.
descended + 'from heaven' *t*, *β*.

LXV—LXIX. 25. Professedly part of a Noah Apocalypse (see liv. 7), giving here three accounts (1) lxv. 1–lxvii. 3, the coming Flood and Noah's escape; (2) lxvii. 4–lxix. 1, the fallen angels' punishment, and that of the kings and the mighty; (3) lxix. 2–25, the angels' fall and the secrets they disclosed.

LXV. 1. Note that the vision is Noah's. It opens with a sinking of the earth here as with a quaking of the heavens in lx. 1.
and *q*,*β*. > *a–q*.
Noah. 'I Noah' *t*, and so in first person for verses 1 and 2.
2. **the ends of the earth,** i.e. where the entrance to heaven is. Cf. cvi. 8.
grandfather, really great-grandfather. Cf. lx. 8.
3. **I said** *a*, *v*: 'he said' *t*²*β–iv*.
4. **a voice,** the command of verse 6.
6–10ᵃ. Text out of order. Clearer if verses 9–10ᵃ followed at once on verse 5.
6. **those who dwell on the earth,** borrowed from the Parables. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).
have learnt all the secrets, &c. Cf. vii, viii, lxix.
all their powers—the most secret ones *gt*, 'their secret powers' *β–an*, 'the powers of their most secret secrets' *m*. 'their powers' *qu*.

who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images
7 for the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal
8 originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain
9 that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.' And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: 'Go, for I have
10 asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. And He said unto me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by Me for ever. Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those
11 who dwell upon it shall be destroyed." And these—they have no **place of repentance** for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.
12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth,
And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours,
And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.'

LXVI. *The Angels of the Waters bidden to hold them in Check.*

66 1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruc-
2 tion on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause **the waters** to rise but should hold them
3 in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

LXVII. *God's Promise to Noah: Places of Punishment of the Angels and of the Kings.*

67 1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: 'Noah, thy lot has come
2 up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. And now the angels are making a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the
3 earth will not remain without inhabitant. And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be **unfruitful** on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'
4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley

the power of witchcraft. Cf. vii. 1, viii. 3. The Deluge is due to the corruption wrought through the angels.
8. **from the earth** > *q*.
is pre-eminent. So *t*. Other MSS. = *celer est, praecurrit.*
9. **my hand** *gq*. 'his hand' *mtu*, *β*.
10. **withheld.** Text = 'reckoned', i. e. יחשב corrupt for יַחְשֹׂךְ in Hebrew, or יתמנא for יתמנע in Aramaic.
sorceries. So Halévy חרשים for חדשים = 'months' in text. This emendation is possible in Aramaic as well as Hebrew. Or ירחיא might be corrupt in Aramaic for סהריא = 'secrets'.
11. **place of repentance.** Text = 'return'. In Hebrew תשובה and in Aramaic תיובא mean both 'repentance' and 'return'.
12. Noah is to found a new and righteous generation.
thy righteous seed *gmtu*(*q*), 'thy seed in righteousness' *β*.
both for kingship *q*(*t*), 'both for kings' *β*, 'both kings' *gmu*.
fountain. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 28; Ps. lxviii. 26.

LXVI. 1. **angels of punishment.** They deal solely with the second judgement in the Parables. Here they wrongly are said to be the agents of the Deluge, and angels over the power of the waters. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liv. 7 and lx. 16. Cf. Rev. xvi. 5.
[abide and]. A dittograph > *q*: *u*, *bx* omit 'and dwell'.
2. **the waters.** Text corruptly reads 'the hands'.
The angels are to pause that the ark may be built. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.

LXVII. 1. Cf. Gen. vi. 9.
2. In lxxxix. 1, Noah himself makes the ark.
have completed *t*. So *a–t* in a corrupt form. 'have gone' *β*.
3. Cf. lxv. 12.
it shall not be unfruitful. Emended. > *bdoxy*$_1$*b*. Or we might emend to 'they shall not tempt (thy seed)'.

LXVII. 4—LXIX. 1. This section deals with the fallen angels' punishment. Characteristic features of the second judgement are here transferred to the first, and localities distinct in the parables are here confused, e.g. the burning valley of Gehenna is placed among the metal mountains (lxvii. 4), while in liv. 1 it is in 'another part of the earth'.
4. The Deluge and the judgement of the fallen angels are mentioned together here as in x. 2, 4, but here (1) the prison is the burning valley (= the Gehenna of liv, though there it is a furnace of fire that receives the angels), and (2) this is the preliminary prison, not the final.

which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold
5 and silver and iron and soft metal and tin. And I saw that valley in which there was a great con-
6 vulsion and a convulsion of the waters. And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned
7 beneath that land. And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits
9 and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever;
10 for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. For the judgement shall come upon them,
11 because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the
12 springs shall change and become cold. And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the
13 earth.' Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the **kings** and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

LXVIII. *Michael and Raphael astonied at the Severity of the Judgement.*

68 1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book
2 of the Parables. And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit transports and **makes me to tremble** because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before

in the west, borrowed from lii. 1. It increases the geographical confusion.

5, 6. Features of the Deluge, and volcanic disturbances are combined, the latter connected with the angels' punishment.

6. **burned beneath that land.** A subterranean fire was believed to exist under the Gehenna valley. Cf. xxvii. 1 (note). Cf. too the fate of Sodom.

8. The hot springs result from the meeting of the water and fire underground by which the angels were punished. Herod the Great resorted to such a spring, Callirhoe to the east of the Dead Sea, Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6. 5. Cf. the hot springs of Machaerus, Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* vii. 6. 3.

in those days—those of the writer.

healing of the body *gm, bx.* 'healing of the soul and body' *qtu, β–bx.*

punishment of the spirit i. e. in the final judgement.

punished in their body. At present the sin of their spirit entails suffering on the body only, which is healed by the waters, but in Gehenna spirit and body alike will suffer.

denied the Lord of Spirits. Cf. xxxviii. 2 (note), liv. 7 (note).

see their punishment daily, i.e. can read their future torments in the present ones of the angels.

9. The kings will repent under torment, but without avail.

an idle word. Cf. xlix. 4 (note).

10. **deny the Spirit of the Lord.** This phrase is unique in Enoch.

11. With the angel's departure the waters cool. Cf. Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.

in these waters *a*, 'in those days' *β–v̆.*

12. **Michael** *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β.*

13. The waters heal now, and their healing virtue blinds the kings to the fire below which is reserved for their future torment. Cf. *v.* 8.

kings. Text='angels' i. e. מלאכיא for מלכיא.

lust *m*, 'desire' *gqtu*, 'death' *β–y.*

LXVIII. 1. Note that the Parables already exist as a complete work in the hands of the redactor, who confesses to combining them with the Noah fragments. The meaning of this chapter is far from clear.

words of the book. 'book of the words' *g.*

2. This dialogue of Michael and Raphael sets forth the severity of the judgement over the fallen angels, or rather the Satans.

The power of the spirit. A strange phrase. Halévy suggests that 'power' here = יד in the sense of 'punishment'.

makes me to tremble. Text='provokes me' = יארגיזני.

because of *a–q*, 'and because of' *q,β.*

judgement of the secrets. Perhaps the penalty for the secrets divulged by the Satans.

of the angels *qβ.* > *a–q.*

executed + 'and abides' *β.*

3 which they melt away?' And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement
4 (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?' And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do
5 as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (in it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.'

LXIX. *The Names and Functions of the (fallen Angels and) Satans: the secret Oath.*

69 1 And after this judgement they shall terrify and **make** them to **tremble** because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

2 And behold the names of those angels [and these are their names: the first of them is Samjâzâ, the second Artâqîfâ, and the third Armên, the fourth Kôkabêl, the fifth †Tûrâêl†, the sixth Rûmjâl, the seventh Dânjâl, the eighth †Nêqâêl†, the ninth Barâqêl, the tenth Azâzêl, the eleventh Armârôs, the twelfth Batarjâl, the thirteenth †Busasêjal†, the fourteenth Hanânêl, the fifteenth †Tûrêl†, and the sixteenth Sîmâpêsîêl, the seventeenth Jetrêl, the eighteenth Tûmâêl, the nineteenth Tûrêl,
3 the twentieth †Rûmâêl†, the twenty-first †Azâzêl†. And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens].

4 The name of the first Jeqôn: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of **God**, and brought them
5 down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. And the second was named Asbeêl: he imparted to the holy sons of **God** evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled
6 their bodies with the daughters of men. And the third was named Gâdreêl: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons
7 of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell
8 on the earth from that day and for evermore. And the fourth was named Pênêmûe: he taught the
9 children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to
10 eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation
11 to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power

3. **Michael** *a*. 'the holy Michael' *β*. So too in *v*. 4.
answered + 'me' *gqu*.
is not softened *β*. 'is not convicted' *a*.
word of judgement (that) has gone forth *gq*. 'word: judgement &c.' *mtu*, *β*.
because of those who have thus led them out, i. e. the Satans who seduced these angels.
4. **do as if they were the Lord.** Cf. Isa. xiv. 11–13.
5. **all that is hidden** *a*. 'the hidden judgement' *β*.
neither angel nor man suffers their torments, but these fallen angels alone.

LXIX. 1. **make them to tremble.** Text = 'irritate them' = יארגיזהון which has both meanings.
2, 3. I have bracketed 3 and most of 2 as an intrusion. These angels are those who fell in the days of Jared, but in *v*. 4 seqq. we have Satans. So perhaps read in 2 'behold the names of those Satans,' and go on to 4.
2. The thirteenth is superfluous and not in vi. 7, where see note.
4. In the Parables the Satans and the fallen angels are distinguished. The latter fell in the days of Jared in i–xxxvi, and xci–civ. Here, however, the functions of the two are confused. Azazel causes all sin in i–xxxvi (x. 8), and Semjaza in vi. 3, ix. 7.
Jeqôn *a–u*, Jeqûn *β*, i.e. 'inciter'.
the sons of God. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7. Emended for text 'the sons of the angels', i.e. אלהיא was misread as מלאכיא. *t,bcd*, &c., add 'holy', which may go with 'sons' or 'angels'.
5. **Asbeêl** 'deserter from God' or (Schmidt) 'thought of God'.
6. **Gâdreêl**, a Satan, as he led astray Eve. In viii. 1 it is Azazel that makes weapons of war. In Aramaic Gadreel = 'God is my helper' עדריאל.
[the weapons . . . men] dittograph from end of verse.
8. **Pênêmûe.** Cf. פנימי 'the inside'.
9–10. The art of writing is a proof of the degeneracy of the human race. Word of mouth should be sufficient pledge for the righteous.
11. Man was originally righteous and immortal. Cf. Wisdom, i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24. Cf. Talmud, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 215, 216, 222, 248. He lost his uprightness and immortality through the devil's envy, Wisdom ii. 24; the evil knowledge introduced by the Satans or angels, 1 En. lxix. 11; his own evil act, 1 En. xcviii. 4.
pure and righteous *a–q*, 'pure and holy' *q*, 'righteous and pure' *β*.

12 †it is consuming me†. And the fifth was named Kâsdejâ: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smitings of the soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smitings
13 which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabâʿĕt. And this is the **†task†** of Kâsbeêl, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high
14 above in glory, and its name is Bîqâ. This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who
15 revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akâe in the hand of Michael.

16 And these are the secrets of this oath . . .
And they are strong through his oath:
And the heaven was suspended before the world was created,
And for ever.

17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water,
And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters,
From the creation of the world and unto eternity.

18 And through that oath the sea was created,
And †as its foundation† He set for it the sand against the time of (its) anger,
And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.

19 And through that oath are the depths made fast,
And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.
20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course,
And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

21 And through that oath the stars complete their course,
And He calls them by their names,
And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths
23 from all the quarters of the winds. And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings: and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-
24 frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.]

25 And this oath is mighty over them,
And through it [they are preserved and] their paths are preserved,
And their course is not destroyed.

†it is consuming me†. Perhaps read 'they are being consumed'.
12. Cf. Ps. xci. 5, 6, and Rosenmüller's *Scholia* on these verses.
Tabâʿĕt, unknown name. Schmidt, *O.T. and Semitic Studies*, p. 341, conjecturally restores the lost clause of 12 and all 13.
13. **task** = ענין emended from text = 'number' = מנין. I cannot interpret this verse.
14. **this** *a*, 'and this' *β*.
show him *a–q*, 'show them' *β*.
the hidden name that + 'they might enunciate that (+ 'evil and' *m*) hidden name' *mu*: + 'they might see that hidden name and' *β*.
16. **heaven was suspended.** Cf. Job xxvi. 7.
17. **earth . . . water.** Cf. Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6.
from . . . mountains . . . waters. Cf. Ps. civ. 10, 13.
beautiful waters *a–u*, *aefhikp*. 'beautiful (>*u*,*ly*$_1$*a*) waters for the living' *u*,*bclxy*$_1$*a*.
18. **†as its foundation†** seemingly corrupt for 'to limit it'.
the sand. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9.
19. **depths made fast.** Cf. Prov. viii. 28.
20. **to eternity** *q*,*β*. > *a–q*.
21. **calls them by their names.** Cf. xliii. 1 (note).
22–24. An interpolation.
22. **quarters.** So I render with Flemming, otherwise 'bands'.
23. **the voices of the thunder** *a*. *β* prefixes 'chambers of'.
chambers of the hail. Cf. lx. 11, 19–21. This verse seems to be an interpolation within an interpolation.
24. Cf. xli. 7.
25 Resumes the 'oath' of verses 14–21.

Close of the Third Parable.

26 And there was great joy amongst them,
And they blessed and glorified and extolled
Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

27 And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray.

28 With chains shall they be bound,
And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,
And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.
29 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible;

For that Son of Man has appeared,
And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,
And all evil shall pass away before his face,
And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth
And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.
This is the third Parable of Enoch.

LXX. *The final Translation of Enoch.*

70 1 And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of
2 Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft
3 on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. And from that day I was no
longer numbered amongst them: and he set me between the two winds, between the North and the
4 West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. And
there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

LXXI. *Two earlier Visions of Enoch.*

71 1 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
And it ascended into the heavens:
And I saw the **holy sons of God.**

26–29. These verses form the conclusion of the third Parable; we have returned to its main theme.
26. **the name of that Son of Man had been revealed.** Cf. Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12. See also 1 En. xlviii. 7, lxii. 7.
27. **on the throne of his glory.** See xlv. 3 (note).
the sum, i.e. all judgement. Cf. John v. 22, 27. For 'sum' cf. ראש in Ps. cxxxix. 17.
the sinners, esp. the mighty ones in the Parables, though in general also, cf. xxxviii. 1, 2, 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 5, 6, [l. 2] liii. 2, 7, lxii. 2, 13.
and be destroyed > *q*.
from off the face of the earth. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).
28. Cf. liii–lvi.
29. Summarizes, e.g. xlix.
the word of *t*, *bcehl²nx*: 'they shall say to' *a–t df*, &c.

LXX. The writer awkwardly makes Enoch describe his own translation. Otherwise this chapter is in keeping with the Parables.
1. **Son of Man.** Note the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man here. Cf. xlviii. 2 (note), and xlvi. 2 (note)
and to the Lord *gqt*, 'to the Lord' *mu*, *β*.
those who dwell, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).
2. **he was raised.** 'his name was raised' *t*.
chariots. Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11. For Enoch's translation cf. lxxxvii. 3, 4, lxxxix. 52.
his name *mqt*. 'the name' *gu,β*. **his name,** i.e. his person.
3. **numbered** *gqt,i*. 'dragged' *m,β–i*.
between the North and the West. See xviii. 6 (note), xxiv. 1–3 (notes), lx. 8 (note) and lxvii. 4.
the cords. Cf. lxi. 1 seqq.
4. Paradise already contains his righteous forefathers. Cf. lxi. 12.

LXXI. Seems to belong to the Parables. There are two visions in this chapter: (1) verses 1–4. Enoch is translated in spirit to the heavens, has a vision of God, and is shown by Michael the secrets of the spiritual and physical worlds. (2) verses 5–17. Again Enoch is translated in spirit to the heaven of heavens and has a vision of God's house, without Michael's guidance. Both visions should come before lxx, which describes the translation of 'his name', i.e. his final translation.
1–4. The first vision.
1. **translated:** 'hidden' E, as always. See xii. 1 (note).
holy sons of God. Text has 'sons of the holy angels'. See lxix. 4 (note), 5, cvi. 5. The expression 'sons of Elohim' in Gen. vi. is the source of this phrase.

They were stepping on flames of fire:
Their garments were white [and their raiment],
And their faces shone like snow.

2 And I saw two streams of fire,
And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

3 And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by my right hand,
And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries,
Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

5 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
And between those crystals tongues of living fire.

6 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
And on its four sides were streams full of living fire,
And they girt that house.

7 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin:
And these are they who sleep not
And guard the throne of His glory.

8 And I saw angels who could not be counted,
A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand,
Encircling that house.

And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
Go in and out of that house.

9 And they came forth from that house,
And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel,
And many holy angels without number.

10 And with them the Head of Days,
His head white and pure as wool,
And His raiment indescribable.

11 And I fell on my face,
And my whole body became relaxed,
And my spirit was transfigured;

[and their raiment] a duplicate rendering.
2. **streams of fire.** Cf. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, also *vv.* 1, 5, 6 here.
3. **and he showed.** All MSS. but *u* prefix 'and he showed me all (>β) the secrets of mercy'. As 'mercy' is an alternative rendering for 'righteousness', this is a dittography.
4. Physical secrets here as in xli. 3–8, xliii, xliv occur in contexts of an entirely ethical character.
5–17. The second vision.
5, 6. Cf. xiv. 9–17.
5. **he translated my spirit** *a*. 'a spirit translated him' β.
there. MSS. add a gloss 'in the midst of that light'.
6. **the girdle** *a–q*. 'a girdle' *q*,β.
7. Cf. lxi. 10, 12, also xxxix. 13, xl. 2.
and 3° *a*, >β.
8. **a thousand,** &c. Cf. xiv. 22, xl. 1.
Michael, &c. See xl. 4–7.
go in and out, not so in xiv. 23.
9. **and** 2° *a–t*. >*t*, β.
10. **Head of Days.** See xlvi. 1 (note); Dan. vii. 9.
11. **and I fell . . . relaxed.** Cf. lx. 3.
spirit was transfigured. Contrast xxxix. 14; and cf. Asc. Isa. vii. 25.

And I cried with a loud voice,
. . . with the spirit of power,
And blessed and glorified and extolled.

12 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of
13 Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in xlvi. 3) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

14 And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me :
' **This is** the Son of Man who **is** born unto righteousness,
And righteousness abides over **him**,
And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes **him** not.'

15 And he said unto me :
' He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come ;
For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

16 And all shall walk in **his** ways since righteousness never forsaketh **him** :
With **him** will be their dwelling-places, and with **him** their heritage,
And they shall not be separated from **him** for ever and ever and ever.

17 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way
In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

Section III.

Chapters LXXII–LXXXII. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.

LXXII. *The Sun.*

2 1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me ; and he showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world
2 and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity. And this is the first law of the luminaries : the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven,
3 and its setting in the western portals of the heaven. And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and

spirit of power. Cf. lxi. 11. Some words seem lost before this phrase.

14–16. Owing to the loss of a reference to the Son of Man, some scribe has altered third to second persons in 14, 16, but not in 17, or 15.

14. Cf. xlvi. 3.
he *gmt.* >*u.* 'that angel' *qβ.*
This is . . . is restored for text 'Thou art . . . art'.
unto *gtu, abcf,* &c. 'in' *mq, deh,* &c.
righteousness. See xlvi. 3 (note) for this attribute of the Son of Man.
him restored for 'thee'. So in *v.* 16 *passim.*

15. **proclaims unto thee peace.** Cf. Mic. iii. 5 ; Zech. ix. 10 ; Isa. lvii. 7.
the world to come—the Messianic kingdom. Earliest use of the phrase. See Dalman, *Worte Jesu,* 120 seqq.

16. **all** + 'shall be and' β–al_1b.
dwelling-places. Cf. xxxix. 4, 7.

17. **length of days :** i.e. an eternity ; contrast v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6.
an upright way *m.* 'his upright way' β. *gtu* support *m.* + 'to the righteous' all MSS.

Note on 14–17. I do not hold, as Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.* 348, Dalman, *Worte Jesu* 200, that our text elevates Enoch to the dignity of the Messiah. Bousset quotes 2 En. xxii. 6, lxvii. 2 ; Targ. Jon. on Gen. v. 24 ; Ps. Clem. *Hom.* xviii. 13 ; *Recog.* ii. 47.

LXXII. 1. **dominion.** Cf. lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8–20.
names. Cf. lxxviii. 1, 2.
origin i.e. rising.
the new creation. Cf. xlv. 4, xci. 15, 16 ; Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22 ; 2 Pet. iii. 3, 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1 ; also the Yasts xiii. 57–58 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. 194).

2. Here begins an account of the sun in its progress through the signs of the zodiac, and the resultant increase and decrease of the days and nights.
portals. See Babylonian *Creation Epos* v. 9 ; *K.A.T.*[3] 619, 630. Cf. xxxiii–xxxvi for portals of winds and stars. In lxxii–lxxxii, sun, moon, and stars pass through the same portals, but in xxxiii–xxxvi the stars' portals are small, while in lxxii. 6 one of the sun's portals is called 'great'.

six portals in which the sun sets: and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of
the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other
4 in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals. And
first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumfer-
5 ence of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire. The chariot on which
he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north
in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate (lit. 'that') portal and
6 shines in the face of the heaven. In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which
7 is the fourth [those six portals in the east]. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in
the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in
8 their season. When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty
9 mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven. And
during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth
10 morning. On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly
11 to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the
fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth
12 portal. And then the day becomes longer by †two† parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night
13 becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts. And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth
14 portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign. On that
day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day
15 becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts. And the sun mounts up
to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the
16 sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings. And when thirty mornings are accomplished,
17 the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven. And the sun
goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty
18 mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal. On that day the day decreases
19 by †two† parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun goes forth
from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-
20 and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west. On that day the day is equalized
with the night, [and becomes of equal length], and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to
21 nine parts. And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises
22 thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal. And on that day the
night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than

leaders of the stars. See lxxv. 1 (note).
windows. Cf. *v.* 7, lxxv. 7.
right and left = south and north.
4. Cf. xli. 5–7.
circumference, a disk or a sphere. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 3, also xviii. 4, lxxiii. 4.
5. **The chariot.** Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, 8; driven by the wind xviii. 4, lxxviii. 2.
returns through the north. Cf. xli. 5.
is so guided, possibly by an angel. The sun is not, as the heavenly bodies are in i–xxxvi, semi-conscious.
6. **the first month,** of the Hebrews, i.e. Abib (Exod. xiii. 4), the time of the spring equinox. It began the ecclesiastical year and corresponds to our April.
6, 7. **the great portal,** so distinguished from the twelve window-openings of each portal (lxxii. 3, lxxv. 7), with their heat-giving flames.
8. The author replaces the heathen signs of the zodiac by portals, cf. the 'chamber' of Ps. xix. 5. Though well aware of a solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, he reckons it as consisting of 364 days, or 52 sabbaths of days. Thus he has eight months of 30 days, and four of 31 days each, the extra day in the latter being 'on account of the sign', i.e. that of the equinoxes or solstices. Cf. lxxii. 13, 19. The division into eighteen parts of the day suits northern Asia at a latitude of 49°.
10. **on** *a–t*, 'and on' *t*, *β*.
a ninth part, i.e. of the whole day, *gqu*. >*mt*, *β*. All MSS. wrongly insert 'twice as much' after 'longer'.
exactly *a*. >*β*.
11. **in the fourth** + 'portal' *q*,*β*–*bcdx*$_1$*a*.
12. **and** 1°. >*bcdlopxy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*.
†two†. Read 'one'.
13. **it returns** *a*. 'the sun returns' *β*.
portal 1°. >*a–t*.
its sign, i.e. the summer solstice here, cf. *v.* 19, lxxv. 3, lxxviii. 7.
14. **on** *a–q*. 'and on' *q*^{2} *β*.
15. **mounts up,** to start on his return journey to the first portal.
18. †two†. Read 'one'.
19. **its sign** + 'in the fourth portal (> *u*) in the east' *a*
20. **[and . . . length],** a duplicate rendering.
22. **and night becomes longer than night,** *a–m*. 'till the thirtieth morning' *β*.

day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight
23 parts. And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns
to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets
24 in the second portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night amounts to eleven
25 parts and the day to seven parts. And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets
in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty
26 mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night becomes
longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and
27 the day to six. And the sun has (therewith) traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again
on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west
28 opposite to it. And on that night has the night decreased in length by a †ninth† part, and the night
29 has become eleven parts and the day seven parts. And the sun has returned and entered into the
second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising
30 and setting. And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts
31 and the day to eight. And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns
to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven.
32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night
33 is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four. And the length
of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course
34 of the sun these distinctions are made (lit. 'they are separated'). So it comes that its course becomes
35 daily longer, and its course nightly shorter. And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his
return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, i.e. the great luminary which is named the sun,
36 for ever and ever. And that which (thus) rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to
37 its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and
rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but
as regards size they are both equal.

LXXIII. *The Moon and its Phases.*

3 1 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.
2 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides
3 is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in (definite) measure. And her rising and setting
change every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform
4 (i.e. full) it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun. And thus she rises. And her first
phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and
constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the
5 portal where the sun rises. And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole

morning, *a–q, efln.* >*q.* 'day' *abcd*, &c.
25. **into the first portal** *β–a*, 'in it on the first day (?)' *gq*, 'in the sixth portal' *m*, 'on that day' *tu*.
27. **that portal** *m,β*, 'all the portals' *a–m*.
28. **on that night,** *gq, f.* 'on that day' *mt, β–f*.
a †ninth† part *gqu.* >*m.* 'one part' *t, β–a.* 'ninth' should be 'eighteenth', as in 16. Or for 'decreased in length' we might emend to 'grown shorter than the day'.
31. **that portal** *a–t.* 'that second portal' *t, β*.
35. **he returns** *a–m.* 'he returns, he returns' *m, β*.
sixty times, i.e. two months in each portal, one month on his northward and one month on his southward journey. The author disregards for the time being the extra day in the first, third, fourth, and sixth portals.
luminary *a.* 'eternal luminary' *β*.
37. **as he rises, so he sets** *g*, 'so he rises and (+ 'so' *qt*) he sets' *mqt*, 'and so he sets' *u*, 'and so he rises and sets' *β–anx*.
day and night + 'in his chariot' t^2, *β*.
sevenfold brighter. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 4. Also cf. Isa. xxx. 26.
as regards size . . . . equal. So Lucretius believed, *De Rer. Nat.* v. 564–91.

LXXIII. This chapter and LXXIV treat of the moon's course.
2. **the heaven** *a–m, bcdilo*, 'the sun' *m, aefhknpw*.
3. **her rising and setting,** i.e. the place of her rising and setting.
4. **her first phase** lit. 'her beginning', i.e. the new moon in the popular sense, on the first day of her visible reappearance.
thirtieth morning, of the solar month.
5–8. The author's scheme is hard to follow. Apparently the lunar month amounts to 30 days and 29 days alternately, and is divided into two parts. During the first part the moon waxes from new moon to full moon in 14 days when the month is 29 days, and in 15 when the month is 30 days. During the second part it always wanes in 15 days. Again the moon is divided into fourteen parts, i.e. each half surface into seven parts, and the waxing of the

circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, (and) the four-
6 teenth part of her light. And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light
7 amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof. And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning [in the commencement of the lunar day] the moon sets with the sun, and
8 is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them. And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the (remaining) thirteen parts.

LXXIV. *The Lunar Year.*

74 1 And I saw another course, a law for her, (and) how according to that law she performs her monthly
2 revolution. And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months
3 as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished. In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her
4 darkness in the west. And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues
5 her own peculiar course. In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle portals the
6 third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes from the sun, and in eight
7 days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth. And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the
8 first portal in eight days. And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the
9, 10 sun goes forth. Thus I saw their position—how the moons rose and the sun set in those days. And if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue
11 to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days. And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the
12 moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days. And **the sun** and the stars bring in all

moon is due to the successive lighting up of each fourteenth part. Verses 5, 6 suppose the period from new to full moon to be 14 days, verse 7 supposes it to be 15 days.

5. **goes forth,** MSS. read rehûq = ἐξέχων, which is used of the sun's rising or appearing. It in turn may render יָצָא, which is used of the rising of the sun and stars. Flemming proposes to emend the text to rĕ'ûj = 'visible'.

one-seventh part *gqtu, abc*, &c. Other MSS. corrupt.

(and) the fourteenth part *gqu*. 'of the fourteenth part' *mt*, β. + 'of half' *g*, needlessly, as the fractions are fractions of half in this verse and the next.

6. **one-seventh part** 2° *gmqu, d*. 'the thirteenth part' *t, l*. 'the fourteenth part' β *dklo*. Apparently $\frac{1}{7}+\frac{1}{14}$ of $\frac{1}{2}=\frac{3}{28}$ of the whole moon are lighted the first day when there are only 14 days to the full moon.

7. **half of one part of light,** i. e. one twenty-eighth. When the waxing takes 15 days, the moon only receives one twenty-eighth part, and so is practically invisible, the first morning: on the second day she attains to one-fourteenth, and becomes visible.

fourteen *gu, abc*, &c. 'thirteen' *mqt,il₁b*.

8. **thirteen** *a, n*. 'fourteen' β–*n*.

LXXIV. This chapter deals with the moon's waxing and waning, her monthly change of position with regard to the signs and the sun, and the difference between lunar and solar years.

2. **of them all,** i. e. the moon's phases.

fifteen days, i. e. between conjunction and full moon.

3. Cf. lxxiii and lxxviii.

and in single seventh . . . darkness >*a,an*.

4. **peculiar course,** independent of the sun.

5, 6. During two months the moon sets with the sun as new moon and as full moon. When the sun is in Aries and Libra the new moon and the full moon are in the third and fourth portals. In verse 6 the moon goes forth as it waxes from the third portal to the first in 7 days, turns about and returns to the portal where the sun rises, i. e. the third, in 7 or 8 days, and there becomes full moon, and proceeds thence through the fourth and fifth to the sixth portal, where she arrives after 8 days. Thence she returns to the third portal in 7 days.

6. **and accomplishes.** 'and in that accomplishes' t^2,β.

9. **how the moons rose and the sun set** *a–q*. 'according to the order of their moons the sun rising and setting' *q*, β.

10, 11. The difference between the lunar and the solar year. The lunar year has 354 days (see lxxviii. 15). The solar year has 12 months of 30 days, or 360, and also 4 intercalary days in the equinoxes and solstices, in all 364 days (lxxiv. 10, 12). In verses 10ᵃ and 11 these intercalary days are neglected, and so the solar year has only 360 days, or 6 days more than the lunar.

11. **the moon** t^2 β: *a* has transposed the word to the next sentence, as subject to 'bring in'.

12. Accuracy of the solar and sidereal time-division. Jubilees vi. 32–6 protests against the use of the lunar year.

and the sun. So *gmt* except that they prefix 'from' before 'the sun', >*qu*, β.

and the stars *u*, 'and from the stars' *gmt*, >t^2, β. Here all MSS. add 'and (> *n*) the moon', following the lead of *a*.

the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity;
13 but **complete** the years with perfect justice in 364 days. In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in
14 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days. For the moon alone the days amount
in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: [i.e. to the sum (of 1,770) there is
15 to be added (1,000 and) 62 days.] And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days
16 in 8 years amount to 2,832 days. [For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days], all the
17 days she falls behind in 8 years are 80. And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their
world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun)
rises and sets 30 days.

5 1 And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over
all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office,
according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not
2 reckoned in the reckoning of the year. And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries
truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the
heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accom-
3 plished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations. For the signs and the times
and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever
over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the
face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, i.e. the sun,
moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots
4 of the heaven. In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's
chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth
5 diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons. [And for the winds and
6 the spirit of the dew† when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.] As for the
twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars,
7 and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west, There are many windows open to the left
and right of them, and one window at its (appointed) season produces warmth, corresponding
(as these do) to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them,
8 and wherein they set corresponding to their number. And I saw chariots in the heaven, running
9 in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set. And one is larger than
all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

but complete = ἀλλὰ τελοῦσιν, corrupted into ἀλλάττουσιν, whence the Ethiopic text.

13–16. Merely seem to assert that the solar year of 364 days exceeds the lunar of 354 by 10 days. But why should eight years be referred to? The author seems to have in mind the eight-year cycle or octaetris, which, however, allowed for $365\frac{1}{4}$ days in the solar year. See special Introduction to lxxii–lxxxii, p. 150 in my new Commentary.

14. The totals for 3 and 5 years are added together to give the total for 8 years. (1062 + 1770 = 2832.)

The brackets indicate a marginal gloss.

(1000 and) found only in the margin of *c*.

16. [ ] a doublet.

17. **their world-stations** *a–m*, 'their stations' *m*, *β*.

LXXV. The intercalary days, the stars, and the sun.

1. The four intercalary days are under charge of the highest stars, the leaders of the heads of ten thousands. See lxxxii. 11, 12.

and 1° *q*, *β*. >*a–q*.

their office *m*. 'its (>*q*) office' *a–m*. 'their position' $t^2\beta$.

the reckoning 1° *a*: *β* prefixes 'all'.

are not reckoned. The popular reckoning was 360 days to the year. Cf. lxxxii. 5.

2. Men reckon wrongly, by omitting these intercalary days, lxxxii. 4–6.

the exactness of the year *q*: 'in exactness the world' *g*: 'the exactness of the world' *mtu*, *β*. In Ethiopic 'âm = 'year', and 'âlam = 'world'.

is accomplished *gm*, *β*: 'accomplishes' *qtu* (taking 'the exactness' as object).

3. These days are, however, real. Uriel showed them to Enoch. Cf. lxxii. 1.

signs, i.e. of the Zodiac, lxxii. 13, 19.

Lord of glory *a–q*: 'Lord of Spirits' *q*: 'Eternal Lord of glory' *β–l*. See lxxxiv. 2 (note). Cf. 'the great Lord, the King of glory,' lxxxi. 3.

chariots of the heaven. Cf. lxxii. 5; *q* reads 'troops of the heaven'.

4. The variation in the sun's heat is explained by the twelve openings in the disk of the sun.

doors Uriel showed me, open (*m*)*tu*, *afhikn*: 'open' *g*: 'doors and Uriel showed me' *q*.

5. An intrusion. The first clause is unintelligible, the second 'when they' &c. seems to be a dittograph of the last clause in 4 and the first in 5.

opened *a–q*. + 'in the seasons' $t^2\beta$.

6, 7. Adjoining each one of the sun's twelve portals are twelve windows open to the left and right of them. Cf. lxxii. 3, 7. These diffuse warmth over the earth, one being open at a time, and all differing in heating power.

6. This verse begins in *a* with a dittograph 'when they are opened' from *v*. 4. *β* inserts 'I saw', thus altering 'twelve portals' from a *nominativus pendens* into the acc. But Enoch had been viewing them since lxxii.

8. **above** + 'and below' *bcd*, &c.

9. **one is larger.** Perhaps the Great Bear.

LXXVI. *The Twelve Winds and their Portals.*

76 1 And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the **quarters** (of the heaven), from
2 which the winds go forth and blow over the earth. Three of them are open on the face (i.e. the east) of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (i.e. the south) of the heaven, and
3 three on the left (i.e. the north). And the three first are those of the east, and three are of †the
4 north, and three [after those on the left] of the south†, and three of the west. Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

5 And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat,
6 and destruction. And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which lies toward the north come cold and drought.

7 And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of
8 them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind. And through the middle portal next to it there
9 come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health. And through the third portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

10 And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts
11 and desolation. And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and rain, and dew and locusts.

12 And after these [four] are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth
13 dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost. And from the middle portal come forth dew and rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth
14 drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve portals of the four **quarters** of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

LXXVII. *The Four Quarters of the World: the Seven Mountains, the Seven Rivers, &c.*

77 1 And the first **quarter** is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because the Most High will **descend** there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever
2 **descend.** And the west **quarter** is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the
3 heaven wane and go down. And the fourth **quarter**, named the north, is divided into three parts:

LXXVI. A detailed account of the twelve portals of the winds and the nature of the winds which issue therefrom. Cf. xxxiii–xxxvi.

1. **the quarters.** The text wrongly renders רוח as 'wind'. See lxxvii. 1 (note).
2. **right . . . left,** cf. lxxii. 3.
3. **and** 1° >*gmt*. The words 'north' and 'south' are in the wrong order.
4. Through the four portals come beneficial winds, i.e. the middle of the three in each quarter. For the hurtful winds cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.
5–6. Winds from the east, i.e. ESE., E., ENE.
6. **what is fitting** or 'advantageous' or 'right'. Text=rĕt'ĕ; cf. rĕt'ĕt in *v.* 11 rendered 'in a direct direction'.
7–9. Winds from the south, i.e. SES., S., SWS.
7. **through the first** *qu*: *gmt*, *β* prefix 'the first'.
10–11. NEN., N., NWN. winds.
10. **north winds:** MSS. adds a gloss 'which is named the sea and which came forth'.
in the east + 'towards the south' *gtu*: + 'which inclines towards the south' *m*, *β–o₁a*.
11. **in a direct direction.** Read perhaps 'what is fitting'. See *v.* 6 (note).
health and rain and dew *a*. *β* puts 'health' last.
in the west: MSS. add 'which inclines to the north'.
12–13. WNW., W., WSW. winds.
12. **dew** + 'and rain' *β*.
14. **quarters,** MSS. read 'portals' corruptly.
all 2° >*qu*.
all 3° >*q*, *β–fhi*.
my son Methuselah. Cf. lxxxii. 1.

LXXVII. 1–3. The four quarters, and the meaning of their names. They are each explained from the Hebrew. The East קֶדֶם is first or foremost קַדְמוֹנִי. The South דָּרוֹם is where the Most High descends יָרַד רָם. Cf. xxv. 3. The West אַחֲרוֹן (not existing in Aramaic). The North צָפוֹן is divided into three parts: one for men, one for waters (צפה an overflowing), and clouds and darkness (צפן to conceal), while one contains Paradise (צפן to reserve).

1. **quarter.** Here and in verses 2, 3 the text='wind' i.e. רוח as in Ezek. xlii. 20.

the first of them is for the dwelling of men: and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth: and thence
5 comes forth hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away. I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers: one of them coming from the †west† pours its waters into the Great Sea.
6 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the
7 east. And the remaining four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, ⟨two of them to⟩ the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there [and some say:
8 into the desert]. Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland: two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

LXXVIII. *The Sun and Moon: the Waxing and Waning of the Moon.*

1, 2 And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjârês, and the second Tômâs. And the moon has four names: the first name is Asônjâ, the second Eblâ, the third Benâsê, and the fourth
3 Erâe. These are the two great luminaries: their circumference is like the circumference of the
4 heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike. In the circumference of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is
5 transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted. And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals
6 on the face of the heaven. And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven:
7 [the light becomes full in her]: on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light. And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by (the addition of) fourteenth
8 parts. And in her waning (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the four-
9 teenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth. And

the garden of righteousness. See lx. 8 (note), lxx. 3 (note).

4. Note recurrence of the number seven in this book, as in Jewish writers generally. Cf. xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, lxi. 11, lxxii. 37, xci. 16, xciii. 10.

seven high mountains, not those of xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, though originally they are derived from the same source.

pass + 'and go' *q*, *β*.

5. **seven** *β*. >*α*.

from the †west†, seemingly the Nile. If so 'ârab (='west') should be a transliteration of ערבה 'desert' or 'steppe'.

the Great Sea, i.e. the Mediterranean. Cf. Num. xxxiv. 6, 7.

6. The Euphrates and the Tigris.

The Erythraean Sea, a general name for the Arabian, Persian, and Indian seas.

7. **⟨two of them to⟩** must be supplied.

[and some say . . .]. A gloss.

8. **two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea** *bcdfiloxy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*: >'in the mainland' *aehkn*: 'seven, and two in the Red Sea' *a–m*: 'two in the mainland and five in the Red Sea' *m*. For the 'five great islands' cf. Jub. viii. 29, and for the number 'seven' see *K.A.T.*^{3} 618.

LXXVIII, LXXIX. The relations of the sun and moon are again described as well as the waxing and waning of the moon.

LXXVIII. 1. For Halévy's interpretations of the names see my Commentary *in loc.* He connects the two names of the sun with the two seasons, cold and hot, in Palestine, and the four names of the moon with its phases.

and 1° *a–q*, *ehl*. >*q*, *β–ehl*.

3. Cf. lxxii. 4, 37, lxxiii. 2.

the size of the circumference *α*: 'the size' *β*: + 'like the circumference of the heaven' *α–u*, a dittography.

4. In lxxii. 37 and lxxiii. 3 we are told that the sun's light is seven times that of the moon: in lxxiii. 2 that light is added to the moon in due measure. Here we are further told that one-seventh of the sun's light is gradually transferred to the moon, till the moon is full.

5. **by the north.** Cf. lxxii. 5.

6–17. The waxing and waning of the moon, the length of the months, &c.

6. See lxxiii. 5, 6 (notes) for the case of fourteen days' waxing.

[the light becomes full in her] *α–u*. A duplicate of 'accomplishes her light'. *u* is partly untranslatable. *β* reads in this verse 'and when the moon rises, she appears in the heaven, and has a fourteenth part of her light, and on the fourteenth day she accomplishes all her light'.

7. See lxxiii. 7, 8 (notes) for the fifteen days' waxing.

8. As the moon wanes, her light decreases each day by one-fourteenth part: on the fifteenth the remainder, i.e. one twenty-eighth, vanishes.

half of a seventh *t*, *β*: 'half and to a seventh' *α–t*.

10 in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight. And Uriel showed me
another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by
11 the sun. During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring
it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days [her light is accomplished in the heaven],
12 and when she is illumined throughout, her light is accomplished full in the heaven. And on the first
13 day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon
exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon
shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against
14 the sun. On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the
light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of
15 light. And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-
nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first
16 portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days. And in the time of her going out she appears for
17 three months (of) thirty days each, and for three months she appears (of) twenty-nine each. At
night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven,
and there is nothing else in her save her light.

LXXIX–LXXX. 1. *Recapitulation of several of the Laws.*

79 1 And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is
2 completed. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing
rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month
3 and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this
4 sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning: ⟨And
the waning⟩ which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven
5 days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days. She falls
behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when
6 this place which thou seest has been traversed. Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary
which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.

80 1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown thee every-
thing, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this
moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times
and departures.

9. **twenty-nine days.** Cf. lxxiv. 10–17, lxxviii. 15–17.
once twenty-eight, a reference to the cycle of Callippus, in which the last month in seventy-six years had only 28 days. See my Commentary *in loc.*, and cf. lxxiv. 13–16 for a reference to the octaetris.
11. The moon waxes over against the sun on the side turned to the sun, i.e. the western side.
[her light . . . heaven] 1° β: >'in the heaven' a. Bracketed as a dittograph.
13. A true observation.
She becomes. q, β prefix 'and'.
15. **and** 2° a: > β.
at her time + 'when she is accomplishing her waning' *gmt*, and *qu* originally.
the first period of time, i.e. the first half-year. The author recognizes only two seasons in the year; cf. iii, iv. As often as the moon is in the first portal during the first half-year, she is waning; cf. lxxix. 3, 4.
16. **the time of her going out,** i.e. the second half of the year.
17. **like a man,** i.e. a human face. Hence perhaps the name Asônjâ in *v.* 2 (Halévy).

LXXIX. 1. **my son** + 'Methuselah' t,β.
the law of all a–u: 'all the laws of' u,β.
2. **of bearing rule** a–u: 'for every power' β.
3. **of the waning** a: 'of the month and of the waning' β.
4. **⟨And the waning⟩.** Restored. So also Flemming and Martin.
5. **She falls behind** a–t: n prefixes 'and': t, β prefix 'and how'.
and the order. So emended for 'and (> *mq*) according to the order of'. Our text here identifies the solar and sidereal systems, as in lxxiv. 12.
one period, i.e. half-year. See lxxiv. 10–17.

LXXX. An interpolation. As soon as we pass from lxxix we enter into a world of new conceptions; the whole interest is ethical and nothing else. There is no fixity at all in natural phenomena: their laws and uniformities are always dependent on the moral action of men. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1–13.
1. **the angel** *gmt*: > *qu*, β.
I have shown *mq*, β: 'I will show' *gtu*.
leaders of the stars. Cf. lxxii. 3, lxxv. 2, 3.
those who turn them, probably the winds. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.
and times + 'and they turn them' *gmt*.

LXXX. 2-8. *Perversion of Nature and the heavenly Bodies owing to the Sin of Men.*

2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,
And shall not appear in their time:
And the rain shall be kept back
And the heaven shall withhold (it).
3 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.
4 And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time.
5 [And in those days the **sun** shall be seen and he shall journey in the **evening** †on the extremity of the great chariot in †the west]
And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.
6 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed).
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.
7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,
And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them,
[And they shall be altered from all their ways],
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.
8 And evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all.'

LXXXI. *The Heavenly Tablets and the Mission of Enoch.*

81 1 And he said unto me:
'Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon,
And mark every individual fact.'
2 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written (thereon) and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh
3 that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations. And forthwith I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world,

2–8. Note the tristichs.
2. Cf. Jer. iii. 3, v. 25.
shall alter *β* (intransitive): *a–u* give transitive form, and *t* supplies 'its ways'.
withhold *m*, *β*. 'stand still' *gqtu* (by change of a vowel point).
4. Cf. Joel ii. 10; Amos viii. 9; 4 Ezra v. 4.
5. The first two lines are corrupt and out of the context. If we remove them, verses 4–5 form a tristich relating to the moon.
the sun. Text has 'the heaven' (*mq*, *β*: 'in the heaven' *gtu*), i.e. שמים for שמש.
and he shall journey in the evening. Text has 'and hunger shall come', i.e. רעב 'hunger' corrupt for ערב 'evening'. For יִרָאֶה 'shall be seen' we might read יִזְרַח 'shall rise' (cf. 4 Ezra v. 4), and for בקץ 'on the extremity' read מציק, 'causing distress' and make 'shall come (or 'journey')' refer to the 'chariot'. Then we have: 'And in those days the sun shall rise in the evening, || And his great chariot shall journey to the west, causing distress.' These emendations are possible in Hebrew, but not in Aramaic.
6. **chiefs of the stars.** Cf. *v.* 1 (note). The MSS. read: 'chiefs of the stars of the order shall transgress.'
transgress the order. Cf. xviii. 15, xxi. 6.
7. **shall be concealed.** Contrast lxxv. 2, and cf. lxxxii. 4–6.
those on the earth, here in the same sense as in the interpolations in the Parables. See xxxvii. 5 (note).
[And they . . . ways]. Intrusion, possibly a doublet of 6[b].
take them to be gods. Cf. xix. 1. Acts vii. 42.
8. **all** *a*: 'them all' *β*.

LXXXI. Also an interpolation. is a sort of mosaic, and came probably from the editor of the complete Enoch. 'Those seven holy ones' in lxxxi. 5 are taken from lxxxvii. 3: 'the heavenly tablets' in lxxxi. 1, 2 from xciii. 2, ciii. 2: 'the books of judgement' from lxxxix. 61, 64: while lxxxi. 5, 6 refer to lxxxii. 1, 2 and xci. 1.
1. **these heavenly tablets.** See xlvii. 3 (note). *β–n* prefixes 'the writing of'.
2. **the book of** *mt*: 'the book' *gu*: 'the book and all that was written therein' *q*, *β*.
3. Cf. xxii. 14 for a like doxology.
the great Lord *a*: 'the Lord' *β*.
the King of glory for ever *a*: 'the Eternal King of glory' *β–bc*.

And I extolled the Lord because of His patience,
And blessed Him because of the children of men.

4 And after that I said:
'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness,
Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written,
And against whom no day of judgement shall be found.'

5 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: 'Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no
6 flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator. One year we will leave thee with thy son, till thou givest thy (last) commands, that thou mayst teach thy children and record (it) for them, and testify to all thy children; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.
7 Let thy heart be strong,
For the good shall announce righteousness to the good;

The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice,
And shall offer congratulation to one another.

8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners,
And the apostate go down with the apostate.

9 And those who practise righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men,
And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.'
10 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

LXXXII. *Charge given to Enoch: the four Intercalary Days: the Stars which lead the Seasons and the Months.*

82 1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee, and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and (see) that thou deliver them to the generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children,
[And thy children that shall be to thee],
That they may give it to their children for generations,
This wisdom (namely) that passeth their thought.

children of men *a*, *filoy*,$_1$*a*,$_1$*b*: 'children of the world' *β–fhi*, &c.

4. Contrast the blessing of lxxii–lxxix and lxxxii. 4, which is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years.

day of judgement *gmu*. 'unrighteousness' *q*, *t*^{2},*β*. Can this mean that there is no judgement for the righteous?

shall be found *a–m*: 'has been found' *m*, *t*^{2},*β*.

5. **those seven holy ones**, probably the seven Watchers, cf. xx: *β* reads 'three' for 'seven'. See lxxxvii. 2, xc. 21, 22.

no flesh is righteous. Cf. Job ix. 2; Ps. xiv. 1.

Creator. Cf. xciv. 10.

5, 6. These verses are inserted to serve as an introduction to xci–civ.

6. **thy son** *a*: 'thy sons' *β*.

till. The MSS. add 'again', a dittograph of עד but read with a different pointing.

givest thy (last) commands, i.e. the idiomatic meaning of צִוָּה. So *mt*.(*g*), *β–cde*: 'comfortest' *q*: 'growest strong' *cde*.

8. **go down**, i.e. into Gehenna.

9. The righteous die, yet they are taken away to the abodes of the blessed. The phrase is borrowed from Isa. lvii. 1, 'The righteous is taken away out of the way of (or 'because of') the evil.' Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 20; Wisdom iv. 7–14. The Hebrew word 'take away' occurs in e.g. Num. xx. 26; Ps. civ. 29.

10. **Lord of the world**, or 'Eternal Lord' *a–q*: 'Lord of the ages' *q*, *β*. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lviii. 4, lxxxi. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

LXXXII. Conclusion of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.

1. In xxxiii. 4 Uriel writes down everything for Enoch; but in this book, cf. lxxii. 1, lxxiv. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxix. 2–6, lxxxii. 1, Uriel only shows the hidden things to Enoch, whereas Enoch writes them down.

deliver them to the generations of the world, i.e. to all, and not only to the far distant generations as in i–xxxvi. See i. 2. Cf. Tert. *Du Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'Cum Enoch filio suo Matusalae nihil aliud mandaverit quam ut notitiam eorum posteris suis traderet.'

2. **wisdom**, i.e. the revelations. Cf. xxxvii. 4, xcii. 1, xciii. 10–14.

to thee and to thy children *mqu*, *β*: 'to thy son' *t*. *g* is corrupt. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6. As Lamech is thus already born, the Samaritan or Massoretic reckoning is followed.

[And thy . . .]. Interpolation.

3 And those who understand it shall not sleep,
But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom,
And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners, in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which 5 lead them and enter with them four days. Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon them in the **whole reckoning of the year**: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accur- 6 ately. For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded (thereon) for ever, one in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

7 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, **to whom** the 8 Lord of the whole creation of the world hath **subjected** the host of heaven. And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men—sun, moon, and stars, 9 and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch **that they** enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions. 11 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty (days) there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder 12 the four parts of the year. And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and 13 leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division. And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Mîlkî'êl, Hel'emmêlêk, and Mêl'êjal, 14 and Nârêl. And the names of those who lead them: Adnâr'êl, and Ijâsûsa'êl, and 'Elômê'êl—these three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.

15 In the beginning of the year Melkejâl rises first and rules, who is named †Tam'âinî and sun,† and 16 all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season 17 become withered. And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'êl, Zêlebs'êl,

3. **better than good food.** Cf. Ps. xix. 10, cxix. 103.
4. **blessed are all those** *t*, *β–y*: > *gu*, *y*: 'blessed (+ 'moreover' *q*): are all (+ 'the righteous' *m*) *mq*.
The four intercalary days introduced by four leaders. Cf. *v.* 11, lxxv. 1, 2.
divide *qt*, *β–no*$_1$*b*, cf. lxxxii. 11: 'are divided' *gmu*, *no*$_1$*b*.
5. Cf. lxxv. 2.
whole reckoning of the year. So with Beer I emend 'in the reckoning of the whole world'.
6. On the four intercalary days and their portals see lxxv.
the year is completed in three hundred, &c. *β*: 'the year of three hundred . . . is completed' *a-gmu*.
7. **to whom . . . hath subjected.** Emended from *a–q*, *β* 'whom He hath commanded for me'.
Lord of the whole creation of the world. Here only; cf. lxxxiv. 2.
9–20. An account of the stars as promised in lxxii. 1, and declared to be given in lxxix. 1.
10. **who watch that they enter.** MSS. read 'who watch and they enter'—? a Hebrew idiom preserved.
times + 'who lead them in their places' (>'in their places' *u*) *a*.
11. The leaders of the four intercalary days, the twelve months, and the 365 days.
for > *q*.
. . . **sixty (days) there are heads** *gqu*(*m*): '. . . sixty-four (days) with the heads' *t*, *β*.
12. Not clear.
a station. 'his station' *q*, *a*.
13. Milkiel is an inversion of Helemmelek. These four are over the four seasons of the year, and each has three under him, one for every month.
14. Not clear. The latter part of the verse seems to defy explanation.
15–17. The period from spring to summer = 91 days is under the dominion of Melkejal or Milkiel. He is named 'the southern sun', as Goldschmidt and Beer point out 'Tam'âinî' and 'sun' should be read together, i. e. שמש תימני.
15. **of the year** *m β*: > *a–m*.
16. **calms** *u*: 'anxiety' *a–u*.
the rose-flowers, not in O.T., except in English version of Isa. xxxv. 1; Cant. ii. 1.
which come forth *a–m*: 'bloom' *β*: >*m*.
17. The subordinate leaders are those of the months, three to the quarter.

and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hîlûjâsĕph : and the days of the dominion of this (leader) are at an end.
18 The next leader after him is Hêl'emmêlêk, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days
19 of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of (his) days on the earth : glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is
20 in the fields, and the winepress : these things take place in the days of his dominion. These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands : Gîdâ'îjal, Kê'êl, and Hê'êl, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfâ'êl : and the days of his dominion are at an end.

Section IV.

Chapters LXXXIII—XC. The Dream-Visions.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. *First Dream-Vision on the Deluge.*

83 1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting
2 them before thee. Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other : the first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother, (when) I saw a terrible
3 vision. And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grandfather Mahalalel, (when) I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to
4 the earth. And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent
5 from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss. And thereupon a word fell into my mouth,
6 and I lifted up (my voice) to cry aloud, and said : 'The earth is destroyed.' And my grandfather Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me : 'Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why
7 dost thou make such lamentation ?' And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said unto me : 'A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream-vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth : it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with
8 a great destruction. And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole
9 earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great
10 destruction. After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer
11 for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah. And when I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as †He had known† it in the beginning,

Hîlûjâsĕph. Note play on נוסף 'is added'.
18–20. Summer to autumn.
19. **the signs of (his) days** *β*. 'the days of his sign' *gmt* (*qu*).
20. This verse is confused. The three names are those of the leaders of the three months. The fourth, Asfâêl, is an inversion of Hîlûjâsĕph (verse 17), and belongs to the first triad. There is no account of the remaining six months. The redactor may have omitted them.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. The first Dream-Vision deals with the Deluge or first world-judgement.

LXXXIII. 1. **my visions** *a–t*. 'visions' *t*, *β*.
2. Enoch took a wife at 65 (Gen. v. 21). Her name was Edna, 1 En. lxxxv. 3, cf. Jubilees iv. 19, where these Dream-Visions are referred to. Note that lxxxiii–xc are only dreams, whereas in the other sections Enoch has open intercourse with the angels, and is translated bodily. Yet on *ascetic* grounds one would expect the bodily translation before marriage, and the dream-visions after.
3. **Mahalalel.** 'Malâl'êl' in text.
5. **lifted up (my voice)** *mqu*, *β–n*. 'arose' *g*. 'began' *t*, *n*.
7. **secrets of all the sin** (*tu*) *β*. 'sin of all the sin' *gm*. 'sin of all' *q*.
8. **Lord of glory.** xxv. 3, 7, xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxv. 3.
and that He . . . earth *t*, *β*. > *a–t* through hmt. (?).
9. **from heaven**, i. e. ordained of God.
10. The prayer is given in lxxxiv. 2–6.
and besought *a–q*. > *q*, *β*.
my prayer *mt*, *β*. 'I prayed and' *g*. > *qu*.
11. **the whole earth** *gmq*, *cdfiloy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*. > *t*, *abehknx*.
as †He had known† it. Read 'as I had known it,' or 'as He had made (or 'established') it'.

then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, †and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.

84 1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

2 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King,
Great and mighty in Thy greatness,
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.

And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever,
And throughout all generations Thy dominion;
And all the heavens are Thy throne for ever,
And the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

3 For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things,
And nothing is too hard for Thee,
Wisdom departs not **from the place of Thy throne,**
Nor turns away from Thy presence.
And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything,
And there is nothing hidden from Thee [for Thou seest everything].
4 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass,
And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.
5 And now, O God and Lord and Great King,
I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer,
To leave me a posterity on earth,
And not destroy all the flesh of man,
And make the earth without inhabitant,
So that there should be an eternal destruction.
6 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath,
But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed,
And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord.'

Lord of judgement. Here only.
windows. Never used of the sun in i–xxxvi nor in lxxii–lxxxii, where 'portal' is the word. For 'windows' see lxxii. 3 (note).
† **and he ascended.** Read 'so that he ascended', i. e. וַיַּעֲלֶה for וַיַּעַל.

LXXXIV. Enoch's Prayer for his Posterity.
1. **The Holy and Great One.** See i. 3 (note).
tongue of flesh. See xiv. 2.
children of the flesh of men *gmt*, *abcfhiknx*. 'children of men' (+ 'of flesh' *q*) *qu*, *de*, &c.
2. Cf. ix. 4 sqq.
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven. Here only. Cf. lxxxii. 7; also lviii. 4 (note).
King of kings. ix. 4.
God of the whole world. Here only. Cf. i. 3 (note).
All the heavens are Thy throne. Isa. lxvi. 1.
3. **nothing is too hard for Thee.** Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where the LXX render 'is hidden from thee'. The MSS. here add a dittograph 'and nothing' (or 'no').
Wisdom departs not from . . . Thy throne. Cf. Wisdom ix. 4, also Prov. viii. 30 in the LXX version ἤμην παρ' αὐτῷ, and Sirach i. 1.
departs not *g*. Other MSS. 'departs not from Thee.'
from the place of Thy throne, nor turns away. Text='nor turns away (*gqm* corrupt) from her life (>*qu*) (+'from' *mq*) Thy throne and'. So transpose 'nor turns away', and read 'from the place' ('ĕmmĕnbârâta) for 'from her life' ('ĕmmanbartâ).
[**for Thou . . .**] A dittograph from the line before.
4. **upon the flesh of men.** Cf. verses 1, 5; Job. xii. 10.
great day of judgement. Most MSS. read 'day of the great judgement'. See my text. See xlv. 2 (note). Here=the Deluge, but in xix. 1 the final judgement, and so always in xci–cv.
5. **Great King.** xci. 13.
6. **a plant of the eternal seed.** See x. 16 (note). Cf. lxii. 8; xciii. 2, 5, 10.

LXXXV–XC. *The Second Dream-Vision of Enoch: the History of the World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom.*

85 1, 2 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son. And Enoch lifted up (his voice) and spake to his son Methuselah: 'To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my
3 words—incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father. Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and
4 the other red. And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon
5 I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and
6 I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him. And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him
7 not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him. And I looked till that first
8 bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more. And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.
9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him
10 proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, (even) many.

LXXXVI. *The Fall of the Angels and the Demoralization of Mankind.*

86 1 And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell
2 from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those oxen. And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began
3 to live with each other. And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became
4 bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them [amongst them]. And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen,
5 and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses. And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their
6 horns. And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

LXXXV—XC. The second Dream-vision, giving a complete history of the world from Adam down to the final judgement, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. As in Ezekiel, men are symbolized by animals, e.g. the patriarchs by bulls, the faithful of later times by sheep. Cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 6, 8. The Gentiles are symbolized by wild beasts and birds of prey, cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17; the fallen Watchers by stars; unfallen angels by men. The symbolism is, however, sometimes dropped, and the same symbol may vary in meaning. In the main the narrative is based on the O.T., but some mythical elements from later Jewish exegesis are incorporated.

LXXXV. 2. Cf. Prov. v. 1.
3. **Edna.** Cf. lxxxiii. 2.
I saw, &c. Cf. Dan. iv. 10.
on my bed *q*, *β*. 'of my bed' *gmt*. *u* corrupt.
white is the colour symbolizing righteousness throughout this vision. Cf. lxxxv. 8, lxxxvii. 2, &c., and Isa. i. 18, Ps. li. 7, Rev. vii. 14.
a heifer=Eve.
two bulls. Cain, black with his sin; Abel, red as a martyr.
5. **that heifer**=Cain's wife; according to Jubilees iv. 1, his sister, by name Avan.
him 3° *q*, *β*. 'them' *gmt*.
6. Eve seeks Abel.
lamentation, i.e. אבל, a play on Abel, i.e. הבל.
over him *q*. 'with regard to him' *g*. 'thereupon' *mt*, *β*.
8. **another white bull,** i.e. Seth. So *mt*, *β*. 'a pair of white oxen' *gqu*, i.e. Seth and a sister. See Jub. iv. 8, 11.
9. Seth and his descendants are righteous.
many *gmqt*. > *β*.

LXXXVI. 1. **a star,** i.e. Azazel, cf. lxxxviii. 1; x. 4. In vi all the angels descend together, cf. Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253).
2. **And after that** *β*. 'and these' *mq*. 'and in the midst' *t*. 'and' *u*. > *g*.
Are the 'large' oxen Sethites?
to live with each other. 'to lament one to ('with' *β*) another' *a–g*, *β*. 'to live to one another' *g*.
3. Fall of the rest of the angels.
became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them *a*. 'were amongst those cattle and bulls, pasturing with them' *β*.
4. **elephants, camels, and asses,** represent the three classes of giants. See vii. 2 (note).
6. **children of the earth.** The symbolism is dropped for a moment.
from them *gm*. > other MSS.

LXXXVII. *The Advent of the Seven Archangels.*

87 1 And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth
2 began to cry aloud. And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold
there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place
3 and three with them. And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took
me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me
4 a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said unto me: 'Remain
here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the
oxen, and all of them.'

LXXXVIII. *The Punishment of the Fallen Angels by the Archangels.*

88 1 And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had
fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss: now that abyss was
2 narrow and deep, and horrible and dark. And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those
elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked
3 because of them. And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth
stoned (them) from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were
like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

LXXXIX. 1–9. *The Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah.*

89 1 And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being
terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon;
2 and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in. And again I raised mine
eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents
3 flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened
on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface,
4 and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water. And the water, the darkness,
and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above
the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.
5 And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were
6 swallowed up and perished in that water. But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen
and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer

LXXXVII. 1. The conflict of the bulls and giants.
2. The unfallen angels are symbolized by men, as men by animals.
and I saw in the vision > *qu*.
four *a*. 'one' *β*.
four . . . and three with them. See lxxxviii. 1 for the 'four'. The 'three angels' are found again in xc. 31. For the seven archangels, cf. lxxxi. 5, xci. 21, 22, xx.
with them *m*. 'with him' *a–m*, *β*.
3, 4. This tower seems to be Paradise, and thus we have in lxxxiii–xc a conception of its locality and inhabitants quite different from any that has preceded. See lx. 8 (note).
3. **all the hills were lower** *t*, *β*. 'it was built all the hills' (*sic*) *a–t*.
4. **one said** *a–q*, *cefhik*. 'they said' *q*, *β–cefhik*.
oxen, and all of them *a–u*. 'and all the oxen' *u*, *β*.

LXXXVIII—LXXXIX. 1. Closely connected with x. 1–14, but the variations are too many to presuppose it in quite its present form. Azazel is the only leader here.
LXXXVIII. 1. Cf. x. 4–8, where Raphael binds Azazel.
2. In x. 9, 10 Gabriel performs this task.
and camels *t*, *β*. > *a–t*.
3. In x. 12–14 Michael binds and imprisons the Watchers. Semjaza is not mentioned here.
come forth . . . stoned (them) from heaven. Read 'descended' for 'stoned', or with *n* read 'hurled a sword'.
gathered and took *t*, *β* in sing., *u* reads 'gathered' in sing., *m* reads 'took' in sing.
an abyss of the earth. In x. 12 'under the hills'.

LXXXIX. 1–9. The Deluge, and Noah's deliverance.
1. Cf. x. 1–3 where Uriel visits Noah for the same end. To build the ark, Noah becomes a man.
that white bull *m*. 'those white bulls' *a–m*, *β*.
without his being terrified *gqu*, 'terrified as he was' *mt*, *β*.
three bulls—his three sons.
covered in, cf. Gen. vii. 16; 1 En. lxvii. 2.
2. **seven.** Cf. lxxvii. 4 (note).
3, 4. The Deluge.
3. **saw** 2° *u*. 'caused it not to be seen' *t*, *β*.
6. **with all the animals**, i. e. the real animals.

7 see them, and they were not able to escape, (but) perished and sank into the depths. And again
I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms
8 of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. Then the water began to run down
into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness
9 retired and light appeared. But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel,
and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was
red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

LXXXIX. 10–27. *From the Death of Noah to the Exodus.*

10 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera:
lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites,
11 eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull. And they began to bite one another;
but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the
12 wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white
13 sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve
sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep
14 to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep
to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many
15 flocks of sheep. And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed
their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to
16 cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord. And a sheep which had
been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they
lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended
17 at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them. And He called
that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should
18 admonish them not to touch the sheep. And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word
of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together
into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the
19 sheep from henceforth. And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceed-
20 ingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud. And the Lord came to the sheep and they
began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became
21 quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out. And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the
wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep
22 with all their power. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep
23 followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves
24 began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water
stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between

7. **the chasms of the earth.** The writer conceives the flood as caused by a cleaving of the depths of the earth, and stayed by their closing up. Cf. Jub. vi. 26; Prayer of Manasses 3.

9. **and one black** *β*. > *α*.

that white bull departed, i. e. Noah died.

10. The symbolism has a new meaning forced upon it by the author. His cattle produce all kinds of four-footed beasts, and birds of prey. Nearly all of these appear later as the enemies of Israel. Cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17.

different genera. Here 'ahzâb means races of animals as well as of men.

a white bull. Abraham.

11. **A wild ass.** Ishmael. In verses 15, 16 the Arabs or Midianites are called the 'wild asses', not inaptly. Cf. Gen. xvi. 12. Isaac is the 'white bull'.

the wild asses *a*, *abd*, &c.: 'the wild ass' *cefh*.

12. **A black wild boar.** Esau. Later Jewish hatred thus associates Edom with the animal most detested. Cf. verses 42, 43, 49, 66. In 72 it is used of the Samaritans.

A white sheep. Jacob. Israel is the sheep of God's pasture, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 13, c. 3; Jer. xxiii. 1.

13. **one of them,** i. e. Joseph.

the asses. Midianites (*v.* 11).

the wolves, the Egyptians.

16. **a sheep which had been saved,** i. e. Moses.

Lord of the sheep. The usual title in this and the following chapters.

18. **another sheep,** Aaron.

met it *a–t*. 'met that sheep' *t*, *β–d*.

went and *gmq*. > *tu*, *β*.

20–27. The plagues of Egypt and the Exodus.

20. **they began** *a–m*: 'He began' *m*, *β*.

22. **glorious and terrible to behold** *gmt*: 'terrible to behold' *qu*: 'His appearance was terrible and glorious' *β–a*.

24. **led them** *u*. Other MSS. 'leading them' (we must excise 'and' in the latter case).

25 them and the wolves. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and [those wolves] ran after them into that sea.
26 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered
27 those wolves. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

LXXXIX. 28–40. *Israel in the Desert, the Giving of the Law, the Entrance into Palestine.*

28 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep
29 pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. And that
30 sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and
31 terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face. And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them [which was amongst
32 them]: 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander
33 from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof. And the Lord of the sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen
34 away. And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their
35 folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those
36 sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds. And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.
37 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and
38 approached a stream of water. Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew
39 from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying. And I saw till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the **two** sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (lit. 'had fallen asleep and led
40 them'). And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

28–40. Journeyings through the wilderness, the lawgiving on Sinai, and the occupation of Palestine.
28. **began to open their eyes**, i.e. to recover their spiritual vision and return to God. Cf. lxxxix. 32, 33, 41, 44, 54, xc. 6, 9, 10, 35.
and to see *mtu*, *β*. 'and they saw' *gq*.
29. Moses ascends Sinai, and returns to Israel. Exod. xix.
30. **great and** *a*. > *β–v*.
31. **that sheep with them** = Aaron.
with them *gmq*. 'with him' *t*, *β*.
[which was amongst them] *gu*. A dittograph. 'the other sheep which was among ('with' *q*) them' *mqt*, *β*.
32. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 12 sqq., xxxii.
again ascended, or 'returned and ascended'.
33. **fallen away** + 'from His path' *β*.
34. **it**, i.e. Moses.
return to their folds = give up their errors.
35. Exod. xxxii. 26–9.
and 3° + 'after that' *t*, *β*.
36. Moses becomes a man to build the tabernacle. Cf. verses 1, 9.
in this vision *a–u*. 'there a vision' *β*.
placed . . . in that house, i.e. made the tabernacle the centre of their worship.
37. Death of Aaron and of all the generation that had gone out of Egypt.
that sheep *t*, *β*. So *g*, but corrupt. *mu* defective. > *q*.
led them *a*. 'led the sheep' *β*.
a stream, Jordan with **a pasture** to the east of it.
38. Moses dies. Cf. Deut. xxxiv.
39. **the two sheep.** Joshua and Caleb. I emend kuĕllômû = 'all' to kĕl'ĕhômû = 'the two'.
40. **glorious land.** Palestine. Cf. Dan. xi. 16, 41.

LXXXIX. 41–50. *From the Time of the Judges till the Building of the Temple.*

41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

42 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up [another sheep] a ram from their
43 midst, which led them. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild
44 boars till he had destroyed them †all†. And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, **till** it †forsook its glory† and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself un-
45 seemly. And the Lord of the sheep sent the **lamb** to another **lamb** and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that
46 ram which had †forsaken its glory†. And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs
47 oppressed the sheep. And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled
48 down the first ram. And that second ram arose
49 and led the [little] sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed **the** wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the
48*b* sheep and robbed them no more of ought. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

Greek fragment from Vatican MS., published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, t. ii, deciphered by Gildemeister, in *ZDMG*, 1855, pp. 621, 622.

Ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλίου χρῆσις.

Καὶ οἱ κύνες ἤρξαντο κατεσθίειν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ οἱ 42
ὕες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες κατήσθιον αὐτά, μέχρι οὗ ἤγειρεν
ὁ κύριος τῶν προβάτων κριὸν ἕνα ἐκ τῶν προβάτων.
Καὶ ὁ κριὸς οὗτος ἤρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν 43
τοῖς κέρασιν καὶ ἐνετίνασσεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας καὶ
μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ὕας καὶ ἀπώλεσεν ὕας πολλοὺς
καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς . . . το τοὺς κύνας. Καὶ τὰ πρόβατα 44
ὧν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἠνοίγησαν ἐθεάσοντο τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐν
τοῖς προβάτοις, ἕως οὗ ἀφῆκεν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι †ἀνοδίᾳ. Καὶ ὁ κύριος τῶν προ- 45
βάτων ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄρνα τοῦτον ἐπὶ ἄρνα ἕτερον
τοῦ στῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν προβάτων
ἀντὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ ἀφέντος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ 46
ἐπορεύθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ σιγῇ κατὰ
μόνας καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ
εἰς ἡγούμενον τῶν προβάτων καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐπὶ πᾶσι
τούτοις ἔθλιβον τὰ πρόβατα. [Ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις 47
γέγραπται ὅτι] ὁ κριὸς ὁ πρῶτος τὸν κριὸν τὸν δεύτερον
ἐπεδίωκεν καὶ ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· εἶτ'
ἐθεώρουν, [φησίν], τὸν κριὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἕως οὗ
ἔπεσεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κυνῶν. Καὶ ὁ κριὸς ὁ δεύ- 48
τερος ἀναπηδήσας ἀφηγήσατο τῶν προβάτων. Καὶ 49
τὰ πρόβατα ηὐξήθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν· καὶ πάντες
οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες ἔφυγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφο-
βοῦντο αὐτόν.

50 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: ⟨and⟩ a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower

41–50. The times of the Judges and Kings till the Temple is built.

Of 42–9 a fragment of the Greek version survives. Note the ἑξῆς in *v.* 49, and also the φησίν showing quotation from some catena of excerpts from Enoch.

42. The dogs are the Philistines (46, 47). The foxes are the Ammonites (55), and the wild boars are the Edomites (12, 43, 49, 66).

till the Lord of the sheep raised up, &c. *gn.* Cf. Gk. Other MSS. give 'till another sheep, the Lord of the sheep, arose'.

43. **that ram.** Saul, who did not, however, destroy them all. The Greek has πολλούς. Note the Greek article = Ethiopic demonstrative 'those'.

44. **That sheep whose eyes were opened,** i.e. Samuel, who alone was seer when there had been no 'open' vision. Cf. i. 2; 1 Sam. iii. 1, 21. The Greek has 'sheep' in the plural.

till. MSS. have ὡς corrupt for ἕως. See Gk.

its glory†, 'his way' Gk. For דרכו restore דרך יי 'the way of the Lord'.

45, 46. David anointed king. Both Samuel and David (until king) are lambs, as Solomon previous to coronation is a little sheep (*v.* 48*b*).

45. **lamb** Gk. 'sheep' Eth. MSS.

that ram Gk. 'that ram, sheep' *d.* 'that sheep' other MSS.

46. **during** Eth. 'in addition to' Gk., i. e. another sense of ἐπί (Dative not Gen.).

48. **led the sheep.** So Gk., but Eth. MSS. give 'led the little sheep', pointlessly.

48[b]. **And that ram begat . . . leader of those sheep,** should follow *v.* 49, which suits best the reign of David. Gk. omits, as it ended with *v.* 49.

50. **That house** = Jerusalem. So Test. Levi x. 4 (quoting this passage). The 'tower' is the Temple. 'A full table' refers to the offerings and sacrifices.

it was built . . . on the house *gmt*, *ilno*$_1$*a*$_1$*b* (*mt*, *in* have 'that' before 'house'): 'it was built for those sheep ⟨and⟩ a high tower on the house' β–*ilno*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*: 'it was built for those sheep ⟨and⟩ a lofty tower was built' *q*: *m*,*ilno*$_1$*a*$_1$*b* add a dittograph after 'tower'—'lofty on that house and a tower'.

was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

[LXXXIX. 51–67. *The Two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

51 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep,
52 but the sheep began to slay them. And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from
53 the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there. And many other sheep He sent
54 to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them. And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until
55 those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place. And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild
56 beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep. And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them,
57 into the hand of all the wild beasts. And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured
58 by all the wild beasts. But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.
59 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep
60 henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed—and them destroy ye.' And
61 He gave over unto them those sheep. And He called another and spake unto him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than
62 I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record (namely) how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he
63 effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may **comprehend** and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my

51–67. Gradual declension of Israel till the Temple is destroyed.
51. **forsook . . . their house.** True only of the Ten Tribes.
that their house, 'that' in Eth. = τόν in Gk.
called . . . and sent, i.e. the prophets.
slay. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 4.
52. Elijah's escape and translation. Cf. xciii. 8.
from the sheep *gm.* Other MSS. 'from the hands of the sheep'.
54. **the Lord** + 'of the sheep' *β.*
invited that slaughter and betrayed His place, called in the heathen to help them and so betrayed Jerusalem. Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 7.
55. The fall of the two kingdoms, and their oppressors' names.
lions and tigers. Assyrians and Babylonians. In 56, 65 the 'lions' are the Babylonians. The 'wolves' are Egyptians, and perhaps the 'hyenas' are the Ethiopians.
56. God forsakes His city and people. Ep. Barn. xvi. 5 refers to this verse.
57. **Lord of the sheep.** 'Lord of the lions' *gmq.*
the wild beasts > *g.*
59. **seventy** *β.* 'seven' *a.* The 'seventy shepherds' raise the most vexed question in Enoch. They are certainly angels, for (1) they exist contemporaneously and receive their commission together, lxxxix. 59. (2) They are to protect the sheep, and only allow so many to be destroyed by the Gentiles. So they cannot be heathen rulers. (3) Men would have been symbolized by animals. (4) During the earlier period God was Israel's shepherd, now He withdraws and commits their pasturing to seventy of his angels. (5) The angel recorder of lxxxix. 61 is called 'another'. (6) In the judgement they are classed with the fallen angels, xc. 21–25. (7) God speaks directly to them. After the exile, Israel was not immediately shepherded by God but by His delegates. How was it that righteous Jews as well as apostates perished? Because of the faithlessness with which the seventy angels discharged their trust, and this faithlessness was to be punished in due time. The theory of the seventy shepherds is an extension of the conception of the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy periods of Daniel. The events between the fall of Jerusalem and the Messianic kingdom are divided into four periods (1) to the Return under Cyrus, (2) to the conquests of Alexander, (3) to the Seleucid conquests of Palestine, (4) to the Messiah's reign.
60. The number to be destroyed was a definite one.
61. **another,** in xc. 14, 22 an archangel and Israel's guardian angel, i.e. Michael. This task devolves on Enoch in xii. 3, xv. 1, xcii. 1; in 4 Ezra xiv. 22–26 on Ezra, in 2 En. xxii. 11 on Vretil. See *K. A. T.*[3] 400 sq.
63. **destroy** + 'of their own caprice' *bcefhnpx.*
comprehend, emended by very slight change.

64 command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which 65 the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.' And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered 66 those sheep into the hand of the lions. And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished 67 that house. And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

LXXXIX. 68–71. *First Period of the Angelic Rulers—from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Return from the Captivity.*

68 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other 69 in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them. And each one slew and destroyed many 70 more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep. And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep—(even) everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made 71 away with, and all that they had given over to destruction. And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

LXXXIX. 72–77. *Second Period—from the Time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great.*

72 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that 73 house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able. And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. 74 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of) their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruc- 75 tion, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (i.e. the 76 beasts), and they (i.e. the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts. And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings 77 of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds. And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

XC. 1–5. *Third Period—from Alexander the Great to the Graeco-Syrian Domination.*

90 1 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-**five** shepherds undertook the pasturing (of the sheep),

64. No interference allowed with the shepherds, but only a record of their evil deeds.
65, 66. The lions are the Babylonians, who destroy the 'tower' and the 'house'. Thus the shepherds begin about 590, or if the Assyrians are meant, about 720. For the 'wild boars', or Edomites, cf. Obad. 10–12; Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 sqq.; Isa. lxiii. 1–14; Ps. cxxxvii. 7.
68. **was written** *u*. 'should write' *g*. 'wrote' other MSS.
69. **lament** + 'very much' *β*.
70. The first period ends. It lasts twelve hours (*v*. 72), i.e. twelve shepherds' reigns. The periods are divided thus: 12 + 23 + 23 + 12.
71. **from his hand** *gmt*. 'in His hand' *β*.
72. **three of those sheep,** Zerubbabel, Joshua, and either Ezra or Nehemiah. The difference in their date is disregarded. Büchler holds that these = three tribes, Levi, Judah, and Benjamin. Cf. T. Joseph xix. 3.
wild boars. Here = Samaritans, not Edomites, as *v*. 66.
73. **named** + 'as before' *q*.
The bread . . . was polluted. Cf. Mal. i. 7 'polluted bread,' i.e. unclean offerings because of the unworthy and heathenized people and priesthood. Cf. Ass. Mosis. iv. 8.
75. The Dispersion.
76. **before the Lord** *g*. 'in the mansions of ('before' *β*) the Lord' *mqtu*, *β*.
the shepherds *gmq*. 'their shepherds' *t*, *β*.
gave testimony *mt*, *β*. 'it was heard' *gq*.
77. The second period ends with the fall of the Persian power, which lasts twenty-three hours.

XC. 1. **Thirty-five.** All the MSS. are corrupt. *qt*, *β–ky* read 'thirty-seven' (corrupted further in *qu*). In xc. 5 at the close of the third period the three periods are summed up as (12 +)23 + 23 = 58.

and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them into their
2 hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period. And after that I saw
in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the
eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to
3 devour their flesh. And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds,
4 and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep. And
I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh
nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell
5 to the earth and the sheep became few. And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the
pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

XC. 6–12. *Fourth Period—from the Graeco-Syrian Domination to the Maccabean Revolt.*

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see,
7 and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to
8 them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. And I saw in the
vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep
9 in pieces and devoured them. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast
down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes
10 were opened. And it †looked at† them [and their eyes opened], and it cried to the sheep, and the
11 rams saw it and all ran to it. And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens
and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the
12 sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. And those ravens fought and battled
with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

as . . . the first. As the twelve had fulfilled their times, so did the rest of the thirty-five.

others received them. Here we have the transition to the Greek period, i. e. from Alexander to the establishment (expected) of the Messianic kingdom. This period has two divisions: (1) twenty-three shepherds of the Graeco-Egyptian rule of Palestine, 330–200; (2) twelve shepherds of Graeco-Syrian rule from 200 till about 140 or 130.

2. The new world power—of the Greeks, is represented by a new order—birds of prey. The 'eagles' are the Greeks or Macedonians. The 'ravens' are the Syrians under the Seleucidae (*vv.* 8, 9, 12). The 'vultures' and 'kites' must be the Egyptians under the Ptolemies.

2–4. The Graeco-Egyptian domination.

3. **was being devoured** *a–u.* 'was devoured' *u*, *β*.

I looked *gqu.* 'I saw' *m.* 'I cried out' *t*, *β*.

4. **the dogs,** i. e. Philistines (lxxxix. 42, 46, 47).

neither flesh nor skin. Mic. iii. 2, 3.

5. **twenty-three** + 'shepherds' *t*, *β*.

6–17. The fourth and last period of heathen supremacy, the Graeco-Syrian domination over Israel, from 200 to 140 or 130 B. C. See Commentary *in loc.*

6. **behold** *a.* 'little' *β*.

began to open their eyes: rise of the Chasids, who existed previous to the Maccabean outbreak. See 1 Macc. ii. 42, iii. 13, and 1 En. xc. 9. They possessed all the enthusiasm and religious doctrine of the nation. While champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees they held advanced views on the Messianic kingdom and the Resurrection. The writer of these Dream-visions was evidently a Chasid. He teaches the Resurrection, the final judgement, and the kingdom of the Messiah, and above all he criticizes severely the moral and ceremonial irregularities in the services of the second temple (lxxxix. 73). For this writer the Chasid aims—the re-establishment of the Theocracy and the preparation for the Messianic kingdom—are bound up with the success of the Maccabean leader. This could not be the case after Jonathan's assumption of the high-priesthood in 153 B.C., which not merely alienated the Chasids from the Maccabean family, but made them its deadly enemies. Thus we date lxxxiii–xc before 153 B.C.

6–7. The Chasids or 'lambs' appeal in vain to the nation, owing to foreign oppression.

7. **Yea, they cried to them** *q*, i. e. the lambs cried to the sheep: 'but they (i. e. the sheep) did not cry to them' *g*: 'but they oppressed them' *m*: 'but they did not hear them' *t*: 'but the sheep did not cry to them' *β–ino.*

8. **one of those lambs.** Onias III, put to death by the Syrians in 171 B.C See 2 Macc. iv. 33–35.

9. **of one** *g.* 'one' other MSS.

The horned lambs must be the Maccabees, and the great horn must be Judas Maccabaeus. This section is thus earlier than Judas' death in 160 B. C. See my Commentary for further notes.

eyes were opened. Unlike the Chasids, the Maccabees do not appeal in vain.

opened + 'and their eyes saw' *gmt.*

10. **†looked at†.** For r'ĕja 'looked at' read r'ĕja 'pastured with'.

it cried *m*, *β-in.* 'they cried' *a–m.*

rams, a different word here from that in lxxxix. 42–44.

11, 12. Syria uses every effort against Judas but in vain.

12. **with it:** 'with them' *g*, *eh.*

its horn: 'their horn' *q.*

XC. 13–19. *The last Assault of the Gentiles on the Jews* (where *vv.* 13–15 and 16–18 are doublets).

13 And I saw till the †shepherds and† eagles and those vultures and kites came, and †they cried to the ravens† that they should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come.

16 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

19 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.

14 And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds [and] carried up into the presence of the Lord of the sheep [came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram].

17 And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.

15 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell †into His shadow† from before His face.

18 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

13–19. As early as 1893 I read *v.* 19 before *v.* 16, and bracketed 15 as a doublet of 18. Martin suggests that 13–15, and 16–18 are doublets. I have gone further as the text shows. Ver. 19 follows 13 (=16), and many emendations are still required.

13. The symbolism becomes looser here, and the 'vultures' and 'kites' are no longer restricted to the Graeco-Egyptians as in *v.* 2. See *v.* 16, and compare the varying reference of boars in lxxxix. 66 and 72. So perhaps here the vultures and kites are Ammon and Moab.

†shepherds and† (*g* omits 'and') i.e. רעים corrupt for ערבים 'ravens', probably due to a dittography in 13. See *v.* 16.

†they cried† i.e. יזעקו (or יצעקו) for יזעקו (or יצעקו) 'were gathered together'. See *v.* 16 again. The LXX thus mistranslates יזעקו in Judges vi. 34, 35, xviii. 22, Jos. viii. 16, 1 Sam. xiv. 20. So I read 'and I saw till the ravens and eagles and vultures and kites were gathered together,' &c.

16. **All**[1°]. 'and' *u*.

ravens and kites ∞ *m*.

came[1°] *gq*. 'brought' *mtu*, *β*.

all the sheep—in the nom. *g*, in the accus. *mqt*, *β*.

19. The sword is given to Israel to oppose the hosts of Gog and to avenge itself on its heathen oppressors; in xci. 12 the sword has a higher ethical significance, the judgement of oppression and sin.

14. The text is corrupt.

carried up has no object, but requires 'the book' as in *v.* 17.

opened in *v.* 17 can hardly be right as the books are opened later in *v.* 20. In any case the book would be carried up first. Cf. lxxxix. 70, 76. So I read here in *v.* 14 'and I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds, carried up (the book) into the presence of the Lord of the sheep'.

[came and helped . . . ram.] An intrusion. There is no intervention needed to save Israel which triumphs over Gog in *v.* 19. This clause, whether added in the Hebrew or the Greek, has a clear reference to the help which Michael gave to Judas Maccabaeus. See 2 Macc. xi. 6, 8. Michael is Israel's patron, as well as the heavenly scribe in these chapters.

helped it + 'and saved it' *g*.

for the help *g*. Other MSS. 'a help.'

17. **till he opened . . . destruction**: 'for it was opened by the command of the Lord concerning the destruction' *g*.

before the Lord of the sheep *mq*, *β*. 'formerly. 18. And the Lord of the sheep' *gtu*.

15, 18. God himself destroys Israel's last foes like Korah and his followers, Num. xvi. 31 sqq. This is the first act of the final judgement; the remaining acts are quite forensic.

15. **the Lord** *a–q*. 'that Lord' *q*, *β*.

† into His shadow † i.e. בצלו corrupt for מצאן 'from among the sheep'. *gm* read 'into the shadow'.

18. **And I saw till the Lord of the sheep ('of the sheep' > *m*) came unto them** *m*, *β*. > *q* through hmt. 'and the Lord of the sheep I saw till He came to those sheep (till the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *t*) *gt*, 'and the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *u*.

staff and **smote the earth** recall Num. xx. 11, while **the earth clave asunder** recalls Num. xvi. 31–33.

it covered them. The Ethiopic=ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς—a Hebraism. *g* is corrupt. > *u*.

XC. 20–27. *Judgement of the Fallen Angels, the Shepherds, and the Apostates.*

20 And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.
21 And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members
22 were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him. And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more
23 than I commanded them.' And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.
24 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full
25 of pillars of fire. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast
26 into that fiery abyss. And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and
27 cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house. And I saw those sheep burning†and their bones burning†.

XC. 28–42. *The New Jerusalem, the Conversion of the surviving Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, the Messiah. Enoch awakes and weeps.*

28 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried
29 it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.
30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying
31 them in every thing. And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they

20. **the pleasant land,** i.e. Palestine, cf. lxxxix. 40 and Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45. God's throne is set up in Jerusalem (*vv.* 28, 29). The books are opened as in Dan. vii. 10. See xlvii. 3 (note). The Messiah does not appear till after the judgement in lxxxiii–xc.
the other. Text has 'all' kuĕllô for kâl'û, and so reads 'and He took all the sealed books'.
21. **men** *a.* > *β.*
the seven *qtu, β.* 'and seven' *m.* > *g.*
seven first white ones. For these seven archangels cf. the Zoroastrian Amshaspands, and Tobit xii. 15; Rev. i. 4; iv. 5; viii. 2. See Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter* pp. 281, 282, &c.; *Jewish Encycl.* i. 590.
bring *gm, β.* 'come' *qtu.*
before Him. > *gu, d.*
star. See lxxxvi–lxxxviii.
all the stars, &c. So I emended in 1893, with Dillmann.
horses + 'and the first star which went out (*g*; other MSS. 'fell') first'—a dittograph.
22–25. The shepherds are judged along with the fallen Watchers.
22. **said unto him** *mtu, β-hox₁b.* 'said unto them' *gq,hox₁b.*
23. *g* has only 'And behold they were all bound before Him'.
24. **an abyss full of fire.** Their final prison, as in x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7–10, liv. 6. Contrast xviii. 12.
flaming and full of: 'flaming with' *g.*
26. The Apostates are cast into Gehenna, south of Jerusalem ('to the right', &c.).
27. The Apostates suffer in view of the blessed Jerusalem. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 24, 1 En. xlviii. 9 (note).
and their bones. Read 'yea their very selves'—a Hebrew idiom; עצם='self'.
28, 29. The old Jerusalem removed and the new set up. Cf. O.T. prophecy: Ezek. xl–xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12; lx; Hagg. ii. 7–9; Zech. ii. 6–13. A New Jerusalem descending from heaven is a familiar idea in Jewish Apocalypses. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 26; xiii. 36; 2 Bar. xxxii. 2; Rev. xxi. 2, 10.
28. **folded up,** *np(y)*: 'submerged' *gqtu, β–npy.*
29. **and** (>*g*) **all the sheep were within it** *a–m, acdiklo₁a₁b.* 'and (>*m*) the Lord of the sheep was within it' *m, befhnpvx.* The omission of 'and' in *gm* suggests that we should read 'from which He had sent forth all the sheep', by reading 'abâgʿa for 'abâgʿĕ and prefixing 'ĕ to mâ'ĕkalâ.
30. Conversion of the surviving Gentiles and their spontaneous submission to Israel. Cf. Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19–21, &c. Contrast the later Jewish view, Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 384–387, 395.
and obeying them *mt, β.* >*gqu.*
in every thing, lit. 'in every word'.
31. **those three,** &c. see lxxxvii. 2, 3.
that ram, seemingly Elijah, lxxxix. 52.

32 took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep†before the judgement took place†. And those
33 sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to
34 His house. And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep
35 were invited into that house, but it held them not. And the eyes of them all were opened, and they
36 saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.
37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the
38 birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a **lamb**, and that **lamb** became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep
39 rejoiced over **it** and over all the oxen. And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.
40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and
41 gave Him glory. Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and
42 be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision.

Section V. XCI—CIV (i.e. XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19, XCIII. 1–10, XCI. 12–17, XCIV—CIV).

A Book of Exhortation and promised Blessing for the Righteous and of Malediction and Woe for the Sinners.

XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19. *Enoch's Book of Admonition for his Children.*

92 1 The book written by Enoch—[Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth] for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

before the judgement took place. These words are awkward here.

32. **white**=righteous; abundant and clean wool=righteousness in large measure. Cf. Isa. i. 26; iv. 3; lx. 21.

33. The righteous dead will rise to share in the kingdom. Cf. li. 1. Also the dispersion are gathered into it. Cf. Mic. iv. 6, 7.

rejoiced. Cf. Isa. lxii. 3–5; lxv. 19.

34. Israel's sword sealed and preserved as a memorial.

into the house *g*. 'into His house' *mqt*, *β*.

were invited *g*. Other MSS. 'were enclosed'.

it held them not. Cf. Isa. xlix. 19–21; Zech. ii. 4; x. 10.

37. **a white bull.** The Messiah emerges from the bosom of the community. He is not angelic, but human, yet superior to the righteous symbolized by sheep. As human he corresponds to the Messiah of the prophets, not that of the Parables (apocalyptic). He has, however, no function and comes after the judgement. The Messiah-hope was practically dead while such a leader as Judas lived. Later some revived the O.T. Messiah, the Son of David as in Pss. Solomon (70–40 B.C.), others followed the idea of the supernatural Son of Man given us in the Parables (94–70 B.C.).

38. All the members of the kingdom are transformed, and the Messiah becomes a lamb. Their life is now apparently unending, and there is a return to the primitive righteousness of Eden, i.e. Adam was a white bull.

a lamb. The text corruptly runs 'the first became among them (*a–u*, *aikn*: 'among them became' *bcdlox*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*) a word and that word became a great animal'. I no longer consider that the corruption arose in the Greek, i.e. *ῥῆμα* for *ρημ* a transliteration of רְאֵם, but follow Goldschmidt (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. 91) in tracing it to the Hebrew, i.e. מלה 'word' for טלה 'lamb'. This correction is supported by Test. Joseph xix. 3–9, where the three harts first become three lambs, and then with the other nine harts become twelve sheep. Again there in *vv*. 5–9 the bull-calf (=Judas Maccabaeus) becomes a lamb, and yet as a lamb overcomes and destroys the beasts and reptiles who attack him. The lamb, or rather the horned lamb, is the nation's head, indeed its Messianic head. Here the Testaments seem to be dependent on 1 Enoch.

great *a*. 'great and' *β*.

black seems wrong here.

40. Cf. xxii. 14.

XCI–XCIV. I have rearranged these chapters in what was apparently their original order (see above) and treated the Apocalypse of Weeks, i.e. xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, as an earlier fragment incorporated by the author of xci–civ or the editor of the whole book. Beer, however, taking xci. 1–11, 18–19 as the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks, rearranges the order as xci. 1–11, 18–19, xciii, xci. 12–17, xcii, xciv.

XCII. The beginning of the new book composed of xci–civ. The original order was xcii, xci. 1–10, 18–19, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, xciv, as printed here.

1. **The book . . . indeed wrote** (*g*). Other MSS. 'written by Enoch the scribe'. For 'scribe' cf. xii. 3, 4.

[Enoch indeed . . . all the earth]. An interpolation.

this complete doctrine of wisdom (which is) praised, *a–t*. *t* reads 'of the' for 'this'. *β–y* read 'is praised' after 'wisdom'.

a judge of all the earth. For wisdom as God's assessor see lxxxiv. 3 (note).

2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times;
For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep,
[Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness,
And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness,
And He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness,
And he shall walk in eternal light.

5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever,
And shall no more be seen from that day for·evermore.

XCI. 1–10, 18–19. *Enoch's Admonition to his Children.*

91 1 'And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers
And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother;
For the word calls me,
And the spirit is poured out upon me,
That I may show you everything
That shall befall you for ever.'

2 And thereupon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.
3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said:

'Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father,
And hearken aright to the voice of my mouth;
For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:

4 Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,

But walk in righteousness, my sons.
And it shall guide you on good paths,
And righteousness shall be your companion.

5 For I know that violence **must** increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end:

Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

2. The times though evil are ordained of God.
the Holy and Great One *gq*, el_1a: 'the Holy Great One' *mt*, β-el_1a. See i. 3 (note).
3. **the righteous one.** Used collectively as in xci. 10.
the righteous one . . . sleep, [shall arise]. *g* reads 'and wisdom shall arise'.
4. **the righteous** *tu*, β: *gq* = 'righteousness'.
power. Uprightness and power will no longer be dissevered.
he shall *mt*, β. 'they shall' *gqu*.
in eternal light. See xxxviii. 4 (note).
5. Cf. x. 16, 20.

XCI. 1. Enoch calls his sons together. Cf. lxxxi. 5, 6.
all thy brothers . . . all the sons of thy mother ∞ *g*.
all the sons. Their names are given in 2 En. i. 10, lvii. 2.
3. **unto all the children of righteousness** *gq*, y_1b. 'to all (> *u*, + 'his children' *t*) concerning his(> β-$ehny_1a_1b$) righteousness' *mtu*, β-$ehny_1a_1b$.
beloved *a*-*u*. 'my beloved' β.
4. **love uprightness,** &c. Cf. xciv. 1.
draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart. Cf. Sir. i. 25. Cf. Ps. xii. 2; Jas. i. 8.
associate not, &c. > *gu* through hmt. Cf. xciv. 2, 3, civ. 6.
in righteousness, my sons. 'in uprightness and righteousness' *g*.
good paths. Perhaps a reference to the Two Ways. Cf. *v*. 19.
5. The Deluge.
violence must increase. Emended easily from text which = 'the state of violence shall increase.'
cut off from its roots, cf. *vv*. 8, 11.

6 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.

7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,

A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
To execute judgement on earth.

8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,

And they (i.e. the heathen) shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.

10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.

11 [And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword . . . shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.]

18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you
The paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.
Yea, I will show them to you again
That ye may know what will come to pass.
19 And now, hearken unto me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

XCIII, XCI. 12–17. *The Apocalypse of Weeks.*

93 1, 2 And after that Enoch both †gave† and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said:

7, 8. This fresh development of wickedness will call forth the final judgement.
7. **in all** *a–q*. 'and all' *q*, *β*.
and transgression > *gu*.
from heaven > *g*.
And > *gmt*.
Lord + 'upon earth' *g*.
8. **And the roots** *mtu*, *β*. > *gq*. Cf. *vv*. 5, 11.
And (> *u*, *bcfhp*) **they shall be destroyed** *mtu*, *β*. > *gq*.
9. The absolute rejection of the heathen seems to be taught here, the prevailing, though not the universal, belief of later Judaism. Contrast *v*. 14.
10. **the righteous.** The singular used collectively, as in xcii. 3. In xci-civ only the righteous attain to the Resurrection. See li. 1 (note).
their sleep *gmq*, *x*. 'his sleep' *tu*, *β–x*.
wisdom. See xlii. 1, 2 (note).
11. This verse is an interpolation by the final editor, added to introduce *vv*. 12–17, which originally followed xciii. 1–10. Judgement has already been consummated in xci. 7–9, and the resurrection attained xci. 10. Verse 11 reverts to the period of the sword—which precedes the Resurrection (xc. 19, xci. 12; cf. c. 4, 5).
12–17. I read these verses after xciii. 14.
18. **will show** *m*, *β*. 'have shown' *gqt*. > *u*.
19. **hearken unto me** *qtu*. 'hearken' *β*. > *g*.
And 2° > *g*.
paths of righteousness . . . paths of violence. For 'paths' cf. xciv. 1, 2, 4. This is one of the earliest non-canonical references to the Two Ways. See Test. Ash. i. 3, 5; 2 En. xxx. 15 (note).

XCIII. 1–10. An account of the great events of the world during the first seven weeks of its history, which are already past. The three last weeks of xci. 12–17 belong to the future. This Apocalypse of weeks refers to the Dream-visions, lxxxiii–xc, but not being by the same author is irreconcilable with them. The ten weeks are not definite and equal periods, but of varying length, each marked, especially towards its close, by some great event, e.g.

'Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world,
And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things,
Yea, I Enoch will declare (them) unto you, my sons:

According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision,
And which I have known through the word of the holy angels,
And have learnt from the heavenly tablets.'

3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said:
'I was born the seventh in the first week,
While judgement and righteousness still endured.

4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness,
And deceit shall have sprung up;
And in it there shall be the first end.

And in it a man shall be saved;
And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up,
And a law shall be made for the sinners.

5 And after that in the third week at its close
A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement,
And **his posterity** shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close,
Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen,
And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close,
The house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

8 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded,
And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.

And in it a man shall ascend;
And at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire,
And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

the first by Enoch's birth, the third by Abraham's call, the seventh by the publication of Enoch's writings. In the eighth the Messianic kingdom is established and lasts to the close of the tenth week. The final judgement in xci. 15 is held at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

1. **†gave†** *a–mt.* 'was' *t*, *β*. I cannot explain this corruption.
and began. > *a–g.*
the books. Cf. xxxiii. 3, 4, xl. 8, lxxiv. 2, lxxxi. 1, 2.

2. These disclosures are for the children of righteousness. Cf. xcii. 1.
the elect of the world. Here only in Enoch.
the plant of uprightness. See x. 16 (note).
uprightness *a–q.* 'righteousness' (+ 'and uprightness' *β*) *q*, *β*.
will declare *gq*, *β*. 'have declared' *mtu.*
heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

3. **Enoch** > *mqt.*
seventh in the first week. Cf. 'seventh from Adam', Jude 14; also Gen. v. 24 where he is the seventh of the patriarchs. This does not imply that each week = exactly seven generations, as the sixth and seventh must = fourteen or more.
still endured. i.e. goodness still prevailed. Or we may render 'were still held back', i.e. the Deluge was not yet.

4. **great wickedness.** This growth of wickedness should belong to Jared's days as in vi. 6 and cvi. 13. The Deluge and the covenant with Noah (a law for the sinners) occur in this week.
a law shall be made *q*, *n.* Also *gmu* read 'law' in the nom., cf. *v.* 6. *t*, *β–n* read 'He will make a law'.

5. Abraham and his seed are chosen to reveal God's righteous judgements. Cf. x. 16 (note) and xciii. 2, 10.
his posterity shall become. Text reads 'after him (or 'it') it shall come' (or 'become').

6. **Visions.** Divine manifestations in favour of Israel in Egypt.
Visions of the holy and righteous *mq*, *β*. *u* omits 'and righteous'. *g* reads 'visions . . . righteousness . *t* = 'holy and righteous visions'.
a law, given on Sinai, binding for all time. Cf. xcix. 2.
an enclosure, i.e. Palestine. Cf. lxxxix. 2.

7. The Temple will stand for ever, though one form of it may give place to another. In xci–civ proper, there appears to be no Temple after the final judgement. The risen righteous enjoy a purely spiritual existence like the angels. Cf. Jub. and possibly Pss. Sol.

8. The divided kingdoms, Elijah (lxxxix. 52), the Temple's fall and the Captivity.
chosen root *g*, *β*. 'root of might' *mqt.*

9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise,
And many shall be its deeds,
And all its deeds shall be apostate.

10 And at its close shall be elected
The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness,
To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

11 [For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? and who is there that can behold all the works
12 of heaven? And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see
13 all their ends and think them or do like them? And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them?
14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?]

XCI. 12–17. *The Last Three Weeks.*

91 12 And after that there shall be another, the eighth week, that of righteousness,
And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors,
And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous.

13 And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness,
And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore,
14*d* And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.

14*a* And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement shall be revealed to the whole world,
b And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth,
c And the world shall be written down for destruction.

15 And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part,
There shall be the great eternal judgement,
In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels.

9. From the captivity to the author's time an apostate period. Cf. lxxxix. 73–75.
apostate 1° > *gm*.

10. The writer's own disclosures are to be made known at the end of the seventh week. For the extravagant claims he makes cf. Sir. xxiv. 28–32.
shall be elected *a*, *acfhikn*: 'shall be recompensed' *bdlopxy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*.
The elect righteous *q*, *abefhikx*. Cf. i. 1 Greek Version. *t* supports this *g*,*dloy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b* read 'the elect of righteousness'. *m* 'the righteous'. *u* 'the elect'. These alone will receive the revelations. Cf. c. 6, civ. 12, 13.

XCIII. 11–14. These verses are quite out of place in their present context, and suit rather the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries lxxii–lxxix, lxxxii; but are foreign to the whole tone of this book, xci–civ.

11. **the voice of the Holy One**, i. e. the thunder. Cf. Job xxxvii. 4, 5; Ps. xxix.
think His thoughts. Cf. Job v. 9, ix. 10, xxxviii. 33; Ps. xl. 5, xcii. 5; Eccles. xi. 5.

12. **a soul** *gmq*, *bxy*: 'His breath' *t*, *β–bxy*.
a spirit *mtu*, *bxy* (*gq* corrupt): 'His spirit' *β–bxy*.
Enoch's journey through heaven and Hades is referred to.
their ends, i. e. of the things of heaven. But the text may be corrupt for 'their causes'.

13. Not given in Enoch. Cf. Job xxxviii. 4, 5.

14. Not given in Enoch. Jer. xxxi. 37; Job xi. 8.
founded. Cf. xviii. 2, 3.

XCI. 12–17. These verses giving an account of the last three weeks of the world's history are here restored to their place after xciii. 1–10, the account of the first seven weeks.

12. The eighth week sees the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, and the first act of the final judgement—the period of the sword (xc. 19), when the wicked are given into the hand of the righteous. Cf. xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcviii. 12, xcix. 4, 6, also xxxviii. 5.

13. After strife will follow rest and quiet possession of the earth. Cf. Isa. lx. 21, 22, lxv. 20–23.
a house . . . for the Great King. The temple, and also Jerusalem. *g* reads 'the house of the Great King shall be built'.

14. This verse may refer to the conversion of the Gentiles, as l. 2–5, xc. 30, 33, 35, cf. 14^{d}. Or it may refer to the open punishment by God of the wicked. Cf. 14^{c}.
the works of the godless shall vanish. Cf. x. 16, 20, 21.
the world . . . for destruction *m*, *β*: 'He shall write down (i.e. decree) the destruction of the world' *g*: 'He shall write down the world for destruction' *t*: > *u*: *q* = a corruption of *g* (?). This is to take place in the end of the tenth week.

15. **There shall be . . . angels** *a–t*. The structure of the stanza supports this text. *t*,*β–in* insert a gloss and read 'There shall be the eternal judgement. And it shall be executed on the watchers of the eternal heaven, The great (judgement) in which He will execute vengeance among the angels.'

16 And the first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear,
And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.

17 And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever,
And all shall be in goodness and righteousness,
And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.

XCIV. 1–5. *Admonitions to the Righteous.*

94 1 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein;
For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation,
But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed,
And they shall hold themselves afar from them,
And shall not follow them.

3 And now I say unto you the righteous:
Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death,
And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.

4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life,
And walk in the paths of peace,
And ye shall live and prosper.

5 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts,
And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts;

For I know that sinners will tempt men to **evilly-entreat** wisdom,
So that no place may be found for her,
And no manner of temptation may minish.

XCIV. 6–11. *Woes for the Sinners.*

6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression
And lay deceit as a foundation;
For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
And they shall have no peace.

7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin;
For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown,
And by the sword shall they fall.
[And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.]

16. **a new heaven** (cf. Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; Ps. cii. 26), but no new earth. Cf. civ. 2 (note). For a new creation, cf. xlv. 4, lxxii. 1 (note).
sevenfold. Isa. xxx. 26, lx. 19, 20.
light. *mqt*, *β–ahk* add 'for ever'.
17. End of Apocalypse of Weeks.
And all *g*. > other MSS.

XCIV. Introduces the practical part of this section.
1. **love righteousness.** Cf. xci. 3.
worthy of acceptation *t*, *β* (cf. 1 Tim. 1. 15): 'worthy and acceptable' *gmq*: 'worthy' *u*.
paths of unrighteousness . . . destroyed. Cf. Ps. i. 6. On the 'Two Ways' see xci. 19 (note).
2. The revelations through Moses and the Prophets.
paths . . . of death. Cf. Prov. xiv. 12; Jer. xxi. 8.
3. **paths** *gmt*, *bx*: 'path' *β–bx*.
wickedness + 'and of violence' *β*.
draw not nigh. Cf. xci. 4, civ. 6.
4. **But seek.** *g* reads 'as those who seek evil' and connects with preceding verse.
And ye shall *gmq*. 'that ye may' *t*, *β*.
5. **to evilly-entreat.** Text = 'to make . . . evil' = κακοποιεῖν.
no place. Cf. xlii. 1.
6–10. Woes, cf. Isa. v. 8–25; Matt. xxiii. 13–33, &c.
6. **build.** Cf. xci. 5 ('structure').
have no peace. Cf. xcviii. 11, 16, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, also v. 4 (note).
7. **build their houses with sin**: from Jer. xxii. 13. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 13.
[**And those . . . perish**]. The subject of 'riches' comes in the next verse, and this clause spoils the stanza here.

8 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches,
And from your riches shall ye depart,
Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.

9 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness,
And have become ready for the day of slaughter,
And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.

10 Thus I speak and declare unto you:
He who hath created you will overthrow you,
And for your fall there shall be no compassion,
And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

11 And your righteous ones in those days shall be
A reproach to the sinners and the godless.

XCV. *Enoch's Grief: fresh Woes against the Sinners.*

95 1 Oh that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters
That I might weep over you,
And pour down my tears as a cloud †of waters†:
That so I might rest from my trouble of heart!

2 †Who has permitted you to practise reproaches and wickedness?
And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.†

3 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous;
For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands,
That ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.

4 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed:
Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.

5 Woe to you who requite your neighbour with evil;
For ye shall be requited according to your works.

6 Woe to you, lying witnesses,
And to those who weigh out injustice,
For suddenly shall ye perish.

7 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous;
For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice,
And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

9. **day of slaughter,** &c. See xlv. 2 (note). Cf. James v. 1–5.
And the day of darkness. > *g*, *a*.
10. **your Creator will rejoice,** &c. Contrast Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, xxxiii. 11, and cf. Pss. ii. 3, 4; xxxvii. 12, 13; 1 En. lxxxix. 58 and xcvii. 2.
11. This stanza is imperfect.

XCV. 1. **Oh that,** &c. From Jer. ix. 1. Quoted by 2 Bar. xxxv. 2.
[a cloud of] i.e. ענן a doublet for עיני 'my eyes' or a corruption of עין 'a spring'.
cloud †of waters†. Read 'cloud (pours) rain', i.e. זרם 'rainstorm' for מים 'waters'.
2. **†Who has permitted you** *g*, *β* (=מי נתנכם). But *a–g* read, and possibly rightly, 'Oh that ye were' (=מי יתנכם). Then, either omitting with *g* 'to practise', or emending it to 'become', and adopting the subjunctive in the next line with *β*, and not the indicative in *a*, we have:

Oh that ye were become a reproach and an evil,
And that so judgement might overtake you, sinners.

3. **again,** as in the first Maccabean victories. Though now even the Maccabean princes are Sadducees, the righteous will again prevail.
into your hands. Cf. xci. 12.
4. Cf. viii. 3. Magical practices and incantations are referred to, but the expression is strange.
which cannot be reversed *m*. For 'cannot' *gq* reads 'can': 'which you cannot reverse' *t*, *β*.
5. **requite . . . with evil.** Cf. Prov. xx. 22, xxiv. 29; Rom. xii. 17.
requited according to your works. Cf. c. 7; Judges i. 7.
7. **ye shall be delivered up** *g*. 'Ye shall deliver up' other MSS.
and persecuted *a–gt*, *β–a*. 'and shall persecute' *gt*, *a*.
its yoke *gmq*. 'their yoke' *t*, *β*.

XCVI. *Grounds of Hopefulness for the Righteous: Woes for the Wicked.*

6 1 Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you,
And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.

2 [And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
Your children shall mount and rise as eagles,
And higher than the vultures will be your nest,
And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth,
And the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous,
And the sirens shall sigh because of you—and weep.]

3 Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered;
For healing shall be your portion,
And a bright light shall enlighten you,
And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.

4 Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous,
But your hearts convict you of being sinners,
And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of (your) evil deeds.

5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
And drink **wine in large bowls,**
And tread under foot the lowly with your might.

6 Woe to you who drink water **from every fountain,**
For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away,
Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.

7 Woe to you who work unrighteousness
And deceit and blasphemy:
It shall be a memorial against you for evil.

8 Woe to you, ye mighty,
Who with might oppress the righteous;
For the day of your destruction is coming.

In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous—in the day of your judgement.

XCVII. *The Evils in Store for Sinners and the Possessors of Unrighteous Wealth.*

7 1 Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame
And perish in the day of unrighteousness.

2 Be it known unto you (ye sinners) that the Most High is mindful of your destruction,
And the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

XCVI. The righteous are to hope for the coming Messianic kingdom.

1. **lordship.** Cf. xci. 12 (note), xcv. 3, 7, xcviii. 12.

2. Interpolation. The wicked will hide themselves, not the righteous, in the coming time; xcvii. 3, c. 4, cii. 1, civ. 5. But the first three lines may be original.

tribulation of the sinners. Is it suffered or caused by the sinners?

mount and rise. From Isa. xl. 31.

higher than the vultures. Cf. Jer. xlix. 16.

enter the crevices, &c. Isa. ii. 10, 19, 21, from the presence of the Lord, not as here 'before the unrighteous'—a clumsy insertion.

the sirens: 'as the sirens' *qt*, *β*. These may be satyrs or sirens—by the same word the Eth. version renders σειρῆνες in Isa. xiii. 21, Jer. xxvii. (l.) 39.

3. **a bright light.** See xxxviii. 4 (note).

4. Prosperity was a mark of righteousness, in the O.T. doctrine of retribution.

5. **The finest of the wheat.** Ps. lxxxi. 16, cxlvii. 14.

wine in large bowls, i. e. not in ordinary wine-cups. Cf. the flagons of the magnates in Samaria, Amos vi. 6. The text is corrupt = 'the strength of the root of the fountain' = כֹּח עִיקַּר עַיִן which I emend to בְּמִזְרְקֵי יַיִן = the phrase in Amos.

6. The self-indulgent life will fail, for want of the fountain of true life. Cf. Jer. ii. 13; Ps. xxxvi. 9.

drink water from every fountain. Text corruptly reads בְּכָל־עֵת for מִכָּל־עַיִן.

shall ye be consumed *mqt*. 'shall ye be requited and consumed' *g*, *β*. > *u* (defective).

forsaken. Cf. Jer. ii. 13.

7. Cf. xci. 8, xciv. 6, 9.

8. **many and good days:** a temporary Messianic kingdom, in which the righteous then alive will share.

XCVII. Woes of the wicked.

1. **the day of unrighteousness,** i. e. the judgement day. See xlv. 2 (note).

2. **angels . . . rejoice,** &c. Cf. xciv. 10 and contrast Luke xv. 10. **angels of heaven** *a–n*. 'angels' *β–n*.

3 What will ye do, ye sinners,
And whither will ye flee on that day of judgement,
When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them,
Against whom this word shall be a testimony:
"Ye have been companions of sinners."

5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord,
And for you the days of your judgement shall come.
6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One,
And your faces shall be covered with shame,
And He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.

7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land,
Whose remembrance is evil against you.

8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say:
"We have become rich with riches and have possessions;
And have acquired everything we have desired.

9 And now let us do what we purposed:
For we have gathered silver,
9c And many are the husbandmen in our houses."
9d And our granaries are (brim) full as with water,
10 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away;
For your riches shall not abide
But speedily ascend from you;

For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness,
And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

XCVIII. *Self-indulgence of Sinners: Sin originated by Man: all Sin recorded in Heaven Woes for the Sinners.*

98 1 And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,
For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.

2 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman,
And coloured garments more than a virgin:
In royalty and in grandeur and in power,
And in silver and in gold and in purple,
And in splendour and in food they shall be poured out as water.

3. **prayer of the righteous.** Cf. *v.* 5, and xlvii. 2, xcvii. 3, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3, and Rev. vi. 10.
4. **shall fare** *gqu.* *mt*, β read 'shall not fare'.
Against whom *g.* 'for against you' *t.* 'ye against whom' *mq*, β.
this word. Cf. xcvi. 4. Note the Pharisaic idea of separateness from the unrighteous.
5. **righteous** *a–g*, β–*afhikpv.* 'holy' *g*, *afhikpv.*
6. **all the words of** *mqt*, β–*a.* 'all' *g.*
shall be read out, from the books. See xlvii. 3 (note). Cf. Matt. xii. 36.
Great Holy One, g_1gmq, *n.* 'Great and Holy One' *tu*, β–n_1a. See i. 3 (note), xcii. 2 (note).
covered with shame. Cf. xlvi. 6, lxii. 10, lxiii. 11.
He will reject every work *gqt.* 'every work shall be rejected' *mu*, β.
7. **remembrance.** Cf. c. 10, 11, civ. 8.
8. Cf. xciv. 7, 8 (note); also Sir. xi. 19; Luke xii. 19.
with riches *mqt*, β. >*gu.*
9. **And many** g_1g, $_1b$. 'many' *qt*, β–$_1b$.
as with water $_1g$. Other MSS. prefix 'and'. Note the rejoinder in 10a.
10. A rejoinder to the boasting of the sinners.
your riches *u.* 'riches with you' *a–u*, β.
riches shall . . . ascend, &c. Prov. xxiii. 5.
all *gmt*, β–*n.* > $_1gqu$.

XCVIII. A new division begins, xcviii–cii. 3, a denunciation of the sinners' errors in life and doctrine. Their coming judgement.
1. **I swear.** Here first, but frequently after, in verses 4, 6, xcix. 6, &c.
wise and . . . foolish. xcviii–cii. 3 to the foolish; cii. 4–civ to the wise.
to the foolish *mu*, β: 'not to the foolish' g_1gqt.
2. Their personality will be lost in their possessions, as water is lost in the earth. Cf. Ps. xxii. 14 for the phrase.

3 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom,
And they shall perish thereby together with their possessions;
And with all their glory and their splendour,
And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution,
Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.

4 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave,
And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman,
Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth,
But man of himself has created it,
And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.

5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman,
But on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.

6 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One,
That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens,
And that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.

7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see
8 that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. From henceforth ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of your judgement.

9 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: and ye transgress against the wise,
10 and so good hap shall not be your portion. And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of tribulation and great shame for your spirits.

11 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood:
Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace.
12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut
13 off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you. Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation
14 of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you. Woe to you who set at nought the words of
15 the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life. Woe to you who write down lying and godless words; for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards (their)
16 neighbour. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

3. **Their spirits**: cf. verse 10, ciii. 8. As incorporeal spirits the wicked are cast into the final place of punishment.
into the furnace of fire g_1g, β. > *mqtu*.
4. Sin is of man's own devising. See lxix. 11 (note). Contrast c. 4. It is not original or unavoidable, but voluntary, and therefore punished. Cf. 2 Baruch xviii. 2, liv. 15.
mountain, הר is masc. in Heb. while גבעה='hill' is feminine.
5. The instance is an illustration of the general law. Cf. Hos. ix. 14.
barrenness *tu*, β–n^1: 'simulation', or 'excuse' g_1gmq, n^1.
6–8. God does concern Himself with men's deeds. Cf. Job xxii. 13; Ps. lxxiii. 11.
6. **Holy Great One,** *gqtu*. 'Holy and Great One' $_1gm$, β.
7. **recorded.** Cf. xcvii. 6, xcviii. 8, c. 10, civ. 7, 8.
8. **From henceforth,** after the publication of Enoch's book.
9. **transgress against** g_1g: 'know not' *m*: 'tend not' *q*: 'hearken not to' *t*, β.
10. **prepared.** xciv. 9.
no ransom. Ps. xlix. 7, 8, 9.
for ye $_1g$, β: 'and ye' *q*: 'ye' *mqt*.
day of the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
for your spirits, see verse 3.
11. **obstinate of heart**: c. 8.
who work: 2nd sing. in *t*, β: 3rd sing. in g_1gmq. But only β has 'eat' in 2nd sing.
eat blood. Cf. vii. 5; Jubilees vii. 28–32, xxi. 6; Acts xv. 29.
the Lord *a*–*m*. 'our Lord' *m*, β.
no peace. See v. 4 (note), also *v*. 16 below.
12. **into the hands of the righteous.** See xci. 12 (note).
13. No burial. Cf. Jer. viii. 2, xxii. 19.
shall be dug for you, 'of yours shall be seen' g_1g.
14. **no hope of life,** &c. Cf. xcviii. 10.
15. Cf. civ. 10. Note the literary strife here revealed between Hellenist and Pharisee.
act godlessly towards *gqtu*. β inserts a negative and this necessitates a change of rendering, 'not forget'.
neighbour *a*. 'folly' β.
16. **a sudden death.** Cf. xciv. 1, 6, 7, xcv. 6, xcvi. 1, 6.

XCIX. *Woes pronounced on the Godless, the Lawbreakers: evil Plight of Sinners in the Last Days: further Woes.*

99 1 Woe to you who work godlessness,
And glory in lying and extol them:
Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

2 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness,
And transgress the eternal law,
And transform themselves into what they were not [into sinners]:
They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.

3 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial,
And place them as a testimony before the angels,
That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.

4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up,
And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

5 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children,
And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them:
Yea, they shall abandon their children (that are still) sucklings, and not return to them,
And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.

6, 7 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed. And they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood ⟨and stone⟩ and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts,
And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts
And through visions in their dreams.

9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful;
For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie,
And shall have worshipped a stone:
Therefore in an instant shall they perish.

10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them,
And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness,
And become not godless with the godless;
For they shall be saved.

XCIX. 1. Here the admirers of Hellenistic literature are denounced. Cf. xciv. 5, xcviii. 15.
to you *a–$_1$g*. 'to them' $_1$*g*, *β*. MSS. constantly confuses 2nd and 3rd person.
2. **to them** *g$_1$gm*. 'to you' *qtu*, *β*.
the eternal law, i. e. of Moses. Cf. v. 4, xcix. 14.
transform themselves, adopt Gentile customs, become apostates, and possibly undergo the operation mentioned in Ass. Mos. viii. 3.
[into sinners]. A gloss.
3. **your prayers**. See xcvii. 3 (note).
place them . . . before the angels. For angelic mediation cf. ix. 2–11, and in O.T. Job v. 1; Zech. i. 12; in N.T. only Rev. viii. 3, 4. See too my notes in T. Levi iii. 5; T. Dan vi. 2.
place them *a*. 'ye have placed them' *β*.
the Most High, in all sections of the book; ix. 3, x. 1, xlvi. 7, lx. 1, 22, lxii. 7, lxxvii. 1, xciv. 8, xcvii. 2, xcviii. 7, 11, xcix. 3, 10, ci. 1, 6, 9.
4. Wars, tumults, and the period of the sword. Cf. xc. 19, &c.
shall be *t*, *β*. 'are' *a–$_1$gt*.
shall arise *t*, *β*. 'shall raise up' *a-mt*.
5. **abandon them** *a*. 'abandon their children' *β*.
6—C. 6. Denunciation of idolatry.
day of unceasing bloodshed. See xci. 12 (note), xlv. 2 (note). Quoted by Tertullian *De Idol.* iv. See my Comm. on 1 En. *in loc.*
7. **⟨and stone⟩** inserted from Tertullian.
impure *β*. 'evil' *a*.
demons. Cf. xvi. 1, xix. 1, also Rev. ix. 20.
not according to knowledge, *gqt*($_1$*gu*), Tert.: 'in idols' temples' *β*.
8. Idolaters go from bad to worse. Cf. Wisdom xiv. 12, 27; Rom. i. 21.
10. Salvation is for those who accept the true wisdom.
of His righteousness *a–u*. 'of righteousness' *u*, *β*.

11 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbours;
For you shall be slain in Sheol.

12 Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures,
And (to them) who cause bitterness on the earth;
For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

13 Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others,
And all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin;
I tell you ye shall have no peace.

14 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers
And whose souls follow after idols;
For they shall have no rest.

15 Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression,
And slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.

16 For He shall cast down your glory,
And bring affliction on your hearts,
And shall arouse **His fierce indignation**
And destroy you all with the sword;
And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

C. *The Sinners destroy each other: Judgement of the Fallen Angels: the Safety of the Righteous: further Woes for the Sinners.*

100 1 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten
And brothers one with another shall fall in death
Till the streams flow with their blood.

2 For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons' sons,
And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honoured brother:
From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.

3 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners,
And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

4 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places
And gather together into one place all those who brought down sin,
And the Most High will arise on that day of judgement
To execute great judgement amongst sinners.

11. **slain in Sheol.** Cf. cviii. 3—the extreme penalty of sin. Condemnation to Sheol is less severe than the slaying of the soul. Cf. xxii. 13. Sheol is here the eternal place of punishment. See lxxiii. 10 (note).
12. **measures** *a–mt, i*[1]. 'foundations' *t, β–i.*
cause bitterness *mt, β.* 'know' *gq.* tempt' $_1g$.
13. **build . . . toil of others.** Cf. Jer. xxii. 13; also 1 En. xciv. 7, xcvii. 8.
14. **the measure and eternal heritage,** the Mosaic law. Cf. *v.* 2.
whose souls follow after $_1gm$. 'and follow after the souls of' *guqt.* 'who cause their souls to follow after' *β.*
have no rest. Cf. the sufferings of the righteous, ciii. 13; also 'no peace', xciv. 6.
15. **to them** $_1gu$, *β.* 'to you' *gmqt.*
day of the great judgement. See xciv. 9, xcviii. 10, also xlv. 2 (note).
16. **His fierce indignation.** $_1g\beta$ read 'the spirit of His indignation' = רוח אפו corrupt for חרון אפו: *gmqt* read 'His indignation and His spirit'. 'His spirit' is nom. in *qt.* + 'into your hands' *g.*
holy and righteous g_1gmq. ∾ *t, β.*
remember your sins, and so hasten your destruction. See xcvii. 5 (note).

C. 1. **brothers one with another shall fall** *β.* *a* inserts 'and' after 'another'.
streams flow with their blood. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 3, 7; Ps. lviii. 10.
2. **his sons' sons** *β.* 'his son's son' *gmt.* $_1gq$ corrupt. + 'in compassion' *tβ.*
the sinner *t, β.* 'as for the sinner, he' *g, gmq.*
his honoured brother. Aristobulus slew his beloved brother Antigonus (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 11. 1, 2). On the internecine strife that was to initiate the kingdom cf. lvi. 7, xcix. 5, 6; Zech. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Hag. ii. 22; Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 21, 34, 35, xxiv. 10, &c.
3. **up to the breast.** Cf. Rev. xiv. 20.
to its height *m, β.* 'to the day of its (> $_1g$) height' (a dittograph of 'day'). 'it shall be filled to its height' *t.*
4. The fallen angels who brought down sin will be gathered from 'the secret places'.
the angels shall descend, &c. Cf. Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49.
brought down sin *a–t.* 'helped sin' *t, β.*
of judgement *a–tu.* > *tu, β.*
amongst $_1gmqu$. 'and amongst' *g.* 'on all the' *t, β.*

5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels
To guard them as the apple of an eye,
Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.

6 And (then) the children of the earth shall see the wise **in security**,
And shall understand all the words of this book,
And recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them
In the overthrow of their sins.

7 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish,
Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire:
Ye shall be requited according to your works.

8 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart,
Who watch in order to devise wickedness:
Therefore shall fear come upon you
And there shall be none to help you.

9 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness has wrought,
In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.

10 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun
and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute
11 judgement on the righteous. And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist
and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they
12 shall be mindful of your sins. And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.
13 When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues
fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

5. The righteous souls in the place of the departed are guarded. Cf. the promptuaria of 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95; also 4 Ezra iv. 32, 40, vii. 32; 2 Bar. xxx. 2.

all 1°. > *gu*.

the apple of an eye. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. xvii. 8.

He makes an end of all g_1gmq^2. 'all has been made an end of' q^1tu,β.

the righteous sleep a long sleep. The writer of xci–civ did not expect the resurrection at the beginning of the temporary Messianic kingdom, which was to come at the commencement of the eighth week. The 'long sleep' seems to last till the end of the tenth week, and the resurrection of the righteous in xci–civ follows the final judgement.

6. I have transposed 'the children of the earth' from the second line to the first, and with $_1gq$ taken 'the wise' in the acc. and not in the nom. as *gmt*, β. 'The wicked see the bliss of the wise.' Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 85; Wisdom iv. 17, &c.

children of the earth, cf. cii. 3: the counterpart of 'the children of heaven' or the righteous, ci. 1.

in security. Text = πιστόν or πεποιθότα—a wrong rendering of בֶּטַח used pregnantly = dwelling in security. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25.

7. **on the day of strong anguish.** The MSS. wrongly transpose this into the next clause.

Ye who. MSS. read sôba = 'when', corrupt for 'ĕlla.

burn them with fire. Cf. 2 Macc. vii.

according to your works. Cf. xcv. 5.

8. **obstinate of heart** *a*. 'perverse of heart' β. Cf. xcviii. 11.

watch. Cf. Isa. xxix. 20.

9. **sinners** + 'for' $_1g$, β.

which your godlessness has wrought *gmu*: 'because of the work of your godlessness' *t*: 'which are the work of your godlessness' *q*: 'which as a work ye have godlessly committed' β.

in blazing flames . . . burn. Here a–$_1g$ > 'shall ye burn', and $_1g$, β > 'burning'. The two texts seem to be complementary.

10. All the heavenly powers which witness the sins of the wicked testify against them. Cf. xcviii. 6–8, also xcvii. 7, civ. 1. Cf. the witness of stones and beams in their houses against the wicked, Hab. ii. 11.

in heaven. 'from heaven' *g* + 'and' *a–u*.

execute judgement on = ποιεῖτε κρίσιν μετά (so *gmqt*)—a Hebraism.

11. All the natural powers which minister to the earth's fruitfulness will testify against sinners, as they are withheld on account of their sins. Cf. lxxx (interpolation in lxxii–lxxxii): cf. Jer. iii. 3.

they shall be mindful *a–mt*. 'shall they not be mindful' *mt*, β (*t*, β 'watchful').

12. Ironically spoken.

that it may descend g_1gt, *bilopxy*$_1a_1b$. 'that it should not descend' *mq*. > *u*, β–*bilopxy*$_1a_1b$.

13. Even the punishment by the elements will be irresistible.

CI. *Exhortation to the Fear of God: all Nature fears Him but not the Sinners.*

101 1 Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him
2 and work no evil in His presence. If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and
3 the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then? And if He sends
His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent
4 words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace. And see ye not the **sailors** of
the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are
5 in sore trouble? And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea
with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will
6 perish therein. Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most
7 High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand? And at His
reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but ye sinners that are
8 on the earth fear Him not. Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein?
Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?
9 Do not the **sailors** of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

CII. *Terrors of the Day of Judgement: the adverse Fortunes of the Righteous on the Earth.*

102 1 In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you,
Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance?
And when He launches forth His word against you
Will you not be affrighted and fear?

2 And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear,
And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.

3 And all the †angels shall execute their commands†
And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory,
And the children of earth shall tremble and quake;
And ye sinners shall be cursed for ever,
And ye shall have no peace.

4 Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous,
And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

CI. 1. The same subject continued, but verse 1 contains an aside to the righteous.
children of heaven, equivalent to 'sons of God' i. e. righteous Israelites. See Test. Lev. iv. 2 (note); Wisd. ii. 13, 18. For 'children of heaven' cf. Pirke Aboth iii. 22.
2. Address to the wicked resumed, c. 11, 12.
If *gt*, *β-enx*: 'for', $_1$*gu*, *ex*: 'when' *mq*, *n*.
windows of heaven. Gen. vii. 11.
3. **if** g_1gtu, *β*: 'when' *mq*.
because of (+ **'all'** $_1$*g*) **your deeds** *gm*: 'and upon (+ 'all' *β*) your deeds' *t*, *β*: 'your deeds' *gq*.
proud and insolent words: v. 4 (note); xxvii. 2. Cf. xcviii. 7, 8, cii. 6.
4–7. Sailors fear the sea: how much more should men fear God, of whom the sea is sore afraid. Cf. Ps. cvii. 23–27.
4. **sailors.** Text='kings', i. e. מלכי corrupt for מלחי.
6, 7. The sea is in the hand of God. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvi. 10, xxxviii. 8–11; Ps. lxxxix. 9, civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29.
has He not set limits to its doings *e* (but it reads 'aqama for ʿaqama): *y* preserves the verb: *β-y* alter it to hatama='has sealed': *gmqt* read 'its doings and waters' (i. e. wamajâ, perhaps corrupt for ʿaqama).
at His reproof . . . dries up. Isa. l. 2.
is afraid and dries up *a-*$_1$*g*, *x*: 'dries up and is afraid' *β-x*.
9. A pregnant summing up.
sailors. See *v.* 4 (note).

CII. 1–3. Whither they will flee on the terrible day of the Lord, when heaven and earth will be aghast and the very angels seek to hide themselves?
1. **a grievous fire,** i. e. hell. Cf. xcix. 11.
His word, i. e. of judgement.
3. **†angels . . . commands†.** Corrupt: for 'angels' read kings. Cf. Rev. vi. 15.
execute their commands. I cannot emend.
3. **the Great Glory** *a*. 'the Great in Glory' *β*. Cf. xiv. 10.
children of earth. Cf. c. 6.
have no peace. Cf. xciv. 6 (note).
4–CIV. 9. Discussion and condemnation of Sadducean views of the future life.
4, 5. The righteous are to be of good cheer, though their life and death be in grief.
4. **ye that have died** *m*, *cfhikln*$_1$*a*: 'they who have died' *gqtu*: 'the day of your death' *abdeox*$_1$*b*: 'the souls of those who have died' $_1$*g*: *q* adds 'ye who have died in righteousness' after 'grieve not' in the next line.

5 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief,
And that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness,
But **wait for** the day of the **judgement** of sinners
And for the day of cursing and chastisement.

6 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you:
"As we die, so die the righteous,
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds?

7 Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,
And what have they more than we?
From henceforth we are equal.

8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever?
Behold, they too have died,
And henceforth for ever shall they see no light."

9 I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and
10 acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner
11 of violence is found in them till their death? "Nevertheless they perished and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

CIII. *Different Destinies of the Righteous and the Sinners: fresh Objections of the Sinners.*

103 1 Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and
2 Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you.
I know a mystery
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books,
And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them:

3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them,
And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness,
And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labours,
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.

5. Strong in the belief in a blessed future for the righteous, the writer can concede the apparent equality of righteous and wicked in life and death.
if g_1g. Other MSS. 'that' or 'because'.
soul + 'into great tribulation and wailing and sorrow and' *t*, *β*.
Sheol. See lxiii. 10 (note).
wait for. Here I emend ĕnka ba (='moreover on') into ṣenhû la='wait for'. Cf. cviii. 2.
judgement of sinners. Text='ye became sinners'. The next line requires this emendation here.
day of . . . chastisement. Hos. v. 9.
6–8. The Sadducean argument—the O.T. view of the retribution of the righteous in this life was interpreted as implying that men could be judged by their fortunes in this life, and that where there is no difference in this life there will be none in the next. Cf. Wisdom ii. 1–5, iii. 2–4; Eccles. ii. 14–16, iii. 19–21, &c.
7. **in grief and darkness.** The O.T. view of Sheol, lxiii. 10 (note).
8. **what will they receive** *mt*, *β*: 'how will they rise' g_1gq.
Behold *a*–$_1g$. 'For behold' $_1g$, *β*.
9–10. Answer of the writer. The distinction of righteous and wicked is not an outward, but a religious and ethical one. The wicked man's life is moulded by material and temporal aims only.
9. **see good days.** So LXX of Ps. xxxiv. 12.
10. **falls out** *a*. 'is peace' *β*.
death *a*–$_1g$. 'day of their death' $_1g$, *β*.
11. The wicked rejoin that Death awaits both alike.
spirits *a*–$_1g$. 'souls' $_1g$, *β*.
CIII. 1–4. The writer turns to the righteous, and assures them from the heavenly tablets and the holy books that every good thing is in store for them.
1. A more solemn oath than in xcviii. 1, 4, 6, &c.
by the glory . . . dominion *g* and almost $_1g$: 'by His great glory ('by the glory of the Great One' *qt*) and by His honoured kingdom' *mqt*: 'by His great glory and honour and by His honoured kingdom' *β–y*.
2. **a mystery** *a–t*. 'this mystery' *t*, *β*.
read *gqu*. 'read in' *mt*, *β*.
the holy books *gqt*. 'books of the holy ones' $_1gm$, *β*. Cf. cviii. 7, xlvii. 3. See also cviii. 3.
3. Where are these blessings to be enjoyed, in Sheol, or in the spiritual theocracy set up after the final judgement? There seems to be only a resurrection of the spirit.
for them $_1g$, *β*. > *a*–$_1g$.
the spirits of those who *mt*, *β*: 'your spirits which' *gq*.
manifold good $_1gmq$. 'things manifold and good' *gt*. 'with manifold good' *β*.

4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice,
And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One
Unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely.

5 Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died,
If ye die in the wealth of your sins,
And those who are like you say regarding you:
"Blessed are the sinners: they have seen all their days.

6 And now they have died in prosperity and in wealth,
And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life;
And they have died in honour,
And judgement has not been executed on them during their life."

7 Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol
And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.

8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your spirits enter;
And the great judgement shall be for all the generations of the world.
Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.

9 Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in life:
"In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and experienced every trouble,
And met with much evil and been consumed,
And have become few and our spirit small.

10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word:
We have been tortured [and destroyed], and not hoped to see life from day to day.

11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail:
We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our toil;
And we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous,
And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.

12 They have had dominion over us that hated us† and smote us;
And to those that hated us† we have bowed our necks
But they pitied us not.

4. **spirits of you** g_1gq, β: 'spirits of them' *mt*.
who have died (2nd sing. in $_1g$, t^2 β). 'who have died' (3rd sing.) a–$_1g$.
rejoice + 'and be glad' g_1gm, β.
And their spirits shall not perish, nor a. 'their spirits and' β.
5–8. The wicked are not at an end after death. Darkness, chains and a burning fire await them.
5. **when ye have died** a–u. > β.
the wealth of a–q. > q, β.
7. **Sheol.** See lxiii. 10 (note). Here, unlike in cii. 5, 11, it is the final place of punishment. Our text is a development of Jub. vii. 29, as it adds to Sheol one of the characteristics of Gehenna. See *v*. 8a.
8. **of the world** a. 'unto eternity' β.
have no peace. See v. 4 (note); xciv. 6 (note).
9–15. An ironical description of the lot of the righteous. Cf. the Sadducean view in cii. 6, 7.
9. From this verse to the end of the chapter $_1g$ stands frequently alone, exhibiting nearly sixty variations, mostly between 1st and 3rd plurals. The MSS. evidence goes to prove that the 3rd person was original, for whereas $_1g$ gives the 3rd person in all but seven instances (these are confined to *vv*. 14 and 15), all other MSS. with few exceptions give the 1st person. Thus the wicked assume the rôle of the righteous and speak in their person in ciii. 9–15. Yet in civ. 1–6 the author addresses his reply not directly to the sinners who have just spoken but to the righteous (cf. ciii. 1), and returns to the sinners in civ. 7–9.
our troubled days t^2, β: 'their troubled days' gqt^1u: 'the days of their life with their troublous toil' $_1g$.
we. 'they' $_1g$, and so on except in 14–15.
been consumed: 'they have suffered from disease' $_1g$.
become few. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 62.
our spirit small. Not 'humble' but 'poor-spirited'.
10. **we . . . have not found any to help us even with a word** a–$_1gt$. So $_1g$ but with a change of persons. 'There has been none to help us in word or deed: we are powerless and have found nothing' t, β.
11. **We hoped** a. 'and we hoped' β.
to be the head. Deut. xxviii. 13.
laid their yoke, &c. Deut. xxviii. 48.
12. **had dominion . . . hated us.** Cf. Esther ix. 1.
to those that hated us. I think this is a dittograph from the line before, and 'that smote us' belongs to this line. Thus we have: 'They have had dominion over us that hated us, And to those that smote us we have bowed our necks, But they pitied us not.'

13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest,
But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them.

14 And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation,
And cried out against those who devoured us,
But they did not attend to our cries
And would not hearken to our voice.

15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they had lifted up their hands against us.

CIV. *Assurances given to the Righteous: Admonitions to Sinners and the Falsifiers of the Words of Uprightness.*

104 1 I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great
2 One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful; for aforetime
ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven,
3 ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your
cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the
4 rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope;
5 for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. What shall ye be obliged to do? Ye shall not
have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal
6 judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world. And now fear not, ye righteous,
when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways: be not companions with them,
7 but keep afar from their violence; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And,
although ye sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down," nevertheless

13. **we desired** a–$_1g$. $_1g\beta$ prefix 'and'.
14. **cried out** + 'and made lamentation' g: $_1g$ inserts this clause before 'in our tribulation'.
14, 15. These verses help to fix the date of xci–civ. In lxxxiii–xc the rulers appear as the divinely appointed leaders of the righteous. Here they are shown as the aiders and abettors of the persecutors. These enemies are the Sadducees, sinners, apostates, and paganizers. The righteous are the Pharisaic party. These issues only became clear in the Maccabean period, and after the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. 'Dispersed' and 'murdered' point to Jannaeus, and the date 94–79 B.C. Possibly it is later, 70–64 B.C., when for the last time Sadducees and rulers acted in concert.
15. **they helped** $_1g, \beta$: 'you have helped' gmt: 'thou hast helped' q.
the yoke of those that g_1gm, &c. 'their yoke but' qt, &c.

CIV. Again the writer replies, not to the wicked, but to the righteous, as in ciii. 1. The righteous have indeed no hope in this life, but must look for the blessed future awaiting them in heaven.
1. **unto you** + 'ye righteous' $t^2\beta$.
the angels remember you. For angelic mediation cf. xv. 2 (note), xl. 5–7, xlvii. 2, lxxxix. 76.
and a, i. $> \beta$–ei.
names are written: xlvii. 3 (note). The Great One: xiv. 2, ciii. 4.
2. **now**: used here of the impending future.
shine as the lights. Cf. Dan. xii. 3; 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.
ye shall shine $^{2°}$ a. $> \beta$.
portals of heaven. For the open gates cf. Rev. xxi. 25. There is no hope of a new earth. Cf. xci. 16 (note).
3. Their demand for justice, unheard on earth, ciii. 14, 15, will one day be satisfied. Cf. for the cry of the righteous xcvii. 3, 5 (note), xcix. 3, 16.
the rulers. Cf. ciii. 14, 15 (note).
4. **as the angels of heaven.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 30; 1 En. civ. 6.
5. **what shall ye . . . do** a–t, e. 'as for what ye shall . . . do' t, β–e.
day of the great judgement. Cf. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 4, xciv. 9, xcviii. 10, xcix. 15.
the eternal judgement. Cf. xci. 15, also xlv. 2 (note). This verse seems to imply no judgement for the righteous. Contrast li. 2.
6. **in their ways** g_1gmqt. 'in their lusts' β.
Note Pharisaic exclusiveness. Cf. xci. 3, 4. The hope of the righteous can be realized in heaven alone. The Messianic kingdom falls into the background.
be not a. 'and be not' β.
companions, &c.; cf. civ. 2, 4. In 2 Bar. li. 5, 10, 12 the righteous attain and even transcend the glory of the angels.
hosts. So β, reading ḥarâ. Cf. Luke ii. 13; Rev. xix. 14; $gmqt$ read ḫêrâna = τῶν ἀγαθῶν (corrupt for ἀγγέλων, Flemming).
7, 8. He warns the wicked that, though they know it not, their sins are recorded daily.
7. **All our sins . . . out.** So Beer and n. Other MSS. read 'ye shall not search out all our sins'. t, β give 'all our sins' in nom.: g_1gmq in acc.
be written down t, β. 'they ('he' $_1gq$; 'ye' mu) shall write' g_1gmqu.

8 they shall write down all your sins every day. And now I show unto you that light and darkness,
9 day and night, see all your sins. Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your
10 idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin. And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits, and write books concerning
11 their words. But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully—all that I first testified
12 concerning them. Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the
13 wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom. And to them shall the books be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them, and then shall all the righteous who have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.'

CV. *God and the Messiah to dwell with Man.*

105 1 In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.
2 For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

8. For the witness of natural powers cf. c. 10 (note).
9–13. Disclosures and directions regarding his own book.
9. The wicked are bidden not to alter or misinterpret the O.T. Cf. xciv. 5, xcviii. 14, xcix. 2.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
take account of g_1gq. 'praise' *mt*, *β*.
your idols. Cf. xcix. 7–9, 14.
10. A time will come when the words of revelation will be perverted, and books be written enforcing wicked and heathen doctrine.
sinners . . . in many ways g_1gmt. 'many sinners' *q*, *β*.
books *t*, *β*. 'my books' g_1gmq.
11. But the writings of Enoch will counteract these heathen teachings. The writer speaks here from Enoch's standpoint.
my words *tu*, *β*. 'words' g_1gmq.
their languages, i.e. Greek and Aramaic.
12. At last a righteous and wise generation will receive and understand his works (cf. i. 2). Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9, 10.
13. **recompensed:** i.e. find their reward in these books (xciii. 10, c. 6, civ. 12, 13, cv. 1), or perhaps in the Messianic kingdom thereupon set up.

CV. This chapter does not seem to belong to xci–civ. (1) Children of earth is used in a good sense. Contrast c. 6. (2) The Messiah is introduced, here alone in xci–civ. (3) The emphasis is on the finite life of the saints on earth (an idea of i–xxxvi), not on the immortal life in heaven, as in xci–civ.
1. **In those** *a–m*: 'and in those' *m β*.
and testify > *m*.
recompense. Cf. civ. 13.
2. **I and My Son,** i.e. the Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29, xiii. 32, 37, 52, xiv. 9. The righteous are God's children, and pre-eminently so the Messiah. Cf. the early Messianic interpretation of Ps. ii, also 1 En. lxii. 14; John xiv. 23.
in their lives, thus finite.
ye shall have peace. Contrast the curse of the wicked, xciv. 6 (note).

106 1 And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became
2 pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head †and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful†. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house
3 was very bright. And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and †conversed with† the Lord of righteousness.
4 And his father Lamech was afraid of him and
5 fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And he said unto him: 'I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his coun-
6 tenance is glorious. And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be
7 wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayst go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is
8 amongst the angels.' And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And I said unto him: 'Behold, here am I, my son, wherefore hast
9 thou come to me?' And he answered and said: 'Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision
10 have I approached. And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like man's nature, and the colour

LATIN FRAGMENT.

Factum est autem [cum esset Lamech annorum 1
tricentorum quinquagenta] natus est ei filiu(s) .
cui oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli autem ei*us* 2
candi(di)ores in septies niue corpori autem eius
nemo hominum potest intueri.

et surexit int*er* man*us* obstetricis suae et 3
adorauit d*ominum* uiuentem in secula [laudauit].

et timuit Lamech. 4

et uenit ad patrem suum Mathusalem et 5
narrauit illi om*ni*a.

ne n*on* ex eo natus e*sset* nisi n*on*tius d*ei*. 6

dixit Mathusalem: Ego autem non possum 7
scire nisi eamus ad patrem n*ostru*m Enoc.

q*uu*m autem uidit Enoc filium suum Mathu- 8
salem uenientem ad se [et] ait. quid e*st* quod
uenisti ad me nate?

dix*it*: 9

q*uo*d natus e*st* filio suo [no*mine*] Lamech cui 10
oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli[s] eius candidiores
septies niue, corpori aut*em* eius nemo hominum
potest intueri

CVI—CVII. A fragment of a Noah Apocalypse. Part of this section has been preserved in a Latin Version which I print side by side with the text.

2. **and his long locks . . . beautiful.** The Latin does not mention these 'long locks', and the Eth. is easily emended into 'was white . . . and his eyes were like the rays of the sun'. Cf. the Eth. version in *v.* 5, and *v.* 10. In the Latin (*v.* 2) *septies* seems corrupt for *capitis*. Cf. *v.* 10.

as wool. Cf. xlvi. 1.

3. **And thereupon** $_1g$. Other MSS. 'and when'.

opened his mouth. Cf. *v.* 11. Latin defective here.

†conversed with†. Here tanâgara is corrupt for tagânaja = 'praised' = [*laudavit*] in the Latin, where, however, *adoravit* also occurs. See my Comm. *in loc.*

Lord of righteousness. Cf. xxii. 14, xc. 40.

5. **and** $^{2°}$ g_1g. > other MSS.

sons of the God of heaven. Cf. lxix. 4, 5, also lxxi. 1 (note).

6. **but from the angels.** The Lat. gives a different idea. Nontius = ἄγγελος. The Lat. of 6 follows 'Lamech' in *v.* 4.

7. Latin corrupt; observe *eamus*.

amongst the angels, i.e. at the ends of the earth, as in lxv. 2.

8. **wherefore.** So Latin *quid est quod* = διὰ τί. But Eth. = διότι, a corruption.

9. **cause of anxiety** g_1gmt. 'matter' β.

10. **And now** + 'hear me' $_1gm$.

colour of his body $_1g$. Other MSS. = 'his colour'. But *corpori* in the next clause in the Lat. and σώματα in Apoc. Petri support $_1g$.

of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and
11 thereupon lighted up the whole house. And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened
12 his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayst make known to me the truth.'
13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the **angels** of heaven
14 transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them,
17 and have begot children by them. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the
15 earth shall be cleansed from all impurity. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and
16 a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth
18 shall die [he and his sons shall be saved]. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.
19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.

et surexit inter manus obstetricis suae eadem 11
hora, qua p*ro*cidit de utero matris suae. orauit
d*omin*u*m* uiuente*m* in secula et laudauit.
et timuit Lamech. 12

et dixit Enoc: nontiatum e*st* mihi fili q*uia* 13
post quingentos annos

mitt*et* d*eu*s cataclismu*m* aq*uae* ut deleat 15
omnem creatura*m* [XL.] ostendit oculis n*ost*ris.

et erunt illi · III · filii [et erunt nomina filiorum 16
ei*us* · Sem · Cham · Iafeth]

et ipse uocabitur Noe q*ui* *inter*pre*t*atur requies 18
q*uia* requiem prestabit in archam.

the colour . . . rose, eyes . . . sun. Borrowed by Apoc. Petri.
11. **Lord of heaven.** Here only in Enoch. But note Lat. = 'dominum viventem in saecula.' Also cf. v. 1.
13. **do a new thing.** Num. xvi. 30; Isa. xliii. 19.
in the generation of . . . Jared. Cf. vi. 6.
some of the angels. Easily emended from Eth. = 'some from the heights'. *n* reads 'angels'.
14. **transgress the law**—of spiritual beings. Cf. xv.
17. I have restored this verse to its original place.
And *qt, x.* > *β–x.* g_1g are defective through hmt. here.
15. **one year.** Cf. Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 14.
16. **and** 1° g_1gq. > other MSS.
[he and his sons shall be saved] > g_1gq. It is a repetition of the clause in *v.* 18.
18. **unrighteousness which shall** *mt, β*: g_1gq read 'unrighteousness of apostasy (which) shall'.
19. **the mysteries of the holy ones.** Either the secrets known to the angels, or the secrets relating to the righteous in the future.
heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

107 1 And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all
2 manner of good comes upon it. And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this
3 son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that (this) is no lie.' And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned and showed (them) to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

108 1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him,
2 and keep the law in the last days. Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is
3 made of those who work evil, and an end of the might of the transgressors. And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and **in the fire shall they**
4 **burn**; for there is no earth there. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not †look over†, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining
5 mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: 'What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing
6 fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain.' And he said unto me: 'This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth
7 of the prophets—(even) the things that shall be. For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners,

CVII. 1. The fresh growth of sin after the Deluge: its destruction and the advent of the Messianic kingdom.
till: *t*, *β*: 'that' g_1gmq.
3. The meaning of the name Noah given in Gen. v. 29 is here repeated.
everything in secret *a*: 'every secret thing' *β*.
returned and showed *m*. So *g* (but omits two letters through hmt.): 'returned after having seen' $t_1abcdloxy_1b$: $>_1gqu$.

CVIII. This final chapter forms an independent addition. The writer is acquainted with i–xxxvi and xci–civ, or at least with parts of those sections. But his acquaintance with i–xxxvi is very inaccurate. What in chapters xviii and xxi was the place of punishment for the disobedient stars becomes in cviii. 3-6 practically Gehenna. Note the Essene tone of this chapter, the high honour paid to asceticism, the scorn of silver and gold in 8–10, the blessed immortality of the soul but apparently not of the body, and the duration of light and darkness so prominent in 11–14.

This chapter is more akin to xci–civ than any other in the book. Its object is to encourage the righteous still to hope on despite the long delay in the coming of the kingdom.

1. **keep the law.** Contrast 'fall away from the law', xcix. 2.
2. The faithful are exhorted to further patience.
good g_1g. > other MSS.
shall wait g_1gmq. 'and are waiting' *t*, *β*.
3. **And** 1° *a*. > *β*.
blotted out of the book of life. Cf. xlvii. 3 (note).
out of the book of life and g_1g: 'out of the books of the living', *q*, *x*: 'out of the book and' *mt*.
holy books, *mqt*, e_1b (cf. ciii. 2). 'book of the Holy One' *g*. 'books of the holy ones' *β*–ex_1b. These contain the roll of the members of the kingdom. Cf. ciii. 2, 3.
spirits shall be slain. Cf. xxii. 13; xcix. 11 (note). It does not imply annihilation as the victims still 'cry and make lamentation'.
in a place. This chaotic flaming hell beyond the limits of the earth is the place of punishment for the angels in xviii. 12–16; xxi. 1–7.
chaotic. Eth. = ἀόρατος, the LXX rendering of תהו in Gen. i. 2.
in the fire shall they burn. So after xxi. 3 I emend the Eth. = 'in fire they have burnt' (g_1gmqt, *β*–*abcx*): 'in fire they shall burn' (*abcx*)—a different form of the verb.
4. Further description of this hell and its inhabitants in terms borrowed from xviii. 13; xxi. 3.
† **look over** †. We might emend to 'behold its height' or 'tell its circuit' (or 'size').
of fire g_1gu: other MSS. = 'of its fire'.
5. **one of the holy angels.** This phrase is borrowed from i–xxxvi: cf. xxvii. 2.
voice, &c. Cf. xviii. 13.
weeping and crying *a*: ∽ *β*.
6. This hell which is outside the earth is the final place of punishment for sinners and blasphemers and perverters of God's revelation through the prophets. In *vv.* 3–6 the writer has confounded places (i.e. Gehenna, and the hell of the disobedient stars) that are most carefully distinguished in i–xxxvi, and yet he has borrowed the phraseology of that section.
blasphemers. Cf. xci. 7.
spoken *mtu*, *β*: 'done' g_1gq.
the prophets. Here only expressly mentioned in Enoch.
7. **written and inscribed**—refers to the heavenly tablets. Cf. xlvii. 3. These records are also called the books of the holy ones, for their purpose is to let the angels know of the future: cf. ciii. 2. See also Asc. Isa. vii. 27.

and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed
8 by God; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: Who love God and loved neither
gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to
9 torture. Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything
as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were
10 found pure so that they should bless His name. And all the blessings destined for them I have
recounted in the books. And He hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been
found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden
under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame,
11 yet they blessed Me. And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation
of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed
12 with such honour as their faithfulness deserved. And I will bring forth in shining light those who
13 have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour. And they shall be
resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful
14 He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths. And they shall see those who were
15 born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall
cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed
for them.'

7–9. **the humble.** The עֲנִיִּים and עֲנָוִים of the Psalms. They constitute the true Israel as opposed to the proud, the selfish and the paganizers. Cf. Cheyne on Ps. ix. 13.

those who have afflicted their bodies . . . loved neither gold nor silver . . . longed not after earthly food. These phrases would apply well to the Essene party. Cf. xlviii. 7, cii. 5. These marks of the righteous have their counterpart in those of the wicked: cf. xcvi. 5–7, xcvii. 8–10, xcviii. 2.

8. **loved** *a*, *β*–*cdnoy*$_1$*b*: 'love' $_1$*g*, *cdnoy*$_1$*b*.

9. **Who** $_1$*gq* (*gmt* slightly corrupt): 'and' *u*: 'and who' *β*.

everything *u*. 'their bodies' $_1$*g*. 'themselves' *gmqt*, *β*. 'Bodies' is unsuitable, and 'themselves' would read better if the sinners were speaking: cf. Wisdom ii. 2–4. Cf. Job vii. 7, 8.

the Lord tried them much, &c. Cf. Wisdom iii. 5.

10. Enoch speaks, and refers his hearers and readers to his books.

their life in the world. Cf. xlviii. 7.

11. Verses 11 and 12 are spoken by God.

generation of light. Cf. lxi. 12 (note), xxxviii. 4 (note).

who were born in darkness. Of those who are born in darkness, i.e. heathenism, the faithful who were not recompensed with honour are transformed: but those who remain in their darkness are cast therein as their condemnation. Cf. *v*. 14.

were not recompensed with *a*–*gu*, *β*: 'did not seek' *g*.

12. **in shining light,** i.e. clad in it. Cf. Matt. vii. 15. Or we might render 'into shining light'. Cf. 2 En. xxii. 8–10, the garments of the blessed are composed of God's glory. In 1 En. lxii. 16, they are 'garments of life'. Really they are the spiritual bodies of the blessed. Cf. Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, &c.; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Asc. Isa. iv. 16, vii. 22, viii. 14.

throne of his honour *a*,*n*. 'throne of honour, of his honour' *β*–*n*. Cf. Matt. xix. 28; Rev. iii. 21, iv. 4; Asc. Isa. ix. 10, 18.

13. Enoch again speaks.

resplendent, &c.: cf. xxxix. 7, civ. 2, cviii. 14.

the habitation of upright paths *t*, *β*: 'the habitation and (> *q*) upright paths' *gq*: 'the habitation and uprightness' *m*: 'the upright paths' *u*.

14. **born in darkness.** See *v*. 11 (note).

led into darkness. Cf. ciii. 8.

led *gmq*. Cf. ciii. 8. 'cast' *t*, *β*.

15. Cf. Dan. xii. 2, 3.

resplendent *a*. 'shining' *β*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Book and its Fortunes.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were written in Hebrew in the latter years of John Hyrcanus—in all probability after his final victory over the Syrian power and before his breach with the Pharisees—in other words, between 109 and 106. Their author was a Pharisee who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with the most unbounded admiration of Hyrcanus. The Maccabean dynasty had now reached the zenith of its prosperity, and in its reigning representative, who alone in the history of Judaism possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king, the Pharisaic party had come to recognize the actual Messiah.

Won over by the purity of life, nobility of character, and pre-eminent gifts of the Maccabees as high-priests, civil rulers, and military commanders, the Ḥasids, or early Pharisees, had some decades earlier attached themselves to this new high-priesthood, though with many a misgiving on account of the break in the high-priestly succession.

The approval thus won from the reluctant Ḥasids, the Maccabees had deepened and strengthened by their achievements every year in every province of their activity, till the thought was begotten in many a breast, that at last the hope of Israel had come, and, in defiance of all ancient prophecy, was sprung from the house and lineage of Levi.

There are good grounds for regarding Psalm cx as the outcome of such an expectation, and as greeting one of the Maccabees as the long-expected deliverer of Israel. But, however this may be, there is no doubt that our author addresses two or more Messianic hymns to John Hyrcanus, in whom had culminated all the glories and gifts of this great family. The writer already sees the Messianic kingdom established, under the sway of which the Gentiles will in due course be saved, Beliar overthrown, sin disappear from the earth, and the righteous dead rise to share in the blessedness of the living.

Alas for the vanity of man's judgement and man's prescience. Our book had hardly been published, when Hyrcanus, owing to an outrage done him by the Pharisees, broke with their party, and joining the Sadducees, died a year or two later. His successors proved themselves the basest of men. Their infamy is painted in lurid colours by contemporary writers of the first century B.C., and by a strange irony the work, or rather, fragments of the work of one of these assailants of the later Maccabees, has achieved immortality by finding a covert in the chief manifesto that was issued on behalf of one of the earlier members of the dynasty.

This second writer singles out three of the Maccabean priest-kings for attack, the first of whom he charges with every abomination; the people itself, he declares, is apostate, and chastisement will follow speedily—the temple will be laid waste, the nation carried afresh into captivity, whence, on their repentance, God will restore them again to their own land, where they shall enjoy the blessedness of God's presence and be ruled by a Messiah sprung from Judah.

When we contrast the expectations of the original writer and the actual events that followed, it would seem that the chief value of his work would consist in the light that it throws on this obscure and temporary revolution in the Messianic expectations of Judaism towards the close of the second century. But this is not so. The main, the overwhelming value of the book lies not in this province, but in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord. This ethical teaching, which is very much higher and purer than that of the Old Testament, is yet its true spiritual child, and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the ethics of the Old and New Testaments.[1]

[1] That this ethical teaching belongs to the essence of the book is obvious to any careful student of the work. As such it forms alike its warp and woof. On the other hand, the *dogmatic Christian interpolations* are patches differing alike in colour and texture from the original material, stitched on at times where originally there was no rent at all, and at others rudely thrust in where a rent had been deliberately made for their insertion. See § 13.

After the first century of our era the fortunes of the Testaments speedily declined in Christendom. Though they are referred to occasionally in the next three centuries, they came to be discredited as an Apocryphal writing and fell under the ban of the Church. Unhappily, further, in the course of these centuries of their waning popularity, they underwent interpolation at the hands of Christian scribes, but happily many of these interpolations had not been made when the book was done into Armenian.

The reappearance of the Testaments on the stage of history was due to the great Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, in the thirteenth century, who procured from Greece the MS. of this book, which is now in the University Library of Cambridge. This scholar took the book with all its Christian additions to be a genuine writing of the twelve sons of Jacob.

It is perhaps needless to state that, when the critical instinct revived with the Reformation, Grosseteste's view of the Testaments was summarily rejected. Nay more, as the book was regarded as the work of one writer, it was simply condemned as a Christian forgery. In the course of four centuries only one voice was raised against this mistaken verdict, and that in vain for about two hundred years. The twentieth century sees this book at last come into its own.[1]

§ 2. The Title.

The *general* title was in all probability 'The Testaments of the Patriarchs'. Such is the designation in use in the Armenian version. In the Greek MSS. the title varies. In *α* (= *chi*) *bd* it appears as *Διαθῆκαι τῶν δώδεκα Πατριαρχῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακὼβ (+ τοῦ Πατριάρχου α), α αἱ διαθῆκαι τῶν ιβ' πατρ. πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν.* In the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis of Athanasius, and the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Pitra, and others, the book is simply called *Πατριάρχαι.*

As regards the title of the individual testaments, it was no doubt simply 'The Testament of Reuben', 'The Testament of Simeon', &c. If the reader refers to my edition of the *Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xliv–xlvi, he will see that, whereas the *α* MSS. uniformly give one form of title, the *β* MSS. (with the exception of *adg*), that is, *bef*, give another, in which in addition to the name of the Patriarch the main subject of the Testament is given. Thus the title of Gad's Testament is *διαθήκη Γὰδ περὶ μίσους.* The titles in *d* are generally conflated from *bef* and *α*; in *a* simply the name of the patriarch is given, while as for *g*, it takes a line of its own. In the Armenian the titles agree partly with those given in the Greek MSS. *bef*, but oftener do not. From this short summary of the facts it follows that the titles in *bef*, A are secondary. There remain now the forms in *α* and the single MS. *a*, and that found in the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, i. e. צוואת נפתלי בן יעקב 'The Testament of Naphtali the son of Jacob'. The form in *a* (i. e. simply the name of the patriarch) may be at once dismissed as an idiosyncrasy of this MS. In the *α* MSS. the title of the individual Testaments resembles closely that of the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, but the greater number of them are obviously inaccurate and therefore not original. That of Reuben and some others are accurate enough; thus *α* gives *διαθήκη Ῥουβὴμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Λείας*, which is true enough; but in the case of Naphtali we have the impossible *διαθήκη Νεφθαλεὶμ τοῦ ὀγδόου υἱοῦ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Βάλλας.* Naphtali was the second son of Bilhah. If, however, we omit in each case the name of the mother, we arrive possibly at the original form of the titles of the individual Testaments. Possibly, I say; for the order of the Testaments is not chronological, but depends on the groupings of the patriarchs according to their respective mothers. Thus the first six patriarchs are the sons of Leah, the next two are the sons of Bilhah, the next two of Zilpah, and the last two of Rachel. Hence it is more than probable that the position of the patriarch as the first, third, or seventh son, was not mentioned in the original title. Thus we conclude that the evidence points to the following as the original form.

צוואת ראובן בן יעקב = *διαθήκη Ῥουβὴμ υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ* = 'The Testament of Reuben the son of Jacob'.

§ 3. The Greek MSS.

(*a*) Bodley MS. Baroccio 133. Quarto. This paper MS. contains several treatises by different hands of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The Testaments occupy folios 179*a*–205*b*. Their general title and those of Judah and Gad are written in red. There are two copies of this MS. on paper, one in the Bodley MS. Smith 117, belonging to the close of the seventeenth century, and the second in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This MS. is remarkable for the large number of omissions, at times of entire chapters.

(*b*) University Library, Cambridge, ff. i. 24. Quarto. This parchment MS. contains four

[1] From the present writer's edition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. xvi sqq.

works, of which the Testaments are the fourth, written on folios 203*a*–262*b*. It belongs to the tenth century. It is written in double columns, twenty lines in a column. The initials and titles are in red, except the first, which is in gold. It was from this MS. that Grosseteste's Latin Version was made.

(*c*) Vatican Library, Cod. Graec. 731. This is a small octavo MS. written on paper, with twenty-two or twenty-three lines on each page. Besides the Testaments it contains extracts from the Fathers. The Testaments are given on folios 97*a*–167*b*. The script of the latter belongs probably to the thirteenth century. This is the most important of all the MSS.

(*d*) Vatican Library, Gk. 1238. This is a vellum MS. in three volumes of the LXX belonging to the thirteenth century. On the close of the LXX follows the Testament of Job, folios 340*a*–349*b*, and on 350–380 of our present text. There are from 33–39 lines in each page. Strangely enough, above the general title of the Testaments, Διαθῆκαι τῶν ιβ πατριαρχῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ, appear the words Λεπτῆς Γενέσεως, which is one of the titles of the Book of Jubilees. That there was a close relation between these books we know independently.

(*e*) Mount Athos MS. This MS. is written in two columns of forty lines each in a good hand of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on folios 197*b*–229*a*. This MS. is of great interest, as it contains three large additions to the text: the first before καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους in T. Lev. ii. 3, consisting of a prayer of Jacob; the second after the word ἡμερῶν in T. Lev. xviii. 2, and the third after τῆς γῆς in T. Ash. vii. 2. The third consists of two and two-third columns of certain Christian disquisitions on love and the Trinity. The second is the remarkable Greek fragment, which I have printed in Appendix III in my edition of the Text, and which we show elsewhere to be a translation from a Hebrew work, which was probably an original source of the Testaments.

(*f*) Paris MS. 938. This is a beautifully written MS. of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on the first seventy-two folios. Each page contains twenty-three lines. On folio 1*a* there is a list of Old Testament names, including the twelve patriarchs, with their meanings. The Testaments proper begin on 1*b*. It is characteristic of this MS. that after the title of each Testament it adds the meaning of the proper name, and also that, at the conclusion of each Testament, it adds the number of years that the patriarch lived. In the latter feature it is followed by the first Slavonic Recension (S^1). After the Testaments follow the Testament of Job and other writings.

(*g*) MS. 411 in the Library of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Patmos. It is a quarto MS. written on parchment, and assigned by H. C. Coxe to the sixteenth century.

(*h*) Mount Sinai MS. No. 547 in the Library of St. Catherine. See Gardthausen, *Cat. Codd. Graec. Sinaiticorum*, p. 132. This MS., 14·5 by 10·35 cm., was written in the seventeenth century. It contains seventeen lines on each page. It is incomplete and comes to an end with T. Jos. xv. 7. This MS. has the following peculiar introduction: Ἰωάννου τοῦ ποτε ἑβραίου εἴδησις τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν ιβ' υἱῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακὼβ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαικοῦ διαλέκτου εἰς Ἑλληνικήν. The statement is true, but where the scribe got it we cannot determine.

(*i*) Mount Sinai MS. This MS. was discovered accidentally in the Convent Library in the spring of 1906 by Mrs. Gibson. This MS. was written not earlier than the seventeenth century. It contains 21–23 lines on each page. It has the same peculiar introduction as *h*. See preceding MS.

§ 4. The Armenian MSS.

There are many MSS. of this version. The first five are designated by the symbols attached to them in the Venice edition of the text by the Mechitarist Fathers. The rest owe their designation to the present editor. When cited they appear as A^a, A^b, &c.

A^a. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, Venice, No. 345. This MS., five by seven inches, was written in the year 1220 on paper. It belongs to the first recension of the text.

A^{b*}. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 280. This MS. is the worst representative of the second recension of the Armenian version.

A^b. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 679. This MS., six by ten inches, was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, in double columns of twenty-six lines each, and consists of 679 folios. It belongs to the first recension.

A^c. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 229. This MS. Bible, eight by ten inches, was written on vellum in double columns of fifty lines each in the year 1655.

A^d. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 1366. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century on paper, in double columns of forty-three lines each.

A^e. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century and belongs to the London Bible Society.

A^f. This MS. Bible, which belongs to the Catholicos of the Armenian Church at Edschmiadzin

in Armenia, was there photographed by Conybeare in 1891. The MS. is written in two columns of fifty lines each in a beautiful hand.

A^g. This MS. Bible, which was written in the seventeenth century, belongs to Lord Zouche.

A^h. Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. *c.* 30 (thirteenth century). Only five Testaments are found in this MS., and in the following order: Simeon (folio 168^a), Levi (173^a), Joseph (183^b), Benjamin (195^b), Judah (202^a). The MS. is written in two or more hands (latest eighteenth century), and there are two types of text. Fortunately the four first-mentioned Testaments and T. Judah i–xiv. $8^{a\,b\,c}$ (i.e. ἐὰν . . . αἰσχροῤῥημονεῖν) belong to the first recension, and only T. Jud. xiv. $8^{d\,e}$–xxvi. to the second. This MS. thus attests the same type of text as $A^{a\,b}$, but it is more closely related to A^a than to A^b.

All the preceding MSS. have been used by the present editor. There are three others, of two of which he has no knowledge.

A^i. A Vatican MS. of the Bible cited once by Conybeare. See *JQR* viii. (1896), p. 260. It belongs to the seventeenth century.

A^k. Mechitarist Library, Vienna, No. 126 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1895, p. 71, 411 sqq.), This MS. was written in the year 1388. On the first 105 folios it contains the history of Joseph and Asenath. Then follow the Testaments. Of these Reuben, Dan, Naphtali, are missing. The order of the remaining nine is peculiar, agreeing in the first five with that of A^h. Thus we have Simeon, Levi, Joseph, Benjamin, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Gad, Asher. A study of the titles of these Testaments given in Sinker's Appendix, p. 25, and the German translation of the T. Jud. xxiv–xxvi, and T. Benj. x. 8^b–xii, by Dr. Paul Hunanian, makes it at once clear that A^k belongs to the first Armenian recension, and furthermore, that A^k is more nearly related to $A^{a\,h}$ than to A^b, and to A^h than to A^a.

(A^l). The Hof-Bibliothek, Vienna, No. 11 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen HSS.*, p. 19, 1891).

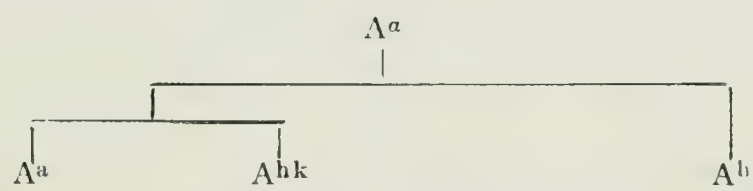
§ 5. The Slavonic Version and its two Recensions S^1, S^2.

This version is late and is based on the type of text represented by *acf*, and of these it attaches most closely to *f*; for S^1 always and occasionally S^2 agree in making the addition at the close of each Testament, that is to be found in *f* alone of the Greek MSS. This version, as I have shown in my edition, exhibits traces of the influence also of *a*.

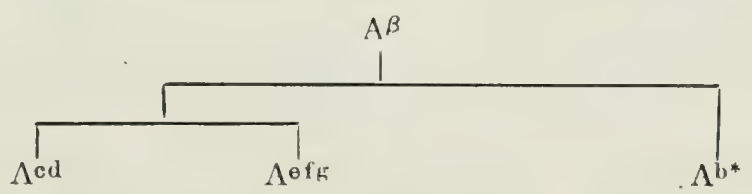
The two Slavonic recensions S^1 and S^2 are primarily taken from the so-called Palea (Greek Παλαιά), which contain short accounts of events mentioned in the Old Testament. They are printed in Tichonravov's work entitled *Pamjatniki otrechennoi Russkoi Literaturi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1863).

§ 6. The Armenian Version in its two Recensions A^α, A^β. Value of this Version.

As we have already observed in § 4, there are two recensions of this version, A^α, A^β. A^α, which is found in non-Biblical MSS., includes four MSS., A^{abhk}. The relations of these MSS. can be represented as follows :—



A^β, which appears to be found only in Biblical MSS., includes $A^{b*cdefg}$. Of these A^{b*} stands aloof from the rest. Its idiosyncrasies are innumerable, but in a very few cases, where it diverges from the other representatives of this recension, it has the support of the best Greek MSS. The relations of these MSS are as follows :—



The variations between A^α and A^β are very numerous, but the greater part of them appear to have arisen from internal corruption, or from the attempt on the part of the scribe of A^α to abbreviate the text. But over and above these differences, there are certain important sections where the differences

between the two recensions go back to the Greek, as in T. Levi ii. 7–10, xiv. 1, where A^{α} agrees with α against β, and in T. Levi iii. 1–5, where A^{α} is less corrupt than α, and gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew archetype.

Exclusive of the sections just mentioned, A, taken as a whole, agrees with β S against α (see my edition of the Text, p. xv sq.). But within β there are two secondary types of text, to which *aef* and *bdg* belong respectively. All but universally A agrees with *bdg* where *bdg* differs from *aef*.

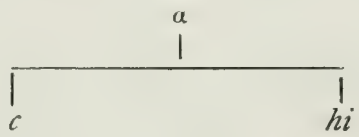
The value of A will be best understood when we come to deal with the Christian interpolations in the text. These are by no means absent from A, but they are present in a much less degree in A than in α and β. This is especially the case in the last two Testaments.

But, however valuable A is, it must be admitted that on almost every page it is guilty of omissions. These omissions are made obvious to the reader by the use of brackets. All words enclosed thus ⌜ ⌝ are omitted by A.

§ 7. The Greek Version in two Recensions α, β.

The Greek version is found in two forms, α and β. I do not call them recensions, since, as I have sought in my edition to prove, they very probably go back to distinct forms in the Hebrew.

α and its characteristics. α is represented by three MSS., *chi*. Their relations may be represented as follows:—



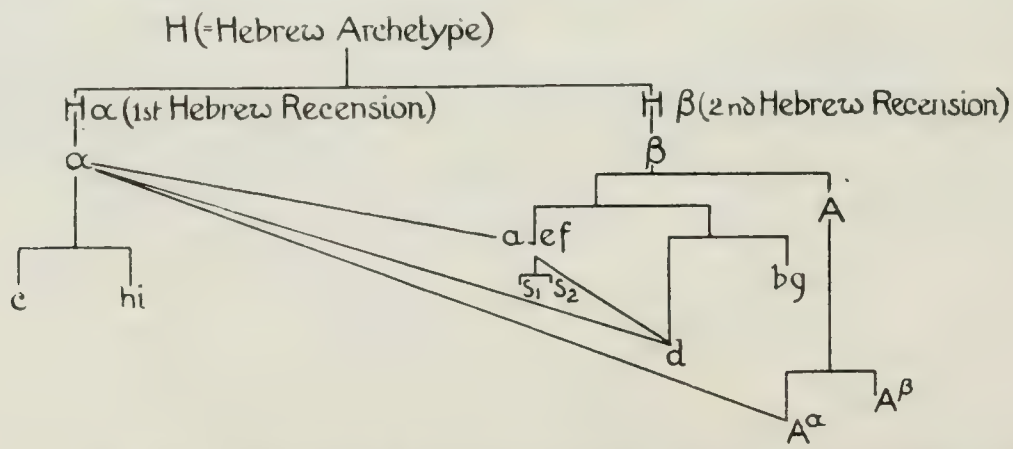
hi are derived from one and the same parent and show signs of a mixed ancestry (i.e. the influence of β), and herein diverge occasionally from *c*. α shows some omissions such as T. Reub. ii. 3^{b}–4^{a}, T. Jud. vi. 1–2, xii. 6–10, &c. Though much freer than β from Christian interpolations, it too has suffered from the Christian scribes' ill-directed activity.

β and its characteristics. β is represented by six MSS., *abdefg*, which represent two diverging types of text, *aef* showing affinities with α, and *bdg* with A. We have already pointed out (§ 5) that S is derived from *aef*. *aef* agree closely together, but not so *bdg*. Furthermore *bdg* are remarkable for large additions to the text in T. Zeb. vi. 4–6, vii–viii. 3, ix. 8^{cd}. These may have belonged to the original tradition.

Space will not admit of a description of *bdg*, but a few characteristics of *b* should here be noted. The variants of this MS. are sometimes due to deliberate emendation. Thus in T. Lev. xvii. 2 the priesthood of an ancient worthy is said to have been πλήρης μετὰ κυρίου, i.e. שלם עם יי, 'perfect with the Lord.' But the scribe of *b*, failing naturally to understand this Semitic idiom, wrote πλήρης μετὰ φόβου κυρίου. Not infrequently it alters the text against all the other authorities. Thus it adds καὶ ἐθαύμαζον in T. Jos. xvii. 5, ζήσεσθε in T. Jud. xvi. 2, changes συντρέχει into συνεργεῖ in T. Benj. iv. 5, συγγενῇ into συμπεισθῇς in T. Jos. vii. 3, and in iv. 5, &c. On the other hand, it possibly preserves two words καὶ νότου in T. Jud. v. 2, which have been lost in all the other MSS. Though a good representative of the type *bdg*, *b* cannot form a secure foundation on which to build a text.

d. This MS. exhibits peculiarities on every page. Though agreeing generally with *bg*, it attests readings of α and also of *aef* against *bg*.

The affinities of the various MSS. and Versions may be represented as follows:—



In this table all the main connexions are represented, but not the influence that in a few cases the descendants of β have exerted on *hi*.

§ 8. The Greek Version a Translation from the Hebrew.

Apart from Grabe, no notable scholar has advocated a Hebrew original till recently. Even Grabe, though he declared for a Hebrew original, advanced no linguistic arguments in support of his contention. It is remarkable that such a great Semitic scholar as Dillmann (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] xii. 362) could write: 'Since the publication of Nitzsch's study all are agreed that the book is not a translation, but was originally written in Greek.' Dr. Sinker in the Cambridge edition of the Greek text is still more pronounced.

To two Jewish scholars, Kohler (1893) and Gaster (1904) within the last twenty years belongs the honour of reopening the question of a Hebrew original of the Testaments, but the former did not advance any linguistic evidence, and the latter, though he brought forward a few good points, failed to establish his thesis. Shortly after the above articles were written the present writer began his study of the Testaments, in the course of which he early came to the conclusion, which he set forth in the *Encyc. Biblica* i. 241 (1899), that the bulk of the work was written before 100 B.C., and subsequently in full detail in *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 1908. Since that date this thesis has been accepted by all Semitic scholars.

In what follows only a few specimens of the evidence for a Hebrew original can be given. A fuller statement of the evidence will be found in my edition of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlii–l (1908), and a nearly complete one in my edition of the *Greek Versions* (pp. xxiii–xxxix) above referred to.

1°. *Hebrew constructions and expressions are to be found on every page. Though the vocabulary is Greek, the idiom is frequently Hebraic and foreign to the Greek language.*

T. Reub. i. 6 ἀγνοίᾳ νεότητος = 'sins of youth', i. e. פשע נעורים; iii. 8 συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ = בן בתורה; iv. 6 οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν = בלא עתם; vi. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατό = בו בחר.

T. Sim. ii. 12 καίγε = וגם in its adversative meaning = 'but'—a non-Greek use. Cf. Eccles. iii. 13, vi. 7; in iv. 4 ἠγάπησέ με σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου (α) = אהבני עם אחי. In β we have the normal rendering ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδελφούς. v. 4 ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσι = בלוי יִרְעוּ; v. 5 οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Λευί = לא יכלו ללוי (the same Hebraism recurs in T. Iss. iv. 4; T. Dan v. 4); vi. 5 σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ. Here as in T. Lev. ii. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἑαυτῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered simply by αὐτός. Cf. Midrash Wajjikra on Lev. xvii. 3 אנא בעצמי גואל אתחם.

T. Lev. viii. 8 κλάδον . . . ἐλαίας πιότητος = 'a branch of the oil-olive', i. e. זית שמן; cf. Deut. viii. 8; viii. 14 ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν = יקרא לו שם חדש.

T. Jud. vii. 1 ὄχλος βαρύς = חיל כבד 'a numerous army'; xii. 8 ἕως τῆς ζωῆς μου = בחיי 'so long as I lived'; xx. 4 ἐν στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ, which is absolutely unintelligible, is full of meaning in the Hebrew = בלב עצמו 'on his very heart'; xxv. 1 ἔξαρχοι σκήπτρων = 'chiefs of the tribes' (שבטים).

T. Ash. iii. 1 ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύεται εἰς αὐτήν = אלהים ישכן בה 'God hath his habitation therein'.

T. Jos. ii. 3 ἔδωκέ με ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον = נתן אתי לרחמים לפני (cf. Dan. i. 9), 'granted me to find mercy in the sight of'; xii. 3 ποίησον μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν = עשה משפט עמו.

T. Benj. x. 11 κατοικήσετε ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐν ἐμοί = תשבו לבטח בי 'ye shall dwell *securely* with me'. The same mistranslation is found in Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 28, &c.

The above instances are sufficient in themselves to prove the derivation of the text from a Hebrew original. The bulk of the above expressions could hardly, on any hypothesis, have been written for the first time in Greek. But the evidence can be multiplied fourfold, both in quantity and conclusiveness.

2°. *Dittographic renderings of the same Hebrew phrase, and expressions in the Greek implying dittographs in the Hebrew MS. before the translator.*

In T. Naph. iii. 5 ἀπὸ κατοικησίας . . . τάξας τὴν γῆν ἀοίκητον is a clear instance of dittography. The original may have been מבלי יושב which is twice rendered in the Greek. In vi. 2 the impossible μεστὸν ταρίχων ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν is due to the same cause. μεστὸν ταρίχων = מלא מלוחים, a corruption of בלא מלחים = ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν. One more will here suffice. In viii. 4, 6 there are a strophe and an antistrophe. The latter consists of six lines, but the former of seven. Now if we compare them closely, we discover the six lines of the antistrophe correspond line for line to the first six lines in the strophe. Thus the seventh line is against the structure of the stanza. It is also against the sense. How then did it come to be here? We discover the reason the moment we retranslate into Hebrew. The genuine line καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς (cf. the corresponding line in the antistrophe καὶ ὁ κύριος μισήσει αὐτόν) = ואלהים יאהבכם which was written corruptly a second time as ומלאכים יאחזכם.

3°. *Paronomasiae which are lost in the Greek can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*

We can recover more than a dozen of these by retranslation, the most of them having to do with the names of the patriarchs, i. e. on Simeon, Gershom, Kohath, Merari, Jochebed, Judah, Issachar, Gad, Zebulun, Naphtali, Bilhah, Asher, Benjamin. See my edition of the *Greek Versions*, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

4°. *Many passages which are obscure or wholly unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation.*

In T. Reub. iv. 9 πολλὰ ἐποίησε αὐτῷ, where the text is speaking of Potiphar's wife trying to ensnare Joseph, cannot be right. As Perles has pointed out, תרבה לו is corrupt for תארב לו, i. e. 'she lay in wait for him'.

In T. Sim. iii. 6 καὶ λοιπὸν συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονουμένῳ
καὶ συγγινώσκει τοῖς †ἀγαπῶσιν† αὐτόν
καὶ οὕτως πανέται τοῦ φθόνου

cannot be right, and as Perles recognizes the error lies in ἀγαπῶσιν which is against the parallelism and sense. Here τοῖς ἀγ. αὐτόν = אהביו, corrupt for איביו 'those hostile to him'.

In T. Lev. ii. 8 the second heaven is said to be brighter and more brilliant than the first, ἦν γὰρ καὶ ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ ἄπειρον. Clearly there is something wrong here. The greater brightness of the second heaven cannot be due to its greater loftiness. The error, therefore, lies in the ὕψος. This word = גֹּבַהּ, which is corrupt for נֹגַהּ = φῶς or φέγγος. Thus the brightness of the second heaven was due to a boundless light (φῶς ἄπειρον) that was therein. This light may have been physical, if we may adopt the Talmudic view, which represents the sun, moon, and stars as being in the second heaven (Chag. 12[b]).

In T. Jud. ix. 3 καὶ †ἤρθη† νεκρὸς ἐν ὄρει Σιείρ, καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐν Ἀνονιρὰμ ἀπέθανεν (β, S[1]), the words καὶ . . . ἀπέθανεν are omitted by α as unintelligible. But a comparison with the Midrash Wajjissau where the same incident is recounted shows that this clause belongs to the original text, and in the form in which it appears in β, S[1]. Moreover these authorities help us to discover how the corruption in νεκρός arose. νεκρός = נבלה, whereas the Midrash has נחלה = τετραυματισμένος. Thus Esau was wounded on Mount Seir and died as he was passing over Anoniram.

T. Jud. xxi. 6 οἱ μὲν †κινδυνεύουσιν† αἰχμαλωτιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλουτοῦσιν ἁρπάζοντες τὰ ἀλλότρια. Here instead of κινδυνεύουσιν, we require a verb forming an antithesis to πλουτοῦσιν. Now κινδυνεύουσιν = יִסְכְּנוּ (late Hebrew) which in earlier Hebrew = πτωχεύουσιν.

T. Zeb. ix. 2 ἐὰν δὲ εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεθῶσιν, ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει αὐτά, καὶ γίνονται †εὐκαταφρόνητα†. Here, as Perles has pointed out, εὐκαταφρόνητα = יִמָּאֲסוּ, which is either a corruption or secondary form of יִמַּסוּ = 'melt away', 'vanish'. The same corruption underlies ὡς ὕδωρ †ἄχρηστον† (= 'as useless water') = כמים נמאסים, corrupt for כמים נמסים 'vanishing away as water'.

In T. Jos. xi. 7 ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτὸν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ †ἔργῳ†(α). β, A omit καὶ ἔργῳ as unintelligible. But by retranslation the source of the corruption springs to light. ἔργῳ = עבדה, which the translator read as עֲבֹדָה = ἔργῳ, but which he should have read as עֲבָדָה = 'household servants'.

The above form a small part of the passages where the Greek text has to be retranslated in order to discover the source of the corruption. In all these passages there is no divergence between the MSS. and Versions. In the next section we shall discuss only those passages in the text where the MSS. and Versions attest different readings, α generally standing in opposition to β, A, S.

By means of the evidence thus forthcoming we hope to advance a stage further than we have yet reached. We have proved that our book is derived from an Hebrew original: we shall now try and prove that α and β did not originate in the Greek but are derived respectively from two distinct Hebrew recensions H^{α} and H^{β}.

§ 9. The Two Greek Types of Text, α and β, appear to be derived from two Hebrew Recensions, H^{α} and H^{β}.

α and β are not, strictly speaking, Greek recensions; for their chief variations appear not to have originated in the Greek, but to go back to diverse forms of text already existing in the Hebrew, which we denote as H^{α} and H^{β}. Of these two recensions, H^{α} and H^{β}, sometimes one gives the correct text, sometimes the other. According to the most likely hypothesis H^{α} was first translated into Greek, i. e. α, and then H^{β} was rendered into Greek by a translator who had α before him. In regard to the Book of Daniel the same hypothesis is necessary. The LXX version was undoubtedly made first, and subsequently that of Theodotion from a Semitic text diverging considerably from that used by the translator of the LXX version, not merely in individual readings but also in the subject-matter, especially in Daniel iv. Now in the case of the text before us the same phenomenon is repeated, but on a very much smaller scale. In T. Lev. ii. 7–iii, the description of the Three Heavens is more or less faithfully handed down in α A, whereas in the corresponding chapters in β there is an account of the Seven Heavens. There is no good ground for assuming that this divergence originated in the Greek and not in the Hebrew; for such duplicate accounts of the same event are found occasionally in the Hebrew books of the O.T., and in the Zadokite Fragments. Moreover, I will now give a few of the passages, where α and β undoubtedly presuppose variations in the Hebrew. The variants will be underlined.

T. Benj. xii. 2 (α) ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνῳ καλῷ. (β, A) ἀπέθανε . . . ἐν γήρει καλῷ.

Here H^{β} (i. e. β, A) is undoubtedly right. In H^{α} שיבה (= γήρει) was corrupted into שינה = ὕπνῳ. The same

corruption was present in both H^{α} and H^{β} in T. Zeb. x. 6; T. Dan vii. 1 (*c*); T. Ash. viii. 1; T. Jos. xx. 4; whereas both Hebrew recensions were right in T. Iss. vii. 9. The above conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in the Hebrew Test. Naph. i. 1 we find בשיבה טובה. Though this Testament is not the original Testament of Naphtali, it preserves in several passages a more original text than the Greek.

T. Ash. vi. 6 (*α*) *εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.* (*β*, A) *παραμυθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐν ζωῇ.*

Here H^{α} is right and not H^{β}. The angel of peace, who is mentioned earlier in the verse, conducts the good soul into eternal life. Here *εἰσφέρει* = ינחה, which in H^{β} was corrupted into ינחם. *ὁδηγεῖ* would have been the usual rendering of ינחה, as we find in T. Benj. vi. 1 *ὁ γὰρ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ὁδηγεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.* The LXX implies the same corruption of ינחה into ינחם in 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18, and Symmachus the converse corruption in Job xxxix. 25.

T. Reub. iv. 1 (*α*) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν.* (*β*) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι ἐν γράμμασιν.*

Here *α*, which is in part supported by A, is clearly right. *ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς* = במעשים ישרים, of which ישרים was corrupted in H^{β} into ושרים = *καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι.*[1]

T. Ash. vi. 5 (*α*) *ὅτε γὰρ πονηρὰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.* (*β*, A) *ὅτε γὰρ τεταραγμένη ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.*

Here רעושה (= *τεταραγμένη*) in H^{β} was corrupted in H^{α} into רשעה = *πονηρά.*

T. Jos. iv. 7 (*α aef*) *ἀντεφιλονείκει.* (*bg*, A) *ἐσιώπησε.*

Here H^{α} read התחרתה which was a corruption of H^{β} התחרשה.

T. Jos. iv. 3 (*α*) *τῆς δολιότητος αὐτῆς.* (*β*, A) *τῆς Αἰγυπτίας.*

Here H^{α} = מִמְּצֻדֶּיהָ 'from her snares' (so Perles, but neither *δόλιος* nor its derivatives ever render this Hebrew word in the LXX): or = מתרמיתה and H^{β} ממצרית.

T. Zeb. iv. 3 (*α*) *ἀπεδόθη* = נמסר. (*β*, A) *ἐπράθη* = נמכר.

The above instances are sufficient to establish the existence of two distinct types of text in the Hebrew—H^{α}, H^{β}. For over thirty other passages in the Testaments where the variations postulate the same conclusion see Introd. to my Text, § 12.

§ 10. Date of the original Hebrew.

The date of the original Hebrew is not difficult to determine. Thus Reuben (T. Reub. vi. 10–11) admonishes his sons: 'Draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth . . . because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation.' Here a high-priest who is also king is referred to. Such a combination of officers naturally makes us think of the Maccabean priest-kings of the second century B.C. Moreover, the possibility of doubting this reference is excluded by the words that immediately follow: 'And bow down before his seed; for on our behalf it shall die in wars visible and invisible and shall be among you an eternal king.' A similar statement is made in T. Sim. v. 5. Thus the high-priest is not only to be high-priest and civil ruler, but also a warrior. That the Maccabean high-priests are here designed cannot be reasonably doubted. But the identification becomes undeniable as further marks and tokens of this priestly dynasty come to light. Thus it is said that this priesthood shall be called by a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14). Now the Maccabean high-priests were the first Jewish priests to assume the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title anciently borne by Melchizedek, and applied to the Maccabean high-priests in Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, Josephus, and the Talmud. A kindred title of the same significance is applied according to a growing body of expositors to Simon the Maccabee in Ps. cx. In due accord with these facts our text (T. Lev. viii. 14) declares that a new name should mark the new priesthood.

But the praises accorded in this book could not apply to all the Maccabean priest-kings; for, since it was written by a Pharisee, it could not have been composed after the breach arose between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees towards the close of the second century B.C. Thus the date of composition lies between 153, when Jonathan the Maccabee assumed the high-priesthood, and the year of the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees. But the limits can be determined more closely. To only one member of the Maccabean dynasty are the prophetic gifts assigned in our text (T. Lev. viii. 15) in conjunction with the functions of kingship and priesthood. Now in all Jewish history the triple offices were ascribed to only one individual, John Hyrcanus. Hence we conclude that the Testaments were written between 137 and 107 B.C. But the limits may be fixed still more

[1] Since *καλοῖς* would be the stock rendering of טובים, it is possible that this word stood in H^{α} and was corrupted into וטועים in H^{β}.

definitely. For the text refers most probably to the destruction of Samaria, T. Lev. vi. 11. In that case our book was written between 109 and 107 B. C. (see my edition, pp. l–liii).

§ 11. Integrity, Authorship, Sources.

The groundwork, which consists of about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments, after the removal of the Jewish and Christian additions (§§ 12, 13), presents, it must be confessed, a certain want of coherence, and the parts dealing with the duty of submission to Levi, or to Levi and Judah jointly, come in at times very abruptly. Notwithstanding, I accept on the whole the unity of the book; for its two main characteristics—the strictly Ḥasid element in the book and its loyal acceptance of the Maccabean dynasty—belong to the period to which our author belongs and to none other before or after. Furthermore, both these parts of the book are universalistic in tone. On the other hand, much of the unevenness of the book may be due to the use of sources and to faulty transmission of the text.

The author was a Pharisee of the early type. He was an upholder of the Law and of the Temple sacrifices: he looked for the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection of the body to a new life therein. He taught the duties of chastity, truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, and temperance. Our author has drawn freely on earlier books and traditions. He shows a wide acquaintance with the O.T., Sirach, and 1 Enoch, as well as of other ancient works—such as the account of the War of Jacob and his sons against the Amorites utilized in T. Jud. iii–vii, Jubilees xxxiv. 1–9, the Midrash Wajjissau (see my Text, pp. 235–8), and the Book of Jasher: the account of the war between Jacob and Esau utilized in T. Jud. ix, Jubilees xxxvii–xxxviii, and the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132.

Another very important source for the T. Levi has just been discovered in the lost Hebrew document, from which the Aramaic and Greek fragments are printed in my *Greek Versions of the Testaments*, pp. 245–56, and translated in my *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. 228–35. This source deals with the temple ritual of the second century B. C. and is therefore of great importance from an historical standpoint.

Our author drew also upon a Hebrew document dealing with the 'Two Ways' in the T. Asher and upon Jewish tradition generally on a great variety of points.

§ 12. Jewish Additions to the Original Work.

A large body of these additions can be classed under one head, as interpolated at a certain period and written with a well-defined object. The period was about 70–40 B. C., and the object of the additions was the overthrow of the Maccabean high-priesthood, which in the first century B. C. had become guilty of the most abandoned lewdness and baseness.

1°. *First century additions:—*

T. Lev. x, xiv–xvi.
T. Jud. xvii. 2–xviii. 1 (?), xxi. 6–xxiii, xxiv. 4–6.
T. Zeb. ix.
T. Dan v. 6–7, vii. 3 (?).
T. Naph. iv.
T. Gad viii. 2.
T. Ash. vii. 4–7.

In these passages the nation is declared to be guilty of apostasy; the laying waste of the Temple is predicted, and a second captivity: a redemption of the nation either by God Himself or by a Messiah sprung from Judah, and a blessed return to their own land. In all these respects these passages agree with the Psalms of Solomon, which belong to the same period.

Another characteristic of these additions is their frequent citation of the Enoch literature. The citations cannot be found in 1 Enoch, but bear a close affinity to certain passages in 2 Enoch, whence we may reasonably infer the existence of certain portions of that literature, which were subsequently embodied in some form in 2 Enoch.

2°. *Other additions of various dates:—*

T. Reub. ii. 3–iii. 2.
T. Lev. xvii. 1–9.
T. Zeb. vi. 4–6, vii–viii. 3.
T. Jos. x. 5–xviii.

On this section see my edition, pp. lvii–lxi.

§ 13. Christian additions.

These additions are found in nearly all the Testaments and were made at different periods. The dominant characteristic of all these additions (which are bracketed in the following translations, and a full list of which is given in my edition, pp. lxi–lxv) is their *dogmatic* character. They always import dogmatic Christian statements into a Jewish text, to which they are naturally alien in character. A few English scholars on the ground of these undoubted interpolations have proceeded to infer that all other passages common to the Testaments XII Patriarchs and the N.T. must have been interpolated in the former from the latter. But these scholars have failed to observe the characteristic differences between the two sets of passages in question. In the case of the first we have *dogmatic Christian statements* interpolated in a *Jewish work at variance not only with the teaching and character of that work as a whole, but also at variance with their respective contexts.* But in regard to the second, we have ethical sayings and teachings, *which are in harmony not only with the spirit of the book as a whole, but also with their respective contexts.* The ethical teaching, while very much loftier than that of the O.T., is yet its true spiritual child, and, though not so pure and sublime as that of the N.T., is a product of the school that prepared the way for the N.T.

It is hard to understand the mental attitude of those who regard these ethical teachings as Christian interpolations. Three-fourths of these teachings have no direct parallels in the N.T., and they stand practically on the same level as the rest, which are parallel to, or rather have exercised a direct influence on, the N.T. The only reasonable conclusion is that these ethical teachings belong to the original Testaments.

Fragments of an ethical tradition which was largely independent of the O.T. are preserved in the Story of Ahikar. That this story with its moral goes back to a very ancient date we now know, since Aramaic fragments of the fifth century B.C. have been recently discovered. For the account of this story the reader should consult Dr. Rendel Harris' study of it at the close of this volume. Now our author appears to have borrowed a few of his sayings from this story. Thus—

Ahikar, *Syr. Version* 28 (Syr. 28; Arab. 19[b], 58[b]). '**If thine enemy meet thee with evil meet him** with wisdom' ('**with good**' Syr. Frag. 20).

T. Jos. xviii. 2 '**If any one seeketh to do evil to thee do him a good turn,** and pray for him, and so from all evil shall ye be redeemed of the Lord'. Cf. T. Benj. iii. 3.

Greek version preserved in Aesop. xxvi. 6 **τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε·** *φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μᾶλλον βλάψεις.*

T. Gad iii. 3 (*ὁ μισῶν*) *τῷ* **κατορθοῦντι φθονεῖ.** vii. 1 *ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς εὐοδοῦται μὴ λυπεῖσθε, ἀλλ' εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἵνα τελείως εὐοδοῦται* (b d e g A S[1]). 2 *καὶ* **ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑψοῦται, μὴ φθονεῖτε.** T. Sim. iii. 6 **συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονουμένῳ.**

These parallels are close; but it will be observed how our author has touched to finer issues and glorified what he has borrowed, far above the highest imaginings of Ahikar.

Ahikar Syr. 19 (Syr. Frag. 7) '**My son, go not after the beauty of a woman:** and **lust not after her in thy heart.**'

T. Reub. iv. 1 **μὴ οὖν προσέχετε, τέκνα μου, κάλλος γυναικῶν.** Cf. T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4. T. Benj. viii. 2 **ὁ ἔχων διάνοιαν καθαρὰν** (*β* S[1]) . . . **οὐχ ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα εἰς πορνείαν.**

With the above we might compare Matt. v. 28 *πᾶς* **ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν** *ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν* **αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.**

Once more in T. Jos. iii. 5 the words, which Joseph uses with regard to himself, *ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεδήμει ὁ κύριός μου οἶνον οὐκ ἔπινον καὶ ἐλάμβανόν μου τὴν τροφὴν καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὴν τοῖς πένησιν,* seem to be used deliberately to contrast his conduct with that of Nadan the nephew of Ahikar, who acted in the opposite fashion, when he believed Ahikar was dead. As Drs. James and Harris have already pointed out, the story of Ahikar lies at the base of the Parable of the Wicked Servant, Matt. xxiv. 48–51 || Luke xii. 45–6.

§ 14. Influence on Jewish and Patristic Literature.

See my edition pp. lxxiv–lxxviii.

§ 15. Influence on the New Testament.

Since the influence of the Testaments on the N.T. has been very extensive only some of the chief instances of this influence can be touched on here. The reader can consult my edition, pp. lxxviii–xcii, where it is shown that the Sermon on the Mount reflects in several instances the

spirit and even reproduces the very phrases of our text: that many passages in the Gospels exhibit traces of the same, and that St. Paul seems to have used the book as a *vade mecum*.

1. **Forgiveness.** Matt. xviii. 15 ἐὰν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὕπαγε ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον.

xviii. 35 ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

T. Gad vi. 3 (β) ἐάν τις ἁμαρτήσει εἰς σε εἰπὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . . καὶ ἐὰν . . . μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

vi. 6 ἡσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς. v. 7 ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας.

With the above we must take Luke xvii. 3 ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

That the N.T. passages are here dependent cannot be reasonably denied.

2. **Duty of loving God and our neighbour.** Matt. xxii. 37–9 ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ . . . τῇ ψυχῇ σου . . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

T. Dan v. 3 ἀγαπήσατε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ †ζωῇ† ὑμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ.

Our text, which enunciates the same duty twice elsewhere, T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6, is the first literatory authority to conjoin the two great commands of love to God and love to our neighbour. These commandments are given separately in Deut. vi. 5 and Lev. xix. 18. In the latter passage and possibly in our text the sphere of neighbourhood is limited to Israelites, but in our Lord's use there is no limit of race or country.

3°. Various borrowings of ideas or diction.

Matt. xxv. 35, 36 ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν . . . ἠσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ ἤλθατε πρός με.

Luke ii. 19 συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα . . . ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

Acts xii. 11 ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρός.

John i. 9 τὸ φῶς . . . ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον.

v. 41 δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνω.

T. Jos. i. 5, 6 ἐν λιμῷ συνεσχέθην καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος διέθρεψέ με . . . ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἤμην καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπεσκέψατό με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ θεός μου ἐχαρίτωσέ με.

T. Lev. vi. 2 συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου.

T. Sim. ii. 8 ὁ θεὸς . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.

T. Lev. xiv. 4 τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου.

T. Benj. vi. 4 οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται δόξαν . . . ἀνθρώπων (β–a, S[1]).

4°. The Pauline borrowings are too numerous to be dealt with here. The reader can consult my text. There are over seventy words which are common to the Testaments and the Pauline Epistles, but which are not found in the rest of the N.T. Only a few of the most notable passages where St. Paul draws upon the Testament will here be appended:

1 Thess. ii. 16 ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ (+τοῦ θεοῦ D E F G, Itala. Vulg.) εἰς τέλος.

Rom. i. 32 οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν.

xii. 21 νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

1 Cor. iv. 4 οὐδὲν . . . ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα.

vii. 5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι . . . ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ.

2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται.

T. Lev. vi. 11 ἔφθασε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος.

T. Ash. vi. 2 καὶ πράσσουσι τὸ κακόν, καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν (α).

T. Benj. iv. 3 οὗτος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν νικᾷ τὸ κακόν.

T. Iss. vii. 1 οὐκ ἔγνων ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν.

T. Naph. viii. 8 καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας γυναικός, καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ.

T. Gad v. 7 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

§ 16. Theology, Forgiveness, the Two Great Commandments, Universalism, the Messiah, the Resurrection, the Antichrist.[1]

Forgiveness.—We have in our text a passage of truly epoch-making importance. Its importance cannot be grasped until we contrast the teaching of the New Testament with that of the Old on the question of man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament from the first page to the last it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects, these two forgivenesses are seen to be one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted, without money and without price, to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the divine pardon, and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. David on his death-bed shows this unforgiving spirit when he charges Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commands him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to

[1] This section is reprinted in the main from my edition of the Testaments, pp. xcii sqq.

preserve his life. There is certainly the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later O.T. writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct therein as worthy of imitation. There is, of course, the noble passage on the subject of beneficence to one's enemy in Prov. xxv. 21, 22: 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink. For thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head, And the Lord shall reward thee.' But to show how far these words are from representing the attitude which the saints should adopt to those who wronged them, we have only to turn back to the preceding chapter (Prov. xxiv. 17, 18), where we receive this remarkable piece of advice, 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, And let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown: Lest the Lord see it and it displease Him, And He turn away His wrath from him.' Moreover, the righteous man can pray to God to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies: 'Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up, that I may requite them' (Ps. xli. 10). Thus we may conclude on the whole that in the Old Testament the saint as well as the sinner could indulge in resentful feelings or even in personal vengeance.

Now that we have grasped the conflicting attitudes of the Old and New Testaments on this great moral and religious question, we are able to appreciate the value of the contribution which the Testaments make in this direction. This contribution is found in T. Gad vi. 3–7 (see also § 26, p. lxxviii of my edition). These verses, as I have said in my notes, contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii. 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And it is likewise the essence of the divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But, though such is the meaning of forgiveness in the full sense of the word, our author is aware that it is often impossible to attain to such a perfect relation with the offender. Thus forgiveness comes often to be synonymous with banishing the personal feeling of resentment which rises within us when we suffer wrong, and which, when indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender the way is always open for his return to a right relation with us, and so far as we do so we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

For the further prosecution of the parallels the reader should consult p. 292. We now see the importance of our text. It shows that pre-Christian Judaism possessed a noble system of ethics on the subject of forgiveness. By the early school of the Ḥasidim, or the pious ones of the Psalms, the best elements of the Old Testament had been taken up, studied and developed, and the highly ethical code of conduct deduced therefrom had been carried out in actual life by these ancient Quietists. But when Pharisaism, breaking with the ancient ideals of its party, committed itself to political interests and movements, and concurrently therewith surrendered itself more and more wholly to the study of the letter of the Law, it soon ceased to offer scope for the further development of such a lofty system of ethics as the Testaments attest, and so the true successors of the early Ḥasids and their teaching quitted Judaism and found their natural home in the bosom of primitive Christianity.

Duty of loving God and one's neighbour.—It is remarkable that the famous command in the Gospels that embodies all duty in itself, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart .... Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mark xii. 30, 31)—is already found in the Testaments, though less emphatically and vigorously stated. Thus in T. Iss. v. 2 we have, 'Love the Lord and your neighbour'; T. Dan. v. 3, 'Love the Lord through all your life, And one another with a true heart'; and again in T. Iss. vii. 6, Issachar declares, 'I loved the Lord; Likewise also every man with all my heart.'

Various ethical teachings.—The Testaments deal largely with the questions of hatred, lying, envy, hate, lust, covetousness and the virtues of long-suffering, truthfulness, love, purity, generosity, and the like. We can touch here only on a few of their pithy sayings on such subjects. Thus: 'Anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth' (T. Dan ii. 2). 'Hatred, therefore is evil; for it constantly mateth with lying' (T. Gad v. 1). 'Envy dominates the whole mind of man' (T. Sim. iii. 2), 'it has no rest while the object of it prospers' (iii. 3): 'Deliverance therefrom cometh through the fear of God' (iii. 4). Wherefore 'If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray for him that he may have perfect prosperity' (T. Gad vii. 1). 'When envy goes a man's mind is lightened, so that he can enjoy the well-being of his former rival' (T. Sim. iii. 5, 6). A man is 'not to keep a ledger account of the evil done him' by his neighbour' (T. Zeb. viii. 5), a clause that St. Paul borrows in 1 Cor. xiii. 5, where λογίζεται τὸ κακόν

is wrongly rendered in A.V. by 'thinketh no evil', and misleading in R.V. by 'taketh not account of evil'.

As regards the questions of temperance and total abstinence, what better advice could be given than that of this old writer: 'If ye drink wine with gladness, be ye modest with the fear of God. For if in your gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage . . . and perish before your time' (T. Jud. xvi. 2–3). 'Be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth away the mind from truth and inspireth the passion of lust . . . and if the occasion of lust be present, he worketh the sin and is not ashamed' (T. Jud. xiv. 1–3).

Universalism.—Although the Testaments were written about the same date as the Book of Jubilees and both books were the work of Pharisees, the views of the two authors were widely sundered on some of the greatest questions, and particularly on that of the destiny of the Gentiles. The author of Jubilees taught that there was no hope for the Gentiles: God had placed them under angelic guardians with the object of accomplishing their destruction (xv. 31). Moreover, the Jew who intermarried with them should be put to death, and the man who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gentile should be stoned with stones (xxx. 7–17). How different the spirit of the author of the Testaments. A true son of the larger-hearted O.T. prophets, he proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles. The promised time has come. The kingdom is already established, and all the Gentiles will be saved through Israel. In the Judgement the conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged. The teachings of the author on this question will be found in the note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

The first century B. C. additions are likewise characterized by the same Universalism. The Law was given to lighten every man, and the Gentiles were to be saved through the example and teaching of Israel (T. Lev. xiv. 4). The same view of the destiny of the Gentiles is found in the Pss. of Solomon (xvii. 32), though it is perhaps not as favourable as that in these additions. In other literature of the first century B. C. a harsher fate is predicted for the Gentiles, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi and the Assumption of Moses, and in 4 Ezra in the next century.

The Messiah.—In the original work the Messiah is to be descended from Levi, and not from Judah—in other words he is to be first of all priest, and then prophet and king. There are many passages expressing this view: T. Reub. vi. 7–12; T. Lev. viii. 14, xviii; T. Jud. xxiv. 1–3; T. Dan v. 10, 11; T. Jos. xix. 5–9. We have here the attestation of a most remarkable revolution in the Jewish expectations of the Messiah. For some thirty or forty years the hope of a Messiah from Judah was abandoned in favour of a Messiah from Levi. But with the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees this hope was abandoned, and so we find that in the first-century additions the hope of a Messiah from Judah reappears (T. Jud. xxiv. 5–6; T. Naph. iv. 5 (?)).

The prerogatives and powers ascribed to the priestly Messiah from Levi are very lofty. He was to be free from sin (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to walk in meekness and righteousness (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to establish a new priesthood under a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14), and also be a mediator for the Gentiles (T. Lev. viii. 14, emended); likewise he was to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Lev. viii. 15); to be a king over all the nation (T. Reub. vi. 11, 12; T. Lev. viii. 14); to war against Israel's national enemies and against Beliar and the powers of wickedness (T. Reub. vi. 12; T. Lev. xviii. 12; T. Dan v. 10), and deliver the captives taken by him, even the souls of the saints (T. Dan v. 11); to open Paradise to the righteous (T. Lev. xviii. 10; T. Dan v. 12), and give the saints to eat of the tree of life (T. Lev. xviii. 11). Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar (xviii. 12), who should be cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and sin should come to an end (T. Lev. xviii. 9).

It was the priestly character of the Maccabean priest-kings that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was also to be a priest as well as a king.

The Resurrection.—There is to be a resurrection, first of the O.T. heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous on the right hand and of the wicked on the left (T. Benj. x. 6–8). The scene of the future kingdom is to be the present earth. It is to last for ever.

Demonology.—The book represents a very developed demonology as a reference to 'Spirits' in Index II in my edition will show. The conception of Beliar in the Testaments is very advanced for this early date.

The Antichrist.—In the first century addition, T. Dan v. 6, we have the most ancient authority at present known to us for the view which connects the tribe of Dan with Antichrist, and helps to explain the exclusion of this tribe from the list of the Twelve in the N.T. Apocalypse.

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(*d*) Commentary.

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For a complete bibliography see this volume.

§ 18. Brackets and Symbols and Abbreviations.

Brackets. The same brackets are used in this book as throughout the entire work ; and in addition the brackets ⌜ ⌝ to signify that the words so enclosed are omitted by A.

Symbols and Abbreviations.

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i denote the Greek MSS.
a denotes the MSS. *c h i* of the first class.
β denotes the MSS. *a b d e f g* of the second class.
A denotes the Armenian Version.
A^a, A^{b*}, A^b, A^c, &c., denote the Armenian MSS.
A^α denotes the MSS. A^{abhk} of the first class.
A^β denotes the MSS. $A^{b*cdefg}$ of the second class.
S^1 denotes the first Slavonic recension.
S^2 denotes the second Slavonic recension.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

The Testament of Reuben, the first-born son of Jacob and Leah

1 1 The copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons ⌜before he
2 died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life⌝. Two years after the death of Joseph ⌜his
3 brother⌝, when Reuben fell ill, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. And
4 he said to them: My children, behold I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. And seeing
⌜there⌝ Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren, he said to them: Raise me up, that I may tell to
my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for behold now at length
5 I am passing away. And he arose and kissed them, and said unto them: Hear, my brethren, and
6 do ye, my children, give ear to Reuben your father. in the commands which I give unto you. And
behold I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the sins of
7 youth and fornication, wherein I was poured out, and defiled the bed of my father Jacob. And
I tell you that he smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not my father
8 Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, the Lord would have destroyed me. For I was thirty years old
9 when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord, and for seven months I was sick unto death. And
10 after this I repented with set purpose of my soul for seven years before the Lord. And wine and
strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I eat no pleasant food; but
I mourned over my sin, for it was great, such as had not been in Israel.

2 1 And now hear me, my children, what things I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit, when

Title. So h i. c is corrupt: b e f add 'regarding thoughts'; A^{aefg} 'the Book of the Chronicles, the words of Reuben, First (> A^{a}) Testament'; A^{b} 'Testament and words of Reuben from the Book of the Chronicles'.

1. **hundred and twenty-fifth year.** This agrees with the Midrash Tadshe (viii. Eppstein's edition) which is itself based on Jubilees and the Testaments. It gives Reuben's age as 125, Simeon's as 120, Levi's 137, Dan's 125, Judah's 119 (?), Naphtali's 133, Gad's 125, Issachar's 122, Asher's 123, and Joseph's 110.

2. **Two years after the death of Joseph.** This agrees with Jub. xxviii. 11, 24, which says Reuben was born in 2122 A.M. and Joseph in 2135. As Joseph died at the age of 110, Reuben lived two years longer to attain the age of 125.

his brother. So *a* d only.

3. **go the way of my fathers.** Cf. Joshua xxiii. 14 'Go the way of all the earth'. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 2, 10.

4. **Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren.** Joseph alone of the other patriarchs addresses his brethren as well as his sons.

what things I have in my heart. T. S. ii. 1.

now at length, = *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.* Thus the LXX translates הפעם in Gen. xlvi. 30 אמותא הפעם. Cf. *ἀπ' ἄρτι* in John i. 51 in some MSS. Also *ἀπ' ἄρτι*, Matt. xxvi. 64 = *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, Luke xxii. 69.

5. **Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear.** So *a* A^{c} S^{1}. Cf. T. Jos. i. 2. This reading suits the context better than 'hear, my brethren, and give ear' *β*–d g A^{deg}; or 'hear, my (> d) children, and give ear' d A^{ab}.

6. **I call to witness against you this day.** A reminiscence cf. Deut. iv. 26 where Moses calls heaven and earth to witness. *ἐπιμαρτύρομαι* is, however, unsuitable with 'God', and *ὁρκῶ*, 'I adjure,' is more so. Still we might compare Exod. xix. 21 *διαμάρτυραι.*

I was poured out. A classical use of *ἐξεχύθην.* Cf. Pindar, *Isth.* i. 4.

7. The importance of prayer is emphasized by our author. Jacob prays for Judah, T. Jud. xix. 2; for Gad, T. G. v. 9; for his ten eldest sons, T. B. iii. 6. Cf. T. S. ii. 2, 13; T. N. vi. 8; T. Jos. iii. 3, vii. 4, viii. 1; T. B. v. 5. Fasting accompanies prayer, T. Jos. iii. 3, iv. 8, x. 1, 2; T. B. i. 4.

8. **thirty years old.** Jub. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 1–5 says Reuben was only twenty-one.

9. The chastisement lasted seven months, the penance seven years.

10. **eat no pleasant food.** Cf. Dan. x. 3. Reuben practises abstinence for seven years, Simeon for two, T. S. iii. 4, and Judah till old age, T. Jud. xv. 4, xix. 2, in expiation of their sins. Joseph fasts seven years to preserve his chastity, T. Jos. iii. 4. Issachar in his righteousness and self-control abstains from wine all his life, T. Iss. vii. 3. The righteous man 'combines fasting with chastity', T. Jos. ix. 2: the double-hearted man superstitiously combines fasting and adultery, T. A. ii. 8, iv. 3.

such as had not been in Israel. So c and practically A. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

II. 1. **seven spirits of deceit.** Origen refers to this passage (*Hom. in Iosuam* 15^{b}, ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143, as from the Testaments of the XII Patr. as implying various 'Satanae'. Matt. xii. 45 speaks of seven evil spirits.

spirits of deceit. The Testaments contain a vast demonology. The chief of the demons is called Beliar *passim* (see T. Lev. iii. 3); the Devil, T. N. viii. 4; the Prince of Deceit, T. S. ii. 7; T. Jud. xix. 4; or your Prince (of Dan), T. D. v. 6. Beliar's works are opposed to God's law, T. L. xix. 1; T. Iss. vi. 1. He rules over disturbed souls, T. D. iv. 7, or those which yield to their evil inclination, T. A. i. 8. He flees, however, from the righteous and keepers of the law, T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4. The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take away from him the captive souls, T. D. v. 10; Beliar will be bound, T. L. xviii. 12, and cast into the fire, T. Jud. xxv. 3. The evil spirits in general are

2 I repented. Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works
3 of youth. [And seven other spirits are given to him at his creation, that through them should be
4 done every work of man. The first is the spirit of life, with which the constitution (of man) is
5 created. The second is the sense of sight, with which ariseth desire. The third is the sense of hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth is the sense of smell, with which tastes are given
7 to draw air and breath. The fifth is the power of speech, with which cometh knowledge. The sixth is the sense of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by it strength is
8 produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. The seventh is the power of procreation and
9 sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sins enter in. Wherefore it is the last in order of creation, and the first in that of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, and leadeth the youth as a blind man to a pit, and as a beast to a precipice.

3 1 Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which is brought about the trance of
3 nature and the image of death. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error.] First, the spirit of fornication is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness,
4 in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of
5 obsequiousness and chicanery, that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. The fifth is the spirit of pride, that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying,
6 †in perdition and jealousy† to practise deceits, and concealments from kindred and friends. The

called spirits of deceit, T. R. ii. 1, 2; T. S. iii. 1; and *passim*: also wicked spirits, T. S. iv. 9; spirits of Beliar, T. Iss. vii. 7, &c.; unclean spirits, T. B. v. 2; angels of Satan, T. A. vi. 4. Their function is threefold as in 1 and 2 Enoch and the N. T., (1) to tempt men, (2) to accuse them when they fall, (3) to torment them. (2) is not a feature in this book, (3) is mentioned twice, T. L. iii. 2, spirits of retribution, and T. A. vi. 5, the evil spirit which a man serves waits for his soul as it leaves the body at death to torment it. (1) is their most prominent function in the Testaments. Of the tempting spirits, there are the seven spirits of deceit which attack youth, T. R. ii. 1–2, namely, those of fornication (cf., too, T. Jud. xiii. 3), insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, and injustice, T. R. iii. 3–6. T. Jud. xvi. 1 adds the spirits of lust, hot desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre. There are also the spirits of jealousy, T. Jud. xiii. 3; and of envy, T. S. iii. 1, iv. 7, which are wicked and poisonous spirits, T. S. iv. 9; the spirits of anger, T. D. ii. 4. There are angels, moreover, which stir men to murder, T. D. i. 7; and idolatry, T. N. iii. 3; and lust, T. Jos. vii. 4. The faithless and wicked fall an easy prey to them, but the spirits first require permission to tempt men, T. B. iii. 3 (cf. Job i. 12, ii. 6). If men yield, the devil makes them into his own instruments, T. N. viii. 6; but if they are single-hearted and do right, then neither the spirits of deceit nor Beliar have power over them, T. Iss. iv. 4; T. B. iii. 3; indeed, the devil and the spirits of Beliar and unclean spirits flee from them, T. N. viii. 4; T. Iss. vii. 7; T. B. v. 2. Nay, more, the righteous rule over them, T. S. vi. 6, and tread them under foot, T. L. xviii. 12, T. Z. ix. 8 (bdg). These spirits are punished on the judgement day, T. L. iii. 3.

2. **against man** + 'by Beliar' β A S.

leaders in the works. 'leader,' β–f g A^{a} S, which points to the singular רֹאשׁ in Hebrew, which = 'poison' as well as 'leader'. Cf. 'poisonous spirit', T. S. iv. 9.

II. 3—III. 2. A late addition to the text, undoubtedly first made in Greek, and chiefly drawn from Greek sources. Not only does this passage intrude between the promise in ii. 1 and its fulfilment in iii. 3, 7, but it has no organic connexion with either. Moreover, the division of the bodily senses here given is based on Stoic theories, e. g. the peculiar meaning attached to πνεύματα as that of senses, organs, or appetites. The Stoics held that the soul had eight parts, namely, the five senses, the powers of reproduction and speech, and the dominant part or reason which ruled the other seven. They discharged themselves into the various parts of the body in the form of immaterial currents or πνεύματα. Cf. Plutarch, *De Plac.* iv. 21; also Zeller, *Stoics*, 214–15 (Eng. Trans.). For full quotations see my Comm. on the Testt.; also my note in Slav. Enoch xxx. 9. A parallel interpolation occurs in MS. 248 of Sirach xvii. 4, and precedes as here the Hebrew division of various powers.

3. **seven other spirits.** 'other' α, > β S, 'again' A. This use of πνεύματα is confined to the Stoics, and has no parallel in the Hebrew רוּחַ. The Stoic division gives eight πνεύματα, but our text omits ἁφή, and replaces the eighth power τὸ ἡγεμονικόν by πνεῦμα ζωῆς.

4. **spirit of life.** Here πνεῦμα is used in its usual sense, cf. Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15. But the Hebrew usage would not imply more than life in an impersonal sense, whereas the Stoic parallel τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, and the next phrase 'with which the constitution of man is created' suggest the power which gives vitality and life to the material organism and constitutes man's powers into a unity which is personal.

5. **sense.** πνεῦμα, and so in verses 5 and 7.

sight . . . desire. Cf. 1 John ii. 16 ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

to draw air and breath. Cf. T. N. ii. 8 (note); also Arist. *De Spir.* 2.

6. **power.** πνεῦμα.

7. **and by it strength is produced,** αὐτῷ can refer only to πνεῦμα. Only d reads αὐτῇ (γεῦσις).

9. **as a blind man to a pit.** Cf. Matt. xv. 14.

III. 1–2. This reference to an eighth spirit, of sleep, is due to the interpolator himself, who has also inserted iii. 7. It is not found in Stoic teaching.

1. **trance of nature** (ἔκστασις φύσεως). Unlike the preceding bodily powers, sleep is not credited with any contribution to human activity.

the image of death. Cf. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 231, &c.

2. An adaptation of ii. 3–iii. 1 to its present context.

4. **spirit of fighting, in the liver.** Cf. T. N. ii. 8.

5. **†in perdition and jealousy†.** Probably corrupt in the Hebrew text, בשואה וקנאה for לְשׂוֹנֵא וּמְקַנֵּא. Hence read 'to practise deceits on an enemy and a rival and concealments', &c.

seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfil the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by the taking of gifts.
7, 8 [And with all these the spirit of sleep is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy.] And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of
9 God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers, as befell me also in my youth. And now, my children, love the truth, and it will preserve you: hear ye ⌜the words of⌝ Reuben your father.

10 Pay no heed to the face of a woman,
Nor associate with another man's wife,
Nor meddle with affairs of womankind.

11 For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity.
12 For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not ⌜to sleep⌝ until I had
13 wrought the abominable thing. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder, near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her
14 chamber. Having therefore gone in and beheld her nakedness, I wrought the impiety ⌜without her
15 perceiving it⌝, and leaving her sleeping I departed. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.

4 1 Pay no heed, therefore, ⌜my children⌝, to the beauty of women, nor set your mind on their affairs; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and expend labour on good works, and on study and on your flocks, until the Lord give you a wife, whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did.
2 For until my father's death I had not boldness to look in his face, or to speak to any of my brethren,
3 because of the reproach. Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my
4 impiety. And yet my father comforted me much, and prayed for me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass from me, even as the Lord showed. And thenceforth until now I have
5 been on my guard and sinned not. Therefore, my children, ⌜I say unto you⌝, observe ⌜all⌝ things
6 whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and under-

6. **fulfil** *a*. 'do' *β* A S.
7. An interpolation. See iii. 1 (note). Sleep is properly a natural power, not a vice like the other seven. *a* a e read 'which is error and fantasy'.
8. **darkening his mind.** Cf. Eph. iv. 18 *ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ*, also Rom. i. 21.
understanding the law. Here *συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* is a Hebraism.
9. **the words of.** So *a* a e f.
10. **Pay no heed,** &c. See iv. 1.
associate (*a*): 'be alone' *β*–g S[1]. Cf. Sir. ix. 9, where the verb is *κάθου*, 'sit,' in the Greek, תטעם 'eat' in the Hebrew, and תרבה שיחה 'talk much' according to the Syriac (cf. Aboth i. 5). In Sanh. 100[b] and Yebam. 63[b], where Sir. is quoted, we have אל תט אצלה 'turn not aside to her'. Cf. also Nedarim 20[a].
meddle with affairs, &c. Cf. Sir. xli. 21. For *πρᾶξιν* (a b f S), 'affairs', *a* reads *ὄψιν*, A [b*] *κάλλος καὶ πράξεις*.
11–15. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22; Jub. xxxiii. 1–9. Reuben's sin is denied in late works, e. g. Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22. See note on Jub. xxxiii. 2.
13. **had gone to Isaac.** Jub. xxxiii. 1.
Eder near to Ephrath. Gen. xxxv. 19, 21; Jub. xxxiii. 1.
Bilhah became drunk. Peculiar to our text. Hence the new turn to the story in *v.* 15.
14. **without her perceiving it** *a*: > *β* A S.
leaving her sleeping. Jub. xxxiii. 4–7 says Bilhah awoke and cried out. She also told the matter to Jacob on his return.

IV. 1. **Pay no heed . . . to the beauty of women,** &c. Cf. iii. 10; T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4; also Sir. ix. 8. Abodah Zara 20[b] forbids a man to look on a beautiful woman if single, or a homely one if married.

singleness of heart, *ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας* = תֻּם־לֵבָב. Wisd. i. 1; Col. ii. 22; Eph. vi. 5. See note on uprightness in T. Iss. iii. 1.
on good works and. So a A. *ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι* *β* S. i. e. the *β* recension had a corrupt Hebrew בְּמַעֲשִׂים וְשָׂרִים instead of בְּמַעֲשִׂים יְשָׁרִים.
your flocks. Cf. stress on husbandry, T. Iss. v. 3; vi. 2.
3. This is the first occurrence in Jewish literature of the conscience as a fully-developed conception. The LXX first uses the word in the technical sense in Wisd. xvii. 10 *ἀεὶ δὲ προσείληφεν τὰ χαλεπὰ (πονηρία) συνεχομένη τῇ συνειδήσει*. See also T. Jud. xx. 2 (*a*). The action of the conscience is described (without the term) in T. Jud. xx. 5; T. G. v. 3.
impiety *a*. 'Sin' *β* S[1].
4. **that the anger of the Lord might pass.** Jub. xxxiii. 15 says 'Reuben was granted life and forgiveness'.
until now, *ἕως νῦν a*. *μετανοῶν*, 'repenting', d g A. *ἕως ἐννοιῶν*, '(even) in thought', a e f.
5. **I say unto you.** *a* only.
6–7. Cf. T. Jud. xv. 1, xviii. 2–6, on the evils of fornication.
6. **A pit,** *βόθρος*, *a* a f. *ὄλεθρος*, 'destruction' *β*–a f. שחת has both meanings.
separating it from God . . . near to idols. This recurs in T. S. v. 3. Cf. Kethub. 11[b] 'Most idolaters are adulterers', also Wisd. xiv. 12 *ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας* (= spiritual unfaithfulness) *ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων*.

7 standing, and leadeth down young men into Hades before their time. For many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, ⌜or rich or poor⌝, he bringeth reproach upon 8 himself with the sons of men and derision with Beliar. For ye heard regarding Joseph how he guarded himself from a woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, and found favour in 9 the sight of God and men. For the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and summoned 10 magicians, and offered him love potions, but the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. There- 11 fore the God of your fathers delivered him from every evil (and) hidden death. For if fornication overcomes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you.

5 1 ⌜For⌝ evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use 2 wiles by outward attractions, that they may draw him to themselves. And whom they cannot 3 bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft. ⌜For⌝ moreover, concerning them, the angel of the Lord told me, and taught me, that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men, and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of their adornment they deceive first their minds, and by the glance of the eye instil the poison, and then through the accom- 4 plished act they take them captive. For a woman cannot force a man openly, but by a harlot's 5 bearing she beguiles him. Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind: because every woman 6 who useth these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. For thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and 7 appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

6 1 Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish to be pure in mind, guard your senses from every 2 woman. And command the women likewise not to associate with men, that they also may be pure 3 in mind. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an 4 irremediable disease, and to us a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach. For in fornication 5 there is neither understanding nor† godliness, and all jealousy dwelleth in the lust thereof. There-

leadeth down . . . to Hades. Cf. Prov. vii. 27, where LXX has *κατάγουσαι* as here.

before their time, *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = בלא עתם. Cf. T. Jud. xvi. 3.

7. **many hath fornication destroyed.** Cf. Prov. vii. 26; also Sir. ix. 8, where read *ἀπεκτάνθησαν* for *ἐπλανήθησαν*. So Sanh. 100[b], Yebam. 63[b].

or rich or poor. *a* only.

derision, *γέλωτα*, d e A S. *πρόσκομμα*, 'an offence' or 'stumbling-block', *α*, i.e. מוֹקֵשׁ for שְׂחוֹק.

8. **For ye heard,** &c., 'for since Joseph guarded himself from every woman . . . he found', &c. *β* A S[1].

found favour in the sight of God ('of the Lord' *β* A S[1]). Cf. T. S. v. 2; also 1 Sam. ii. 26; Luke ii. 52. Acts vii. 10 says of Joseph 'God . . . gave him favour'.

9. Cf. T. Jos. vi.

did many things unto = תרבה, perhaps corrupt for תארב, 'lay in wait for'.

10. **delivered him,** &c. Cf. Acts vii. 10.

evil, *α*. 'visible and' *β*-d A *β* S[1], i.e. ראוי for רע.

11. Beliar is powerless with the pure. Cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 6 (note); Eccles. vii. 26.

V. 1. **For.** *a* only.

evil are women. Cf. Eccles. vii. 27, 28.

by outward attractions, *ἐν σχήμασι*, i.e. figure, bearing, attire, and gestures.

2. **by outward attractions,** *διὰ σχήματος α. δυνάμεως* *β* A S[1], i.e. הון for הוד or חן.

3. **they plot.** Cf. Eccles. vii. 26, 27.

glance of the eye. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 2; T. B. vi. 3: also Prov. vi. 25; Sir. xxiii. 4.

4. **openly . . . beguiles him.** *a* only.

5. **adorn not their heads and faces.** Enoch viii. 1 says that the fallen Watchers taught women to beautify the face and wear precious metals. For Hebrew adornments see Isa. iii. 16.

reserved for eternal punishment, *εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται*. Cf. Jude 6 *εἰς κρίσιν . . . τετήρηκεν*; 2 Pet. ii. 4 *εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους*

6. **thus they allured the Watchers.** Jub. iv. 15 (see note) says the Watchers descended to instruct the children of men, and afterwards proceeded to take wives of the daughters of men (Jub. v. 1). See Chron. Jerahmeel xxv. 2-4. In xxv. 7, 13 Azazel is said to be 'appointed chief over all dyes and all kinds of ornaments by which women entice men to thoughts of sin'. Is this story in view in 1 Pet. iii. 3-5; 1 Tim. ii. 9?

Watchers. See Dan. iv. 13, 23; 1 En. vi-viii; Jub. iv. 15, v. 1; 2 En. xviii. 3.

lusted after them A [b b* c d e g]: 'lusted after one another' *α β*-g.

7. **reaching unto heaven.** Their height was 3,000 ells, 1 En. vii. 2.

VI. 1. **Beware . . . of fornication.** Cf. iv. 6; T. S. v. 3; Tobit iv. 12.

if you wish . . . guard *β* A S[1]: 'be pure in mind: guard also' *α*.

2. Cf. iii. 10. Note that purity of heart is required. Cf. Matt. v. 27, 28.

3. **a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach** *α*: 'an eternal reproach of Beliar' *β* S[1]: 'a great reproach' A.

4. **godliness,** *εὐσέβειαν*. Probably corrupt for *εὐλάβειαν*, 'discretion'.

jealousy. Cf. Num. v. 29; Prov. vi. 34.

5-12. Many passages in the Testaments set forth Levi's merits and claims. Cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. L. ii. 11, viii. 14,

fore, ⌜then I say unto you⌝, ye will be jealous ⌜against the sons of Levi⌝, and will seek to be exalted
6 over them; but ye shall not be able. For God will avenge them, ⌜and ye shall die by an evil death⌝.
7 For to Levi God gave the sovereignty [and to Judah with him and to me also, and to Dan and
8 Joseph, that we should be for rulers]. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgement and shall sacrifice for all Israel until the consummation of the times, as the **anointed** High Priest, of whom the Lord spake.
9 I adjure you by the God of heaven to do truth each one unto his neighbour and to entertain love
10 each one for his brother. And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive
11 a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to
12 be king over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king.

7 1, 2 And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons. And they placed him in a coffin until they carried him up from Egypt, and buried him ⌜in Hebron⌝ in the cave where his father was.

The Testament of Simeon, the Second Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Simeon, the things which he spake to his sons before he died, in the
2 hundred and twentieth year of his life, at which time Joseph, ⌜his brother⌝, died. For when Simeon

xviii. 1, 2; T. D. v. 4; T. N. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11. The salvation of Israel is to come from both Levi and Judah jointly, T. S. vii. 1, &c. Only in T. G. viii. 1 (probably corrupt) is Judah placed before Levi. Levi is priest and king, T. R. vi. 7–12; T. L. viii. 14, xviii. 1, 2; as high-priest, T. S. vii. 2. Judah is king T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. i. 6, xvii. 5; T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt?). T. R. vi. 7[b] and T. Jud. xxiv. 4–6 are additions.

5. **then, I say unto you** *a* only.

jealous against the sons of Levi. Cf. the charge against Simeon's sons, T. S. v. 4, and Dan's, T. D. v. 5. The purpose of this admonition is to establish the Maccabean hegemony.

6. **and ye . . . death.** These words are omitted by A.

7. Levi is to be king. The bracketed words are a foolish interpolation. Why 'to Dan' is not clear. In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 3 we have the non-Maccabean view: 'because thou (Reuben) didst sin, my son, the primogeniture is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi.'

8. **shall know**: 'shall make known' A.

give ordinances for judgement, διαστελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν c β–b g S: διατελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν h g A, 'fulfil as regards judgement,' perhaps corrupt for διατελέσει κρίσιν.

all Israel (> 'all' *a*). The Twelve Tribes are considered as in Palestine by our author. John Hyrcanus, who is meant by our text, is to bless Israel and Judah, verse 11. The title 'Twelve Patriarchs' points to the same view. Cf. the letter of Aristeas, which says that Eleazar the high-priest sent six men from each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. The pre-Maccabean view (1 En. lxxxix. 72) was that the Northern tribes were still in captivity. The Maccabean view was due to the extensive sway of those native kings. With the failure of the Maccabees, the Messianic promises were again attached to Judah instead of Levi, and the idea of the Captivity of the Northern Tribes revived. See Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 34, 50; Ass. Mos. iv. 8, 9; Sib. Or. ii. 170–3; 4 Ezra xiii. 39–47; Apoc. Bar. i. 2, 3, lxxviii. 1, 5, 7, lxxxiv. 10. For the rejection of Dan see T. D. v. 6–7.

consummation of the times, τελειώσεως χρόνων. Cf. T. L. x. 2 (T. B. xi. 3) συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων; T. Z. ix. 8 καιροῦ συντελείας. This means the closing years of the age present to the writer, and the opening of a new era, possibly with no catastrophe, as in Jub. i. 29, v. 12, xxiii. 26–30 (see notes). Cf. Daniel's 'time of the end' (Dan. viii. 19, xi. 35, 40, xii. 49), עת־קץ. The LXX gives ὥραν καιροῦ, ὥραν συντελείας, καιροῦ συντελείας. Cf. 1 En. x. 13 ἡμέρας τελεσμοῦ, xvi. 1 ἡμέρα τῆς τελειώσεως. Also Ass. Mos. i. 18 'in consummatione exitus dierum'; x. 13 '(tempora) consummentur'; 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, &c. 'consummation of the times'; lvi. 2 'of the world'; lxxxiii. 7 'of the age'. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 5 and T. Iss. vi. 1 (note); also Matt. συντέλεια αἰῶνος, xiii. 39, xxiv. 3.

as the anointed High Priest. So emended from ἀρχιερεὺς χριστοῦ h: (times) 'of the anointed High Priest' c β S.

of whom the Lord spake. Ps. cx, originally written in honour of Simon, is here interpreted of John Hyrcanus. Cf. for reinterpretation Dan. vii. 7, 8 as explained in Dan. vii. 23–5, and interpreted anew in 4 Ezra xi. 1 ff.

9. **do truth** h i β S: 'walk in truth' A: 'speak truth' c, as also T. D. v. 2 (Zech. viii. 16; Gal. iv. 25).

entertain love. Cf. T. L. xix. 18; also T. S. iv. 7; T. D. v. 3.

10–11. Levi as priest and king. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41 concerning Simon, ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα.

receive a blessing. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15; Sir. l. 20.

11. **him hath the Lord chosen,** i.e. Levi: ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο—a Hebraism.

nation *a* f A: 'nations' β–f S[1].

12. Achievements of the Maccabean prince-priests. Most 'died in wars visible', cf. T. S. v. 5. As spiritual leaders they spent themselves in warfare against spiritual opposition. Cf. Ps. lxix. 9, cxix. 139.

eternal king ('kings' A). Cf. ἱερεὺς εἰς αἰῶνα 1 Macc. xiv. 41; Ps. cx. 4. 'Seed' and 'die', however, may be corrupt. If so, read זְרֹעוֹ for זַרְעוֹ and יעמד for ימות, and render 'Bow down before his might, for he will stand forth . . . a king for ever', of Hyrcanus.

VII. 2. Joseph's bones alone remained in Egypt till the Exodus. Cf. Acts vii. 16.

TITLE *a*: + 'regarding envy' β–a d e A[e f g] S[1].

I. 1. **The copy of the words** h β–d e S[1]: 'testament' c: 'copy of the testament' d e A[a b].

before . . . died > *a* d.

hundred and twentieth year β–d g A[b* c d]. See T. R. i. 1.

Joseph died. Jub. xxviii. 13, 24 makes Joseph ten years younger than Simeon.

was sick, his sons came to visit him, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said:—

2 1 Hearken, my children, to Simeon your father,
And I will declare unto you what things I have in my heart.
2 I was born of Jacob as my father's second son;
And my mother Leah called me Simeon,
Because the Lord had heard her prayer.
3 Moreover, I became strong exceedingly;
I shrank from no achievement,
Nor was I afraid of ought.
4 For my heart was hard,
And my liver was immovable,
And my bowels without compassion.

5, 6 Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and body. For in the time of my youth I was jealous ⌜in many things⌝ of Joseph, because my father loved him ⌜beyond
7 all⌝. And I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I regarded him not as a brother, nor did I spare even
8 Jacob my father. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him
9 out of my hands. For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to Dothan, where were our necessaries and all our stores, Judah my brother sold him to the Ishmaelites.
10 And when Reuben heard these things he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father.
11 But on hearing this I was ⌜exceedingly⌝ wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and
12 for five months I continued wrathful against him. But the Lord restrained me, and withheld ⌜from
13 me⌝ the power of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven days. And I knew, my children, that because of Joseph this had befallen me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the Lord God that my hand might be restored, and that I might hold aloof from all pollution and envy
14 ⌜and from all folly⌝. For I knew that I had devised an evil thing before the Lord and Jacob my father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.

3, 2 And now, my children, ⌜hearken unto me and⌝ beware of the spirit of deceit and envy. For envy ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him ⌜neither to eat nor to drink⌝, nor to do any
3 good thing. But it ever suggesteth (to him) to destroy him that he envieth; and so long as he that
4 is envied flourisheth, he that envieth fadeth away. Two years ⌜therefore⌝ I afflicted my soul with fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God.
5 For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened.
6 And henceforward he sympathiseth with him whom he envied and forgiveth those who **are hostile to** him, and so ceaseth from his envy.

4 1 And my father asked ⌜concerning me⌝, because he saw that I was sad; and I said unto him, I am
2 pained in my liver. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph.
3 And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound me as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly,
4 and I grieved not. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: being

II. 2. **Simeon . . . heard her prayer.** Cf. Gen. xxix. 33 for this play on the name.
4. **liver.** Here the spirit of war dwells, T. R. iii. 4.
6. **jealous of Joseph.** Cf. iv. 2, 3; and Targum Ps.-Jon. which attributes Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20 to Simeon and Levi.
in many things *a* only.
beyond all *a* only.
7. **mind,** ἥπατα. See *v.* 4.
prince of deceit. See T. R. ii. 1 (note).
blinded my mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8.
8. **sent forth his angel and delivered.** Dan. iii. 28; Acts xii. 11. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7, 8.
9. **Reuben to Dothan.** Reuben's absence explains Gen. xxxvii. 21.
Judah . . . sold him. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 26–8.
10. **heard these things,** ἀκούσας c (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 21): 'came' β A S^1, i.e. בשובו for בשמעו. Same corruption in *v.* 11.
restore c A = השיב: 'save' β–a f S^1 = הושיע.
13. **the Lord God** *a* d: 'the Lord' β–d A $^{b*\,c\,d\,e\,g}$ S^1: 'God' A $^{a\,b\,h}$.

III. 1. **spirit of deceit and envy** *a* A S^2. Cf. ii. 7. 'spirits' β S^1.
3. **and so long,** &c. Perhaps render 'And he that is envied flourisheth, and', &c.
4. **afflicted my soul with fasting.** Ps. xxxv. 15. Cf. T. R. i. 10.
6. **forgiveth,** συγγινώσκει *a* a e f S^1. οὐ καταγινώσκει b d g A $^{b*\,c\,d\,e}$.
are hostile to. The text has 'love' = in the Hebrew original אהביו corrupt for איביו.

IV. 4. Joseph is commended here and always in the Testaments except Naph. Cf. T. R. iv. 8–10.

compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me; but loved me even as the rest of his
5 brethren. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of

	β A S¹
heart,	soul and with good heart, keeping in mind Joseph your father's brother,

that God may give ⌜you also⌝ grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in
6 Joseph's case. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own
7 soul, and beyond his own sons glorified us, and gave us riches, and cattle and fruits. Do ye also, my children, love each one his brother with a good heart, and the spirit of envy will withdraw from
8 you. For this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it causeth anger and war in the mind, and stirreth up unto deeds of blood,

a	β A^β S¹
and leadeth the mind into frenzy,	and leadeth the mind into frenzy, ⌜and suffereth not prudence to act in men⌝; moreover, it taketh away sleep,

[and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body].
9 For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth, and with wicked spirits disturbeth his soul, and causeth the body to be troubled, and waketh the mind from sleep in confusion; and as a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

5 1 Therefore was Joseph comely in appearance, and goodly to look upon, because no wickedness
2 dwelt in him; for some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth. And now, my children,
Make your hearts good before the Lord,
And your ways straight before men,
And ye shall find grace before the Lord and men.
3 Beware, therefore, of fornication,
For fornication is mother of all evils,
Separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar.
4 For I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication,
5 and shall do harm to the sons of Levi with the sword. But they shall not be able to withstand Levi;
6 for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer ⌜all⌝ your hosts. And they shall be few in number, divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also our father prophesied in his blessings.

6 1, 2 Behold I have told you all things, that I may be acquitted of your sin. Now, if ye remove from you your envy and all stiff-neckedness,
As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel,
And as a lily my flesh in Jacob,
And my odour shall be as the odour of Libanus;
And as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me for ever,
And their branches shall stretch afar off.

5. **singleness of heart.** See T. Iss. iii. 2 (note).
of heart *a*. β A S¹ read 'soul and (> A^a h) with good ('pure' A^a h b* c d e g > A^b) heart, keeping in mind Joseph (> b) your father's brother ('brother' A)'. d is corrupt. The twofold recension obviously goes back to the Hebrew original.
6. **gave us riches,** &c. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11, 12.
7. **love each one his brother.** Cf. T. R. vi. 9.
will withdraw *a* &c.: 'put ye away' β–e g S¹. For 'withdraw' cf. iii. 5, 6.
8. **and suffereth . . . men** > A^b* c d e f g: 'moreover . . . sleep' recurs T. Jud. xviii. 4 with a new verb.
[and causeth tumult . . . body], bracketed as a corrupt dittography of 8^a.
9. Sir. xl. 5–7.
poisonous. Cf. T. R. v. 3; also ii. 2 (note).

V. 1. **comely,** &c. Gen. xxxix. 6.
2. **grace before the Lord and men.** Luke ii. 52; T. R. iv. 8.
3. **Separating from God,** &c. See T. R. iv. 6.
4. **in the writing of Enoch.** Cf. T. L. x. 5, &c. Not in our Enoch: 2 En. xxxiv. 2 says similar things of the Antediluvians. Possibly a reference to Num. xxv. 6, 7, 14.
the sons of Levi. See T. R. vi. 5.
5. **wage the war of the Lord**—refers to the Maccabees, T. R. vi. 12.
6. **few in number, divided in Levi and Judah.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 7. 'I will divide them (Simeon and Levi) in Jacob and disperse them in Israel.' Levi is omitted from this curse here, yet Levi claims the credit of destroying Shechem in T. L. vi. 4, and is praised for it in Jub. xxx. 18–23. Cf. T. L. v. 3. Contrast the tone of Gen. xlix. 6–7 and later Rabbinic tradition.

VI. 1. **acquitted of your sin.** Cf. T. L. xiv. 2.

3 Then shall perish the seed of Canaan,
And a remnant shall not be unto Amalek,
⌜And all the Cappadocians shall perish⌝,
And all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed.

4 Then shall fail the land of Ham,
And all the people shall perish.

Then shall all the earth rest from trouble,
And all the world under heaven from war.

Restored Text	A^{abh}
5 Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify Shem, For the Lord God shall appear on earth, And Himself save men.	Then shall Shem (MSS. 'Seth') be glorified, For the Lord our God shall appear on earth [as man] And Himself saves again.

6 Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot,
And men shall rule over wicked spirits.

7 Then shall I arise in joy,
And will bless the Most High because of his marvellous works,
[Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved men].

7 1 And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for
2 from them shall arise unto you the salvation ⌜of God⌝. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it
were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King [God and man], He shall save all [the Gentiles
3 and] the race of Israel. Therefore I give you these commands that ye also may command your
children, that they may observe them throughout their generations.

8 1 And when Simeon had made an end of commanding his sons, he slept with his fathers, being an
2 hundred and twenty years old. And they laid him in a wooden coffin, to take up his bones to
3 Hebron. And they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians. For the bones of Joseph
4 the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the kings. For the sorcerers told them, that on the departure
of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom, and an exceeding
great plague to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognize his brother.

IX. 1, 2 And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father. And they were in Egypt until the day of their
departure by the hand of Moses.

3. The destruction of Israel's foes.

And all . . . perish > A. The Cappadocians seem to mean here the Caphtorim or Philistines. Cf. Deut. ii. 23, and note on Jub. xxiv. 29.

Hittites, either חתי 'Hittites' or כתים (i. e. Greeks, or Macedonians).

4. **all the people.** Which people? λαός generally refers to Israel, and so perhaps the Messianic ὠδῖνες are meant.

5–8. A Theophany. God Himself comes to save men, subdues the evil spirits, and raises the righteous.

5. For other Theophanies see T. L. ii. 11, v. 2, viii. 11; T. Jud. xxii. 2; T. Z. ix. 8; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3.

the Mighty One of Israel. So β S A ^{b*cdeg} (in 2nd clause), while α reads μέγα τῷ Ἰσραήλ (in 1st clause).

shall glorify. Conjectured from ἐνδοξασθήσεται, all MSS., i. e. יְכַבֵּד corrupt for יְכַבֵּד.

Shem. So b d A ^{b*cdeg}: 'Seth' A ^{abh}: 'the sign' α β–b d S. Possibly σημεῖον = צִיּוֹן misread for צִיּוֹן = 'Zion'.

[as man] α β–a S, a Christian addition.

and Himself save men: lit. = 'and save in Himself the Adam' α β S. ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἑαυτῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered by αὐτός. האדם defied translation into Greek, hence τὸν Ἀδάμ.

This third clause is wanting in A ^{b*cdeg} and corrupt in A ^{abh}.

For this primitive view of the Messianic kingdom as a visible Theocracy cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. It will be on this earth, and the righteous dead will rise to share in it.

6. Cf. Luke x. 19, 20 'to tread . . . on every power of the enemy', 'the spirits are subject unto you'. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12. Based on Ps. xci. 13.

7. **[Because God hath taken a body,** &c.] Cf. a like Christian interpolation in T. A. vii. 3; also T. D. v. 13[d], vi. 9.

VII. 1. **and Judah** c: 'and in Judah shall ye ('we' A ^{b*cdefg}) be redeemed' h β A S.

be not lifted up. Cf. T. R. vi. 5.

from them shall arise . . . salvation. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note).

2. Levi's supremacy is here (with the text of N. viii. 2) alone in this work limited to the priesthood.

all the Gentiles. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).

VIII. 2. **wooden coffin** α A ^{b*cdefg}: 'coffin of incorruptible wood' β–g A ^{abh} S.

during a war of the Egyptians β A S. See T. B. xii. 3 (note).

3. **tombs** α: 'treasure-houses' β A$^{\beta}$ S. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 26 says, 'they embalmed him and placed him in a coffin and sank him in the middle of the Nile of Egypt.' Cf. Exod. rabba xx. 17. R. Nathan says Joseph was buried in Pharaoh's palace.

4. Reason for the guarding of Joseph's bones. Why should the darkness be chosen for mention out of all the Plagues?

IX. 1. **their father** + 'according to the law of mourning' β S.

The Testament of Levi, the Third Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that
2 they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgement. He was sound in health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when they were gathered together he said to them:

2 1. 2 I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem. And I was young, about
3 twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. And when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls, and law-
4 lessness sat upon towers. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the
5 Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and
6 I was upon it. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter.

a	A^{a}	β A^{β} S^{1}
7 And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging.	7. And when I had entered into the first heaven, †and he escorted raised me† to the second. And I saw there a great sea hanging.	And I entered from the first heaven into the second, and I saw there a sea hanging between the one and the other. 7
8 And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless **light** also therein.		And further I saw a third heaven far brighter and more brilliant than these two; for there was also a boundless †height therein. 8
9 And I said to the angel, Why is this so? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable.	9. And I said unto him: What is this, Lord? And he said unto me:	And I said unto the angel: Wherefore is it so? And the angel said unto me: Marvel not at these; for thou shalt see four other heavens more brilliant and incomparable, 9

TITLE. So *a*: 'Testament of Levi concerning the priesthood' β–a d e A S: +'and arrogance' b d e f $A^{b*\,c\,d\,e\,f\,g}$.

I. 1. **until the day of judgement.** This event is therefore conceived as near to the time of the writer.
revealed to him. Levi has several revelations.

II. 2. **about twenty years**; eighteen according to T. L. xii. 5. Jub. xxviii. 13, 14 makes Simeon two years older.
3. **Abel-Maul** = the Abel-meholah of the O.T. e.g. Judges vii. 22.
corrupting their way. Cf. Gen. vi. 12.
unrighteousness had built . . . towers β $A^{c\,d\,e\,g}$ S^{1}: 'sin was built upon a wall and unrighteousness sat upon towers' *a*. Cf. 1 En. xci. 5 'unrighteousness will come to an end, . . . and its whole structure will be destroyed'. Cf. also Zech. v. 8–11.
After 3 e makes a long addition, describing the call and purifying of Levi.
5. **and I was upon it** *a*. 'This is the mountain of the shield in Abelmaul' g $A^{b*\,f\,g}$. See T. L. vi. 1.

II. 7—III. The original passage described three heavens, but it has been worked up to include seven. The first heaven really has the great sea, as *v.* 8 in *a* shows, for the second heaven is further on. This second becomes the third in β A^{β} S^{1}. Again in 9, 10 *a* speaks of 'another heaven'. β A^{β} S^{1} makes 'four other heavens' of it. In 10 the word 'thither' and the general effect require no more than one heaven. In iii. 1–4 *a* once more gives us three heavens, and God dwelling in the highest. β A^{β} S^{1} makes four of the first two, and then passes at a leap to the highest, which in verses 5–8 we find has two or three others between it and the fourth or third heaven. *a* also has undergone alteration in verses 5–8 and mentions three other heavens.

The doctrine of the seven heavens was prevalent in Judaism before and after the time of Christ. See e.g. 2 En. iii–xxi; Talmud, *Chag.* 12^{b}; 4 Ezra vii. 81–7.

Christian apocalypses like Asc. Isa. followed Hebrew teaching on this point. Thus the redaction originated in Hebrew, and has been betrayed by the testimony of the first and better of the two independent Greek Versions—*a*. That they are independent is shown by iii. 2 *κρίσεως*, *a*: *προστάγματος*, β, iii. 6 *θυσίαν*, *a*: *προσφοράν*, β; iii. 9 *τρέμομεν*, *a*: *σαλευόμεθα*, β.

7. **a great sea**, i.e. the waters above the firmament, Gen. i. 7. Cf. Jub. ii. 4 and 1 En. liv. 8. For 'hanging' perhaps read 'in the firmament' ברקיע for מוקיע.

8. The 'second' in *a* becomes the 'third heaven' in β. Instead of the brightness iii. 3 mentions the avenging hosts in it.

light. Text = 'height' = גֹבַהּ corrupt for נֹגַהּ, 'light' or 'brightness'. So read נֹגַהּ = *φέγγος* or *φῶς* instead of גֹבַהּ = *ὕψος*.

9. Note that the one heaven in *a* becomes four in β.

a	A^{α}	β A^{β} S^{1}
10 And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And shalt declare His mysteries to men, And shalt proclaim †concerning Him that shall redeem† Israel.	10. When thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand before the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And his coming mysteries thou shalt declare unto men.	When thou hast ascended thither. ⌜Because⌝ thou shalt stand near the Lord, 10 And shalt be His minister, And His mysteries shalt thou declare to men, And shalt proclaim concerning the redemption of Israel.

11 And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men,
⌜Saving every race of men.⌝
12 And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life,
And He shall be thy field and vineyard,
And fruits, gold, and silver.

a	A^{α}	β A^{β} S^{1}
III. 1 Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.	1. Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which were shown to thee. The first heaven is for this cause gloomy unto thee, since it beholds the unrighteous deeds of men.	Hear, therefore, regarding the seven heavens. The lowest is for this cause gloomier, since it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men. 1
2 And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgement, in the righteous judgement of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on †men.	2. And the second hath fire and snow and ice made ready for the day of the ordinances.	The second has fire, snow, ice ready for the day of the ordinance of the Lord in the righteous judgement of God. In it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on the lawless. 2
3 And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones.		In the third are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. †And those in the fourth† who are above these are holy. 3

10–12. Levi has not yet ascended into the third heaven; in fact he does not do so till v. 1. The angel appears to anticipate in 10–12, and resumes his account in iii. 1. Otherwise 10–12 would follow naturally on iv. 2.

10. Levi is to be made priest on ascending into the third heaven. See v. 1, 2.

stand near the Lord, and shalt be His minister. Cf. Deut. x. 8, xviii. 11; Jub. xxxi. 14.

the redemption of Israel. A^{β} alone preserves the original reading. α β S are all modified by Christian influence to 'Him that shall redeem Israel'. > A^{α}.

11. **by thee and Judah.** See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note).

appear among men. That God Himself would appear and dwell with men was the older Jewish view in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vi. 5 (note); T. L. v. 2; 1 En. xxv. 3.

Saving every race of men > A. See T. S. vi. 5 (note).

12. **from the Lord's portion.** See viii. 16 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxii. 9; Sir. xvii. 17, where Israel is the Lord's portion.

III. 1. **gloomy . . . in that it beholds,** &c. Cf. 2 Bar. liii. 5, lvi. 5, 7 'the black waters'. Cf. also 3 Baruch viii; Apoc. Esdrae; Apoc. Pauli 4; and see James, *Texts and Studies*, V. i. 67.

2. The first (*a*) heaven contains the instruments of God's retribution for sin. 2 En. iii. 3; v. 1 also holds, like *a*, that the treasuries of the ice and snow, and the great sea, are in the first heaven.

for the day of judgement. Cf. *εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἔκτισται*, Sir. xxxix. 29. Cf. also Sir. xxxix. 28, 30 and xl. 9, 10.

spirits of the retributions. Natural phenomena are the agents of punishment, but they are under the control of spirits or angels. Cf. 1 En. lx. 12.

on the lawless, 'on men' *a*, by textual corruption. Cf. Sir. xl. 10.

3. In the second heaven are the angelic armies in readiness to destroy Beliar. 2 En. xvii gives us an armed host, but in the fourth heaven and for a different purpose.

†And those in the fourth†. The β recension here cannot be cleared up by *a*, as it was independently altered by the redactor. Verse 8 in β naturally refers to the fourth heaven, which therefore need not be mentioned here. Perhaps we should read 'and the four heavens above these are holy', i.e. והארבעה for ושברביעי. This gives a point to the 'for' in *v.* 4 (β).

above them are the holy ones *a*. These are the angels. For the first passage in which the abode of the

a	A^{a}	$\beta A^{\beta} S^{1}$
4 And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	4. And †the Holy One of the holy ones† is above all holiness.	For in the Highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness. 4
5 In [the heaven next to] it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous;	5. And the hosts of the angels are ministering,	And in [the heaven next to] it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous. 5
6 Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.	6. And praising the Lord,	And they offer to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering. 6
7 And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear †answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	7. Who also are messengers of the Godhead.	And in [the heaven below] are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. 7
8 An †in the heaven next to this† are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.		And in the heaven next to this are thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God. 8
$a\beta$ A^{β} S^{1}		
9 When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken at the presence of His majesty.	9. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken.	

10 But the sons of men, having no perception of these things, sin and provoke the Most High.

4 1 Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgement upon the sons of men.
Because when the rocks are being rent,
And the sun quenched,
And the waters dried up,

blessed even after judgement is heaven is in 1 En. civ. 2, ciii. 4, 6, xli. 2, li. 4, i.e. between 100 and 50 B.C. The intermediate abode of souls—even of the righteous—is Sheol at this date, 1 En. xxii. 4–9, li. 1, c. 5 (cf. 4 Ezra iv. 41); 2 Macc. vi. 23.

4. **the Great Glory**. 1 En. xiv. 20, cii. 3. Cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, 7, xlvii. 3.

5–8. Even *a* here has been interpolated. The sixth, fifth, and fourth heavens are introduced, but there is still a gap between *v.* 3 and *v.* 8, as there is no third heaven mentioned in 3 (*a*). The descending order is a witness to the original text, which thus enumerated the angels in the third heaven.

5. **minister and make propitiation.** A sacrificial service in heaven is suggested by the heavenly patterns spoken of in Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Num. viii. 4, and was already a familiar idea. See my Commentary *in loc.* The intercession of angels occurs in Zech. i. 12; Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23, and especially in 1 En. ix. 3, xv. 2, lxxxix. 76. See T. D. vi. 2. Cf. too 1 En. xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, xl. 6, civ. 1. For λειτουργοῦντες cf. Heb. i. 14.

sins of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6; T. Jud. xix. 3; T. Z. i. 5.

6. **reasonable,** λογικήν. Cf. Rom. xii. 1. Cf. Origen, *De Orat.* xi λογικὴν ἱερουργίαν, of Raphael offering on Tobit's behalf.

bloodless offering. Cf. Essenes' objection to bloody sacrifices. Cf. Philo ii. 457.

7. How 'answers'? These are a lower order of angels. Perhaps we should render 'bear the answers for the angels of the presence', or 'of the angels', &c. (as g). The analogy of Rev. v. 8, however, would suggest תפלות 'prayers' instead of תשובות 'answers'. Cf. 3 Bar. xi–xii; Apoc. Pauli vii–x; Origen, *De Princ.* i. 8. 1.

8. **thrones and dominions.** Cf. Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; 2 En. xx. 1.

they offer praise. Cf. 2 En. xvii, xviii.

9. This verse and Sir. xvi. 18, 19 are independent versions of a lost Hebrew original. Moreover *a* and *β* differ. Thus *a* has τρέμομεν, *β* σαλευόμεθα, Greek of Sir. συνσείονται. For parallels cf. Judges v. 4; Isa. lxiv. 1; Judith xvi. 15; Ass. Mos. x. 4.

10. **no perception . . . sin.** Cf. 1 En. lxvii. 13.

IV. 1. **sun quenched.** Cf. Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24.

waters dried up. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

And the fire cowering,
And all creation troubled,
And the invisible spirits melting away;
And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High,
Men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity.
On this account with punishment shall they be judged.
2 ⌜Therefore⌝ the Most High hath heard thy prayer,
To separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldst become to Him a son,
And a servant, and a minister of His presence.
3 The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob,
And as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel.
4 And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed,
Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever.
5 ⌜And⌝ therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding,
That thou mightst instruct thy sons concerning this;
6 Because they that bless †Him shall be blessed,
And they that curse† Him shall perish.

5 1 And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon
2 a throne of glory the Most High. And He said to me: Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the
3 priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me down to the earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me: Execute vengeance on Shechem because
4 of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me. And I destroyed at
5 that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tables. And I said to him: I pray
6 thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. And he said: I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly,
7 for every evil spirit attacketh it. And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High, and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

And Hades taketh spoils. Cf. Isa. v. 14. Or a Christian addition—'and Hades is despoiled', σκυλευομένου being taken in a passive not middle sense.

visitations. A difficult but possible rendering of πάθει. If an interpolation, = 'passion'.

unbelieving and persist. Cf. Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21; 1 En. lxvii. 12, 13. For ἀπιστοῦντες β-d A^{β} S we have ἀπειθοῦντες, 'disobedient' α d.

2. **become to Him a son.** Already in the second century B.C. we find the individual Israelite viewed as a son of God. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 1, li. 10 (Syriac); Jub. i. 24 (note).

minister of His presence. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 14.

3. **The light of knowledge.** See xviii. 3 (note).

4. This 'blessing' is probably God's blessing on Levi, as Jub. xxxi. 13, not that pronounced by the priests (T. R. vi. 10, note), or the priestly privileges, T. L. v. 2.

Until the Lord shall visit. Cf. v. 2.

in His tender mercies. α β A^{β} S read 'in His Son's tender mercies'.

A^{α} reads in 4 'And it shall come to pass in the last days that God shall send [His Son] to save the created things [and thy sons shall lay hands on and crucify Him]'. α β A^{β} S also have the last clause—an obvious Christian addition.

6. For 'Him' read 'thee', as in Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 17.

V. 1. **opened to me the gates.** Cf. the opened door in Rev. iv. 1. Levi now enters the third heaven of ii. 9 (α).

the holy temple. With xviii. 6 and perhaps iii. 4 (β A^{β} S^{1}), the earliest reference to the heavenly temple. Cf. Rev. xi. 19, xvi. 17 and contrast Rev. xxi. 22.

and upon . . . Most High β A S: 'the Holy Most High One sitting upon a throne' α.

2. **until I . . . sojourn.** For the visible theocracy cf. iv. 4; T. S. vi. 5.

3. **a shield.** See vi. 1.

Execute vengeance. Yet Levi says 'we sinned' in vi. 7.

4. This verse interrupts the narrative.

heavenly tables β A^{β} S^{1}. See T. A. ii. 10, vii. 5 (β A S^{1}): 'tables of the fathers' α, perhaps better. Cf. Jub. xxx. 23.

6. **angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel.** See my Commentary *in loc.* παραιτούμενος τὸ γένος β-d: προϊστάμενος τοῦ γένους d: παρεπόμενος τοῦ γένους α: φύλαξ τοῦ γ. A: σώζων τὸ γ. S^{1}. α seems a bad rendering of פנע, as in D. vi. 2 α. d A S^{1} = 'protector'. For β-d cf. Asc. Is. ix. 23 (Latin and Slavonic) 'Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate'.

This angel then appears to be Michael. Cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1. Also see 1 En. xx. 7, which limits his good offices to the righteous in Israel, cf. T. L. v. 7. He intercedes for Israel, 1 En. lxxxix. 76, helps Israel, xc. 14 and opposes the angels of the heathen nations in Dan. x–xii. God Himself is Israel's Patron in Deut. xxxii. 8–9 (LXX); Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31, 32; Hebrew T. Naph. ix. 5, and only the other nations have angel-patrons. Or it may be the angel of peace that is referred to here. Cf. T. D. vi. 5: Dan. x. 5–6, 11ᵃ, 12–14, 19–21, xi–xii. See also T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, &c., for this angel as a guide. He is distinct from Michael, Dan. x. 13; 1 En. xl. 8–9.

utterly . . . attacketh it > α.

6 1 And when I was going to my father, I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the
2 mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila. And I kept these words in my
3 heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor
not to be circumcised; for I was zealous because of the abomination which they had wrought on
4, 5 my sister. And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor. And after this my brothers
6 came and smote ⌜that⌝ city with the edge of the sword. And my father heard ⌜these things⌝ and
was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been
7 put to death, and in his blessings he †looked amiss upon us. For we sinned because we had done
8 this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. But I saw that the sentence of God was for
evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah ⌜and Rebecca⌝ as they had done to Dinah our
9 sister, but the Lord prevented them. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a
stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his
10 house, they most shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their
11 wives by force, and they †banished them. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the
uttermost.

7 1 And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord despoil the Canaanites, and will give
2 their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be
3 called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them. Because also
4 they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Bethel.

8 1, 2 And there again I saw a vision as the former, after we had spent there seventy days. And I saw seven
men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of right-
eousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the
3 turban of the †head, and the ephod of prophecy. And they severally carried (these things) and put
(them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for

VI. 1. **shield.** Prof. Sayce suggests this = שריון, i.e. Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9) which is 10 miles SE. of Abilene, but 40 miles from Gebal.

wherefore διό. ἐν ᾧ *a*.

2. **I kept . . . heart.** Cf. Dan. iv. 25 LXX (contrast LXX in vii. 28); Luke ii. 19.

3. **my brother** > c.

not c only. Jub. xxx. 1–4; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 21. 1 omit the circumcision of the Shechemites. Levi was opposed to their circumcision as he intended to avenge the insult done to his sister.

on my sister *a* A^{α}: 'in Israel' β A^{3} S^{1}.

4–5. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25–7, where the other sons of Jacob 'came upon the slain and spoiled the city'.

6. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30; Jub. xxx. 25. Gen. says Jacob reproached Simeon and Levi.

looked amiss. παρεῖδεν *a*: 'did inequitably', ἄλλως ἐποίησεν β–d g A^{β} S^{1}.

7. **he was sick** c b: 'I was sick' h β–b A S^{1}.

8. **upon Shechem** > *a*. **and Rebecca** > *a*. The Shechemites had done nothing to Sarah and Rebecca—for the incidents at Gerar see Gen. xx. 3, xxvi. 7.

9. Also not in Genesis.

10. **their wives** β–a f A S^{1}: τὰς ξένας *a* a f, i. e. wives of guests or strangers.

banished, a mistranslation of ידיחון 'seduced them' (to idolatry), or 'forced them', as Prov. vii. 21. See Jub. xxx. 7–17, where intermarriage with heathen involves the death penalty, as in the case of the Shechemites. Marriage with a Gentile was considered equivalent to worship of the Gentile idols.

11. **of the Lord** β S^{1}: 'of God' *a*. This verse, adopted by St. Paul in 1 Thess. ii. 16, seems to be based on Gen. xxxv. 5 and presupposes וַיִּגַּע חֲמַת instead of וַיְהִי חִתַּת. Jub. xxx. 26 reads the latter.

VII. 1. **Jacob** *a*: 'be not angry my (a f g: > A^{α}) lord Jacob (> d)' β–b A S^{1}.

2. **a city of imbeciles.** Cf. Sir. l. 26—of Shechem.

3. **wrought folly in Israel.** Gen. xxxiv. 7; Jub. xxx. 5.

4. **And we** + 'took our sister' b e g.

came to Bethel. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 6.

VIII. 1. For this vision cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, where, however, Levi has already visited Isaac and returned to Bethel. See T. L. ix. 1.

2. **Seven men.** For the 'seven angels' cf. Ezek. ix. 2, and for their names see 1 En. xx.

robe of the priesthood, &c. See my Commentary *in loc.* Cf. Exod. xxviii. 4, 36–8, xxix. 5; Sir xlv. 8–12; Philo, *de Vita Mos.* iii. 11–14; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 1–6.

robe = כְּתֹנֶת or tunic of every priest.

crown = עֲטָרָה.

breastplate of understanding. Cf. 'breastplate of judgement', Exod. xxviii. 15; cf. Sir. xlv. 10.

garment—the long outer robe or ποδήρης.

plate = πέταλον or צִיץ. See *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3157.

turban of the †head. The μίτρα should have some virtue or power associated with it. So for ראש (κεφαλῆς *a*), and מופת (σημείου b d e g A^{α}, corrupted to στηθίου a f S^{1}), we must read מישור, 'uprightness'.

ephod of prophecy. Cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 10.

3. **a priest . . . ever** β A S^{1}. 'A priest, thou and all thy seed' *a*. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, which supports β A S^{1}.

4, 5 ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad
6, 7 me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The
8, 9 fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth
10 placed a crown on my head. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my
11 hands with incense, that I might serve as priest to the Lord God. And they said to me: Levi, thy
12 seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the
13 first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priest-
14 hood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall
15 establish a new priesthood, after the †fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.

16 Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed,
And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon,
And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion.

17 And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes;
For by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded.

, 19 And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream. And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.

1, 2 And after two days I and Judah went up with our father Jacob to Isaac our father's father. And my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen. And
3 he would not come with us to Bethel. ⌜And when we came to Bethel⌝, my father saw a vision
4 concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God. And he rose up early in the morning,
5 and paid tithes of all ⌜to the Lord⌝ through me. And ⌜so⌝ we came to Hebron to dwell there.
6 And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the

4. **of judgement** > *a*.

5. **bread and wine, (even) the most holy things** c i β S^1: 'holy bread and wine' h A. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18. Is Christian influence apparent here?

9–10. So *a* β S^1: 'And the sixth filled my hands with incense that I might serve as priest before the Lord' A^a: 'And the sixth placed a diadem of priesthood on my head and the seventh filled,' &c. A^{b*}: 'And the sixth and the seventh gave me a diadem of priesthood and again filled,' &c. $A^{c\,d\,e\,f\,g}$.

filled my hands. This = ordination. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41.

God *a*: > β A S.

11. These three offices filled by Moses (12), the Aaronitic priesthood (13), and the Maccabean princes (14, 15), are signs of the Messiah's coming.

12. **the first portion,** κλῆρος, is Moses. Text = *a*: +πιστεύσας (before πρῶτος) b d e g: 'And those who believe first shall have a great portion' A.

14. **the third,** the Maccabees, and in particular John Hyrcanus.

a new name: 'priests of the Most High God'. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18 (Melchizedek); also Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2; Jub. xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16; T. L. viii. 15.

king. See 1 Macc. xiv. 41. Simon was ἀρχιερεύς, στρατηγός, and ἐθνάρχης.

in Judah, 'out of Judah' *a* β: 'in Judah' A, possibly.

new priesthood. Cf. xviii. 2.

after the fashion of the Gentiles, &c. *a* β–d A^β S: 'a new priesthood to all the Gentiles' d. The bracketed words may go back to a dittography in the Hebrew. For 'after the fashion' read perhaps as in the note in my Commentary 'for a mediator'.

15. Verses 14–15 date this work in the time of the Maccabean dynasty. Verse 15 dates it under John Hyrcanus, who alone of the Maccabees is credited with the gift of prophecy, Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* i. 2. 8. Cf. refs. in T. L. xviii. 6 (note). Moreover, it must be earlier than his struggle with the Pharisees.

beloved *a* a f S^2: 'unutterable' β–a f A.

16. Cf. Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 16; also T. Jud. xxi. 5; Sir. xlv. 21.

17. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15.

guarded β–a f A^β: 'taken' a f (c h imply).

by their mouth = 'at their word'.

18–ix. 9. Cf. Aramaic Fragment, Appendix II in Commentary.

19. The first dream vision is also kept secret by Levi. Cf. vi. 2.

IX. 1. Here the visit to Isaac follows the dream vision of T. L. viii. In Jub. xxxi. 13–17 the visit and Isaac's blessing precede the vision at Bethel in xxxii. 1.

to Isaac. Isaac was living in Abraham's house (Jub. xxxi. 5) in Hebron (*v.* 5, Gen. xxxv. 27). Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. *v.* 11.

2. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 13–17.

he would not come. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 27.

3. **and when . . . Bethel** *a* b e g. In Jub. xxxii. 1 Levi, not Jacob, has this vision. If 'Jacob' be read there for 'Levi', the difference in order mentioned in ix. 1 (note) would be removed.

unto God β S^1: 'before the Lord' A: > *a*.

4. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 2.

5. At Hebron Isaac was living.

6–14. These instructions Abraham gives to Isaac in Jub. xxi. 1–23.

7 angel of the Lord showed unto me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices,
8 whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-offerings, peace-offerings. And each day he was instructing
9 me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me: Beware of the spirit of
10 fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place. Take, therefore, to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, while yet thou art young, and not of the race of
11 strange nations. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the
12 sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. Of twelve trees having leaves
13 offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. And of every clean beast ⌜and bird⌝ offer a
14 sacrifice to the Lord. And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

10 1 Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children; for whatsoever things I have
2 heard from my fathers ⌜I have declared unto you. And behold⌝ I am clear from your ungodliness and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages [against the Saviour of the world, Christ, acting godlessly], deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the
3 Lord. And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your
4 shame. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach
5 and for a curse there. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

11 1, 2 Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. And she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land.
3, 4 And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank. And Kohath was born in the
5 thirty-fifth year ⌜of my life⌝, towards sunrise. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high
6 in the midst of all the congregation. Therefore I called his name Kohath [which is, beginning of
7 majesty and instruction]. And she bare me a third son, in the fortieth year of my life; and since his mother bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is, 'my bitterness,' because he also was

7. **law of the priesthood**, i.e. מִשְׁפַּט 'custom' or 'prerogatives' of the priests. Cf. Deut. xviii. 3. Cf. the peace-offerings and thank-offerings in Jub. xxi. 7–9.
8. **before the Lord** > *a*.
9. **beware of . . . fornication.** Cf. Jub. xxi. 21–2; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 14, 16; T. R. i. 6, &c.
holy place, or 'holy things'.
10. **Take . . . a wife.** Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 17.
11. For these ablutions cf. Jub. xxi. 16; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 19, 21, 53.
wash, *νίπτου*, i.e. the hands and the feet, whereas 'bathe', *λούου*, refers to the whole body.
12. **trees having leaves** *a* g; 'evergreen trees' *β*–g A. See Aram. and Gk. Frag. 23–4; Jub. xxi. 12.
13. **and bird** > A.
14. **of . . . first fruits . . . the first.** Cf. Ezek. xliv. 30 (Heb.); Sir. xlv. 20 (Gk.).
as a sacrifice to the Lord God *a*: 'a sacrifice unto the Lord' a f: 'unto the Lord' d e g A^{β} S^{1}: > b.
and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt > *a*. Cf. Jub. xxi. 11; Lev. ii. 13; Mark ix. 49, 50.

X. This chapter belongs to the first century B.C., and is an attack on the later Maccabean high-priests. See xiv–xv (note).
1. **I have declared unto you** > d A.
2. **And behold** > *β* A.
[against the Saviour . . . godlessly.] A Christian addition. 'Christ' c only: 'acting godlessly' *β* A S^{1}.
stirring up . . . evils. Cf. Isa. x. 26, &c.
3. **together with Israel** *β* A S^{1}: 'in Israel' c.
the veil, *καταπέτασμα* c (h plur.); cf. Mark xv. 38. *ἔνδυμα* *β*–d A S suggests that *τοῦ ναοῦ* is an interpolation, and that the rending of garments is spoken of; cf. Isa. xxii. 8. A^{α} inserts *κόσμου* before *τοῦ ναοῦ*.
4. **there** + 'and a trampling under foot' *β* A S. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 18.
5. This verse seems to be an addition or at least an afterthought.
the house which the Lord shall choose. 1 En. lxxxix. 54 calls Jerusalem 'the house of the Lord'.
which the Lord shall choose. Deut. xii. 5, &c.
the book of Enoch. The references to Enoch in the Testaments are suspicious. See my Commentary, pp. 49–50. References occur in T. S. v. 4; T. L. x. 5, xiv. 1 (> *a*), xvi. 1 (> *a*); T. Jud. xviii. 1 (> *a*); T. D. v. 6; T. N. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1 (> A). Four of these belong to the first century B.C., and only in two, T. S. v. 4, T. N. iv. 1, of the others do all our authorities agree. S^{2} further refers to Enoch in T. A. ii. 10, vii. 1, 5.

XI. 1. See xii. 5.
Melcha. Gk. and Syr. Frag. 62 and Jub. xxxiv. 20.
2. **Gersam.** Cf. Gen. xlvi. 11.
sojourners. Cf. Exod. ii. 22: 'in a land of sojourning' *a*.
3. Cf. Gk. Frag. 64, 65. Gersam was born at sunset, and so was not to rise to honour.
4. **thirty-fifth**: 'thirty-fourth' Aram. (and Gk.?) Frag.
5–6. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 67, which also suggests a paronomasia of קהת and קהל 'congregation'. The brackets indicate a gloss. The Gk. Frag. 67 adds 'and his seed shall be *ἀρχὴ βασιλέων ἱεράτευμα*.' Cf. here *ἀρχὴ μεγαλείου καὶ συμβιβασμός*.
7. **my bitterness** > 'my' *a*. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 69.

8 like to die. And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.

2, 2 And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. And the sons of Kohath,
3, 4 Ambram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel. And the sons of Merari, Mooli, and Mouses. And ⌜in the ninety-fourth year⌝ Ambram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one
5 day, he and my daughter. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took
6 a wife, and at forty-eight I went into Egypt. And behold, my children, ye are a third generation.
7 In my hundred and eighteenth year Joseph died.

3 1 And now, my children, I command you:
Fear the Lord your God ⌜with your whole heart⌝,
And walk in simplicity according to all His law.
2 And do ye also teach your children letters,
That they may have understanding all their life,
Reading unceasingly the law of God.
3 For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth.
4 Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents,
And many men shall desire to serve him,
And to hear the law from his mouth.
5 Work righteousness, ⌜therefore⌝, my children, upon the earth,
That ye may **have (it) as a treasure** in heaven.
6 And sow good things in your souls,
That ye may find them in your life.
But if ye sow evil things,
Ye shall reap every trouble and affliction.
7 Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence;
For though there be a leading into captivity,
And cities and lands be destroyed,
And gold and silver and every possession perish,
The wisdom of the wise **nought** can take away,
Save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin.
8 ⌜For if one keep oneself from these evil things⌝,
Then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
And in a strange country a fatherland,
And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.
9 Whosoever teaches noble things and does them,
Shall be enthroned with kings,
As was also Joseph my brother.

8. **Jochebed . . . renowned**, a play on the name in Hebrew. Cf. the Frag. 71.

XII. 1–3. Cf. Exod. vi. 17–19.
5. **Eight years.** Cf. Syr. Frag. 'eighteen' Aram. Frag. 78: 'nine' Jub. xxviii. 14, xxix. 14.
eighteen years. So Syr. Frag. and Aram. Frag., also Jub. xxx. 2 with xxviii. 14, 23.
forty-eight: 'forty' text, 'forty-eight' Aram. Frag. 79. Cf. T. Jud. xii. 12 (note).
7. **hundred and eighteenth.** For a different calculation see Jub. xxviii. 14, 24.

XIII. 1. A poem in praise of the wise. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 9–11.
2. **teach . . . letters.** Cf. T. R. iv. 1. This verse > *a*.
4. **desire to serve him.** Cf. Sir. x. 25.
5. **righteousness** = alms. Cf. LXX in Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Ps. xxiv. 5.
have (it) as a treasure emended. 'find' β A$^{\beta}$ S: 'be healed' *a*. Both תמצאו and תרפאו corrupt for תאצרו. Cf. Matt. vi. 20; Tobit iv. 8–9; Pea 15^{b}; B. Bathra 11^{a}; Pss.-Sol. ix. 6, 9; 1 En. xxxviii. 2. The treasure of good works occurs also in 4 Ezra vii. 77; 2 Bar. xiv. 12; Shabbath 31^{b}; and is the measure of the righteous' final reward, 4 Ezra viii. 33; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.
6. **sow evil.** Cf. Prov. xxii. 8.
7. **with diligence** β A$^{\beta}$ S: > *a* A^{a}.
nought, οὐδείς, text.
the blindness of ungodliness. Cf. xiv. 4.
8. **For if . . . things** *a*: 'But if one keep these' d: > β-d A S.
9. **teaches . . . and does.** Cf. Matt. v. 19, vii. 24, 26.
noble *a*: 'these' β A.

α, A^{α}	*β*, A^{β} S^{1}
14 1 Therefore, my children, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness [against Him]; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.	And now, my children, I have learnt from the 1 writing of Enoch that in the end ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to all wickedness; and your brethren shall be put to shame because of you, and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.

2 For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests [who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world].

α, A^{α}	*β* S^{1}	A^{β}
3 For as the heaven is purer in the Lord's sight than the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles.	3. The heaven is purer than the earth, and ye, the lights of Israel, are †as sun and moon.	My children, be ye pure as 3 the heaven is (purer) than the earth: and ye who are the lights of Israel, shall be as the sun and moon.
4 But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blindness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.	4. What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgressions? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given to lighten every man, this ye shall desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.	What will all the Gentiles do, 4 if ye be darkened through transgression? Yea, curses will come upon your race, and the light which was given through the law to lighten you and every man ye shall desire to destroy, and teach your commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

5 The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions,
6 eating (them) contemptuously with harlots. And out of covetousness ye shall teach the command-

XIV–XVI. The groundwork and indeed the main narrative of the Testaments is pro-Maccabean, and exalts Levi and his posterity. Unquestioning obedience to them is required. But in x, xiv–xvi words fail to denounce the lewdness and baseness of the priests. The chief priests transgress, are covetous, corrupt the law, teach contrary to God's ordinances, profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. For this reason the Temple shall be laid waste and they shall go into captivity, a scorn to the Gentiles.

The date is not after A. D. 70, as the Temple prediction might seem to suggest, for the Sadducees, who are in view in xiv. 4 and xvi. 2, disappear after that date as a party. The Pharisees, moreover, were not the subjects of persecution after 63 B. C. when the Pharisaic Hyrcanus became a vassal king under the Romans. Nor were the high-priests immoral in the first century A. D. The sack of Jerusalem, if already enacted, would be more than a vague prophecy.

The charges of gross immorality and profanation and of persecuting the righteous apply alike to the Hellenistic priests of 200–170 B. C., and the Sadducean priests of 100–60 B. C. But the eating of sacrifices with harlots in public can refer only to Jannaeus. See xiv. 5 (note). As he died in 78 B. C., this passage cannot be much later. In any case it is later than Dan. ix. 24, which is the source of the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years as weeks of years in xvi. 1, and later too than 1 En. lxxxix. 54, which cannot be dated before 164 B. C.

XIV. 1. **learnt** + 'from the writing of Enoch' *β* A S^{1}. The following words do not occur in Enoch; yet cf. 1 En. xci. 6, xciii. 9. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

transgress . . . wickedness + 'against Him' *α*, a Christian addition: > 'all' *α*. We might render *β* A^{β} S^{1} 'stretching out hands against the Lord in all wickedness'.

2. **pure**, &c. Cf. T. S. vi. 1. The **chief-priests** are the Maccabean prince-priests, in particular Jannaeus.

[**who shall lay**, &c.], a Christian addition.

3. *α* gives the clearest version. Yet *β* S^{1} and A^{β} lead us to correct 'sun' into 'heaven', and 'on' to 'than'. 'Sun and moon' in *β* A^{β} S^{1} also may be original, and 'than all the Gentiles' may be due to *α*'s drawing upon the next verse.

4. The author connects sin closely with darkness of mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8; T. L. xiii. 7, xiv. 4, xix. 1; T. Jos. vii. 5; also T. Jud. xviii. 3, 6; T. D. ii. 4; T. G. iii. 3, vi. 2.

the light of the law. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 4; Prov. vi. 23; T. L. xviii. 3; Ps. cxix. 105.

light . . . to lighten every man. John i. 9.

teaching commandments contrary. Cf. incident of Jannaeus, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5; *Bell. Iud.* i. 4. 3, together with Talmud, Sukka 48^{b}. See also Pss. Sol. viii. 12, 13 for the Maccabean robbery of temple gifts, and approach when unclean to the altar. See also Jub. xv. 1.

5. This verse and 6 up to 'defile and' > A^{α}.

the offerings . . . rob. Cf. Pss. Sol. viii. 12 *τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ διήρπαζον.* For the case of Simon ben Shetach see my Commentary, p. 57.

steal choice portions *α* a f. 'steal: and before sacrificing to the Lord ye shall take the choice portions,' b d e g A^{β}.

eating them contemptuously with harlots. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 14. 2, of Jannaeus' savage celebration of his victory over the Pharisees: *Ἑστιώμενος ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων.*

6. **out of covetousness.** Cf. Mic. iii. 11, 'the priests teach for hire.' Cf. 1 Pet. v. 2.

ments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, [and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile]; and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined, and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and
7 Gomorrah. And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against
8 men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God. For ye shall contemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

15 1 Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness,
2 and ye shall be captives throughout all nations. And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye
3 shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgement of God. And all who hate
4 you shall rejoice at your destruction. And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

16 1 And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and
2 pollute the sacrifices. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the
3 faithful shall ye abhor. [And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking
4 innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads.] And your holy places shall be laid waste
5 even to the ground because of †him. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you [through faith and water].

17 1 And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood.
2 For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be

wedded women, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 23, for like charges against the Sadducees.
and the virgins of Israel (Jerusalem b g**) shall ye defile.** β only. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14.
with harlots and adulteresses. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 23.
daughters of the Gentiles . . . wife. The prohibition of marriage with Canaanites in Deut. vii. 3 (cf. Gen. xxiv. 3, &c.) was suspended in the case of captives during war, Deut. xxi. 10–13. After Ezra (Ezra ix. 1–2, x. 10–11; Neh. x. 30) the prohibition was extended to all Gentiles. Contrast 1 Macc. i. 15 (the Hellenizing Jews), and the reaction again in Jub. xxx. 7, 10.
purifying . . . purification β A : > a. Lax observance of customary purifications may be meant, or it may be that any purification is unlawful, i.e. the prohibition is absolute.
like unto Sodom. Cf. Jude 7.
7. **lifting . . . men** $a\,\beta$ A^{a} : > A^{β}.

XV. 1–2. I take this to be a bona fide prediction.
1. **shall be laid waste** (cf. xvi. 4), as under Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. i. 39, iv. 38.
3. **hate** a a e f S : 'see' b d g A^{β}.
shall rejoice at your destruction a : 'shall flee from you' β A^{β}.
4. **our seed** c^1 A^{a} : 'your seed' h c^2 d A^{β} : 'my seed' β–d S.

XVI. 1. **I have learnt** + 'in the book of Enoch' β A^{β} S : 'and . . . that' > A^{a}. The seventy weeks come from Dan. ix. 24. Cf. the seventy shepherd periods of 1 En. lxxxix. 59.
profane the priesthood. Cf. Neh. xiii. 29.
pollute the sacrifices, i.e. approach the altar when unclean. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 3, viii. 13, 26; Ass. Mos. vi. 1.
sacrifices. 'altars' a, cf. 1 Macc. iv. 38.
2. **make void the law,** &c. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2; civ. 9, 10.
persecute righteous men. A charge against the Sadducees in 1 En. ciii. 14, 15.
3. Is this verse a Christian interpolation, or is it recast by Christian scribes? If the latter, the Onias of Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 2. 1, 2 may be meant, who refused to pray for Hyrcanus II against Aristobulus II. Or possibly Onias III, alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22; 2 Macc. iv. 33–6. Cf. 1 En. xc. 8.
in the power of the Most High $a\,\beta$ S^1 : 'of the Most High' A^{β} : > A^{a}.
a deceiver. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 63, of our Lord.
rush (upon him) to slay him a. Cf. Acts vii. 57, 58. 'slay as ye suppose' β A^{β} S : 'ye shall slay him' A^{a}. These variants seem to point to a dittography in the Hebrew.
dignity, *ἀνάστημα*, $a\,\beta$ S^1 : 'resurrection', *ἀνάστασιν* $A^{b*\,c\,d\,e}$.
taking innocent blood . . . heads. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.
4. **And** β–b A : > b S^1 : 'and I say unto you' a.
†him. 'it' g.
laid waste a A^{a} : 'polluted' β A^{β} S.
5. **[through faith and water]** $a\,\beta$–e^1 A S : > e^1 A^{a}. Probably a Christian addition. But baptism was already in use among the Jews by the Christian era, while 4 Ezra ix. 7, xiii. 23, insist on the need and value of faith. See also 2 Bar. liv. 16, 21, lvii. 2, &c.

XVII. This chapter is unintelligible. Verses 1–9 seem to be an intrusion, or defective. Possibly they were added with x, xiv–xvi, or at a later time. Levi was apparently not the speaker.
1. There was no account of the seventy weeks in xvi: only a bare mention.
2. **jubilee,** should be forty-nine or fifty years. Where the seven begin or end is uncertain, also the duration of each.
the first who is anointed, Levi or Moses. For Levi cf. v. 2, vi. 2 ff.
speak to God as to a father. Cf. xviii. 6. Moses spoke with God as a friend. Exod. xxxiii. 11.

perfect with the Lord, [and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world].
3 In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his
4 priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all. And the third priest shall be taken hold
5 of by sorrow. And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall **gather itself against**
6 him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour. The fifth shall be taken hold of
7 by darkness. Likewise also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh shall be such pollution
8 as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things. Therefore shall they
9 be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed.
10 And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the
11 Lord. And in the seventh week shall become priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money,
proud, lawless, lascivious, abusers of children and beasts.

18 1 And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.
2 Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days.
3 And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.
Lighting up the light of knowledge **as the sun the day**,
And he shall be magnified in the world.
4 He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,
And there shall be peace in all the earth.
5 The heavens shall exult in his days,
And the earth shall be glad,
And the †clouds shall rejoice;
[And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas;]
And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.
6 The heavens shall be opened,
And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,
With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.
7 And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].
8 For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore;

perfect with the Lord. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, &c.
[and in the day . . . arise, &c.] An intrusion.
3. Aaron apparently, born during the oppression in Egypt.
5. **shall gather itself against him.** Restored from 'shall add to him' text. Perhaps should be 'shall be added unto him'. The references are most obscure.
10–11. Part of the original text, containing a division of some period into seven weeks. Their duration is uncertain, but the events referred to are clear.
10. Return of Ezra and Nehemiah, and re-dedication of the temple, about 516 B.C. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 72.
11. The Hellenizing chief-priests who with Antiochus Epiphanes opposed Judaism.
seventh β A^{β} S: 'seventieth' *a*.
adulterers *a*: 'contentious' β A^{β} S^{1}.
XVIII. The new priesthood, to follow the immoral Hellenizers of the Zadokite line.
2–15. A Messianic hymn.
2. **a new priest.** Cf. viii. 14.
3. **his star.** Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1, also derived from Num. xxiv. 17.
in heaven. In T. Jud. xxiv. 1, same passage recurs with 'in peace.'
lighting up the light of knowledge = Hos. x. 12 (LXX). Cf. Syr. and Targ. Jon. The Hebrew there reads 'till ye the untilled ground'. For our text cf. iv. 3; T. B. xi. 2; also Jer. iv. 3.
as the sun the day. So emended from texts, all corrupt. Cf. iv. 3.
in the world + 'until his ascension' β A^{β} S^{1}.
5. **And the †clouds,** perhaps read 'because of him' and omit 'shall be glad'. The bracketed words spoil the parallelism. Cf. 1 En. li. 4 (as emended).
6. **heavens shall be opened.** Cf. ii. 6, v. 1; T. Jud. xxiv. 2; also Ezek. i. 1. The voice from the opened heaven resembles Matt. iii. 16, 17, &c.
With the Father's voice. This seems to refer to Hyrcanus, whose receiving of a Bath Qol is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 3; Jer. Talmud, Sotah. ix. 12. Probably Hyrcanus had some attestation, at least in popular belief, such as Simon had in Ps. cx.
as from Abraham to Isaac, i. e. as son, in a Messianic sense.
7. **spirit of understanding.** Cf. Isa. xi. 2; 1 En. xlix. 3.
[in the water] > e only. A Christian addition.
8. **For** *a* only.
he, probably John Hyrcanus, and not God. Hence 'of the Lord' and not 'His own majesty'. On the other hand in *vv.* 10–12 'he' seems to mean God.
sons in truth = true sons, T. Jud. xxiv. 3.

And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever.
9 And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:
In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
And the lawless shall cease to do evil.
[And the just shall rest in him.]
10 And he shall open the gates of paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
11 And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.
12 And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.
13 And the Lord shall rejoice in His children,
And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever.
14 Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult,
And I will be glad,
And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.

9 1 And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the
2 darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. And his sons answered him, saying,
3 Before the Lord we will walk according to His law. And their father said unto them, The Lord is
witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word
4 of your mouth. And his sons said unto him: We are witnesses. And thus Levi ceased commanding
his sons; and he stretched out his feet ⌜on the bed⌝, and was gathered to his fathers, after he had
5 lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried
him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Testament of Judah, the Fourth Son of Jacob and Leah.

1, 2 The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. They gathered
3 themselves together, therefore, and came to him, and he said to them: ⌜Hearken, my children, to
Judah your father⌝. I was the fourth son born to my father Jacob; and Leah my mother named
4 me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given me a fourth son ⌜also⌝. I was
5 swift in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. And I honoured my mother and my
6 mother's sister. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father blessed me, saying,
Thou shalt be a king, prospering in all things.

none succeed him, i.e. the office is secured to him and his descendants. Cf. Ps. cx; 1 Macc. xiv. 41 'a priest for ever', of Simon.

9. **grace of the Lord** + 'But Israel shall be minished through ignorance, and darkened through grief', all MSS. except b e. A Christian addition.

sin come to an end. For a gradual renewing of heaven and earth, ethically conditioned by Israel's conduct cf. Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; Jub. i. 29, iv. 26, xxiii. 26–8. Also 1 En. lxix. 29; Pss. Sol. xvii. 29; and 1 En. xcii. 5, xci. 8, 14, c. 5 for the disappearing of sin.

[And the just . . . him] > e. An interpolation.

10. **open . . . paradise.** If 'he' = the Messiah, this passage alone in Jewish literature ascribes the act to him. For the opening cf. 4 Ezra viii. 52; Sib. Or. iii. 769 ff.; also 4 Ezra vii. 36; 2 En. x.; 2 Bar. li. 11.

Adam, or 'man'.

11. **tree of life**, in Paradise, 4 Ezra viii. 52; eaten by the righteous, 1 En. xxvi. 5, 6; 4 Ezra vii. 123. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2.

12. **Beliar . . . bound.** In Isa. xxiv. 22, 23 God imprisons certain of the host of heaven. In Matt. xii. 29; Luke x. 19 Christ binds the strong man. In Rev. xx. 2, 3 an angel binds Satan. If the Messiah here binds Beliar, cf. his position in 1 En. lxii. 5 ff.; lxix. 27.

power . . . to tread upon the evil spirits. Cf. T. S. vi. 6, also Luke x. 19, and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).

His children = the righteous.

14. **joy** b e g A^b: 'righteousness' *a* a f S^1.

XIX. 1. **choose**, &c. Cf. Deut. xxx. 19.

the light . . . Beliar. Cf. T. N. ii. 6, and especially 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15 *τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ;*

2. **his sons.** Several MSS. here and in *v.* 3 have the 1st person, 'we', &c.

4. **on the bed** *a*: > β–d A S^1.

TITLE *a* + 'concerning courage and love of money (> e S^1) and fornication' (> f S^1) b e f S^1, also A generally.

I. 3. **hearken . . . father** *a*: > β–d A.

Judah . . . give thanks to the Lord. Cf. Gen. xxix. 35 for the play on words.

6. **blessed**, *ἐπεύξατο.* Cf. xvii. 5.

Thou shalt be a king. Cf. xxi. 5, xxii. 3; Ber. rab. lxxxiv. 16.

2 1, 2 And the Lord showed me favour in all my works both in the field and in the house. I know that
3 I raced a hind, and caught it, and prepared the meat for my father, and he did eat. And the roes
I used to master in the chase, and overtake all that was in the plains. A wild mare I overtook, and
4 caught it and tamed it. I slew a lion and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw
5 and hurled it down the cliff, and it was crushed. I outran the wild boar, and seizing it ⌜as I ran⌝,
6 I tore it in sunder. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon my dog, and I caught it by the tail, and
7 hurled it on the rocks, and it was broken in twain. I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and
seizing it by the horns, and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me and slew it.

3 1 And when the two kings of the Canaanites came sheathed in armour against our flocks, and much
people with them, single-handed I rushed upon the king of Hazor, and smote him on the greaves
2 and dragged him down, and so I slew him. And the other, the king of Tappuah, as he sat upon his
3 horse, [I slew, and so I scattered all his people. Achor the king] a man of giant stature ⌜I found⌝,
hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback, and I took up a stone of sixty pounds
4 weight, and hurled it and smote his horse, and killed it. And I fought with (this) **other** for two
5 hours; and I clave his shield in twain, and I chopped off his feet, and killed him. And as I was
6 stripping off his breastplate, behold nine men his companions began to fight with me. And I wound
my garment on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled.
7 And Jacob my father slew †Beelesath, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high.
8, 9 And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. Therefore my father was free from
10 anxiety in the wars when I was with my brethren. For he saw in a vision ⌜concerning me⌝ that an
angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.

4 1 And in the south there came upon us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle
array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and

II. 2. **and he did eat** > β–g S.
3. **A wild mare . . . tamed it** β–a e S^1: > α (defective).
4. **hurled** g A: 'let go' α a: both = שלחתי: 'rolled' b d e f.
and it was crushed α: 'and it was broken in pieces on them' d: 'and any beast that turned on me, I rent it like a dog' β A S^1.
6. **on the rocks and it was broken in twain** α: 'and it was broken on the coasts of Gaza' β–d A S^1. Gaza is 37 miles from Hebron. But cf. Judges xvi. 1–3. Was there a Hebron near Gaza? For the feat cf. T. G. i. 2.

III–VII. These chapters contain an ancient legend which tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem. Cf. Gen. xlviii. 22 'which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow'. See Jub. xxxiv. 2–8, which tells of an attack by seven Amorite kings. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22, the Midrash Wajjissau (Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 1–3), the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxvi, and especially the Book of Jashar (see French trans. *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173–84).

III. Fighting near Shechem, according to Midr. Wajjis. and Book of Jashar.
1–5. Judah's slaughter of two kings, those of Hazor and Tappuah. 'Achor', *v.* 3, is corrupt.
1. > later accounts.
Canaanites, in Jub., &c. 'Amorites': Jashar 'Canaanite and Amorite kings'.
against our flocks. Cf. Jub. Other authorities give as motive to exterminate Jacob's sons.
of Hazor. 'the other' α. See iv. 2 (note). This Hazor is near Shechem.
2–6. The Midr. Wajjis. gives 'And he slew at the outset Jashub king of Tappuah who was . . . riding on a horse and could hurl his javelins . . . from horseback in front and behind. When Judah saw . . . he took up a stone . . . weighing sixty shekels and hurled it . . . he (Jashub) clave the shield in twain . . . (Judah) cut off his feet . . . And while he was stripping him of his armour there came against him nine of his companions.' See my Commentary, pp. 70, 71 for full quotation.
2–5. There were seven kings in all (Jub. xxxiv. 2; Midr. Wajjis.) = king of Hazor, iii. 1; of Tappuah, iii. 2–5; four kings, iv. 1; of Shilo, iv. 7. Thus Achor is one too many. Besides, iii. 1 mentions two kings, not three. The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar (ii. 1174–75) give the details in *vv.* 3 and 4 and assign them to Jashub.
2. **[I slew . . . people]**. An addition, necessitated by the corrupt reading 'Achor the king'.
3. **[Achor the king]**, i.e. 'the other (אָחֵר) king' a dittography of *v.* 2.
I found α: > β A S^1.
before and . . . horseback β A S^1, Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., Jashar: > α.
smote A S^1: 'have given' α a f g.
4. > α, through hmt.
other. Emended from Ἀχώρ β–e, Ναχώρ A^{β}.
clave his shield. The Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar make Jashub cleave Judah's shield.
5. **nine** $A^{e\,f\,g}$: Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar: 'eight' α β–g S^1: 'seven' $A^{-e\,f\,g}$.
6. **four of them**; he killed the other eight, according to the Hebrew authorities, while Levi slew the king of Gaash.
7. **Jacob . . . slew.** The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar say Jacob slew four other kings.
†Beelesath e: corrupt for 'lord of Shiloh', given by Hebrew authorities.
9. **I should not be overcome** β A S^1: 'none shall touch me' α = נגע differently pointed.

IV. The fighting is now near Hazor, as Midr. Wajjis. explains.
1. **and four kings** β A S^1: > α. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 2–8. They are the kings of Sartan, Gaash, Beth-horon, and Mahanaim. The Hebrew authorities ascribe the slaughter to Jacob, and give a different list.

4, 3 four kings. And I went up upon the wall, and I slew four **mighty men**. And so we **captured Hazor**, and took all the spoil.

5 1 On the next day we departed to Aretan, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us
2 with death. But I and Gad approached on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the
3 west. And they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, †were drawn down† against
4 us. And so my brothers secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by stakes, and entered the city,
5 while the men knew it not. And we took it with the edge of the sword. And as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them.

α	*β* A S[1]
6 And as we were departing the men of Tappuah seized our spoil, and seeing (this) we fought with 7 them. And we slew them all and recovered our spoil.	And as we were departing the men of Tappuah 6 set upon our spoil, and delivering it up to our sons we fought with them as far as Tappuah. And we slew them and burnt their city, and 7 took as spoil all that was in it.

6, 2 And when I was at the waters of Kozeba, the men of †Jobel came against us to battle. And we fought with them and routed them; ⌜and their allies from Shiloh we slew⌝, and we did not leave
3 them ⌜power⌝ to come in against us. And the men of †Makir came upon us the fifth day, to seize our spoil; and we attacked them and overcame them in fierce battle: for there was a host of mighty
4 men amongst them, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent. And when we came to
5 their city their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill on which the city stood. And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and destroyed this city also.

7 1 And the next day it was told us that the king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host was coming
2 against us. I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies went into their
3 city. And in the depth of night our brethren came and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three

2. **upon the wall.** Midr. W. adds 'of Hazor'.
four mighty men. So I restore from the Hebrew authorities. 'still other four kings' A: 'two other kings' *β* S[1]: 'their king' (i.e. of Hazor) *α*. These four mighty men are distinct from the 'four kings' of iv. 1. See Midr. W., Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 6; Jashar (ii. 1176).
3. **captured Hazor** Midr. W.: 'freed Hebron' text. 'Hebron' is out of the context, and 'freed'=חפש for תפש.
all the spoil + 'of the kings' *β*–d A S[1].

V. The destruction of Sartan and Tappuah.
1. **Aretan** b e[1]: Areta d A: *ἑτέραν α* a e[2] f S[1]. Hebrew authorities give Sartan, cf. Saregan, Jub. xxxiv. 4, 7.
walled and inaccessible *β*–d g A S[1]. Cf. Midr. W. 'mighty' *α*.
2. **I and Gad . . . on the east,** &c. The Midr. W., &c., give quite different dispositions.
3–4. Not in Hebrew authorities.
3. **were drawn down** *α β* S[1]: 'prolonged the war' A. Perhaps emend to 'set themselves in array', i.e. ערכו misread as ארכו.
4. **climbed** > *α* A.
by stakes > *α*.
while the men knew it not > *α*.
5. **we set fire . . . it and them** *β*: 'we burnt (them) with fire and so we took them all and all their possessions' *α*. Midr. W. makes Judah slay 200 on the tower. Cf. Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7; Jashar gives two towers, ii. 1177.
6–7. *α* is more accurate but less full than *β* A S[1]. In *α* we have a successful raid, and a recovery of the spoil: in *β* A S[1] an attempted raid, and the destruction of the city.
seized *α* e. Hebrew authorities. 'set upon' *β*–a e A S.

VI. The rout of the men of Arbela, and the destruction of Shiloh and Shakir.
1–2. > *α*: while A[β] omits 1.
Kozeba. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 22, and Gen. xxxviii. 5.
the men of †Jobel b: 'Arbelians', Jashar ii. 1178. Cf. 'Arbael', Midr. W.
2. **their allies from Shiloh we slew** *β*–f. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8.
power = *διέξοδον*, a dittography, or a rendering of the ד in Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.
3. **†Makir.** 'Shabir' Midr. W.: 'Shakir' Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 9: 'camp of Shakir' Jub. xxxiv. 4 (Maanisakir).
to seize our spoil > *α*.
battle *β*–d f A S[1]: 'sword' *α* f.
for there was . . . amongst them > a.
4. **women.** Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. mention only men.
rolled, 'hurled' Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

VII. 1. **king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host** *α* d: 'Gaash the city of the kings with a great host' a e f: 'the cities of the two kings with a great host' b S[1]: 'Gaash a city with a powerful king' A.
2. **I therefore . . . allies** *β*–d e S[1]: 'and I and Gad also proceeded to the Amorites and feigning ourselves to be their allies' *α*.
3. **all that was . . . down** > *α*.
three walls. Cf. Hebrew authorities.

4 walls we cast down. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the substance of the hostile kings.
5 Then being insulted by them, I was therefore wroth, and rushed against them to the summit; and
6 they kept slinging against me stones and darts. And had not Dan my brother aided me, they would
7 have slain me. We came upon them, therefore, with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by
8 another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them. And we did to them no hurt,
9 and they became tributary to us, and we restored to them their spoil. And I built Thamna, and my
10 father built Pabael. I was twenty years old when this war befell. And the Canaanites feared me and my brethren.

8 1, 2 And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite. And when I went to him I saw Parsaba, king of Adullam; ⌜and he spake unto us⌝, and he made us a feast;
3 and **when I was heated** he gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. She bare me Er, and Onan and Shelah; and two of them the Lord smote: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.

9 1 And eighteen years my father abode in peace with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after
2 that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. And when eighteen years were fulfilled, in the fortieth year of my life, Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong
3 people. And Jacob smote Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up **wounded** on Mount Seir, and
4 as he went he died at Anoniram. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter ⌜into it⌝, and we encamped around, and
5 besieged it. And when they opened not to us in twenty days, I set up a ladder ⌈in the sight of all⌉ and with my shield upon my head I went up, sustaining the assault of stones, upwards of three
6, 7 talents weight; and I slew four of their mighty men. And Reuben and Gad slew six others. Then they asked from us terms of peace; and having taken counsel with our father, we received them as
8 tributaries. And they gave us five hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, five hundred measures of wine, ⌜until the famine⌝, when we went down into Egypt.

10 1 And after these things my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram.
2 Now Er was wicked, and he †was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land
3 of Canaan. And on the third night an angel of the Lord smote him. ⌜And he had not known her
4 according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children by her. In the

4. **Thamna,** i. e. Timneh. Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50.
substance: 'refuge' b g.
5–6. These incidents are told of Gaash, not Thamna, in the Hebrew authorities.
5. The Hebrew authorities give the occasion of the insult.
against them to the summit = לראש עליהם. Midr. W. 'upon the wall the first' = ראשון לחומה.
kept slinging. Cf. Midr. W.
6. Jacob rescues Judah in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 11.
7. **he made peace with them** β–a f S^1 Midr. W.: 'they made peace with him' α a f.
8. **they became tributary to us** α. Cf. Midr. W.: 'we made a truce with them' β A S^1.
we restored. Midr. W. and Jashar make the Amorites restore the spoil to Jacob's sons. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 7–9.
9. β A S^1: 'and we built also their city' α. See Jub. xxxiv. 8 'Robel (i. e. Arbela, cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) and Tamnatares', also Midr. W.
10. **twenty years.** Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxiv. 1.
VIII. 1. **Iram.** Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 1.
2. **he spake unto us** α only.
when I was heated. Conjectured for παρακαλέσας. Cf. Isa. lvii. 5 (LXX). Cf. T. Jud. xi. 2, xiii. 5–7, xiv. 3. For the offence of this Canaanite marriage cf. Jub. xxxiv. 20.
IX. 1. The war between Jacob and Esau. For fuller accounts see Jub. xxxvii–xxxviii. 1–14; Midr. W., and Chron. Jer. xxxvii, and a different one in Jashar, ii. 1235–6.
2. **in the fortieth year of my life.** Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxvi. 21, xxxvii. 14. > α.
3. **Jacob smote Esau,** &c., α. Jub. xxxviii. 2; Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.: 'he fell by the bow of Jacob' b g A S^1.
wounded. So I restore in accordance with Midr. W. for text = 'dead'. But cf. Jub. xxxviii. 8 'slain'.
and as he went . . . Anoniram > c h.
Anoniram β–b d A: 'Aduram' Jub. xxxviii. 9: 'Arodin' Midr. W. This is the Adora which Hyrcanus took and forced to accept circumcision, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xxii. 15. 4.
4. **with walls of iron and gates of brass** β–d A: 'strong' α. Cf. v. 1.
5. **sustaining . . . stones.** Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. assign this feat to Naphtali and Gad as well.
upwards . . . weight > α.
7. **as tributaries.** Cf. vii. 8 and Midr. W. > α.
8. **five hundred** α a f S^1: 'two hundred' b d e A.
baths, 'ephahs' seem to be implied by α a f.
the famine when α: > β S^1.
X. 1. **daughter of Aram,** i. e. a Semite. Cf. Jub. xli. 1, and *Opus Imperfectum* on Matt. i. 3.
2. **he was . . . night** > α.
†was in need, or 'difficulty', perhaps corrupt in Hebrew for 'put to shame'. Cf. Jub. xli. 2.
3. > A through hmt.
for . . . by her > α. The *Opus Imperf.* says: 'Mater autem eius cum esset Chananaea hortaretur eum accipere ex genere suo: ille consilio matris usus non contigit eam. Propter quod percussit eum Deus malignantem.'

days[1] of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in marriage; and he also in wickedness knew her not,
5 though he spent with her a year. And when I threatened him he went in unto her, but he spilled
the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness.
6 And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but his mother did not permit it; ⌜for she wrought evil
against Tamar⌝, because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was.

XI. 1 And I knew that the race of the Canaanites was wicked, but the impulse of youth blinded my
2 mind. And when I saw her pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine I was deceived, and
3 took her although my father had not counselled (it). And while I was away she went and took for
4 Shelah a wife from Canaan. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of
5 my soul. And she also died through her wickedness together with her sons.

XII. 1 And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up
2 to shear my sheep, and adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city Enaim by the gate. ⌜For
it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days
3 by the gate⌝. Therefore being drunk with wine, I did not recognize her; and her beauty deceived
4 me, through the fashion of her adorning. And I turned aside to her, and said: Let me go in unto
thee. And she said: What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and the
5 diadem of my kingdom ⌜in pledge⌝. And I went in unto her, and she conceived. And not knowing
6 what I had done, I wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. And
when I called her, I heard also the secret words which ⌜I spoke⌝ when lying with her in my drunken-
7 ness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. For I said, Lest haply she did it in
8 subtlety, having received the pledge from another woman. But I came not again near her while
9 I lived, because I had done ⌜this⌝ abomination in ⌜all⌝ Israel. Moreover, they who were in the city
said there was no harlot in the gate, because she came from another place, and sat for a while in the
11 gate. And I thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. And after this we came into
12 Egypt ⌜to Joseph⌝, because of the famine. And I was forty and six years old, and seventy and three
years lived I in Egypt.

XIII. 1 And now I command you, my children, hearken ⌜to Judah your father⌝, and keep my sayings to
2 perform all the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the commands of God. And walk not after your
lusts, nor in the imaginations of your thoughts in haughtiness of heart; and glory not in the deeds
3 and strength of your youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. Since I also gloried that
in wars no comely woman's face ever enticed me, and reproved Reuben my brother concerning
Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves against

4. β A S[1]: 'And I gave her to Aunan my second son, and behold the Lord slew him' α.
5. > α.
6. **his mother** α: 'my wife Bathshua' β A S. Cf. Jub. xli. 7.
against Tamar b d e S.

XI. 2. **pouring out wine** > A S[1].
owing to the intoxication > α.
took her α: 'had intercourse with her' β S[1].
not counselled. Cf. xiii. 3.
3. Jub. xli. 7 only says that Bathshua stopped Shelah's marrying.
5. **through her . . . sons** α: 'through the wickedness of her sons' β A S[1].

XII. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12–26; Jub. xli. 8–23.
1. **adorned.** Jub. xli. 9; also LXX, Syr., Onkelos of Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. has 'enwrapped'.
Enaim c e. A proper name as in Gen. xxxviii. 14 (LXX, not Targums or Syriac).
gate +'of the inn' α.
2. **about to marry** β S[1]: 'a widow' α. Cf. the bride's sacrifice to Mylitta, Herod. i. 199.
seven days by the gate > α.
3. +'at the waters of Kozeba' β–d f A[a h b* c d e f g] S[1] at the beginning of verse.
4. **staff . . . girdle . . . diadem.** Gen. xxxviii. 18 has also 'signet' as α here.
girdle > α, wrongly, see xv. 3. Cf. Jub. xlvi. 11.
diadem, is not in Gen.
in pledge > β A S[1].
5. **wished to slay her** > α d g.
but she . . . shame. 'I sent to receive the pledge' α.
6–10. > α, but substitutes an abbreviation of Gen. xxxviii. 20, 24–30, LXX.
7. Explains 6[a].
9. **harlot,** lit. 'temple prostitute'. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 18.
12. **forty-six.** 'forty-three' in Jub. xxviii. 15, xlv. 1. Cf. T. L. xii. 5 (Aram. Frag.).

XIII. 1. Text = α. Other MSS. vary.
2. **walk not** β A S[1]: 'be not evil' α.
nor in the imaginations of your thoughts > α a g. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. See T. A. i. 3 (note).
3. **enticed** β A: 'met' α S[1], i. e. ὑπήντησε for ἠπάτησε.

4 me, until I lay with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar, who was espoused to my sons. For I said
to my father-in-law: I will take counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he
was unwilling, but he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf; for he was
5 a king. And he adorned her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the
6 feast †with the beauty of women.† And the wine turned aside my eyes, and pleasure blinded my
7 heart. And I became enamoured of and I lay with her, and transgressed the commandment of the
8 Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. And the Lord rewarded me
according to the imagination of my heart, inasmuch as I had no joy in her children.

14 1 And now, my children, ⌜I say unto you⌝, be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away
2 from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of
fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the
3 mind of man. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, it disturbeth the mind with filthy thoughts
⌜leading to fornication⌝, and heateth the body to carnal union; and if the occasion of the lust be
4 present, he worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. Such is the **inebriated** man, my children; for he
5 who is drunken reverenceth no man. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of
the multitude in the city, in that before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I wrought
6 a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of my sons' shame. After I had drunk wine I reverenced
7 not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. For much discretion
needeth the man who drinketh wine, my children; and herein is discretion in drinking wine a man
8 may drink so long as he preserveth modesty. But if he go beyond this limit the spirit of deceit
attacketh his mind, and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be
ashamed, but even to glory in his shame, and to account himself honourable.

15 1 He that committeth fornication is not aware when he suffers loss, and is not ashamed when put
2 to dishonour. For even though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his
3 kingship by becoming the slave of fornication, as I myself also suffered. For I gave my staff, that
is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my
4 kingdom. And indeed I repented of these things; wine and flesh I eat not until my old age, nor
5 did I behold any joy. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over
6 king and beggar alike. And from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his
might, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

16 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the (right) limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits—of
2 lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre. If ye drink wine in gladness, be ye modest in the
fear of God. For if in (your) gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and
3 shamelessness stealeth in. But if ye would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in
words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and transgressions of the commandments of God,
4 and ye perish before your time. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men, even as

I lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*, β A S^1: *συνετέλεσα εἰς*, *a*.
4. **he was unwilling, but** > β–d A S^1.
5. **†with the beauty of women†** > c A^b. Read 'with the ornaments of women', or the words may be corrupt for 'in the women's apartment'.
7. **lay with**, *συνέπεσα εἰς*. See xi. 2, xiii. 3 (notes).
fathers. 'father' *a*.
XIV. 1. **I say unto you** h: 'I say' c: > β A S^1.
be not drunk with wine. Cf. xvi. 1 and Eph. v. 18.
2. **mind of man** *a* $A^{a\,h}$: 'might of man' β $A^{b\,b*\,c\,d\,e\,g}$ S.
3. The translation follows β A S^1. *a* has 'thou drinkest . . . thy mind . . . and to fornication heateth, &c.'
carnal union, 'pleasure' *a*.
and if . . . present > *a*.
4. **the inebriated man**, *πάροινος*, emended from *πονηρός*, *a* a f: *πόρνος*, e: *οἶνος*, b A S.
7. **much** > β A S^1.
a man may, 'that a man should' β–d g A S^1.
8. **glory in his shame.** Cf. Phil. iii. 19.
XV. 1–2. Cf. T. R. iv. 7.
2. **stripped of** + 'and goes forth from' β A.
3. **girdle** *a* a d f: omit next seven words through hmt.
4. **joy**, 'folly' c.
5. **for ever** > *a*.
alike + 'and in them there is no advance of life' *a*.
XVI. 1. For this verse and xix. 1 cf. Col. iii. 5 'covetousness is idolatry'; Eph. v. 5; also Eph. v. 5 for 'profligacy' or 'excess'. See xiv. 1, xxi. 1.
2. **For if . . . departeth** e f A S^1: 'for if ye drink without modesty and the fear of God departeth' b: > *a*.
3. **if ye would live soberly** *a*: 'what say I?' a e f: 'I tell you, if it is possible for you' d: 'it is a good thing (not to)' A.
before your time. Cf. T. R. iv. 6.
4. **God and men** + 'to aliens' b $A^{a\,b\,b*\,d}$.

I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanitish
5 woman Bathshua, which God bade me not to reveal. And wine is a cause both of war and confusion.

17 1 And now, I command you, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite.
2, 3 [For I know that because of these two things shall my race fall into wickedness. For even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which
4 the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. For I never caused grief to Jacob, my
5 father; for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed
6 me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.

α	*β* A S[1]
18 1 And I know what evils ye will do in the last days.]	For I have also read in the books of Enoch the righteous what evils ye will do in the last days.]

2 Beware, therefore, my children, of fornication, and the love of money, and hearken to Judah your father.

3 For these things withdraw you from the law of God,
And blind the inclination of the soul,
And teach arrogance,
And suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbour.

4 They rob his soul of all goodness,
And oppress him with toils and troubles,
⌜And drive away sleep from him⌝,
And devour his flesh.

5 And he hindereth the sacrifices of God;
⌜And he remembereth not the blessing of God,⌝
He hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh,
And resenteth the words of godliness.

6 ⌜For he is a slave to two contrary passions,
And cannot obey God,
Because they have blinded his soul,
And he walketh in the day as in the night⌝.

19 1 My children, the love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness.
2 For the sake of money I lost my children, and had not my repentance, ⌜and my humiliation⌝, and
3 the prayers of my father been accepted, I should have died childless. But the God of my fathers

5. > *α*.

XVII. 1. **nor to gaze upon.** Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

XVII. 2—XVIII. 1. Bracketed as a later addition. xviii. 2 resumes xvii. 1.

2. **wickedness** *β* S[1]: 'perdition of fornication' *α*: 'fornication' A.

3. **because of my obedience.** See *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 328 for various reasons for Judah's headship.

4. **caused grief to Jacob** *α* a A[b]: 'caused grief to the word of Jacob' *β*–a g S[1]. Perhaps the Hebrew original was 'I disobeyed the word of J.'

5–6. For Judah's kingship cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. xxi. 5, xxii. 3.

5. **Isaac** d A: 'Abraham' *α β*-d S (and therefore c reads 'great-grandfather').
blessed me to be king. Supply λέγων after 'blessed me' and render 'saying I should be king.' Cf. i. 6.
Jacob *α* d: 'Isaac' *β*–d A S[1].

XVIII. 1. **the books of Enoch,** an interpolation. See T. L. x. 5 (note), and cf. T. A. vii. 2 for 'I know'.

2. Resumes xvii. 1.

3. **blind,** &c. Cf. xiii. 7.

4. **drive away sleep from him** *α*: 'put away his sleep' *β*-d g S[1]. Sir. xlii. 9. Cf. T. S. iv. 8.

6. **For . . . obey God** *α* f: 'for being a slave to the passions contrary to the commandments of God' a e S[1]. Cf. Matt. vi. 24.
walketh in the day. Cf. Rom. xiii. 13.

XIX. 1. **love of money . . . idolatry.** Cf. Col. iii. 5; Eph. v. 5; Shem. rab. 121 'qui opes suas multiplicat per foenus, ille est idolatra'; cf. Philo, *De Mon.* i. 2 and Matt. vi. 24 for Mammon as a god.

2. **my repentance** *α*: 'the repentance of my flesh' *β*–f A S.
my humiliation *α*: 'the humiliation of my soul' *β* S[1].
prayers of my father. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 3; T. G. v. 9.
been accepted, †συνέδραμον, *α*: > *β* S[1]: ἔσωζον, A[–b]. Probably Heb. was עזרו 'helped', or נרצו 'were acceptable'. See T. G. v. 9 (note).

4 had mercy on me, because I did it in ignorance. And the prince of deceit blinded me, and I sinned as a man and as flesh, being corrupted through sins; ⌜and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself invincible⌝.

20 1 Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit
2 of deceit. And in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will.

3 And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth.

4 And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid; for on the heart itself have they been
5 written down ⌜before the Lord⌝. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and the sinner is burnt up ⌜by his own heart⌝, and cannot raise his face ⌜to the judge⌝.

21 1 And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and ⌜exalt not yourselves
2 against him⌝, lest ye be utterly destroyed. ⌜For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the
3 priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the
4 earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away through sin from the Lord and is
5 dominated by the earthly kingdom⌝. For ⌜the angel of the Lord said unto me⌝: The Lord chose him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table ⌜and to offer Him the first-fruits⌝ of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob.

6 And thou shalt be amongst them as the sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about, ⌜some taken into captivity while some are enriched⌝, so also shall every race of men be in thee: some shall be **impoverished**, being taken captive, ⌜and others grow rich by plundering the possessions of others⌝.

7 For the kings shall be as sea-monsters.
They shall swallow men like fishes:
The sons and daughters ⌜of freemen⌝ shall they enslave;
Houses, lands, flocks, money shall they plunder:
8 And with the flesh of many shall they ⌜wrongfully⌝ feed the ravens and the cranes;
⌜And they shall †advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted,†⌝
9 And there shall be false prophets ⌜like⌝ tempests,
And they shall persecute all righteous men.

22 1 And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions ⌜one against another⌝.

3. **had mercy on me** *a*: 'the compassionate and merciful pardoned me' *β* S[1]. Cf. Jub. xli. 25, and 1 Tim. i. 13 ἠλεήθην ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 9, xvii. 6.

4. **as flesh.** Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

XX. 1–3. Here *a* is without *v.* 1, has four words in 2, and last clause of 3.

1. **the spirit of truth.** Cf. John xv. 26; also T. A. i. 4.

2–5. A striking description of man's attitude to good and evil. He can will either (*v.* 2), and the results are written on his heart or character, ever open to the eyes of God (3–4).

2. The 'understanding' seems to mean the will: *a* reads 'conscience'.

3. **written upon the hearts.** God (Jer. xxxi. 33) and man (Prov. iii. 3) can write thus on the heart.

4. Text as *β*–a g A[β] S[1].
on the heart itself = ἐν στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ, a Hebraism. **on** > *a*.

5. **testifieth all things and** > *a*. Cf. John xv. 26.
testifieth . . . accuseth. Cf. Rom. ii. 15, where the conscience is still the judge of past actions, and not the deciding power as to present policy.
burnt up . . . heart. Cf. T. G. v. 3.

XXI. Levi's pre-eminence is enforced as in T. R. vi. 5–12, &c.

1. **exalt . . . him.** Cf. T. R. vi (note).

4. **As the heaven is higher than the earth** > *a*. Cf. T. L. xiv. 3.

5. **the angel . . . unto me** > *β* A S[1].
to eat of His table. Cf. T. L. viii. 16 (note).
to offer Him > *β* A S[1].
king of Jacob. Cf. xvii. 5–6.

XXI. 6—XXIII. An alien section, possibly a polemic against the kings (xxi. 6–8) Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (70–40 B.C.). Cf. xxii. 1–2. But the visitations of xxiii. 3–5 suit the Babylonian or Syrian conquests of 588 and 168 B.C.

XXI. 6. **amongst** *a* e f g: 'to' a b.
and unjust > *a* a f.
impoverished. Text reads 'in danger', owing to wrong punctuation in the original Hebrew.
the possessions of others > *β* A S[1].

7. Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11–17.

8. **†advance in evil.** Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 16, iii. 13.

XXII. 1. **divisions one against another**, i.e. the civil wars of Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, 70–40 B.C. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2–4.

And there shall be ⌜continual⌝ wars in Israel;
2 And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end,
Until the salvation of Israel shall come,
⌜Until the appearing of the God of righteousness⌝,
That Jacob [and all the Gentiles] may rest in peace.
3 And He shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever;
For the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed for ever.

23 1 Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness and witchcrafts, and idolatries which ye shall practise ⌜against the kingdom⌝, following them that have familiar spirits, diviners, and 2 demons of error. Ye shall make your daughters singing girls and harlots, and ye shall mingle in 3 the abominations of the Gentiles. For which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and pestilence, death and the sword, beleaguering by enemies, and revilings of friends, the slaughter of children, the rape of wives, the plundering of possessions, [the burning of the temple of God,] the 4 laying waste of the land, the enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles. And they shall make some of you eunuchs for their wives.

α	*β* A S[1]
5 Until the Lord visit you, when with perfect heart ye repent and walk in all His commandments, and He bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.	Until ye turn unto the Lord with perfect heart repenting and walking in all the commandments of God, and the Lord visit you with mercy and bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles. 5
α β S[1]	A
24 1 And after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace, And a man shall arise [from my seed], like the sun of righteousness, Walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness; And no sin shall be found in him.	And after these things shall arise the star of peace, 1 And he shall walk with men in meekness and righteousness.

continual wars. From Alexander's death to Herod's accession this holds good.

2. **my kingdom . . . end**, i. e. in 40 B. C., with Herod's accession.

[and all the Gentiles] > A. An interpolation, as this section is not universalistic.

3. **He would not . . . for ever** *α* A (>'from my seed' c). The other MSS. vary much. For the idea cf. xvii. 5-6, and Gen. xliv. 10.

XXIII. A general denunciation of Israel as a whole and its future judgements, if 'against the kingdom' is an interpolation.

1. **them that have familiar spirits**, *ἐγγαστρίμυθοι*, cf. Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27; Isa. xix. 3.

2. **your daughters . . . harlots.** Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, 15.

the abominations of the Gentiles. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, ii. 13, 14, viii. 14.

3. **famine**, &c. Cf. Jer. xiv. 12, xv. 2.

sword A + 'avenging' *α β*.

beleaguering by enemies. Cf. Jer. xix. 9. + *καὶ κύνας εἰς διασπασμόν*, *α β*–a before *ἐχθρῶν*, added from Jer. xv. 3 (LXX).

friends + 'destruction and blighting of the eyes' text: > h i A: emend to 'destruction of bribes', or possibly to 'destruction of children' (dittography of next phrase). Or, like *κύνας*, &c., regard it as an intrusion.

the rape of wives > *α*.

[the burning of the temple of God], not realized in Maccabean times (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 7 (gates only consumed); 1 Macc. iv. 38) or in the first century B. C.

enslavement . . . Gentiles. Cf. the captivities of Apollonius, 1 Macc. i. 29–40; 2 Macc. v. 23–6: and of Pompey, Philo, *De leg. ad Caium*, 23; Pss. Sol. ii. 6, xvii. 14; T. Z. ix. 6: of Cassius Longinus in 49 and 43 B. C., Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 11. 2.

4. **eunuchs.** Cf. 2 Kings xx. 18. Herod also had some, but we are not told that the Seleucids had any.

5. **the Lord visit you, when . . . ye repent.** National repentance is the condition of Israel's restoration. Cf. Jub. i. 15–17, 23; Ass. Mos. i. 18; 1 Bar. iv. 28–37; 2 Bar. lxxviii. 6, 7; also Dan. ix. 4–19.

from captivity. Cf. *v.* 3 (note); 1 En. xc. 33; Sir. xxxvi. 11; Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 50.

XXIV. Two Messianic fragments. Verses 1–3 speak of a Messiah, probably from Levi, as 'from my seed' is an interpolation. Cf. both for diction and matter, T. L. xviii, the hymn in honour of John Hyrcanus. Thus cf. 1[a] here with 3[a] there, 2 with 6, 1[b] with 4[a], 1[c] with 9[a], 3[a] with 8[a]. Verses 5, 6 start afresh and refer directly to a Messiah from Judah. Verse 4 is a marginal gloss.

1. **a star . . . from Jacob.** Cf. Num. xxiv. 17; T. L. xviii. 3.

in peace. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3 'in heaven'.

a man shall arise. Cf. LXX of Num. xxiv. 17 ('a sceptre shall arise' Hebrew).

sun of righteousness. Mal. iv. 2. Cf. T. L. xviii. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.

Walking with the sons of men. See T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 13; and especially 1 En. lxii. 14.

meekness and righteousness. Ps. xlv. 4, interpreted of the Messiah by Targum and LXX. Cf. too Zech. ix. 9

a β S[1]

2 And the heavens shall be opened unto him,
To pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of the Holy Father;
3 And He shall pour out the spirit of grace upon you;
And ye shall be unto Him sons in truth,
And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last.
4 [This Branch of God Most High,
And this Fountain giving life unto all.]
5 Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth;
And from your root shall arise a stem;
6 And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.

A

And the heavens shall be opened unto him, 2
And the blessings of the Holy Father shall be poured down upon him.
And He will pour down upon us the spirit of 3 grace.
And ye shall be His true children by adoption,
And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last.
[Then a branch shall go forth from me.] 4

And the sceptre of my kingdom shall shine 5 forth;
And from your root shall arise a stem;
And from it shall grow up the rod of righteous- 6 ness unto the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.

25 1 And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes ⌜of Israel⌝: Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth,
2 Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord blessed Levi, and the Angel of the Presence, me; the powers of glory, Simeon; the heaven, Reuben; the earth, Issachar; the sea, Zebulun; the mountains, Joseph; the tabernacle, Benjamin; the luminaries, Dan; **Eden**, Naphtali; the sun, Gad; the moon, Asher.
3 And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue;
And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of ⌜Beliar⌝,
For he shall be cast into the fire for ever.
4 And they who have died in grief shall arise ⌜in joy⌝,
⌜And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich⌝,
And they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake ⌜to life⌝.
5 And the harts of Jacob shall run ⌜in joyfulness⌝,
And the eagles of Israel shall fly ⌜in gladness⌝;
And all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.
26 1 Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who hold
2 fast unto His ways. And ⌜he said to them: Behold⌝, I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and

'Thy king cometh to thee, righteous and lowly', and Zeph. ii. 3. Meekness is not an attribute of the Messiah in Jewish literature 200 B.C.—A.D. 100. See T. D. vi. 9.

2. See T. L. xviii. 6 (note).
And the heavens. Cf. 1 En. xi. 1.
3. **pour . . . grace.** Cf. Ps. xlv. 2.
And ye shall be . . . walk. 'in truth' *a*.
sons in truth. Cf. T. L. xviii. 8.
first and last. Cf. e.g. 1 Chron. xxix. 29.
4. A marginal gloss.
This Branch. Cf. Isa. xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15.
this Fountain, &c. *a* (β S[1]): > A. Cf. John iv. 14. Cf. Prov. xiii. 14, &c.
5-6. A new Messianic fragment, added by the inserter of xxi. 6–xxiii.
5. **a stem.** 'a fountain' *a*, corruptly. Cf. Isa. xi. 1.
6. **rod of righteousness.** Cf. Ps. xlv. 6.

XXV. A Resurrection to a renewed life on the present earth.
1. **tribes**, σκήπτρων, i.e. שבטים. Cf. Matt. xix. 28 'In the regeneration . . . judging the twelve tribes of Israel'.
2. **Eden.** Text ἡ τρυφή = עֵדֶן. Cf. Gen. ii. 15 (LXX).
3. **one tongue**, i.e. Hebrew. Ber. rabba 18; Shabb. 12[b]; Jub. iii. 28 (note).
be there *a*: 'be no more' β S[1]; 'be among you' A.
4. **rich** + 'and they who have been in want shall be filled, and they who have been weak shall be strong' *a* b a f S[1]. Cf. Matt. v. 6.
5. **Jacob** a b g A S[1]: 'Joseph' *a* d e f.
And the eagles . . . gladness *a* β S[1]: 'And the heifers of Israel shall leap' A + 'But the ungodly shall lament and the sinners shall weep' *a* β S[1].

XXVI. 1. **hold fast unto** *a*: 'direct' β S[1], i.e. מישרים for שומרים.
2. **Behold** > β A S[1].
before your eyes > *a*.

3 nineteen years old. Let no one bury me ⌜in costly apparel⌝, nor tear open my bowels, ⌜for this
4 shall they who are kings do⌝; and carry me up to Hebron with you. And Judah, when he had said these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and they buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

The Testament of Issachar, the Fifth Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Issachar. For he called his sons and said to them:
Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father;
Give ear to the words of him who is beloved of the Lord.
2, 3 I was born the ⌜fifth son to Jacob⌝, by way of hire for the mandrakes. For Reuben ⌜my brother⌝
4 brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. And Reuben wept, and
5 at his voice Leah my mother came forth. Now these (mandrakes) were ⌜sweet-smelling⌝ apples
6 which were produced in the land of Haran below a ravine of water. And Rachel said: I will not give them to thee, but they shall be to me instead of children. ⌜For the Lord hath despised me,
7 and I have not borne children to Jacob⌝. Now there were two apples; and Leah said ⌜to Rachel⌝:
8 Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken my husband: wilt thou take these also? And Rachel said
9 ⌜to her⌝: Thou shalt have Jacob this night for the mandrakes ⌜of thy son⌝. And Leah said to her:
10 Jacob is mine, for I am the wife of his youth. But Rachel said: Boast not, and vaunt not thyself; for he espoused me before thee, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years.

a	*β* A S
11 And had not craft increased on the earth and the wickedness of men prospered, thou wouldst not now see the face of Jacob.	What shall I do to thee? for the craft and 11 the subtlety of men are increased, and craft prospereth on the earth—if it were not so, thou wouldst not now see the face of Jacob.

12, 13 For thou art not his wife, but in craft wert taken to him in my stead. And my father deceived me, ⌜and removed me on that night⌝, and did not suffer ⌜Jacob to see me; for⌝ had I been
14 there, this had not happened ⌜to him⌝. Nevertheless, for the mandrakes I am hiring Jacob to thee
15 for one night. And Jacob knew Leah, and she ⌜conceived and⌝ bare me, and on account of the hire I was called Issachar.
2 1 Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying: Two children shall Rachel bear, inasmuch
2 as she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. And had not Leah my mother paid the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have borne eight sons; for this reason she bare six, and Rachel bare the two: for on account of the mandrakes the Lord
3 visited her. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and
4 not for lust of pleasure. For on the morrow also she again gave up Jacob. Because of the man-
5 drakes, therefore, the Lord hearkened to Rachel. For though she desired them, she eat them not, but offered them in the house of the Lord, presenting them to the priest of the Most High who was at that time.

nineteen *β* A S^1: 'eighteen' *a*, wrongly.
3. **nor tear open . . . kings do** > *a*.
with you. 'where are my fathers also' *a*.

I. 1. Title *a*: +'concerning simplicity' b f S^1: 'concerning goodness' e.
the words of him who is beloved c i a e f A: 'the words beloved' h d S^1: '(my) words, ye beloved' b g.
2–14. Cf. Gen. xxx. 14–18.
3. **my brother** > *β* A S^1.
5. **which were . . . Haran** *a* ('Canaan' h i): 'which the land of Aram produced on a height' *β* S^1: 'and they were produced in the wood in Aram' A.
6. **For the Lord . . . to Jacob** *a*: > *β* A S^1.
7. **to Rachel** > *β* A S^1.
8. **to her** > *β* A S^1.
9. **Jacob is mine, for I** *a*: 'Boast not nor vaunt thyself; for Jacob is mine, and I' *β* A S^1.
10. **Boast . . . thyself**: 'How so?' *β* A S^1.
11. *β* A S version is due to dittography.
13. **Jacob** *a* only. **to him** *a* only.
14. **Nevertheless . . . mandrakes** *a*: 'And Rachel said: Take one mandrake and for the other' *β*–d g S^1: *β* A S^1 mention the second mandrake in ii. 4; d after i. 15: Leah gave Rachel both, ii. 2.

II. 1. **Two** b A^{ab*cd} S^1: > *a* a e f: d omits the clause: g omits the entire chapter.
4. **Jacob** + 'in order that she might receive the other ('still another' A^{ab*cdf}) mandrake' *β* d g A^{ab*cdf} S^1.
5. **priest of the Most High** *β* A^{ab*cdf} S^1 +'God' A^b: 'priest' *a*.

3 1 When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked in uprightness of heart, and I became
a husbandman for my father and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from the field according to
2, 3 their season. ⌜And my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in rectitude before him⌝. And
4 I was not a busybody in my doings, ⌜nor envious and malicious against my neighbour. I never
slandered any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, walking as I did in singleness of eye⌝.
5 Therefore, when I was thirty-⌜five⌝ years old, I took to myself a wife, for my labour wore away my
strength, and I never thought upon pleasure with women; ⌜but owing to my toil, sleep overcame me⌝.
6 And my father ⌜always⌝ rejoiced in my rectitude, ⌜because I offered through the priest to the Lord
7 all first-fruits; then to my father also. And the Lord increased ten thousandfold His benefits in my
8 hands; and also Jacob, my father, knew that God aided my singleness. For on all the poor and
oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart⌝.

4 1 And now, hearken to me, my children,
And walk in singleness ⌜of your heart⌝,
For I have seen in it ⌜all⌝ that is well-pleasing to the Lord.
2 ⌜The single-(minded) man coveteth not gold,
He overreacheth not his neighbour,
He longeth not after manifold dainties,
He delighteth not in varied apparel.
3 He doth not desire to live a long life,
But only waiteth for the will of God⌝.
4 And the spirits of deceit have no power against him,
For he looketh not on the beauty of women,
⌜Lest he should pollute his mind with corruption⌝.
5 There is no envy in his thoughts,
[No malicious person maketh his soul to pine away,]
Nor **worry** with insatiable desire **in his mind.**
6 For he walketh in singleness ⌜of soul⌝,
And beholdeth all things in uprightness ⌜of heart⌝,
Shunning eyes (made) evil through the error of the world,
Lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.

5 1 Keep, therefore, my children, the law of God,
And get singleness,

III–VI. Issachar is here held up as the single-hearted husbandman (iii. 1, v. 3, 5) who scorns luxuries and wealth (iv. 2), is free from envy, malice, and greed (iii. 3, iv. 5), shuns lust (iv. 4), offers freely to God and his father (iii. 6), and to the poor (iii. 8). Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 15 ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός, 'he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant under taskwork' (Heb.). The Targums interpret this labour as in the law; cf. 1 Chron. xii. 32.

III. 1. **uprightness,** εὐθύτητι, ישר. As this work was translated into Greek between the completion of the LXX and A.D. 50 it employs more frequently than the LXX the late Greek word ἁπλότης = תם The MSS. waver between the two at times, probably because ἁπλότης was not yet so popular a term as it later became. See my Commentary, p. 103, and cf. T. G. vii. 7, T. Iss. iv. 6.

according to their season > *a* a f.

2. > A.

rectitude, ἁπλότης = wholeness, integrity. Cf. Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 32.

3. **busybody.** Cf. 1 Tim. v. 13.

4. **singleness of eye.** Cf. Matt. vi. 22; T. Iss. iv. 6 (note).

5. **five** > b d g A.

sleep. Perhaps read 'old age'. Cf. T. Z. x. 6.

6. **because,** 'for on whatsoever I laboured' β S[1].

all first-fruits + 'all the choicest fruit and all the firstfruits' β S[1].

7. **ten thousandfold** *a*: 'twofold' β S[1].

8. **bestowed . . . singleness of heart.** Cf. Rom. xii. 8. Hence the meaning 'disinterested generosity' in 2 Cor. ix. 13, ἁπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτούς.

IV. 1. **heart** c g: 'soul' h i a e f.

in it b d g A: 'in you' *a* a e f S[1].

2. **coveteth not . . . neighbour** b d e g S[1]: 'gaineth not gold wrongfully' *a* a f.

3. **doth not desire to live** S[1]: οὐκ ἐπιγράφει τοῦ ζῆν *a* β S[2], i.e. מְחַקֶּה, perhaps corrupt for מְחַמֵּד.

4. **looketh not on the beauty,** οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἐπιδέξασθαι (ἐπιλέξασθαι f g A: > S[1]) κάλλος. Perhaps there was a dittography in the original Hebrew בחר בחן = ἐπιλέξασθαι κάλλος. Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

5. **is . . . in** *a*: 'can . . . invade' β S.

[No malicious person, &c.] An interpolation > A: 'malice . . . not' b d g S.

Nor worry . . . his mind, emended from οὐδὲ περισπασμὸν ἐν ἀπληστείᾳ ἐννοεῖ *a* β S[1] to . . . περισπασμὸς . . . ἐν νοῖ.

6. **singleness of soul** *a*: > 'of soul' A: β S read 'uprightness of soul' and so 'singleness of heart' below.

eyes . . . evil. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23 'eye . . . single; eye . . . evil', i.e. ethically unsound. In Matt. xx. 15 = 'envious.'

⌜And walk in guilelessness,
Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour,
2 But love the Lord and your neighbour,
Have compassion on the poor and weak⌝.
3 Bow down your back unto husbandry,
And toil in labours ⌜in all manner of husbandry,
Offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving⌝.
4 For with the first-fruits of the earth will the Lord bless you, ⌜even as He blessed all the saints
5 from Abel even until now⌝. For no other portion is given to you ⌜than of the fatness of the earth,
6 whose fruits are raised by toil⌝. For our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of
7 first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord even among the sons of Jacob; for the Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the kingdom.
8 And do ye therefore obey them, and walk in the singleness of your father; [for unto Gad hath it been given to destroy the troops that are coming upon Israel].

6 1 Know ye therefore, my children, that in the last times
Your sons will forsake singleness,
⌜And will cleave unto insatiable desire;
And⌝ leaving ⌜guilelessness, will draw near to malice;
And forsaking the commandments of the Lord,
They will cleave unto Beliar.
2 And leaving⌝ husbandry,
They will follow after their own ⌜wicked⌝ devices,
And they shall be dispersed among the Gentiles,
And shall serve their enemies.
3 And do you therefore give these commands to your children, that, if they sin, they may the more
4 quickly return to the Lord; For He is merciful, and will deliver them, even to bring them back into their land.

a	*β* A S[1]
7 1 Behold, therefore, as ye see, I am a hundred and twenty-six years old and am not conscious of committing any sin.	I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and I am not conscious of having committed any sin ⌜unto death. 1

2 Except my wife I have not known any woman⌝. I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my ⌜eyes⌝.
3 I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby;
I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbour's.
4 Guile arose not in my heart;
A lie passed not through my lips.
5 If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his,

V. 1. **busybody with** + 'the commands of God and' *β* S[1].
3. **Bow . . . husbandry.** Gen. xlix. 15 (Heb.).
labours *a* + 'of the earth' *β* A S[1].
5. **to you** g A: 'to thee' *β*–a g S: 'to us' a: > *a*.
whose fruits are raised by toil b g S[1]: 'through the toils of fruits' *a* a e f: > d.
6–7. A is defective and confused.
7. **to Levi . . . to Judah** c: 'to the one . . . to the other' h *β*.
8. [**for** (*β* A S[1]: 'and' *a*) **unto Gad . . . Israel.**] Probably out of place, and belonged to T. Gad originally, preceded by a phrase like 'and she called his name Gad'. Cf. Gen. xlix. 19.

VI. 1. **in the last times.** Cf. T. L. x. 2, xiv. 1; T. G. viii. 2 (*β* A S); T. Z. ix. 5 (b d g); T. D. v. 4; T. Jos. xix. 10 (c *β* S); also T. Z. viii. 2, ix. 9. The phrase = the close of the present age—present, that is, from the writer's standpoint.
2. **dispersed.** Cf. T. L. xvi. 5: T. A. vii. 2, 6: T. Jos. xix. 2.
serve their enemies. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 3: T. N. iv. 2.
4. **bring them back.** Cf. T. D. v. 9; T. A. vii. 7.

VII. **hundred and twenty-two** *β* A S = Midrash Tadshe. See T. R. i. 1 (note).
am not conscious, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 4; T. Z. i. 4.
sin unto death *β* A S. Cf. Num. xviii. 22; Jub. xxi. 22, xxxviii. 18; 1 John v. 16.
2. *a* omits οὐκ ἔγνων through hmt. It reads 'woman except my wife'.
the uplifting, μετεωρισμός. Cf. T. B. vi. 3; Sir. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 9; Prov. vi. 25.
4. A has 'And guile arose not through my lips, and I lied not to my neighbour'.
5. Cf. Sir. vii. 34; Rom. xii. 15.

And I shared my bread with the poor.
I wrought godliness, all my days I kept truth.

α	β S[1]
6 I loved the Lord; Likewise also every man with all my heart.	⌜The Lord I loved with all my strength: 6 Likewise also every man I loved more than my own children,

7 So do you also these things, my children,
And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you,
And no deed of wicked men shall rule over you;
And every wild beast shall ye subdue,
Since you have with you the God of heaven and earth
(And) walk with men in singleness of heart⌝.
8 And having said these things, he commanded his sons that they should carry him up to Hebron,
9 and bury him there in the cave ⌜with his fathers⌝. And he stretched out his feet and died, at a good old age; with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep.

The Testament of Zebulun, the Sixth Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Zebulun, which he enjoined on his sons ⌜before he died⌝ in the
2 hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two years after the death of Joseph. And he said to them:
3 Hearken to me, ye sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. I, Zebulun, was born a good gift to my parents. For when I was born my father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks
4 and herds, when with the straked rods he had his portion. I am not conscious that I have sinned
5 all my days, ⌜save in thought⌝. Nor yet do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph; for I **covenanted** with my brethren not to tell
6 my father what had been done. But I wept ⌜in secret⌝ many days on account of Joseph, for I feared my brethren, ⌜because they had all agreed that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain⌝.
7 But when they wished to kill him, I adjured them much ⌜with tears⌝ not to be guilty of this sin.
2 1, 2 For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph ⌜to kill him⌝, and he said unto them with tears: Pity me, my brethren, have mercy upon the bowels of Jacob our father: lay not upon me your hands
3 ⌜to shed innocent blood⌝, for I have not sinned against you. And if indeed I have sinned, with chastening chastise me, ⌜my brethren⌝, but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our
4 father. And as he spoke these words, ⌜wailing as he did so⌝, I was unable to bear his lamentations, and ⌜began to weep⌝, and my liver was poured out, and all the substance of my bowels was †loosened.

shared my bread. Cf. Prov. xxii. 9.
with the poor + 'I never eat alone, I moved no landmark' β S[1].
kept truth α: 'did truth' β–b e S[1]: 'and I walked in holiness' A + 'I loved godliness' c.
7. **shall flee.** Cf. T. N. viii. 4.
walk with men . . . heart h i e f ('his heart' h i): 'walking with men in the singleness of His heart' c (= Messiah, cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1): 'walking with men of (or 'in') singleness of heart' β–e f.
8. **in the cave** > α g.
9. **and died . . . sleep.** 'and slept at a good old age the eternal sleep' a.
the eternal sleep. This does not preclude Resurrection. T. Jud. xxv. 1; T. B. x. 6 ff.

TITLE α + 'compassion and mercy' ('almsgiving' d g) β–a S[1].
I. 1. **before he died** c d.
fourteenth h i β–a S[1], cf. Jashar ii. 1248: 'fourth' c: 'fiftieth' a: 'twenty-fourth' A.
two years. See Jub. xxviii. 11–24 (notes).
3. **Zebulun, a good gift.** Gen. xxx. 20.
straked rods. Cf. Gen. xxx. 37 ff.
he had: 'I had' α d.
4. **am not conscious,** &c. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 1.
5. **sin of ignorance.** Cf. T. R. i. 6; T. L. iii. 5; T. Jud. xix. 3.
which I committed > α.
covenanted with = כרתי emended from כסיתי 'concealed for' b g A: 'confirmed to' α β–b g S[1].
7. **I adjured:** 'I summoned' h i: c omits rest of verse and ii. 1[a] to 'kill him' through hmt.

II. 1. **Simeon** + 'and Dan' h. Cf. iii. 2.
against Joseph: 'with anger' g. + 'with anger' d e S[1].
and he said . . . tears: 'and falling on his face Joseph said to them' β–a f S[1].
2. **upon me** > α.
3. **upon me:** 'to slay your brother' α.
4. **wailing as he did so** > β A S[1].
I was . . . lamentations α: 'I pitied him' β S[1].
poured out d g. Cf. Lam. ii. 11: 'melted' α β–d g S[1].
was †loosened α + 'within my soul' β A S[1]. Perhaps emend to 'was troubled', as Lam. i. 20, ii. 11.

5 And I wept with Joseph, and my heart sounded, ⌜and the joints of my body trembled⌝, and I was
6 not able to stand. And when ⌜Joseph⌝ saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to
7 slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. But meanwhile Reuben arose and said: ⌜Come⌝, my brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits, which our fathers digged
8 and found no water. For for this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order that Joseph should be preserved. And they did so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

III. 1, 2 For in his price I had no share, my children. But Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, and their wives, ⌜and their children⌝,
3 saying: We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but we will assuredly tread it under foot, because he said that he would be king over us, ⌜and so let us see what will become of
4 his dreams⌝. Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Moses, that whosoever will not raise
5 up seed to his brother, his sandal should be unloosed, and they should spit in his face. And the brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed from them the
6 sandal which they wore against ⌜Joseph their brother⌝. For when they came into Egypt ⌜they were unloosed by the servants of Joseph outside the gate, and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the
7 fashion of King Pharaoh. And⌝ not only did they make obeisance to him, but ⌜were spit upon also,
8 falling down before him forthwith, and so⌝ they were put to shame before the Egyptians. For after this the Egyptians heard all the evils that they had done to Joseph.

a

IV. 1 And after he was †sold my brothers sat down
2 to eat and drink. But I, through pity for Joseph, did not eat, but watched the pit, since Judah feared lest Simeon, Dan, and Gad should rush
3 off and slay him. But when they saw that I did not eat, they set me to watch him, till he was
5 sold to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came and heard that while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he rent his garments, (and) mourning, said: How shall I look on the face of my father
6 Jacob? And he took the money and ran after the merchants, but as he failed to find them he returned grieving. But the merchants had left the broad road and marched through the Troglodytes by a short cut.

β A S[1]

And after they had cast him into the pit ⌜my 1
brethren⌝ sat down to eat. ⌜For I through two 2
days and two nights eat nothing, through pity for Joseph⌝. And Judah eat not with them, but watched ⌜the pit⌝; for he feared lest Simeon and Gad should run off and slay him. And when 3
they saw that I also eat not, they set me to watch him until he was sold. And he spent in 4
the pit three days and three nights, and so was sold famishing. And when Reuben heard that 5
while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he rent his clothes, and mourned, saying: How shall I look in the face of Jacob my father? And he 6
took the money and ran after the merchants, and found no one; for they had left the main road, and journeyed through the Troglodytes by a short cut.

7 ⌜But Reuben was grieved⌝, and eat no food that day. Dan therefore came to him and said:
8, 9 Weep not, neither grieve; for we have found what we can say to our father Jacob. Let us slay

5. **my heart sounded.** Cf. Jer. iv. 19.
joints of my body, &c. Cf. Dan. v. 6.
6. **beseeching them**: 'beseeching (me) to help him' *a*.
7. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 22.
found no water. See Jub. xxiv. 25 (note).
9. **they did so** *a* d g A: 'the Lord did so' *β*-d g S[1].

III. 2. **Gad . . . brethren**: 'Dan and Gad and their children' *a*.
bought sandals. Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 28; Pirke R. El. xxxviii; also Amos ii. 6.
3. **the price of . . . blood.** Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6.
let us see, &c. Gen. xxxvii. 20.
4–7. An attempt to explain certain customs of the Levirate Law.
4. **law of Moses** *a*: 'law of Enoch' *β* S[1].
whosoever will not, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxv. 10; Ruth iv. 4.
7. **forthwith,** *παραχρῆμα*, b d f S: *παρὰ σχῆμα*, *a* a e g.
before *β*-d A S[1]: 'by' *a* d.
β S[1]: 'for they heard the evils that they had done unto him' *a*.

IV. 1. †**sold** *a*: *πραθῆναι* corrupt for *βληθῆναι*.
sat down *a* d only. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.
2. **Dan** (*a*). See ii. 1.
3. **to the Ishmaelites** (*a*). Cf. T. S. ii. 9; T. Z. ii. 9.
4. > *a*, possibly through hmt.
5. **How shall I look . . . Jacob?** So Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxvii. 30.
6. **Troglodytes**: 'Indokolpitae' in T. Jos. xi. 2. See LXX of 2 Chron. xii. 3.
9. **slay** b d A + 'with the sword' *a β*-b d S[1].

10 a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and let us send it to Jacob, saying: Know, is
11 this the coat of thy son? And they did so. ⌜For they stripped off from Joseph his coat when they were selling him, and put upon him the garment of a slave⌝. Now Simeon took the coat, and would not give it up, ⌜for he wished to rend it with his sword⌝, as he was angry that Joseph lived and that
12 he had not slain him. Then we ⌜all⌝ rose up and said unto him: If thou givest not up the coat, we
13 will say ⌜to our father⌝ that thou alone didst this evil thing in Israel. And so he gave it unto them, and they did even as Dan had said.

5 1 And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, ⌜and to show mercy to your neighbours, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts.
2 For all this thing's sake the Lord blessed me⌝, and when all my brethren were sick, I escaped with-
3 out sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. Have, therefore, compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him.
4 For the sons of my brethren were sickening and were dying on account of Joseph, ⌜because they
5 showed not mercy in their hearts⌝; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. And when I was in the land of Canaan, by the sea-coast, I made a catch of fish for Jacob my father; and when many were choked in the sea, I continued unhurt.

6 1 I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding ⌜and
2 wisdom therein⌝. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright
3 piece of wood in the midst. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my father until we came to Egypt.

Verses 4–6 found only in b d g.

4, 5 [And through compassion I shared my catch with every stranger. And if a man were a stranger, or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man
6 had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord satisfied me with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold
7 more from the Lord.] For five years I caught fish [and gave thereof to every man whom I saw,
8 and sufficed for all the house of my father]. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter I kept sheep with my brethren.

vii–viii. 3 found only in b d g.

7 1 [Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter-time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and
2 gave it to him who was in distress. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with
3 a good heart. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for
4 him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that needed, and I walked with him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in compassion.

8 1 Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the
2 Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. Because also in the last days God will send
3 His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. For in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the

let us send . . . saying *a*: 'and we will say' β A S^1.
10. **his coat** *a*: 'the coat of our father' β–d g S^1.
11. **Joseph lived and** > *a*.
12. **to our father** *a* g.
in Israel. *a* only.

V. 3. **even as a man,** &c. Cf. viii. 3; Judges i. 7; Matt. vii. 2.
4. **in their hearts** β S^1: 'to them' c.

VI. 1. **the first to make a boat.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 13.
2. **rudder,** lit. 'a piece of wood'.
3. **catching fish** g: 'and I caught fish' b d A: 'in' *a* f: > a.
4–6. The sections peculiar to b d g, i.e. vi. 4–6, 7^b, vii–viii, go back probably to a Hebrew original. viii. 3, though a saying attributed to Gamaliel II or Gamaliel of Jabneh (80–105 A.D.), is virtually the same as v. 3.
6. **satisfied,** ἐνέπλησε, d: ἐποίησε, b g, wrongly.
neighbour + 'with all willingness' d.
7. **[and gave . . . father]** b d g only.
whom I saw b g: 'what sufficed' d.

VII. 1. **my father's house** d: 'my house' b g.
2. **show . . . mercy without hesitation.** Cf. Jude 22, if μή is restored before διακρινόμενοι there.
3. **needeth,** or 'asketh', χρῄζοντι. Cf. Matt. v. 42.

VIII. 2. **last days.** See T. Iss. vi. 1 (note).
3. See v. 3 (note) and vi. 4–6 (note). Cf. Sifre, Deut. 96; Shabb. 151^b.

4, 5 Lord also upon him.] And when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us. To whom taking heed, do ye also, my children, ⌜approve yourselves without malice, and⌝ love one
6 another ; and do not set down in account, each one of you, evil against his brother. For this breaketh unity and divideth ⌜all kindred, and troubleth the soul⌝, and weareth away the countenance.

9 1 Observe, ⌜therefore⌝, the waters, and know when they flow together, they sweep along stones, trees,
2 earth, and other things. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up,
3, 4 and they **vanish away.** So shall ye also be if ye be divided. Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head, and two shoulders, two
5 hands, two feet, and all the remaining members. For I have learnt in the writing of my fathers, that

Ye shall be divided in Israel,
And ye shall follow two kings,
And shall work every abomination.
6 And your enemies shall lead you captive,
And ye shall be evil entreated among the Gentiles,
With many infirmities and tribulations.

α

7 And after these things ye shall remember the Lord and repent,
And He shall have mercy upon you, for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil against the sons of men,
Because they are flesh, and are deceived through their own wicked deeds.

α a e f A S^1

8 And after these things shall there arise ⌜unto you⌝ the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,

β A S^1

And after these things ye shall remember the 7
Lord, and repent,
[And He shall cause you to return]; for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil to the sons of men, because they are flesh,
And the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their deeds.

b d g

And after these things there shall arise unto 8
you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,
[And healing and compassion shall be in His wings.
He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar;
And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down];
And he shall bring back all the Gentiles into zeal for Him.

4. Resumes vi. 3.
And when. b d g read 'for when', which supports the originality of vii–viii. 2.
against us + 'but when he saw me he had compassion' b g.
5. **approve . . . malice and** > *α* a e f A.
set not down in account, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 5.
evil against c A : 'the evil of' *β* S^1.
6. **and weareth away the countenance** ('possessions' a e f A (?) S^1) *α* : 'for he who beareth malice hath no bowels of mercy' b d g.

IX. Written at a time of national divisions, e.g. Hyrcanus II's struggles with Aristobulus II.
1. **and other things** *α* : 'sand' *β*–b d A.
2. **vanish away.** So I emend with Perles; the text has 'become of no account', i.e. יְמָאֲסוּ corrupt for יִמַּסוּ. See 1 Sam. xv. 9.
4, 5. **two heads** = Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.
5. **writing of my fathers.** See T. L. x. 5 (note). + 'that in the last days ye will depart from the Lord and' b d g.
kings : 'kingdoms' *α* a e f S^2.
abomination + 'and worship every idol' h i *β* S^1.
6. **be evil entreated** : 'dwell' c b d.
tribulations + 'and anguish of soul' b d g.
7. **repent** : ἐπιστρέψετε *α* : μετανοήσετε *β* A S^1 : both = תשובו.
cause . . . to return *β* A S^1. Or ἐπιστρέψει may be rendered 'return' if we omit ὑμᾶς. Cf. T. D. v. 9^a.
setteth not down in account. Cf. Ps. xxxii. 2.
Because . . . flesh. Cf. Gen. vi. 3; T. Jud. xix. 4.
8. b d g appear to be a Jewish expansion of *α* a e f A S^1. Thus 8^b comes from Mal. iv. 2, suggested by 'light of righteousness', 8^c = T. D. v. 11^a, 8^d = T. L. xviii. 12 or T. S. vi. 6.

a a e f A S¹	b d g
And ye shall return unto your land. And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, ⌜for His name's sake⌝.	And ye shall see [God in the fashion of a man] (the place) which the Lord shall choose, Jerusalem is its name.

9 And again ⌜through the wickedness of your works⌝ shall ye provoke Him to anger,
And ye shall be cast away ⌜by Him⌝ unto the time of consummation.

10 1 And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be cast down in that I am coming to my
2 end. For I shall rise again in the midst of you, ⌜as a ruler in the midst of his sons⌝; and I shall rejoice in the midst of my tribe, as many as shall keep the law of the Lord, ⌜and the commandments
3 of Zebulun their father⌝. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them
4, 5 throughout all generations. But I am now hastening away to my rest, as did also my fathers. But
6 do ye fear the Lord ⌜our God with all your strength all the days of your life⌝. And when he had
7 said these things he fell asleep, ⌜at a good **old age**⌝. And his sons laid him in a ⌜wooden⌝ coffin. And afterwards they carried him up and buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

The Testament of Dan, the Seventh Son of Jacob and Bilhah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days, in the hundred and
2 twenty-fifth year of his life. For he called together his family, and said: Hearken to my words, ye
3 sons of Dan; and give heed to the words ⌜of your father⌝. I have proved in my heart, and in my whole life, that truth with just dealing is good and well pleasing to God, and that lying and anger
4 are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. I confess, therefore, this day to you, my children,
5 that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph ⌜my brother⌝, the true and good man. [And
6 I rejoiced that he was sold, because his father loved him more than us.] For the spirit of jealousy
7 and vainglory said to me: Thou thyself also art his son. And one of the spirits of Beliar **stirred** me **up**, saying: Take this sword, and ⌜with it⌝ slay Joseph: so shall thy father love thee when he is dead.
8 Now this is the spirit of anger that persuaded me to **crush** Joseph as a leopard **crusheth** a kid.

a	β A S¹
9 But the God of my fathers did not suffer him to fall into my hands, so that I should find him alone and slay him, and cause a second tribe to be destroyed in Israel.	But the God of Jacob our father did not deliver him into my hands that I should find him alone, nor suffer me to work this iniquity, lest two tribes should be destroyed in Israel. 9

2 1 And now, my children, behold I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.

c	β A S¹
2 For anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth.	There is blindness in anger, my children, and no angry man seeth the face with truth. 2

3 For though it be a father or a mother, ⌜he behaveth towards them as enemies⌝; though it be a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him; though

see Him *a*: 'see the Lord' a e f A S¹.
(the place) . . . its name b: 'whom the Lord shall choose in Jerusalem for His name's sake' g: 'and His name shall be called the angel of great counsel' d.
9. **by Him** *a*: > β S¹: 'among the Gentiles' A.

X. 1. **be cast down**, συμπίπτετε. Cf. T. Jos. vii. 1.
2. Cf. T. Jud. xxv. 1; T. B. x. 7.
3. Cf. Ps. xi. 6.
throughout all generations: 'from the children of Israel' A.
6. **good old age**: 'good sleep' text. שׁינה was misread for שׁיבה. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 9; T. D. vii. 1, &c.
wooden *a*: > β A S¹. Cf. T. S. vii. 2.

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning anger ('wrath' d g) and lying' b d e f g S¹: + 'concerning arrogancy and hatred' A.
I. 3. **just dealing**. We expect longsuffering here, as in ii. i, vi. 8.
4. **resolved** *a*: rejoiced β (A) S¹: i.e. שמחתי for שמתי. For Dan's design, see T. Z. ii. 1.
5. Bracketed, as it breaks the connexion of 4 and 6.
7. Cf. T. Z. ii. 1, iii. 2.
stirred me up = יעיר. Text = 'helped me' = יעזר.
8. **to crush . . . a kid** β-a d f A: *a* has the order different.
crush = רצץ: emended from 'suck' = מצץ.
9. Why 'a second tribe'? β A S¹ seems to have the better reading.

II. 2. **angry man**: > 'angry' a e f A S¹.

4 a righteous man, he regardeth him not; ⌜though a friend, he doth not acknowledge him⌝. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying
5 darkeneth his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother.

α	*β*-a A S[1]
3 1 For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it troubleth even the soul itself.	For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it 1 becomes a soul to the soul itself.

2 And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and
3 it bestoweth upon the body ⌜power that it may work all⌝ iniquity. And when the body does all
4 these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. Therefore he that is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a threefold power in his anger: one by the help of his servants; and a second by his wealth, whereby he persuadeth and overcometh wrongfully; and thirdly, having his
5 own natural power he worketh thereby the evil. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath
6 he a power twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. This spirit goeth always with lying ⌜at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying⌝ his works may be wrought.

1, 2 Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath, that it is †vain. For it first of all giveth provocation by word; then by deeds it †strengtheneth him who is angry, and with sharp losses disturbeth his
3 mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger, [and if any man praiseth you as holy men, be not uplifted: be not moved
4 either to delight or to disgust]. For first †it pleaseth the hearing†, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the **grounds for provocation**; and then being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry.
5 If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, ⌜be not afflicted⌝; for this very spirit maketh (a man)
6 desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction. And if ye suffer loss voluntarily, or involuntarily, be not vexed; for from vexation ariseth wrath ⌜with lying⌝.
7 Moreover, a twofold mischief is wrath with lying; and they assist one another in order to disturb the heart; and when the soul is continually disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

5 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord,
And keep His law;
Depart from wrath,
And hate lying,
That the Lord may dwell among you,
And Beliar may flee from you.
2 Speak truth each one with his neighbour.
So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion;
But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace,
So shall no war prevail over you.

4. **spirit of anger . . . deceit**: 'spirit of deceit . . . nets of luxury' A.
5. **And . . . his eyes.** A reads 'And then it encompasses (him) with its own eye, and surrounds .
with hatred . . . brother *α*: 'with hatred of heart and it giveth him its own heart ('a heart hostile' A: 'a heart' S[1]) so as to be envious of his brother' b e A S[1]. Cf. d f.

III. 1. **it troubleth even** *α*: 'it becometh a soul to' *β*-a g S[1], perhaps better.
2. **power** *α* g: 'its own power' *β*-g S[1].
3. **when the body . . . aright** *α*: 'when it doeth aught, the soul justifieth . . . seeth not' *β* A S[1].
4. **a mighty man** + 'in body' *α*.
having . . . evil: 'having the natural power of his body and of his own agency working' *β* A S[1].
5. **yet hath he . . . by nature** *β* A S[1]: 'the passion of anger springeth up in him with twofold power' *α*.
6. Bracketed words > *α* A.

IV. 1. **†vain.** Read 'a destroyer'.
2. **giveth provocation**: 'is provoked' *α* a e f.
†strengtheneth. Read 'embittereth' or 'inciteth'.
3. The bracketed words are out of the context.
4. **†it pleaseth the hearing†.** Read 'the thing said giveth provocation'.
the grounds for provocation, reading *τὸ ἐρεθίσαν* for *τὸ ἐρεθισθέν* *α* *β*-d g S[1].
5. This spirit deceives in order to irritate. But A reads, 'the spirit of error desired to do this thing, and to accomplish the ruin.'
affliction, *πάθους*, *α*. 'longing', *πόθου*, *β* S[1].
7. **Moreover . . . lying**: > *α* f g through hmt.

V. 2. **Speak truth,** &c.: from Zech. viii. 16. Cf. T. R. vi. 9; Eph. iv. 25.
God of peace. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 23; Rom. xv. 33; Phil. iv. 9.
war. Perles suggests 'enemy' *πολέμιος* for *πόλεμος*. Cf. Jer. i. 19; xv. 20.

3 Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart.
4 I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord,
And ye shall provoke Levi unto anger,
And fight against Judah;
But ye shall not prevail against them,
For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both;
For by them shall Israel stand.
5 And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits
6 of wickedness work ⌜in you⌝. [For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will **conspire** to attend constantly on the sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord.
7 And my sons will draw near to Levi,
And sin with them in all things;
And the sons of Judah will be covetous,
Plundering other men's goods like lions.]
8 Therefore shall ye be led away [with them] into captivity,
And there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt,
And all the evils of the Gentiles.
9 And so when ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy,
And He shall bring you into His sanctuary,
And He shall give you peace.
10 And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord;
And he shall make war against Beliar.
And execute an **everlasting** vengeance on our **enemies**;
11 And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints],
And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord,
And give to them that call upon him eternal peace.
12 And the saints shall rest in Eden,
And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice,

3. Earliest literary authority for conjoining love to God and love to one's neighbour. Cf. Matt. xxii. 37, 39.
through all your life: 'with all your soul' h d. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 6; Sir. vii. 29, 30.
4. **Levi . . . Judah**, &c. Cf. T. R. vi. 5–12; T. S. v. 5.
5. **spirits of wickedness** *a* f: 'spirits of fornication' b e A S^1, i. e. πορνείας for πονηρίας. Cf. *v.* 6.
6–7. Contradict *v.* 4, where Dan opposes Levi and Judah, who are led of God. These two verses refer to the demoralization under the later Maccabees, like T. L. x, xiv–xvi; T. Jud. xxi. 6–xxxiii; T. Z. ix.
6. The earliest authority we have for the connexion of Dan and the Antichrist. Dan in the O.T. was idolatrous, Judges xviii. 30; 1 Kings xii. 29; according to Ps.-Jon. on Deut. xxv. 18 Dan was the 'hindmost' and 'feeblest', referred to in that verse; while Jer. viii. 16 is interpreted by Irenaeus v. 30. 2 of the Antichrist (and so Dan is omitted Rev. vii. 5–8). Cf. Ber. rab. xliii on Jer. viii. 16.
book of Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).
righteous + 'and I have known' ('found' h i) c h i.
is *a* β: 'will be' A S^1.
all > *a* f.
conspire = יקשרו, emended from יקשיבו = 'obey' in the text.
7. **sin with them**. Levi was to lead Israel astray, T. L. x. 2.
sons of Judah, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxi. 6, 7.
8. **led away**. Cf. T. L. x. 4; T. Z. ix. 6.
[with them], added by interpolator of 6–7.
evils of the Gentiles. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. N. iv. 2.
9. **when ye return . . . mercy**. Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.
He shall bring you, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 5; T. Iss. vi. 3; T. A. vii. 7.
give you peace. Cf. Haggai ii. 9; 1 En. lxxi. 17.
10. **arise . . . salvation of the Lord**. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3; T. Jud. xxiv. 1; T. Z. ix. 8, &c.
the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi: The singular, 'tribe,' necessitates one name only. Only T. G. viii. 1 (corrupt) puts Judah before Levi, and only T. Jud. xxiv. 5–6 (first century B. C.) and T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt) derive the Messiah from Judah.
war against Beliar. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12.
everlasting. So I emend text = 'of victory', which is due to a wrong rendering of נצח in Hebrew.
our enemies = אויבינו. So I emend from text = 'our fathers' = אבותינו.
11. **the captivity** = 'disobedient hearts' enslaved through sin. Brackets show a Christian addition.
turn disobedient, &c. Cf. Luke i. 17; and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).
12. **Eden**. Cf. T. L. xviii. 10.
the New Jerusalem b g A S^1: 'the kingdom of J.', c; 'the new Holy J.', h i. This is the earliest occurrence of

And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever.
13 And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation,
Nor Israel be led captive;
For the Lord shall be in the midst of it [living amongst men],
And the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it [in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth on Him shall reign amongst men in truth].

VI. 1, 2 And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the
3 peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. Therefore is the enemy eager
4 to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that upon the day on which Israel shall
5 repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. For the very angel of peace shall
6 strengthen Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. And it shall be in the time of the lawlessness of Israel, that the Lord will **not** depart from them, but **will transform them into** a nation
7 that doeth His will, for none of the angels will be equal unto him. And His name shall be in every place in Israel, ⌜and among the Gentiles⌝.
8 Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work,
And cast away wrath and all lying,
And love truth and long-suffering.
9 And the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye ⌜also⌝ impart to your children [that the Saviour of the Gentiles may receive you; for he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and
10 teacheth by his works the law of God]. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto the righteousness of God, and your race will be saved for ever. And bury me near my fathers.

VII. 1, 2 And when he had said these things he kissed them, and fell asleep at a good old age. And his sons buried him, And after that they carried up ⌜his bones⌝, and placed them near Abraham, and
3 Isaac, and Jacob. [Nevertheless, ⌜Dan⌝ prophesied unto them that they should forget their God, and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance ⌜and from the race of Israel⌝, and from the family of ⌜†their seed.†⌝]

The Testament of Naphtali, the Eighth Son of Jacob and Bilhah.

I 1 The copy of the testament of Naphtali, which he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred
2 and thirtieth year of his life. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, on the
3 first day of the month, while still in good health, he made them a feast of food and wine. And after

the expression in Jewish literature. Cf. 1 En. xc. 29; also Ezek. xl, xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12, lx. 1; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2. Here it is Jerusalem rebuilt, *v.* 13.

and it shall be unto: 'which is' *a*.

13. Brackets indicate Christian additions, though for the Messiah's humility cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1 (note).

VI. 1–7. A section complete in itself. Israel is between the opposing spiritual forces of God and of Satan. The reign of evil will end when Israel repents, therefore Satan seeks to destroy those who call upon God. Even in Israel's lawlessness, the angel of peace is with them, to transform them into a nation doing the will of God.

2. **intercedeth for you**: 'followeth with you' c: 'followeth us' h i. Cf. T. L. v. 6 (note).

mediator between God and man. Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 5. Here of Michael cf. Jub. i. 29; Apoc. Mos. (ed. Tischendorf, p. 1); Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, vi. 75; Jalk. Chad., f. 120. Later, about the time of Christ, Moses was regarded as mediator, Ass. Mos. i. 14, iii. 12.

stand up. Cf. Dan. xii. 1.

against the kingdom of the enemy b g (A) S^1: 'before the kingdom of God' *a* d e f.

4. **repent** *a*: 'believe' β(A) S^1. If all Israel repent, redemption will come, Pesikt. 163^b, &c. See my Comm., p. 132.

5. **angel of peace.** Cf. T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5. See T. L. v. 6 (note).

strengthen: 'convert and strengthen' c.

that it fall not, &c. Cf. T. L. v. 6.

6. Two corrections have been made: i. 'not' restored before 'depart'; ii. 'will go over to' (= יהפך intransitive) emended to 'will transform them into' = יהפך (transitive).

doeth: 'seeketh' c.

7. **Gentiles** + 'Saviour' β S^1.

8. **all**: > *a*.

9. **that the Saviour . . . receive you.** A Christian addition. The rest may be Jewish. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1.

10. **the righteousness of** + 'the law of' β S^1.

and your race > b.

VII. 1. **old age**: 'sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6. For 'eternal sleep' β A S^1, cf. T. Iss. vii. 9.

3. A later addition.

their God *a* S^1: 'the law of their God' b d A.

†their seed† *a*: 'and so it came to pass' β.

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning natural goodness' b d e f $A^{a\ f}$.

I. 1. **hundred and thirtieth** h a e f A S^1: 'hundredth' c g; 'hundred and thirty-second' b d. Cf. T. R. i. 1 Jub. xxviii. 11–24 (note in large edition).

2. **while . . . health** > *a*.

and wine > *a*.

4 he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying; and they believed him not. And as he
5 glorified the Lord, he grew strong and said that after yesterday's feast he should die. And he began
6 then to say: Hear, my children, ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. I was born from Bilhah, ⌜and⌝ because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah in place of herself to Jacob, and she
7 conceived and bare me upon Rachel's knees, ⌜therefore she called my name Naphtali. For Rachel loved me very much because I was born upon her lap⌝; and when I was still young she was wont
8 to kiss me, and say: May I have a brother of thine from mine own womb, like unto thee. Whence
9 also Joseph was like unto me ⌜in all things⌝, according to the prayers of Rachel. Now my mother was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, who was born on one and
10 the self-same day with Rachel. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God-
11 fearing, free-born, and noble. And he was taken captive and was bought by Laban; and he gave him Euna his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her name Zilpah, after the name
12 of the village in which he had been taken captive. And next she bore Bilhah, saying: My daughter hastens after what is new, for immediately that she was born she seized the breast and hastened to suck it.

2 1 And I was swift ⌜on my feet⌝ like the deer, and my father Jacob appointed me for all messages,
2 and as a deer did he give me his blessing. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of
3 the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one does not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight, and measure, and rule was all the
4 creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For
5 there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His own image.

a	*β*–a g A
6 For as a man's strength, so also is his work; as his †eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar.	As a man's strength, so also is his work; and 6 as his mind, so also is his skill; ⌜and as his purpose, so also is his achievement; and as his heart, so also is his mouth;⌝ as his †eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word, either in the law of the Lord or in the works of Beliar.

7 And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there a division between man and man, and between woman and woman; and it is not to be said that the
8 one is like the other either in face or in mind. ⌜For⌝ God made all things good in their order, the five senses in the head, and He joined on the neck to the head, adding to it the hair also for comeliness and glory, then the heart for understanding, the belly for **excrement**, and the stomach for

4. **grew strong** *a*: 'affirmed' *β* S[1].
that . . . he should die *β* S[1]: 'after . . . my body died' *a*.
5. > S[1].
6. For the play on the words cf. Gen. xxx. 8.
conceived and > *β* S[1].
7. **May I have** A: 'may I see' *β*–g S[1]: *a* is corrupt.
prayers b d A: 'blessings' *a* a e f S[1].
9–11. The aim is to show that Bilhah was of Semitic descent. Cf. e. ġ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29.
11. **Zilpah**, here a sister of Bilhah, as in Jub. xxviii. 9, and Ps.-Jon., &c.
12. **Bilhah . . . hastens**, i. e. בלהה נבהלה.
for . . . to suck it > *a* a d g.

II. 1. **as a deer . . . blessing**. See Gen. xlix. 21.
2. **accordingly** h a e f: 'unto it' c d.
3. **was all the creation made** *a*: 'was every creature of the Most High' b A: 'was every creature exalted' d e f. For the weighing and measuring of all, cf. Job xxviii. 25; Isa. xl. 12; 1 En. xliii. 2; 4 Ezra iv. 36; also Wisd. xi. 20; Pss. Sol. v. 6.
4. **beginneth** b d A: 'cometh' *a* e f.
5. **inclination**, *πλάσμα* = יֵצֶר. See T. A. i. 3 (note).
created . . . after His own image. Cf. Sir. xvii. 3. Earliest quotation (with Sirach) of Gen. i. 26, 27.
6. **as his †eye, so also is his sleep.** Something is wrong. Perhaps for 'eye' read 'maw', as in Berach. 61[b].
8. **the five senses.** See T. R. ii. 3—iii. 1 (note).
and He joined . . . head > *a* S[1]. Compare the lists of man's powers and faculties in (1) Berach. 61[ab], (2) and (3) Othioth of 'R. Akiba' (ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 42, 43), (4) Hebrew T. Naph. x. 6, least akin to our text.
heart for understanding, in (1) (2) (3) and practically (4).
belly for excrement, in (2). I read *διαχώρησιν* for *διάκρισιν*. Perles neatly suggests that the Heb. was לְפֶרֶשׁ = 'for excrement', which the translator took for = לִפְרֹשׁ = *εἰς διάκρισιν*.

⟨grinding⟩, the **windpipe** for **taking in** (the breath), the liver for wrath, the gall for bitterness, the spleen for laughter, the reins ⌜for prudence, the muscles of the loins⌝ for power, the lungs for drawing
9 in, the loins for strength, and so forth. So ⌜then⌝, my children, let all your works be done in order
10 with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither while ye are in darkness can ye do the works of light.

III 1 Be ye, therefore, not eager to corrupt your doings through covetousness or with vain words to beguile your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall understand how to hold
2 fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of Beliar. Sun and moon and stars change not their
3 order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of
4 deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which
5 changed the order of nature. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.

IV 1 These things I say unto you, my children, for I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and
2 ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom. And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and ⌜there⌝ shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and
3 tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all. And after ye have become minished and made few, ye shall return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He shall bring you back into your
4 land, according to His abundant mercy. And it shall be, that after that they come into the land of
5 their fathers, they shall again forget the Lord and become ungodly. And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near.

V 1 For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw a vision on the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem,

stomach for ⟨grinding⟩ ('grinding' supplied from (2)) = (1) (2) (3).
windpipe for taking in (text, = 'reed for health', corrupt) = (2) (3). Cf. (1) (4), 'sending out.'
liver for wrath (1) (2) (3) (4). Cf. T. R. iii. 4.
gall for bitterness > (2) (4): (1) (3) 'the gall sprinkles on it a drop and quiets it.'
spleen for laughter (1) (2) (3) (4).
reins for prudence (*πανουργία*, as Prov. i. 4, viii. 5, LXX): 'reins for counsel' (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). (1) and (2) tell us that the reins give both good and bad counsel. Cf. Eccles. x. 2.
muscles of the loins for power. No parallel; a dittography.
lungs for drawing in (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). But our text is corrupt. *πλευρὰν εἰς τὸ καθεύδειν a*: *πλευρὰν εἰς θήκην β*–g S^1. Read *πλεύμονα*, ריאה לשאוב.
loins for strength. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11.
9. **while in darkness . . . light.** Cf. John iii. 9.
works of light. Cf. Eph. v. 9, 'fruits of light.'

III. 1. **with vain words to beguile.** Cf. Eph. v. 6.
Beliar *a* d: 'the devil' *β*–d A^{ab}.
2. Cf. Sir. xvi. 26–8, xliii. 6 ff.; 1 En. ii. 1; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11–14.
change *β* S^1: 'hide' *a*: 'hinder' A.
3. **stones** *a* + 'having followed after' *β* A S^1. *a* regards the stocks and stones as spirits of deceit.
4. **as Sodom.** Cf. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude 6 speaks of the angels who kept not *τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν*.
5. **the Watchers.** Cf. 1 En. vi ff.
without inhabitants. 1 En. ix. 2 (not Gk.), lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5.

IV. A first-century B.C. passage like Zeb. ix. The reference to Enoch and *v.* 4 support this view.
1. **I have read** b d g A S^1: 'I have known' *a* a e f. So *a* did not at first mention Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).
2. **there.** Cf. T. Dan. v. 8: > d A S^1.
be bowed down A: 'be covered' b g S: 'dwell' *a* a d e f.
affliction and tribulation. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; Ps. cvii. 39.
3. **become minished and** > *a*.
bring you back. Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 25; T. Z. ix. 7.
4. **again forget.** Cf. T. Z. ix. 9. Renewed apostasy under Seleucids or later Maccabees.
5. **the compassion of the Lord**: 'the Lord' A^{ab} (+ 'with compassion' A^{b*cd}). Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.
a man working righteousness, the Messiah, not a Maccabee.
afar off. Isa. lvii. 19.

V–VII. The hatred of Joseph here reflects Jewish hatred of Samaria.
V. 1–5. This vision is hardly intelligible. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii.
1. **a vision** > *β* A S^1.

2 that the sun and the moon were standing still. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, said to
us; Run and lay hold of them, each one according to his strength; ⌜and to him that seizeth them
3 will the sun and moon belong.⌝ And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and
Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them.
4 And when Levi became as a sun, ⌜lo⌝, a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm;
5 and Judah was bright as the moon, and under their feet were twelve rays. [And the two, Levi and
6 Judah, ran, and laid hold of them.] And lo, a bull upon the earth, with two great horns, and an
7 eagle's wings upon its back; and we wished to seize him, but could not. But Joseph came, and
8 seized him, and ascended up with him on high. And I saw, for I was there, and behold a holy
writing appeared to us, saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, [Chaldeans,] Syrians, shall possess in
captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.

6 1 And again, after seven days, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we were
2 with him. And behold, there came a ship sailing by, without sailors or pilot; and there was written
3 upon the ship, The Ship of Jacob. And our father said to us: Come, let us embark on our ship.
4 And when he had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a mighty tempest of wind; and
5 our father, who was holding the helm, departed from us. And we, being tost with the tempest, were
borne along over the sea; and the ship was filled with water, (and was) pounded by mighty waves,
6 **until** it was broken up. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, ⌜and we were all divided upon nine
7 planks⌝, and Levi and Judah were together. And we were all scattered unto the ends of the earth.
8, 9 Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. And when the storm ceased,
the ship reached the land ⌜as it were⌝ in peace. And, lo, our father came, and we all rejoiced with
one accord.

7 1 These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me: These things must be fulfilled in their
season, after that Israel hath endured many things.

2 Then my father saith unto me: I believe God that Joseph liveth, for I see ⌜always⌝ that the Lord
numbereth him with you.

3 And he said, weeping: Ah me, my son Joseph, thou livest, though I behold thee not, and thou
seest not Jacob that begat thee.

4 He caused me also, therefore, to weep by these words, and I burned in my heart to declare that
⌜Joseph⌝ had been sold, but I feared my brethren.

8 1 And lo! my children, I have shown unto you the last times, how everything shall come to pass in
2 Israel. Do ye also, ⌜therefore⌝, charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah;
For through **them** shall salvation arise unto Israel,
And in **them** shall Jacob be blessed.

2–3. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii. 2–4, which adds 'nine stars'. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 9.
4. This obscure verse is given differently in Heb. T. Naph. ii. 4–6.
5. Dittography of $3^{a\,b\,c}$. β A S^1 read 'ran to each other and laid hold of each other'.
6–8. In the Heb. T. Naph. Joseph holds aloof (ii), but finally (iii) mounts a great bull and rides for four hours (the 400 years until the division of the kingdoms). In the end a storm disperses the tribes (the captivity). Our text in 7′. 8 goes on to the Syrian (Seleucid) rule.
6. **a bull,** &c. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 17.
eagle's wings: like a stork's, according to Heb. T. Naph. iii. 1.
7. **came and seized** α: 'got ahead and took' β.
8. **for I was there** αβ–d S^1: 'for we were ('that he was' A) in paradise' d A.
Persians + 'Elamites, Gelachians' ('Chelkaeans' a e f) β.
[Chaldeans]. In the wrong order. It should be before 'Medes'.

VI. 1. **days** α: 'months' β $A^{a\,b}$ S^1.
2. **sailing by** + 'full of salt fish' β A = מלא מלוחים, a corrupt dittography in Heb. of בלא מלחים = 'without sailors'.
4. **departed** αβ–b g S^1: 'flew away' b g A: 'was hidden' Heb. T. Naph. vi. 1.
5. **pounded . . . waves** β–d f A S^1: 'borne along' α: 'and the waves of the sea smote it to the rock' Heb. T. Naph. v. 5.
until: text has 'so that'.
6. **Joseph** = Samaria.
nine α: 'ten' β S^1.
7. **of the earth** > β–d S^1.
8. **for us all** > α: 'for us' A.

VII. 1. The repeated dream showed the matter was established, Gen. xli. 32; Heb. T. Naph. vii. 1–5.
3. **Ah me** > β A S^1.
4. **me**: 'us' β A S^1.
Joseph > β A S^1.

VIII. 2. **united to Levi and to Judah.** Cf. Heb. T. Naph. i. 8. Cf. T. D. v. 10 (note).
through them . . . in them: text = 'through Judah . . . in him'. But salvation comes through Levi and Judah jointly. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note).

3 For through their tribes shall God appear [dwelling among men] on earth,
To save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles.
4 If ye work that which is good, my children,
⌜Both⌝ men and angels shall bless you;
And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you,
And the devil shall flee from you,
⌜And the wild beasts shall fear you⌝,
And the Lord shall love you,
[And the angels shall cleave to you].
5 As a man who has trained a child well is kept in kindly remembrance:
So also for a good work there is a good remembrance before God.
6 But him that doeth not that which is good,
⌜Both⌝ angels and men shall curse,
And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him,
And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument,
And every wild beast shall master him,
And the Lord shall hate him.
7 For the commandments of the law are twofold,
⌜And⌝ through prudence must they be fulfilled.
8 For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife,
And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer.
9 So, then, there are two commandments; and, unless they be done in due order, they bring ⌜very
10 great⌝ sin ⌜upon men⌝. So also is it with the other commandments. Be ye therefore wise in God, ⌜my children⌝, and prudent, understanding the order of His commandments, and the laws of every word, that the Lord may love you.
1 And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should
2 remove his bones to Hebron, and that they should bury him with his fathers. And when he had
3 eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. And his sons did according to all that Naphtali their father had commanded them.

The Testament of Gad the Ninth Son of Jacob and Zilpah.

1 The copy of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty-
2 fifth year of his life, saying unto them: ⌜Hearken, my children⌝, I was the ninth son born to Jacob,
3 and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. Accordingly I guarded ⌜at night⌝ the flock; and whenever the lion came, ⌜or the wolf⌝, or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and ⌜overtaking (it)⌝
4 I seized its foot with my hand and hurled it about a stone's throw, and so killed it. Now Joseph ⌜my brother⌝ was feeding the flock with us for upwards of thirty days, and being young, he fell sick

3. **their tribes**: text = 'his tribe', a Christian alteration.
God appear. Cf. T. S. vi. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.
[dwelling among men]: a Christian interpolation?
the righteous from amongst the Gentiles, or 'the righteous of the Gentiles', i.e. conversion of the Gentiles. Cf. 1 En. x. 21, xc. 9–16, 18, 30. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).
4–6. Verses 4 and 6 are antithetic, so bracket 4^g.
4. **Both** > *a* A.
devil . . . flee: James iv. 7.
And the Lord shall love you: e g $A^{b*\,c\,d\,e\,f}$ S: > *a* a b d f. But cf. 6^f, while 4^g looks like a dittography in the Hebrew.
6. **And God . . . through him** > *a*.
8. Cf. Eccles. iii. 5 and 1 Cor. vii. 5—'a season . . . unto prayer'.
9. **there are two commandments**: 'the two (commandments) of God are' *a* e f.
very . . . men *a*: 'sin' *β* A S^1.

TITLE *a*: +'concerning hatred' *β*–a d (A) S.
I. 1. **hundred and twenty-fifth.** So Midrash Tadshe; Shemoth rab. i. 5; Jashar (ii. 1246).
3. Cf. Judah's feats, T. Jud. ii.
Accordingly *a*: > *β* S.
came +'or leopard or bear' b e g A S^1.
or any wild beast > a.
overtaking . . . seized *a*: 'seizing' *β* A S^1.
hurled . . . throw *a*: 'whirling it round I stunned it, and having hurled it over two furlongs' *β*–d S^1. For Gad's strength cf. Ber. rabba xcv. 4.
4. **young** *a* S^1: 'delicate' *β* A.

5 by reason of the heat. And he returned to Hebron to our father, who made him lie down near him,
6 because he loved him greatly. And Joseph told our father that the sons of ⌜Zilpah and⌝ Bilhah
were slaying the best ⌜of the flock⌝ and eating them against the judgement of Reuben and Judah.
7 For he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of a bear, and put the bear to death; but
8 had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and that we had eaten it. And
9 regarding this matter I was wroth with Joseph ⌜until the day that he was sold. And the spirit of hatred
was in me⌝, and I wished not either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or see him with the eyes,
because he rebuked us to our faces ⌜saying⌝ that we were eating of the flock without Judah. For
whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.

2 1 I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him from
2 my heart. Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams; and I wished to lick him out of the land
of the living, even as an ox licketh up the grass of the field.

α	*β* A S[1]
3 And Judah sold him secretly to the Ishmaelites.	Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ishmaelites [for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren]. 3
	And thus through covetousness we were bent on slaying him. 4
5 Thus the God of our fathers delivered him from our hands, that we should not work great lawlessness in Israel.	And the God of my fathers delivered him from my hands, that I should not work lawlessness in Israel. 5

3 1 And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the
Most High, and go not astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of
2 men. Whatsoever a man doeth the hater abominateth him: and though a man worketh the law of
the Lord, he praiseth him not; though a man feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is
3 righteous, he loveth him not. He dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that prospereth, he welcometh
evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred blindeth his soul; as I †also ⌜then⌝ looked† on Joseph.

4 1 Beware, therefore, my children of hatred; for it worketh lawlessness ⌜even⌝ against the Lord Him-
2 self. For it will not hear ⌜the words of⌝ His commandments concerning the loving of one's neigh-
3 bour, ⌜and⌝ it sinneth against God. ⌜For if a brother stumble⌝, it delighteth immediately to proclaim
it to all men, and is urgent that he should be judged for it, and be punished and be put to death.
4 And if it be a servant it stirreth him up against his master, and with every affliction it deviseth against
5 him, if possibly he can be put to death. For hatred worketh with envy also against them that
prosper: so long as it heareth of or seeth their success, it always languisheth.
6 For as love would quicken ⌜even⌝ the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to
die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that had sinned venially it would not suffer to live.
7 For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things to
men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the
salvation of men.

6. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 2 says Joseph reported that Zilpah and Bilhah's sons were eating flesh cut from the living animal.
7. **eaten it** + 'and he told our ('his' A[b]) father' b A[b].
9. **to hear.** A only.

II. 1. **from my heart** *α* A: ἕως ψυχῆς *β*–g S[1].
2. Cf. T. D. 1. 7.
to lick. Cf. Num. xxii. 4 and T. D. i. 8: 'to blot out' d A (? a g).
3–5. *β* A S[1] show Christian influence, e.g. the thirty pieces. Gen. xxxvii. 28 gives 'twenty pieces of silver'.
3. **Simeon** *β*–b A S[2]. Cf. T. Z. iii. 2 and T. S. iv. 2. 'Judah' *α* b S[1]. Cf. T. S. ii. 9; Gen. xxxvii. 26.
of gold: LXX of Gen. alone.
4. **we were** *β*–b g S[1]: 'I was' b g A.
5. **delivered.** Cf. T. S. ii. 8.

III. 2. **Whatsoever a man doeth . . . him** *β*–f g S: 'Whatsoever the hater doeth is abominable' *α* A.
3. **envieth.** Contrast 1 Cor. xiii. 4.
prospereth, or 'doeth right'.
I †also looked on†. Read perhaps 'it blinded me also in regard to'.

IV. 3. **For . . . stumble** *β* S. Cf. Gal. vi. 1. > *α* A.
delighteth *β* A S[1]: 'hasteneth' *α*.
4. **stirreth . . . up against** *α β* S[1]: 'slandereth' A.
it deviseth against b S[1]: 'it rejoiceth over' *α β*–b. Perhaps omit 'with' before 'every affliction'.
5. **also against, or** 'and with regard to'; connecting with following words.
7. **hastiness of spirit.** Cf. LXX on Exod. vi. 9; Pss. Sol. xvi. 11.

1 ⌜Hatred, therefore, is evil⌝, for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and ⌜kindleth⌝ wrath, and ⌜stirreth⌝ up war, and violence and all covet-
2 ousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. These things, ⌜therefore⌝, I say to you from experience, my children, that ye may drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to
3 the love of God. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, ⌜being reproved not of another⌝, but of his own heart,
4 because the Lord looketh on his inclination. He speaketh not against a holy man, because the fear
5 of God overcometh hatred. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any
7 man, even in thought. These things I learnt at last, after I had repented concerning Joseph. For true repentance after a godly sort [destroyeth ignorance, and] driveth away the darkness, and
8 enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation. And
9 those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. For God brought upon me a disease of the liver; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father succoured me, it had
10 hardly failed but my spirit had departed. For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also
11 is he punished. Since, ⌜therefore⌝, my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry against Joseph.

1 And now, my children, ⌜I exhort you⌝, love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from
2 your hearts, love one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. For in the presence of my father I spake peaceably to Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind, and stirred up my soul to slay him.

α	*β* A S[1]
3 Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him.	Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; 3 and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.

4 But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take

V. 1. **mateth with lying.** Cf. Sir. xx. 25.
causeth . . . darkness. Cf. Isa. v. 20.
kindleth: 'disturbeth' *a*: > *β* A S[1].
stirreth up > *β* A S[1].
2. **God** c i d A: 'the Lord' h *β*–d S.
3. **envy** *a* g A[b*]: 'hatred' a b e A[a b c d e f] S.
the Lord looketh on. Cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.
his inclination *β*–d A S[1]: 'his soul' *a*.
4. **God** c *β*–b e: 'Most High' b A S[1].
overcometh hatred *β* A S[1]: 'dwelleth in him' *a*, by corruption in the Hebrew original.
5. **wrong . . . even in thought.** Cf. T. Jos. ix. 2; Matt. v. 21, 27.
7. **repentance after a godly sort . . . salvation.** Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10; Sir. iv. 22. Bracketed words are a gloss: > A.
8. So *β*–a f S[1]. 'and it hath not learnt this from man, but it knoweth how to receive those who return through repentance' *a*. For 'it . . . repentance' A reads 'repentance knoweth'.
9. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 4; T. Jud. xix. 2.
of Jacob > *a*.
succoured me, ἐβοήθησάν μοι, *a* A: > *β*–a S: ἔφθασαν a. Cf. T. Jud. xix. 2 (note).
10. Cf. Jub. iv. 31, 32. For the popularity of the doctrine of retaliation in the second century B.C. cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32, 33. Cf. Col. iii. 25.
also > *a*.
11. **eleven months** *β* A S: 'ten periods' *a*.
Joseph + 'until he was sold' *β* A S.

VI. 1. **in the inclination of the soul.** Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18.
3–7. A unique passage in ancient literature on the subject of forgiveness. It shows remarkable insight, and the diction and thought are closely parallel to Luke xvii. 3; Matt. xviii. 15. Forgiveness is perfect when we gain our offending brother, and restore him to communion with ourselves. But we can at least cast out our own anger, even if he is not reconciled.
3. **if a man sin.** Cf. Matt. xviii. 15; Luke xvii. 3. On the duty of rebuke, cf. Lev. xix. 17.
the poison *β* A S[1]. Cf. *v.* 4.
peaceably . . . not guile. Contrast Jer. ix. 7.
if he . . . repent, forgive. Cf. Luke xvii. 3.
4. **catching the poison from thee,** in text follows 'intent' in *v.* 5, i.e. was separated from its context by the interpolation, *v.* 5.

5 to swearing and so thou sin doubly. [Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for 6 ofttimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent.] And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and [fear 7 and] be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave ⌜to God the avenging.

7 1 If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him⌝, that he may have 2 perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. And if he be further exalted, be not envious ⌜of him⌝, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and 3 profitable to all men. Seek out the judgements of the Lord, and thy mind will **rest** and be at peace. 4 And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not jeal- 5 ous; ⌜but⌝ wait for the end of the Lord. For if he taketh away (from a man) wealth gotten by evil 6 means He forgiveth him if he repent, but the unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment. For the poor man, if free from envy he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because 7 he hath not the travail of vain men. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart.

8 1 Do ye also therefore tell these things to your children, that they honour †Judah and Levi†, for from 2 them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel. [For I know that at the last your children shall depart from Him, and shall walk in all wickedness, and affliction and corruption before the Lord.] 3 And when he had rested for a little while, he said again; My children, obey your father, and bury 4, 5 me near to my fathers. And he drew up his feet, and fell asleep in peace. And after five years they carried him up to Hebron, and laid him with his fathers.

The Testament of Asher, the Tenth Son of Jacob and Zilpah.

1 1 The copy of the Testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and 2 twenty-fifth year of his life. ⌜For⌝ while he was still in health, he said to them: Hearken, ye children of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of the Lord.

5. Cf. Prov. xxv. 8–10; Sir. xix. 8–9.
addresseth *a* b f g: 'slayeth' d e A S.
6. **reproving** *a*: 'bringing forth' *β* (S¹).
repent. Cf. T. B. v. 4.
so as not . . . wrong: 'of having wronged' *a*.
yea . . . at peace: 'and he may [fear and] be at peace' *a*.
[fear and]. 'fear' = יחרד a corrupt dittograph of יהרר = 'honour'.
7. **leave to God the avenging.** Cf. Rom. xii. 19. A is here defective.
leave, lit. 'give'.

VII. 1–7. High ethical teaching like vi. 3–7. We must banish envy, when a rival prospers.
1. **have perfect prosperity:** 'be perfected' *a* f.
3. **rest,** emended: 'shine' *a*: 'not (> b f) leave' *β*–a.
5. **wealth** A: 'them' other texts, corruptly.
wealth gotten by evil means. Cf. Prov. xiii. 11 (Peshitto, Targum, and LXX).
is reserved *a* (A): 'he reserveth' b d e f g S¹.
for eternal punishment d A: 'for ever the punishment' *a* b e f g, which requires 'for the unrepentant as in b d e f g S¹.
6. **the poor man if free** *a*: 'the man who is poor and free' *β*–a A S¹.
pleaseth *a*: 'giveth thanks to' *β*–a A S¹.
blessed = אשר: texts have 'rich' = עשר. Cf. Pirqe Aboth iv. 3.
travail of vain men, *a*: 'evil travail of men' *β* A S¹. Cf. Eccles. i. 13, iv. 8, v. 13.
7. **jealousy:** 'hatred' text.
uprightness. See T. Iss. iii. 1 (note).

VIII. 1. **†Judah and Levi†.** Read 'Levi and Judah'. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note); T. D. v. 10; T. B. xi. 2.
Lord raise up salvation (+ 'unto you' h i) h i g A: 'Lord the Saviour arise unto you' a d e f: 'Lord raise up a Saviour' b S: 'Lord, salvation, arise unto us' c.
2. First century B.C. addition.
I know. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 1; T. A. vii. 2.
at the last > *a*.
before: 'from' *a*.
4. **drew up his feet** *aβ*: 'kissed his sons' A.
5. **five years.** If Gad lived 125 years (i. 1), and was born 2131 A.M. (Jub. xxviii. 20), he died in 2256, and was buried 2261 A.M. But Benjamin was buried in the 91st year after Israel went down into Egypt (T. B. xii. 3) in 2172 A.M. (Jub. xlv. 1), i.e. in 2263, which is also the date of the war between Egypt and Canaan (Jub. xlvi. 9; T. S. viii. 2; T. B. xii. 3). Is b then right, in T. G. i. 1, in reading 127 years?

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning the two faces of vice ('duplicity' A) and virtue' b d e f A S¹.
I. 2. **upright,** a play in Hebrew on ישר and אשר.

3 Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, ⌜and two kinds of action, and
4 two modes (of action)⌝, and ⌜two⌝ issues. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the
5 other. ⌜For⌝ there are two ways of good and evil, and †with these are the two inclinations in our
6 breasts discriminating them†. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its
7 actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth. For, having its thoughts set upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth
8 the sin. But **if it incline to the evil inclination,** all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good,
9 he perverteth it to evil. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forceth the issue of the action into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit.

1 A person then may with words **help** the good for the sake of the evil, yet the issue of the action
2 leadeth to mischief. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in
3 evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil. And there is a man that loveth him that worketh evil, because he would prefer ⌜even⌝ to die in evil for his sake; and concerning this it is clear that it hath two aspects, but the whole is an evil work.

a	*β* S[1]
4 †Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked who concealeth what is evil for the sake of the good name†, but the end of the action tendeth unto evil.	Though indeed there is love, yet it is wicked 4 as it concealeth what is evil; now this thing seemeth good in name, but the end of the action tendeth unto evil.

5 Another stealeth, doeth unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this ⌜too⌝
6 hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. He who defraudeth his neighbour provoketh God, and swereth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the
7 law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and yet he refresheth the poor. He ⌜defileth the soul, and⌝ maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and pitieth a few: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the
8 whole is evil. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats, and when he fasteth he doeth evil, and by the power of his wealth overwhelmeth many; and **notwithstanding**

3. **Two ways.** Earliest occurrence of this phrase in Jewish literature. Cf. Jer. xxi. 8 and 2 En. xxx. 15 (my note).
two inclinations. The oldest reference to the good yeṣer. See my Commentary *in loc.*, also my ed. 2 Bar. 92–93. For the evil yeṣer cf. Hebrew Sir. xv. 14, Sir. xxi. 11, xxvii. 5–6. The good impulse is free from Beliar's power (T. B. vi. 1), admits no evil desire (T. R. iv. 9), receives no glory from men (T. B. vi. 4). God knows (T. N. ii. 5) and tries it (T. Jos. ii. 6), rewards according to it (T. Jud. xiii. 8). The yeṣer is blinded by fornication (T. Jud. xviii. 3), and the evil yeṣer blinds the mind (T. Jud. xi. 1).
4. **all things are by twos.** Cf. v. 1; Sir. xxxvi. 15, xlii. 24; Eccles. vii. 14.
5. **†with these are . . . discriminating them†,** perhaps a Hebraism for 'and these . . . discriminate.'
6. The right of choice belongs to the soul, as to the 'spirit of the understanding of the mind' in T. Jud. xx. 1.
in the good *β* A S[1]: 'to walk in goodness' *a*.
all its actions are: 'it does all its actions' *a*.
7. The modes of the good yeṣer's action.
8. **if it incline to the evil inclination:** 'if the inclination incline to evil' text. But the subject here should be 'the soul' as in *v.* 6. So 'its' (actions) = *αὐτῆς*, not *αὐτοῦ*.
cleaveth to c h: 'receiveth' *β* A S[1].
ruled by Beliar. The evil tendency is identified with Satan in Baba Bathra 16[a], and is a strange god, Shabbath 105[b].
9. **to do:** 'as though to do' *β* A S[1].
into evil for him *a*: 'into evil doing' *β*–b A S[1].
treasure of the inclination, a play on words, i. e. אוצר יצר. Cf. Matt. xii. 35 'evil man . . . evil treasure'.
is filled with: 'is born from' g.
an evil spirit: 'the poison of the evil spirit' *β*–d g: 'evil poison of the wickedness of the spirit' A.

II. 1. **help.** So I emend for various corrupt readings, e. g. *ἀφιστῶσα*, *a*.
the issue . . . leadeth, or 'it (the soul) leadeth the issue'.
2. **him . . . evil:** 'those who serve his turn' *a*.
3. **worketh evil:** +'which thing is wickedness' *a*: +'since he also ('likewise he' b e g) is in wickedness' b d e f g A S[1].
for his sake > *a* A.
4. A has 'Though they love, yet are they evil', &c.
concealeth: read 'loveth', unless a sentence has been lost before 4.
6. **the law** > *a*.
7. **but the whole is evil** c *β*–b A: > h b.
8. **adultery . . . abstaineth from meats.** Contrast T. Jos. ix. 2.
and fornication > h i.
the power of his wealth: 'his power and his wealth' b d g A.
notwithstanding: texts read 'after'.

his excessive wickedness he doeth ⌜the⌝ commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the
9 whole is evil. Such men are hares; clean,—**like those that divide the hoof**, but in very deed are
10 unclean. For God in the tables of the commandments hath thus declared.

3 1 But do not ye, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but
2 cleave unto goodness only, for God hath his habitation therein, and men desire it. But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.

4 1 For good men, even they that are of single face, though they be thought by them that are double-
2 faced to sin, are just before God. For many in killing the wicked do two works, of good and evil;
3 but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. One man hateth the merciful and unjust man, and the man who committeth adultery and fasteth: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the ⌜whole⌝ work is good, because he followeth the Lord's example, in that he
4 accepteth not the seeming good **as** the genuine good. Another desireth not to see a good day with them that riot, lest he defile his body and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is
5 good. For such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because ⌜they walk⌝ in zeal for the Lord and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, warding off the evil from the good.

5 1 Ye see, my children, how that there are two ⌜in all things⌝, one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other: ⌜in wealth (is hidden) covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness, in laughter
2 grief, in wedlock profligacy⌝. Death succeedeth to life, ⌜dishonour to glory⌝, night to day, and darkness to light; [and all things are under the day, just things under life, ⌜unjust things under
3 death⌝;] wherefore also eternal life †awaiteth death. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor
4 right wrong; for all truth is under the light, ⌜even as all things are under God⌝. All these things, therefore, I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking according to all my strength with singleness of face unto that which is good.

6 1 Take heed, therefore, ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth
2 with singleness of face. For they that are double-faced are **guilty of a twofold sin**; ⌜for they both do the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that do it⌝, following the example of the spirits of
3 deceit, and striving against mankind. Do ye, ⌜therefore, my children,⌝ keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all

9. **are hares** *a* S[1]. Cf. Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7. 'are like swine' b d g A (+ 'hares' b d g).
clean like those that divide the hoof. Texts read *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμισείας καθαροί.* Here *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμισείας* = כי מפרס corrupt for כמפרסים. Cf. Ber. rab. xxii. 13. Cf. Perles, who, however, wrongly rejects *καθαροί.*
10. **tables of the commandments**: 'heavenly tablets' *β* A S[1]. Cf. T. L. v. 4; T. A. vii. 5 (*β* A S[1]).

III. 1. **God**: 'Lord God' *a*.
2. **destroying . . . by your good works.** Master the evil tendency by obedience to the law. Cf. Sir. xxi. 11.
the (evil) inclination. See notes on i. 3–9, and cf. T. Jud. xi. 1. 'the devil' *β* A S[1]. See Sir. xxi. 27.
serve not God, but: 'are not Gods, but serve' *a*.

IV. 3. See ii. 5, 8.
this, too, hath a twofold aspect: 'he also is double-faced' *a* d g.
accepteth: 'expecteth' *a*.
as the genuine good, emended from 'with the genuine good' ('evil' *β*) *a* A[a b].
4. Asceticism is bad in itself.
a good day. Cf. Esther viii. 17: 'good days' c: Pss. xxxiv. 12 (LXX).
5. Seems corrupt.
Lord *a*: 'God' *β* A S[1].
what God . . . commandments h *β*–g S[1]: 'what God hateth' c: 'what God also ordereth them through His commandments to hate' A.
warding e f: 'and they ward' b d S[1]: 'and to ward' A: c a omit this and the following words: h g defective.

V. 1. See i. 4 (note).
in wealth . . . covetousness > *a*.
profligacy *a*: 'intemperance' a e S[1]: > f.
2. Brackets indicate intrusions.
eternal life. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; 1 En. xxxvii. 4, xl. 9, &c.
†awaiteth, we expect 'followeth on'.
4. **with singleness . . . good** > *a*.

VI. 2. **are guilty of a twofold sin**: 'are chastened doubly' text. Cf. 1 En. v. 9.
for they both do . . . it > b g A. Rom. i. 22. Cf. T. A. ii. 3, iii. 2.
following . . . striving: 'evil spirits hate ye which ('because they' d) strive' b d g A.
of deceit and striving *a*: 'of evil which strive' a e f S[1].

4 commandments of the Lord, having your conversation therein, and resting therein. For the latter ends of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they **meet** the angels of the 5 Lord and of Satan. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works.

a	*β* A S[1]
6 But if he is peaceful with joy he **meeteth** the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life.	But if peacefully ⌜with joy⌝, he **hath met** the angel of peace, he †comforteth him with life. 6

7 1 Become not, my children, as Sodom, which sinned against the angels of the Lord, and perished for 2 ever. For I know that ye shall sin, and be delivered into the hands of your enemies; ⌜and⌝ your land shall be made desolate, and your holy places destroyed, and ye shall be scattered unto the four 3 corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the dispersion **vanishing away** as water. Until the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking], and breaking the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in 4 the person of man]. [Therefore do ⌜ye also, my children⌝, tell these things to your children, that they 5 disobey Him not. For I have known that ye shall assuredly be disobedient, and assuredly act ungodly, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men, being corrupted 6 through wickedness. And therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and Dan my brethren, and ye shall 7 know not your lands, tribe, and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His tender mercy, ⌜and⌝ for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.]'

8 1 And when he had said these things unto them, he commanded them, saying: Bury me in Hebron. 2 And he fell asleep and died at a good old age. And his sons did as he had commanded them, and they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

4–6. A man's latter end reveals his true character. The idea that good or evil angels meet the soul at death as it leaves the body occurs here first in Jewish literature. Cf. Kethuboth 104[a], and see my Comm. 168, 169.

4. **when they meet** = יועדו: text corrupt. 'and are known to' = יודעו ל *a* (cf. T. A. vii. 1): 'and they know' = ידעו A. Cf. *β* S[1].
the angels: 'the law' A.
Satan: 'Beliar' *a*.

5. **troubled** *β* A S[1]: 'evil' *a*.

6. **with joy** > A S[1]. Possibly a corruption for 'departs', or else read with following words.
meeteth: 'shall know' *a*: 'knew' *β* A S[1].
angel of peace. Cf. T. D. vi. 5.
leadeth *a*. Cf. T. B. vi. 1.
†comforteth *β* A, corrupt for 'leadeth'. Cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18.

VII. 1. **sinned against.** The LXX uses ἀγνοεῖν to translate אשם, רשע, שגה. (Perles.)

2. For like predictions see T. S. v. 3 ff.; T. L. x, xiv–xvi; T. Jud. xxiii; T. Iss. vi. 1, 2; T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; T. G. viii. 2.
delivered . . . enemies. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 2; T. Z. ix. 6.
holy places destroyed. Cf. T. L. x. 3, &c.
scattered: T. A. vii. 6; T. L. x. 4, &c.
vanishing away as water. Text is ὡς ὕδωρ ἄχρηστον = כמים נמאסים corrupt for כמים נמכים. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2. So Perles.

3. A Theophany followed by the destruction of the primeval foe, the dragon. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 13.
breaking c: 'in peace breaking' h *β* A S[1].
in g A[c f g]: 'through' *a β*–g.
all the Gentiles. For this universalism cf. T. B. ix. 2 (note); Jer. iv. 2, &c.; Isa. ii. 2–4, &c.; Ps. xxii. 27–31; lxv. 2.

4–7. First century B.C. addition. Cf. T. G. viii. 2.

5. **known**: 'read' b d g A + 'in the heavenly tablets' *β* A S[1]. Cf. ii. 10.
disobedient c + 'unto him' h i *β* A S[1].
ungodly + 'towards him' *β* A S[1].
being . . . wickedness > a b: 'being carried away by sheer wickedness' d e g.

6. **as Gad and Dan.** See T. G. viii. 2; T. D. v. 8, vii. 3.
and ye *a*: 'who' *β*.

7. **the Lord** *β*–e A S[1]: 'He' *a* e.
through + 'the hope of' *β* A S[1].

VIII. 1. **good old age**: 'good sleep' text. See T. Z. x. 6 (note).

2. **to Hebron** > *β* A S[1]. At end + 'Asher the tenth son of Jacob, the second son of Zilpah, and he lived 126 years' f S[1] (g).

The Testament of Joseph, the Eleventh Son of Jacob and Rachel.

1 1 The copy of the Testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them :—

2 My brethren and my children,
Hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel ;
Give ear, my sons, unto your father.

3 I have seen in my life envy and death,
Yet I went not astray, ⌜but persevered⌝ in the truth of the Lord.

4 These my brethren hated me, but the Lord loved me :
They wished to slay me, but the God of my fathers guarded me :
They let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again.

5 I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free :
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.

6 I was alone, and God comforted me :
I was sick, and the Lord visited me :
I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me ;
In bonds, and He released me ;

7 Slandered, and He pleaded my cause ;
Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me ;
Envied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.

2 1, 2 And this chief captain of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house. And I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her ; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from 3 the burning flame. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, ⌜I was mocked⌝ ; but the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison.

4 For the Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him,
Neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations, nor in necessities.

5 For God is not put to shame as a man,
Nor as the son of man is he afraid,
Nor as one that is earth-born is He [weak or] affrighted.

α	*β* A S^1	
6 But in all those things doth He give protection,	But in all places He is at hand,	6

And in divers ways doth He comfort,
(Though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul.

TITLE *α* : + 'concerning sobriety' b e f S^1 : + 'concerning envy' $A^{b\,h\,o\,f\,g}$.

I—X. 4. In this Testament there appear to be two independent writings, i—x. 4 and x. 5—xviii. Yet in historical sequence x. 5—xvi should be read after i. In i—x. 4 the theme is chastity ; in x. 5—xviii it is brotherly love. In i—x. 4 Potiphar is called 'the Egyptian man' (iv. 5), but Pentephri(s) in x. 5—xviii (e. g. xii. 1 ; xiii. 1 ; xv. 6). In i—x. 4 his wife is called the Egyptian woman (and *β*-d wrongly in xvi. 1), while in x. 5—xviii she is known as the Memphian woman (so, too, the conflate reading in iii. 6). We find also recurring phrases like 'Joseph the son of a mighty man' (x. 6) and 'I held my peace lest I should put to shame' (x. 6, &c.) in the later section. Joseph also transgresses the Testament's rule of truthfulness in it.

I. 2. **my sons . . . father** : 'the words of my mouth' *α*.
3. **but persevered** > b g A.
5. **into slavery** *α* A : 'to be a slave' *β* S.
captivity, hunger. Cf. Matt. xxv. 35, 36 for this and the next verse. The resemblance to our Lord's words is very striking.
6. **and God . . . prison** > c h.
Lord a e f : 'Most High' b d g S : 'God' A.
my God $A^{b*\,c\,d\,f\,g}$: 'Lord' S^1 : 'the Saviour' *α β* S^2.
In bonds and He released me > d. Without it stanzas 4-7 are symmetrical. Yoma 35^b says Joseph used the words to Potiphar's wife.
7. **by the Egyptians** : 'for (my) dreams' *α*.
Envied . . . slaves : 'a slave' *α* : > $A^{c\,d\,e\,f\,g}$.

II. 1. **this chief captain of Pharaoh** : 'the eunuch of Pharaoh' *β*-b : 'so Petaphres' ('Photiphar' $A^{b\,c\,d\,f\,g}$) A.
2. **Israel my father** b e f g : 'my father' h $A^{b*\,c\,d\,f\,g}$: 'my father Jacob' a d : 'my fathers' c.
3. **granted me . . . mercy**, &c. Cf. Dan. i. 9.
4. **doth** *α* d A : 'will' *β*-d S.
5. Cf. Num. xxiii. 19 ; 1 Sam. xv. 29.
[weak or]. An addition.
affrighted *α* : 'rejected' *β* A S^1, corruptly.
6. **doth He give protection**, *προίσταται*, *α* : 'He is at hand', *παρίσταται*, *β* S^1 : 'is' A.
departeth *α* : 'departing' *β* A. Isa. liv. 7.

7 In ten temptations He showed me approved,
And in all of them I endured;
For endurance is a mighty charm,
And patience giveth many good things.

3 1 How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death! How often did she give me over to punishment, and then call me back and threaten me, and when I was unwilling to company with
2 her, she said to me: Thou shalt be lord of me, and all that is in my house, if thou wilt give thyself
3 unto me, and thou shalt be as our master. But I remembered the words of my father, and going
4 into my chamber, I ⌜wept and⌝ prayed unto the Lord. And I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face.
5 And if my lord were away from home, I drank no wine; nor for three days did I take my food, but
6 I gave it to the poor and sick. And I sought the Lord early, and I wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, for also at night she came to me under pretence of visiting me.

α	*β* A S[1]
7 And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son.	And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child. 7

8 And for a time she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not; †but later, she sought to draw me
9 into fornication. And when I perceived it I sorrowed unto death; and when she had gone out, I came to myself, and lamented for her many days, because I recognized her guile and her deceit.
10 And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.

4 1 Often, therefore, did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my
2 chastity before her husband, while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. ⌜For⌝ she lauded me openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me: Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded con-
3 cerning thy chastity: for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe. Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground, and besought God that the Lord would deliver me from her
4 deceit. And when she had prevailed nothing ⌜thereby⌝, she came ⌜again⌝ to me under the plea of
5 instruction, that she might learn the word of God. And she said unto me: If thou willest that I should leave my idols, lie with me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and
6 we will walk in the law of thy Lord. And I said unto her: The Lord willeth not that those who reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery,
7 ⌜but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips⌝. But she held her peace,
8 longing to accomplish her evil desire. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord might deliver me from her.

5 1 ⌜And⌝ again, at another time she said unto me: If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my
2 husband by poison; and take thee to be my husband. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my

7. **ten** *β* A: 'eleven' *α*. See Jub. xvii. 17; xix. 8.
patience: 'to those who endure' A.

III. 1. **and when . . . her, she** *α*: 'when . . . her! And she' *β*-a A[a] S[1].
2. **in my house** *α*: 'mine' *β* A S[1].
3. **father** c (+ 'Jacob' d g A). Cf. Jub. xxxix. 6: 'fathers' h a e f S[1]: 'fathers of my father Jacob' b.
4. **seven**: 'ten' in Jub. xlvi. 3.
Egyptians c: 'Egyptian' rest of MSS.
fast . . . beauty of face. Dan. i. 15.
5. Cf. Luke xii. 45. Cf. for Joseph, Zeb. 118[b].
lord *α* (A ?): > B S[1].
6. **Egyptian woman of Memphis**, conflate text.
7. **and so . . . child** *β* A S[1], disturbs the context.
8. **knew it not.** Cf. xiv. 4.
†but later *α*: 'that' a: 'finally' b e S[1]: 'later' f: 'and after this' A.
9. **came to myself.** Cf. Luke xv. 17.

IV. 1. **Often therefore** *α*: 'how often' *β*-a A S[1].
3. **ground** + 'in sackcloth (+ 'and ashes' A) *β* A S[1].
her deceit *α*: 'the Egyptian woman' *β*-a A S[1].
4. **God** *α*: 'the Lord' *β* A S[1].
5. **my husband** *α* A: 'the Egyptian' *β* S[1] (+ 'Potiphar' S[1]).
in the law of *β* A S[1]: 'before' c: 'in the name of' h.
6. **but in those** *α* only.
7. **held her peace** b g A: 'was angry' *α* *β*-b g.

V. 1. **my husband** *α*: 'the Egyptian' *β* A S[1]. Cf. iv. 5.
by poison and *α*: 'and so lawfully' *β* A S[1], by corruption in Hebrew.

garments, and said unto her: Woman, reverence God, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be
3 destroyed; for know indeed that I will declare this thy device unto all men. She therefore, being
4 afraid, besought that I would not declare this device. And she departed soothing me with gifts, and sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

6 1. 2 And ⌜afterwards⌝ she sent me food mingled with enchantments. And when the eunuch who brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and
3 I perceived that (her) scheme was to beguile me. And ⌜when he had gone out⌝ I wept, nor did
4 I taste that or any other of her food. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food,
5 and said unto me: Why is it that thou hast not eaten of the food? And I said unto her: It is because thou hast filled it with ⌜deadly⌝ enchantments; and how saidst thou: I come not near to
6 idols, but to the Lord ⌜alone⌝. Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto me by His angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayst see and repent.

α	*β* A S[1]
7 But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God with chastity, behold I will take of it and eat before thee. And having so said, I prayed thus: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham, be with me; and ate.	But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God in chastity, I took of it and ate before her, saying: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham shall be with me. 7

8 And ⌜when she saw this⌝ she fell upon her face at my feet, weeping; and I raised her up and admonished her. And she promised to do this iniquity no more.

α	*β* A S[1]
7 1 But her heart was still set upon evil, and she looked around how to ensnare me, and sighing **deeply** she became downcast, though she was not sick.	But (d A 'nevertheless') her heart was still set upon me with a view to lewdness, and sighing she became downcast. 1

2 And when her husband saw her, he said unto her: Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said ⌜unto him⌝: I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me; and so
3 he comforted her who was not sick. Then, accordingly seizing an opportunity, she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff,
4 if thou wilt not lie with me. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto
5 the Lord, and said unto her: Why, ⌜wretched woman⌝, art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival,
6 will beat thy children, and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth. And she said unto me: Lo, then thou lovest me; let this suffice me: only strive for my life ⌜and my children⌝, and
7 I expect that I shall enjoy my desire ⌜also⌝. But she knew not that because of my lord I spake

2. **unto her** > *β*–d A S[1].
God *α* f: 'the Lord' *β*–f A S[1].
know . . . device *α*: 'I will declare thy ungodly device' *β* A S, i. e. רע 'wicked' for ידע 'know'.
3. **this device** *α*: 'to any one her wickedness' *β*–g A S.
4. **sending . . . men** *β*–d A S[1]: 'every delight' *α*.

VI. 2. **(her) scheme . . . beguile me** *α*: 'this ('her' b) scheme . . . beguile (+'the soul' b)' *β*–d A[a b h] S[1]: 'it was a scheme of Satan and to beguile (my) soul' d.
5. **deadly enchantments** *α*: 'death' *β* A S[1].
6. **His angel** *α* A: 'an angel' *β*–d g.
7. **angel of Abraham.** Is this Michael or the angel of peace?

VII. 1. **deeply,** *συντόμως*, *α*, corrupt for *συντόνως*.
became downcast, *συνέπιπτε*, cf. T. Z. x. 1: +'in countenance' d (cf. *v.* 2): +'in spirit' A.
set upon me . . . lewdness b d g A: 'set upon lewdness' a e f S[1] (cf. *α*).
2. **her husband** *α* A[–b f g]: 'the Egyptian man' *β* A[b f g] S[1].
who was not sick: 'in words' *α*, corruptly.
3. **Then . . . opportunity** *α*: 'then' *β*–d S[1]: 'one day' d: 'and when I was passing' A[a b]: 'and on the second day' A[b* c d g].
over a cliff *α* a e f S[1]: 'into a well' A[a b] (+'or over a cliff' b (d) g A[b* c d]).
5. **Asteho** *α*: 'Asitho' e f A[b* g]: 'Setho' b.
thou wilt *α* *β*–b g S[1]: 'she will' b g (A).
6. **let this suffice me: only strive for** *α*: 'this (> *β*–d S[1]) alone (> A) suffices me that (> a f) thou strivest for' *β* A S[1].
and I *α*: > *β*–a d g S[1]: 'if I' a: 'I therefore' d g A.
7. **my lord:** 'God' b d S[1], against context.

8 thus, and not because of her. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire and become enslaved by it, even as she, whatever good thing he may hear with regard to that passion, he receiveth it with a view to his wicked desire.

VIII 1 I declare, therefore, unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me; and I knelt before the Lord all day, and all the night; and about dawn I rose up, weeping 2 the while and praying for a release from her. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connexion with her.

α A

3 When, ⌜therefore⌝, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast to my garment, I left it behind, and fled away naked.

α

4 And holding fast to the garment she falsely accused me, and when her husband came he cast me into prison in his house; and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

α

5 And when I was in bonds, the Egyptian woman was oppressed with grief, and she came and heard how I gave thanks unto the Lord and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that I was delivered **from the lustful desire** of the Egyptian woman.

β S

When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast by force to my garment, I fled away naked.

β–d A S¹

And she falsely accused me to her husband, 4 and the Egyptian cast me into prison in his house, and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

β–d A S¹

And when I was in fetters, the Egyptian was 5 sick with grief, and she heard how I sang praises unto the Lord in the house of darkness, and with glad voice rejoicing, glorified God only that I was delivered **from the lustful desire** of the Egyptian woman.

IX 1 And often hath she sent unto me saying: Consent to ⌜fulfil my desire⌝, and I will release thee 2 from thy bonds, ⌜and I will free thee from the darkness. And not even in thought did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of wickedness combines fasting with chastity, rather than 3 the man who in kings' chambers combines luxury with licence. And if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this 4 also upon me. How often⌝, though she were sick, did she come down ⌜to me⌝ at unlooked for times, 5 and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. ⌜For⌝ when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, ⌜that I might lie with her; for she was⌝ very beautiful, ⌜splendidly adorned⌝ in order to beguile me. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

X 1, 2 Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. So

8. **that passion** α: 'the passion by which (> 'by which' A) he is vanquished' β–a g A S¹.
to his α A: 'to the' β S¹.

VIII. 1. **and all** α: 'together with all' β A S¹.
her α: 'the Egyptian woman' β–d A S¹.
2–4. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12–14, 16.
3. **garment,** χιτῶνα, α: ἱμάτια, β.
left it behind + 'and shook it off' α: > A^f g.
by force β–a e f g S.
5. **was sick,** ἠσθένει, β–d A S¹: 'was oppressed', συνείχετο, α.
from the lustful desire = מתאוה. So I emend 'through a pretext' = בתאנה α β S: 'from the pretexts' A. For a like corruption cf. Prov. xviii. 1.

IX. A omits much in ix.
2. **fasting with chastity.** Contrast T. A. ii. 8.
fasting β–a f S¹: 'believing' a f: 'faithfulness' α.
the man . . . chambers β–b d S¹: 'the king ('man' b) who in chambers' b c d.
3. > d.
and if a man ('but he' c b S¹) . . . **chastity** a e f (g): > h.
and 3° > α: 'and if' b.
5. **and breasts** > α.
lie with = συμπέσω. See T. Jud. xiii. 3 (note).
adorned. Cf. Yoma 35^b.

X. A new section begins.
1. **prayer with fasting.** Cf. iii. 4, iv. 8.

ye too, ⌜if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of
3 heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity. And wheresoever the Most High
dwelleth, even though envy, or slavery, or slander befalleth (a man), the Lord who dwelleth in him,
for the sake of his chastity not only⌝ delivereth him from evil, ⌜but also exalteth him even as me.
4, 5 For in every way the man⌝ is lifted up, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. My brethren knew
how my father loved me, and yet I did not exalt myself ⌜in my mind⌝: although I was a child,
6 ⌜I had the fear of God in my heart⌝; for I knew that all things would pass away. And I did not
raise myself (against them) with evil intent, but I honoured my brethren; and out of respect for
them, even when I was being sold, I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites that I was a son of Jacob,
a great man and a mighty.

11 1 Do ye also, my children, ⌜have the fear of God in all your works before your eyes, and⌝ honour
2 your brethren. For every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. And when
I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, saying: Art thou a slave? And
3 I said that I was a home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame. And the eldest
of them said unto me: Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest. But
4 I said that I was ⌜their⌝ slave. Now when we came into Egypt they strove concerning me, which of
5 them should buy me and take me. Therefore it seemed good to all that I should remain in Egypt
6 with the merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. And the Lord
7 gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. And God blessed
8 him by my means, and increased him in gold and silver ⌜and in **household servants**⌝. And I was
with him three months and five days.

12 1 And about that time the Memphian woman, the wife of Pentephri, came down ⌜in a chariot⌝, ⌜with
2 great pomp, because she had heard from her eunuchs concerning me⌝. And she told her husband
that the merchant had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, and they say that he had assuredly
3 been stolen out of the land of Canaan. Now, therefore, render justice unto him, and take away the
youth to thy house; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.

13 1 And Pentephris was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and
said unto him: What is this that I hear ⌜concerning thee⌝, that thou stealest persons out of the land
2 of Canaan, and sellest them for slaves? But the merchant fell at his feet, and besought him, saying:
3 I beseech thee, my lord, I know not what thou sayest. And Pentephris said unto him: Whence, then,

2. **prayer with fasting** > β S^1.
3. **envy . . . befalleth (a man)** α: 'a man fall into envy . . . slander or darkness' β S^1. For ver. cf. i. 7.
4. Text = β–b g S^1: with *συνεπαίρεται* (d) for *συνέρχεται*, a e f: *συνέχεται*, b g S^1: (*πάντας γὰρ ἀνθρώπους*) *συνέρχεται*, α. But d transposes *v.* 4 after 'mind' in *v.* 5.
5. **I had . . . heart** > A. Cf. xi. 1.
6. **I did not . . . intent** c (? 'not'): 'I measured myself' β A S^1. Perhaps read 'I did not exalt myself' = *v.* 5. If the 'not' is omitted we may conjecture the original Hebrew word was רממתי as in Ps. cxxxi. 2 'I kept myself quiet', which LXX reads as רממתי.
even > β A S^1.
telling + 'my race' β A S^1.
Jacob > c $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,g}$.
mighty β A S^1: 'just' α. Cf. נָדִיב, Prov. xvii. 7 = *δίκαιος* LXX.

XI. 1. **before your eyes** > h b.
2. **came . . . Ishmaelites** β–d S^1: 'was coming with the Ish.' α: 'came with them to the Indocolpitae' A.
saying . . . slave α: + 'or a freeman' A: > β S^1. Jashar (ii. 1187) says his brethren sold Joseph as being their slave.
a home-born α a f: 'their home-born' b d e A S^1.
I might not put . . . shame. Cf. x. 6, &c.
3. **manifest** + 'concerning thee. And he threatened me ⌜unto death⌝.' β A S^1.
4. **which of them,** &c. α β S^1.
6. **gave me favour.** Gen. xxxix. 21.
7. **God** α a f: 'the Lord' β–a f A S^1.
and in household servants: 'and in work' α: > β A S^1. *ἔργον* is a mistranslation of עֲבֹדָה.
five days > α.

XII. 1. **came down** α: 'passed' β A S^1.
in a chariot > b g A S^1.
with . . . me: 'she looked and saw me' A.
she . . . eunuchs α: 'her eunuchs had told her' β S^1.
2. **that the merchant** α: 'concerning the merchant that he' β A S^1.
3. **to thy house** a e f S^1: 'to our house' α: 'to be thy steward' b d g (A).

XIII. 1. **to be brought** b d g S^1: 'to come' α a e f: 'to bring' A^b.
2. **But . . . at his feet** α g: 'therefore ('and' A) . . . on his face' β–d g A S^1.
3. **And . . . him** α: 'but he said' (> 'said' a e f) β A S^1.

is the Hebrew slave? And he said: The Ishmaelites entrusted him unto me until they should return.
4 But he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted
5 in this statement, Pentephris said: Let the youth be brought. And when I was brought in, I did
6 obeisance to Pentephris (for he was third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh). And he took me apart
7 from him, and said unto me: Art thou a slave or free? And I said: A slave. And he said:
8 Whose? And I said: The Ishmaelites'. And he said: How didst thou become their slave? And
9 I said: They bought me out of the land of Canaan. And he said unto me: ⌜Truly⌝ thou liest; and
⌜straightway⌝ he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.

4 1 Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window ⌜at me while I was being beaten, for
her house was near, and she sent unto him saying⌝: Thy judgement is unjust; for thou dost punish
2 a ⌜free⌝ man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. And when I made no change
in my statement, ⌜though I was beaten⌝, he ordered me to be imprisoned, until, he said, the owners
3 of the boy should come. And the woman said unto her husband: Wherefore dost thou detain the
4 captive and well-born lad in bonds, who ought rather to be set at liberty, and be waited upon? For
5 she wished to see me out of a desire ⌜of sin⌝, but I was ignorant concerning all these things. And
he said to her: It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take that which belongeth to others before
6 proof is given. This, therefore, he said concerning the merchant; but as for the lad, he must be
imprisoned.

5 1 Now after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; for they had heard that Jacob ⌜my father⌝
2 was mourning ⌜much⌝ concerning me. And they came and said unto me: How is it that thou saidst
that thou wast a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of
3 Canaan, and thy father ⌜still⌝ mourneth for thee in sackcloth ⌜and ashes⌝. ⌜When I heard this my
bowels were dissolved and my heart melted⌝, and I desired greatly to weep, but I restrained myself,
that I should not put my brethren to shame. ⌜And I said unto them, I know not, I am a slave⌝.
4, 5 Then, ⌜therefore⌝, they took counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. For they
feared my father, lest he [should come and] execute upon them a grievous vengeance. For they had
6 heard that he was mighty with God and with men. Then said the merchant unto them: Release
7 me from the judgement of Pentiphri. And they came and requested me, saying: ⌜Say⌝ that thou
wast bought by us with money, and he will set us free.

6 1 Now the Memphian woman said to her husband: Buy the youth; for I hear, said she, that they
are selling him.

c	β A S[1]
2 And straightway she sent a eunuch to the 3 Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me. But	And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and 2 asked them to sell me. The chief captain, there-

is *a*: 'hast thou' β–f A S[1].
4. **be brought** *a* b d g: 'answer' a e f S[1].
5. **Pentephris** *a*: 'the chief of the eunuchs' β S[1]: 'him' A.
third . . . Pharaoh *a*. Cf. Dan. v. 7. 'his rank was second to P.' A: 'third in rank with P., (as) officer of all the eunuchs, having wives and concubines and children' β.
6. **And I said** > *a* to 'and I said' in *v*. 8.
9. **Truly** *a* only.
straightway *a* g.

XIV. 1. **at me** > b e f.
for . . . near > β A S[1].
him *a*: 'her husband' β S[1].
Thy: 'the' β–b A[a b* c d f g].
thou dost punish . . . as . . . transgressor: 'to punish unjustly' *a*, corruptly.
2. **me**: 'us' d e f g.
owners of the boy: 'his ('my' d A[b f g]) owners' d g A.
3. **her husband** *a*: 'him' β A S[1].
in bonds > β A S[1].
be waited upon *a*: 'wait upon thee' β A S[1].
4. Cf. iii. 8.
5. **her** c: 'the Memphite woman' β–a d A[–b].

XV. 1. **for . . . heard** *a*: 'and having heard' β A S[1]: + 'when they were in the land of Canaan' d A.
3. **When . . . melted** *a* only.
5. **my father** *a*: 'Jacob' β A S[1].
grievous = κινδύνου.
God *a* g: 'the Lord' β–g A S[1].
7. **and he will set us**: 'and he set us' b d g: 'and the merchant set' (+ 'us' A[a b h]) A.

XVI. 1. **said . . . youth** *a*: 'instructed ('sent to' A) her husband to buy me' β–d A S[1]: h omits from 'buy' to the end of the Testament of Benjamin.
2. **The chief . . . sell me** > c b d g.

c

since the eunuch would not agree to buy me (at their price) he returned, having made trial of them, and he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave.

β A S[1]

fore, called the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. ⌜And since he did not agree (to their 3
price) he departed⌝. But the eunuch, ⌜when he had made trial of them⌝, made known to his mistress that they asked a large price ⌜for their slave⌝.

4 ⌜And she sent another eunuch⌝, saying: Even though they demand two minas, ⌜give them⌝, do not spare ⌜the gold⌝; only buy the boy, and bring him to me.

c

5 The eunuch therefore went and gave them eighty pieces of gold, and† he received me†; but to the Egyptian woman he said: I have given a hundred.

β–d A S[1]

And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for 5
me, and told the Egyptian woman that a hundred pieces had been given.

6 And though I knew (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be put to shame.

17 1 Ye see, therefore, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to
2 shame. Do ye also, ⌜therefore⌝, love one another, ⌜and with long-suffering hide ye one another's
3 faults⌝. For God delighteth ⌜in the unity of brethren, and⌝ in the purpose of a heart that takes
4 pleasure in love. And when my brethren came into Egypt they learnt that I had returned their
5 money unto them, and upbraided them not, and comforted them. And after the death of Jacob my father I loved them ⌜more abundantly⌝, and all things whatsoever he commanded I did ⌜very
6 abundantly⌝ for them. And I suffered them not to be afflicted in the smallest matter; and all that
7 was in my hand I gave unto them. ⌜And⌝ their children were my children, and my children as their servants; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, ⌜and all their sickness
8 was my infirmity⌝. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. And I exalted not myself among them ⌜in arrogance⌝ because of my ⌜worldly⌝ glory, ⌜but I was among them as one of the least⌝.

18 1 If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there,
2 and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. ⌜And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you,
3 do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil⌝. [For], behold, ye see that ⌜out of my humility and long-suffering⌝ I took unto wife the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made
4 them to serve me. And He gave me also beauty as a flower beyond the beautiful ones of Israel; and He preserved me ⌜unto old age in strength and⌝ in beauty, because I was like in all things to Jacob.

3. **since he . . . But the eunuch . . . made known** b e g S[1]: 'since the eunuch . . . and made known' a f.
4. **minas** c + 'of gold' β A S[1].
give them c a d: 'take care' b e f g.
to me c: > β A S[1].
5. **†received me†**, corrupt for 'for me'.
6. **put to shame** c: 'be tortured' a e f A S[1].

XVII. 3. **a heart** β A S[1]: 'a good heart' c.
love β–a: 'the good' c a A[h b* c d g]. Read perhaps 'brotherliness'.
4. **Egypt** + 'when' β A S[1].
5. **my father** > β–d g A[b f g].
he ('they' A) **commanded** β–a d A S; 'they wished' c a.
7. **their . . . my** β S[1]: 'my . . . their' c A.
My . . . land > c a e f.
their . . . my c d g: 'my . . . their' b e f S[1].
8. **I was . . . least.** Cf. Luke xxii. 27.

XVIII. 1. A has 'walk ye also, therefore, in the same path, my children (+ 'with me' A[b]) and God ('Israel Shaddai' A[b* c d f g]) will glorify you and exalt you for ever.'
He . . . bless you: 'God (> a f) will exalt you' c a f.
2. Cf. T. G. vi–vii; Ahikar. Syr. Frag. I. 20 'if thy enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good'.
3, 4. > a.
my humility and c: > β S[1].
priest of Heliopolis c. Cf. Jub. xl. 10 (note). 'of my masters' (β–a A S[1]).
talents. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1211).
4. A has 'And (+ 'Asenath my wife' A[b]) was beautiful as a flower, and (+ 'I was' A[b]) beautiful beyond ('all' A[b]) the chosen ones of Israel (+ 'and temperate and humble' A[b]), beyond Levi and Judah and Naphtali. He preserved me in beauty ('I was more beautiful than they' A[b]) because I was like Jacob in all things.'
as a flower > c.
like . . . to Jacob. See Gen. rabba lxxxiv. 6; Num. r. xiv. 16.

c β S[1]

1 And hear ye, my children, also the vision
2 which I saw. There were twelve harts feeding: and the nine were (first) dispersed over all the earth, and likewise also the three.

8 And I saw that [from Judah was born] a †virgin [wearing a linen garment, and from her] was born a lamb, [without spot]; and on his left hand there was as it were a lion; and all the beasts rushed against him, and the lamb overcame them, and destroyed them and trod them
9 under foot. And because of him the angels and
10 men rejoiced, and all the land. And these things shall come to pass in their season, in the last

A

Hear ye, therefore, the vision which I saw. 1
I saw twelve harts feeding. And nine of them 2
were dispersed. Now the three were preserved, but on the following day they also were dispersed. And I saw that the three harts became 3
three lambs, and they cried to the Lord, and He brought them forth into a flourishing and well-watered place, yea He brought them out of darkness into light.

And there they cried unto the Lord until 4
there gathered together unto them the nine harts, and they became as twelve sheep, and after a little time they increased and became many flocks. And after these things I saw and behold, 5
twelve bulls were sucking one cow, which produced a sea of milk, and there drank thereof the twelve flocks and innumerable herds.

And the horns of the †fourth bull went up 6
unto heaven and became as a wall for the flocks, and in the midst of the ⌜two⌝ horns there grew another horn. And I saw a bull calf which 7
surrounded them twelve times, and it became a help to the bulls wholly.

And I saw in the midst of the horns a †virgin 8
[wearing a many-coloured garment, and from her] went forth a lamb; and on his right (was as it were a lion; and) all the beasts and all the reptiles rushed (against him), and the lamb overcame them and destroyed them. And the bulls 9
rejoiced because of him, and the cow [and the harts] exulted together with them. And these 10
things must come to pass in their season. And 11

XIX. Here the Armenian version comes to our aid. It alone has 3–7, and 8 and 11 in it are fairly pure.

1. **saw** β: 'know' c.

2–4. A vision concerning the nine tribes and the three, their captivity and return. The nine are regarded as back in Palestine.

2. **harts.** See note in Commentary, p. 191. Used of the princes of Judah, Lam. i. 6.
feeding + 'in a place' c.
all > b S[1].
were preserved A[a b* c d f g]: 'fed with each other' A[b].

3. **three harts.** Cf. 'three sheep', 1 En. lxxxix. 72. For their change into lambs, cf. 1 En. xc. 38, where the sheep become oxen.
and He: 'and the Lord' A[-b h].
out of darkness into light. Cf. Ps. cvii. 14; Isa. ix. 2, xlii. 16, lviii. 10. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.

4. **the nine.** Cf. 'nine tribes', Ethiopic version, 4 Ezra xiii. 40. For nine and a half tribes cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5 (note).

5–9. This second vision introduces the person of the Messiah. The date is the second century B. C., as the Twelve Tribes are regarded as in Palestine. So 'in the midst of the horns' implies that the Messiah is to arise from the Maccabees (cf. *v.* 11 Levi and Judah). Judah was to help—the lion on the left hand in *v.* 8.

6. **†fourth,** i.e. tribe = Judah. Is this a Christian alteration of 'third' = Levi?
two > A[e f g].
another horn. Perhaps Mattathias.

7–9. Is the bull-calf the same as the lamb of *v.* 8? If so, Judas would be both; if not, the lamb is Hyrcanus.

7. **a bull . . . times**: 'twelve oxen which surrounded them' A[b* d]. For 'surrounded' read perhaps 'protected'.
a help. Cf. Dan. xi. 34, 'little help.'

8. **[from Judah was born].** A Christian addition. A omits it, and a definite name is here out of place. A 'virgin' also clashes with the animal symbolism. So read 'And I saw that in the midst of the horns a bull-calf became a lamb'. For 'wearing' cf. Rev. xii. 1.
a lion = Judah.
all the beasts, i. e. the Gentiles. Cf. 1 En. xc. 12, 16.

9. The Greek text interprets 'cow' aright as = Palestine; but the 'bulls' are the tribes, not 'angels and men'.
[and the harts] > the Greek texts. They have no place in this vision.
the cow . . . harts A[b* c d g]: 'the descendants of the three harts' A[a b]: 'two of the three harts' A[h].

c β S¹

11 days. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise ⌜unto you⌝ [the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world] one who saveth [all the Gentiles and] Israel.

12 For His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away; but my kingdom among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer disappeareth.

A

do ye, my children, honour Levi and Judah, for from them shall arise the salvation of Israel.

For my kingdom which is among you shall 12 come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which will not appear after the summer.

20 1 ⌜For⌝ I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will avenge you, and will 2 bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. But ye shall carry up my bones with you; ⌜for when my bones are being taken up thither, the Lord shall be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians⌝.

c A^b*cdg

3 And carry ye up Asenath your mother ⌜to the Hippodrome⌝, and near Rachel your mother bury her.

β S¹

And carry ye up Zilpah your mother, and 3 nigh to Bilhah by the Hippodrome lay her near Rachel.

4, 5 And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, and died at a good **old age.** And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning.

c

6 And when the children of Israel went out of Egypt, they took with them the bones of Joseph, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers, and the years of his life were one hundred and ten years.

β S¹

For he felt even for the Egyptians as though 6 a member (of their nation), and showed them kindness, aiding them in every work, and counsel, and matter.

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN, THE TWELFTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL.

1 1 The copy of the words of Benjamin, which he commanded his sons to observe, after he had lived 2 a hundred and twenty-five years. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham 3 in his old age, so also was I to Jacob. And since Rachel my mother died in giving me birth, I had 4 no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. For Rachel remained barren for twelve years ⌜after she had borne Joseph⌝; and she prayed the Lord ⌜with fasting twelve days, and she 5 conceived and bare me⌝. For ⌜my father⌝ loved Rachel dearly, ⌜and prayed that he might see two 6 sons born from her⌝. Therefore was I called Benjamin, that is, a son of days.

11. **Levi and Judah** c A. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note). 'Judah and Levi' β S¹.
from them β A S¹: 'from their seed' c.
unto you β S¹: 'unto us' c: > A.
[the Lamb, &c.] Christian additions.
who taketh . . . world c: 'by grace' β S.
12. Dan. vii. 14.
pass away c β–a b: 'be shaken' a b S¹.
watcher's hammock. Isa. i. 8, xxiv. 20.
XX. 2. Cf. Gen. l. 25; Exod. xiii. 19.
3. **Asenath your mother** c d: 'Zilpah your mother' b e f A^b*cdg S¹: 'your brother' A^abh: 'brothers' A^a.
[to the Hippodrome] > A. Cf. LXX in Gen. xlviii. 7 (? = Ephrath). Rachel was buried near Ephrath, Gen. xxxv. 16 ff., xlviii. 7.
nigh to Bilhah β S¹. Jub. xxxiv. 16 says she was buried near Rachel.
4. **good old age.** So I emend 'good sleep' c (cf. T. Z. x. 6): 'eternal sleep' β S¹: cf. Jer. li. 39; T. Iss. vii. 9: > A.
6. **as though . . . nation** a e f: 'as for his own members' b g: + 'Joseph the eleventh son of Jacob and first son of Rachel lived one hundred and ten years' f S¹.
TITLE c: + 'concerning a pure mind' β–a g S¹: + 'to love one's neighbour' g.
I. 1. **words**: 'Testament' d A.
2. **old age** c d: 'hundredth year' β–d A. Cf. Gen. xxi. 2, 5. Jashar (ii. 1172) gives the same date for Benjamin's birth. See, however, Jub. xix. 13.
3. **my mother** > β–d A^abcdg S¹.
4. **twelve years**: 'eleven' in Jub. xxviii. 24, xxxii. 33.
twelve days > c. For the prayer and fasting cf. Num. rabba xiv. 8.
6. **Benjamin, a son of days.** Cf. Gen. xliv. 20 'a son of old age'; Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 15. A^b reads 'son of a right hand'. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 17, 18. Jashar explains Benjamin as = 'son of the south' (ii. 1172).

1 And when I went into Egypt, to †Joseph, and my brother recognized me, he said† unto me:
2 What did they tell my father when they sold me? And I said ⌜unto him⌝, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said: Know whether this be thy son's coat.

c

3 And he said unto me: Even so, brother, when they had stripped me of my coat they gave me to the Ishmaelites, and they gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run.
4 And as for one of them that had beaten me with a rod, a lion met
5 him and slew him. And so his associates were affrighted.

β S¹

3. And he said unto me: Even so, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took me, one of them stripped off my coat, and gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. 4. And as he went away to hide my garment, a lion met him, and slew him. 5. And so his associates were affrighted, and sold me to their companions.

A

And Joseph said unto me: 3
Even so, brother, the Canaanite merchants stole me by force.
And it came to pass that as 4
they went on their way they concealed my garment, as though a wild beast had met me and slain me. And so his 5
associates sold me to the Ishmaelites. And they did not lie 6
in saying this. For he wished to conceal from me the deeds of my brethren. And he called to him his brethren and said:
Do not tell my father what ye 7
have done unto me, but tell him as I have told Benjamin. And 8
let the thoughts among you be such, and let not these things come to the heart of my father.

1 Do ye also, therefore, my children, ⌜love the Lord God of heaven and earth, and keep His commandments⌝, following the example of the good and holy man ⌜Joseph⌝.

c β S

2 And let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me; for he that hath his mind right seeth
3 all things rightly. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you, even
4 as they had not over Joseph my brother. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of
5 Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts, for he is helped by the Lord through the love which he hath towards his neighbour.

A

For until his death he was not willing to tell 2–5
regarding himself; but Jacob, having learnt it from the Lord, told it to him. Nevertheless he kept denying it. And then with difficulty he was persuaded by the adjurations of Israel.

6 For Joseph also besought our father ⌜that he would pray for his brethren⌝, that ⌜the Lord⌝ would

II. 1–2. Jashar (ii. 1222) makes Benjamin the first to recognize Joseph.
1. **to †Joseph and** c: 'and Joseph' β–d A S. If x. 1 belongs to this context, we might read it before ii. 1, and emend here to 'and I recognized Joseph'.
2. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31–2; T. Z. iv. 9.
3–5. The text of c alone agrees with the context, but T. Z. iv. 10 makes his brothers give him the loin-cloth. β S¹ and A differ from the context and the biblical account.
5. **to their companions** β S¹: 'to the Ishmaelites' A. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1187–90).
8. **And let** + 'not' A[a b].

III. 1. **and earth** c d: > β–d S.
holy e β S¹: 'true' A.
3. **spirits of Beliar claim.** Cf. Luke xxii. 31.
claim β S¹: 'dement' c.
to afflict with every evil: text = 'unto every evil of affliction'.
they not c: 'no evil of tribulation' β S¹.
4. **spirit** c + 'of the air' β S¹. Cf. Eph. ii. 2.
5. **by the Lord . . . love** g (cf. c): 'by the love' (+ 'of the Lord' β–d g S¹) β–g S¹.
6. **Joseph** > b A[a b* c d g] S¹.
father + 'Jacob' b S¹.
his brethren c: 'his sons' β–b: 'our brethren' b.

7 not impute to them as sin ⌜whatever evil they had done unto him⌝. And thus Jacob cried out: My good child, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying:

c β S¹

8 In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God, and Saviour of the world], and that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men [in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants].

A

In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of 8 heaven, which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men.

4 1 See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good man? Be followers of his ⌜compassion, there-
2 fore, with a good mind⌝, that ⌜ye also⌝ may wear crowns of glory. For the good man hath not
3 a †dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. ⌜And though they devise with evil intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God⌝;
4 and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth; ⌜on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises⌝.

c A

5 And him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

β–a S¹

As for him who hath the fear of God, he pro- 5 tecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he helpeth; him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

5 1 If, ⌜therefore, ye also⌝ have a ⌜good mind⌝, then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you ⌜and turn unto good; and the covetous will not only cease from
2 their inordinate desire, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. If
3 ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you⌝; and the beasts will dread you. ⌜For where there is reverence for good works and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him.⌝
4 ⌜For⌝ if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for ⌜the holy man⌝ is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace.

c

5 And if any one betrayeth a righteous man, the righteous man prayeth: though for a little he be humbled, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, as was Joseph my brother.

β–a S¹

And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and 5 the righteous man, though he prayeth, be humbled for a little, yet not long after he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.

as sin c g A: > β–g S¹.
done unto c: 'devised regarding' β S¹.
7. **And thus Jacob** c β–d: 'then Joseph' A.
child + 'Joseph' b g A.
8. For vicarious suffering, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 38 in pre-Christian times.
a sinless β S¹: 'the sinless' c A.
in the blood of the covenant. Heb. xiii. 20.
IV. 1. **end** c β S: 'mercy' A.
crowns of glory: earliest reference. Cf. Rev. ii. 10; Jas. i. 12; Asc. Is. vii. 22.
2. **hath not a† dark eye.** Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23. But read perhaps 'hath a compassionate eye': cf. T. Iss. iv. 6.
3. **devise with evil intent** β S¹: 'wish not well' c.
by doing good he c a d e f: 'he that doeth good' β S¹.
overcometh evil. Cf. Rom. xii. 21; T. Jos. xviii. 2; T. G. vi, vii.
righteous β A S¹: 'unrighteous' c.
4. **laudeth** A: 'loveth' c: 'trusteth and laudeth' β–a f.
singeth praises β: 'feareth' c.
5. **helpeth** b: d e f g read 'runneth with' corrupt for 'hath pleasure in', cf. Ps. xlix. 18 (LXX).
V. 1. **have . . . mind** c β S¹: 'are good' A.
covetousness + 'which they had' c.
2. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4.
3. **reverence . . . light** c: 'light of ('reverence for' b) good works' a b e f S¹: 'light, a good work' d: 'a pure light' g.
4. **holy**: 'true' A.
repenteth. Cf. T. G. vi. 6.
5. A has 'and if a man insult a righteous soul, he is sorry, because he hath seen him humiliated, and hath repented, as was Joseph my brother'.

1 The inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the
2 angel of peace guideth his soul. ⌜And⌝ he gazeth not ⌜passionately⌝ upon corruptible things, nor
3 gathereth together riches ⌜through a desire of pleasure⌝. He delighteth not in pleasure, ⌜[he grieveth not his neighbour], he sateth not himself with luxuries, he erreth not in the uplifting of the eyes⌝, for
4 the Lord is his portion. The good inclination receiveth not glory ⌜nor dishonour⌝ from men, and it knoweth not any guile, or lie, or fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his
5 soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men alway. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of cursing, of contumely and ⌜of honour⌝, of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy and of truth, [of poverty and of wealth]; but it hath one ⌜disposition⌝, uncorrupt and pure, concerning all
6 men. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which he doeth, ⌜or speaketh, or
7 seeth, he knoweth that the Lord looketh on his soul. And he cleanseth his mind that he may not be condemned by men as well as⌝ by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold, and there is no singleness in them.

c β S¹	A
1 Therefore, my children, I tell you, flee the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to them that obey him.	Flee, my children, malice [and fornication]; for it giveth a sword to them that obey it. 1

c b g	β-b g S¹	A
2 And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar,† and first there is **bloodshed**; secondly ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, exile; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, **destruction.**	2. And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar: and sometimes it brings forth first, **bloodshed**; secondly, ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, captivity; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, **destruction.**	And the sword is the mother of seven evils, and it receiveth (them) through Beliar. And first there is **bloodshed** (&c. as in c β S¹). 2

3 Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeances by God, for in every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him.

c	β A
4 And when he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year	When he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in his nine-hundredth year he was 4

VI. 1. **inclination.** See T. A. i. 3 (note).
angel of peace. See T. D. vi. 5 (note); T. A. vi. 6.
3. Perhaps A is right in the omissions.
uplifting, &c. See T. Iss. vii. 2 (note).
Lord is his portion. Cf. T. Lev. ii. 12.
4. **receiveth not glory . . . from men.** Cf. John v. 41.
knoweth not > c.
lighteth up his soul. Cf. T. G. v. 7.
rejoiceth . . . alway. Cf. Phil. iv. 4.
5. **tongues of blessing and of cursing.** Cf. James iii. 10.
of sorrow and of joy > c.
[of poverty . . . wealth] > A.
7. **he cleanseth . . . God.** Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32.
in like manner. 'and whoso doeth' A.
works + 'of God and' A.
in them > β–a A S¹.

VII. 1–2. See my Commentary *in loc.*, p. 206. Read either (1) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for the mind conceiveth through Beliar, and is the mother of seven evils; and first,' &c., or (2) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to those who obey him. And the sword' (&c. as A).
For the seven compare the eight plagues of Sir. xl. 9; and seven of Pirke Aboth, v. 11.
1. **giveth a sword to:** 'is a sword in the hands of' A[a].
him c: 'it' β S¹.
2. **the mind . . . Beliar** c β–d g S¹: 'the mind conceiveth wickedness through the malice of Beliar' d.
sometimes a f S¹: 'what . . . is' d e.
bloodshed. Read φόνος for φθόνος. Cain's first evil was murder.
ruin . . . We expect 'panic' here. See notes in Commentary, p. 207.
destruction: text reads 'desolation'.
3–4. Gen. iv. 15, 24 tells of a sevenfold vengeance on Cain's slayer. Here the sevenfold penalty is transferred to Cain himself. Contrast Jub. iv. 1. 31, which puts his death in his 860th year. Is Lamech here regarded as Cain's slayer? Cf. Book of Adam and Eve ii. 13; Jalkut i. 38, &c.
4. **two hundred years.** Cain was thirty to thirty-five when he slew Abel, according to Jub. iv. 2.

c

he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven.

β A

destroyed [at the Flood], on account of Abel, his righteous brother. With the seven evils, therefore, was Cain judged, but Lamech with seventy times ⌜seven⌝.

5 Because for ever those who are like Cain ⌜in envy and hatred of brethren⌝, shall be punished ⌜with the same judgement⌝.

c β S¹

8 1 And do ye, my children, flee evil-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness
2 and love. He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth upon him.

A

Do ye, therefore, my children, flee evil-doing 1
and cleave to goodness. For he that hath it 2
looketh not on a woman with a view to fornication, and he beholdeth no defilement; for there resteth upon him a holy spirit.

3 For ⌜as⌝ the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, ⌜but rather drieth up both and driveth away the evil smell⌝; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather **cleanseth** (them) and is not itself defiled.

9 1 And I believe that there will be also evil-doings among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish, all save a few, and shall renew wanton deeds with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for straightway He shall take it away.

c β S¹

2 Nevertheless the temple of God shall be in your portion, and the last (temple) shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of an †only-
3 begotten prophet. [And He shall enter into the [first] temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon
4 a tree. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall pass on to the Gen-

A

But in your portion shall be His inheritance. 2
And on account of the temple of the Lord, Jacob exalted me that I should be glorified through it. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the Gentiles. [And the Lord shall be treated 3
with outrage and set at nought. And He will 5
depart from earth to heaven: for I knew how He is on earth and how in heaven, or what is His measure and place and way.]

[at the Flood], impossible on any chronology; even the Samaritan (1307 A. M.).

With the seven evils a d g A: 'in the 700 years' b-e f. Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. iv. 15 (contrast on *v.* 24) say he was punished for seven generations. See my Commentary, p. 208.

VIII. 1–2. A seems more original, though shorter.

2. Cf. Matt. v. 28.

hath . . . in his heart c β S: 'beholdeth' A, not so good.

3. **by shining on** f: προσέχων c β–f A S¹.

cleanseth: text corruptly reads 'buildeth up'.

IX. 1. **that . . . among you**: 'also doings' c, defective.

from . . . righteous c β–d S¹: 'for I have learnt from the book of the words,' &c. d: 'for I have heard from the words of our fathers' A.

shall renew wanton deeds: 'and again ye (> A) shall be renewed unto . . . deeds' ('unto . . . deeds' > c) c A.

straightway He β S¹: 'the upright' (εὐθεῖς) A^a b h: 'an upright man' A^b* c d (i.e. David shall take the kingdom from Saul): > c.

2. The text of c β S¹ is better. The second temple is more glorious (cf. Haggai ii. 9), and under John Hyrcanus the twelve tribes met there in worship.

the temple . . . in your portion. See Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. xlix. 27.

all the Gentiles. The Maccabean triumphs lead to the hope of a general conversion of the Gentiles in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vii. 2. See my Commentary, pp. 210, 211. The Testaments are strongly tinged with universalism. God understands all men, T. N. ii. 5 (cf. Sir. xvii. 3). The Law is given to lighten every man, T. L. xiv. 4. Michael guards all the righteous, T. L. v. 7 (β A^β S¹).

Apart from Christian interpolations like T. Jos. xix. 11, the salvation of the Gentiles is taught in T. L. iv. 4, viii. 14, ii. 11; T. S. vi. 5; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3; T. D. vi. 7; T. Jud. xxv. 5; T. B. ix. 2, x. 5.

an †only-begotten prophet β–b: 'His only begotten Son' c. Read 'beloved' for 'only begotten', as T. L. viii. 15, 'beloved as a prophet of the Most High.'

3–5. Christian additions. Cf. Luke xviii. 32; Mark ix. 12.

4. **veil of the temple, &c.** Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51.

pass on to c β–b d: 'ascend' b S¹: 'descend' d.

c β S¹

5 tiles as fire poured forth. And He shall ascend from Hades and shall pass from earth into heaven. And I know how lowly He shall be upon earth, and how glorious in heaven.]

A

1 Now when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see his figure ⌜and the form of his countenance⌝; and through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the daytime, even his entire figure exactly as he was.

2 ⌜And when he had said these things, he said unto them⌝: Know ye, therefore, my children, that I am dying.

c

3 Do ye, therefore, truth each one to his neighbour, and keep the law of the Lord and His commandments.

β A S¹

Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness ⌜each 3
one to his neighbour⌝, and judgement unto confirmation, and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments.

4 For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance. Do ye also, ⌜therefore⌝, give them to your
5 children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. For all these things they gave us for an inheritance, saying: Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord
6 shall reveal His salvation to all Gentiles. ⌜And⌝ then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness.

c β S¹

7 Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, [who appeared upon earth in the form of a man in humility. And as many as believe on Him on the earth
8 shall rejoice with Him]. Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame.

And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their unrighteousness; [for when He appeared as God in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him
9 not]. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, [as many as believed Him not when He appeared
10 upon earth]. And He shall convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He reproved Esau through the Midianites, who †deceived their brethren, [so that they fell into fornication, and idolatry; and they were alienated from God], becoming therefore children in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

A

Then shall we also rise, each over our own 7
tribe, and we shall worship the heavenly King.

Then shall we all be changed, some into glory 8
and some into shame; for the Lord judges Israel first for the unrighteousness which they have committed.

And then so (shall He judge) all the Gentiles. 9

And He shall convict Israel through the 10
chosen Gentiles, as He convicted Esau through the Midianites who loved their brethren. Be ye therefore, my children, in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

5. **Hades** c b d g: 'people' e f S¹.
And I know . . . heaven > c A^{b*cdeg}.
X. 1. > c. Restore to beginning of ii. 1.
3. **and judgement unto confirmation** > a A^{abh}; 'and judgement unto faith in the Lord' A^{b*cd}.
4. **leave** c: 'give' A: 'teach' β S¹.
5. **Keep . . . of God**: 'So do ye' A.
to all Gentiles: 'in all the earth' A.
6–7. The Testaments give a primitive view of the resurrection to this present earth (cf. 1 En. vi–xxxvi, lxxxiii–xc), transformed gradually to sinlessness (T. L. xviii. 9), of the righteous. Note the order of resurrection. Cf. *v.* 8; cf. also T. Jud. xxv. 4; Dan. xii. 1, 2. The risen enter Eden, and eat of the tree of life, T. L. xviii. 10, 11, and dwell in the New Jerusalem, T. D. v. 12.
6. **Shem** β–d S¹: 'Seth' c. Cf. T. S. vi. 5.
on the right hand β A S¹: 'on His right hand' c. Cf. Matt. xxv. 33, 34.
7. **over our tribe** > c.
8. **shall rise** c β S: 'shall be changed' A.
some unto shame. Cf. Dan. xii. 2. Contrast 1 En. lxxxiii–xc; 2 Macc. vi–vii where the righteous alone are to rise.
their unrighteousness c: 'the unrighteousness (done) unto Him' β–d S¹.
God in the flesh c + 'a deliverer' β.
10. Israel is judged by Gentile standards. c omits this verse.
And . . . Gentiles > A^{abh}.
as He convicted . . . loved. A has the better text. The corruption and addition n β S¹ refers to Num. xxv.
therefore a A: 'not' β–a, corruptly.

11 If ye ⌜therefore, my children⌝, walk in holiness ⌜according to the commandments of the Lord⌝, ye shall again dwell securely with me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

c

11 1 And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord distributing food to them that work what is good. 2 And there shall arise in the latter days] one beloved of the Lord, [of the tribe of Judah and Levi], a doer of His good pleasure in his mouth, [with new knowledge enlightening the Gentiles].

β S¹

1. And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good. 2. And there shall rise up from my seed in the latter times] one beloved of the Lord, [hearing upon the earth His voice], and a doer of the good pleasure of His will, [enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, even the light of knowledge, bursting in upon Israel for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles.

A

And I shall no longer be 1 called a †captain of robbers, and a† wolf, on account of your ravages. But one beloved of 2 the Lord, and a doer of the good pleasure of His mouth.

β

3 Until the consummation of the age shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their 4 rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both 5 his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever. And through them he shall go to and fro as Jacob my father, saying: He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe].

c

12 1 And when he had said these things he stretched 2 out his feet. And died †in [a beautiful] and 3 good sleep†. And his sons did as he had enjoined them, and they took up his body and buried it 4 in Hebron with his fathers. And the number (of the days) of his life were a hundred and twenty-five years.

β A S¹

And when he finished his words, he said: 1 I command you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my fathers. So Benjamin died a hundred and 2 twenty-five years old, at a good old age, and they placed him in a coffin. And in the ninety-first 3 year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned 4 from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

11. **according . . . of** c: 'before the face of' β S¹.
securely: 'in hope' text, wrongly as LXX in Ezek. xxviii. 26, &c.

XI. A is original and refers only to Benjamin. c adds a prophecy of the Messiah descended from Judah and Levi. β S¹ transfers it to Paul. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* v. 1 (on Gen. xlix. 27).

1. **I**: 'he' A.
a worker . . . what is good > A.
distributing food. Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 27, and 'dabit escam', Tertullian *l. c.* There the Mass. has 'divide the spoil'.

2. **one beloved of the Lord.** Deut. xxxiii. 12, of Benjamin. Here c twists it into a reference to the Messiah. For 'the Beloved' = Christ. See my ed. Asc. Isa. i. 4 (note).
of His mouth: 'in his mouth' c: 'of His will' β A^ah S¹. Cf. Eph. i. 5.
bursting in b e g (d f): 'shining' a.

5. **through them . . . my father** f: 'because of him', &c., e: 'because of him Jacob my father instructed me' b: > a d: 'because of this he puffed me up' g.
fill up that which lacketh. A phrase of St. Paul. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9, &c.
tribe b g: 'belly' d e f.

XII. Here β A S¹ is the better text.

2. **at a good old age** β A S¹: 'in a beautiful and good sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6.

3. See T. G. viii. 5 (note).
entrance . . . into: The text absurdly reads 'exodus . . . from'.
Canaanitish war β A S¹. See T. S. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 5.

4. f S¹ add at the close: 'Benjamin, the twelfth son of Jacob, the second son of Rachel, lived 125 years.'

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF A LATE HEBREW TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, WHICH CONTAINS FRAGMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL TESTAMENT

These fragments are in italics, and their parallels in the original Testament given in the margin.

This is the Testament of Naphtali, Son of Jacob.

1 1 The Testament of Naphtali, Naphtali the son of Jacob, *whom Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, had borne him [1] [*the wrestlings of God*].[2] When Naphtali had grown old, and had come to a good T. Naph.
old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man, he i. 6
began to command his children, and he said unto them, 'My children, come and draw near and
2 receive the commands of your father.' And they answered and said unto him, 'Lo, we hearken to
3 fulfil all that thou commandest us.' And he said unto them, 'I do not command you *concerning* T. Jos.
*my silver, nor concerning my gold, *nor all my substance*[3] that I leave unto you here under the sun, xi. 6
nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to
4 you about an easy matter, which you can fulfil.' And his sons answered and replied a second time,
5 and said, 'Speak, O father, for we listen.' He said unto them, 'I give you no command save in
6 regard to the fear of the Lord: Him shall ye serve, and to Him shall ye cleave.' They said unto
him, 'What need hath He of our service?' He said unto them, 'It is not that He hath need of
any creature, but that all creatures of the world have need of Him. But He hath not created the
world for nought, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour
7 what he doth not like for himself.' They said unto him, 'Our father! hast thou forsooth seen us
8 departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?' He
said unto them, 'The Lord and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say; but I dread that which is T. Levi
to come, lest ye go astray after the gods of strange nations, and walk according to the ordinances of xix. 3
the peoples of the lands, and lest *ye join* the children of Joseph instead of *the children of Levi and* T. Naph.
9 *the children of Judah*.' They said unto him, 'What dost thou see that thou commandest us in this vii. 2
10 wise?' He said unto them, 'Because I know that one day the children of Joseph will depart from
the Lord, the God of their fathers, and cause the children of Israel to sin, and to be banished from
the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through his being a bond-servant
in Egypt.

2 1, 2 'Further, I will tell you *the vision* I saw, when I was pasturing the flock. I saw, and lo, my T. Naph.
twelve brothers were pasturing with me in the field; and lo, *our father* came and *said to us*, "My v. 1–3
3 children, *run and seize ye, each *before me*,*[4] what comes to his portion." We answered and said unto
4 him, "What shall we seize? lo, we see nothing but the sun, moon, and the stars." *He said unto
them, "⟨Take hold⟩ of them."[5] When Levi heard it he seized a staff in his hand, and jumped upon
5 *the sun* and sat and rode thereon. And when Judah saw it, he did likewise; and he *seized* a staff,
6 and sprang upon *the moon*, and rode thereon. So did *all the[6] tribes; each rode upon his star and
7 his planet in the heavens; and Joseph only remained alone upon the earth. Jacob our father said
unto him, "My son, why hast thou not done as thy brothers?" He said unto him, "My father,
what have they[7] that are born of woman to do in the heavens, as in the end they must needs stand
upon the earth?"

3 1 'Whilst Joseph was speaking, *lo*, there stood near him a huge *bull with great wings like the wings* T. Naph.
2 *of a stork, and his horns were huge* like the horns of the Reëm. And Jacob said to him, "Get up, v. 6
3 my son Joseph, and ride upon him." And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob
4 our father departed from us. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull—at times he walked
and ran, at times *he flew* up with him, till he came near to Judah, and Joseph stretched out the v. 7
5 standard he had in his hands and began to smite Judah his brother. Judah said to him, "My

[1] only in P. [2] A gloss from Gen. xxx. 8. [3] J; also in A in a corrupt form.
[4] For לפניי read with T. Naph. v. 2, κατὰ δύναμιν, לפי כח. The כח could fall out before the following כל אחד.
[5] PJ. > A. [6] A. 'the nine' PJ. [7] PJ. 'he' A.

6 brother, why dost thou smite me?" He said unto him, "Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve
7 staves, and I have only one; *give me ten,[1] and there shall be peace." But Judah refused to give them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and only two were
8 left with Judah. Joseph then said to his ten brothers, "Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi?
9 Depart from them and follow after me." When his brothers heard Joseph's words, they departed from Levi and Judah as one man, to follow Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin
10, 11 and Levi. When Levi beheld this, he descended from the sun full of trouble of spirit. Joseph said
12 to Benjamin his brother, "Benjamin, my brother! Art thou not my brother? Come thou also with me." But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph his brother. And it came to pass when the day drew to an end, lo, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that
13 no two were left together. When I beheld this vision, I related it to Jacob my father, and he said unto me, "My son, it is only a dream, which will neither ascend nor descend, for it hath not been repeated."

4 1, 2 '*But no long time elapsed, when I saw another vision. Whilst we stood* all *together with Jacob* T.
our father on the shore of *the Great Sea, behold a ship came sailing* in the middle of the sea vi.
3 *without a sailor and a man* (pilot). Our father said to us, "Do ye see what I am seeing?" We
4 said unto him, "We see it." He said unto us, "Do what ye see me doing." Thereupon Jacob our
5 father took off his clothes, and threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. And the first
6 were Levi and Judah, and they jumped in(to the ship), and Jacob with them. And behold in that
7 ship there was all the goodness of the world. Jacob our father said unto them, "Look at what is written on the mast; for there is no ship on which the name of the master is not written
8 on the mast." Then Levi and Judah looked, and saw, and behold there was written, "This ship
9 belongs to the son of Berachel, and all the good therein." When Jacob our father heard that, he rejoiced very much, and bowed down, and thanked God. He said, "Not enough that He has
10 blessed me on earth, He has blessed me on the sea too!" Then he said unto us, "My children,
11 quit yourselves like men, and whatever each one of you seizes, that shall be his share." Thereupon
12 Levi sprang to the big mast therein and sat upon it. The second after him, Judah, also leapt
13 to the second mast, which was next to Levi's mast, and he also sat thereon. And the rest of my other brothers took each his oar, and Jacob *our father grasped the two rudders* to steer the vi.
14 ship by them. And Joseph was left alone. Our father said unto him, "My son Joseph, take
15 thou also thine oar." But Joseph refused. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take his oar, he said unto him, "Come here, my son, and take one of the rudders which I hold in
16 my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land." And he taught each one of us, and said unto us, "Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of stormy winds when they shall arise against you."

5 1, 2 'And when he had made an end of commanding us, *he disappeared* from us. And Joseph took both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and the rest of my brothers were
3 rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. And Levi and Judah sat upon the two
4 masts to look out which way the ship was to take. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind, and Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph directed thither the ship, and[2] the
5 ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance. And after a while a quarrel arose between Joseph and Judah, and Joseph no longer steered the ship according to the words of his father and the teaching of Judah; and the ship went a wrong course, and *the waves of the sea dashed it* on a rock, *so that* T.
the ship was broken up. vi.

6 1 'Then Levi and Judah descended from the masts to escape for their lives, and as for the rest of
2 the brothers, we escaped for our lives to the shore. And behold there came Jacob our father, and
3 found us dispersed, one here, and another there. He said unto us, "What is the matter with you,
4 my sons? Perhaps you have not steered the ship as it ought, (even) as I commanded you?" And we said unto him, "By the life of thy servants, we have not departed from anything that thou hast commanded us; but Joseph transgressed against the command; for he did not steer the ship according to thy command, and as he was instructed by Levi and Judah, for he was jealous of them."
5 And he said unto us, "Show me the place (of the ship)." And he saw, and behold the tops of the
6 masts were visible, and behold it was floating upon the surface of the water. And my father
7 whistled, and we all gathered round him. And he cast himself into the sea as before, and he
8 repaired the ship. And he reproved Joseph, and said unto him, "My son, thou shalt not again deceive (nor) be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee."

7 1 'And when I recounted this vision to my father, he smote his hands together and sighed, and his
2, 3 eyes shed tears. And I waited till I was ashamed, but he spake no word to me. So I took the

[1] PJ. 'Come now, give them to me', A. [2] A`; > APJ.

hand of my father to embrace it and to kiss it, and I said to him, "Oh servant of the Lord! why do
4 thine eyes shed tears?" He said unto me, "My son, because of the repetition of thy vision my heart has sunk within me, and my body is confounded by reason of Joseph my son, for I loved him above you all; and for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will
5 be scattered among the nations. For thy first and second visions are both one and the same vision.
6 Therefore I *command you* not *to unite* with the sons of Joseph, but only *with Levi and Judah.*" viii. 2

3 1 'Further, I tell you my lot shall be in the best of the middle of the earth, and ye shall eat and be
2 satisfied with its delights. I warn you not to kick in your fatness, and not to rebel, and not to (Deut.
3 oppose the command of the Lord, who satisfies you with the good things of His earth. And do not xxxii.
forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers; Who was chosen by our father Abraham when 15.)
4 the nations were divided in the time of Phaleg. For at that time the Lord, blessed be He, came down from His highest heavens, and brought down with Him seventy ministering angels, Michael at their
5 head. He commanded them to teach the seventy families which sprang from the loins of Noah
6 seventy languages. Forthwith the angels descended and did according to the command of their Creator. But the holy language, the Hebrew language, remained only in the house of Shem and Eber, and in the house of Abraham our father, who is one of their descendants.

9 1 'And on that day Michael took a message from the Lord, and said to the seventy nations, to each
2 nation separately: "You know the rebellion you undertook, and the treacherous confederacy into which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, and now choose to-day whom you will
3 worship, and who shall be your intercessor in the height of heaven." Nimrod the wicked answered and said, "For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my people in one hour the
4 language of Kush." In like manner also answered Put, and Migraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and Mesech, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of
5 the Lord, blessed be He. But when Michael said unto Abraham our father, "Abram, whom dost thou choose, and whom wilt thou worship?" Abram answered, "I choose and select only Him who said, and the world was created; Who formed me in the womb of my mother, body within body; Who placed in me spirit and soul; Him I choose, and to Him I will cleave, I and my seed, all the days of the world."

10 1 'Then the Most High dispersed the nations, and apportioned and allotted to every nation its share
2 and lot. And from that time all the nations of the earth separated themselves from the Lord, blessed be He; only the house of Abraham remained with his Creator to worship Him; and after him Isaac
3 and Jacob. Therefore, my sons, I conjure you not to go astray and worship any other god than
4 Him whom your fathers have chosen. For know assuredly that there is none like unto Him, and no other who can do as He or like His works in heaven and on earth, and there is none who can do
5 wonders like unto His mighty deeds. A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of
6 man; how many notable wonders are there not in him? He created him from head to foot; with his ears he hears, and with his eyes he sees, and with his brain he understands, and with his nose he smells, and *with his wind-pipe* he brings forth his voice, and with his gullet he absorbs food and T. Naph.
drink, and with his tongue he speaks, and with his mouth he completes (?); with his hands he does ii. 8
his work, and *with his heart he reckons, and with his spleen he laughs, and with his liver he is angry*; and his maw grinds, and with his feet he walks, and *his lungs are for breathing, and by his reins he*
7 *is counselled.* And none of his members changes its function, but every one keeps to its own. It is
8 therefore proper for man to lay to heart all these things, Who hath created him, and Who it is that hath wrought him out of an ill-smelling drop[1] in the womb of the woman, and Who it is that bringeth him out into the light of the world, and Who hath given him the sight of eyes and the walking of the feet, and Who causeth him to stand upright, and bringeth him nigh to his Creator and to His place, and hath prepared good deeds for him in the place of insight, and hath poured into him a
9 living soul and a pure spirit from Himself. Blessed is the man who does not defile the holy spirit of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it (to him).'

10 Thus far are the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, with which he admonished his sons, *with words sweeter than honey.[2]

[1] The phrase is found also in the Pirke Aboth, iii. 1. [2] Emended. See my Text.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF ARAMAIC AND GREEK FRAGMENTS OF AN ORIGINAL SOURCE OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI AND THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Cambridge Aramaic Fragment.

Col. *a*.

1 . . . from . . . daughter . . . that all . . . to do according to right in . . . Jacob my father, and saw
. . . and we said to them . . . they desire our daughter, and we will be all br(ethren) and companions.
2 Circumcise the foreskin of your flesh and appear (like us), and be sealed like us in the circumcision
of . . . and we will be to y(ou) b(rethren).

Col. *b*.

3 . . . my brother at every time, . . . that were in Shechem . . . my brother and Dan showed . . . in
Shechem and what . . . (doers) of violence, and Judah showed them . . . that I and Simeon my
brother went to him . . . to Reuben our brother, who . . . Judah (?) before (that he le)ft the sheep . . .

Bodleian Aramaic Fragment.

4 [Col. *a*] . . . peace, and all the desirableness of the first-fruits of the earth, all of it for food and for
dominion; the sword, fighting and battle and slaughter and trouble and rage and murder and famine.
5 Sometimes thou shalt eat, and sometimes thou shalt be hungry; sometimes thou shalt labour, and
sometimes thou shalt rest; sometimes thou shalt sleep, and sometimes the sleep of the eye shall
6 depart. Now behold how he has made thee greater than all, and how I give thee the greatness of
7 everlasting peace. And two weeks passed from me, and I *awoke from my sleep*. Then I said: *The* T.
one vision is even as the other. I wondered that all the vision should be (given) to him. *And I hid* viii. 8
8 *this also in my heart and revealed it to no man*. And I went to my father Isaac, and he also in like viii. 9
9 manner (blessed) me. Then when Jacob saw (in regard to the twelve) all that should happen to him
according to his vow, (and how that) I was first at the head of (the priesthood), and to me of all his
sons he had granted the offering, (he gave thanks) to God, and clothed me with the garment of the
priesthood, and (*fil*)*led my hands*,[1] and I became a priest to God . . . , and I offered all his offerings, viii. 9
10 and blessed my father in my life, and blessed all my brethren. Then they all blessed me, and father
11 also blessed me, and I finished [Col. *b*] offering his offerings in Bethel. And we went from Bethel,
12 and *lodged* in the castle of Abraham our father, *with Isaac our father*. And Isaac our father saw us ix. 5
13 all, and he blessed us and rejoiced. And when he knew that I was priest of the Most High God,
the Lord of heaven, he began to charge me, and to *teach me the rights of the priesthood*, and said to ix.
14 me, 'Levi, take heed to thyself, my son, my son, against all defilement and all sin. Thy rights are
15 greater than those of all flesh. And now, my son, I will show thee the rule of the truth, and will not hide
16 from thee any matter to inform thee in the rights of the priesthood. First, *take heed to thyself*, my ix. 9
17 son, against all lust and uncleanness, and against all *fornication*. *And do thou take to thyself a wife* ix. 1
of my family, and defile not thy seed with harlots; for thou art a holy seed, and holy is thy seed
18 like the holy place, for a holy priest art thou called among all the seed of Abraham. *Thou art nigh* ii. 1
to (*God*) and nigh to all His holy ones. Now be thou pure in thy flesh from every defilement of all (Jub.
men. 16)
19 [Col. *c*] *And when thou* risest up to *enter the *house of God*,[2] *wash thyself* with water, and then ix. 1
20 clothe thyself with the garment of the priesthood. And when thou art clothed, again wash thy
21 hands and thy feet, before thou offer anything on the altar. *And when thou* takest to *offer* all that
22 is fitting to offer on the altar, again *wash* thy hands and thy feet. And offer the split logs, and
prove them first (free) from worms, and then offer them; for thus I saw Abraham my father taking
23 heed. Of all the *twelve* kinds of wood, he told me that those of them are fitting to burn on the ix. 1
24 altar whose smoke goes up with a sweet savour. And these are their names:—cedar, and bay, and
almond, and fir, and pine,[3] and mountain ash, and cypress, and fig, and olive, and laurel, and myrtle, (Jub.
12)

[1] So Jub. xxxii. 3, 'His father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands.'
[2] Gk. Frag. and T. Lev. ix. 11 give 'the sanctuary'.
[3] Text reads 'thorns' (שוחא) corrupt for שִׁיטָא = 'pine'.

25 and aspalathus.[1] These are they which he told me it was right to offer under the sacrifice on the altar. And when (thou hast placed) of the wood of these (trees) on the altar, and the fire begins to
26 kindle [Col. *d*] them, then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar. And again wash
27 thy hands and thy feet from the blood, and begin to offer up the limbs, salted. Offer the head first,
28 and upon it spread the fat, and let there not be seen on it the blood of the offering of the bull. And after it the neck, and after the neck its forelegs, and after its forelegs the breast with the side, and after the legs the thigh with the spine of the loin, and after the thigh the hind-legs washed together
30 with the entrails. And let all be salted with salt as is fitting for them according to their need. And after this the meal mingled with oil, and after it all, wine of the drink-offering; and burn on them frankincense; and let all thy works be in order, and all thy offerings be pleasing (?), for a sweet
31 savour before the Most High God. And whatsoever thou doest, do it in order by measure and weight; add nothing which is not fitting, and fall not short of the account of what is fitting (?) con-
32 cerning (?) the logs that are fitting to offer for all that goes up upon the altar. For the great bullock a talent of wood by weight; and if the fat alone is offered, six minas; and if it is a bull-calf[2] which is offered . . . .

Verses 32ᵇ–66 (found only in the Greek).

33 And for the second bull fifty minas; and for the fat alone, five minas. And for a great bullock
34 (*μόσχον*) forty minas. And if it be a ram or a he-goat that is offered, for such thirty minas, and for
35 the fat three minas. And if it be a lamb or a kid twenty minas; and for the fat two minas.
36 And if it be a lamb without blemish of the first year, or a kid of the goats, fifteen minas;
37 and for the fat half a mina. And sprinkle[3] salt upon the great bull to salt its flesh, and offer it on the altar. One measure is fitting for the bull. And where there is a superfluity of salt,
38 salt therewith the hide. And for the second bull five-sixths of the measure. And for the
39 bullock (*μόσχον*) the half of the measure. And for the ram half a measure, and for the he-goat the
40 like measure. And for the lamb and the kid the third of the measure. And the meal that is fitting
4 42 for them. For the great[4] bull and for the second bull and the bullock a measure of meal. And for the ram and the he-goat two-thirds of a measure, and for the lamb and for the kid a third part of
4 44 a measure, and the oil. And the fourth of the measure for the bull mingled with this meal. And for the ram the sixth of the measure, and for the lamb the eighth of the measure †and of the lamb†. And as for the wine, pour a libation according to the measure of the oil on the bull and the ram and
45 the kid. Of frankincense six shekels for the bull, and the half thereof for the ram, and the third
46 thereof for the kid, and (let) all the meal (be) mingled. If you offer this not upon (?) the fat, let there be offered upon it a weight of two shekels of frankincense. And the third of the measure is the
47 third of the ephah. And the two parts of the bath and the weight of the mina are of fifty shekels. And of the shekel the fourth part is a weight.[5] The shekel comes to be about sixteen thermoi
48 (*θερμοί*) and of one (and the same) weight. And now, my son, hear my words and give ear to my commands, and let not these my words depart from your heart throughout all thy days, because thou
49 art a holy priest of the Lord. And all thy seed shall be priests. And to thy sons so give com-
50 mandment that they do according to this use[6] as I have shown thee. For so my father Abraham
51 commanded me to do and to give commandment to my sons. And now, my son, I rejoice that thou hast been chosen to the holy priesthood, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord Most High, as it is
52 befitting to do according to that which is ordained for Him. When thou takest a sacrifice to offer before the Lord of any flesh, according to the reckoning of the wood so receive (it) as I command thee, and the salt and the meal and the wine and the frankincense receive at their hands for all the
53 animals. And always wash[7] thy hands and thy feet when thou goest to the altar, and when thou goest forth from the sanctuary let no blood touch thy garments. Thou shalt not †kindle it the same
5 55 day†. And thy hands and thy feet wash continually from all flesh. And let no blood be seen upon
1 56 thee, †and every soul,† for the blood is the life (soul) in the flesh. And if thou preparest for thyself[8] any flesh at home to eat, cover its blood first in the earth before thou eatest of the flesh, and thou
57 shalt not eat of the blood. For so my father Abraham commanded me; for so he found it in the
58 writing of the Book of Noah concerning the blood. And now, as I tell thee, my beloved son, thou art beloved of thy father and holy unto the Lord Most High, and thou shalt be loved beyond all thy

Jub. xxi. 16–18 = verses 53–56

Jub. xxi. 1

[1] The list in the Aramaic practically agrees with that in Jub. xxi. 12. The Greek fragment diverges in omitting the almond and the olive, and adding the *σχῖνος*. See my text of the Testaments, 249.

[2] The Greek has 'the second bull' here and in verses 38, 41.

[3] Emended. See my Text.

[4] See verse 32.

[5] Here follows in the text *θερμὸν δ'* corrupt for *θερμῶν δ'* = 'of four thermoi.'

[6] *κρίσιν* = משפט.

[7] Verses 53–6 agree almost verbally with Jub. xxi. 16–18.

[8] MS. reads *ουσης σεαυτον*, which may possibly be emended into *ποιῇς σεαυτῷ*.

59 brethren. †By thy seed shall be blessed in the earth,† and thy seed shall be enrolled in the book of
60 the memorial of life unto all ages. And thy name and the name of thy seed shall not be blotted
61 out unto all the ages. And now, my son Levi, thy seed shall be blessed upon the earth unto all the
62 generations of the ages.' And when four weeks were fulfilled in the years of my life, i. e. *in my* T. vi
twenty-eighth year, I took unto myself a wife of the lineage of my father, even *Milcah*, the daughter of xi.
63 Bethuel, the son of Laban, my mother's brother. And *she conceived and bare me a* first *son*, and xi.
I called his name Gershom; for I said that my seed would be sojourners in the land where I was
64 born. *We are sojourners as . . . in the land . . .* And *in the case of the lad I saw* in my vision that xi.
65 he would be cast out, he and his seed from the chief priesthood . . . . Thirty years old was I in my
66 life when he was born, and in the tenth month he was born towards sunset. And again she conceived
and bare me about the time that is fitting with women, *and I called his name Kohath.*[1] xi.

Cambridge Aramaic Fragment.

66 [Col. *c*] (And it happen)ed about the ti(me of women that I was with her, and she concei)ved
67 again (and bare me another son, and) I (call)ed his name (Kohath. And I saw) that to him xi.
(would b)e *the gathering of all* (the people, for) his would be the high-(priest)hood (over all Is)rael.
68 *In the fo(ur and thirt)ieth year of my life was he born*, in the fir(st) month, (on the fir)st day of the xi.
69 mo(nth), at sunrise. And again I was wi(th her), *and she bare me a third son and I called his name* xi.
Merari, for it was bitter to me concerning him exceedingly, for as soon as he was born he died; and
it was very bitter to me concerning him, *because he was like to die*, and I besought and prayed for
70, 71 him, and it was in all bitterness. *In the fortieth year of my life she bare*, in the third month. And
72 again I was with her, and she conceived and bare me a daughter, and I made her name *Jochebed*, xi.
(for) I sai(d), as she hath borne to me honour, she hath borne for me *glory* to Israel. *In the sixty-fourth year of my life she bare*, in the first day of the seventh month, after that [Col. *d*.] we entered
73 Egypt. In the sixte(enth) year we entered the land of Egypt, and to my sons (were given) the
74 daughters of my brothers at the time . . . to them sons. The names of the sons of *Gershon* (*Libnai* xii. 2
and) *Shimei;* and the names of *the sons of Ko(hath, Amra)m and Izhar and Hebron and Uzziel*; xii.
75 (and the names of) *the sons of Merari, Mahli and Mushai.* (*And*) *Amram* (*took*) *to him as wife* xii.
76 *Jochebed my daughter*, while I was yet living in the 9(4)th year of my life. And I called the name
of Amram, when he was born, Amram, for I said when he was born, this (child) (shall br)ing out the
77 people from the (land of Eg)ypt. Therefore his name was called the exalted people. *On one day* xii.
78 (*were they born he*) *and* Jochebed *my daughter. Eighteen years old was I when I went in*(*to the l*)*and* xii.
of Canaan, and (*nine*)*teen years old when I slew She*(*chem*) and destroyed the workers of violence.
79 *And I was nineteen years old when I became priest, and twenty-eight years old when I took to me*
80 *a wife. And eight and forty years old was I when we went into the land of Egypt*, and eighty and
nine years I lived in Egypt.
81 [Col. *e*] And all the days of my life were 1(3)7 *years*, and I saw my *sons of the th*(*ird generation*) xix.
82 before I died. And *in the* (*hundred and eigh*)*teenth* (*year*) *of my life*, that is, the y(ear) in which xii.
Joseph my brother died, I called (my) so(ns) and their sons, and began to charge them with all that
was in my heart.

83 And I answered and said to (my) sons:
(Hear) the word of Levi your father,
And hearken to the commands of God's beloved;
84 *I give you a charge, my sons,* xiii.
And I show you the truth, my beloved.
85 Let the sum of your works be truth, (Ps. xix
And (let) righteousness abide with you for ever. 160
86 And the tr(uth) . . .
And to them the harvest is blessed.
87 *He that soweth good*, reapeth good; xiii.
And he that soweth evil, his seed returneth upon him.
88 And now, my sons, a book of instruction in wisdom *teach your sons*, xiii.
And let wisdom be with you an everlasting honour.
89 *He that learneth* wisdom, *she is an honour to him*, xiii.
And whoso despiseth wisdom is given over to contempt.
90 My sons, behold *Joseph my brother*, xiii.
Who gave instruction in the writings and discipline of wisdom. xiii.

[1] This verse is indeed found in the Aramaic, but I have given the translation of the Greek, as the Aramaic is for the most part wanting.

[Col. *f*] . . . man . . . and increased (?) . . . to every co(untry) and city . . . to him brother . . . was xiii. 3
in it, *he is* (*not like*) *a stranger in it*,* and not li(ke to) a stranger (in it),[1] and not like an alien in it ;
for they all give him honour in it, for all *desire* to learn of his wisdom. xiii. 4
His friends are many,
And they that salute him are great ones.
And on a seat of honour they place him,
To hear the words of his wisdom.
Great wealth of honour is wisdom.
And a goodly treasure to all that *get* her. xiii. 7
If there come mighty kings and much people,
And an host and many horsemen and chariots with them.
And take . . country and city,
And spoil all that is in them,
The treasures of wisdom they shall not spoil
Nor find out her hidden things
Nor . . .

[1] The form in the Aramaic varies. We have here duplicate renderings of the same Hebrew original.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Sibylline Oracles in General.

The collection of verses known as the Sibylline Oracles was originally comprised in fifteen books and various fragments. Three books (ix, x and xv) are entirely missing, and there are gaps in some of those that remain, but with a total of some 4,240 lines their bulk is still very considerable. The greater part of this collection, however, is late and of comparatively little intrinsic worth, and the present study deals only with those of the fragments which are preserved in Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, and together form a kind of prelude or Proem, and with the earlier books iii, iv and v. But it will be necessary to give some preliminary sketch of the problem presented by the Sibylline literature in general.

It is a common feature of early peoples to look for oracular utterances of divine or quasi-divine inspiration from the mouth of old women, such as are represented by the witch of Endor in the Old Testament, the Pythian priestess among the Greeks, and, possibly, the nymph Egeria among the Romans; and it added immensely to the prestige of such utterances if they were ambiguous or difficult to understand. It was from a common feeling such as this that the Sibylline Oracles took their rise, but they are pre-eminent among all similar literature in the authority which they wielded and the fascination which they exercised over the minds of men. Their power they owed chiefly to their claim to remote antiquity, and to the obscurity in which they were always wrapped. Of Greek origin, and written principally, if not exclusively, in Greek, it was at Rome where they were chiefly venerated and had the most direct influence. In times of special difficulty they were frequently consulted, apparently with satisfactory result. There can be little doubt that the ingenuity of the custodians of the Sibylline rolls supplied sometimes a suitable response to the question under discussion.

A brief account of these oracles among the Romans is given below, but it is not with them that we have to deal. They have nearly all perished, and have left little more than a name and a history behind. But their great interest lies in the fact that the success which they achieved in their day led Jews and, later, Christians, seeking to defend or propagate their faith, to compose or adapt verses which they put forth under the name and authority of the ancient mysterious prophetesses known as the Sibyls, and in which lessons of monotheism and the like were put forth as the real teaching of the inspired teachers of the most hoar antiquity. With the morality of such a proceeding we have not here to deal: it is closely bound up with the question of the ancient idea of copyright, which was, as is obvious, radically different from ours. But of the success of this method of proselytising there can be little doubt, and indeed most Christian writers down to the time of Augustine accept without question the genuineness of these verses.

The Sibylline Oracles, therefore, which we possess are a compilation of old and new oracles worked up by Jewish or Christian authors who lived at various times between *c.* 160 B.C. and the fifth century, or even later, A.D. Their chief interest for us lies in (i) their date and interpretation, (ii) their relation to other apocalyptic literature, (iii) the side-lights thrown on history.

The above brief sketch must now be somewhat amplified, in order to explain the peculiar authority exercised by this form of oracle over Pagan, Jewish and Christian thought alike. And it will be necessary to go into a little more detail as to the Sibyl herself and the history of the Sibylline literature.

§ 2. The Sibyl.

The name 'Sibyl' first attracts attention. It has been maintained by some scholars (especially by R. H. Klausen in *Aeneas und die Penaten*) that the word is not a proper name but implies a sound issuing from a subterranean oracle, conveyed either by the rustling of the wind, as in the case of the oaks of Dodona, or by the splash of water. But there seems to be little justification for this, and it is better to follow the universal testimony of antiquity in regarding Σίβυλλα as a proper name. Nor

is there any inherent improbability in deriving the name from Θεός and βουλή, for there is sufficient evidence to show that among the Aeolians and Dorians Θεός appeared as Σιός, and in an inscription from Cumae βολλᾷ is found for βουλῇ. Σίβυλλα, therefore, means the counsel of God (cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6).

Early writers know of only one Sibyl. So Heraclitus (ap. Plutarch), Aristophanes, Plato, and Aristotle. But in course of time many more were recognized, though the exact number differs widely among various writers. The earliest mention of a plurality of Sibyls seems to emanate from a certain sophist named Sopater, who is quoted by Photius as the author of a work on Prophetic women 'which include the so-called Sibyls'. Other writers, e. g. Solinus and Ausonius, recognize at least three: Pausanias and Aelian speak of four: Clement of Alexandria mentions nine, and Varro's list (cf. Lact. *l. c.*) includes ten. The names given to the various Sibyls vary considerably, but there is convincing testimony that the earliest and most famous was the Erythraean, of whom Clement preserves a detailed but somewhat confused account. He gives her date as prior to Orpheus, whereas others, including Augustine, make her contemporary with the siege of Troy, and Suidas puts her nearly five centuries later. The Erythraeans believed her to be the offspring of a shepherd and a nymph. According to an early and widespread tradition she was connected with Apollo. This is referred to in 'Constantine's' *Oratio ad Sanctos*, preserved in Eusebius, where it is said that she was at an early age consecrated by her parent against her will to the temple of that god. At his hands she is said to have met her death after surviving nine generations of men, and her grave-stone was for long shown on the Erythraean shore, while her image or token is regularly found on the coins of that town.

Before long the claims of Erythrae to be the birthplace of the Sibyl were challenged by Marpessus, a town said by Pausanias to lie in Trojan Ida. Erythrae based her claims on the testimony of the Sibyl herself as contained in the lines (Orac. in Pausanias x. 12. 3):

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γεγαυῖα μέσον θνητῆς τε Θεᾶς τε
νύμφης τ' ἀθανάτης, πατρὸς δ' αὖ κητοφάγοιο
μητρόθεν Ἰδογενὴς, πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθρή.

But Marpessus alleged that Ἐρυθρή was merely an adjective, and that the next line,

Μαρπησσός, μητρὸς ἱερή, ποταμὸς δ' Ἀϊδωνεύς,

had been suppressed by the Erythraeans.

Connected alike with Erythrae and Marpessus is the Sibyl of Cumae, whose fame early rivalled that of Erythrae. Justin Martyr paid a visit to Cumae, and relates how he saw there the cave made out of the single massive rock from which the oracles were given, and the three cisterns in which the Sibyl was said to wash. It was this Sibyl who, in the famous story told by Varro and Livy, came to Rome and offered the nine fateful books to Tarquin, and on being refused her price came back with six books and then with three. Various notices of her are preserved by Virgil and Ovid. The former represents her as having lived 700 years and having 300 yet to run, while Ovid relates that being offered by Apollo any boon she chose, she took up a handful of sand and asked that she might live as many years as there were grains in it.

These are the more famous Sibyls. It will not be necessary to do more than enumerate the various others connected with Tibur, Samos, Colophon, Rhodes, Ephesus, Babylonia, Egypt, Libya, and Sicily.

§ 3. The Earliest Sibylline Verses.

The first reference to the oracles of Sibyls is found in a quotation from Heraclitus, preserved in Plutarch (*De Pyth. Or.* 709 c): he says that the poems contained many gloomy matters, and specifies 'many revolutions and upheavals of Greek cities, many appearances of barbarous hordes and murders of rulers'. Aristophanes mentions the Sibyl more than once and always with some tinge of respect (*Pax* 1095, 1116), and Plato speaks of her with reverence: Aristotle lays stress on her melancholy character and dismisses her more summarily. More details are given by Suidas, who summarizes the writings of the various Sibyls which he knows. Servius in his commentary on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv, mentions that the Cumaean Sibyl divided up the ages under the names of metals and showed which god was ruler in each (*quis quo imperaret*). But there is nothing to show exactly when collections of such verses came to be made. If we may believe the story of the Sibyl who appeared to Tarquin there was already a collection of nine books, but they must have been small in compass if a woman could carry them in the cumbrous form of rolls. It is probable that there were a great number of detached oracles, sometimes consisting of a line or two, current in the Greek-speaking world, and there may have been many private collections. After the destruction of the official Sibylline books in the burning of the Capitol in 82 B. C., a commission was dispatched to collect

oracles from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor, and a large number were brought back (including 1,000 lines from Erythrae), from which a collection was made. After this the numbers increased so rapidly that Augustus commanded 2,000 spurious volumes to be destroyed. But with their increase in bulk their credit began to diminish, and the Emperor found it necessary to carry out a similar process of weeding.

§ 4. The Jewish Sibylline Verses.

The beginning of the Maccabean revolt revived the enthusiasm of the Jews in every department of life. Among other things the missionary side of their faith aroused greater interest, and a serious attempt was made to place its claim on intellectual grounds more clearly before the world. At the same time eschatology began to exercise more and more influence on men's minds, and the conception of a final setting aright of all apparent injustice by the direct judgement of God appealed with increasing force to the more thoughtful of the Jews. The former tendency may be illustrated by the attempt of Aristobulus, a Jew living at the court of Ptolemy VII about 160 B.C., to prove that the best literature of Greece was in reality indebted to a large extent to Jewish inspiration: the latter point by the composition of the books of Daniel and Enoch. Both these tendencies combined to suggest to a cultivated Jew living in Egypt about the middle of the second century B.C., that, if he could use the authority of the ancient and revered Sibyl, he might by means of verses written in the Sibylline style gain a very much wider audience for the propagation of his faith. The example of the book of Daniel was in all probability before him, and he would recognize no moral fault in the use of such means, especially if collections of Sibylline Oracles were from time to time receiving large additions. His method was not pure invention: he took ancient oracles and pieced them together, adding passages of his own which breathed strong monotheism and the glorification of the Jewish people. It is probably to this [1] unknown author that we owe the greater part of the third book. His example could hardly fail to inspire imitators both among Jews and later among Christians. Nor did the feeling of the day see anything incongruous in the ancient Sibyl denouncing idolatry and singing the praises of the happy land of Judaea. Indeed the new collection of oracles achieved very considerable success.

§ 5. The Sibyllines in later history.

The burning of the Capitol in 82 B.C. resulted in the complete destruction of the official collection of Sibylline Oracles. Seven years later the Senate dispatched three commissioners to Erythrae to fetch from thence any that could be discovered, and as a result of their efforts some 1000 verses were collected from that place while a considerable number were added from elsewhere. It is not improbable that the interest aroused by this search inspired the manufacture of many spurious oracles, some of which may have been of Jewish origin. From the materials thus collected a selection was made by the Quindecemviri, and the accepted verses were kept in greater secrecy. Nevertheless some knowledge of them was public property. Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 54) remarks on the art displayed in them as exemplified by their [2] acrostic form and throws some suspicion on their genuineness. Virgil in his famous description of the Golden Age in *Eclogue* iv quotes from Sib. iii. 785 ff. But the publication of oracles took away the main point of their sanctity, and we find the Emperors diligent in preserving them, as far as possible, inviolate. So Augustus instituted a searching inquiry into them and destroyed all except a small collection which was stored under the base of the Palatine Apollo. A further investigation was carried out on similar lines by Tiberius.

In view of these facts, it is obvious that the wide knowledge of Sibylline verses among early Christian writers points to there having been many collections over and above the official collection of Rome. It is possible that the oracles rejected by the scrutiny of the Quindecemviri instead of being destroyed merely found a wider audience, being incorporated with various subsequent additions. Inasmuch as the official collection, which was finally burned by order of Stilicho in the reign of Theodosius, was, as far as we know, never published, it would appear that the verses which we possess were all preserved in private hands.

There is no evidence that the Sibylline Oracles enjoyed any great popularity with later Jewish writers. Josephus (*Ant.* i. § 4) indeed alludes to Sib. iii. 97 ff., but the early appropriation of the Sibyl by Christian writers seems to have militated against extensive Jewish use. Among the early Fathers allusions and quotations are very frequent. Hermas alludes to the Sibyl in Pastor 2, § 4. Clement of Rome (cf. Justin, *Resp. ad Quaest.* 74) speaks of the Sibyl's prophecy that the world should

[1] The suggestion that the writer was Aristobulus himself is a tempting one and was put forward by Alexandre (*Exc. ad Sib.*).

[2] The only Sibylline acrostic which we possess is the Christian one in Sib. viii. 217–50, which is of considerably later date.

perish by fire. Justin refers without reserve to Books iii and iv, Athenagoras and Theophilus to the Proem and Book iii. Clement of Alexandria quotes freely from all the Jewish books and even represents St. Paul as appealing to the Sibyl (Strom. vi), and Celsus (*ap. Orig.* v, § 4) is moved to ridicule by their frequent use in Christian writers. Origen himself only once mentions the Sibyl (*c. Cels.* v, § 61), while Tertullian, though speaking of the Sibyl as anterior to all literature (*ad Nat.* 2), never makes use of the testimony of the Sibyl in his apologetics. Lactantius uses less reserve:[1] he quotes freely from all the Jewish books and his writings are a perfect mine of Sibylline verses. His view of the Sibyls was that, though in themselves they were prophetesses of false gods, yet from time to time filled with Divine inspiration they poured forth precious truths. Ambrose has but one quotation from the Sibyllines: Augustine is aware of a prejudice against them, but in discussing their claims he finds nothing in them pertaining to the worship of false gods and he gravely admits the Sibyl to the number of those who belong to the City of God (*de Civ. Dei* xviii. 23).

§ 6. Introduction to the Jewish Books.

The two considerable fragments which are usually printed at the end of the book, together with the three lines of Fragment ii, are preserved to us in the treatise of Theophilus *ad Autolycum* (end of first century A.D.) in which the writer attempts to justify to an educated heathen the Christian idea of God and the doctrine of the Resurrection. From Fr. i. 30, Alexander has deduced a Christian origin for them, but their tone is rather Jewish than Christian and their main purport is to vindicate the unique sovereignty of the Holy Invisible God as against the undignified stories of polytheism on the one hand, and the worship of animals and idols on the other. In character they are closely similar to iii. 1–45 and all seem to originate from Egypt. There is no distinctive mark of date, but the Fragments are most probably prae-Christian. They are ascribed to the Erythraean Sibyl by Lactantius and Clement of Alexandria. From the way in which Theophilus introduces these lines (*ad Aut.* ii. 36 Σίβυλλα δέ, ἐν Ἕλλησιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν γενομένη προφῆτις, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς προφητείας αὐτῆς ὀνειδίζει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος λέγουσα . . .) the inference has been drawn that they stood originally at the beginning of the third book.

Book III has been variously divided. Friedlieb divides into three main sections 1–294: 295–488: 489–828, but these sections are not entirely homogeneous.

The following is an analysis:

1–7 is an introduction expressing the pain of the Sibyl under the Divine compulsion.

8–45 express the Jewish hatred of idolatry and give a description of the true God the Creator of the World.

46–62 an eschatological passage describing the reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. Lines 46, 47 and 52 give an indication of date, which, however, is not easy to fix. It may be as early as *c.* 168 B.C., at which time Rome first interfered decisively in the affairs of Egypt by the embassy of Popilius Laenas. Then the three men of l. 52 who are to afflict Rome would be, perhaps, the Gracchi. Or the date may be *c.* 96 B.C. when Ptolemy Apion bequeathed by will his kingdom of Cyrene to the Roman people. In this case the three men would be Marius, Sulla, and Cinna.

Or it may be as late as *c.* 51 B.C. when Ptolemy Auletes bequeathed his kingdom to his Roman creditors. Then the three men would be the Triumvirs, whether the First (so Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.*, p. 47), or the Second (so Friedlieb, Intr. p. xxvii). The middle date is, on the whole, to be preferred. Alexandre would refer the 'holy king' of l. 49 to Vespasian and the 'three men' to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, but this is quite improbable.

62–92. The destruction of Beliar: a late passage probably from the latter part of the first century A.D. Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 87, 100, considers the passage to be Jewish, but Jülicher, reviewing him in *Theol. Litt.-Zeitung*, 1896, maintains its Christian origin, and Geffcken is of the same opinion. The question largely turns on the meaning given to Σεβαστήνων in 63. The idea that the whole world should come under the dominion of a woman recurs in viii. 200. The most probable explanation is that the woman is Rome.

93–6. Four lines of transition usually regarded as Christian, but not necessarily so.

97–294. A section derived primarily from the Erythraean Sibyl relating to the building of Babylon, the story of the Titans and the birth of Zeus, with a short summary of history dealing specially with the history of the Jews. The antiquity of the section is attested by the references to

[1] Detailed references are given in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinorum quae apud Lactantium reperiuntur*, 1817) and Alexandre (*Excursus ad Sibyllina*, 254 ff.). Also in Vervorst (*De Carminibus Sibyllinis apud Sanctos Patres disceptatio*, Paris, 1844) and Besançon (*De l'emploi que les Pères de l'Église ont fait des oracles sibyllins*, Montauban, 1851).

it in Alexander Polyhistor (80–40 B.C.) and Abydenus (first or second century B.C.) and by the frequent quotations in Christian writers. There are two main marks of date: (1) the reference to the seventh king of Egypt in 192, 193 (cf. 318, 608) who is, in all probability, Ptolemy Philometor 182–146 B.C.; (2) the description of Rome in 175 ff., which would suit the years immediately following the battle of Pydna 168 A.D. A date circ. 160 A.D. would seem to be the most probable. The working up of old heathen oracles by a Jew would then be closely parallel to the attempt of Aristobulus about the same date to prove that the Old Testament was the primary source of the best works of ancient Greek literature. The Sibyllist takes not only the Erythraean Sibyl, but also extracts from the Babylonian (97–104), and perhaps the Chaldaean (218–30). But the latter section is also ascribed by Lactantius to the Erythraean Sibyl.

295–488 contain for the most part a collection of various oracles of different dates. Many of them are of a general character and cannot be historically identified. But the following passages contain some note of time.

314–18 seems to refer to the internal struggles in Egypt between Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes which ended with the capture of Euergetes in Cyprus in 154 B.C.

323–33 may refer to the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C.

350–5 probably refers to the Mithradatic war of 88–84 B.C.

388–400 is best explained as depicting the events of 162–142 B.C.

464–9 appears to have reference to the Social war of 89–88 B.C.

483–8 mentions the capture of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C.

The section contains some ancient oracles, e.g. 364–6; 401–30.

The passage about Alexander 381–7 is referred to by Varro as coming from the Persian Sibyl; while the Scholion on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 ascribes it to the Chaldaean Sibyl.

Lines 414–33 are ascribed on the authority of Pausanias and Varro to the Erythraean Sibyl.

489–829. This long section begins with woes on various lands, and especially on Greece, which is to be subjugated by a barbarian power. Then follows praise of the Jews and a reference to the attack of Antiochus Epiphanes on Egypt in 170 B.C. (611–15). An eschatological passage comes next, leading up to the description of the coming of the Messiah, to be followed by a time of ideal peace and prosperity for the Jews. This is interrupted by a short passage (732–40), which appears to celebrate the capture of the Acra of Jerusalem from the Seleucid troops. Another Messianic passage (767–95) is followed by a short description of the signs that are to precede the end (796–808) and the book ends with an Epilogue, which in itself seems to be composite, 819–29 being apparently a later addition.

The marks of date then in this last section are as follows:—

508–11. Refers to the Gaulish invasion of Asia Minor in 280 B.C.

520–61. Subjugation of Greece especially after the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.

573–85. Prosperity of the Jews in Maccabean times *c.* 140 B.C.

608–15 refer particularly to 180–179 B.C.

732–40 represent the feeling of *c.* 140 B.C.

It should be noticed that l. 776 bears marks of having been at least worked over by a Christian hand.

Taking the book as a whole there is no adequate reason for doubting that lines 97–819 are, with the exception of a few passages (e.g. 350–5, 464–9, 776) either composed or incorporated by a Jew, probably living in Egypt about 140 B.C. The Egyptian colouring is marked e.g. by the interest in Egyptian history, 159, 161, 314–18, 348, 608–15; but the writer has frequent references to Rome and Greece, and, to a lesser degree, to Asia Minor.

An attempt has been made (by Friedlieb) to show that lines 97–808, together with the Proem, comprised the poem that went under the name of the Erythraean Sibyl, and is said by Lactantius[1] to comprise about one thousand lines. It is a further suggestion of Bleek that lines 1–45, 819–29 may be ascribed to the author of Books I and II. These suggestions have the merit of providing a comprehensive framework for the first three Sibylline books, but they cannot be regarded as more than tentative. It is probable, for instance, that iii. 97–104 comes from the Chaldaean Sibyl, or possibly a Hebrew Sibyl (Josephus, *Ant.* i. § 4) and the frequent notice of Egypt to which reference has been made would suggest that parts at least of the poem are from another source. At the same time, it is obvious that the Erythraean Sibyl became by far the most noted, and it is quite possible that other ancient oracles which bore no special mark of authorship were collected under her name.

The fourth book does not present any such difficult problems. Its plan is fairly simple. After

[1] *Div. Inst.* i. 6.

a description of God as the source of inspiration (1–23) the writer proceeds to draw a picture of the joy of the righteous and the fate of the ungodly (24–46). He then proposes a sketch of the history of the ten generations of the world, but after two generations he breaks off into a series of oracles against various countries and towns in the dismal Sibylline style (47–151). Then follows an eschatological passage (152–92) interrupted by an exhortation to repentance (162–78).

The book is, therefore, in all probability a unity, and its date can be fixed with considerable certainty.

107–8 speak of the restoration of Laodicea after the earthquake of 60 A.D.

115–18 speak of the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege in 69 A.D.

125–6 speak of the destruction of the Temple.

119–24 speak of the disappearance of Nero, the expectation of his return, and the struggles of 69 A.D., and a similar expectation recurs in 138 f.

128, 129, 143, 144 speak of a great earthquake in Cyprus, which is fixed by a notice of Eusebius in 76 A.D.

The date then is after 76 A.D., but not long after, and at a time when the stirring events of the years 69–70 were fresh in men's minds, and the expectation of the return of Nero was real and vivid. So by general consent the book is ascribed to about the year 80 A.D.

There is some uncertainty as to whether the writer is a Jew or a Christian. In favour of the latter supposition is adduced the outlook on temples (28) and sacrifices (29), the mention of the folly of the Jews (117), and the stress laid on repentance (168). But none of these ideas would be unnatural in a thoughtful Jew of 80 A.D., and as there is nothing specifically Christian in the book, so it ends with an eschatological outlook which seems distinctly Jewish in character.

The fifth book presents problems of its own. It is obvious at once that lines 1–51 stand by themselves. They give a brief sketch of history up to the time of Hadrian, or, if l. 51 be genuine, up till the time of Marcus Aurelius.

The rest of the book consists, in the main, of the proclamation of troubles in various lands; in Egypt (52–114), Asia (115–36), Greece, Italy, and other lands (137–78), Egypt, India, Corinth, &c. (179–227), Asia, Thrace, &c. (286–343), Babylon, &c. (434–83), Egypt, &c. (484–511). This fills up the main bulk of the book, but, interspersed among these conventional Sibylline outpourings, there are sections on other subjects which merit attention. Such are an ode to ὕβρις (228–46), which seems Eastern in character, and in which Hildebrandt claims to have discovered a direct quotation from the Avesta; an ideal description of Judaea (247–55, 260–85); a Christian fragment (256–9); an eschatological passage (344–85); a denunciation of evil livers (386–402); a hint of an attack on the Holy Land and of a Divine vengeance (403–33); and a description of a coming battle of the stars (512–31).

Passages which bear upon the question of the date are as follows. In the first section the extravagant praise of Hadrian (48, 49) would be inexplicable in a Jewish writing except in the earlier years of his reign, or at any rate before the revolt of Bar Cochba and the erection of Ælia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem. But l. 51 speaks of three successors of Hadrian, one of whom (by which Marcus Aurelius is probably meant) should reign late in life. There is good reason to suspect this line to be a later interpolation.

In the main section, 52 to end, the chief indication of date lies in lines 411–13, which seem to speak of Titus as doomed to death as soon as he reached Italy on his return from the capture of Jerusalem. The expectation, which appears to have been somewhat widely held, was, of course, falsified by history, and so this section at any rate, if the emendation proposed be accepted, is fixed for the year 70 A.D. For the rest the expectation of the return of Nero appears in 34 f., 104 ff., 139 ff., 215 ff., 363 ff., as a conviction deeply held, although he is by this time half identified with the Antichrist.

The general conclusion leaves the date more or less uncertain. But there is no real reason to separate 1–51 from the rest of the book, and if we except lines 51 and 411–13 we may fix the date as somewhere in the reign of Hadrian before 130 A.D.[1]

The author seems undoubtedly to be living in Egypt. So the Sibyl calls herself (if the text be not corrupt) sister of Isis (53), and has much to say about Egypt and its towns (60–114, 179–99, 458–9, 484–511).

Opinions are much divided as to whether the author is a Jew or a Christian. The adjective

[1] The minute dissection of a 'Higher Criticism' may be illustrated by the following table taken from Zahn's *Apokalyptische Studien*:—

(*a*) A. D. 71, 111 (or 115)–78; ? 200–5; 228–46; 361–433; 484–531.

(*b*) *c.* A. D. 120, 1–49ᵃ, 50ᵇ; 52–110; 179–99; 206–27; 247–360 (or, at any rate, 247–85; 328–82); 434–83.

(*c*) *c.* A. D. 150, 49ᵇ–50ᵃ; 51; 257; 413, and probably many isolated verses.

θεοχρίστους in l. 68 seems to stamp the section to which it belongs as Christian, and 256–9 are unmistakably the same. But for the rest of the book the outlook is more Jewish than Christian. There is no reference to a New Testament writing, with the possible exception of l. 158 (cf. Apoc. viii. 10).

§ 7. Manuscripts.

Special service in the collation of MSS. has been rendered by A. Mai, Keil, and Rzach. The results are given at length in the introduction to Geffcken's edition. The MSS. fall into three main classes, to which the terms Ω, Φ, and Ψ are conventionally given. The following are the only MSS. which contain the Jewish portions:—

In class Ω:

V. Codd. Vaticani 1120, 743, both fourteenth century, contain iv.
Cod. Monacensis 1541 contains iv.

In class Φ:

A. Cod. Vindobonensis hist. gr. xcvi. 6, fifteenth century, contains all our sections.
P. Cod. Monacensis 351, fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the first part of the Prologue.
S. Cod. Scorialensis 11 Σ 7 contains all our sections.
B. Cod. Bodleianus Baroccianus 109, end of fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the Prologue and iii. 1–106.

In class Ψ:

F. Cod. Florentinus Laurentianus plut. xi. 17, fifteenth century, contains iii with the subscription στίχοι[1] αλδ (1,034 lines), iv with subscription ρπά[2] (181 lines), v with subscription στίχοι φλη[3] (538 lines).
R. Cod. Parisinus 2851, end of fifteenth century, contains iii (with similar remark στίχοι αλδ), iv (στίχοι ρπα), v. 1–106.
L. Cod. Parisinus 2850: 1475 A.D. contains the same three books with the same remarks; only Book iii is called λόγος τέταρτος and Book iv λόγος πέμπτος.
T. Cod. Toletanus, a MS. recently discovered in the Library of Toledo Cathedral, written about 1500, containing all our sections except v. 482–end. It has Latin notes both in the margin and between the lines, but Geffcken regards it as of no particular value.

Besides the MSS. the following extracts have been found:—

Cod. Parisinus 1043 contains iv. 179–85, 187, 189, 190; v. 93–111.
Cod. Vat. 1357 contains viii. 217–50.

The citations in the early Fathers are also of great service in restoring the text.

Geffcken calls attention to the extreme difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory text. It is not infrequent to find lines in which no MS. gives a metrically possible text, and then it becomes necessary to have recourse to conjecture. In other instances a composite text has to be formed out of several different versions. But Geffcken arrives at two conclusions that are of definite value. First, the Ω text is on the whole preferable to Φ and Ψ; and secondly, Φ and Ψ seem to have branched off from an earlier and better text, and of the two Φ is to be preferred, though not by any means in every instance.

As regards the date of the different classes of MSS., Geffcken would put the Ω in the third or fourth century, and would find a kind of Ψ before the end of the fifth century.

§ 8. Theology.

The main object of the Jewish Sibyllists is to maintain the unity and sovereignty of God. God is one Being, invisible, self-sprung, without beginning or end. Idolatry is condemned in terms of unmeasured scorn; the heathen gods are nothing, lifeless and powerless; the sacred animals of Egypt are merely deceptions; Isis and Sarapis will be found ineffective to help their worshippers in the

[1] Our present third book contains only 829 lines. But there is good reason to suppose that originally it contained considerably more than this.
[2] Our book contains 192. But Ψ omits 86, 94, 95, 112, 113, 115, 148, 153, 154, 182, 183, 186, 191.
[3] Our book has only 531.

time of bitter distress. Phoebus himself, the inspirer of the heathen Sibyl, is a mere delusion. All idolaters, of whatever class, are people who have mistaken the true highway of life and wandered off into tortuous by-ways. They have failed to recognize the true God, Who although so lofty and majestic, has yet revealed Himself to men, and Who keeps a constant watch over all that goes on on earth. The ignorance and wilful transgressions of purblind man are inevitably storing up for the world volumes of wrath that will burst forth in terrible destruction.

The doctrine of God, then, is a fairly full one: again and again stress is laid on His unique position as existing from all time and owning no Creator. The terms which express this idea (*αὐτοφυής, αὐτογένητος, αὐτολόχευτος*) are themselves open to misconstruction, but they seem to imply nothing more than God's eternal existence, as contrasted with the idols that are the works of men's hands and the gods of mythology concerning whose birth so many tales were rife. In three respects His intimate connexion with the visible world is vindicated: He is the Creator and Sustainer of all, sending rain and fruitful seasons, and manifesting His wrath in hailstorms and earthquakes. He has also revealed Himself to man, and although the means of His self revelation are not actually stated they are probably regarded as lying in the visible phenomena of nature. And again God is finally to judge the world, sending the just either to a fresh life of happiness on earth or to the abode of bliss, while the wicked are condemned to the woes of Tartarus. It may be noted that stress is laid on the conception of God Himself being the Judge (cf. iv. 41, 183) as though in protest against the Christian idea of Christ as the Judge of all, whereas the work of Creation is carried out through the medium of the Word (iii. 20, cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6).

With regard to worship there are varying conceptions. The older passages speak freely of the offering of sacrifices (e.g. Frag. i. 21: Bk. iii. 576 ff.), but in the fourth book we find a repudiation of all animal sacrifices (28 ff.) and even of a visible temple (8 and 28). This book seems to be tinged with Essene thought which manifests itself also in the stress laid on Grace before meals (25 f.) and lustrations (165).

The middle of the second century B.C. was a time when men's minds were very full of the thought of the coming judgement of God, and the literature of that age influenced deeply the thought of successive generations. So although the main eschatological portions of the Sibyllines occur in the third book, echoes of them are not lacking in other parts. The wrath of God as it culminates in judgement on the earth is depicted in scenes of bewildering complexity. A principal element is fire, which is to burn up the world. Sometimes it is in the form of a rushing stream (ii. 54), sometimes as an essence (iii. 72), sometimes it comes in form of a sword (iii. 672, 798, iv. 174). A mighty darkness is to envelop the earth (v. 349); the sun, moon, and stars are to fail (iii. 801, v. 346); the very heavenly bodies are to come crashing down (iii. 80 ff.); a star is to be one of the agents of the destruction (v. 158 ff.). God himself is to appear in the clouds (v. 65 f.). The destruction of the earth is sometimes represented as complete (e.g. iii. 84 ff.). More generally it is only the ungodly who are to be destroyed, the righteous being reserved for a blessed life (v. 375–85). The signs of the end are manifold. There is to be a great increase of wickedness and presumption; in the later books this is usually connected with the return of Nero. A comet is to herald the end (iii. 334). Various portraits are to be seen, e.g. a battle among the clouds (iii. 805, v. 212). There is to be great distress among nations (ii. 556 ff., v. 225). Beliar is to appear and lead men astray with various lying wonders (ii. 63 ff.). Nero is to return in pride and arrogance, the world is to fall under the dominion of a woman (iii. 75 ff.).

It is noticeable that the destruction of the world is not strongly distinguished from judgements that are to affect merely certain localities. The universal and the particular shade off very easily into one another. Similarly in some passages the judgement is merely a prelude to the establishment of a blessed kingdom among the godly on earth (e.g. iii. 767 ff.). The Messiah himself is to come from heaven to assume the kingdom (v. 414 ff.). Under his rule the godly are to enjoy great peace (iii. 702 ff.); the earth is to bring forth her fruits in extraordinary abundance (iii. 741 ff.); the rough places of nature are to be made smooth (iii. 777 ff.), and even the animal world is to share in the universal peace and goodwill (iii. 785 ff.). Jerusalem is to become the fairest spot on earth (v. 420 ff.); the temple is to be resplendent once more with the gifts of varied peoples (iii. 657, 772).

It will be seen that the greater part of these idyllic conceptions are not in themselves unique or peculiar, but their fullness and variety make the Sibylline workings conspicuous among similar literature. They testify to the deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the present conditions among the most loyal spirits of the Jews, and the confident hope that the apparent injustice of God's dealings in the world as shown in the triumph of His enemies, would be righted within no very long time by the vindication of His Divine purpose for men.

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The literature which touches on the Sibylline Books is a very large one, and only a selection has been given above. A fuller Bibliography (up to 1900) will be found in Terry's translation. Of the works mentioned Alexandre's *Excursus ad Sibyllina* is a mine of information upon which the present writer has drawn freely. Friedlieb's edition, with its spirited translation into German hexameters, contains many useful suggestions. Rzach's text is furnished with a good *apparatus criticus*, but it is on the whole inferior to Geffcken's which forms the basis of the present translation. Schürer has some serviceable remarks in his *History of the Jewish People* (English translation, Edinburgh, 1886), and sidelights may be gleaned from various books on Jewish History and Eschatology, notably R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*; Bousset, *Religion der Juden im N.T. Zeitalter*; and Volz, *Jüdische Apokalyptik.*

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THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

FRAGMENTS

i

(1) O ye mortal men of flesh who are nought, (2) why do ye so quickly exalt yourselves, having no eye unto life's end? (3) Do ye not tremble at nor fear God, who overlooks you? (4) the Most High who knows, who looks on all, who witnesses all, (5) who nourishes all? the Creator who has planted his sweet Spirit in all, (6) and made him a guide to all mortals? (7) There is one God, sole Sovereign, excellent in power, unbegotten, (8) almighty, invisible, yet seeing all himself. (9) Yet he himself is beheld by no mortal flesh. (10) For what flesh can see visibly the heavenly and true (11) God, the Immortal, whose abode is the heaven? (12) Nay not even face to face with the sun's rays (13) are men able to stand, being mortals, (14) mere veins and flesh wedded to bones. (15) Worship him, who is alone Prince of the World, (16) who alone exists from age to age, (17) self sprung, unbegotten, holding all in sway through all time, (18) giving to all men their testing time in the common light. (19) But of your evil counsel ye shall have the fitting reward, (20) for that forsaking the honouring of the true and eternal God, (21) and the offering to him of sacred hecatombs, (22) ye have made your sacrifices to the deities in Hades. (23) In insolence and madness ye walked, and, forsaking the straight high-road, (24) ye turned aside and were wandering through thorns (25) and stakes. Cease, vain mortals, (26) roaming in darkness and in black murky night, (27) and leave the darkness of night and take hold of the light. (28) Behold he is plain unto all and such as cannot be missed. (29) Come, pursue not ever darkness and murkiness! (30) Behold, the sweet-eyed light of the sun shines brightly forth. (31) Conceive wisdom in your hearts and have knowledge. (32) There is one God who sends rain and winds and earthquakes, (33) lightnings, famines, pestilence and sad cares, (34) and snow and hail: why should I detail them one by one? (35) He is Lord of heaven, Sovereign of earth, the one Existence.

ii

(1) But if the gods have offspring and yet remain immortal, (2) there would have been more gods born than men, (3) nor would room have been found for mortals to stand.

iii

(1) But if any thing brought into being wholly perishes, God could not have been fashioned (2) from the loins of a man and from the womb. (3) But God is one, most exalted of all, who has made (4) the heaven, the sun, the stars, and the moon, (5) the fertile earth too, and the swellings of the sea-water, (6) and the lofty mountains, and perennial founts of springs. (7) Again he brings into

i. The whole Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 36. The first line is quoted by Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 3. 14. The strong monotheism of the passage is probably Jewish rather than Christian, but Fehr (*Stud. in Or. Sib.*, p. 16 ff.) points out its close similarity with Orphic writings.

5, 6. Cf. Wisdom xii. 1. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 as coming from the beginning of the Erythraean Sibyl. In 6 Lact. has *θεόν* for *βροτῶν*, but this is probably a Christian alteration.

7–9. Quoted by Justin, *Coh. ad Graec.* 16.

10. Cf. iii. 17; Deut. v. 26.

12. Geffcken quotes a similar thought ascribed to Socrates in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vi. 71.

14. The rendering follows the restoration of Nauck.

18. **testing time,** *κριτήριον*, is of doubtful meaning. Geffcken quotes Philo, *De Opif. Mund.* 20, p. 14, in which it appears to mean 'discrimination'. The phrase 'common light' is probably of Stoic origin. It recurs in iii. 494.

22. For the idea that the heathen gods are dead cf. iii. 545 ff., viii. 393.

28–35. Quoted in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* viii. 37. Line 28 is also quoted in *Strom.* v. 14. 116.

30. Alexandre supposes the 'sweet-eyed light' to refer to Christ. But the thought is more of the actual sun declaring the glory of God.

ii. The second Fragment is also found in Theophilus (*ad Aut.* ii. 3. 2), and is alluded to specifically in [Constantine's] *Or. ad sanct. coet.* 4. It appears to be closely connected with the following Fragment.

iii. The Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Aut.* ii. 36. 29. The first and the second lines are quoted in Hipp. *Philos.* v. 16, and in Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 8. 3, and alluded to in Justin, *Cohort. ad Graec.* 23. 6.

being the multitudes countless in number of the creatures of the water, (8) and He keeps alive the reptiles that move on the earth, (9) and the manifold species of winged things, twittering with clear voice, (10) brown birds with liquid trill, beating the air with outstretched wings; (11) and in the mountain glades he has set the wild race of beasts, (12) and to us mortals he has subjected all domestic creatures. (13) He has constituted man as the Divinely appointed ruler of all, and (14) to him he has subjected every variety of things, and things that cannot be understood. (15) For what mortal flesh can know all these things? (16) Nay, none knows them save He who from the beginning has made them, (17) the incorruptible Creator, the Eternal, dwelling in the sky (18), putting before the good much greater reward of good (19) but for the evil and unjust raising up wrath and anger, (20) and war and pestilence and tearful woes. (21) Ye men, why do ye vainly exalt yourselves—to be rooted out? (22) Be ashamed of making gods of cats and beasts. (23) Does not madness and frenzy take away the sense of the mind, (24) if gods purloin dishes and carry off pots: (25) and in place of dwelling in the golden **limitless** sky (26) they look moth-eaten and are woven with thick spiders' webs. (27) Ye witless folk, worshipping serpents, dogs and cats, (28) ye reverence winged creatures and animals that creep on the earth, (29) and images of stone and statues made with hands, (30) and stones piled together by the roads. These things ye reverence (31) and many other vain things which it is a shame even to mention. (32) These are gods **who lead on** weak-willed men **by guile,** (33) from whose very mouth deadly poison is poured. (34) But to Him Who is both life and deathless, endless light, (35) and who pours forth upon men gladness sweeter than ⟨**luscious**⟩ honey, (36) to Him alone bend thy neck, (37) and †incline† thy path among the blessed lives. (38) All these things ye left and quaffed the full goblet of justice, (39) unadulterated, strong, fortified, in no wise tempered, (40) yea all of you with spirit frenzied by folly. (41) And ye will not wake to soberness and come to a temperate mind, (42) and know the King, the God Who oversees all things. (43) Therefore the gleam of blazing fire is coming upon you. (44) Ye shall be burned with torches the livelong day throughout the age, (45) being ashamed of your lying futile idols. (46) But they who honour the true and everlasting God (47) inherit life, throughout the aeonian time (48) dwelling in the fertile garden of Paradise, (49) feasting on sweet bread from the starry heaven.

BOOK III

(1) O thou who thunderest from on high, blessed heavenly one, who hast the Cherubim (2) as thy throne, I pray thee give me a short respite from mine unerring oracle, (3) for my soul within me is weary. (4) Nay, why did my heart again flutter, and why is my soul, (5) lashed with a spur from within, compelled to announce my message (6) to all? So again I will proclaim all (7) that God bids me proclaim unto men.

8. **keeps alive.** The verb ψυχοτροφεῖται is apparently found nowhere else. The middle is a little awkward, and Opsopoeus' reading, ψυχοτροφεῖ τε (from M), is not reliable.
12. Cf. Ps. viii. 7, 8. Philo, *De Opif. Mundi* 28 (the whole chapter should be read).
17–19. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* xxii. 7, as from Erythraean Sibyl.
18, 19. Cf. Sirach xxxix. 25.
21. The question is a highly compressed one. For the thought cf. iii. 57 ff.
22. The mention of cats as objects of worship points to an Egyptian source cf. iii. 30.
25. **limitless,** ἀπείρονα, an emendation of Wilamowitz.
26. **look moth-eaten.** The phrase σητόβρωτα δέδορκε is scornfully modelled on the heroic idiom πῦρ . . . δεδορκώς (Odyss. xix. 446, &c.). The sarcasm is very effective. The deified cats pilfer savoury morsels, and the images are covered with spiders' webs.
32. **who lead on . . . by guile,** δόλῳ ἡγητῆρες is Wilamowitz's suggestion for δολοήτορες.
35. This line and the next are deficient. There is nothing to show how they should be filled up.
37. **†incline†.** The verb is uncertain. MS. reading is ἀνακλινοῖ. Rz. alters to ἀνακλίνοις, but the optative is awkward after the imperative. Perhaps read ἀνακαίνου, 'renew.'
38. The metaphor of the cup is probably derived from Isa. li. 17.
45. MS. 'being ashamed of lies in the futile idols'.
46–48. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* ii. 12. 19.
47. The phrase **inherit life** recalls Matt. xix. 29, but is not exclusively a Christian conception.
49. **sweet bread.** This is probably manna, which is to be the food of the blessed. Cf. Sib. iii. 746 and 2 Baruch xxix. 8.

III. 1–7. *Introduction. The Divine compulsion.*
1. The line needs emendation to make it scan. Read ὑψίβρομε, μάκαρ, οὐράνιε ὃς ἔχεις τὰ Χερουβίμ. The scansion goes more by accent than by strict rules, and indeed in all this section there are metrical abnormalities.
3. The Sibyl regularly represents herself as speaking under Divine compulsion, cf. infr. l. 295. The Fathers distinguished her inspiration from that of the Hebrew prophets by its unwilling character.

(8) Ye men that bear the form that God did mould in his image, (9) why do ye wander at random and walk not in the straight path, (10) being ever mindful of the eternal Creator? (11) There is one sovereign God, ineffable, whose dwelling is in heaven, (12) self sprung, unseen yet seeing all himself alone. (13) No mason's hand did make him, nor does some model formed from gold (14) or ivory by the varied skill of man represent him. (15) But he, himself Eternal, hath revealed himself (16) as One who is and was before, yea and shall be hereafter. (17) For who, being mortal, can gaze on God with his eyes? (18) Or who could bear even to hear the mere name (19) of the mighty, heavenly God, the World-Ruler? (20) Who by his word created all, both heaven and sea (21) and tireless sun and moon at full (22) and twinkling stars, mighty mother Ocean, (23) springs and rivers, fire immortal, days and nights. (24) Yea it is God Himself who fashioned four-lettered Adam, (25) the first man fashioned, who completes in his name (26) morn and dusk, antarctic and arctic. (27) He too both established the fashion of the form of mortal men (28) and made the beasts and things that creep and fly. (29) Ye do not worship nor fear God, but wander at haphazard, (30) bowing down to serpents and doing sacrifice to cats, (31) and to dumb idols and stone statues of mortal wights, (32) and sitting down before the doors of godless temples (33) ye weary the God who ever is, who guards all (34), taking your delight in miserable stones, forgetting the judgement (35) of the Eternal Saviour Who created heaven and earth. (36) O race that delights in blood, crafty, wicked race of godless men, (37) liars and double-tongued, immoral, (38) adulterous, idolatrous, of wily devices, (39) within whose heart is evil, a frenzied spur, (40) snatching for yourselves, having a shameless mind! (41) For no man of wealth endowed with goods will give any part to another, (42) but miserable meanness shall be among all mortals, (43) and faith they shall never keep at all, (44) but many widowed women shall have other secret lovers for lucre's sake, (45) and gaining husbands shall not keep hold of the rope of life.

(46) But when Rome shall rule over Egypt as well, (47) †as she still hesitates to do,† then the mightiest kingdom (48) of the immortal king over men shall appear. (49) And a holy prince shall come to wield the sceptre over all the world (50) unto all ages of hurrying time. (51) And then there shall be inexorable wrath on Latin men. (52) Three with piteous fate shall bring ruin on Rome, (53) and all its people shall perish in their own dwellings, (54) whensoever a cataract of fire shall flow from heaven. (55) O wretched me! when shall that day arrive, (56) even the judgement of the eternal God, the mighty King? (57) Yet for the present be ye founded, O ye cities, and adorned all of you (58) with temples and race-courses, with markets and statues (59) of gold and silver and stone, that ye may come to the day of bitterness. (60) For come it will, whenever the odour of brimstone pervades (61) all mankind. But I will tell out in particular (62) all those cities in which men are to suffer woe.

8–45. Praise of God and denunciation of idolatry. The passage is similar to Fr. i. and iii. Cf. also Isa. xl. 18 ff.; Wisdom of Solomon xiii. 10 ff.

12. **seeing . . . alone.** There is no need to alter *ὁρῶν μόνος* (*φ*, *ψ*) into *ὁρώμενος*. For the thought cf. *Orph. Frag.* iv. 9 f. *οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν εἰσοράει θνητῶν αὐτὸς δέ τε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*

14. **by the varied skill.** *τέχνῃσ'* is a conjecture of Wilamowitz. It is possible to translate the MSS. *τεχνῆς*, 'no model of the art of man . . .'

17. Cf. Exod. xxxiii. 20; Judg. xiii. 22, &c.

20. For God's word as the agent of Creation cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6. It is not yet personified as in Philo.

24. The letters of Adam are represented as giving the initials of East, West, South, and North. In 2 En. xxx. 13 an acrostic is formed on this name. The same idea recurs in an anonymous writing, *De Montibus Sina et Sion* 4, and in Aug. *Tract. in Ioh. Evang.* ix. 14.

25. **in his name.** For *καὶ οὔνομα* it is necessary to read *κατ' οὔνομα.*

30. The objects of worship are specially Egyptian. Cf. *Frag.* iii. 27.

31. **dumb.** *ἀλάλοις.* So Alexandre emends from *ἄλλοις.*

33. **ye weary.** The MSS. reading *τηρεῖτε* can hardly be translated. Read *τείρετ' ἀεί.* Cf. Isa. xliii. 24.

34. **forgetting.** *ἐκλαθέοντες* does not occur elsewhere in the active with this meaning. Mein. suggests *ἐκλελαθόντες*, but this is usually causative in meaning.

37. The restoration of the text is due to Castalio.

40. **for yourselves.** For *αὐτοῖς* it seems necessary to read *αὑτοῖς.*

42. **meanness,** *κακίῃ* in the special sense of *stinginess.* Cf. Rom. i. 29.

44–5. In 1 Tim. v. 11, 12 regularly constituted church widows are forbidden to marry again. Here the objection seems to be against second marriages in general.

45. **rope of life.** This is probably a nautical metaphor.

46–62. The reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. For the question of the date see Introduction, p. 371.

46. A Rabbinic guess as to the time of the coming of the Messiah was nine months after the empire of Rome had extended over the whole world. Cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. 169 (with notes).

47. **†as she still hesitates to do†.** The text is uncertain, and various emendations are possible. In Geffcken's text *εἰσέτι* (for MSS. *εἰς ἓν*) *δηθύνουσα *τότε δὴ** it seems necessary to omit *δή.* Buresch and Fehr suggest *εἰς ἓν δ' ἰθύνει.*

49. **a holy prince.** He must be the Messiah, and not as Alexandre suggests, Vespasian.

54. Possibly a reference to the burning of the Capitoline Juppiter in 84 B.C., in which the Sibylline Books perished, or to the destruction by lightning of the statue of Juppiter on the Alban Mount in 57 B.C.

60. For **brimstone** as a feature of the Judgement cf. infr. 462; 1 Enoch cxvii. 6.

(63) From the stock of Sebaste Beliar shall come in later time (64) and shall †raise† the mountain heights and raise the sea, (65) the great fiery sun and the bright moon, (66) and he shall raise up the dead and shall perform many signs (67) for men: but they shall not be effective in him. (68) Nay, but he deceives mortals, and many shall he deceive, (69) Hebrews faithful and elect and lawless too, and other (70) men who have never yet listened to the word of God. (71) But at whatsoever time the threatened vengeance of the Almighty God draws near, (72) and fiery energy comes through the swelling surge to earth, (73) and burns up Beliar and the overweening men, (74) even all who have put their trust in him, (75) then the world shall be under the dominion of a woman's hands (76) obeying her every behest. (77) Then when a widow shall reign over the whole world (78) and cast both gold and silver into the godlike deep, (79) **and the brass and iron** of shortlived man (80) cast into the sea, then the elements of the world one and all (81) shall be widowed, what time God Whose dwelling is in the sky (82) shall roll up the heaven as a book is rolled. (83) And the whole firmament in its varied forms shall fall on the divine earth (84) and on the sea: and then shall flow a ceaseless cataract of raging fire, (85) and shall burn land and sea, (86) and the firmament of heaven and the **stars** and creation itself (87) it shall cast into one molten mass and clean dissolve. (88) Then no more shall there be the luminaries' twinkling orbs, (89) no night, no dawn, no constant days of care, (90) no spring, no summer, no winter nor autumn. (91) And then the judgement of the Mighty God shall come into the midst (92) of the mighty aeon, when all these things shall come to pass.

(93) O for the watery tracks and all the dry land, (94) when the sun arises which never sets again. (95) All shall obey him as he ascends again upon the world, (96) for as much as he first **fashioned** them, and his might.

(97) But whensoever the threatened vengeance of the Mighty God is brought to pass, (98) that vengeance with which once he threatened mortals when they made a tower (99) in the Assyrian land—Now all were of one tongue (100) and they desired to ascend into the starry heaven. (101) But straightway the Eternal laid great stress (102) upon the blasts: then the winds dashed down the great

63–92. The coming and destruction of Beliar. In P. this section is introduced with the following words: 'After this she proceeds in her discourse about the deceiving devil, the Antichrist, and speaks as follows.'

63. Sebaste is Samaria, and the reference is probably to Simon Magus regarded as Belial or the Antichrist. But 'the stock of Sebaste' may refer to the Emperors (Augusti), and, if so, Beliar is Nero represented as returning. So R. H. Charles (*Asc. Isa.* p. lxviii).

64. **raise.** The use of the verb στήσει is difficult. Possibly it alters its meaning from 'bring down' in this line to 'raise up' in l. 66. Or in l. 64 we might read στρώσει.

67. In Acts of Peter with Simon xxviii ff. Simon Magus resuscitates a dead body, but only in appearance. When he departs the charm vanishes, and it is St. Peter who actually performs the miracle. The unreality of the miracles is alluded to in Ps. Hippol. xxiii. 106. 14.

70. The reading of φ οὔπω Θεοῦ λόγον need not necessarily be altered.

71. The idea that the world would be destroyed by fire appears among the Romans as a Stoic doctrine. Probably it was derived from Heraclitus. Among the Jews it was possibly suggested by Oriental influences.

75. For the idea of the dominion of a woman cf. viii. 200. It has been suggested that Cleopatra is intended, transformed into a demoniacal personage. Bousset sees a recollection of the mythical Sea Monster, originally regarded as feminine.

79. **the brass too and iron.** Καὶ χαλκόν τε σίδηρον. Emend with Wilamowitz into σὺν χαλκῷ τε σίδηρον.

81. **be widowed.** Probably, as Blass suggests, 'bereft of living things'.

82. Cf. Isa. xxxiv 4; Ps. cii. 26; Apoc. vi. 14, and frequently in later literature, e.g. Armenian Apoc. of Daniel, 240. 13 (cf. Bousset-Keane in *Antichrist Legend*, p. 242).

84. **cataract of . . . fire.** Cf. Secrets of Enoch x. 3.

86. **stars,** σήματα, a conjectural emendation for ἤματα.

89. The cessation of seasons is paralleled in Secrets of Enoch xxxiii. 2; cf. also 4 Ezra vii and Sib. ii. 325.

90. **winter.** There is no need to alter the MS. reading χειμών to χειμῶν'.

92. **the mighty aeon** (αἰὼν μέγας) was originally a Stoic conception.

93–6. The lines are usually regarded as Christian, but there is nothing distinctively Christian in them. The reference to the sun probably goes back to Malachi iv. 1, 2. It is possible, indeed, that Justin is referring to these lines in *Cohort. ad Graec.* 38, and if so he understood them to be Christian in interpretation. But that does not prove that they are of Christian origin.

96. **fashioned** (ἐπήγνυε) for MSS. 'knew' (ἐπέγνω).

97–294. A long section from the Erythraean Sibyl beginning with twelve lines adapted from the Babylonian Sibyl. The passage is widely quoted or alluded to: cf. Euseb. i. 23, 24, who quotes from Alexander Polyhistor (fl. 80–40 B.C.); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3. Eusebius preserves also notices in Abydenus and Eupolemus (cf. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 14, xvii). Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6 explicitly refers the section to the Erythraean Sibyl, but a notice in the *Scholia* on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 B ascribes the account of the tower and the giants to the Hebrew Sibyl.

100. There appears to be some confusion of the story in Genesis with the legend of the giants piling Pelion on Ossa. Homer, *Od.* xi. 304 ff.: Virg. *Georg.* i. 280 ff.

102. The wind is not mentioned in Genesis, but the allusion occurs in Jubilees x. 26; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

tower from on high, (103) and incited mortal men to mutual strife. (104) Therefore men named the city Babylon.

(105) But when the tower was fallen and men's tongues (106) divided off with divers kinds of sounds, then the whole (107) earth began to be filled with separate kingdoms. (108) Then came the tenth generation of articulate men, (109) since the flood came upon the men of yore. (10) And Cronos, Titan, and Iapetus were kings, (11) the goodliest children of Gaia and Ouranos, whom men called (12) Earth and Heaven, dubbing them so (13) because they were the first of all articulate men. (14) Threefold were the divisions of earth in the portion of each, (15) and each was king in his own sphere, nor did they fight, (16) for oaths had been made to their father, and the shares were just. (17) Then their father's full time of age arrived (18) and so he died. And his sons in monstrous transgression of their oaths (19) stirred up strife against one another (20) as to who should reign over mortals in possession of royal honour. (21) And Cronos and Titan fought against each other. (22) But them Rhea and Gaia and garland-loving Aphrodite, (23) Demeter and Hestia and fair-tressed Dione (24) brought to friendship, reconciling the kings (25) all brethren as they were and of one kin, and the other (26) men who were of like blood and parentage. (27) And they resolved that Cronos should reign as king of all, (28) because he was eldest and fairest of form. (29) But Titan for his part imposed mighty oaths on Cronos (30) that he should not rear a family of male children, so that he himself might be king (31) when old age and death overtook Cronos. (32) So whensoever Rhea was in travail, the Titans would sit beside her (33) and tear in pieces every male child, (34) but the women children they would leave alive to be reared with their mother. (35) But our lady Rhea when she brought forth her third child (36) brought forth Hera first: and when they saw evidently (37) that the child was female they went away to their homes, those rough (38) Titans. And then Rhea brought forth a man child, (39) whom she quickly sent away, to be reared secretly and privily, (40) to Phrygia, taking three Cretan men under oath into her counsel. (41) Therefore they gave him the name of Zeus because he was sent away unsuspected. (42) In like manner too she sent away Poseidon stealthily. (43) Then at the third time Rhea, goddess among women, gave birth to Pluto (44) as she was passing Dodona, whence ran the watery courses (45) of the river Europus, and the water flowed to the sea (46) blended with the Peneius, and they call it the Stygian stream. (47) But when the Titans heard that there were sons (48) born privily to the union of Cronos and Rhea, (49) then Titan mustered his seventy sons, (50) and held in bonds Cronos and Rhea his consort. (51) And he hid them in the earth and kept them in fetters. (52) Then indeed the sons of mighty Cronos heard of it, (53) and they raised up for him a great war and battle din. (54) And this is the beginning of war to all mortals (55) [yea this is the first beginning of war to mortals].

(56) And then God inflicted evil on the Titans. (57) And all the families of the Titans and of Cronos (58) died. Then in the circling course of time (59) the Egyptian empire arose, then that of the Persians, (60) of the Medes and Ethiopians and of Assyrian Babylon, (61) then that of the Macedonians, again that of Egypt and then of Rome.

(62) And then the message of the Great God fluttered in my breast (63) and bade me prophesy

104. The derivation is taken from Genesis where the name is connected with בלל. Babel is probably *bab ili* 'gate of god', and Babylon *bab ilani* 'gate of the gods'.

110 ff. The account of the Titans is parallel to Hesiod, *Theog.* 421 ff., but differs in several details. See Friedl., *Einl.*, p. xxvii.

114 ff. Compare the account in Epiph. *Ancoratus* cxiv, in which Noah is represented as dividing the world among his three sons and exacting from them an oath that none should invade his brother's portion. It is from Ham's violation of this compact by robbing Shem of Canaan that Epiphanius deduces the justice and morality of the command to Israel to exterminate the Canaanites. A similar story is told in an Ethiopian work (*Kebra Nagast*, ed. Bezold, 1905).

119. For the wars of the gods cf. Hes. *Theog.* 629 ff.

122. Geffcken quotes a similar story from Moses of Khoren (*History of Armenia* i. 6) in which Kronos is represented by Zrwan.

132. The account is curiously parallel to Apoc. xii. 4.

140. The ordinary account as alluded to in Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 46 ff.; Lucr. ii. 629 ff.; Virg. *Georg.* iv. 150 represents Zeus as reared in Crete when the Curetes drown his infant cries by beating cymbals.

141. The derivation of Zeus, from the preposition of διεπέμφθη, 'he was sent away', is singularly weak, and may be not original, but Geffck. compares a similar derivation in Cornutus 2.

144. **Dodona** was celebrated for its whispering oaks, the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

145. **the river Europus**, i. e. Homer's Titaresius, a tributary of the Peneius. In *Il.* ii. 753 f. it is said to flow with the Peneius, but not to mingle its waters. Homer also mentions its connexion with Styx.

156–61. A concise summary which is, perhaps, not original here. Friedlieb suggests that 156 is picked up by 199, the intervening lines being an interpolation.

159. The prominence given to Egypt is to be noticed. It is the first of empires and the only name that recurs.

162–294. The Babylonian Sibyl standing in the remote past reviews the history of the world as far as the time of Cyrus (167–210 an interpolation).

162. **fluttered**, ἵπτατο, so MSS. Rz. and Geffck. 'stood', ἵστατο.

severally about each (64) land and to their kings, and to put them in mind of things that are to be. (65) And this was the first thing that God vouchsafed to my understanding, (66) namely how many kingdoms of men are being mustered. (67) First of all the house of Solomon shall hold sway, (68) **and the Phoenician invaders** of Asia and of the islands as well (69), and the race of the Pamphylians, Persians, and Phrygians, (70) and that too of the Carians and Mysians and Lydians rich in gold.

(71) Then shall come the Greeks overweening and unholy: (72) **then** a very motley race of Macedonia shall hold sway, (73) who shall come as a dread war cloud upon mortals. (74) But the God of heaven shall smite them utterly.

(75) Next there shall be the sway of another empire, (76) an empire of many hoary heads from the western sea, (77) which shall hold sway over much land, and shall convulse many men, (78) and shall cause fear to many kings in time to come; (79) much gold too and silver it shall ravish (80) from many cities: and again there shall be in the godlike earth (81) gold, yes, and silver, and raiment too.

(82) And they shall afflict mortals. But those men shall have a great (83) fall, whensoever they enter on a course of unjust insolence. (84) And straightway a stress of ungodliness shall fall on them, (85) and male shall draw near to male, and they shall set their children (86) in ill-famed houses, and there shall be in those days (87) great tribulation among men, and it shall set all things wrong, (88) and cut everything short, and fill everything with evils, (89) through covetousness the corrupter of life, and ill-gotten wealth, (90) in many lands and especially in Macedonia. (91) And it shall stir up hatred, and they shall show all manner of guile, (92) until the seventh reign when there shall reign (93) over Egypt a king, who shall be of Greek origin.

(94) And then the nation of the Mighty God shall be again powerful, (95) that nation which shall be to all mortals the guide of life. (96) But why has God put this too into my mind to say (97) what shall be the first evil and the next one and the last which is to fall (98) on all men, and what shall be the beginning of these? (99) First of all God shall inflict evil on the Titans, (200) for they shall suffer vengeance at the hands of the sons of the mighty Cronos, (201) because they bound Cronos and the honoured mother. (202) Then, secondly, the Greeks shall have tyrannies and haughty (203) kings, overweening and unchaste, (204) adulterous and evil in every way, and no longer shall mortals have (205) rest from war. And the terrible Phrygians shall perish, (206) all of them, and evil shall be upon Troy on that day. (207) Then to the Persians and Assyrians evil shall come, (208) and to the whole of Egypt, and to Libya and the Ethiopians, (209) and the Carians and Pamphylians an evil **hard** to remove, (10) and to all men. Why, then, do I detail each severally?

(11) But when the first have reached their end, straightway then shall (12) be a second series upon men. But now I will proclaim this first of all. (13) Evil shall come to the godly men, who dwell around the great temple (14) of Solomon, and who are the descendants of righteous (15) men. Yet of these also I will proclaim (16) the family and kindred of their fathers and the people of all, (17) everything expressly will I proclaim, O mortal of cunning wiles and crafty mind.

(18) There is a city ⟨Camarina⟩ down in the land of Ur of the Chaldees, (19) from which comes

167 ff. The list of world powers falls into five divisions: (*a*) Asia, (*b*) Greece, (*c*) Rome, (*d*) Egypt, (*e*) Jews.

168. **and the Phoenician invaders of Asia**, &c. MSS. have 'invaders of Phoenicia, Asia', &c.

172. **then.** *εἶτα* Volkmann for *ἄλλο*, MSS.

175–93. Rome is still a distant power, but it arouses intense apprehension. The lines seem to reflect a date between 190 (Magnesia) and 165 B.C. when Rome intervened to effect a peace between the Hasmoneans and Lysias.

176. **of many hoary heads**, lit. 'white and many headed', referring to the Roman Senate.

178. Perhaps referring to the check of Antiochus Epiphanes by G. Popilius Laenas in 168 B.C.; cf. Polyb. xxix. 27.

179. Referring to the tribute of 15,000 talents exacted after Magnesia.

180. **there shall be in the godlike earth gold.** The meaning seems to be that men would hide their treasures in order to prevent their being requisitioned to pay the tribute. The practice is condemned in Sirach xxix. 10; 2 Enoch li. 2.

183 ff. The particular vices are out of place as ascribed to the Romans of this early date.

188. The line is repeated in l. 613, where it refers to Antiochus the Great.

190. Macedonia was divided after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), and made a Roman province in 147 B.C.

192. The seventh king is Ptolemy VII, Philometor, son of Cleopatra I, and grandson of Antiochus III. He was proclaimed king in 182 B.C. Ewald, however, would understand the king to be Ptolemy Physkon.

194. The exaltation of the Jews refers to the age of the later Maccabees.

199–210. Another different enumeration of world powers beginning with the Titans.

200. i.e. *υἱοῖς γὰρ κρατεροῖο δίκας τίσουσι Κρόνοιο* emended from *υιοι γαρ κρτ. Κρονου τισουσιν δικας* (Badt).

204. **adulterous** refers to the abduction of Helen by Paris.

209. **an evil hard to remove.** Read *τ' ἄπορον* for *τε κακόν* (with Herwerden).

211–17. An introduction to a sketch of Jewish history, which extends to 294.

218. The lacuna is to be filled up by 'Camarina', which Eupolemus gives as an old name for Ur. Schrader points out that Camarina might be connected with the Arabic word for moon, Ur being one of the main seats of the worship of Sin the Moon God. Ewald understands *Οὐρχαλδαίου* to refer to Abraham, and 'the land of Abraham' to mean Palestine. He reads *σηκός τε* for *καμάρινα*. For *Οὖρ Χαλδαίων* ψ read *εὐρυάγυια*, but this seems a mere guess.

219. For *δὴ* ψ reads *μοι*, 'my race'; as if the Sibyl claimed a Mesopotamian descent.

a race of most righteous men, (20) who ever give themselves up to sound counsel and fair deeds. (21) For they search not out the circling course of the sun or the moon, (22) nor monstrosities beneath the earth, (23) nor the depth of Ocean's shimmering sea, (24) nor portents of sneezes, and birds of augurers, (25) nor wizards, nor magicians, nor enchanters, (26) nor the deceits of ventriloquists' foolish words, (27) nor do they study the predictions of Chaldaean astrology, (28) nor do they astronomize: for all these things are in their nature prone to deceive, (29) such things as witless men are searching out day by day, (30) exercising their souls for a work of no profit. (31) Yes, and they have taught deceits to ill-starred men, (32) from which come many evils to mortals on the earth, (33) so that they are led astray from good paths and righteous acts. (34) But these diligently practise justice and virtue, (35) and not covetousness, which is the source of myriad ills (36) to mortal men, of war and desperate famine.

(37) But they have just measures in country and city, (38) nor do they carry out night robberies one against another, (39) nor do they drive off herds of oxen and sheep and goats, (40) nor does a neighbour remove his neighbour's landmarks, (41) nor does a man of much wealth vex his lesser brother, (42) nor does **anyone** afflict widows but rather assists them, (43) ever ready to supply them with corn and wine and oil. (44) And always the wealthy man among the people sends a portion of his harvest to those who have nothing, (45) but are in want, (46) fulfilling the command of the Mighty God, the **ever abiding** strain: (47) for Heaven has wrought the earth for all alike.

(48) But when the people of twelve tribes with their God-sent leaders (49) shall leave Egypt and pursue their road, (50) journeying with a fiery pillar in the night-time, (51) and in a pillar of cloud **whensoever** the dawn leads on day, (52) over them He shall set up as leader the mighty man (53) Moses, whom the princess found and took home from a marsh, (54) and bringing up called her son. But when he came, (55) leading the people whom God was bringing from Egypt (56) to Mount Sina, then God gave them the law forth from heaven, (57) writing all its ordinances on two tables, (58) and commanded to keep them: and if so be any disobeyed, (59) he should pay the penalty, either according to law or by mortals' hands, (60) or if he escaped mortal men, he should perish by **divine** justice.

(63) To them alone does the fruitful field yield its fruit (64) up to an hundred fold from one, and the measures of God are yielded.

(65) But they too shall have evil, neither shall they escape (66) pestilence. Yea, and thou too shalt leave thy lovely shrine (67) and flee, since it is thy fate to leave thine holy soil. (68) And thou shalt be carried to the Assyrians, and shalt see thine infant children (69) enslaved to hostile men, (70) and thy wives: and all thy livelihood and wealth shall perish. (71) And every land shall be full of thee and every sea: (72) and every one shall be incensed at thy customs. (73) And the whole land shall be empty of thee: and the fenced altar, (74) and the temple of the Mighty God and the long walls (75) shall all fall to the ground, because thou didst not obey in thy mind (76) the holy law of the Immortal God, but wentest astray, (77) and didst serve miserable idols, and didst not fear (78) the Immortal Father of gods and of all men, (79) nor wouldst honour Him, but didst honour the idols of mortal men. (80) Therefore for seven decades of times thy fruitful land (81) shall all be empty of thee and (so shall) thy wondrous shrine. (82) But there awaits thee good at the end and exceeding great glory, (83) as the **Immortal** God has ordained for thee. But do thou tarry, (84) trusting in the holy laws of the Mighty God, (85) when **bowing** thy knee thou prayest toward the light of dawn.

227–8. **astrology . . . astronomize.** The distinction between *ἀστρολογεῖν* and *ἀστρονομεῖν* appears, apart from this passage, to be not earlier than Sextus Empiricus. For Chaldaea as the home of astronomy cf. Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*, c. 32.

242. The line is metrically defective, and has to be emended. Read *οὐδέ γέ τις χήρας θλίβει μᾶλλον δὲ βοηθεῖ* (Mein.).

246. **ever abiding**, *ἔμμονον*, conjecture, for 'lawful', *ἔννομον*. For 'strain', *ὕμνον*, there is a variant, 'sleep', *ὕπνον*.

247. For the sentiment cf. ii. 319 ff., viii. 110 ff.

248. **God-sent leaders.** These are either Moses and Aaron, or, according to Jewish tradition, angels, who guided the Israelite host. Volkmann compares Philo, *Vita Mosis*, i, p. 628.

251. **whensoever** (*ὅταν*), a conjecture of Geffck. for 'all' (*πᾶν*).

260. **divine** (*θείῃ*) seems required for MSS. 'all' (*πάσῃ*). Compare the trespass of Achan (Judg. vii). After this line two lines are omitted. Lines 247 and 585 are inserted in some MSS.

264. **measures of God** perhaps = 'bounteous measures'. The imperfect *τελέθοντο* (are yielded) is, perhaps, used gnomically.

266. **leave.** *καταλιπών*, though metrically defective, need not be altered to *κάρτα λιπών* (Wilamowitz) or *καλλείπων* (Alex).

283. **Immortal.** MSS. *καὶ βροτός* for *ἄμβροτος*. Volkmann would read *ὁ καὶ βροτός*, and understand a reference to the Incarnation, but this is highly improbable.

285. The text is certainly corrupt. The MSS. have *ὁππότε σεῖο καμὸν ὀρθὸν γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἄρῃ*, 'whenever he lifts thy tired (or 'and my') knee upright toward the light.' The emendation is not very violent to *ὁππότε σου κάμπτων ὄρθρου γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἀρῇ*.

(86) And then the God of heaven shall send a king, (87) and shall judge each man with blood and flame of fire. (88) There is a royal tribe, whose family shall (89) never stumble: and this in the circuit of times (90) shall have dominion and shall begin to raise up a new shrine of God. (91) And all the kings of the Persians shall succour it (92) with gold and brass and well wrought iron. (93) For God Himself shall give a holy dream by night. (94) And then the Temple shall be again as it was before.

(95) Then indeed my spirit ceased its God-sent strain, (96) and I besought the Great Father to ease me from my spell. (97) And again the word of the Great God fluttered in my breast, (98) and bade me prophesy of each several (99) land and to put in the minds of the kings that which is to be. (300) And this first God put it in my mind to say, (301) how many grievous woes the Eternal has devised for Babylon, (302) because it sacked His great temple.

(303) Woe unto thee Babylon and race of Assyrian men, a rushing destruction is coming one day upon the whole land of the sinners, (305) and a crash shall destroy the whole country of men, (306) even the scourge of the Mighty God †the inspirer of my strains†.

(307) For from the air from above there shall come to thee Babylon (308) (yea from heaven there shall come down to thee from the Holy Place) (309) and to the children of wrath eternal perdition. (10) And then thou shalt be as thou wast before as though thou hadst not been born. (11) And then thou shalt be surfeited with blood, as formerly thou thyself (12) didst spill the blood of good men and just, (13) whose blood even now cries unto the farthest heaven.

(14) Then shall come home to thee, O Egypt, a mighty plague (15) and dread, which thou didst never expect to come to thee. (16) †For a sword shall go through the midst of thee†, (17) and confusion and death and famine shall last (18) to the seventh generation of kings, and then thou shalt cease.

(19) Woe unto thee, land of Gog and Magog that art in the midst of (20) the rivers of Ethiopia; what an outpouring of blood shalt thou receive, (21) and thou shalt be called among men the habitation of judgement, (22) and the drenched earth shall drink thy life blood.

(23) Woe unto thee, Libya: woe to the sea and land! (24) Ye daughters of the West to what a bitter day shall ye come: (25) yea come pursued by a grievous struggle, (26) dreadful and grievous: a dreadful judgement shall there be again. (27) And perforce ye shall all come to perdition (28) forasmuch as ye utterly destroyed the great House of the Eternal, (29) and ground it fearfully with iron teeth. (30) Therefore thou shalt see thy land full of dead bodies, (31) some from war and all assaults of the devil, (32) by famine and pestilence, and by savage-hearted foes. (33) And all thy land shall be empty of thee, and **thy cities deserts.**

(34) In the west a star shall shine, which they shall call a comet, (35) a messenger to men of the sword, famine, and death, (36) and the †destruction† of ruling men and great notables.

(37) Again there shall be very great signs among men: (38) for deep eddying Tanais shall leave the Maeotic sea, (39) and down the deep bed a fertile furrow shall be drawn, (40) and the vast stream shall

286. **king.** The king is Cyrus, though possibly the writer has in mind his own times rather than the Babylonian captivity, and looks for a deliverer like Cyrus. Ewald understands the king to be the Messiah.

288. The royal tribe is Judah, from which tribe sprang Jesus son of Jozedek.

293. The writer is probably thinking of the story in 1 Esdras iii. 3 ff.

295–488. The third main section in the book. The date is uncertain, various sections of different ages being apparently incorporated. Alexandre supposes the editor to be a Christian or semi-Jew of the age of the Antonines, but there is no trace of Christian influence. Badt puts the date at about 140 B. C.

306. **the inspirer of my strains.** The title ἡγήτορος ὕμνων is curious and of uncertain meaning.

307. **from the air,** or 'at dawn' (so Kautzsch, *Pseudep.*).

314–18. Woe on Egypt. Bousset regards these lines as a later insertion.

316. Reference to the internal struggle between the two brothers Ptolemy VII Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes II, who reigned conjointly in Egypt from 170 B.C. The MSS. reading is unmetrical, and emendations are purely conjectural.

318. Cf. supr. 192. Here, however, it is pointed out that there is a more obvious break in the Ptolemaic history after the death of Ptolemy Physkon in 117 B.C.

319–22. The names Gog and Magog occur frequently in apocalyptic literature, but their identification is not without difficulty. Nowhere else are they located as 'amid the rivers of Ethiopia'. Here, perhaps, they represent Nubians, who returned with Antiochus from Egypt, when he desecrated the Temple. In Rabbinic theology Gog and Magog are those who revolt against God and His Messiah. See references in Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, p. 176.

324. **daughters of the West.** These are probably Libyans in the army of Antiochus. Alexandre understands the phrase to refer to the Romans under Vespasian. Explanations differ widely, but there is, very probably, a reference to Ezek. xxxviii. 39, which represents Magog, Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya as marching to lay waste the Holy Land.

333. **thy cities deserts.** MSS. have 'the desolations of thy city'.

334. Perhaps refers to the comet mentioned in Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 15, as occurring at the death of Demetrius, King of Syria.

336. **destruction.** φθοράν, though metrically false, is not improbably original.

338. **Tanais** = the River Don. The 'Maeotic Sea' = the sea of Azov.

bend its neck. (41) Chasms there shall be and yawning gulfs: and many cities (42) shall fall with all their people: in Asia's land Iassus, (43) Cebren, Pandonia, Colophon, Ephesus, Nicaea, (44) Antioch, **Cyagra**, Sinope, Smyrna, **Murine**, (45) Gaza rich in wealth, Hierapolis, Astypalaea, (46) and of Europe famous Tanagra, royal Meropea, (47) Antigone, Magnesia, and divine Mycenae. (48) Know then that the baleful race of Egypt is nigh its doom, (49) and then to the Magnesians the year that is past shall be better.

(50) For all the wealth that Rome received from tributary Asia, (51) threefold as much shall Asia receive back again (52) from Rome, and shall repay to her her hideous violence. (53) And for all those children of Asia who served Italian homes, (54) Italians to twenty-fold shall live in bondage and penury in Asia, (55) and shall pay back their debt ten thousand-fold.

(56) O Rome, pampered golden offspring of Latium! (57) thou virgin oft intoxicated by thy many suitors in marriage, (58) as a slave-girl shalt thou be wedded without ceremony, (59) and ofttimes shall thy mistress shear thy luxuriant locks, (60) and passing sentence on thee shall cast thee from heaven to earth, (61) and shall lift thee up again from earth to heaven, (62) because men held to a bad and lawless life.

(63) Samos too shall be sand, Delos shall vanish (64) and Rome become a street: and all the oracles are being fulfilled. (65) Of perishing Smyrna there shall be no account. Outlaw shall she be, (66) but with evil counsels and the villainy of her leaders.

(67) But tranquil peace shall make its way to the land of Asia. (68) And Europe shall then be happy, the air salubrious, (69) year after year bracing and free from storms and free from hail, (70) producing everything, birds and creeping creatures of the earth. (71) Thrice happy who shall live unto that time, man (72) or woman: ***happy he whose life is as among country folk***. (73) For good law shall come in its fullness from the starry heaven (74) upon men, and good justice, and with it (75) the best of all gifts to men, sober concord, (76) and affection, faithfulness, friendship from strangers and **fellow-citizens** too. (77) And lawlessness, murmuring, envy, wrath, and folly (78) shall flee from men: penury, too, shall flee, and distress, (79) and murder, and destructive strifes, and baleful feuds, (80) and thefts by night and every evil in those days.

(81) But Macedonia shall bring forth a grievous calamity for Asia, (82) and for Europe there shall shoot up a desperate woe, (83) from the race of the son of Cronos, a family **of** bastards and slaves. (84) This shall subdue even the fortified city of Babylon, (85) and after being called mistress of every land on which the sun looks, (86) shall perish with miserable fate, (87) keeping but a name among its far-wandering sons of a later age.

(88) One day there shall come unexpectedly **to** Asia's wealthy land (89) a man clad with a purple cloak upon his shoulders, (90) savage, a stranger from justice, fiery: **for he hath exalted himself** (91) **even against the thunder**, a mortal as he is. And all Asia shall have an evil yoke, (92) and

344. **Cyagra.** Alex.'s emendation for Tanagra (see line 346).
Murine. An emendation of Alex. for Μάρος.
347. The end of the line is uncertain. Meineke suggests Mycenae, Oiantheia (in Locris).
350–62. A great Roman disaster in Asia. If a specific occasion is to be found it may be the Mithradatic war of 88–84 B.C., or the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C. But possibly it denotes merely the humbling of the world powers that is to precede the days of the Messiah.
356 ff. The picture suggested by Isa. xiii; Apoc. xviii.
363. **Samos . . . sand.** For the play on words Σάμος ἄμμος, Δῆλος ἄδηλος, Ῥώμη ῥύμη, cf. iv. 92, viii. 165, 166. Also Tert. *De Pallio* 2, Lact. vii. 25.
366. There is apparently a gap after this: but the whole order of lines is uncertain.
372. The line is unintelligible and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested. Geffcken proposes μακάρων κεν ἔῃ φάτις ὡς ἐν ἀγραύλοις, and suspects a Christian interpolation. But the first part should probably be μάκαρ ὅς κεν ἔῃ. For the thought cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 50.
376. **from strangers and fellow-citizens too.** ξείνων ἀπὸ κἀστῶν, a conjecture for ξείνων ἀπὸ καὐτῶν.
381–7. Disaster to Asia and Europe arising from Macedonia: perhaps from the Persian Sibyl.
383. Alexander gave himself out to be the son of Juppiter Ammon after his visit to the shrine of that God in 332 B.C. The translation follows an emendation of Castalio. MSS. have νόθον δοῦλόν τε.
384. Babylon, captured in 331 B.C.
388–400. The reference is much disputed. The view adopted here is, in the main, that of Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apok.*, 68 ff. The unknown one (388) is Antiochus Epiphanes; the race which he destroys (394) is his brother Seleucus Philopator's infant son. But Demetrius, the elder son of Seleucus, had the sons of Antiochus put to death (395). A certain Alexander Balas, however, came forward as the second son of Antiochus, and in 150 B.C. Demetrius I fell in battle against him (398). Alexander Balas was defeated by Ptolemy Philometor in 145, and shortly afterwards assassinated. Demetrius II then reigned alone, but a usurper, Tryphon, seized the throne (400), at first in the name of Antiochus, a young son of Alexander Balas. He, however, died, or was murdered, in 142, and Tryphon then became sole king.
388. **unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land**, or 'unexpectedly from Asia to the wealthy land'. All MSS. have ἐξ, but ἐς seems required.
391. **for he hath exalted himself even against the thunder.** The rendering rests on a conjecture. MSS. have 'for the thunder raised him up before, a man'.

the drenched earth shall drink large draughts of blood. (93) But even so Hades shall attend him utterly destroyed. (94) By the race of those whose family he wishes to destroy (95) by them shall his own family be destroyed. (96) Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off, (97) he shall put forth a side-shoot of ten horns. (98) He shall cut down the warrior parent of the purple race, (99) †and he himself at the hand of his grandsons shall perish in a like fate of war†: (400) and then a parasite horn shall have dominion.

(401) Then fertile Phrygia shall have a sign (402) when in the land of Rhea an accursed race, a perennial **branch** (403) vigorous with roots that feel no thirst, (404) disappears stock and all in one night, (405) with men and all in the city of the earth-shaking Thunderer, (406) which in time to come they shall call from that event Dorylaeum (407) in ancient dark Phrygia, the land of many tears. (408) That time goes by the name of the Earth-shaking time. (409) It shall shatter the recesses of the earth and pull down the walls, (10) and signs shall spring forth which are the beginning not of good but of evil. (11) It shall have kings expert in the war of every tribe, (12) ***wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas, an aboriginal race***. (13) But in after times thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers.

(14) Ilium, I pity thee: for in Sparta an avenging fury (15) shall put forth a shoot exceeding fair, ever famed and noble, (16) leaving the far-spread sea of Asia and Europe. (17) But to thee above all it shall bring lamentations and labours and groanings, (18) and set them down; yet to future generations thy fame shall never wax old.

(19) Then again there shall be an aged wight false in writing, (20) and false in birthplace: and the light in his eyes shall set. (21) Yet he shall have much wit, and a verse fitted to his thoughts (22) blended under two names. Chian shall he call (23) himself, and he shall write the story of Ilium, not truthfully indeed, (24) but with poetic skill; for he shall gain possession of my verses and measures. (25) He first shall unfold my books with his hands: (26) and then right well shall he deck out the helmed men of war, (27) Hector Priam's son and Achilles, offspring of Peleus, (28) and all the rest who cared for doughty deeds. (29) Yea and he shall make gods stand by the warriors' side (30) leading astray in every way the mortals of empty head. (31) Their widespread glory rather will it be to have died (32) in Ilium: but he himself shall receive his recompense.

(33) To Lycia too the race of Locros shall bring forth many evils.

(34) Chalcedon, to whose lot has fallen the passage of the narrow sea, (35) to thee too shalt the scion of Ætolia come and work ruin.

(36) Cyzicus, from thee the sea shall rend away thy ponderous wealth. (37) *And thou, Byzantium, one day wilt **look on** Ares' **shield***, (38) and then thou shalt receive groanings and seas of blood.

(39) Thou too, Krasos, lofty mountain of Lycia, from a rock (40) opening in chasms from thy peak water shall bubble forth, (41) until it cause even Patara's prophetic wonders to cease.

(42) O Cyzicus, thou that dwellest in vine-growing Propontis, (43) the crested wave of Rhyndacus shall thunder round about thee.

(44) And thou, Rhodes, shalt for a long time escape slavery, (45) thou daughter of the day, and great shall be thy wealth in later times, (46) and on the sea thou shalt have strength pre-eminent over

396. **The Destroyer** is Demetrius I.

397. **side-shoot.** This is Alexander Balas, who gave himself out as a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. The 'ten horns', if it refers to him, may have reference to the ten letters of Alexandros. But cf. Daniel vii. 7 ff.

The reading in 397 and 399 is uncertain. The conjecture followed in 399 is *καὐτὸς ὑφ' υἱωνῶν καθ' ὁμόφρονα αἶσαν Ἄρηος.*

398. The **parent** is Demetrius I: the **purple race** is Demetrius II, who married Cleopatra of Egypt.

399. This is wrong. Alexander Balas was assassinated by some followers after a defeat by Ptolemy Philometor, not by the hand of Demetrius' children.

400. **a parasite horn,** i. e. Tryphon.

401–18. The Fall of Troy. From the Erythraean Sibyl. Cf. Paus. x. 12. 2.

402. **the land of Rhea** = Phrygia. The 'accursed race' = the Trojans, ancestors of the Romans.

Lines 402–4 recur early in i. 184–6. For *κῦμα* it seems necessary to read *κλῆμα*, 'branch'.

405. **the city of the . . . Thunderer,** i. e. Troy, whose walls were built by Poseidon.

406. **Dorylaeum** is in Phrygia, on the Thymbris. Coins of this city with the head of Poseidon have been found. But the whole passage 406–9, which appears to identify Troy with Dorylaeum, has not been satisfactorily explained. It is possible that Dorylaeum is merely suggested in its literal meaning (= *the prey of the spear*) as a nickname for Troy.

412. **wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas.** Read *Αἰνεάδας δολίους αὐτόχθονας.*

413. **thy lovers,** i. e. Paris and Helen. Geffcken compares Pausanias x. 12. 2 *ἡ δὲ Ἡροφίλη, νεωτέρα μὲν ἐκείνης (sc. τῆς Δελφικῆς) φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγοννῖα καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· καὶ Ἑλένην τε προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης τραφήσοιτο ἐν Σπάρτῃ.*

419. **aged wight,** i. e. Homer. For the contention that Homer borrowed from the Sibyl cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6. 9, Diod. Sic. iv. 66. The argument is also found in Aristobulus in the second century B.C.

420. The blindness of Homer is alluded to as early as in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, quoted in Thucyd. iii. 104.

422. **two names,** i. e. the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

433–88. A series of calamities on various towns and countries.

437. **look on . . . shield.** The rendering rests on an emendation (*ἀσπίδα δέρξῃ* for *Ἄσιδι στέρξῃ*).

441. **Patara,** the seaport of Xanthus, contained a famous oracle of Apollo. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* iii. 4. 64.

others. (47) But in the end thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers (48) with thy beauty and thy wealth: a grievous yoke shalt thou put upon thy neck.

(49) Furthermore, a Lydian earthquake shall lay Persia in ruins, (50) bringing most direful woes on Europe and Asia. (51) †The Sidonians' baleful king, and the war of others (52) shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring Samians.† (53) With the blood of perishing men the plain shall bubble to the sea: and wives with bright-robed girls (55) shall shout aloud for their own hideous violence, (56) some for their **bridegrooms**, some for their perishing sons.

(57) The token of Cyprus: an earthquake shall destroy its ravines, (58) and Hades at one fell swoop shall possess himself of many souls.

(59) Trallis, neighbour to Ephesus, shall shake down with an earthquake (60) its well-built walls and people of stout-hearted men. (61) And the earth shall be drenched by boiling water, (62) and the stupefied earth shall drink in **mist** as well: and there shall be an odour of sulphur. (63) Samos too at that time shall build a royal mansion.

(64) Italy, to thee **no** foreign war shall come, (65) but a people of thy blood shall destroy thee, (66) shameless one, with many woes, stalwart as thou art and much renowned. (67) And thou, stretched by thine own warm **ashes**, (68) †careless of thy children's future, shalt slay thyself,† (69) and thou shalt be not the mother of heroes but the nurse of beasts.

(70) But when from Italy a destroyer shall come, (71) then Laodicea, (72) thou fair city of the Carians beside the wondrous waters of Lycus, thou shalt be dashed headlong, (73) and be silent after bemoaning thy much-vaunted parent.

(74) The Thracian **Crobuzi** shall rise throughout Haemus.

(75) On the Campanians there falls chattering of teeth, by reason of the **city-wasting** famine, (76) and they shall bewail their long-lived ancestor.

(77) Cyrnos and Sardo, by the great storm eddies (78) and the lashes of the Holy God through the depths of the sea, (79) shall sink beneath the wave with their sea-faring children. (80) Alas for all the maids that Death shall wed, (81) and the lads whom the deep shall attend unanealed. (82) Alas for the infant children floating on the sea, and the stores of wealth.

(83) The happy Mysian land shall suddenly produce a royal race. (84) But not for long shall Carthage †truly† be. (85) And the Galatians shall have a miserable and piteous fate. (86) To Tenedos too there shall come a final unequalled evil. (87) And brazen Sicyon and thou, Corinth, too (88) **†shalt resound** with howls for all: and **Aulis** shall shout in equal measure†.

(89) Then when my spirit ceased its inspired strain, (90) again the oracle of Mighty God stirred within my breast, (91) and bade me prophesy of several lands.

(92) Woe to the race of Phoenicians, men and women, (93) and to all their sea-coast cities: not one of you, (94) shall come to the light of the sun in that light that is common to all. (95) Nor shall there be any more any numbering of thy life nor tribe to thee, (96) because of thine unrighteous tongue and thy lawless and unclean life (97) which all have led, opening their mouth for uncleanness, (98) and because they covenanted with monstrous words, false and unjust, (99) and stood before God

447. **Rhodes** was subdued by Rome in 167 B.C., after having successfully maintained its independence and prosperity through many difficult years.

451–2. Reading very uncertain. A slight emendation would give 'a baleful king and war of others shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring sons of the Sidonians.' Sidon was barbarously ravaged by Artaxerxes Ochus in 352 B.C.

456. **bridegrooms** (*νυμφίων*), a conjecture of Rzach for 'corpses' (*νεκύων*).

462. **mist**: a conjecture (*ἀχλύν* for *αὐτῆς*).

463. **Samos** fell into the hands of the Ptolemies some time before 274 B.C.

464 ff. Reference probably to the Social War.

no foreign war. For *οὔτις* MSS. have *οὗτος*.

467. **ashes**, *σποδιῇσι*, a conjecture for 'offerings', *σπονδῇσι*.

468. MSS. unintelligible. Various conjectures proposed. The text translates *ἀπροιδὴς τεκέεσσιν ἑοῖς ἐναρίξεαι αὐτην*.

470. **a destroyer**, i.e. probably Sulla, who sailed for Greece in 87 B.C. to prosecute the war against Mithradates.

472. For the earthquakes at Laodicea cf. iv. 107. The date is, however, uncertain.

473. **thy much-vaunted parent**, i.e. Zeus, whose figure is very common on the coins of the town.

474. **Thracian Crobuzi.** The restoration of these names is due to Meineke. *φ ψ Θρῆκες ἀκρόβυζοι.*

475. **city-wasting.** MSS. 'fruitful' (*πτολίπορθον* (So Castal.) for *πολύκαρπον*).

476. The end of the line is apparently corruptly restored from 473.

477. **Cyrnos and Sardo** = Corsica and Sardinia.

480. Compare the discussion on death represented as marriage in J. C. Lawson's *Ancient Greek folk-lore and modern Greek religion*, pp. 546 ff.

484. **Carthage.** It is proposed to read 'Chalcedon'. But the allusion may be to the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.

487–8. The rendering is a mere conjecture, the text being unintelligible.

489–808. A further series of woes, the prosperity of the righteous, eschatological pictures, and exhortations to true worship.

495. **nor tribe.** Perhaps 'throughout thy race', *κατὰ φῦλον* for *καὶ φῦλον*.

the Great King, (500) and opened with falsehood their filthy mouth. Therefore shall he (501) marvellously bring them low with His scourges more than any (502) land, and God shall send on them a bitter fate, (503) burning their cities from the ground and their many foundations.

(504) Woe to thee, much-vexed Crete. To thee shall come a scourge (505) and a dread eternal **destruction**. And all the earth shall see thee once more wreathed in smoke, (507) and fire shall never leave thee but thou shalt burn.

(508) Woe unto thee, Thrace: how shalt thou come to the yoke of bondage: (509) when Galatians mingled with the sons of Dardanus (10) **swoop on to ravage Hellas**, then shall be thine evil day, (11) and to a strange land thou shalt give ⟨thine own⟩ and receive nought.

(12) †Woe unto thee, Gog and Magog, and to all the several tribes, (13) Marsians and **Dacians**†, how many evils fate brings near to you: (14) ⟨many, too⟩, to the sons of the Lycians, Mysians and Phrygians. (15) And many tribes of the Pamphylians and Lydians shall fall, (16) of Moors and Ethiopians and nations of barbarous speech, (17) Cappadocians and Arabians. But why should I proclaim the fate of each severally? (18) for upon all nations who dwell on the earth (19) the Most High shall send a grievous scourge.

(20) But whensoever a numerous barbarian race shall fall upon the Greeks, (21) it shall destroy many heads of picked men, (22) and many of men's fat flocks shall they ravish, (23) and herds of horses and mules and lowing oxen. (24) And well-built houses shall they lawlessly burn with fire. (25) And many miserable wights shall they carry by force as slaves to another land, (26) children and tender deep-girdled women, (27) snatched from their chambers and with delicate feet falling forward. (28) They shall see them in bonds at the hand of strange-tongued foes (29) suffering every horror of outrage. And they shall have (30) no man to lend them but a little aid in war and to succour their lives. (31) They shall see the foe reaping the enjoyment of their own possessions and of all their wealth, (32) and trembling shall be underneath their knees. (33) An hundred shall flee and one shall slay them all: (34) and five shall rout a heavy **squadron**; and they, thrown one against another (35) in shameful confusion by the dread din of battle, (36) shall bring exultation to the foe but to Greeks mourning.

(37) Then all Hellas shall lie under the yoke of slavery, (38) and war and pestilence shall come upon all mankind at once, (39) and God shall make the great heaven above brazen, (40) and drought over the whole earth, and it of iron. (41) Then all mankind shall grievously lament (42) no sowing and no ploughing: and fire upon earth (43) shall He send down **column upon column**, who created heaven and earth: (44) and of all mankind the third part shall be **destroyed.**

(45) Hellas, why dost thou put thy trust in governors, (46) mortal men who are powerless to escape the consummation of death? (47) With what view dost thou proffer vain gifts to the dead (48) and sacrifice to idols? Who has put error in thine heart, (49) that thou shouldst perform these rites and forsake the face of Mighty God? (50) Reverence the name of the Father of all and forget him not. (51) There are a thousand years and five hundred more, (52) since the reign of the haughty kings (53) of the Greeks who were the pioneers of evils to mankind, (54) **holding fast** to many idols of defunct gods, (55) whereby ye have been taught to think vain things. (56) But when the wrath of the great God shall be upon you, (57) then shall ye know the face of the great God. (58) And every soul of men with deep groans, (59) upraising their hands straight to the broad heaven, (60) shall begin to call to his succour the Mighty king, (61) and to seek who shall come as a deliverer from the mighty wrath.

(62) But come and learn this and store it in thy mind, (63) how many shall be the woes of the

505. **destruction.** The reading follows a conjecture of Wilamowitz, ἐξαλάπαξις for ἐξαλαπάξει.
509. The Gaulish invasion of 280 B.C.
510. The line as it stands is unmetrical.
swoop on to ravage Hellas, then shall be thine evil day. Read Ἕλλαδ' ἐπέσσυνται πορθεῖν, τότε σοι κακὸν ἔσται.
511. **⟨thine own⟩.** Supply τὸ σόν after δώσεις.
512–13. The lines are corrupt and the names of the tribes cannot be restored with certainty. For **Marsians** we should perhaps read Mardians, a tribe inhabiting the hill country of Hyrkania.
520 ff. Probably referring to the Roman invasion culminating in the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.: so Hilgenfeld. The reference, however, may be to the Gaulish invasion of 279 B.C.
533. Cf. Isa. xxx. 17; Deut. xxxii. 30.
534. **squadron** (λόχον), Wilamowitz's conjecture for 'wrath' (χόλον).
539. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 23; 1 En. lxxx. 2; Jub. xxiii. 18.
543. **column upon column.** Alexandre's suggestion πολύνηστον is followed for the unintelligible πολὺν ἱστόν.
544. **shall be destroyed,** ἔσσετ' ἄϊστον, a conjecture for ἔσσεται αὖθις.
545, 547–9. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 15. 15.
554. **holding fast,** κατέχοντες, a conjecture for θανεόντων, which leaves no governing verb.
563. A line has evidently dropped out after this. That inserted is a mere conjecture. Apparently the meaning is that the doom of Hellas is irrevocably fixed.

circling years. [For not even if thou shouldst offer up hecatombs of sacrifices], (64) **as many as** Hellas offered of old, of kine and bellowing bulls, (65) bringing whole burnt sacrifices to the temple of the Mighty God, (66) not even so wilt thou escape from jarring war and panic (67) and pestilence, and the yoke of bondage again. (68) But so long the race of godless men shall exist, (69) until the day of fate reaches its appointed end. (70) Ye shall not sacrifice to God until all these things come to pass. (71) Whatsoever the one God purposes fails not of its accomplishment. (72) For that all things be accomplished the stress of necessity will insist.

(73) There shall be thereafter a holy race of God-fearing men, (74) adhering to the counsels and the mind of the Most High: (75) who pay full honour to the temple of the mighty God, (76) with drink offerings and fat offerings and sacred hecatombs, (77) with sacrifices of lusty bulls and unblemished rams, (78) and piously offer as whole burnt sacrifices rich flocks of firstling sheep and lambs upon the great altar. (80) And in righteousness possessing the law of the Most High, (81) they shall dwell happily in their cities and rich fields, (82) themselves as prophets exalted by the Immortal One, (83) and bringing great joy to all mortals. (84) For to them alone the Mighty God has given discreet counsel, (85) and faith and an excellent understanding in their hearts: (86) in that they give not themselves to vain deceits, nor honour the works of men's hands, (87) of gold and brass, silver or ivory, (88) idols of dead gods of wood and stone, (89) idols of clay vermilion painted, pictured likenesses of beasts, (90) such things as men with minds void of counsel do honour. (91) But they instead raise heavenwards holy arms, (92) rising early from their bed and ever cleansing their flesh (93) with water, and they honour Him alone who reigns for ever, (94) the Eternal, and after him their parents: and more than any (95) men they are mindful of the purity of marriage. (96) Nor do they hold unholy intercourse with boys, (97) as do the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Latins, (98) and *spacious* Hellas, and many nations of other men, (99) Persians and Galatians and all Asia, transgressing (600) the holy law of the immortal God **which he ordained**. (601) For which cause the Eternal shall impose on all men (602) retribution and famine and woes and groans, (603) war, too, and pestilence and fearful calamities; (604) because they would not honour in holiness the eternal Father of all men, (605) but reverenced and honoured idols (606) made by men's hands, which men themselves shall cast (607) into the crannies of rocks and hide in shame, (608) whensoever a youthful king of Egypt, seventh in line, (609) of his own land reckoned from the Greeks shall reign over (10) an empire, over which the doughty Macedonians shall reign; (11) and there comes from Asia a mighty king, a fiery eagle, (12) who shall darken every land with foot and horse, (13) and shall break up everything and fill everything with miseries: (14) he shall cast down the kingdom of Egypt, and taking all (15) its wealth, shall ride upon the broad surface of the sea. (16) And then at length to God the great King, the Eternal, (17) they shall bend the white knee upon the fruitful earth, (18) and the works of men's hand shall all fall into the flame of fire. (19) And then God shall give great joy to men. (20) For the earth and the trees and the innumerable flocks of sheep, (21) shall give their true fruit to mankind, (22) of wine and sweet honey and white milk (23) and corn which is to men the most excellent gift of all.

(24) But thou, O man of wiles, tarry not with hesitation, (25) but turning round again make intercession to God. (26) Sacrifice to God hundreds of bulls and firstling lambs (27) and of goats in the circling seasons. (28) Yea, make intercession to Him, the Immortal God, if perchance He may have mercy upon thee. (29) For He alone is God, and there is none beside. (30) Honour righteousness and oppress no man: (31) for these are the commands of the Eternal to wretched mortals.

(32) But do thou beware of the wrath of the mighty God, (33) whenever the consummation of

564. The beginning of the line is quite uncertain. MSS. have 'even those which Hellas offered'.

573 ff. The happy state of the righteous. The writer has, perhaps, in mind the prosperity of the Jews under Simon Maccabeus.

578. **flocks,** *μῆλα*. For this Mendelssohn suggests 'thighs', *μῆρα*, but the correction is not convincing.

589. Cf. Wisdom xiii. 14. Such painting was common among the Romans: cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 45; Virg. *Ecl.* x. 25.

The reading is uncertain. Perhaps *πήλινα μιλτόχριστ' ἢ ζωγραφίας τυποειδεῖς* (so Volkmann).

591–2. Cf. iv. 165–6. The insistence on lustration is specially Essene. Cf. Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 5. For prayer on waking cf. Pss. Sol. vi. 6.

600. The end of the line is a conjecture. (*ὅνπερ ἔθηκεν* for *ὃν παρέβησαν*). MSS. 'which they transgressed'.

606. Cf. Isa. ii. 18, 19, xxxi. 7.

608. **a youthful king**, i.e. Ptolemy Philometor, cf. 192. In fleeing from the invasion of Antiochus Epiphanes (170–169 B.C.) he was captured and brought back a prisoner. Antiochus failed to take Alexandria, but captured much booty and returned by sea (615).

613. Cf. supra 188.

616. The writer passes over an interval of years and comes to the prosperous conditions under the later Maccabees.

618. Lact. quotes this line (*Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 9) as *ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητα Θεῶν κατακαυθήσονται.* He refers it to the Erythraean Sibyl.

625–6. Quoted by Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vii. 74 as Orphic verses.

pestilence comes upon all mortals, (34) and, overthrown, they meet with a terrible retribution (35) and king captures king and takes his land, (36) and nations ravage nations and potentates people, (37) and rulers all flee to another land, (38) and the land is changed in men and a barbarian empire (39) ravages Hellas, and drains the rich land (40) of its wealth, and men come face to face in strife (41) for the sake of gold and silver, (42) (the love of money shall be the shepherd of evils to many) (43) in a foreign land. And all shall be unburied, (44) and vultures and savage beasts of the earth (45) shall devour the flesh of some. And when all these things are fulfilled, (46) the giant earth shall devour the relics of the dead. (47) And it shall all be unsown and unploughed, (48) proclaiming in its misery the corruption of myriads of men. (49) And then for many spaces of time in circling years [men shall gather and burn in their houses] (50) targes and shields and javelins and divers kinds of weapons. (51) Nor shall wood be cut from the thicket to kindle fire.

(52) And then from the sunrise God shall send a king, (53) who shall give every land relief from the bane of war: (54) some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows. (55) Nor shall he do all these things by his own will, (56) but in obedience to the good ordinances of the mighty God.

(57) And again the people of the mighty God shall be laden with excellent wealth, (58) with gold and silver and purple adornment. (59) The land shall bear her increase, and the sea (60) shall be full of good things. And kings shall begin **to be weary** (61) **of repelling** evil one against another with wrath. (62) Envy is no good thing for miserable mortals. (63) But again the kings of the nations shall throw themselves against this land (64) in troops, bringing retribution on themselves. (65) For the shrine of the mighty God and the noblest men (66) they shall seek to ravage whensoever they come to the land. (67) In a ring round the city the accursed kings shall place (68) each one his throne with his infidel people by him. (69) And then with a mighty voice God shall speak unto all (70) the undisciplined empty-minded people, and judgement shall come upon them (71) from the mighty God, and all shall perish (72) at the hand of the Eternal. (From heaven shall fall (73) fiery swords down to the earth: lights shall come bright (74) and great, flashing into the midst of men. (75) And earth, the universal Mother, shall shake in those days (76) at the hand of the Eternal, and the fishes in the sea, (77) and all the beasts of the earth and the countless tribes of flying things, (78) and all souls of men and every sea (79) shall shudder at the presence of the Eternal and there shall be panic. (80) And the towering mountain peaks and the hills of the giants (81) He shall rend, and the murky abyss shall be visible to all. (82) And the high-hung ravines in the lofty mountains (83) shall be full of dead bodies: the rocks shall flow (84) with blood, and each torrent shall flood the plain. (85) The well-built walls of the disaffected men shall all fall to the ground, (86) because they knew not the law (87) nor the judgement of the Mighty God, but with witless mind (88) with one united onslaught †ye cast your spears† against the Holy One. (89) And God shall judge all with war and sword, (90) and with fire and cataclysms of rain. And there shall be (91) brimstone from heaven, yea stones and hail (92) incessant and grievous: and death shall be upon the fourfooted beasts.) (93) And then shall they know the Immortal God, who ordains these things. (94) †Wailing and lamenting through the length and breadth of the land† (95) shall come with the perishing of men: and all the **shameless** (96) shall be washed with blood. Yea, the land itself shall

635–7. An allusion to the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes (see on l. 608).

638. **a barbarian empire**, i.e. Rome. Cf. l. 520.

642. **to many**, πολέσσιν, possibly intended as from πολύς.

648. **myriads** (μυρίων) is unmetrical. Possibly read μερόπων, 'articulate'.

After this verse there is a gap in the text. The line supplied is a conjecture. The thought is taken from Ezek. xxxix. 9, and is referred to again in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 26. 4.

651. Recurs in 729.

652 ff. The coming of the Messiah.

from the sunrise, ἀπ' ἠελίοιο, may mean either 'from the East' or 'from heaven': cf. supr. 286 (of Cyrus), Sib. v. 414.

Holtzmann thinks of Simon Maccabeus as the heaven-sent king.

657. **people** (λαός). Meineke and Geffck. alter to 'temple' (ναός), but this seems unnecessary.

661–2. **shall begin . . . wrath.** MSS. 'shall begin to be angry with one another (κοτέειν) avenging evils in their mind'. The translation renders κοπιᾶν . . . ἀπαμύνοντες.

663. A fresh onslaught against the Holy City. The description is borrowed in part from Jer. i. 15. Cf. 1 En. lvi. 5.

667. Cf. 4 Ez. xiii. 33; Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5. 43.

673. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 5.

shall come. A comparison with 1 En. cii. 2. 3 suggests that for ἵξονται we should very likely read φρίξονται.

688. **ye cast your spears.** The change of person is awkward. Perhaps read 'they lifted up reproach' (ἦραν ἔλεγχος for ἤρατε λόγχας).

691. Cf. Apoc. ix. 17.

694. The text of the MSS. needs some emendation. Read (with Rzach) οἰμωγή τ' ἀλαλαγμὸς ὁμοῦ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

695. **shameless** (ἀναιδεῖς) for 'speechless' (ἄναυδοι).

drink (97) of the blood of the perishing: the beasts shall eat their fill of flesh. (98) God Himself, the great eternal God (99) bade me prophesy these things: and they shall not lack their fulfilment. (700) Nothing fails of its appointed end when He but conceives the thought. (701) For all over the world the Spirit of God cannot lie.

(702) Then again all the sons of the great God (703) shall live quietly around the temple, rejoicing in those gifts (704) which He shall give, who is the Creator, and sovereign righteous Judge. (705) For He by Himself shall shield them, standing beside them alone **in His might,** (706) encircling them, as it were, with a wall of flaming fire. (707) Free from war shall they be in city and country. (708) For they shall not feel the touch of horrid war, for the Eternal shall be (709) Himself their champion, and the hand of the Holy One. (10) And then all the isles and the cities shall say, (11) How doth the Eternal love those men! (12) For all things work in sympathy with them and help them, (13) the heaven and God's chariot the sun, and the moon. (15) A sweet strain shall they utter from their mouths in hymns. (16) Come, let us all fall upon the earth and supplicate (17) the Eternal King, the mighty, everlasting God. (18) Let us **make procession** to His Temple, for He is the sole Potentate. (19) And let us all ponder the law of the Most High God, (20) who is the most righteous of all on earth. (21) But we had gone astray from the path of the Eternal, (22) and with foolish heart worshipped the works of men's hands, (23) idols and images of men that are dead. (24) So shall the souls of the faithful raise their cry. (25) Come, let us throughout God's people fall upon our faces, (26) and gladden with hymns God our Father throughout our households, (27) furnishing ourselves with the weapons of our enemies throughout the whole land (28) for seven spans of circling years, (29) targes and shields and helms and weapons of all and sundry kinds (30) in great numbers, and quantities of bows and arrows and **javelins.** (31) For even wood shall not be cut from the thicket for kindling fire.

(32) But, wretched Hellas, cease thine arrogance: (33) supplicate the great heart of the Eternal and take heed to thyself. (34) To dispatch indeed against this city thine ill-advised people, (35) which comes **not** of the holy land of the Mighty! (36) Arouse not Camarina: 'tis better not aroused. (Rouse not) (37) a leopard from its lair, lest mischief befall. (38) Nay, withhold thine hand, and cherish not a spirit of overweening arrogance in thy breast, (39) dispatching to a mighty contest. (40) And serve the Mighty God, that thou mayst have a share in these gifts.

(41) But when the fated day shall reach this consummation, (42) and there shall come to mortals the judgement of the Eternal God, (43) there shall come upon men a great judgement and empire. (44) For Earth the universal mother shall give to mortals her best (45) fruit in countless store of corn, wine and oil. (46) Yea, from heaven shall come a sweet draught of luscious honey, (47) **the trees** shall yield their **proper** fruits, and rich flocks, (48) and kine and lambs of sheep and kids of goats. (49) He will cause sweet fountains of white milk to burst forth. (50) And the cities shall be full of good things and the fields rich: (51) neither shall there be any sword throughout the land nor battle din: (52) nor shall the earth be convulsed any more with deep-drawn groans. (53) No war

702–31. The peace and prosperity of the sons of God.
705. **in His might** (*μεγαλωστί*) for 'and greatly' (*μεγάλως τε*). So Geffcken.
706. Cf. Zech. ii. 5.
710. **isles** = 'Gentiles': cf. Isa. xlix. 1, li. 5.
713. After this l. 675 is interpolated in the MSS.
715. Reading a little uncertain. The hymn is modelled on the theocratic Psalms xcv–c.
718. **make procession** (*πομπῶμεν*), a conjecture for 'send' (*πέμπωμεν*).
721 f. The confession of the converted is quoted by Justin, *Cohort.* 16.
725–31. Apparently an alternative hymn incorporating 649–51.
728 ff. Cf. 649 ff.
730. **javelins** (*ἀκίδων*), a conjecture of Meineke for 'of the unjust' (*ἀδίκων*).
732–40. A warning to Greece.
734–5. A passage that has given much trouble and occasioned many conjectures. The rendering keeps the MSS. reading with the single exception of *μή* for *μέν* in 735. It is probably a taunt sung at the expulsion of the Seleucid garrison from the Acra at Jerusalem in 141 B.C.
736. An ancient proverb quoted by Servius on Virg. *Aen.* iii. 701. There was a swamp round Camarina which protected the city till it was drained.
737. Another proverb: the verb is lacking.
739. **dispatching.** The participle is masc., whereas 'Hellas' is fem. Probably the writer has in mind the Seleucid king.
741 ff. The blessings of Messiah's reign.
741–3. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 20. 1 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.
742. Occurs only in Lact. and seems to be a doublet. Cf. Secrets of Enoch lxv. 6.
746–8. Are marked by Wilam. as an interpolation.
747. **trees . . . fruits.** It is best to read (with Fehr) *δένδρων τ' ἀκροδρύων.* For the fruitfulness of trees cf. 2 Enoch ix. 7.
749. Cf. Joel iii. 18. A similar idea in Koran, *Sura* xlvii.

shall there be any more nor drought throughout the land, (54) no famine nor hail to work havoc on the crops. (55) But there shall be a great peace throughout all the earth, (56) and king shall be friendly with king till the end (57) of the age, and a common law for men throughout all the earth (58) shall the Eternal perfect in the starry heaven (59) for all those things which have been wrought by miserable mortals. (60) For He above is God and there is none else. (61) He too shall burn with fire the race of stubborn men.

(62) But **consecrate your** minds within your breasts, (63) and eschew unlawful service: serve the Living *God.* (64) Shun adultery and confused intercourse with males. (65) Rear thine own offspring and slay it not: (66) for the Eternal will surely be wroth with him who commits these sins.

(67) And then indeed he will raise up his kingdom for all ages (68) over men, he who once gave a holy law (69) to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth (70) and the world, and the portals of the blessed, and all joys, (71) and everlasting sense and eternal gladness.

(72) And from every land they shall bring frankincense and gifts to the house (73) of the great God: and there shall be no other (74) house for men even in future generations to know (75) but only that which He has given **to faithful men** to honour. (76) For mortals call that **alone** (the house) of the great God. (77) And all the paths of the plain and the sheer banks, (78) and the lofty mountains and the wild sea waves (79) shall become easy to travel over by foot or sail in those days. (80) For nought but peace shall come upon the land of the good: (81) and the prophets of the Mighty God shall take away the sword. (82) For they are the judges of mortal men and just kings. (83) Even wealth shall be righteous among men: (84) for this is the judgement and the rule of the Mighty God.

(85) Rejoice, O virgin, and exult: for to thee (86) the Creator of heaven and earth has given everlasting joy. (87) And in thee shall he dwell, and thou shalt have eternal light.

(88) And wolves and lambs together shall crop grass upon the mountains, (89) and leopards shall feed with kids. (90) Prowling bears shall lie with calves, (91) and the carnivorous lion shall eat hay in the manger (92) like the ox, and the tiniest infants shall lead them in bonds, (93) for He shall make the beasts upon the earth incapable of harm. (94) Serpents **and asps** shall sleep with babes, (95) and shall not harm them: for God's hand shall be *stretched* over them.

(96) Now I will tell thee a very evident sign, that thou mayst understand (97) when the end of all things is coming on the earth. (98) When swords in the star-lit heaven (99) appear by night towards dusk and towards dawn, (800) and straightway dust is carried from heaven (801) †to earth, and all the brightness of the sun (802) fails at midday from the heavens†, and the moon's (803) rays shine forth and come back to earth, (804) and a sign comes from the rocks with dripping streams of blood: (805) and in a cloud ye shall see a battle of foot and horse, (806) as a hunt of wild beasts, like unto misty clouds. (807) This is the consummation of war which God, whose dwelling is in heaven, is bringing to pass. (808) But all must sacrifice to the Mighty king.

(809) These are the acts of the wrath of God which I, leaving the far-off walls of Assyrian Babylon

761. **race.** Another reading is 'might' (*γένος ψ, μένος φ*).

762–6. An exhortation to right living. The lines interrupt, and are possibly out of place.

762. **consecrate your minds.** Reading uncertain. MSS. 'hastening my mind' (*κατασπεύσαντες ἐμὰς φρένας*). The simplest emendation is, as above, *κατασπείσαντες ἑάς.*

767–84. Further description of the Messianic kingdom. The passage may refer to the eternal condition of the godly, for the Messianic kingdom on earth was not regarded as permanent; contrast 767–8.

772. For the offerings of the converted heathen to the Temple, cf. Isa. lx; Tobit xiii. 11; 1 En. xc. 33, 37.

773–4. Perhaps a reference to the destruction of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, by John Hyrcanus.

775. **but only that which.** Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 reads *ἄλλον* for *ἀλλ' ὅν*, 'God gave Another to faithful men to honour', and supposes a reference to the Son of God.

to faithful men. MSS. have *πιστὸν ἄνδρα* instead of *πιστοῖς ἄνδρεσσι.*

776. MSS. have 'for mortals call him the son of the Mighty God'. For 'son' (*υἱόν*) it is proposed to read 'temple' (*ναόν*). It is simpler to read 'alone' (*οἶον*). So Mendelssohn. Gfrörer, Hilgenfeld and Fehr regard the line as an interpolation.

777. For the smoothing away of the difficulties of nature cf. Isa. xi. 15, 16, xl. 3; Pss. Sol. xi. 5 f.

781. For the part assigned to the prophets cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41.

785 ff. Cf. Zech. ii. 10; Isa. liv. 1.

788 ff. Cf. Isa. xi. 6. Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 17, 21 f.; Lactantius quotes 788–91, 794 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.

794. **and asps,** an emendation of the MS. reading *ἅμα σφισι*, 'with themselves.'

796–808. The signs that are to herald the end. Compare the signs related in 2 Macc. v. 1–4 as preceding the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes, and in Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 5 as presaging the fall of Jerusalem.

801. The line is defective and emendations can only be conjectural.

805. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 13 'visae per coelum concurrere acies'.

807. **the consummation of war.** Reading again uncertain. Perhaps 'the end of all things', *τοῦτο τέλος πάντων τελέει Θεός.* So Rzach from 797.

809–29. Epilogue and credentials.

Lact. expressly assigns 809–18 to the Erythraean Sibyl, who, as he says, claims to have been born at Babylon. But it is not easy to see why the Erythraean Sibyl should come from Babylon, and it has been suggested that the

(10) impelled by frenzy, and coming as a fire launched forth against Hellas, (11) am proclaiming unto all mankind, (12) so as to proclaim unto mortals the mysteries of God.

(13) And mortals throughout Greece shall call me a stranger of another land, (14) born of Erythrae and shameless. Others shall call me, born of my mother Circe (15) and my father Gnostos, the Sibyl, (16) a crazy impostor. But when all these things come to pass, (17) then ye shall make mention of me, and no man any more (18) shall call me crazy, the prophetess of the Mighty God. (19) For he **did not reveal** to me those things which before he revealed to my parents, (20) but all those things which happened first of all God hath ⟨not⟩ detailed to me, (21) but of the later things God hath put all in my understanding, (22) so that I may proclaim the things that shall be and that were before (23) and tell them to mortal men. For when the world was being swallowed up (24) by the waters, and one man only who found favour was left, (25) floating on the waters in a dwelling of hewn wood, (26) with beasts and birds, that the world might be replenished again: (27) his daughter-in-law was I, and of his blood I came, (28) to whom the first things happened: and now the latter things have all been told. (29) So let all these things be accounted true that are spoken of my mouth.

BOOK IV

(1) Hear, O ye people of vaunting Asia and Europe, (2) what prophetic strains of truth I purpose to pour forth, through the honied speech of my mouth from our **shrine.** (4) No oracle-monger I of a false Phoebus whom vain (5) men have called a god and falsely termed a seer; (6) but the prophetess of the mighty God whom men's hands fashioned not, (7) like to dumb idols of polished stones. (8) For He has not as His habitation a stone set up in a temple, (9) dumb and **helpless,** a bugbear of many woes to mortals. (10) But He is one whom none can see from earth, nor measure (11) with mortal eyes, seeing He was not fashioned by mortal hand. (12) With all-embracing view He beholds all, yet Himself is seen by none. (13) His is the murky night and day, the sun, (14) the stars and moon, and sea the haunt of fish; (15) and land and rivers and the source of perennial streams, (16) creatures ordained for sustaining life and showers that cause the cornfield fruit to grow, (17) and trees and vines and olive trees. (18) He has driven a goad right through my heart (19) to tell out exactly all that is happening to men now and all that is to happen, (20) reaching from the first generation to the **tenth.** (21) For He shall vindicate all (22) by bringing it to pass. But do thou, O people, hearken in all things to the Sibyl (23) as she pours forth true speech from holy mouth.

(24) Happy shall those men be throughout the earth who shall truly love the Mighty God, blessing Him (26) before eating and drinking, staunch in their godliness. (27) Who, when they see them, shall

name of the Babylonian Sibyl has been purposely omitted and some lines from the Erythraean added without careful adjustment.

811. The sentence lacks a verb. Instead of 'mortals' (θνητοῖς) it is proposed to read 'I show' (φαίνω). After this line some MSS. show a gap. It is suggested that it contained the name Sambethe, who, according to Justin, *Cohort.* 37, was the daughter of Berossus the historian.

814. According to Virg. *Aen.* vi. 36, Deiphobe, the Cumaean Sibyl, is the daughter of Glaucus, and possibly of Circe.

819. Compare Plutarch's account of the Sibyl (*De Pyth. Or.* vii).

819–29. These lines are not referred to by Lact., and Alex. regards them as spurious.

819. **for he did not reveal to me.** MSS. read 'for he will not reveal to me' (δηλώσει). For οὐ Rzach reads ὅς.

823. Suidas represents the Chaldaean Sibyl as a descendant of Noah, and says she prophesied about the time of Alexander the Great. Epiph. *adv. Haer.* 26. § 8 says the Gnostics attributed certain books to Noria the wife of Noah.

Tatian, on the other hand (*Orat. c. Graec.* 41), says that the Sibyl was not older than Moses.

IV. 1–24. The Sibyl claims to be the prophetess of the true, invisible, and almighty God.

1. **Hear,** κλῦτε. Most MSS. have 'weep' (κλαῖε).

2. **shrine** (μεγάροιο). Mendelssohn's emendation for 'great' (μεγάλοιο) agreeing with 'mouth'.

4. Cf. v. 326. Lines 4–7 are quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 50.

8. **set up in a temple** (ἱδρυνθέντα). There is a variant 'dragged to a temple' (ἑλκυσθέντα).

habitation (οἶκον). Buresch would read 'likeness' (εἰκόν'), but the fem. gender of this word would cause a difficulty. The writer appears to condemn the ancient Semitic idea of sacred stones as the dwelling-place of a god.

9. **helpless** (νωθρόν), an emendation for 'toothless' (νωδόν).

11. The end of the line is uncertain in reading. Perhaps read οὐδ' ἐπλάσθη χερὶ θνητῇ.

12. Cf. Frag. i. 8.

18. Cf. iii. 5.

20. **to the tenth.** Cf. ii. 15 ff. The MSS. have 'to the eleventh' (ἑνδεκάτην or ἑνδεκάτης). But the world's history is regularly divided into ten periods.

23. **as she pours forth.** The participle is, however, masculine.

24–34. The happiness of the godly.

24–30. Quoted by Just. *Coh.* 16. The last three lines are also quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 62.

26. For the custom of saying grace before meals cf. Arist. *Apol.* 15. It was a strict rule among the Essenes (Josephus, *B. I.* ii. 8. 5), and among the Pharisees. Cf. Mishna, *Berakhoth* iii; Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. ii, vol. ii, p. 117.

27. The abhorrence of temples and animal sacrifice is specially Essene. Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 369 ff.

disown all temples (28) and altars, vain erections of senseless stones, (29) befouled with constant blood of living things and sacrifices (30) of four-footed beasts. But they shall look to the great glory of the one God (31) neither committing dastard murder, nor bartering for dishonest (32) gain, which things are altogether evil. (33) Nor do they set their foul affection on another's bed, (34) [nor on the hateful and hideous abuse of males].

(35) Whose conversation and godliness and manners other men (36) will never emulate, men whose affections are set on shamelessness. (37) But mocking them with ribald jest and laughter, (38) fools in their senselessness, they will falsely attribute to them (39) all the dastardly and evil deeds that they shall do. (40) For slow of faith is all the race of men. But when (41) the assizes of the world and of mortals shall come, which God himself (42) shall hold when he judges ungodly and godly alike: (43) then shall he send the ungodly in the fire beneath the murky gloom, (44) and then shall they know what grievous impiety they have committed. (45) But the godly shall remain upon the fruitful field, (46) when God has given them breath and life and grace. (47) But all these things are to be accomplished in the tenth generation. (48) Now I will tell all that is to come to pass from the first generation.

(49) First of all, the Assyrians shall rule over all mankind, (50) holding the world for six generations under their sway, (51) from the time when, since the heavenly God was wroth with (52) the cities themselves and all mankind, (53) the sea covered the earth with the outbreak of the flood.

(54) Them shall the Medes subdue and vaunt themselves on their throne, (55) yet their generations shall be but two. In their time shall be these mighty works. (56) Darkling night shall fall at the middle hour of day: (57) the stars and the moon's disk shall fail from heaven. (58) And the earth shaken by the upheaval of a mighty earthquake (59) shall cast down headlong many cities and works of men. (60) And then islands shall peep forth from the depths of the sea.

(61) But when great Euphrates shall run in torrents of blood, (62) then betwixt Medes and Persians the dread din of battle (63) shall arise in war. And the Medes, overthrown by the Persians' spears, (64) shall flee over the broad waters of the Tigris. (65) And the Persians' might shall be supreme in all the world; (66) yet they shall have but one generation of prosperous kingship.

(67) Then there shall be all those evil works which men pray to be spared, (68) wars and murders, schisms and exiles, (69) the headlong crash of towers and the overthrow of cities, (70) when proud Hellas shall sail to the broad Hellespont, (71) bringing grievous doom to Phrygians and to Asia.

(72) Then into Egypt the many-furrowed land of wheat, (73) famine and failure of crops shall stalk for twenty circling years, (74) when the Nile, the cornblade's nurse, (75) shall hide its black water somewhere else beneath the earth.

(76) There shall come from Asia a king brandishing a mighty sword (77) with ships innumerable; and over the watery paths of the deep (78) he shall journey on foot, and shall cut a path for his ships through a lofty mountain peak. (79) Yet craven Asia shall receive him back a fugitive from war.

(80) Wretched Sicily shall be burned up from end to end (81) by a stream of mighty fire when Etna's flame belches forth. (82) And Croton's great city shall fall into the deep stream. (83) Hellas shall have strife: and men distraught with rage one against another (84) shall cast down headlong many cities and shall slay many (85) in battle: and the strife shall be of doubtful issue.

(86) But when the race of mortals comes to the tenth generation, (87) then the Persians shall experience the yoke of slavery and terror.

28. The reading comes from Justin. In Clement a line is inserted here from Frag. iii. 49 and another after l. 30.
34. The line is probably a gloss and is omitted in Ω.
35–46. The impending judgement on the ungodly.
38. For the thought that the heathen are themselves guilty of the same charges which they bring against the godly cf. Tert. *Apol.* § 9.
46. The righteous are to be quickened again for a further life on earth. The line recurs infra line 189.
47–85. The history of the first nine generations.
50. **generation** is evidently a vague term. Assyrian supremacy may be said to have lasted roughly six centuries (*c.* 1250–630 B.C.). The Median empire closed with the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus in 546 B.C.
56. Possibly an allusion to the phenomenon mentioned in Herod. i. 71. During a battle between the Lydians and Medes in 585 B.C. the day suddenly became night.
65. The conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C. may be said to have given the Persians the empire of the world.
70. The Athenians sent maritime assistance to the Ionians in their revolt from Persia in 499 B.C.
72. **of wheat.** For πυρόφορον τε Ω has φαῦλος ἐπέλθῃ. The subjunctive would be used as future.
76–79. The expedition of Xerxes 491–490 B.C. Reference is made to the bridge of boats built across the Hellespont (Herod. vii. 35–54), and the canal cut through Mount Athos (Herod. vii. 22–8; Thuc. iv. 109; Juv. v. 174).
82. Possibly **Croton** is confused with Sybaris, over which, after its capture, the river Crathis was turned (Herod. v. 45). Some MSS. have 'a great city *of men*' (βροτῶν) for 'Croton'.
83–5. The Peloponnesian war, or, more probably, the fighting which ended in the Thirty Years' Truce in 446 B.C.
87. The reference would be to Alexander's victories, especially at the Granicus (334 B.C.) and Issus (333 B.C.).

(88) But when the Macedonians boast of the sceptre, (89) then Thebes too in later days shall experience capture. (90) And Carians shall occupy Tyre and the Tyrians shall perish; (91) and sand shall envelop the whole of Samos under sandhills, (92) and Delos shall appear no more, but all Delos shall disappear. (93) And Babylon mighty to behold but puny in battle (94) shall stand buoyed up by ineffective hopes. (95) Macedonians shall occupy Bactra; and the fugitives **from** Bactra (96) and Susa shall all flee to the land of Greece.

(97) Posterity shall know a time when silvery eddying Pyramus (98) pushing forward its strand shall come to the holy island. (99) And **thou, Baris,** shalt fall and Cyzicus too when the earth (100) quivers with earthquakes and cities perish. (101) And to the Rhodians there shall come a last but crowning disaster.

(102) Nor shall the might of Macedonia last. But from the west (103) a great Italian war shall blossom forth, whereby the world (104) shall serve as slaves under the yoke of the sons of Italy. (105) And thou, ill-starred Corinth, shalt one day look on thy capture. (106) Carthage, thy tower, too, shall bend the knee to earth.

(107) Miserable Laodicea, thee too an earthquake shall one day raze (108) in precipitate ruin, but thou shalt stand built up again as a city.

(109) O fair Lycian Myra, thy quivering earth shall no longer (10) hold thee firm: but falling down headlong on the earth, (11) thou shalt be fain to flee as an exile to another land, (12) †what time over the impieties of Patara the **Lord** (13) shall spread the dark sea wave with thunderings and earthquakes†.

(14) For thee, too, Armenia, the stress of slavery is in store.

(15) To Solyma too the evil blast of war shall come (16) from Italy, and shall lay in ruins God's great temple, (17) whenever, confident in their folly, they shall cast godliness to the winds (18) **and commit hateful murders** before the temple. (19) And then from Italy a great king, like a fugitive slave, (20) shall flee unseen, unheard of, over the passage of the Euphrates; (21) when he shall dare even the hateful pollution of a mother's murder, (22) and many other things beside, venturing so far with wicked hand. (23) And many for the throne of Rome shall dye the ground with their blood, (24) when he has run away beyond the Parthian land. (25) And a Roman leader shall come to Syria, who shall burn down Solyma's temple with fire, (26) and therewith slay many men, (27) and shall waste the great land of the Jews with its broad way.

(28) And then an earthquake shall destroy Salamis and Paphos together, (29) when the dark stormy water shall swamp Cyprus.

89. Thebes was captured by Alexander in 335 B.C.

90. **Carians** perhaps = 'mercenaries'. Cf. Plato, *Laches* 187.

occupy Tyre. Capture of Tyre 332 B.C.

91, 92. Cf. iii. 363. Alexandre would place these lines after 96; Rzach after 100.

93. Babylon captured without resistance 331 B.C.

95. Alexander's invasion of Bactria. Cf. Strabo, xi; Arrian, iii. 29.

from Bactria. For ὑπὸ Βάκτρων it seems necessary to read ἀπὸ Βάκτρων.

96. **Susa** surrendered soon after Babylon.

97, 98. The **Pyramus** is a Cilician river. This oracle is quoted by Strabo, *Geogr.* i. p. 53, xii. p. 536, who in the second line has 'Cyprus' for 'island'.

99. **thou, Baris.** Badt's conjectural emendation for 'Sybaris'. Baris was a Pisidian town, mentioned by Pliny v. 42. The *a* is strictly long. Another conjecture is Κιβύρα, a Phrygian town.

101. Cf. viii. 166.

102. Macedonian Wars beginning in 214 B.C. and ending with the Battle of Pydna, 168 B.C.

105, 106. Capture of Corinth and Carthage, 146 B.C.

107. **Laodicea.** The famous earthquake here in A.D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) seems too late. On the strength of *Sib.* iii. 471 Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 38) postulates an earthquake in Laodicea about 125 B.C.; but the inference is precarious.

112–13. The reading is uncertain, and the lines are omitted in many MSS. The rendering follows a conjecture ὁ Μέδων for ὅμαδον.

114. Armenian wars A.D. 43–66, in which latter year Tiridates came to Rome to receive his crown from Nero.

115–28. Disaster to Jerusalem.

117, 118. Referring to the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege. Cf. Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 3.

118. **and commit hateful murders.** The reading of the MSS. is corrupt.

119 ff. Nero died by his own hand in A.D. 68, but there was a persistent belief that he would return. At least three false Nero's arose at different times.

119. **fugitive slave** (δράστης). Some MSS. have 'star' (ἀστήρ).

121. Nero had his own mother put to death (Suet. *Nero* xxxiv). Dio Cass. lxiv. 9 preserves a pseudo-Sibylline oracle: ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.

123. The year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

125. The Roman leader is Titus.

(30) But when a firebrand starting from a deep cavern in the land of Italy (31) shall reach the broad heaven, (32) and burn many a city and consume its men, (33) and clouds of sooty ashes beset the great heaven, (34) and grains fall from the sky like red earth, (35) then recognize the wrath of the God of heaven, (36) because they shall destroy the guiltless race of godly men. (37) And to the west shall come the strife of gathering war, (38) and the exile from Rome, brandishing a mighty sword, (39) crossing the Euphrates with many myriads.

(40) Ill-starred Antioch, they shall call thee no longer a city, (41) when in thy folly thou fallest under Italian spears. (42) And **Cyrrhus** shall be consumed by pestilence and dreadful strife.

(43) Woe to thee, wretched Cyprus, the level sea-wave (44) shall envelop thee tossed up and down with wintry blasts.

(45) There shall come to Asia great wealth which Rome once (46) stole for herself and stored in her rich treasure-house. (47) And twofold and more shall she restore (48) to Asia, and then there shall be a surfeit of war.

(49) The cities of the Carians by the waters of the Maeander, (50) with all their battlements exceeding fair, shall be destroyed by pinching (51) famine, when Maeander buries her black water. (52) But when faith in godliness shall perish from men, (53) and justice is hidden away in the world, (54) †and men, becoming renegades† and living on unholy enterprises, (55) commit deeds of shame and acts dastardly and evil, (56) and no man takes account of the godly, but even (57) in their senselessness, fond fools, destroy them all, (58) rejoicing in acts of violence and turning their hands to deeds of bloodshed; (59) then be sure that God is no more of tender mercy, (60) but gnashing His teeth in wrath and destroying at once (61) the whole race of men by means of a mighty conflagration.

(62) O ill-starred mortals, let not these things be, and (63) drive not the great God to divers deeds of wrath; but have done with (64) swords and moanings and killing of men, and deeds of violence, (65) and wash your whole bodies in ever-running rivers, (66) and, stretching your hands to heaven, seek forgiveness for your former deeds, (67) and with praises ask pardon for your bitter ungodliness. (68) God will grant repentance (69) and will not slay: He will stay his wrath once more if with one accord (70) ye practise precious godliness in your hearts. (71) But if with evil mind ye obey me not, but delighting in ungodliness (72) ye receive all these words with ill-affected ears, (73) then fire shall come upon the whole world, and a mighty sign (74) with sword and trumpet at the rising of the sun. (75) The whole world shall hear a rumbling and a mighty roar. (76) And he shall burn the whole earth, and consume the whole race of men, (77) and all the cities and rivers and the sea. (78) He shall burn everything out, and there shall be sooty dust.

(79) But when at last everything shall have been reduced to dust and ashes (80) and God shall quench the giant fire, even as he kindled it, (81) then God Himself shall fashion again the bones and ashes of men, (82) and shall raise up mortals once more as they were before.

(83) And then the judgement shall come wherein God himself shall give sentence, (84) judging the world again. And all who have sinned with deeds of impiety (85) a heap of earth shall cover again, (86) and murky Tartarus and the black recesses of hell. (87) But all who are godly shall live again on earth (89) when God gives breath and life and grace to them, (90) the godly. †And then all shall

130–6. The great eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii, August 23, 24, A. D. 79. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 16. 20.
130. **starting from.** For *ἀποστραφθείς* it is tempting to read (with Alexandre) *ἀπαστραφθείς* 'shot out like lightning'.
139. It was expected that Nero would return from Parthia.
140. Probably the Syrian Antioch is meant, which revolted several times against Rome.
141. **folly . . . Italian spears.** The text renders *ἀφροσύνης Ἰτάλοις*. So *φ ψ*. Geffcken reads *ἀφροσύνῃσι τεαῖς* with Ω.
142. **Cyrrhus** a conjecture. MSS. have 'Scyros' or 'Cyprus'. Alexandre suggests *Συρίην*.
143. Cf. *supra*, 129.
145–8. A Roman defeat. Probably the defeat of Paetus at Randeia in A. D. 62.
148. The line is omitted in *φ ψ*.
153–4. The text has become corrupt. 154 is omitted in some MSS. and in others 153–4 are joined.
159–61. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* 23. 5.
160. **gnashing his teeth,** *βρύχοντα*. Lact. has 'heavy with wrath', *βρίθοντα*.
165. The stress on complete lustration seems Essene. Cf. iii. 592.
168. **God will grant.** *Θεὸς δώσει*. So Volkmann from Ω which reads *Θεὸς δὲ δώσει*. *ψ* has *Θεὸς δ' ἕξει*.
173. Another reading gives 'fire shall be throughout the world wherein this sign is wrought', *ἐν ᾧ τόδε σῆμα τέτυκται*. So *φ ψ*.
179–92. The Judgement following on the destruction of the world. The passage up to 190 is quoted in *Ap. Const.* v. 7 as a testimony of the Sibyl to the Resurrection, the New Life, the Judgement.
181. Cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 1–10.
183 ff. Cf. *supra* 40–6.
185. The text in *Ap. Const. l.c.* runs 'those mortals, who have sinned with deeds of impiety, the earth shall cover'.
187. After this there is a weak line inserted only in Ω and rejected by Rzach and Geffcken.
190. **then . . . shall behold themselves,** *τότ' εἰσόψονται ἑαυτούς*. The text comes from *Ap. Const.* Ω has *κόψονται*, 'bewail'. *φ εἴσονται χάριν αὐτοῖς* (or *αὐτοίς*) perhaps 'shall have themselves to thank'. Possibly the true reading is *τότ' ὄψονται θεὸν αὐτόν*.

behold themselves,† (91) beholding the lovely and pleasant sunlight. (92) Thrice blest the man who lives until that time.

BOOK V

(1) Now come, **hearken** unto the woful chronicle of the sons of Latium. (2) Verily first of all after the decease of the kings (3) of Egypt, all of whom a like measure of earth bore down; (4) and after the citizen of Pella, under whom the whole (5) East had been subdued and the West with its stores of wealth, (6) whom Babylon disillusioned and handed over, a corpse, to Philip, (7) famed by no true report a son of Zeus, of Ammon: (8) and after the man of the family and blood of **Assaracus,** (9) who **came from Troy**, who clave the onrushing fire; (10) and after many kings and warlike wights, (11) and after infants, children of the beast who preys on sheep, (12) there shall be a king first of all, who shall sum up twice ten (13) with his initial letter: and in wars he shall conquer for long. (14) He shall have his first initial of ten: and so after him (15) shall reign one who has the first of letters. (16) Before him Thrace shall cower, and Sicily, and, later, Memphis: (17) Memphis hurled headlong by the wickedness of its rulers (18) and of an untamable woman who fell upon the wave. (19) And he shall ordain laws for the people and bring all things under his sway. (20) After a long time he shall hand over the empire to another, (21) who shall have his first letter of the number of three hundred, (22) and a river's own name, who shall also reign over the Persians (23) and Babylon: then he shall subdue the Medes with his spear. (24) Then one shall reign who has the letter of the number three. (25) The next king who shall reign shall have twice ten for his first letter: (26) and he shall go to Ocean's farthest (27) water, †directing his ebb against the Ausonians†. (28) Then he shall be sovereign who has the letter of fifty, (29) a direful serpent causing grievous war, who shall one day put forth his hands (30) on his own family and slay them, and shall throw all into confusion, (31) as athlete, charioteer, murderer, and doer of a thousand extravagant acts. (32) He shall pierce, too, the **hill between two seas,** and besprinkle it with blood; (33) Yea, even when he disappears, he shall be malignant. Then he shall return, (34) making himself equal to God: but *God* shall convince him that he is not.

(35) Three kings after him shall perish at each other's hands. (36) Then there shall come a great destroyer of godly men (37) who displays the letter of seventy. (38) His son, who has the initial of three hundred, shall overcome him (39) and take away his power: and after him there

191. Omitted in $\phi\psi$.
192 Cf. iii. 371.

V. 1–51. A brief sketch of history till the reign of Hadrian.
1. **hearken.** The reading is due to Rzach. MSS. have no verb. $\phi\psi$ κλεινῶν τε Λατίνων.
The first eleven lines recur at the beginning of the twelfth book.
4. **The citizen of Pella** = Alexander the Great. Cf. Juv. x. 168 'Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis'.
6. Alexander died of fever at Babylon 323 B.C. Clem. Al. *Protr.* x. 96 quotes the first part of this line as ὃν Βαβυλὼν ἤλεγξε νεκρόν.
7. After his visit to the temple of Zeus Ammon in 332 B.C. Alexander seems to have persuaded himself that he was the son of that god.
8. **Assaracus**, king of Phrygia and great-grandfather of Aeneas. The restoration of the name is due to Castalio.
9. Referring to the escape of Aeneas from burning Troy. Text corrupt; restored by Rz. from xii. 9.
11. i.e. Romulus and Remus.
12. **twice ten.** The name is Καῖσαρ (K denoting 20); line 14 gives Ἰούλιος (I denoting 10).
15. **one who has the first of letters.** i.e. Αὔγουστος.
16. References to the Battle of Philippi, the war with Sextus Pompeius, and the struggle with Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt.
18. The desertion of Cleopatra's fleet at Actium. The parallel line in xii. 22 has ὑπὸ δουρί for ἐπὶ κῦμα.
21. **who shall have . . . three hundred.** i.e. Τιβέριος.
23. War between Rome and Parthia A.D. 34–5.
24. **who has . . . three.** i.e. Γαῖος.
25. **twice ten** = K. Κλαύδιος is meant.
26. Claudius' short-lived expedition to Britain A.D. 43.
27. The reading is uncertain. Ausonia is strictly S. Italy, but is used poetically for the whole country.
28. **fifty** = N. Νέρων is meant.
29. A serpent was found around Nero's neck when he was an infant. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.
30. For Nero's murder of his mother cf. iii. 121.
31. A reference to Nero's competing as a charioteer in the Olympian Games. Cf. Juvenal x. 224 ff.
32. Nero made an attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth, in A.D. 66–7. Cf. l. 138.
hill between two seas. δίκυμον ὄρος is a conjecture of Rzach from xii. 84: $\phi\psi$ have δίϊκμον ὕδωρ.
33. For the expectation of the return of Nero cf. iv. 119.
34. For the claim of Antichrist to be God cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4; Iren. v. 25. 1; Asc. Isa. iv. 6.
35. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.
37. i.e. Οὐεσπασίανος the conqueror of the Jews.
39. An ungrounded suspicion charges Titus with attempting to supplant his father. Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 5, 6.

shall be a sovereign (40) of the letter of four, **a cursed man.** And next (41) a reverend man of the number of fifty. And after him (42) one whose initial signifies three hundred, (43) a Celtic mountaineer; and he, hot-footed for Eastern war, (44) shall not escape ignoble fate, but shall succumb. A foreign dust shall hide his corpse, (45) even one that has the name of the Nemean flower. And after him another shall reign, (46) a silver-helmed man: he shall have the name of a sea. (47) He shall be a most excellent man and shall understand everything. (48) And in thy time, most excellent, most noble, dark-haired prince, (50) and in the time of thy scions, all these days shall come. (51) After him three shall reign, but the third shall rule late in life.

(52) Thrice wretched I, I am wearied to conceive the message of evil in my heart, (53) I the familiar friend of Isis, and the inspired strain of oracles. (54) First of all around the steps of thy lamented temple, (55) frenzied priestesses shall rush, and thou shalt be in evil hands (56) on that day when the Nile passes over (57) the whole land of Egypt up to sixteen cubits, (58) so as to flood the whole land and drench it with its streams. (59) And the grace of the land shall subside and the glory of **its face.**

(60) Memphis, thou shalt mourn more than all for Egypt. (61) For thou, who before wast the mighty mistress of earth, shalt become (62) miserable, so that even He whose delight is in the thunder shall shout (63) from heaven with a loud voice: O Memphis, mighty in strength, (64) thou who of old didst boast so loudly to miserable men, (65) shalt mourn wretched and ill-starred, (66) so that the eternal immortal God will notice thee in the clouds. (67) Where is thy spirit that has been so masterful among men? (68) Forasmuch as thou hast spent thy fury upon my divinely anointed servants, (69) and hast launched forth evil upon men that are good, (70) in return for such things thou shalt have such a nurse for thy recompense. (71) Thou shalt have no longer any right †openly† among the blessed. (72) Thou hast fallen from the stars: thou shalt not ascend to heaven. (73) These things God bade me tell forth to Egypt (74) in the last time when men shall be wholly evil. (75) But wicked men exhaust wickedness awaiting (76) the wrath of the immortal, loud-thundering God of heaven, (77) and worshipping stones in place of God, and beasts, (78) and fearing a motley crowd of deities, which have no speech, (79) no understanding and no hearing, such things as it is a shame for me even to mention, (80) each several form of idols which owe their being to the hands of mortal men. (81) And from their own labours and miserable devices (82) men have taken to themselves gods of wood and stone, (83) of brass and gold and silver too, vain gods, (84) lifeless and dumb and smelted in the fire, (85) have they made, putting their trust in vain in such as these. (86) †Thmouis and Xouis are in tribulation. **Abydos laments,**† (87) and ⟨the cities⟩ of Heracles, Zeus and Hermes. (88) And thee Alexandria, famous nurse of cities, (89) war shall not leave, nor **famine, but thou** shalt pay **the penalty** (90) of thy haughtiness and all thy former deeds. (91) Long ages shalt thou be in silence and the day of return **thou shalt not see.** (92) And

40. **cursed.** MSS. untranslatable. It is simplest to emend *τέφθος μόρος* to *ἐφθαρμένος*. Compare the imprecation *φθείρεσθε*.

41. *Νερούας*, i. e. Nerva, who was over 60 at his accession, and was long remembered as the gentlest of the Emperors.

42. *Τραίανος* born at Italica in Spain. After continual wars in the East he died at Selinus in Cilicia.

45. The parsley (*σέλινον*) furnished the wreath which was the prize at the Nemean games. Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 46: *Nem.* iv. 143.

46. i. e. Hadrian, whose name recalls the Adriatic Sea.

50. Hadrian had no children. He adopted first L. Verus and then Antoninus.

51. On this line see Intr. p. 373.

52–9. A calamity in Egypt.

53. **familiar friend** (*γνωστή*): perhaps 'kinswoman' (*γνωτή*). A suggestion is 'Isis, thou shalt know God' (*Ἶσι, Θεὸν γνώσῃ*) from vii. 66.

55. **rush,** *ἀΐξουσι*: most MSS. 'increase', *αὔξουσι*.

60–72. Woes on Memphis.

67. Cf. the dirge on Babylon in Isa. xiv; also xix. 12 ff.

68. **divinely anointed,** perhaps = 'Christian'.

70. The **nurse** is probably Rome. Alex. would translate 'foster-child'.

71. The sense is unsatisfactory. We might read 'Thou shalt no longer have a right among the clans of the blessed' (*φρήτραις* for *φανερῶς*).

72. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12, 13.

73–110. The confusion of Egypt.

86. Text corrupt in the second half of the line.

Thmouis and **Xouis** are towns in Lower Egypt connected with the worship of Amen.

Abydos is merely a conjectural emendation (*κόπτετ' Ἄβυδος*).

87. The word for **cities** is missing. The three towns are Heracleopolis, Diospolis (= Thebes), and Hermopolis.

89. The latter part of the line is missing. The restoration is by Alex.

91. A gap in the MSS. after this line.

92. The line is cut short. Supply *Νεῖλος ὑπάζων*.

no more shall **the Nile** flow for thee **with its boon of** delicious drink. (93) For the Persian shall come upon thy **field** like hail (94) and shall destroy thy land and thy men of evil arts, (95) with blood and corpses, †beside thy glorious altars† ; (96) a people of uncouth mind, stalwart, red with blood, of senseless rage, (97) in full force like the sand to hasten thy doom. (98) And then, O thou rich with the wealth of cities, thou shalt be rich with distress. (99) All Asia shall mourn because of those gifts of thine from which (100) she joyed to crown her head, now falling upon earth. (101) And he to whose lot fell the Persians' land shall war thee down, (102) and killing man by man shall crush out thy whole life, (103) so that but a third part shall remain to wretched men. (104) And he shall leap on thee with light spring from the West, (105) blockading thy whole land and laying it all in waste. (106) But when he reaches his zenith of power, and his boldness **knows no shame**, (107) he shall come fain even to sack the city of the blessed. (108) And then a king sent from God against him (109) shall destroy all the mighty kings and the best of the men. (10) And so shall the judgement come from the Immortal upon men.

(11) Woe unto thee, my craven heart, why dost thou provoke me (12) to declare these things unto Egypt, even the grievous partition of sovereignty? (13) Go to the East, to the senseless Persian tribes, and signify to them the present and that which is to be.

(15) The stream of the river Euphrates shall bring on a flood (16) and it shall destroy Persians and Iberians and Babylonians, (17) and Massagetae lovers of war and trusting in bows. (18) The whole of Asia shall blaze with flames of fire as far as the islands. (19) Pergamus, of old so venerable, shall perish as a cluster of grapes, (20) and Pitane shall appear among men as a mass of ruins. (21) The whole of Lesbos shall sink into the deep abyss to perish. (22) Smyrna shall one day mourn rolled down the cliffs ; (23) she that of old was revered and renowned shall perish. (24) The Bithynians shall mourn their land reduced to ashes, (25) and great Syria and Phoenice **with its multitude of peoples.**

(26) Woe to thee, Lycia, for all the evils that the sea is devising against thee, (27) invading of its own accord thy woebegone land, (28) so as to flood with evil earthquake and bitter streams (29) the myrrhless myrrh-breathing land of Lycia.

(30) Phrygia, too, shall have grievous wrath on account of the **infatuation** (31) whereby Rhea the (mother) of Zeus came and stayed there.

(32) The sea shall destroy the family of the Tauri and their barbarian folk, (33) and **a devourer** shall slay the Lapithae throughout their land†. (34) The deep-eddying river shall destroy the Thessalian land, (35) even Peneius with its deep stream chasing **mortals** from the land.

(37) Poets shall sing well-a-day for thrice-wretched Hellas, when one from Italy shall pierce the neck of the isthmus, even the mighty king of mighty Rome, a godlike man, (40) to whom, they say, Zeus himself gave birth and our lady Hera. (41) Who courting applause with honied strains uttered

93–111 are contained (except 98) only in the Paris excerpt, which has besides iv. 179–190 (see Introduction, p. 374). At the end of 111 there is a summary in prose of the contents of this passage.

93. The line is only found in the Paris excerpt, and the word for **fields** (*δάπος*) is omitted. Possibly the Persian is Nero representing the Antichrist returning at the head of a Parthian army, cf. 147. For the description cf. 1 En. lvi. 5. Fehr compares a striking passage in Commodian, *Carm. Apol.* 825 ff.

95. **beside thy glorious altars.** Text again uncertain. Geffck. proposes 'shall fill full thine altars'. *περιπλήσουσί τε βωμούς.*

101. Reading due to Buresch from Paris excerpt.

104. Nero is to lead a successful campaign in the West. For **spring** (*ἅλματι*) Par. excerpt has 'chariot' (*ἅρματι*).

107–10. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 18. 5. In 106 read (with Geffcken) *ἀναιδές* for *ἀηδές.*

108. The Messiah is to intervene from heaven to save Jerusalem. *φ ψ* are unmetrical: *σθεναρὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτον.*

111–31. Calamities in various Eastern countries foretold.

112. The partition of sovereignty would refer to the disputes as to the imperial throne of Rome.

119. The simile is a little strained. Alex. would read 'from its foundations' (*βαθρηδόν*).

125. Read *πολύφυλον* for MSS. *πολύφυτον.*

129. The epithets *ἄμυρον, μυρίπνουν,* are apparently chosen to play on the name Myra, the chief city of Lycia. But for *ἄμυρον* (*myrrhless*) we might possibly read *ἀμάραν* (*water-channel*).

130. **infatuation** (*λύσσης*), a suggestion for 'grief' (*λύπης*). Rhea is closely connected with Cybele, whose worship was attended with great orgies.

132–6. The whole text is corrupt and only a conjectural restoration is possible. In 133 **a devourer** (*δάπτων*) is a conjecture for 'ground' (*δάπεδον*). In 135 *μέροπας*, 'mortals', is read for *μορφάς* 136 is regarded as a doublet of 135 and omitted. It runs, literally, 'Epidanus claiming (saying) one day to beget the forms of beasts'.

The *Lapithae* were a wild tribe living in Thessaly in heroic times, and the *Peneius* is the principal river of Thessaly.

137–54. The return of Nero.

138. Cf. 632. The description in the next two lines is bitterly sarcastic.

140. It was said that Nero's birth was wrapped in mystery, cf. Suet. *Nero* 6.

with melodious voice (42) shall destroy many together with his ill-starred mother. (43) Then shall flee from Babylon a king fearful and shameless (44) whom all mortals and all the best men loathe. (45) For he destroyed many and laid his hands on the womb (46) and sinned against wives and was born of **abominable** parentage. (47) He shall come to the Medes and to the kings of the Persians, (48) the first whom he desired and to whom he added glory, (49) making his lair with these evil men against the true people. (50) He seized the temple built by God, and burnt the citizens and the people who went up to it, whom I have justly sung. (52) For **when he died the whole of** creation was shaken (53) and kings perished, and those among whom the empire remained (54) destroyed the great city and the righteous people.

(55) But when after the fourth year a great star shines, (56) which by itself shall destroy the ⟨whole⟩ land, †because of the honour (57) which they first paid to Poseidon god of the sea†, (58) then shall come a great star from heaven into the divine sea, (59) and shall burn up the deep sea and Babylon itself, (60) and the land of Italy on whose account (61) many faithful saints of the Hebrews have perished, and the true people.

(62) Thou shalt be afflicted with evil among evil men, (63) but thou shalt remain utterly desolate for whole ages hereafter, ... (65) hating thy soil because thou didst love magic. (66) Adulteries are with thee and unlawful intercourse with boys, (67) effeminate and unjust, thou wicked city, most ill-starred of all. (68) Woe unto thee all unclean city of Latin land, (69) frenzied and †poison-loving†, in widowhood shalt thou sit beside thy banks, (70) and river Tiber shall mourn for thee, his wife, (71) that hadst a bloodthirsty heart and a godless mind. (72) Didst thou not know what God can do and what are his designs? (73) But thou hast said, I am unique, and none shall bring ruin on me. (74) But now God whose Being is for ever shall destroy thee and all of thine, (75) and there shall be no token of thee in that land, (76) as of old when the Mighty God found for thee thine honour. (77) Remain, O lawless one, unique, and, wedded unto flaming fire, (78) make thine home in the nether region of Hades where laws are not.

(79) But now once more, Egypt, I bemoan thy doom. (80) Memphis, thou shalt be in the van of troubles, †smitten in thine ankles†. (81) The very pyramids in thee shall utter a speechless voice. (82) Python, thou that of old wast justly called the double city, (83) be thou silent for ages that thou mayst cease from thy wickedness. (84) Insolence, storehouse of evil woes, frenzied with much lamentation, (85) direful sufferer, full of tears, thou shalt remain a widow for ever. (86) For many a year thou wast the sole sovereign of the world.

(87) But when Barca puts on the white kilt (88) over soiled clothes, may I not live or be born.

143. Babylon probably means Rome. But it is noticeable that in the Avesta Azhidaka has his seat at Babylon, and some have supposed that the Nero myth has borrowed certain features from this source.

146. **abominable**, *μιαρῶν*. Most MSS. read 'small', *μικρῶν*, but the correction is certain. It is noticeable in how many details Nero and the Antichrist are confused.

148. Nero desired to transfer his seat of empire to the East. Cf. Suet. *Nero* 40.

150. Nero did not, of course, capture Jerusalem. But his sending Vespasian to the East to quell the Jewish revolt was the beginning of the end.

152. **died**, *θανέοντος*. MSS. 'appeared', *προφανέντος*. But Nero's death was followed by a terrific earthquake (Dio 63. 28), and the kings who perished would be Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

MSS. have 'the' *ἡ* for 'the whole of', *ὅλη*, and the line is left unmetrical.

155–61. An apocalyptic passage suggested by a notable comet which appeared in A.D. 73 (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 25), and is supposed to presage the fate of Rome.

157. The line is corrupt; perhaps we should read 'because of the precious things which aforetime they put on Poseidon god of the sea'. The arrogance of Babylon (= Rome) is based to a large extent on the wealth of its sea-borne merchandise, cf. Apoc. xviii. 4–20.

162–78. A dirge on Rome suggested by Isa. xiii. and Apoc. xviii.

164. The line omitted ('it shall be, but it shall remain utterly desolatef or ever') is evidently a doublet.

165. **magic**, *φαρμακίῃ*. Cf. Apoc. xviii. 23.

169. **poison-loving**, *ἐχιδνοχάρης*, properly 'delighting in vipers'. The word may have been suggested by the story of the death of Cleopatra.

173. Cf. Isa. xiv. 5.

177. A reference to the great fire of A.D. 63.

179–205. A dirge on Memphis and other Egyptian towns.

180. **smitten in thine ankles**, *πληχθεῖσα τένοντας* (Geffck.) may refer to the system of canals which crossed ancient Memphis. But the MSS. reading gives *πλησθεῖσα τένοντος*, and it is simple to read with Alex. *πλησθεῖσα θανόντων*, 'filled with the dead'.

181. A reference to the sounding pyramid mentioned in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 58, Juv. xv. 5.

182. **Python** = Pithom, the treasure city partially built by the Israelites. The Romans built another city close by, called Heropolis. It is Egypt in general rather than Memphis or Python that is now addressed.

For **speechless** (*ἄναυδον*) the MSS. have 'shameless' (*ἀναιδῆ*).

184. Cf. l. 231 ff.

187. **Barca**, a city of Cyrenaica captured by the Persians in the time of Darius. The **kilt** (*κυπάσσιον*) was a Persian garment. The oracle is probably an ancient one: *γενοίμαν* shows a Doric ending.

(89) O Thebes, where is thy great strength? a savage man (90) shall utterly destroy thy people. And thou, taking thy sombre garments (91) shalt mourn, poor wretch, alone, and shalt make full amends (92) for all that thou didst before in the shamelessness of thine heart. (93) And they shall make grievous lament because of their lawless deeds.

(94) Syene an Ethiopian hero shall destroy. (95) Teuchira the dark-skinned Indians shall forcibly occupy. (96) Pentapolis, thou shalt mourn: †a man of mighty strength shall destroy thee.† (97) O Libya, steeped in tears, who shall tell forth thy dooms? (98) And what mortal, Cyrene, shall weep piteous tears for thee? (99) Thou shalt not cease thy lament to the time of thine hateful destruction.

(200) Among the Britains and the Gauls rich in gold (201) the ocean shall roar filled with streams of blood: (202) forasmuch as they too committed wickedness against the children of God (203) †when the red king brought against the Sidonians (204) a great horde of Gauls out of Syria†. And he shall slay even thee, (205) O Ravenna, and shall rule over thee with bloodshed.

(206) Ye Indians, be not overbold, and ye stout-hearted Ethiopians. (207) For when the circle of the **arched** Axis, Capricorn (208) and Taurus among the Twins revolve round mid heaven, (209) and Virgo is coming forth, and the sun (10) reigns fixing his fire-flashing belt about his brow: (11) then there shall be a great celestial conflagration on the earth, (12) and in the battle of the stars a new creation shall come forth, so that (13) the whole land of the Ethiopians shall perish with fire and moanings.

(14) Do thou too, Corinth, bemoan the piteous destruction that is in thee. (15) For when with their weft of twisted thread the three sister-Fates (16) bring back him that fled by guile to the bank of the Isthmus (17) in mid-air that all may see him, (18) who once pierced the rock with ductile brass, (19) then he shall destroy thy land and waste it, as it was determined before. (20) For to him God hath given strength to do (21) such things as none of all the former kings have done.

(22) For first of all **cutting off** with a mighty blow the roots from three heads, (23) he shall give them to his **mighty comrades** to devour (24) so that they shall eat the flesh of the parents of the unholy king. (25) For for all men blood and horrors are in store (26) because of the great city and the righteous people, (27) brought safe through all, whom Providence exalted.

(28) O thou unsettled and of evil counsel, beset with evil fate, (29) source of trouble and its great end unto men (30) when creation is vexed and again saved **by** the Fates, (31) O violence, fountain-head of evils and great bane unto men, (32) who of mortals hath desired thee, who within him hath not been vexed? (33) By thee a king cast down has lost his august life. (34) Thou hast ordered all amiss and hast brought on all the flood-tide of evil, (35) and through thee the fair plains of the earth have been altered. (36) Throw out these seeds of strife (perhaps they are thy last) for our contention. (37) How and what dost thou speak? I will persuade thee, yea, even if I blame thee I say it. (38) There was once among men the bright sun-ray, when the beam of the

193. **make lament** (*κόψονται*), an emendation for 'see lament' (*ὄψονται*). The ending of lines 192, 193 are transposed in the MSS.

194. **Syene**, modern Assouan. There was an Ethiopian invasion of Egypt in 24 B.C.

195. **Teuchira**, a city in Cyrenaica, afterwards called Arsinoe.

196. **Pentapolis**, a district on the coast embracing Cyrene. The text is uncertain.

200–5. Woes on Western peoples.

200. **Britains.** MSS. *Βρύτεσσι.* Wilam. suggests *Βρύγεσσι.*

203. Meaning uncertain. *βασιλεὺς Φοίνιξ* may refer to Vespasian who brought Gallic troops to the campaign in Palestine. Or there may be an allusion to the phœnix which reappeared at certain intervals, and if so the reference would probably be to Nero.

205. MSS. 'thee, Ravenna here' (*σε . . . αὕτη Ῥαβέννη*).

206–13. A conflagration to occur among the Ethiopians at a certain conjunction of stars.

206. **be not overbold,** *μὴ θαρσεῖτε.* MSS. 'fear not', *μὴ ταρβεῖτε.*

207. **arched,** *κυρτοῦ*, an emendation for *τούτους* which gives no sense.

210. **fire-flashing.** The word is uncertain.

214–28. A dirge on Corinth.

216. Reading uncertain. If the restored text as translated is accepted there is apparently a reference again to Nero. In the next line he seems confused with Simon Magus, who, according to tradition, met his death while flying in the air. Line 218 would then return to Nero and his attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth.

bank, *ὄχθην.* *φ ψ* have *ὀμφήν*, 'voice'.

222. Cf. the picture in Dan. vii. 8. The three heads may be the three Flavian Emperors.

cutting off (*σπασσάμενος*), a suggestion for 'weighing' (*στησάμενος*).

223. **his comrades** (*ἑτάροις*), a conjecture for 'others' (*ἑτέροις*). So *μεγάλοις* for *μεγάλως.*

224. For **parents** (*γονέων*) we should perhaps read 'race' (*γενέας*). The unholy king is Nero.

228–46. A much disputed passage. Hildebrandt sees in it a direct allusion to the Avesta. Fehr regards it as an address to Rome. It seems more probable that it refers to the Rabbinic conception of the fall of Adam brought about by the envy of the Angels, and of the withdrawal of the Shechinah from earth. But the whole passage is obscure.

230. **by the Fates** (*Μοίραις*). MSS. have 'when destiny is again saved', *σωζομένης πάλι Μοίρης.*

237. Alex. would read 'If thou hast aught against me, speak it', *εἰ δέ τι μέμφεαι αὔδα.*

prophets was shed forth in concord. (40) A tongue distilling a fair **honied** drink to all mortals (41) came forth and waxed greater, and reared its gentle crop for all. (42) Therefore, O thou of cramped counsel, fountain-head of the greatest of evils, (43) the hooked knife and mourning shall come on that day. (44) O thou source of trouble and its great end unto men, (45) when creation is vexed and again saved by the Fates, (46) listen to my bitter speech of evil sound, thou bane unto men.

(47) But when the Persian land shall be quit of war (48) and of pestilence and lamentation, then there shall be on that day (49) the godlike heavenly race of the blessed Jews, (50) who dwell around the city of God at the centre of earth. (51) Building a great ring-wall as far as Joppa (52) they are exalted on high up to the darkling clouds. (53) No more shall the trumpet hiss forth the blast of war's turmoil, (54) nor shall they perish any more by the fanatic hands of their foes. (55) But they shall set up trophies **around** in an age **innocent of harm**.

(56) Then there shall come from the sky a certain exalted man, (57) whose hands they **nailed** upon the fruitful tree, (58) the noblest of the Hebrews, who **shall** one day **cause** the sun to stand still, (59) when he cries with fair speech and pure lips.

(60) Let thy spirit within thy breast no longer be vexed, thou blessed one, (61) child of God, excellent in wealth, only longed-for blossom, (62) pleasant light, august **offshoot**, longed-for **branch**, (63) well-favoured Judaea, fair city, inspired in hymns. (64) No longer shall the Greeks' unclean foot run riot in thy land, (65) for they shall have within their breasts a mind that conforms to thy laws. (66) But thy noble sons shall encircle thee with honour, (67) and with holy music they shall attend thy table, (68) with divers kinds of sacrifices and prayers to the honour of God. (69) All those righteous men who from short-lived affliction have endured troubles, (70) shall **have** a more ample and well-favoured **rope** *of life*. (71) But the evil men who trim to the breeze a lawless tongue (72) shall cease to speak one against another, (73) and they shall hide themselves †until the world pass away†. (74) And then shall come from the clouds a rain of flaming fire. (75) No longer shall men gather in the blithe corn-blade from the earth. (76) All shall remain unsown and unploughed, until mortal men take note of (77) God, the Chief of all, the Immortal and Eternal, (78) and no longer pay homage to mortal things, (79) nor dogs and vultures, which Egypt has taught (80) to reverence with **vain** mouths and foolish lips. (81) But the holy land of the godly alone shall bear all these things. (82) An ambrosial stream distilling honey and milk shall flow from rock and fountain for all the righteous. (84) For they fixed their hope on the one God, the Father who alone is excellent, (85) and they held fast to great piety and faith.

(86) But why, O why, does my wise mind lay this burden on me? (87) Now it is thou, O wretched Asia, that I piteously lament, and the race of the Ionians, Carians, and Lydians rich in gold. (89) Woe to thee, Sardis: and to thee, lovely Trallis. (90) Woe to thee, Laodicea, fair city, how shall ye perish (91) destroyed by earthquakes and reduced to dust. (92) To dusky Asia and ⟨the race⟩ of the Lydians rich in gold. . . .

(93) The shrine of Artemis fashioned ⟨by the citizens⟩ of Ephesus (94) shall one day by yawnings

240. The **tongue** was perhaps a comet, a sign of peace and prosperity. *μέλι σταγέουσα*, 'distilling . . . honeyed' is a conjecture of Alex. for *μὲν σταγέουσα φ.* (*ψ* has *μὲν στυγέουσα.*)

241. For *φαῖνε τέ* read *φαίνετο.*

249. Lact. quotes this line and refers it to the Christians.

250. For the Rabbinic idea that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth cf. 1 En. xxvi. 1; Jubilees viii.

255. The text is corrupt, and the emendation proposed is slight. Read *ἀλλὰ πέριξ στήσουσ' ἀκάκῳ αἰῶνι τρόπαια.*

256–9. A Christian interpolation.

257. MSS. 'whose hands he spread out', *οὗ παλάμας ἤπλωσεν.* For *ἤπλωσεν* read *ἤλωσαν.* Fehr, reading *ὀαριστύς* in 258, renders 'whose hands the company of the Hebrews spread out'. Blass refers this line to Moses (Exod. xvii. 12).

258. In the MSS. the verb is in the past, *στῆσε.* Many commentators treat this as referring to Joshua, but manifestly the allusion is to St. Luke xxiii. 43, 44.

260–85. The coming prosperity of Judaea and the plight of the ungodly.

Bleek and Gefrörer treat this section as one of the oldest (*c.* 160 B.C.), but without convincing reason.

262. Read *θάλος* for *τέλος*, and *ἔρνος* for *ἅγνος.*

267. **attend thy table.** Perhaps 'set up (*ἐπιστήσουσι*) thy table'. Referring to the restoration of the Temple sacrifices, which was to be one of the features of the new Jerusalem.

270. **rope** is a conjecture (*κάλων* for *καλόν*: cf. iii. 45). The metaphor would be a nautical one, but it is not very convincing, and there is probably a corruption in the text.

273. **until the world pass away.** Read (with Rzach) *ἕως ἀλλαχθῇ ὁ κόσμος* for *ἕως κόσμος ἀλλαγῇ.*

280. **vain mouths,** *κενοῖς.* MSS. 'new' (*νέοις*). Alexandre suggests 'their mouths' (*στομάτεσσιν ἑοῖς*).

286–97. Disasters in Asia following an earthquake.

There was a specially severe earthquake in A.D. 17, details of which are given in Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 86. Twelve cities were destroyed in one night and Sardis suffered most severely.

292. Obviously there is a gap after this line. It may be filled in with a line like iv. 101.

293. The temple of Ephesus survived, and was changed into a Christian Church.

and quakings of the earth sink into the divine sea (95) headlong, even as tempests overwhelm ships. (96) Ephesus shall lament **prostrate** and weeping by her shores, (97) and seeking for her temple which is no longer inhabited.

(98) And then in wrath the Immortal God who dwells in heaven (99) shall hurl from the sky a fiery meteor down on the unholy head. (300) And instead of winter there shall be summer on that day, (301) and then indeed shall be **autumn's end** to mortal men. (302) For He who thunders from on high shall utterly destroy all the shameless men, (303) with thunderings and lightnings and flaming thunderbolts, (304) on those who are his enemies, and he shall destroy them as ungodly (305) so that dead bodies shall remain on the earth more numerous than the sand.

(306) Smyrna too shall come bemoaning her **minstrel** (307) to the gates of Ephesus, and she shall perish more thoroughly.

(308) And Cyme, the foolish, with her streams inspired of God, (309) hurled down by the hands of godless men, unjust and lawless, (310) shall not so much as **put forth a branch** toward heaven, (11) but shall remain dead by its **swelling** streams. (12) And then they shall groan together awaiting an evil doom. (13) They shall know when they have a token wherefore they have laboured, (14) that stubborn folk and shameless race of the Cymaeans. (15) Then when they shall bemoan their wicked land reduced to ashes (16) Lesbos shall be for ever destroyed by Eridanus.

(17) Woe unto thee **Cibyra**, thou fair city, cease thy rout, (18) and Hierapolis, thou land uniquely wedded to the god of wealth. (19) Thou shalt have, what thou hast **longed** to have, **gold** but **gold** of many tears, (20) burying it in the earth by the streams of Thermodon. (21) And rock-clinging Tripolis by Maeander's waters, (22) **left widowed** by the billows at night against the shore, (23) God's Providence shall one day make a full end of thee **unto the ground.**

(24) May it never befall me to choose willingly the land that is neighbour to Phoebus. (25) One day a meteor from on high shall destroy delicate Miletus, (26) forasmuch as she chose the deceitful verse of Phoebus, (27) and men's learned study and prudent counsel.

(28) Be favourable, Father of all, to the delicate fruitful land, (29) to great Judaea, that we may see thy purposes. (30) Her first didst thou know, O God, with thine acts of favour, (31) so that she seemed to all mankind to be the object of thy special grace, (32) and to realize what a charge she had from thee.

(33) Thrice wretched me, I long to see the Thracians' works, (34) and the wall that spans two seas, dragged by Ares (35) river-like in the dust **like** a fishing diver.

(36) Wretched Hellespont, a son of the Assyrians shall one day yoke thee. (37) †The Thracians' battle shall come and utterly destroy thy might†: (38) and an Egyptian king shall take Macedonia, (39) and a barbarian clime shall cast down the might of rulers. (40) Lydians and Galatians, Pamphylians and Pisidians (41) bear rule with all their people armed with bitter strife.

296. **prostrate.** Read ὑπτία for ὕπτια δ'.

298–305. Further calamities and reversal of seasons. The section seems misplaced here.

301. **autumn's end.** μετόπωρ' for MSS. μετέπειτ'.

306. **minstrel,** λυρουργόν. Geffck.'s emendation for Λυκουργόν. The reference would be to Homer. The idea seems to be that in the general distress even the inveterate rivalry between Ephesus and Smyrna would cease.

308. The people of the Asiatic Cumae were regarded as specially foolish. But the reference to the inspired streams would fit in better with the Cumae in Campania.

310. Read κλῆμα προήσει for ἅρμα προδώσει.

311. **swelling** (κυμαίνουσι) for 'Cumaean' (κυμήοισιν). The play on words seems to make this emendation preferable to Geffcken's κυανέοισιν.

316. The Eridanus was a river famous in old legends. Here, perhaps, used for the sea. Cf. Virgil's 'Acheloia pocula'.

317. **Cibyra.** Mendelssohn's emendation for Corcyra. Cibyra was on the borders of Caria and Lycia.

319. **longed to have** (πεπόθηκας). MSS. 'made' (πεποίηκας). *Gold*, χρυσόν, is a suggested emendation for *place*, χῶρον. It carries on the idea of 'wedded to the god of wealth' (Πλούτωνι μιγεῖσα).

One of the features of Hierapolis was the Ploutonium, a hole just wide enough to admit a man, reaching deep into the earth, from which issued a mephitic vapour. See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 86.

322. **left widowed.** Read χηρευθεῖσα for MSS. κληρωθεῖσα. Should we read 'hurled down,' καρριφθεῖσα?

Tripolis was situated on a hill overhanging the Maeander.

323. Read πέδονδε for ποθ' ἥδε.

324. Miletus was not far from the famous temple of Apollo at Branchidae.

327. **study** = μελέτην, a play on Μίλητον. Miletus was proud of her philosophers, and especially of Thales.

334. The great wall that spanned the isthmus on which Byzantium stood.

335. **like** (ἴσ') a suggestion for 'to' (ἐπ'). The **diver** was probably a sea bird.

336. Xerxes' bridge across the Hellespont.

337. Reading uncertain. It is suggested to read Λυσίμαχον for εἰς σὲ μάχη, and translate 'The Thracians' might shall utterly undo Lysimachus'. The reference would be to the death of Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedion in 281 B.C. His vanquisher, Seleucus, was slain by Ptolemy Keraunos, and he in his turn was defeated and killed by the Gauls in 280 B.C.

341. **bear rule** (κρατέουσι). Perhaps read κροτέουσι, 'resound with din of arms'.

(42) Thrice-wretched Italy, thou shalt remain all desolate, unwept. (43) A baleful beast in thy luxuriant land shall destroy thee.

(44) †**When** the broad heaven above **is clear**†, (45) men shall hear a crash, as of thunder, even the voice of God. (46) And even the imperishable fires of the sun itself shall be no more, (47) nor shall there be any more the bright moonlight (48) in the last time when God shall reign. (49) All things shall become black and darkness shall be over the earth, (50) (and mortals shall be blind and beasts evil) and trouble. (51) That day shall last long time, so that (52) men will take note of God Himself, the King, the Watcher of all from heaven. (53) Then he shall have no pity for those who are his foes, (54) when they spend themselves in sacrificing herds of lambs and sheep and lowing bulls, (55) of great calves too with gilded horns (56) to lifeless Hermes and gods of stone. (57) But let justice, wisdom, and glory hold sway over the just, (58) lest the Immortal God in anger destroy (59) the whole **bloodstained** race of men and their shameless kin. (60) We needs must love God the Father, the Wise, the Everlasting.

(61) There shall be at the last time, about the waning of the moon, (62) a world-convulsing war deceitful in guilefulness. (63) And there shall come from the ends of the earth a matricide (64) fleeing and devising sharp-edged plans in his mind. (65) He shall ruin all the earth, and gain all power, (66) and surpass all men in the cunning of his mind. (67) That for which he perished he shall seize at once. (68) And he shall destroy many men and great tyrants, (69) and shall burn all men as none other ever did. (70) And those that were fallen he shall raise up again through contrary zeal. (71) And from the west shall come much war to men, (72) and streams of blood shall flow up to the banks of the deep-eddying rivers. (73) And gall shall distil in the plains of Macedonia† . . . (74) alliance, but to the king from the west destruction†. (75) And then a wintry blast shall blow throughout the earth, (76) and the plain shall be filled again with cruel war. (77) For fire shall rain on mortal men from the fields of heaven, (78) fire and blood, water, meteor, darkness, heaven's night, (79) and consumption in war and a mist over the slain (80) shall destroy at once all kings and the best of men.

(81) Then at last war's piteous ruin shall be stopped (82) and no man shall fight any more with swords or steel, (83) nor with javelins either, for these things shall no more be permitted. (84) But the wise people that are left shall have peace, (85) having had trial of evil that later they might rejoice.

(86) Ye matricides, cease from your shamelessness and wicked boldness. (87) Ye that of old foully furnished boys for abuse, (88) and set in your houses as harlots those who before were pure (89) with wanton violence and punishment and laboured foulness. (90) In thee a mother had incestuous commerce with her child, (91) and a daughter became the bride of her own father. (92) In thee even kings befouled their ill-starred mouth: (93) in thee evil men even found means to lie with beasts. (94) Silence, thou miserable, wicked city, from the revel that thou hadst. (95) For no longer under **the roof of thy virgin-loving court** shall the virgins tend the divine fire. (97) Quenched from thee was thine house, desired of old, (98) when for the second time I saw thine house hurled (99) headlong down, lapped with fire, by an unholy hand, (400) thine ever flourishing house, the temple that guarded thy god, (401) made with holy hands, (402) and such as men from their soul and body itself trusted would be ever immortal.

(403) Not recklessly do they praise a God of **senseless** earth, (404) nor did a cunning workman

343. The reading of the MSS. needs some correction. Read *ἐξαπολεῖ σε* for *ἐξαπολέσθαι*.

344. MSS. unintelligible. Read *ἔσται δ' ὅπποταν αἴθριος οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν.*

358–60. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei*, xxiii. 8.

359. **bloodstained** (*βροτόεν*) a conjecture for 'life' (*βίοτον*).

361–85. Wars and disasters preceding the end.

363. **The ends of the earth.** Either Parthia, or the West conceived of as the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist in the form of Nero. A similar description in Testament of the Lord v.

The passage is referred to in Lact. *De Morte Pers.* ii. 8.

367. Probably the sovereignty.

370–3. Friedlieb supposes these lines to be an interpolation.

373. A gap after this line. The sense was probably, 'But God shall send from on high to that people help (or alliance)'.

386–402. Outburst of hatred against Rome. For the description cf. iii. 185 ff.

395. No good sense can be obtained from the MSS. A somewhat bold emendation is proposed. Read *οὐκέτι γὰρ παρὰ σεῖο τέγει φιλοπαρθένου αὐλῆς.* The reference is apparently to the burning of the Temple of Vesta in A.D. 64 (or possibly the second burning in A.D. 191).

398. The Sibyl claims to have seen the Temple at Jerusalem twice destroyed, and regards its destruction as the reason for the burning of Vesta's Temple.

401. The indestructibility of Herod's Temple was a dogma deep-rooted in the Jewish mind. Compare the story in Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vi. 5.

403. **senseless** (*ἄφρονος*) for 'vanished' (*ἀφανοῦς*).

among them make a god of stone: (405) no ornament of gold to lead souls astray do they worship. (406) But God, the great Father of all within whom is the breath of God, (407) they were wont to reverence with holy sacrifices and hecatombs. (408) But now an obscure unholy king has gone up (409) and cast it down and left it without inhabitant (10) with a great multitude and with doughty warriors. (11) But he himself perished **when he landed on the mainland from the Eternal Land,** (12) and no such sign has yet been wrought on men (13) that others should think to lay in ruins the great city.

(14) For there has come from the plains of heaven a blessed man (15) with the sceptre in his hand which God has committed to his clasp: (16) and he has won fair dominion over all, and has restored to all (17) the good the wealth which the former men took. (18) And he has destroyed every city from its foundations with sheets of fire, (19) and burnt up the families of the men who before wrought evil, (20) and the city which God loved he made (21) more radiant than the stars and the sun and the moon; (23) **and he** set it **as the jewel of the world, and** made **a temple** (23) exceeding fair **in its fair sanctuary**, and fashioned it (24) in size of many furlongs, with a giant tower (25) touching the very clouds and seen of all, (26) so that all the faithful and all the righteous may see (27) the glory of the invisible God, the vision of delight. (28) East and West have hymned forth the glory of God: (29) for no longer are wretched mortals beset with deeds of shame, (30) adulteries and unnatural passions for boys, (31) murder and tumult, but rivalry is fair among all. (32) It is the last time of the saints, when God accomplishes these things, (33) God the sender of thunder, the Creator of the great Temple.

(34) Woe to thee, Babylon, golden-throned and golden-sandalled, (35) thou who for many a year wast queen, sole sovereign of the world, (36) of old so great and cosmopolitan, no more shalt thou lie (37) on golden mountains and by Euphrates' streams. (38) Thou shalt be levelled by an earthquake's shock: and the dread Parthians (39) have made thee **rattle** through and through. Keep thy mouth **with** the bridle of constraint, (40) thou race of the Chaldees, and ask not nor care (41) how thou mayst rule the Persians or have dominion over the Medes. (42) For because of the empire that thou hadst, †thou shalt send hostages (43) to Rome, even those who were in bondage to Asia†. (44) Therefore thou thyself, thou haughty queen, shalt come to the **summons** of thine (45) adversaries on whose account thou hast sent ransom, (46) and for thy crooked words thou shalt give a bitter reckoning to thine enemies.

(47) And in the last time the sea shall be dry, (48) and no longer shall ships sail to Italy, (49) and great Asia which produces everything shall be water, (50) and Crete a plain. Cyprus shall have a great sorrow (51) and Paphos shall **lament** aloud her grievous fate, so that (52) even Salamis the great city shall perceive that she has suffered a great sorrow. (53) Now again the dry land up to the sea-shore shall be barren, (54) and swarms of locusts shall waste the land of Cyprus. (55) Ye ill-starred mortals, ye shall weep when ye look toward Tyre. (56) Phoenicia, grievous wrath awaits thee, till thou fallest (57) with a grievous fall so that the Sirens in very truth should weep.

(58) There shall be a time in the fifth generation, when Egypt's destruction shall cease, (59) when kings ally themselves in shameless marriages. (60) And Pamphylian races shall settle in Egypt, (61) and in Macedonia and in Asia and among the Lycians (62) *there shall be* a world-convulsing war with streams of blood in the dust, (63) which a king of Rome and western princes shall arrest.

408. The **king** is Titus.
411. Text uncertain. Titus lingered for some time in Egypt after the capture of Jerusalem, and there was an expectation among the Jews that he would die directly he set foot on Italian soil. Read *χέρσῳ ἀπ' ἀθανάτης ἐπιβὰς γῆς* and understand *χέρσῳ* of the mainland of Italy.
414–33. The coming of the Messiah, conceived of as already having occurred.
420, 421. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 24. 6.
422. The line is mutilated in the middle. The emendation suggested is *καὶ κόσμου κατέθηκεν ἄγαλμα, νεών τ' ἐποίησεν ἐν σηκῷ καλῷ περικαλλέα.*
434–46. Woes on Babylon and the Parthians.
435. Cf. Isa. xlvii. 5.
437. The **golden mountains** are merely a proverbial figure for immense wealth.
439. **rattle** (*κροτεῖν*) for MSS. 'rule' (*κρατεῖν*). In the latter half of the line the MSS. reading has been kept with the single alteration of *φιμόν* to *φιμῷ*.
443. The text is again corrupt. Read *εἰς Ῥώμην πέμψεις συ καὶ Ἄσιδι θητεύοντας.* Augustus, by diplomacy, induced the Parthians to restore the Roman prisoners captured at Carrhae.
444. Reading again uncertain. For *εἰς κρίσιν* read *ἐπὶ κλῆσιν.*
447–57. Convulsions of nature.
451. **lament,** *αἰάξει.* Alexandre's emendation for *ἀίξει.*
457. For the Sirens as spirits of lamentation cf. 2 Bar. x. 8.
458. War in Egypt. For 'when . . . shall cease' (*ὅτε παύσετ'*) we should, perhaps, read 'when . . . shall come' (*ὅτ' ἐλεύσετ'*).
459. Perhaps a reference to Cleopatra and Caesar.
461. For **Lycians** Alex. suggests 'Libyans', referring to Octavian's capture of Pelusium and Alexandria.

(64) When a wintry blast distils in form of snow, (65) and a great river and the largest lakes are frozen, (66) straightway a barbarian horde shall make its way to the land of Asia, (67) and shall destroy the race of the dreaded Thracians as though it were but puny. (68) And then mortals in desperation shall devour their own parents (69) in the last stages of famine, and shall consume them greedily as food. (70) And from every house beasts shall devour the table (71) and the very birds shall devour all mortals, (72) and as a result of grievous war the bloodstained ocean shall be filled (73) with the flesh and blood of the insensate men. (74) Then such faintness shall there be throughout the earth (75) that one may tell the number of men and the measure of women. (76) Myriad shall be the lamentations of the **wretched** generation about the term (77) when the sun sets never to rise again, (78) waiting to be bathed in the waters of ocean. (79) For it has seen the unholy villainies of many men. (80) There shall be a moonless darkness even around the great heaven, (81) and no slight mist shall envelop the folds of earth (82) a second time. But then God's light shall guide (83) all those good men who have raised their hymns to God.

(84) Isis, thou goddess thrice ill-starred, thou shalt remain by the streams of Nile (85) alone, frenzied but speechless by the sands of Acheron, (86) and no memory of thee shall remain throughout the whole earth. (87) And thou, Sarapis, **covered with many useless stones**, (88) shalt lie a giant corpse in Egypt thrice ill-starred. (89) And all who have brought the precious things of Egypt to thee, (90) shall weep for thee bitterly, bethinking them of the Immortal God. (91) They shall know thee to be nothing, all who have sung hymns to thee as God. (92) And then one of the priests shall say, a linen-clad man, (93) Come, let us set up the fair temple of the true God. (94) Come, let us change the grievous custom we have received from our fathers, (95) whereby, performing processions and rites to gods of stone and earthenware, they had no sense. (97) Let us turn ourselves and hymn the Immortal God, (98) the Father himself who is from everlasting, (99) the Chief of all, the True, the King, (500) the Father, Sustainer of souls, the Great Eternal God. (501) And then in Egypt there shall be a great and holy temple, (502) and to it the people whom God made shall bring sacrifices. (503) To these God shall grant a life without decay.

(504) But when, leaving the shameless tribes of the Triballi, (505) the Ethiopians tarry to till **the land of Egypt**, (506) they shall begin their evil deeds that all the latter things may come to pass. (507) For they shall destroy the great temple of the land of Egypt. (508) And God shall rain grievous wrath upon them down to earth, (509) so as to destroy all the evil and all the lawless. (10) And there shall be no more any sparing in that land (11) because they did not keep that which God entrusted to them.

(12) I saw the threatening of the gleaming sun among the stars, (13) and the moon's grievous wrath among the lightning flashes. (14) The stars travailed with **war**: and God suffered them to fight. (15) For instead of the sun long flames rose in revolt, (17) and the two-horned **revolution** of the moon was changed. (16) Lucifer waged battle, mounted on Leo's back. (18) Capricorn smote the heel of the young Taurus: (19) and Taurus snatched from Capricorn his day of return. (20) Orion removed the Scales so that they remained no more. (21) Virgo changed her sphere with the Twins in Aries. (22) The Pleiad appeared no more: and the Dragon disowned the Belt. (23) Pisces entered into the girdle of Leo. (24) Cancer did not stay, for he feared Orion. (25) Scorpio drew up his tail, because of savage Leo: (26) and the dog-star perished from the sun's flame. (27) The might of doughty Lucifer burned up Aquarius. (28) Heaven itself was stirred till it shook the warriors, (29) and in anger cast them headlong to the earth. (30) And smitten swiftly into the waters of Ocean, (31) they kindled the whole earth: and the sky remained starless.

464–74. A Gaulish invasion. Probably an ancient oracle on the Gaulish inroad into Asia after their repulse at Delphi in 279 B.C.

476–83. A plague of darkness, the righteous only having light.

476. **wretched**, δειλή, a conjecture for MSS. δεινή.

482. The writer has in mind probably the darkness that reigned in Egypt when only the Israelites had light.

484–503. The conversion of Egypt. Four lines are quoted by Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 50 with slight alterations from the MSS.

487. So Clem. But the MSS. have 'stretched on thy stones thou shalt have many toils', λίθοις ἐπικείμενε πολλὰ μογήσεις.

489. Or perhaps 'whom the spell of Egypt hath brought to thee'. ὅσσους δ' Αἰγύπτου πόθος ἤγαγεν εἴς σε (so Rz.).

501. The Temple of Onias at Heliopolis was destroyed by order of Vespasian.

504–11. Destruction of the Temple followed by God's vengeance.

504. The **Triballi**, properly a rude tribe living on the borders of Thrace, are here used generally for savages.

505. The MSS. **tarry** is to be kept. But 'the land of Egypt' is Alexandre's emendation (Αἰγύπτου γαῖαν for Αἴγυπτον ἑήν τε).

512–31. The battle of the stars; cf. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 72. If the stars are taken as representing angelic beings, the scene is parallel to the 'war in heaven' in Apoc. xii. 7. Only here all are finally expelled.

514. **war.** A necessary emendation for the MSS. reading, which gives no sense.

517. **revolution** (ῥοῖζος) for 'trouble' (ὀιζύς).

525. MSS. uncertain.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Assumption of Moses was in all probability a composite work, and consisted of two originally distinct books, of which the first was the Testament of Moses, and the second the Assumption. The former was written in Hebrew, between A. D. 7 and 29, and possibly also the latter. A Greek version of the entire work appeared in the first century A. D. Of this a few phrases and sentences appear to have been preserved in Acts vii. 36, Jude 9, 16, 18, 2 Baruch, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Greek writers. The Greek version was translated into Latin not later than the fifth century. Of this version a large fragment was discovered by Ceriani in a sixth-century MS. in the Ambrosian library in Milan.

The book was written by a Pharisaic Quietist and was designed by its author as a protest against the growing secularization of the Pharisaic party through its fusion with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. Its author sought herein to recall his party to the old paths, which they were fast forsaking, of simple unobtrusive obedience to the law. He glorifies accordingly the old ideals which had been cherished and pursued by the Chasid and Early Pharisaic party, but which the Pharisaism of the first century B. C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. And yet he was full of patriotism; for he looked for the return of the Ten Tribes, the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, the triumph of Israel over its foes. But though a patriot he was not a Zealot. The duty of the faithful was not to resort to arms, but simply to keep the law, and prepare, through repentance, for the personal intervention of God in their behalf. Accordingly, though he depicts in all its horrors the persecution under Antiochus, he leaves unmentioned the great achievements of the Maccabean leaders and only once refers to the entire dynasty from 165 to 37 B. C., and that in most disparaging terms. For him the true saints and heroes of the time were not Judas and his great brethren, but an obscure group of martyrs—Eleazar and his seven sons, who unresistingly yielded themselves to death on behalf of God and the law. In setting forth his ideal saints and heroes our author idealized deliberately the facts of history and represented as a single incident two distinct events—a pardonable liberty on the part of an Apocalyptist—not to speak of an unconquerable optimist and idealist. His action in regard to the Maccabean movement was the natural outcome of his conception of religion, and reflected his attitude towards the present dominant form of Pharisaism; for he clearly saw the growing secularization of the religion of his time, and perhaps foresaw the doom to which his country was hurrying under such a shortsighted and unspiritual policy, and laboured with all his power to stay its downward progress. But all in vain. He but played afresh the part of Cassandra. The leavening of Pharisaism with earthly political ideals went on apace, and the movement thus initiated culminated finally in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A. D.

It adds no little to the interest of the book that it was written during the early life of our Lord, or possibly contemporaneously with His public ministry, and that its conception of spiritual religion as opposed to an alliance of religion with politics generally or with any specific school of politics was essentially one with His.[1]

§ 2. The present Book in reality a Testament of Moses—not the Assumption, which is preserved only in a few Greek quotations.

In the lists of Apocryphal books we find mention of a Testament of Moses (Διαθήκη Μωυσέως) followed immediately by an Assumption of Moses (Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως). In the 'List of Sixty Books' and in the Synopsis of Athanasius the number of stichoi is omitted, but this desideratum is supplied by the Stichometry of Nicephorus, which assigns to them respectively 1,100 and 1,400 stichoi. Schürer conjectured that these designations were titles of two separate divisions of one

[1] This section is mainly taken from my edition of the *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xiii sq.

and the same book, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second. The studies of the present writer have led him to accept this suggestion in a modified form. The 'Testament' and 'Assumption' mentioned in the above lists are not to be regarded with Schürer as 'two separate divisions of one and the same work', but as two originally independent works subsequently put together and edited as one.

Of the Latin fragment of the Assumption (i. e. the Testament), which consisted originally of 1,100 stichoi, about one-half is preserved.[1] Some writers, as Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 480 sq.), have sought to identify this Testament with the Book of Jubilees. But this is impossible; for since 4,300 stichoi are assigned to the Canonical Book of Genesis in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, this Testament, if it were identical with the Book of Jubilees, would have run to 5,000 or 6,000 stichoi and not to 1,100, as it is there stated. Independently of this fact on a variety of grounds this identification is inadmissible.

We shall now give some of the grounds for regarding the Latin version and the Greek fragments in the Fathers as belonging to two originally independent works, which were subsequently edited together.

1°. The book quoted by Jude, Clement of Alexandria, and later Greek writers,[2] was wholly concerned with the individual destiny of Moses, i. e. his assumption and incidents connected with it. This was the original Assumption of Moses.

2°. The book partially preserved in the Latin version is the 'Testament' which was wholly taken up with the destinies of the chosen people: it was distinct also from the Assumption of Moses; for according to the Latin version (i. e. the 'Testament') Moses was to die an ordinary death. Thus in i. 15 Moses says: 'I am passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people,' and similarly in x. 14. In iii. 13 the Tribes speak of Moses' death. In these three passages the death referred to is obviously an ordinary one, and the same fact was stated in x. 12, before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one book. In x. 12, i. e. 'From my death [assumption] until His advent, there will be CCL times,' this word 'assumption' was introduced by the final editor into the Testament, which knew nothing of Moses' assumption, in order to prepare the reader for the main subject of the added work, 'The Assumption of Moses'.

3°. In the thirteenth section of the Palaea Historica edited by Vassiliev—an O.T. history of events from Adam to Daniel—of the portion which deals with the death of Moses, part seems to be ultimately derived from the 'Testament' and part from the 'Assumption' properly so called. The following lines (pp. 257–58) would form a fitting close to the 'Testament'.

καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν ⟨τὸν⟩ τοῦ Ναυί. Ἀνέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει. καὶ ἀνελθόντων αὐτῶν εἶδεν Μωϋσῆς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν. κάτελθε πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μωϋσῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ κατῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου ἐκτήσατο. Here Moses dismisses Joshua and dies apparently an ordinary death. But according to the Assumption proper (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15) both Joshua and Caleb were present, when the assumption

[1] It is not improbable that the lost half of the Testament dealt with certain revelations made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight. We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. VT*, ii. 121–2) 'Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi *de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam*, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulcri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit ubi cadaver conderetur'. Here there is an extraordinary disappearance of Moses' body as in Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 but no assumption. If the writer had been acquainted with the original Assumption, in which the details of Moses' ascension to heaven were recorded, he could not have written in these vague terms.

[2] On pp. 105–10 of my edition I have shown by an examination of the existing Greek fragments of the *Assumption proper*, that the order of action in it was probably as follows:

1°. Michael was commissioned to bury Moses.

2°. Satan opposed the burial on the ground (*a*) that he was the lord of matter (ὕλη) and that accordingly the body should be rightfully handed over to him; (*b*) that Moses was a murderer, having slain the Egyptian.

3°. Michael having rebutted Satan's accusations proceeded to charge Satan with having instigated the serpent to tempt Eve.

4°. Finally, all opposition having been overcome, the assumption took place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb, and in a very peculiar way. A two-fold presentation of Moses appeared: one was Moses in company with angels, the other was the dead body of Moses, being buried in the recesses of the mountains.

The passages in support of 1° will be found in Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (A. D. 512–19). See Cramer, *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, p. 160; likewise the two anonymous passages *op. cit.* on pp. 161, 163; two scholia from Oecumenius (*c.* 990). In support of 2° Jude 9; Clem. Alex., *Adumbrat. in Ep. Iudae*; Didymus Alex. (309–94); Severus of Antioch; *Acta Synodi Nicaen*, ii. 20; anonymous passages in Cramer's *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, pp. 160, 161, 163 and the scholia of Oecumenius. In support of 3° Origen, *De Princ.* iii. 2. 1. In support of 4° Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 15; Origen, *In Ios.-Hom.* ii. 1; Euodius, *Ep. ad August.* 258. All these passages are given in full in my edition, pp. 105–10.

of Moses took place. The words that follow on the above in the Palaea Historica are based ultimately on the Assumption proper and deal with the strife of Sammael and Michael over the body of Moses, the real Moses in a spiritual form having been borne off to heaven by angels.

4°. The two books—the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption'—were probably put together in one work in the first century A. D., since Jude draws upon both in his Epistle. See § 10. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8. 48), while holding fast to Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6, shows that he is aware of the new claims made on Moses' behalf in the Assumption: *νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος. Γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.* Does the account of the Transfiguration point in any respect to popular belief in Moses' assumption?

§ 3. Other Books of Moses.

i. *In Jewish literature.*

(*a*) *Midrash Tanchuma Debarim* translated by Wünsche into German (1882). *Petirath Moshe* (פטירת משה) ed. by Gaulmyn (Paris 1629) with a Latin translation, which latter was republished by Fabricius in 1714 and Gfrörer in 1840. Two other recensions of this work were printed by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrasch* i. 115–29, 1853; vi. 71–8, 1877.

גדולות משה. This Hebrew Apocalypse tells of Moses' transformation into the form of a fiery angel and his ascent through the seven heavens. Since it shows many affinities with 2 Enoch, some of its contents will be found under § 4 of the Introduction to that book.

Another legend dealing with the temporary translation of Moses before his death into heaven is preserved in the Midrash Bereshit Rabbati of R. Moses Ha-Darshan published by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrasch* vi, § 22. When translated into heaven the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple were revealed to him, and he was told these would descend to earth after God had gathered Israel a second time from the ends of the earth.

On the above legends see Beer, *Leben Mosis nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, 1863; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 183.

(*b*) *In Greek.* Philo's *Vita Mosis*; Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 4, 48.

βίβλος λόγων μυστικῶν Μωυσέως. This book is mentioned in the Acts of the Nicene Council ii. 18. Its contents as there given have their parallels in Rabbinic literature. See *Jewish Encyc.* ix. 53.

(*c*) *In Arabic and Slavonic.* See my edition of *The Assumption*, p. xvi.

ii. *In Christian literature.*

Apocalypsis Mosis in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae.* This book is wrongly named and belongs really to the Adamic literature.

Apocryphum Mosis (Ἀπόκρυφον Μωυσέως). According to Euthalius and others Gal. vi. 16 was borrowed from this book, but there can be little doubt that the borrowing is just the other way.

§ 4. The Latin Version of the Assumption.

The solitary MS. of this version was discovered in the Ambrosian library in Milan by Ceriani and published by him in his *Mon. sacr. et prof.* I. i. 55–64 in 1861. This MS. is a palimpsest of the sixth century. It consists of eight folios written on both sides. There is no division of words, and occasionally whole verses are undecipherable. It is not, as scholars have supposed, the actual work of the original Latin translator, but only a fragmentary copy of that version; for our text contains duplicate renderings and attempts at a better translation, which were primarily marginal glosses, but were afterwards introduced by a copyist into the text; cf. v. 6, xi. 13, and probably in vi. 3 and viii. 5.

The Latin belongs in style and orthography to the fifth century. Nearly all its chief characteristics can be paralleled from the fifth-century Bobbio MS. *K* edited in 1886 by Wordsworth, Sanday and White. A full study of our MS. and its idiosyncrasies and critical worth will be found in my edition, pp. xxx–xxxvi.

§ 5. The Latin Version—a Translation from the Greek.

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question.

Thus (1) Greek words are transliterated, as *chedrio* i. 17 from *κεδρόω*, *heremus* iii. 11 from *ἐρῆμος*, *acrobistia* viii. 3 from *ἀκροβυστία*.

(2) Greek forms and idioms survive in the Latin. Thus scene i. 7 = *τῇ σκηνῇ*: 'usque nos duci captivos' iii. 13 is an imitation of the Greek *ἕως τοῦ ἡμᾶς αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι.*

(3) Not infrequently we must translate not the Latin text, but the Greek which it presupposes but which was misrendered by the translator. Thus *nam* must not be rendered by 'for' in ii. 4, 5; viii. 2, 4; x. 11, &c. In vii. 7 'ab oriente ad occidentem' is to be rendered not 'from east to west' but 'from sunrise to sunset', i.e. ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος μέχρι δυομένου. The Greek is susceptible of either meaning.

(4) Fragments of the Greek version are still preserved: see note on i. 14.

§ 6. The Greek—a Translation from the Hebrew.

The view maintained by Hilgenfeld that this book was written originally in Greek has been long universally abandoned. The only question at issue now is as to the original being Hebrew or Aramaic. Schmidt-Merx, Colani, Hausrath, and Carrière decide for the latter, and Rosenthal for the former. Of these scholars only Schmidt-Merx and in a minor degree Rosenthal have treated the question seriously. In the *Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.* I. ii. 111–52 Schmidt-Merx show how readily the text admits of retranslation into Aramaic; but this proof is wholly inadequate, for the same passages can be just as readily rendered into Hebrew. In two passages, however, they urge that the idiosyncrasies of the Latin text can be explained on the hypothesis of an Aramaic original but not on that of a Hebrew. The first is i. 10 'promitte . . . omnia quae mandata sunt ut facias'. Here the position of 'ut facias' (which = לעשות) after its object is usual in Aramaic כל די אתפקד למעבד. But the same order is found also in Hebrew. See Isa. xlix. 6; 2 Chron. xxviii. 10. The second instance of alleged Aramaic order is that in iii. 2 'sancta vasa omnia' = קדישיא מאניא כלהון. The position of 'omnia' is no doubt conformable to Aramaic, but it is also possible in classical Hebrew, כלי קדש כלם. Cf. 2 Sam. ii. 9; Jer. xiii. 19, xlviii. 31.

Among the positive grounds for a Hebrew original might be enumerated the following:

1°. *Hebrew idiomatic phrases survive in the text.* 'Circumibo' ii. 7 = אסובב = 'I will protect': cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Jer. xxxi. 22; Ps. xxxii. 10. 'Dividentur ad veritatem' v. 2 = יֻחָלְקוּ באמת: cf. 1 Kings xvi. 21. 'In sacerdotes vocabuntur' vi. 1 = יִקָּרְאוּ על־הכהנים: cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14. These are pure Hebraisms, and cannot apparently be explained from Aramaic.

2°. *In some cases we must translate, not the Latin, but the Hebrew presupposed by it.* Thus in i. 7 'successor' = διάδοχος = משרת, which must here be rendered 'minister'. In i. 13 'non coepit' = οὐκ ἤρξατο = לא הואיל, which must here be rendered 'he was not pleased', 'did not consent'.

3°. *Frequently it is only through retranslation that we can understand the source of the corruptions in the text.* In iv. 9 we have the impossible text 'x tribus crescent et devenient apud †natos† in tempore tribum'. Here 'tribum' is for 'tribuum' and 'natos' corrupt for 'nationes'. Clemen renders the text thus emended: 'zehn Stämme werden immer mehr zu Heiden werden.' Now, to translate 'devenient apud nationes' by 'become heathens' is highly questionable. But, even if this were possible, 'crescent et devenient' cannot, if the original was Semitic, mean 'will become more and more', and it cannot do so in either Greek or Latin. And finally this idea of the Ten Tribes becoming heathen is contrary to the beliefs expressed in 4 Ezra xiii. 36–48, and in Philo, *Leg. ad Caium* 31, as to their religious character and their immense numbers in the first century A.D. That our author shares in this view is clear from iii. 5–14, where he represents all the Tribes as joining in a general confession of sin with the Two Tribes, and all the Tribes in iii. 9 as claiming that God had sworn that the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and of Jacob should never fail from the land that He had given them, and from x. 8, where all the Tribes are represented as ultimately triumphant. We conclude, therefore, that iv. 9 speaks favourably of the Ten Tribes. The verb 'crescent' is therefore what we might expect. The corruption, therefore, lies in 'devenient' and 'tribuum'. The former = κατελεύσονται = ירדו, which is obviously corrupt for ירבו. Next in the phrase 'in tempore tribuum' we should have the time defined during which this increase took place. From Philo, Josephus, and 4 Ezra we know that it was while the Ten Tribes were in exile. Hence שבטים (i.e. 'tribuum') is corrupt for שביתם or שבים = 'captivitatis suae'. This reconstruction of the original is not possible from an Aramaic background.

In i. 13 'non coepit' = οὐκ ἤρξατο, but the text requires a verb of another meaning. Now οὐκ ἤρξατο = לא הואיל, which can also mean 'was not pleased'.

For other passages see the notes on v. 5, v. 6, vii. 4, xii. 7.

§ 7. The Date.

The book was written before A. D. 70; for the temple was to-stand till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, i. 17. It was standing when the book was written; for if it had fallen such an event could not have been passed over in silence. It could not have been passed over in a book, where all the fortunes of the temple, even its temporary profanations by a faithless priesthood, are carefully recorded: see ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9; viii. 5. When the temple did fall it left an ineffaceable mark on all subsequent literature.

So far for the latest limit of composition, i. e. A. D. 70. Now as to its earliest. This is 3 B. C.; for Herod is already dead, vi. 6, and the War of Varus already past, vi. 9. Thus the limits lie between 3 B. C. and A. D. 70. But there are data for a nearer determination. In vi. 7 the statement, 'And he (Herod) shall beget children, who, succeeding him, shall rule for shorter periods,' is true of Archelaus alone; for Philip and Antipas reigned longer than their father. Hence the book must have been written before A. D. 30. But the limits may be defined still more closely. For the prediction that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father may be reasonably explained from two considerations: (*a*) from the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority; but still more (*b*) from the actual deposition of Archelaus after a short reign of ten years, 4 B. C.–A. D. 6—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgement, and suggest to him the prediction that appears in our text. Hence, however we may interpret the 'four hours' in vii. 1, it may be fairly concluded that part of these had already elapsed when the author wrote, and that the earliest limit of composition was A. D. 7. Thus the book was written between the years A. D. 7–30.

§ 8. The Author—a Pharisaic Quietist.

The school to which the writer of our book belonged cannot be mistaken. (1) He was not a Sadducee; for he looks forward to the direct intervention of God on behalf of Israel, and his establishment of the theocratic kingdom on earth. He dwells on the future blessedness of the righteous (x. 10, 11). Finally, he attacks the Sadducean party in the most bitter terms. (2) He was not a Zealot, as Dillmann and Schürer suppose, for his complete silence as to the Maccabean rising forms an emphatic censure of their appeal to arms. This silence is all the more impressive, as the writer was thoroughly acquainted with all the history of the Maccabean movement. Moreover, whilst he evinces clearly his aversion to a militant Judaism, he indicates just as clearly his admirations. He will not trust an arm of flesh. His ideal hero (ch. ix) was not one who flew to arms on behalf of Israel, but one who amid the most bitter persecution in the history of Israel raised no hand in self-defence, but committed his cause to God. Ch. x further is wholly against the idea of a Zealot author. The theocratic kingdom is here introduced, not by the militant acts of the saints, but by the direct intervention of God.

(3) He was not an Essene—a view that has been advocated by Schmidt and Merx. For the entire book is interpenetrated with national hopes and aspirations. The ideal of the Essene was individualistic and ethical, and not national. The greatest interest is taken in all the fortunes of the temple, ii. 4, 8, 9; v. 3, 4; iii. 2; vi. 1. Such an interest would not be natural in an Essene. The author also was much concerned in the character of the temple sacrifices, but the Essene disapproved wholly of animal sacrifices.

(4) From the preceding facts it follows that our author was neither Sadducee, Zealot, nor Essene, but a Pharisaic Quietist. He was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation.

§ 9. Theology.

Good works. On the doctrine of merit or good works, our author's views are more nearly allied to O.T. conceptions than to the legalism of the rabbinic doctrine of man's righteousness, which bulks so largely in Jewish literature from A. D. 50 onwards, and against which the Pauline dialectic was so vigorously directed. So far was man's righteousness from involving merit over against God, that the greatest hero of Judaism is represented as declaring: 'Not for any virtue or strength of mine, but of His good pleasure have His compassion and long-suffering fallen to my lot' (xii. 7). Similarly the election of the nation was not due to any righteousness of its own: 'For I say unto you, Joshua, it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations' (xii. 8). This call, therefore, alike of the individual as of the nation was a matter of grace, and the covenant relation between God and Israel was based on divine grace and not on human merit. But whilst the divine grace is made the absolute pre-condition of Israel's election and salvation,

the necessity of works is no less insisted on and moral responsibility affirmed, xii. 10-12: 'Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of God shall increase and be prospered; but those who sin and set at nought the commandments shall be without the blessings before mentioned, and they shall be punished with many torments.' There is, however, one passage from which the sense of demerit is wholly absent, i. e. ix. 4 sq.: 'Observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength.' These words imply that a faithful remnant existed at all times. But even so they introduce a note of discord into the writer's theology.

Quietism. We have touched repeatedly on this characteristic in our author, so that it does not call for further notice here. It was typical of the older Pharisees, and in this respect the tone of the book has its affinities with that of the Sermon on the Mount, which essentially exhibits this temper.

The Messianic kingdom. There is no Messiah. This is probably due to the fact that the conception of the Messiah, as a man of war, was gaining more and more acceptance amongst the Pharisees, and was thus of a nature to promote the growing secularization of Pharisaism. No such Messiah could be acknowledged by our author.

The kingdom was to be ushered in by a day of repentance (i. 17). 1750 years after the death of Moses, between A. D. 75 and 107 (?) God was to intervene on behalf of Israel—of Israel and not merely of Judah and Benjamin. Our author always dwells on the solidarity of the nation. As the tribes suffered vicariously for each other's sins (iii. 5), so the promises were made to the Twelve Tribes collectively (iii. 9), and they were all to be glorified together (x. 8). During their kingdom Israel's national enemies were to be destroyed (x. 8). Finally, Israel was to be exalted to heaven (x. 9), whence they should see their enemies in Gehenna (x. 10).

Moses' unique relation to Judaism. Moses was prepared from the foundation of the world to be the mediator of God's covenant with His people (i. 14; iii. 12). Pre-existence is here ascribed to Moses, but to him uniquely. In Alexandrian Judaism it was conceived to be the prerogative of mankind generally.[1] During his life Moses was Israel's intercessor with God (xi. 11, 17); for forty years he suffered many things at their hands in Egypt, the Red Sea, and the wilderness (iii. 11). When about to die, he chose Joshua in his stead (x. 15), apparently as the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15. His death was an ordinary one (i. 15; iii. 13; x. 12, 14), but no single place was worthy to mark the place of his burial; for his sepulchre was from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north (xi. 8). His relation, moreover, with Israel did not cease with death; he was appointed by God to be their intercessor in the spiritual world (xii. 6).

Israel. Israel was God's own people (i. 12); the world was created in their behalf (i. 12), and Moses prepared, before the foundation of the world, to establish the covenant relation between God and His people (i. 14), and Jerusalem prepared in like manner to be the centre of the worship of Yahweh till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom.

§ 10. Influence on the New Testament.

Jude was unquestionably acquainted with the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses properly so-called. From the latter Jude 9 is derived: ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλ' εἶπεν· Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι Κύριος.

Jude's acquaintance with the Testament of Moses may be reasonably concluded from the following parallels:

Jude 16 γογγυσταί, μεμψίμοιροι	vii. 7 querulosi
κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι· καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα	vii. 9 et manus eorum et mentes eorum immunda tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia
θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα, ὠφελείας χάριν.	v. 5 mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes munera.

The ἀσεβεῖς who are mentioned in Jude 4 appear twice in Ass. Moys. vii. 3, 7 (*impii*). The classes of evildoers are those who shall be 'in the last time', Jude 18, and when 'the times shall be ended', in Ass. Moys. vii. 1.

[1] This belief appears in Wisdom and 2 Enoch as the prerogative of mankind generally. This view is challenged by Dr. Porter ('The Pre-existence of the Soul in The Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical Writings' in the *American Journal of Theology*, Jan., 1908, pp. 53–115), but I cannot agree with him.

2 Peter ii. 13 ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφήν, *ibid.* ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀγαπαῖς αὐτῶν συνευωχούμενοι ὑμῖν.	Ass. Moys. vii. 5 omni hora diei amantes convivia. vii. 8 habebimus discubitiones et luxuriam.
Acts vii. 36 ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.	iii. 11 Moyses . . . qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in heremo annis xl.

For other possible borrowings or parallels see my edition, pp. lxiv. sq.

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In this last work (pp. xviii–xxviii) a full bibliography is given; see also Schürer[3], *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, iii. 222 sq.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

1 1 **The Testament of Moses** *even* **the things which he commanded in the one hundred and twentieth**
2 **year of his life**, that is the two thousand five hundredth year from the creation of the world:
3 [But according to oriental reckoning **the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth**
4 after the departure from Phoenicia], when the people had gone forth after the Exodus that was made
5 by Moses to Amman beyond the Jordan, in the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book Deutero-
6, 7 nomy: and he called to him Joshua the son of Nun, a man approved of the Lord, that he might be
8 the minister of the people and of the tabernacle of the testimony with all its holy things, and that he
9 might bring the people into the land given to their **fathers**, that it should be given to them according
to the covenant and the oath, which He spake in the tabernacle to give (it) by Joshua: saying to Joshua

I. 1. Three lines are wanting. These must not consist of more than forty-eight or forty-nine lines, or less than forty-five as the following lines in the MS. show. Now since, as I have shown elsewhere, this book is the actual διαθήκη Μωυσέως or *Testamentum Moysi* (see p. xlv of my Comm.), and since the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs begin always with the title of the Testament (cf. T. Reub. i. 1 ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης Ῥουβήμ, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο) so here the text most probably ran:—

'Testamentum Moysi
Quae precepit año vi
tae eius Cmo et xxmo.'

Here I have put *quae* and not *quod* since in every case the Testaments have ἃ or ὅσα in this very same context.

Hilgenfeld restores: 'Assumptio Moysis quae facta est anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo; Volkmar: Liber profetiae Moysis quem scripsit año aetatis centesimo vicesimo; Rönsch: Liber receptionis Moysi factae anno vitae eius Cmo et xxmo; Clemen: Liber profetiae Moysis, quae facta est anno vitae eius Cmo et xxmo.'

Schmidt Merx's restoration ('et factum est anno aetatis Moysi centesimo et vigesimo') will not do here owing to its being too short as well as on other grounds. The need of a title such as Testamentum or Assumptio is against Volkmar's and Clemen's restoration: while the fact that the book is not the Assumption but the Testament is against Hilgenfeld's and Rönsch's.

2–4. These verses are an interpolation—apparently made by a Greek scribe and in the West. No Hebrew writer would regard himself other than an Oriental, and a Jew is beyond question the author of this book. Hence he could not have written verse 3. Nor could a Jew have described Hebron, from which Jacob set out for Egypt, as being in Phoenicia. Moses, moreover, could not have spoken of Amman as beyond the Jordan: only a dweller in Jerusalem could have so described it.

2. **two thousand five hundredth year.** Contrast the dates given in Jubilees (2450 A.M.), Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 3. 1 and xx. 10 (2550), Samaritan Pentateuch (3309), LXX (3859), while the Massoretic chronology (2706) seems unknown to all the others. But cf. the 'Oriental reckoning' of verse 3 (as restored).

3. **the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth.** Text = 'numerus . . mus et . . . mus et . . . . mus'. I restore (with Clemen) 'numerus MMmus et DCCmus, et CCCCmus'.

four hundredth after the departure from Phoenicia. The number of years varies in different authorities; as some give 400 (cf. Gen. xv. 13), others 430. The *terminus a quo* of reckoning also varies. The Samaritan reckoning (cf. also LXX, Jubilees, Gal. iii. 17; Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 15. 2; Ps. Jon. on Exod. xii. 40) embraces in the four hundred and thirty years the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan. Exod. xii. 40 (Mass. text) states that Israel sojourned in Egypt four hundred and thirty years, while Gen. xv. 13 may be interpreted either way. See also Acts vii. 6.

4. **Amman**—in the tribe of Gad, *Onom. Sacr.*, ed. Lag., 88, 31; 92, 2.

5. **in the prophecy.** *profetiae* I take as = *profetiâ*. *ae* occasionally is found for *a* in fifth-century Latin. Cf. *in scenae* for *in scena*, i. 9.

6. **called to him . . . Nun.** Cf. Deut. xxxi. 7.

the son of Nun. Text = *filium Nave*, the LXX spelling of the name.

approved of the Lord. Cf. Acts ii. 22; 2 Tim. ii. 15.

7. **minister of the people.** Text = *successor plebi*. διάδοχος means the chief minister of the king in LXX of 1 Chron. xviii. 17; 2 Chron. xxvi. 11, xxviii. 7; also in Philo, and Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 10. In Sirach xlvi. 1 the Hebrew equivalent is מְשָׁרֵת, the special term used in Exod. xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11; Num. xi. 28; Josh. i. 1 to describe Joshua's relation to Moses; also in Num. viii. 26, &c., it is used of service in the tabernacle. Cf. Ass. Mos. x. 15 (note).

tabernacle of the testimony, i.e. the tabernacle in its aspect of a witness to God's presence, with the ark and the tables of testimony. In its aspect of meeting-place it was the spot where God spoke to Moses and Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 14–23.

8. **bring . . . into.** So Deut. xxxi. 7 (Samaritan text, Syriac and Vulgate versions), against 'enter' (Massoretic, LXX, Targum of Onkelos).

to their fathers = *patribus*. So I emend text *ex tribus*.

9. **the covenant and the oath.** Cf. ii. 7 (restored), iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.

which He spake, Deut. xxxi. 14, 20, 23.

by Joshua. Text = *de Iesum*, cf. v. 1 *de reges*.

saying to Joshua, resumes verse 6, 'And he called'.

10 these words: '⟨Be strong⟩ **and of a good courage** so as to do with thy might all that has been com-
12 manded that thou mayst be blameless **unto God.**' So saith the Lord of the world. For He hath created
13 the world on behalf of His people. But He was not **pleased** to manifest this purpose of creation from
the foundation of the world, in order that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted, yea to their own
14 humiliation might by (their) arguments convict one another. Accordingly He designed and devised
me, and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His
15 covenant. And now I declare unto thee that the time of the years of my life is fulfilled and I am
16 passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people. And receive **thou** this
17 writing that thou mayst know how to preserve the books which I shall deliver unto thee: and thou
shalt set these in order and anoint them with oil of cedar and put them away in earthen vessels in
18 the place which He made from the beginning of the creation of the world, that His name should
be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in
the consummation of the end of the days.

2 1 **And now** they shall go by means of thee into the land which He determined and promised to give to
2 their fathers, in the which thou shalt bless and give to them individually and confirm unto them their

10. **⟨Be strong⟩ and of a good courage.** Text = *et promitte*. *Promitte* is due to a corruption in the Hebrew אמר for אמץ, while the *et* betrays a word lost after *verbum hoc* = הדבר הזה. Probably חזק was omitted after הזה. Clemen's suggestion, 'And promise' has no support in the O.T. text. Moses exacted **no** promise from Joshua, while my restoration is upheld by Deut. xxxi. 7, &c.

that thou mayst be . . . unto God. Text = *est ideo*, corrupt for *sis Deo*. Clemen renders 'as is blameless. Therefore thus saith, &c.', putting a full stop after *est*.

blameless unto God. Cf. Deut. xviii. 13, &c.

11. **So saith the Lord.** God says these words 'Be strong', &c., directly in Deut. xxxi. 23; by Moses, xxxi. 6, 7.

Lord of the world. Cf. iv. 2 'Lord of all . . . who rulest the world'. Cf. xi. 17.

12. **created the world on behalf of His people.** The prevalent Judaistic view from first century A. D. onwards. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11; 2 Bar. xiv. 18 (note). The still more narrow view that the world was created for the sake of the righteous in Israel occurs in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. Cf. Hermas' Shepherd, *Vis.* i. 1. 6, ii. 4. 1, iv, v (for the Church's sake). The larger view—that it was for the sake of mankind, we find in 2 Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44; Hermas, *Mand.* xii. 4; Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 10 and post-apostolic writers generally.

13. **was . . . pleased.** Text = *coepit* = הואיל which also means 'was pleased'.

purpose. Text = *inceptionem*.

13, 14. These verses are strongly predestinarian. The Gentiles are fore-ordained to ignorance and blind conjecture, while Moses is the chosen agent of the true revelation.

14. Quoted by Gelasius of Cyzicum in his *Comm. Act. Syn. Nic.* ii. 18, 'the prophet Moses being about to depart from life, as is written in the book of the Assumption of Moses, summoned Joshua, the son of Nun, and, speaking with him, said: *καὶ προεθεάσατό με ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναί με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην.*'

Moses here is assigned pre-existence as is the Son of Man in 1 En. xliii. 2 (note). Later Judaism, like the Alexandrian form of first century A. D., held the pre-existence of all souls alike. See 2 En. xxiii. 5.

Note that the Latin has 'ab initio orbis terrarum' = Gelasius' *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.*

mediator. Moses is not given this title in the O.T. where indeed the word only occurs once, in Job ix. 33 (LXX), but he obviously exercises mediatorial functions in Exod. xx. 19; Deut. v. 2, 5. The title was commonly assigned to him by the first century A. D. Cf. i. 14, iii. 12; Gal. iii. 18; Philo, *Vit. Moys.* iii. 19; Talmud (see Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Lex.* iii. 595, 596). It is implied in Heb. viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24.

15. **sleep with my fathers.** Cf. iii. 13, x. 12, 14; Deut. xxxi. 16; 2 Bar. xliv. 2. Observe there is no reference to Moses' Assumption. Unlike our text, Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 state that his death was witnessed by no one, while the Greek fragments of the Assumption make Joshua and Caleb alone view it, and not all the people.

16. **thou.** Supply *tu* to fill the space in the text. Cf. x. 11, xi. 1.

the books, i. e. the Pentateuch.

17. **anoint.** Books were thus preserved. Even the heavenly books shown to Enoch, 2 En. xxii. 12, are 'fragrant with myrrh'.

from the beginning of the creation of the world. Cf. verse 14.

the place, i. e. Jerusalem. Zion is said to be the centre of the earth in Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1, xc. 26; Jubilees viii; while in Joma 54[b] the world is said to be created with Zion as a starting-place.

18. **until the day of repentance.** This must have been written before A. D. 70, as the existing temple is expected to stand until the Theocratic kingdom is set up.

the day of repentance. A great national repentance was to usher in the new kingdom of God, and was a necessary condition to its coming. 'If Israel practises repentance, it will be redeemed; if not, it will not be redeemed,' Sanh. 97[b]. 'Israel will not fulfil the great repentance before Elijah comes,' Pirke R. Eliezer, xliii; cf. Mal. iv. 6, and Luke i. 16, 17; Matt. xvii. 10–12. 'If all Israel together repented for a single day, redemption through the Messiah would follow', Pesikta 163[b].

the visitation, in a good sense. Cf. Luke i. 79; Acts xv. 14. For the bad sense cf. 2 Bar. xx. 1 (note). The time of visitation, Wisd. iii. 7; Luke xix. 44, is the setting up of the kingdom of God.

the consummation, i. e. the time of the kingdom. Cf. 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, xxix. 8. Contrast 2 Bar. xxx. 3.

II. 1. **And now.** Supply *et nunc* in lacuna.

2. **their inheritance in me.** Cf. 'inheritance in the son of Jesse', 2 Sam. xx. 1. Or for 'in me' read *in eam*, a Hebrew repetition after *in qua*.

inheritance in me and establish for them the kingdom, and thou shalt **appoint** them prefectures
3 according to the good pleasure of their Lord in judgement and righteousness. And **it shall come to pass five** years after they enter into the land, that thereafter they shall be ruled by chiefs and
4 kings for eighteen years, and during nineteen years the ten **tribes shall break away**. And the **twelve** tribes shall go down and transfer the **tabernacle of the testimony**. Then the God of heaven will make the **court** of His tabernacle and the **tower** of His sanctuary, and the two holy tribes shall
5 be (there) established: but the ten tribes shall establish kingdoms for themselves according to their
6, 7 own ordinances. And they shall offer sacrifices throughout twenty years: and seven shall entrench the walls, and I will protect nine, but **four** shall **transgress** the covenant of the Lord, and profane the
8 **oath** which the Lord made with them. And they shall sacrifice their sons to strange gods, and they
9 shall set up idols in the sanctuary, to worship them. And in the house of the Lord they shall work impiety and engrave every **form** of beast, *even* many abominations.

3 1 **And** in those days a king from the east shall come against them and his cavalry shall cover their
2 land. And he shall burn their colony with fire together with the holy temple of the Lord, and he shall
3 carry away all the holy vessels. And he shall cast forth all the people, and he shall take them to the
4 land of his nativity, yea he shall take the two tribes with him. Then the two tribes shall call upon the
5 ten tribes, and shall march as a lioness on the dusty plains, being hungry and thirsty. And they shall cry aloud: 'Righteous and holy is the Lord, for, inasmuch as ye have sinned, we too, in like manner,
6 have been carried away with you, together with our children.' Then the ten tribes shall mourn on
7 hearing the reproaches of the two tribes, and they shall say: 'What have we done unto you,
8 brethren? Has not this tribulation come on all the house of Israel?' And all the tribes shall mourn,

appoint. Text = *dimittes* seems corrupt.

prefectures. Text = *magisteria locorum*, i. e. τοπαρχίας. Perhaps we should translate 'local magistrates'. Cf. Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

3. **it shall come to pass.** There is a gap in the text.

five years. I supply 'five'. The conquest of Canaan took five years, Josh. xiv. 10; Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1. 19.

eighteen years, i.e. the fifteen judges, and the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon.

nineteen years, the nineteen kings of Israel from Jeroboam to Hoshea. This is an anticipation, as verse 4 returns to the removal of the ark to Jerusalem by David.

tribes shall break away. Text = *abrumpens tib.* Read 'se abrumpent tribus'.

4. **twelve.** Text = 'two'. The reference is to David's action in 2 Sam. vi. 1, 2. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 1-4.

tabernacle of the testimony. Text = 'testimony of the tabernacle'.

the God of heaven. Cf. iv. 4, v. 3; Gen. xxiv. 7. After the exile this title became frequent. Cf. Ezra v. 11, vi. 9, &c.; Dan. ii. 18, &c.

court. Text = *palam* emended to *aulam.* Cf. Exod. xxvii. 9.

tower. Text = *ferrum* emended to *turrem.* Cf. the tower in 1 En. lxxxix. 50, 67, 73. The text is uncertain. For *aulam* and *ferrum* Volkmar suggests *locum* and *terram*; Haupt *portam* and *forem.*

5. A parenthesis.

6. **twenty years,** the twenty sovereigns (including Athaliah's) of Judah.

7. Apparently the 'seven', 'nine', and 'four' reigns must be taken successively of three periods, of the advance, power, and falling away of Judah.

The 'seven' are Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah. and Athaliah. The 'nine' are Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh. Amon, Josiah; while the 'four' are Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah.

four, inserted to complete the twenty.

transgress. Text = *adcedent ad* = προσβήσονται corrupt for παραβήσονται. Cf. Ezek. xvi. 59, &c.

the oath. Text = *finem* = ὅρον corrupt for ὅρκον. Thus the combination of covenant and oath is restored. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 28; also Ass. Mos. i. 9; iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.

8. **idols in the sanctuary.** Text = *idola scenae.* For this form of the ablative cf. i. 9 'in scenae'. Rönsch proposes *idola obscena*, comparing LXX of Jer. xxxii. 34 τὰ μιάσματα αὐτῶν.

9. **form.** Text = *similitudinem* omitted in text after *omnem* through hmt. For 'beast . . . many abominations' cf. Ezek. viii. 10, where there is the same apposition.

III. 1. **a king from the east.** Nebuchadnezzar, 588–586 B. C.

2. **colony.** This gives a clue to the date of the Greek or Latin translation as being later than 135 A. D., when Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem as a Roman colony. Cf. v. 6, vi. 9.

all the holy vessels, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Part had been removed in Jehoiakim's reign, according to Dan. i. 2; Jer. xxvii. 19, 20; while 2 Bar. vi describes the concealment of the vessels by angels, 2 Macc. ii. 4–8 by Jeremiah, to preserve them for the future Messianic kingdom.

4. **march.** Possibly the text *ducent se* is wrong, and is due to a corruption of ἀχθέσονται, 'will be indignant,' into ἀχθήσονται. This suits the simile of the lioness better.

hungry and thirsty, 2 Bar. lxxvii. 14. Text adds 'with our children'. I transpose to the end of verse 5.

5. **Righteous and holy.** 2 Bar. lxxvii. 3, 4.

inasmuch as ye have sinned. Judah suffers for the sins of Israel. 2 Bar. lxxvii. 10; Jer. xi. 17; Dan. ix. 7; 1 Baruch ii. 26 ascribe the captivity to the sins of Judah as well.

7. **have we done.** Text = 'shall we do'.

this tribulation. The allusion seems to be to some recent calamity.

9 crying unto heaven and saying: 'God of Abraham God of Isaac and God of Jacob, remember Thy covenant which Thou didst make with them, and the oath which Thou didst swear unto them by
10 Thyself, that their seed should never fail from the land which Thou hast given them.' Then they
11 shall remember me, saying, in that day, tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbour: 'Is not this that which Moses did **then** declare unto us in prophecies, who suffered many things in Egypt
12 and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness during forty years: and **assuredly** called heaven and earth to witness against us, that we should not transgress His commandments, in the which he was
13 a mediator unto us? **Behold** these things have befallen us after his death according to his declaration, as he declared to us at that time, **yea behold these** have taken place even to our being carried away
14 captive into the country of the east.' Who shall be also in bondage for about seventy and seven years.

IV. 1 Then there shall enter one who is over them, and he shall spread forth his hands, and kneel upon his
2 knees and pray on their behalf saying: 'Lord of all, King on the lofty throne, who rulest the world, and didst will that this people should be Thine elect people, then (indeed) Thou didst will that Thou shouldst be called their God, according to the covenant which Thou didst make with their fathers.
3 And yet they have gone in captivity in another land with their wives and their children, and
4 †around† the gates of strange peoples and where there is great **vanity.** Regard and have compas-
5 sion on them, O Lord of heaven.' Then God will remember them on account of the covenant which
6 He made with their fathers, and He will manifest His compassion in those times also. And He will put it into the mind of a king to have compassion on them, and he shall send them off to their land
7 and country. Then some portions of the tribes shall go up and they shall come to their appointed
8 place, and they shall anew surround the place with walls. And the two tribes shall continue in their prescribed faith, sad and lamenting because they will not be able to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their
9 fathers. And the ten tribes shall increase and **multiply** among the **Gentiles** during the time of their **captivity.**

V. 1 And when the times of chastisement draw nigh and vengeance arises through the kings who share
3 in their guilt and punish them, they themselves also shall be divided as to the truth. Wherefore

8. **heaven**, an equivalent for 'God'. Cf. Dan. iv. 23.
9. **the oath.** Gen. xvii. 8. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 5; Test. xii Patr., Jud. 22.
10–13. These verses are the source of 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 2–5, or else both passages are derived from the same original. Cf. Dan. ix. 11–13.
11. **then.** Text = *cum*, which I emend with Schmidt-Merx to *tum*.
in Egypt . . . years. Cf. Acts vii. 36; 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 3.
12. **and assuredly called**, &c. So I render *et testans* (*testatus et* in text) *invocabat . . . testes.* Deut. iv. 26, xxx. 19, xxxi. 28; 2 Bar. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 2.
mediator. See i. 14 (note).
13. **Behold these.** Text = *quae* corrupt for *ecce ea.* Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 5.
after his death, *de isto* = 'after him'. Cf. Job xxi. 21.
14. **seventy and seven years.** Perhaps this number is to be taken as implying an indefinite period. Cf. Gen. iv. 24; Matt. xviii. 22. In any case it is a modification of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years' captivity, Jer. xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10, which Dan. ix. 24 reinterprets as being seventy weeks of years, i. e. 490. Merx suspects a play on ע״ז = 77 and עבודה זרה, 'strange service', i.e. 'idolatry,' which is often denoted by ע״ז.

IV. 1. **one**, i. e. Daniel; Dan. ix. 4–19.
2. **elect people.** Cf. Isa. xlii. 1, &c.
3. **†around†.** Text = *circa.* Read perhaps 'go about in the gates'.
vanity. Text = *maiestas* = μεγαλειότης corrupt for ματαιότης, i.e. an idol. Cf. Ps. xxxi. 6; also 2 Kings xvii. 15; Jer. ii. 5, x. 3.
4. Dan. ix. 18, 19; 2 Bar. xlviii. 18.
6. Cyrus. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1–4.
8. **not be able to offer sacrifices.** For the low value set on the worship of the restored temple, cf. 2 Bar. 'not as fully as in the beginning', lxviii. 5, 6 (Hag. ii. 3; Ezra iii. 12). The sacrifices were unacceptable, cf. the 'polluted bread' of Mal. i. 7; 1 En. lxxxix. 73. The objection here indeed is not an Essene one to sacrifice as such, but to the imperfection of the worship of God's people so long as they were subject to heathen powers. God would restore their glory and freedom when they repented, i. 17, but on no other condition, ix.
9. **multiply among the Gentiles during the time of their captivity.** Text = †'devenient apud natos† in tempore †tribum†.' *Devenient* cannot refer to a going up to Jerusalem, nor can *apud* mean anything but 'among' or 'with'. Now *devenient* = ירדו, which is an easy corruption of ירבו = *multiplicabuntur* and *natos* is corrupt for *nationes.* *tribum*, i. e. *tribuum* = שבטים, which Rosenthal takes to be corrupt for שפטים = *iudiciorum.* But I prefer to emend to שביתם or שִׁבְיָם, *captivitatis suae*, comparing Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 5. 2; 4 Ezra xiii. 36–48; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 31. Clemen's rendering 'werden immer mehr (*crescunt et devenient*) zu Heiden werden' is quite impossible.

V. 1. **through the kings.** Text = *de reges*, cf. *de Iesum*, i. 9. These kings are the Seleucidae who had encouraged the disuse of the Jewish law and worship, and later, in the person of Antiochus, punished the apostate nation. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 16.
2. **divided as to the truth.** Already under the Seleucid domination the enormities of the Sadducean priesthood reacted upon the stricter scribes and led to a religious awakening and the formation of what was later known as the Pharisaic party. See 1 En. xc. 6, 7 (note).

it hath **been said**: 'They shall turn aside from righteousness and approach iniquity, and they shall defile with pollutions the house of their worship,' and [because] 'they shall go a-whoring after
4 strange gods.' For they shall not follow the truth of God, but some shall pollute the altar with the
5 ⟨very⟩ gifts which they offer to the Lord, who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves. And **many** in those times shall have respect unto desirable persons and **receive** gifts, and **pervert** judge-
6 ment [on receiving presents]. And on this account the colony and the borders of their habitation shall be filled with lawless deeds and iniquities: **those who wickedly depart** from the Lord shall be judges: they shall be ready to judge **for money** as each may wish.

6 1 Then there shall be raised up unto them kings bearing rule, and they shall call themselves priests of
2 the Most High God: they shall assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies. And an insolent king shall succeed them, who will not be of the race of the priests, a man bold and shameless, and he shall
3 judge them as they shall deserve. And he shall cut off their chief men with the sword, and shall
4 **destroy** *them* in secret places, so that no one may know where their bodies are. He shall slay the
5 old and the young, and he shall not spare. Then the fear of him shall be bitter unto them in their

3. **hath been said** = *fatum fuit* emended by Schmidt-Merx from *factum fuit*.

This saying is pieced together from the O.T., e.g. Ezek. iii. 20, 'turn . . . righteousness'; xliv. 7, 'defile . . . worship.' Cf., too, Pss. Sol. i. 9, viii. 26. 'They will go . . . gods,' Deut. xxxi. 16.

[**because**]. Text = *quia*, which may, however = 'that' introducing a new quotation.

3, 4. These verses cannot refer to the Maccabean high-priests. They did not go astray after strange gods. Moreover, they were of true priestly descent (1 Macc. ii. 1–5), and not sons of slaves. They are referred to in vi. 1, and so their mention here would be premature. But the statements suit Jason and Menelaus exactly, the Hellenizing priests who preceded the Maccabees. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 13, 19, 20, v. 8. A decisive factor in the identification is the statement 'who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves'. Menelaus was not of the tribe of Levi, but a Benjamite, 2 Macc. iii. 4, iv. 23. Cf. the implication in 1 Macc. vii. 14 that other high-priests had belonged to non-Aaronic families. Moreover they were the nominees and absolute tools of Antiochus, 2 Macc. iv. 7–9, 23–9. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 5 mentions, but only to deny, the slander that Hyrcanus's mother had been a captive under Antiochus. Cf. the Talmud also for the tale.

5. **And many.** So I emend 'qui enim magistri sunt' = הרבים, i.e. 'the many' or 'the Rabbis'. Text adds 'doctores eorum', a gloss on the word in the latter meaning.

shall have respect unto desirable persons and receive gifts and pervert. The text reads 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et acceptiones munerum et pervendent', which is un-Semitic. *Acceptiones* is an easy corruption of *accipientes*, after which, taken as a noun, *munerum* could stand. Now leaving for the present *cupiditatum* let us pass on to the next clause. This runs *pervendent iustitias*. This phrase does not occur in Jewish literature, but we find, 1 Sam. viii. 3 'acceperunt munera et perverterunt iudicium' = LXX *ἐλάμβανον δῶρα καὶ ἐξέκλινον δικαιώματα*, וַיִּקְחוּ שֹׁחַד וַיַּטּוּ מִשְׁפָּט. Hence I accept Wieseler's emendation *pervertent*. We have now 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes munerum et pervertent iustitias'. Now if we compare Deut. xvi. 19 we find *οὐκ ἐκκλινοῦσι κρίσιν οὐδὲ ἐπιγνώσονται πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λήψονται δῶρα*, לֹא תַטֶּה מִשְׁפָּט לֹא תַכִּיר פָּנִים וְלֹא־תִקַּח שֹׁחַד, which is exactly what we have arrived at above. The original of our text could be reconstructed from this verse save that instead of הִכִּיר we should use נָשָׂא. Cf. 2 Chron. xix. 7 *οὐδὲ θαυμάσαι πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λαβεῖν δῶρα* (LXX), וּמַשָּׂא פָנִים וּמִקַּח־שֹׁחַד.

We have still to consider *cupiditatum*. Clemen compares Dan. ix. 23, x. 11, 19. He might have added Ezek. xxiii. 6, בַּחוּרֵי חֶמֶד. And yet in none of them have we a real parallel. *Accipiendo poenas* I have bracketed as an explanatory gloss.

6. **those who wickedly depart from the Lord shall be judges.** There is a curious dittography in the text here: 'a deo ut qui facit erunt impii iudices', 'a domino qui faciunt erunt impii iudices': the first and inferior version was intended to be deleted. For *qui faciunt erunt impii* read *qui faciunt impie erunt* and the text is restored = מיהוה הרשעים יהיו שפטים. Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 22 Vulg. 'non egi impie a Deo meo,' לֹא רָשַׁעְתִּי מֵאֱלֹהָי, and Ass. Mos. xi. 17 'si . . . impie fecerunt'.

they shall be ready to judge for money. Text = 'erunt in eam post iudicare', 'inerunt in campo iudicare'. The second version of the doublet gives the right clue. *In campo* = *ἐν ἀγρῷ* corrupt for *ἐν ἀργύρῳ* = בכסף.

VI. 1. **kings bearing rule**, i.e. the Maccabees like Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, though not technically styled kings. Cf. 'king of the west', vi. 8.

they shall call themselves priests of the Most High God. Jonathan became high-priest in 153 B.C., and the office was declared to be hereditary in the Maccabean family in 141 B.C.

call themselves. Text = *in . . . vocabuntur*, a Hebraism. Cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14 (LXX).

priests of the Most High God. This title was claimed by the Maccabean prince-priests. Cf. Ps. cx, a hymn to Simon. 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.'

shall assuredly work iniquity. Text = *facient facientes*, a Hebraism.

2. **an insolent king**, Herod the Great, 37–4 B.C. He was only half a Jew, Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 15. 2, the son of Antipater of Idumea, though Nicolas of Damascus claimed a Jewish origin for Antipater.

judge them. Herod cut off the Maccabean family, the Sadducean aristocracy, and according to vi. 4, 5 oppressed the nation at large. The Pharisees and the Essenes did not suffer under him.

3. **their chief men.** Herod on becoming king executed forty-five of the Sadducean nobles (*Ant.* xv. 1. 2; *Bell. Iud.* i. 18. 4).

destroy. I read *stinguet* for *singuli* corrupt. Hilgenfeld emends into *sepeliet*, which is weak. I have omitted 'et corpora illorum' before 'ut nemo sciat'.

secret places. These secret murders are mentioned in *Ant.* xv. 10. 4.

4. **young, and he.** Perhaps, we should read 'young he', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 50.

5. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 3 for the phraseology.

6 land. And he shall execute judgements on them as the Egyptians executed upon them, during
7 thirty and four years, and he shall punish them. And he shall beget children, ⟨**who**⟩ succeeding him
8 shall **rule** for shorter periods. Into their **parts cohorts** and a powerful king of the west shall come,
9 **who** shall conquer them: and he shall take them captive, and burn a part of their temple with fire, (and) shall crucify some around their colony.

7 1 And when this is done the times shall be ended, in a moment the ⟨second⟩ course shall be ⟨ended⟩,
2, 3 the four hours shall come. They shall be forced. . . . And, in the time of these, destructive and
4 impious men shall rule, saying that they are just. And these shall stir up the **poison** of their minds, being treacherous men, self-pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs and lovers of banquets at
5, 6 every hour of the day, gluttons, gourmands. . . . Devourers of the goods of the ⟨poor⟩ saying that
7 they do so on the ground of their **justice**, but *in reality* **to destroy them**, complainers, deceitful, concealing themselves lest they should be recognized, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity

6. **thirty and four years.** Herod reigned for thirty-four years after Antigonus's death, and thirty-seven after he had been declared king by the Romans.

7. **children . . . shorter periods.** The text is defective: '(p)roducet natos (qui su)ccedentes sibi breviora tempora donarent' (we must read *dominarent*). Herod's sons are to reign for shorter periods than their father. This is true of Archelaus only, as Antipas reigned forty-three years and Philip thirty-seven. So that this book must be earlier than A.D. 30, i.e. thirty-four years from Herod's death in 4 B.C.; unless we suppose that the author is thinking of Archelaus and Agrippa, who alone had close connexion with Jerusalem.

8. **Into their parts cohorts.** Text = 'in pares eorum mortis', emended into 'in partes eorum cohortes'.

a powerful king of the west. Varus, governor of Syria, quelled a Jewish rebellion in 4 B.C. (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 9, 10. 11. 1).

who. Text = *quia* corrupt for *qui*.

9. **burn a part of their temple.** The soldiers of Varus's lieutenant Sabinus did such damage that the repairs were not completed till Nero's reign (*Ant.* xx. 9. 7).

crucify some. Varus crucified 2,000 (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 10).

VII. 1. **the times shall be ended.** We have now arrived at the date at which the author is writing, and so leaves obvious historical allusions for obscure predictions and enigmatical symbols. The text is often doubtful.

⟨second⟩ . . . ⟨ended⟩. Text defective, '. . . etur cursus a . . .' Merx reads *sequetur* not *finietur*, and Hilgenfeld *aevi* not *alter*.

2. The text, which defies translation, is: 'Coguntur secund . . . ae . . . pos . . . initiis tribus ad exitus viiii propter initium tres septimae secunda tria in tertia duae h . . . ra . . . tae.' For attempted restorations see my Comm., p. 78.

3–10. The identification of the persons here attacked is much disputed. They cannot be the Herodian princes, as ver. 10 would suit none of them. Nor can they be the Pharisees. Their worst enemies never accused them of open unblushing gluttony and profligacy. Matt. xxiii. 25 mentions only their secret 'extortion and excess'. (Colani ingeniously suggests that the Jewish doctors at Jabne and Usha after A.D. 135 are meant. But he requires too late a date for the book.) Nor yet can verses 3, 4 be assigned to the Sadducees, and 6–10 to the Pharisees. This division is not justified by the text. The Roman procurators, again, are excluded by phrases like 'Do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me', and 'concealing themselves lest they should be recognized'. The most probable explanation is that the Sadducees are meant. The play on צדק, the priestly aloofness of ver. 10, and their rule (the Sanhedrim, which was almost entirely Sadducean, was the virtual ruling power under the Romans from A.D. 6 till 70). The close parallels with the attacks on the Sadducees in the Psalms of Solomon seem to clinch the matter.

3. **in the time of these.** Text = *de his* = ἐπὶ τούτων (?). Perhaps translate 'some of these' = ἐκ τούτων.

destructive. Cf. verse 5.

impious, could not be said of a Pharisee.

shall rule. Cf. ver. 8, also for the Sadducean constitution of the Sanhedrim Pss. Sol. iv. 1 σὺ κάθησαι βέβηλε ἐν συνεδρίῳ.

saying that they are just, a play on צדוקים 'Sadducees' and צדיקים 'just'. **saying.** I read *dicentes* for *docentes* corrupt.

4. **poison.** Here I take *iram animorum suorum* = θυμὸν τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν = חֵמַת לִבָּה, where חֵמָה should have been rendered ἰόν = poison. This gives a good sense, but the change of *animorum* into *amicorum* (so Clemen) does not.

treacherous. Pss. Sol. iv. 27 ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων δολίων καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν.

self-pleasers. Probably the Hebrew original was misread עצמם, 'of themselves', instead of עצומים, 'of the mighty.' The designation 'pleasers of the mighty' would then be parallel to ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, Pss. Sol. iv, used of the Sadducees.

dissemblers. Text = *ficti*. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 7 ἐν ὑποκρίσει.

5. This verse of seven lines is undecipherable, except for *omnis*.

6. **Devourers of the goods of the ⟨poor⟩.** Cf. the charge against the Sadducees in Pss. Sol. iv. 11, 13, 15, 23; xii. 2, 4; also the charge in Matt. xxiii. 14; Mark xii. 40; Luke xx. 47.

⟨poor⟩. Text = ⟨*paupe*⟩*rum*.

justice, *misericordiam*. The Hebrew צדקה is often thus rendered, here mistakenly. The Sadducees were as proverbially severe (*Ant.* xx. 9. 1) as the Pharisees were merciful in judgement (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 6). See also Pss. Sol. iv. 2, 3.

7. **to destroy them.** Text = *et exterminatores*, corrupt for *ut exterminarent*.

deceitful. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 4, 12, 14.

concealing themselves, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5 ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἁμαρτάνει ὡς οὐχ ὁρώμενος. Cf. also i. 7.

impious . . . iniquity. For παράνομοι and ἁμαρτωλοί as epithets of the Sadducees see Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, Introd. xlv–xlviii.

8 from sunrise to sunset: saying: 'We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, **and we**
9 **shall esteem ourselves as** princes.' And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet
10 their mouth shall speak great things, and they shall say furthermore: 'Do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me in the place ⟨where I stand'⟩ . . .

8 1 And there shall come upon them a second visitation and wrath, such as has not befallen them from the beginning until that time, in which He will stir up against them the king of the kings of the earth and one that ruleth with great power, who shall crucify those who confess to their circumcision:
2 and those who **conceal** (it) he shall torture and deliver them up to be bound and led into prison.
3 And their wives shall be given to the gods among the Gentiles, and their young sons shall be operated
4 on by the physicians in order to bring forward their foreskin. And others amongst them shall be punished by tortures and fire and sword, and they shall be forced to bear in public their idols, polluted
5 as they are like those who keep them. And they shall likewise be forced by those who torture them to enter their inmost sanctuary, and they shall be forced by goads to blaspheme with insolence the word, finally after these things **the laws and** what they had above their altar.

from sunrise to sunset, not 'from East to West' as the phrase in Greek might also mean.

8. **shall esteem ourselves.** Text = *et putabimus nos.* Possibly *potabimus*, 'we shall drink,' but *nos* is against this.
princes. Text adds 'we shall be'. An intrusion due to the difficulty of *nos.*

9. **though . . . yet.** Text = *et . . . et.* A Hebraism. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 11.
mouth . . . speak great things. Dan. vii. 8, 20; Jude 16.

9, 10. For this combination of priestly aloofness with an unclean and worldly life, cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8; ii. 14, 15; viii. 13; xvii. 17.

10. Isa. lxv. 5. Four lines are defective at the end of 10.

VIII–IX. This 'second visitation' is too accurate an account of Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution to refer to any other calamity, or to have been a bare prediction, e.g. of Bar Cochba's suppression in A.D. 136. Strangely enough there is a gap in the history between V and VI of this book, where an account of Antiochus's devastation is required. It is equally out of place here. Thus we have a clear case of transposition by the final editor. Cf. 1 En. xci–xciii. V ends with the Hellenizing priests under Antiochus, VI begins with the Maccabean princes. Such a tragic time would not be omitted in a work like this, still less could the greatest desecration of the temple have been overlooked when minor injuries to it are mentioned, e.g. ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; iv. 7, 8; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9.

VIII. 1. **a second visitation.** So ix. 2. The final woes would not be so described. The text has . . . *ta* (or *te*) only. Fritzsche restores *tanta.* I read *altera* with Merx.
such as has not, &c. Dan. xii. 1; cf. Jer. xxx. 7; 1 Macc. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 21; Rev. xvi. 18. 'from the beginning', *a saeculo*, which is nearer the Syriac (= *a diebus saeculorum*) of Dan. xii. 1 than the LXX or Theod. Compare ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου, Matt. xxiv. 21.
king of the kings of the earth, used of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii. 12, so naturally here of the despot Antiochus IV.
one that ruleth. Text = *potestatem.* I read *potentatem.*
crucify . . . circumcision. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, viii. 4. For the crucifying cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4.

2. **conceal.** Text = *necantes.* I read *celantes.* Possibly we should read *secantes*, 'circumcise', or even *negantes*, 'refuse to confess'.

3. **wives shall be given to the gods,** &c. For the cult of Venus see 2 Macc. vi. 4. But *diis donabuntur* may be corrupt for *disdonabuntur* (Haupt). Then translate 'will be distributed among the Gentiles'.
their young sons, &c. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 18.

4. **tortures.** Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 28, vii; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4.
fire. 2 Macc. vi. 11.
bear in public their idols. 2 Macc. vi. 7. For the carrying of idols cf. Amos v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Epist. Jer. 4, 26.
polluted, &c. The rendering is uncertain and difficult.
like. Text = *pariter* = also 'likewise' in the next verse.

5. **inmost sanctuary** of the heathen temples which the Jews were compelled to build. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 47; Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 5. 4. Or it may be the Holy Place.
the word = ὁ λόγος = הַדִּבּוּר, which in late Hebrew (Jer. Shabb. vii. 10ᵃ, &c.) and Aramaic = 'the person' of God.
the laws and. I read *leges et* for text *et leges.*
what . . . above their altar, i.e. the sacrifice upon it, Matt. xxiii. 18. Clemen states that under *altarium* we are to understand בימה. But this latter word simply means the raised platform in the Synagogue from which prayers were said and the Law read. There is no ground, so far as I am aware, for ever connecting the two ideas. See *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, Box and Oesterley, 309 sqq. = Schürer³, ii. 450. The expression favours our interpreting the inmost sanctuary of the Temple.

IX. The historical references seem to be to 2 Macc. vi. 18 (Eleazar the Scribe) and vii (the seven brothers, sons of the widow), who went to the tortures rather than eat swine's flesh; while in 1 Macc. ii. 29–38 we are told of those who fled to the secret places of the wilderness, to avoid the 'unclean visitation' (Ass. Mos. ix. 2) of Antiochus. For the close parallels with 1 and 2 Maccabees see the notes.

This piecing together of details has a purpose. The author intentionally avoids a reference to Mattathias, and thus by implication censures the Maccabean uprising with its methods and aims. He emphasizes the opposed policy of the Chasids, as evidenced by the passages quoted above, by way of suggesting and urging their stricter and quietistic methods. The ideal is not 'Let us war', but 'Let us die rather than transgress'.

The Chasids' temporary coalition with the Maccabees, 1 Macc. ii. 42, &c., is not mentioned. It soon ended, and the Pharisees returned to their old attitude of non-resistance. But by the close of the first century B.C. Pharisaism, as the Psalms of Solomon show, was being leavened with patriotism and earthly political ideas. Our author must have been in the minority by the time he wrote.

9 1 Then in that **day there shall be** a man of the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be Taxo, who having
2 seven sons **shall speak** to them exhorting (them): 'Observe, my sons, behold a second ruthless (and) unclean visitation has come upon the people, and a punishment merciless and **far exceeding** the first.
3 For what nation or what region or what people of those who are impious towards the Lord, who
4 have done many abominations, have suffered as great calamities as have befallen us? Now, therefore, my sons, hear me: for observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers
5 tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength, and thus we
6 will do. Let us fast for the space of three days and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in the field, and let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of Lords, the God of our
7 fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood shall be avenged before the Lord.

10 1 And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation,
And then Satan shall be no more,
And sorrow shall depart with him.
2 Then the hands of the angel shall be filled
Who has been appointed chief,
And he shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies.
3 For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne,
And He will go forth from His holy habitation
With indignation and wrath on account of His sons.
4 And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken:
And the high mountains shall be made low
And **the hills shall be shaken** and fall.

1. **day there shall be.** I read *die erit* for text *dicente.*

of the tribe of Levi. Thus the Chasid movement emanated from the priestly tribe. Our author seems to identify the Eleazar here with the Eleazar of 2 Macc. vi. 18, who was one of the chief scribes, and, according to 4 Macc. v. 5, a priest.

Taxo. Professor Burkitt has offered the right interpretation. Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc = Ταξωκ = תכסוק, which by Gematria = אלעצר, Eleazar. Cf. 4 Macc. i. 8. This interpretation strengthens the argument for a dislocation of the text.

seven sons. The widow of 2 Macc. vii (following on the martyrdom of Eleazar in vi. 18–31) and 4 Macc. has seven sons. Mattathias had five, 1 Macc. ii. 1.

shall speak. I read *dicet*, for text *dicens.*

2. **second . . . unclean visitation,** under Antiochus, with its ceremonial defilement and moral abominations. The first was under Nebuchadnezzar. See chapter iii.

far exceeding. I read *eminens* for *eminent*, text.

3. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3. 3.

4. **neither did the fathers,** &c. Text = 'nunquam temptans deum nec parentes nec proavi eorum'. Clemen restores 'neither did I nor the fathers', supplying *ego* to agree with *temptans*, which, however, is corrupt for *temptantes.* Cf. the consciousness of fulfilling God's law in the Psalms. The sense of sin is markedly absent at times: here with regard to the nation.

6. **fast,** here a sign not of repentance but of desperate resolution. For fasting cf. Dan. vi. 18, ix. 3; 2 Bar. v. 7, &c.; 4 Ezra v. 20, &c.

let us go into a cave. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 53, ii. 31; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2; Heb. xi. 38; also 2 Macc. vi. 11, x. 6.

let us die rather than transgress. For this typical and earnest motto of those persecuted under Antiochus, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 2; 4 Macc. ix. 1; also for the resolve, 1 Macc. ii. 37; 2 Macc. vi. 19; *Ant.* xii. 6. 1.

7. **avenged.** Cf. the seven brethren, 2 Macc. vii. 17, 19, 31, 35–7.

X. 1–10. These verses form a hymn of ten stanzas with three lines each. There are three main divisions, 1–2, 3–6, 7–10. Note that the kingdom and the angel appear in the first division, but God Himself arises in the second.

1. **His kingdom.** Cf. the 'kingdom of God' in Mark and Luke; Pss. Sol. xvii. 4. There is no mention of a new heaven and a new earth here.

Satan seems to be here the head of the kingdom of evil. But 2[b] suggests that he is the adversary of Israel.

sorrow, &c. Cf. Isa. xxxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 4.

2. **hands . . . filled.** Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9; Lev. xxi. 10; Test. Levi viii. 10. Here it signifies the delegation of power as warrior not as priest.

the angel. Michael. Cf. Dan. xii. 1. He is Israel's patron angel.

chief. Michael is at the head of the forces of heaven, Rev. xii. 7. Here he avenges Israel, but in ver. 7 God does so. Thus 3–10 (which belong to the text) are inconsistent with 1–2, an insertion, as the felicity of ver. 1, contrasted with the terror of 4–6, also shows.

3–6. Signs to accompany God's coming.

3. **the Heavenly One.** Cf. ii. 4, iv. 4.

He will go forth, &c. Mic. i. 3; Isa. xxvi. 21; 1 En. i. 3.

from His holy habitation. Deut. xxvi. 15; Isa. lxiii. 15.

4. **high mountains . . . made low.** Isa. xl. 4; 1 En. i. 6.

and the hills shall be shaken and: I read 'et colles concutientur et' for 'et concutientur et convalles'. The mountains would not be shaken after being made low, nor could the valleys fall. We require a hill after the high mountains. Cf. Isa. xl. 4. It is easy to explain *convalles* = בקעות corrupt for גבעות as in LXX of Isa. xl. 12.

5 **And the horns of the sun shall be broken and he shall be turned into darkness;**
And the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.
6 And the sea shall retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers **shall dry up.**
7 For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols.
8 Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt †mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be ended†.
9 And God will exalt thee,
And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars,
†In the place of their habitation†.
10 And thou **shalt look** from on high and shalt see thy enemies in **Ge(henna)**,
And thou shalt recognize them and rejoice,
And thou shalt give thanks and confess thy Creator.
11, 12 And do thou, Joshua (the son of) Nun, keep these words and this book; For from my death
13 [assumption] until His advent there shall be CCL times. And this is the course **of the times** which

5. The MS. has 'sol non dabit lumen et in tenebris convertent se cornua lunae et confringentur et tota convertit se in sanguine'. The order seems wrong. The darkening is always connected with the sun, and only with the moon in conjunction with it. Cf. Joel ii. 10; iii. 15; Eccles. xii. 2. See also Isa. xiii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxiii. 45; Acts ii. 20; Rev. vi. 12, ix. 2. Again, 'non dabit lumen' is used only of the moon, Ezek. xxxii. 7; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24. Thirdly, 'turned into blood' is only used of the moon, Joel ii. 31; Acts ii. 20; Rev. vi. 12. Thus I alter the text to

'(Et) cornua solis confringentur et in tenebras convertet se;
Et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem.'

circle. Text = *orbis*.

6. **fountains . . . fail.** Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Test. Levi iv. 1; 4 Ezra vi. 24.
fountains . . . and rivers. Cf. Rev. viii. 10, xvi. 4.
dry up. I read *exarescent* for MS. *expavescent*.

7-10. God punishes the Gentiles, destroys their idols, makes Israel triumph over Rome, and exalts them to heaven.

7. **Eternal God.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 27 אלהי קדם. 8[a] and probably 8[b] are based on verse 29 of that chapter.
alone, i.e. without help of Michael or Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 26, vi. 6.
destroy . . . idols. Cf. 1 En. xci. 9.

8. Israel to triumph in this world over Rome.
Then thou . . . happy. Deut. xxxiii. 29.
†mount upon the necks. So Deut. xxxiii. 29 in LXX Syr. Vulg. Targ. Onk., Targ. Jon., Jarchi. Modern scholars, however, render 'tread upon their high places'. For 'necks' cf. Baruch iv. 26; also for the idea Josh. x. 24. An older form of the Eagle Vision, that in 4 Ezra xi sqq. may here be in the mind of the writer. Now line 2 is too long and line 3 too short. Formerly I accepted Dr. Cheyne's suggestion that *dies luctus tui* (cf. Isa. lx. 20) was lost after *implebuntur*. Clemen suggests *dies aquilae*; but neither accounts for the irregularity noted, and there is no loss of letters in the MS. Hence I propose that there has been simply a transposition of *cervices et alas* (i.e. *alae*) from line 3 to 2. Then *et implebuntur* = καὶ συντελεσθήσονται, *perdentur* or *delebuntur*. Hence:

'And thou shalt go up against the eagle
And its necks and wings shall be destroyed.'

9. Israel to be exalted to heaven.
to approach. Text = *haerere*, i.e. נגע.
the heaven of the stars. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 5 ὑψώθησαν ἕως τῶν ἄστρων, and Jer. li. (xxviii. in LXX) 9. Cf. 'the stars of heaven', Isa. xiv. 13 (LXX), or 'the stars of God' (Heb.), which, however, Targ. Jon. renders 'the people of God'. Here, however, there is no metaphor, but a description of Israel transfigured and glorified after the final judgement. Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 6.
†In the place of their habitation.† Text = *loco habitationis eorum*. *Eorum* suits neither 'stars' nor 'thee'. The parallelism also requires 'and He' to commence the clause. There I read והקים 'and He will establish' for במקום 'in the place', and מושבך בם 'thy habitation among them' for מושבם 'their habitation', and render:

'And He will establish thy habitation among them.'

Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 4, 6.

10. **shalt look.** I read *conspicies* for *conspiges*, text.
shalt see. I read *videbis* for *vides*, text.
Gehenna. MS. has *terram* = γῆ, i.e. גֵיא or גֵי transliterated as in Josh. xviii. 16 (LXX), &c. Gehenna is called 'the valley' in Jer. ii. 23; iii. 40, and so הנם need not be restored. Clemen thinks 'in terra' can be supported by Isa. lxvi. 24, but the cases are not parallel.

In earlier times (Isa. lxvi. 24; 1 En. xxvii. 2, 3, liv. 1, 2, xc. 26, 27) Gehenna was considered the place of punishment for faithless Jews, who should be tormented there in full view of the righteous. But in N.T. times it had come to be thought of as the future abode of all the wicked. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 36.

11. **this book.** Cf. i. 16, xi. 1.

12. **[assumption].** The original here told only of Moses' death, not his assumption. Cf. i. 15 and x. 15. The addition is due to the editor, who combined this 'Testament of Moses' with another work, the 'Assumption of Moses'.

15 they shall pursue till they are consummated. And I **shall go** to sleep with my fathers. Wherefore,
Joshua thou (son of) Nun, ⟨be strong and⟩ be of good courage; ⟨for⟩ God hath chosen ⟨thee⟩ to be
minister in the same covenant.

XI 1 And when Joshua had heard the words of Moses that were so written in his writing all that he
2 had before said, he rent his clothes and cast himself at Moses' feet. And Moses comforted **him** and
3, 4 wept with him. And Joshua answered him and said: 'Why dost thou **comfort** me, (my) lord
Moses? And how shall I be **comforted** in regard to the bitter word which **thou** hast spoken which
has gone forth from thy mouth, which is full of tears and lamentation, in that thou departest from
5, 6 **this** people? ⟨But now⟩ what place shall receive thee? Or what shall be the sign that marks (thy)
7 sepulchre? Or who shall dare to move thy body **from thence** as that of a *mere* man from place to
8 place? For all men when they die have according to their age their sepulchres on earth; but thy
sepulchre is from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north: all
10 the world is thy sepulchre. My lord, **thou art departing**, and who shall feed this people? Or who
11 is there that shall have compassion on them and who shall be their guide by the way? Or who shall
pray for them, **not omitting a single** day, in order that I may lead them into the land of *their* **fore-**
12 **fathers**? How therefore am I to **foster** this people as a father (his) only son, or as a **mistress** *her*
daughter, a virgin who is being prepared to be given to the husband **whom** she will revere, while she
guards her person from the sun and (takes care) that her feet are not unshod for running upon the
13 ground. ⟨And how⟩ shall I supply them with food and drink according to the **pleasure** of their
14 will? For of them there shall be **600,000** ⟨men⟩, for these have multiplied to this degree through
15 thy prayers, (*my*) lord Moses. And what wisdom or understanding have I that I should judge or
16 answer by word in the house ⟨of the Lord⟩? And the kings of the Amorites also when they hear
that we are attacking *them*, believing that there is no longer **among them** the sacred spirit who

CCL times, i. e. 250 year-weeks, or 1,750 years. Thus from the Creation (2,500 years before Moses' death) to the final judgement will be 4,250 years or 85 jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97[b], which gives the same date for the Messiah's coming.

13. **of the times.** MS. = '. . . *horum*' emended to *temporum*.

14. Moses expects an ordinary death, a sleep with his fathers in Sheol.

15. **⟨be strong and⟩ be of good courage.** MS. *forma te*. I have restored with Schmidt-Merx 'confortare et firma te'. See i. 10 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, 23.

⟨for⟩ . . . ⟨thee⟩. I supply *nam te* after *firma te*.

minister. See i. 7 (note). Is Joshua thus the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15?

XI. 1. **Moses' feet.** I emend MS. *pedes meos* to *pedes Monse*.

4. **comfort me . . . be comforted.** I read 'solaris . . . solabor' with Schmidt-Merx for MS. 'celares . . . celabor'; Volkmar emends to 'zelaris . . . zelabor'.

For the mourning at his departure, cf. 2 Bar. xxxiii. 3, lxxvii. 2; 4 Ezra xii. 44.

depart = die, as in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 1, xliii. 2, &c.

this people. Text = *plebe ist* (*a*).

5. **⟨But now⟩ what**, &c. Text is defective.

7. Baldensperger thinks this verse is directed against the Christians, as Christ's body was moved from the cross to the sepulchre.

from thence. I restore *inde* for *in e*.

that of a (mere) man. I restore *hominis* for *homo*.

8. **all the world is thy sepulchre.** Cf. Thuc. ii. 43 πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.

9. **thou art departing.** I restore *abis* for *ab his* MS.

11. **pray.** Cf. xii. 6.

not omitting. Text = *nec patiens* = οὐδὲ παριείς.

single. MS. = *uno* corrupt for *unum*.

forefathers. I restore *atavorum* for *Araborum*. Ewald *Amorreorum*.

12. **foster.** MS. = *potero* (*hanc plebem*) = δυνήσομαι (τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον) = (העם הזה) אוכל where אוכל is corrupt for אֲכַלְכֵּל = 'nourish'.

as a mistress her daughter, a virgin. Text = 'tanquam †filiam dominam virginem†.' If κυρίαν (= *dominam*) can be applied to persons as Volkmar supposes and mean 'legitimate', 'his own', then the difficulty is solved. But the repetition of *tanquam* is against this view. It seems to require a parallel noun in the nominative such as *domina*. And was κύριος ever applied in the above sense even to things? Failing this we might with Fritzsche read *filiam domina*, *virginem*, or since κυρία alone may be suspicious in this sense *domina virginem* may = בעלת בתולה corrupt for בַּעֲלַת הַבַּיִת, 'mistress of the house'.

to be given. I restore *dari* for *tali* MS.

whom. I restore *quem* for *quae*.

revere. Cf. Sirach xxvi. 28.

guards her person. Cf. Sirach vii. 24, 25.

13. **⟨And how⟩.** I supply *et quî* to fill the lacuna.

pleasure of their will. I read *voluptatem voluntatis* for MS. = *voluntatem voluntatis*. Cf. Eph. i. 5.

14. **600,000.** I insert D before C *milia*, from Exod. xii. 37.

⟨men⟩. I restore *viri* in lacuna in MS.

15. **⟨of the Lord⟩.** I restore *Domini* in lacuna after *domo* in MS.

16. **among them.** I read *secum* for *semet* MS.

sacred spirit . . . manifold. Cf. πνεῦμα . . . ἅγιον . . . πολυμερές, Wisd. vii. 22.

was worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, the lord of the word, who was faithful in all things, God's chief prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the world, [that he
17 is no longer among them], shall say "Let us go against them. If the enemy have but once wrought impiously against their Lord, they have no advocate to offer prayers on their behalf to the Lord, like Moses the great messenger, who every hour day and night had his knees fixed to the earth, praying and looking for help to Him that ruleth all the world with compassion and righteous-
18 ness, reminding *Him* of the covenant of the fathers and propitiating the Lord with the oath." For they shall say: "He is not with them: let us go therefore and destroy them from off the face of the
19 earth." What shall then become of this people, my lord Moses?'

12 1, 2 And when Joshua had finished (these) words, he cast himself again at the feet of Moses. And Moses took his hand and raised him into the seat before him, and answered and said unto him:
3, 4 'Joshua, do not despise **thyself**, but set thy mind at ease, and hearken to my words. All the nations which are in the earth God hath created and us, He hath foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to
5 the least thing, but all things He hath foreseen and **caused** all **to come forth**. ⟨Yea⟩ all things which are to be in this earth the Lord hath foreseen and lo! they are brought forward ⟨into the
6 light. . . . The Lord⟩ hath on their behalf appointed me to ⟨pray⟩ for their sins and ⟨make interces-
7 sion⟩ for them. For not for any virtue or **strength** of mine, but **of His good pleasure** have His com-
8 passion and longsuffering fallen to my lot. For I say unto you, Joshua: it is not on account of the
9 godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations. The **lights** of the heaven, the **foundations** of the earth have been made **and** approved by God and are under the **signet ring** of His right
10 hand. Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of **God** shall increase and be prospered:
11 but those who sin and set at nought the commandments **shall be without the blessings** before men-
12 tioned, and they shall be punished with many torments by the nations. But wholly to root out and
13 **destroy** them is not permitted. For God will go forth who has foreseen all things for ever, and His covenant has been established and by the oath which . . .

worthy of the Lord. Cf. Wisd. iii. 5.
lord of the word, a unique expression.
faithful in all things. Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2.
God's chief prophet. Text = *divinum . . . profetem* = נביא האלהים = '*the* prophet of God'.
[that he . . . them]. A dittography from above.

17. **wrought impiously against.** Text = *impie fecerunt in* = רשעו ב, perhaps corrupt for רשעו מ. Cf. v. 6 (note).
no advocate to offer prayers. This is the function of Jeremiah especially (for Moses cf. ver. 14), e.g. 2 Macc. xv. 14; 4 Baruch ii. 3; 2 Bar. ii. 2 (note).
Moses. MS. wrongly adds 'was'.
looking for help . . . world. MS. = 'intuens homini potentem orbem,' &c. *homini* is clearly a corruption. Hilgenfeld suggests *omnipotentem orbem.* But it is better to read *omnis* and *orbis*, 'potentem omnis orbis.' Schmidt-Merx suggest 'omni potent(ia tenent)em orbem'.

XII. 2. Cf. Sifre Piska 140 on Num. xxvii. 28. 'Thereupon (Moses) raised him (Joshua) from the ground and placed him beside himself on the chair.'

3. **thyself.** I restore *te* for *et*, MS.

4. A word of comfort against the time of Israel's tribulation. God made Israel and the nations, and foresees the destinies of both. Therefore all that befalls must tend to the same end (Israel's benefit, i. 12).
caused all to come forth. I read 'promovit cuncta' for MS. 'provovit cum *eis*'; *provovit* may, however, be corrupt for *praenovit* = προέγνω = ידע, which again may be corrupt for יעד, *praedestinavit.*

6. **appointed me to ⟨pray⟩ for their sins.** This is a real Jewish idea and not borrowed from Christianity. Cf. Jeremiah (see xi. 17 above); also Enoch, 2 En. lxiv. 5 (MSS. A, B), the righteous forefathers, Philo, *De Execr.* ix (ii. 436). Contrast 2 En. liii. 1. The text is defective. I supply *orarem* and *implorarem.*

7. **strength.** I read *firmitatem* for MS. *infirmitatem.*
of His good pleasure. Text = *temperantius* = ἐπιεικέστερον. ἐπιεικῶς in both its occurrences in the O.T. = הואיל, the verb, so that I have rendered it 'of His good pleasure' in the text, though a closer rendering of the Hebrew would be 'He was pleased that His compassion, &c., should fall to my lot'. Cf. for this doctrine of the divine election, Rom. ix. 11, 12, to privilege, and Gal. i. 15, to service. According to the Tanchuma Pikkude 3, God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the power of the man. See 2 En. xxx. 15.

8. **not on account of the godliness,** &c. Cf. Deut. ix. 4, 5, 6; Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 32. The nation is so evil and needs such frequent chastisement, that its selection by God must be due not to merit but to the Divine purpose. Yet the world was created on behalf of Israel, i. 12; and it is God's foreknowledge, not His purpose, that is dwelt on in xii. 4, 5, 13.

9. **lights.** Read *lumina* for text *omnia.*
foundations. Read *fundamenta* for text *firmamenta.*
and approved. I read *et probata* for *ut provata.*
signet ring. Read *annulo* for *nullo.* Cf. Jer. xxii. 24 ἀποσφράγισμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, also Sirach xlix. 11.

10. **God.** Read *Dei* for *ei*, MS.

11. **shall be without the blessings.** Read *carebunt bona* (nom. plur.) for *carere bonam.* But Schmidt-Merx may be right, who retain the text and retranslate τοῖς γὰρ ἁμαρτάνουσιν . . ἐστὶ ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

12. **destroy.** I read *extinguat* for *relinquat.*

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience it will in this edition be designated shortly as '2 Enoch', in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch which is designated as '1 Enoch'.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature came to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic or 1 Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, pp. 127–158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I applied to the late Professor Morfill for help, who procured printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. When once I had before me Professor Morfill's English translations of these texts, it did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseudepigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In some respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

2 Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it should exercise a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Books of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (A.D. 400–500), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (A.D. 70–90). It is quoted by name in the later portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

But it was not only on Christian literature that the influence of 2 Enoch is manifest. A Hebrew book entitled 'the Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך) and twice 'the Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (ספר רזין דחנוך) in the Zohar exhibits very close affinities with 2 Enoch. R. Ishmael, a martyr of the Hadrianic persecution, is claimed to be its author, but its composition belongs most probably to a later date. It is, however, possible, that this Hebrew Book of Enoch has preserved in some cases the Hebrew original, from which apparently portions of 2 Enoch are derived. But the influence of 2 Enoch is not confined to this Hebrew Book of Enoch. Traces of it are found also in the apocalyptic fragment published by Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrasch* vi. 19–30, and also in the Zohar.[1]

§ 2. The Two Slavonic Versions.

The two versions of the Slavonic redaction of the book of Enoch from which the following translations have been made are:

1. The complete version, published by Mr. A. Popóv in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow, University Press, 1880). The MS. is a South Russian recension, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century and belongs to Mr. A. Khludov. It is in many places so corrupt that emendation in the absence of the Greek text is impossible. This version is marked by the letter A in Morfill's translation.[2]

[1] See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 677 sqq.

[2] There is a Bulgarian recension of the above version in a MS. in the public library of Belgrade according to Morfill (Gen. Editor).

2. The incomplete version, published by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Stárine* (Agram, 1884). The MS. is a Servian recension dating from the sixteenth century, and is in the Public Library at Belgrade. It is marked B in Morfill's translation. In order to spare biblical students the confusion inseparable from the omission of the division of the paragraphs into verses and from a disposition of the paragraphs themselves in any way different from that to which they are already used, I have adopted that arrangement of paragraphs and verses which both Morfill and Bonwetsch employed in their translations. It must be pointed out, however, that in the complete version (A) there are only sixty-three, while Morfill and Bonwetsch both divide the same quantity of text into sixty-eight paragraphs; that in the incomplete version (B) there is no division into paragraphs; that in neither A nor B is there any division of the paragraphs into verses,[1] and that in neither A nor B[2] are the titles of the paragraphs in brackets, as indicated in Morfill's translation. (N. FORBES.)

§ 3. THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

1. Part of this book—possibly the main part—was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I appointed him a name (i.e. Adam) from the four component parts: from East, from West, from South, from North.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i.e. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Sirach, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Sirach xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Sirach i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Sirach vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Sirach xxxix. 25: also lxv. 2—Sirach xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Sirach and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book may have been written originally in Hebrew. (See § 4 *ad fin.*)

2. This book in its present form was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Iustit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There seems to be no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally, swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of *crocodiles*—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv–xxvi, undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

§ 4. RELATION OF THE BOOK TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in I. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One from out the order of angels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to My power. And I threw him from the height.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem.

[1] This division into verses was necessarily made by the General Editor when he edited this book in 1896.

[2] The bracketing of the titles in A was due not to the translator but to the editor, for they have no claim to being original. They are not given in Sokolov's text which was used by Professor Morfill, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of 'Entry of Enoch into the first heaven, Entry of Enoch into the second heaven', &c. (Gen. Editor).

Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from 2 En. xxxi. 2: '. . . the gloomless light' seen by Adam in Paradise.

Next in the *Apocalypse of Moses* (ed. Tischend. 1866) p. 19 we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see Apoc. Mos. xxxvi. 1–3 under 'The Books of Adam and Eve' in this volume.

In the anonymous writing *De montibus Sina et Sion* 4, we have most probably another trace of the influence of our text in this century. In this treatise the derivation of Adam's name from the initials of the four quarters of the earth is given at length. This derivation appears probably for the first time in literature in xxx. 13 (see note).

In the fourth century there are undoubted indications of its use in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Tischend. 1866). Thus the statement, p. 64, *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἔνθα . . . δένδρον παμμεγέθη* (*sic*) *ὡραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* is beyond the possibility of question a Christian adaptation of 2 Enoch viii. 3: 'And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place, whereon the Lord rests, when He goes up into Paradise.' Again the words, p. 64, *ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα*, and p. 52, *ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον*, are almost verbal reproductions of our text, viii. 5: 'Two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts.' With two characteristic features of hell in this Apocalypse, i.e. *οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς* and *ὁ πύρινος ποταμός* (pp. 57, 58) we may compare x. 1 of our text: 'And there is no light there . . . and a fiery river coming forth.'

In the early part of the third and in the second century there is the following evidence of the existence of our text. Thus in the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 75 *ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχου*, and 88 *σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὄρεξον* are too closely parallel to li. 1, 'Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to the widow (B),' 'Stretch out your hands to the poor (A),' to be accidental.

In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

There is a direct reference in Origen's *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now since there is no account of the creation in 1 Enoch, Origen is here referring to 2 Enoch xxiv–xxx.

The fragment of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. 11. 77 is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. 1 (note).

During the years A.D. 50–100 our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, viii. 16 we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that 'there is no difference in their faces or behaviour or manner of dress.'

In 4 *Ezra* vii. 97 the words 'incipiet vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol' are found in i. 5 'Their faces were shining like the sun'.

With 2 *Baruch* iv. 3 'I showed it (i.e. Paradise) to Adam before he sinned', compare xxxi. 2.

In the *Epistle of Barnabas* xv. 4 *τί λέγει τό· Συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χιλία ἔτη*, we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. In xv. 5–7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase 'the eighth day': *οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοὶ] δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὃ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν.* It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, 1 Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words *ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν . . . ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους* seem to be derived from our text, xxx. 15, 'I . . . showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.' Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' compare lii. 11, 'Blessed is he who implants peace.' With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, 'Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea: Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words, "yea, yea," or "nay, nay."' (See notes.)

With vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'In their works are known those who lie evilly.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1, 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . for eternal inheritance.' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'In the great time (to come) . . . are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, bad for the bad.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Bow not down to vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Dominions, orders, and governments': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is truth that he may speak truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see my edition, pp. xxxix–xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come down from invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I tell to thee . . . all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.' With Rev. i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 4, 'Their faces were shining like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'The key-holders and guards of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A very great Sea greater than the earthly sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxv. 7, 'Then all time shall perish, and the years,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'That . . . there should be . . . a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the T. Lev. iii. 2 we have avenging powers in the third heaven: *ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων, . . . οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν . . . τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης.* With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. With the statement from Enoch in T. Dan v. 5, 6 *τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. Ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν* we might compare xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. *Ἐγρηγοροί*) who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of light.' In the T. Naph. iv. 1–2 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: *Ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καίγε ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε πᾶσαν πονηρίαν Σοδόμων. 2. καὶ ἐπάξει κύριος ὑμῖν αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἀναλώσει κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς.* This may be a loose adaptation to later times of 2 Enoch xxxiv. 2, 3. The quotation in T. Sim. v. 4 is probably derived from the same source, and also that in T. Benj. 9 *ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις οὐ καλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου· πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπωλεῖσθε ἕως βραχύ* (so β S^1, and practically c). The words in T. Jud. xviii. 1–2 *ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου* (so β A S^1, but not *a*), *ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας* may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that a considerable part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis seems necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.* For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

But there is further evidence in this direction. Many of the most notable statements regarding Enoch in 2 Enoch are to be found in later Hebrew writings. Now it is hardly conceivable that these traditions were borrowed from a Greek source. We must assume that their source is native to Judaism, and that 2 Enoch is an outstanding and comparatively early representation of this tradition. This tradition appears in various forms in the 'Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך), sometimes called the

'Sepher Hekalot' (i.e. the 'Book of the Halls'), the 'Life of Enoch' (חיי חנוך), and the Hekalot Rabbati. We shall deal here only with the first and point out a few of the many points in which this work draws on 2 Enoch or rather upon the Hebrew source behind 2 Enoch.

In this work R. Ishmael (of the time of Hadrian) ascends through the six heavens and is received by the Meṭaṭron, i.e. Enoch, at the entrance to the seventh. Enoch tells him how he was translated (iii–v, vii–xvi) in a fiery chariot to heaven in order there to bear witness against his wicked contemporaries: how God transfigured him and made him like one of the archangels (cf. 2 Enoch xxii. 6b–10): how he had been instructed in the mysteries of creation, in things past and to come (cf. 2 Enoch xxiv—xxxiii. 2): how God abode under the tree of life, when Adam was driven forth from Paradise (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3): how Adam and his contemporaries saw the heavenly glory till the fall of the angels (cf. 2 Enoch xxxii. 2). In xviii–xxii the seven heavens are described, the courses of the sun, moon, and stars. Even the three heavens mentioned in 2 Enoch xxi. 6—xxii. 1—only in the A recension as the eighth, ninth, and tenth, i.e. Muzaloth, Kuchavim, Aravoth—are reproduced here, but with a difference: Muzaloth and Kuchavim are placed below the seven heavens and Aravoth above them. This Jewish work was published by Jellinek, *B. H.* 1873, v. 170–190; and under the title ספר היכלות at Lemberg in 1864 and Warsaw in 1876.[1]

Again we find a large amount of material has been borrowed from 2 Enoch by the גדלות מ״ה which is printed in Jellinek's *B.H.M.*, 9 sqq. This work tells of Moses' ascent to heaven, after Meṭaṭron has transformed his body into a fiery figure like to that of the angels. In the first heaven Moses sees waters, and also windows by which are let in and out all the things pertaining to human life and its needs. In the second heaven he sees the angels who control the clouds, the winds, and the rain; in the third, the angels placed over vegetation; in the fourth, those over the earth, sun, moon, stars, planets, and spheres. The seventh heaven, we observe, is called 'Arabot'. Moses is also privileged to view hell and Paradise. The angel Gabriel conducts him to hell. 'There he sees the manifold torments and punishments of the different classes of sinners, those who were envious of their fellow men and bore false witness against them; women who exposed their charms to young men; sinners who committed adultery, theft, and murder; those who perjured themselves; those who desecrated the Sabbath, despised the learned, and persecuted orphans; those who committed sodomy and idolatry, or cursed their parents; those who took bribes, put their fellow men to shame, delivered up their brother-Israelite to the Gentile, and denied the oral law; those that ate all kinds of forbidden food; usurers; apostates, and blasphemers; those who wrote the ineffable name of God, and those who ate on Yom Kippur.' In Paradise among other things Moses sees the guardian angel of Paradise sitting under the tree of life; also 'the fountain of life welling forth from beneath the tree of life and dividing itself into four streams, and four rivers flowing under each throne, the first of honey, the second of milk, the third of wine, and the fourth of pure balsam.'[1]

§ 5. Date and Authorship.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The passages presupposed by the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* must be of a pre-Christian date. These passages may belong to an older form of the Enoch tradition than 2 Enoch. 2 Enoch in its present form was written probably between 30 B.C. and A.D. 70. It was written after 30 B.C., for it makes use of Sirach, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Wisdom (see my edition pp. xxv. sq.), and before A.D. 70; for the temple is still standing. We may, therefore, reasonably assign its composition to the period A.D. 1–50.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8–10; in which the righteous shall wear 'the raiment of God's glory', xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2 note), and Zend (lviii. 4–6 notes), elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

§ 6. Some of the Author's views on Creation, Anthropology, and Ethics.

God in the beginning created the world out of nothing, xxiv. 2.[2] (For a detailed account of each day's creations see xxv–xxx.) In this creation He made seven heavens, xxx. 2, 3, and all the

[1] See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 676–7, whence this account is derived.

[2] Or else formed it out of pre-existing elements, xxv. 1, where we have an adaptation of the egg theory of the universe.

angelic hosts—the latter were created on the first day—and all animal and plant life, and finally man on the sixth day. After His work on the six days God rested on the seventh. This six days of work followed by a seventh of rest is at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years, and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of 1,000 years. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2.

As regards man, all the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, xlix. 2; lviii. 5; lxi. 2. The age was resolved for man's sake, lxv. 3 (B). When Wisdom made man of seven substances, xxx. 8, at God's command, God gave him the name Adam from the four quarters of the earth—ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία—xxx. 13. Man's soul was created originally good, and while in the Garden he could see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2. Free-will was bestowed upon him, and the knowledge of good and evil. He was likewise instructed in the Two Ways of light and darkness, and then left to mould his own destiny, xxx. 15. But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biased its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin[1], xl. 12, 13; xlvi. 3; lxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxv. 8; lxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxv. 9, 10. As for sinners, hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliterary form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who beholds the labour of his own hands, but cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of another, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be impartially just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, xlii. 7. And men should also practise charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the faithful man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, li. 1, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay, xlix. 1; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride: for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another till they depart from this age of ills, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is better than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3.

§ 7. On the Value of the Book in Elucidating Contemporary and Later Religious Thought.

See my edition, pp. xxix–xlvii.

§ 8. Bibliography.

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[1] Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4–6.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

A

Of Enoch's life and dream.

THERE was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord, and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

A

1 1 At that time, he said, when my 165th year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal. After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-
2 five years. On the first day of the first month I was in my house alone and was resting on my
3 couch and slept. And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would
4 happen to me. And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on
5 earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too *were* like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth †with clothing and singing of various kinds† in appearance purple, their wings *were* brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow. They were standing at the head of my couch and began to call me by my
6 name. And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.
7 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from
8 terror, and those men said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to

B

Now behold the books of the secret of God, the revelations of Enoch.

At that time when three hundred and sixty- 1 1
five years were fulfilled to me, on a certain day 2
of the second month I was alone in my house.

I was in great trouble, weeping with my eyes, 3
and was resting, asleep on my couch, and there 4
appeared to me two very big men, such as I have
never seen on earth—their faces shone like the 5
sun, their eyes *were* like burning candles, out of their mouths was fire coming forth, their clothes *and* singing were various, and their arms like golden wings—at the head of my couch, and called upon me by my name.

And I having awoken from my sleep and stood 6
up †at my couch† bowed down to them and 7
covered my face from terror.

And the two men spoke to me: 'Have courage, 8
Enoch, do not fear, the Eternal Lord hath sent

1. 2, 3. Cf. 1 En. lxxxiii. 3, 5.
5. **faces . . . sun.** Cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra vii. 97.
eyes, &c. Dan. x. 6: cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12.
fire coming forth. Cf. Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. The next clause is corrupt.
of various kinds (A). The text has *razdayaniya* = 'of distribution'. Emend to *raz(d)nîya* = 'of different kinds'.
various (B), i.e. differing from one another.
their wings > B.
whiter than snow. Cf. 1 En. cvi. 2, 10; Apoc. Petri.
7. **appearance . . . changed.** Dan. v. 6, 9, 10.
8. **Have courage.** Cf. Matt. xiv. 27. The LXX renders thus the Hebrew 'fear not'.
do not fear. Cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6; 1 En. xv. 1.

A

thee, and lo! thou shalt to-day ascend with us
9 into heaven, and thou shalt tell thy sons and all
thy household all that they shall do without thee
on earth in thy house, and let no one seek thee
10 till the Lord return thee to them. And I made
haste to obey them and went out from my house,
and made to the doors, as it was ordered me, and
summoned my sons Mathusal and Regim and
Gaidad and made known to them all the marvels
those *men* had told me.

The Instruction. How Enoch instructed his sons.

2 1 Listen to me, my children. I know not whither
2 I go, or what will befall me; now therefore, my
children, I tell you: turn not from God before
the face of the vain, who made not Heaven and
earth, for these shall perish and those who
3 worship them, and may the Lord make confident
4 your hearts in the fear of him. And now, my
children, let no one think to seek me, until the
Lord return me to you.

Of Enoch's assumption; how the angels took him into the first heaven.

3 1 It came to pass, when Enoch had told his sons,
that the angels took him on to their wings and
bore him up on to the first heaven and placed
2 him on the clouds. And there I looked, and
again I looked higher, and saw the ether, and
3 they placed me on the first heaven and showed
me a very great Sea, greater than the earthly
sea.

Of the Angels ruling the stars.

4 1 They brought before my face the elders and
rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two
hundred angels, who rule the stars and *their*
2 services to the heavens, and fly with their wings
and come round all those who sail.

B

us to thee, behold to-day thou shalt go up with
us on to the heavens.
Tell thy sons and thy household all that they 9
must do in thy house, and let no one seek thee,
till the Lord return thee to them.
And I listened and went out, summoned my 10
sons Mefusailom and Regim, and told them all
that those two men had spoken to me.

And behold, my children, I know not whither 2
I go, nor what will befall me, and now, my chil- 2
dren, turn not away from God, walk before the
Lord's face and observe his judgements, and bow
not down to vain gods, to gods who made neither
heaven nor earth, they shall perish.
Keep your hearts true to terror of the Lord, 3
and now, my children, let no one seek me till 4
the Lord return me to you.

Enoch's ascent on to the first heaven.

And it happened when I had spoken to my 3
sons, and the two men summoned me, and took
me on to their wings and carried me up on to the
first heaven and set me down there,

and brought 4
me before the face of the elder, the ruler of the
stellar orders, and he showed me all their courses,
and their passages from year to year, and he
showed me two hundred angels, and he showed
me there a very great sea, greater than the earthly 2
sea, and angels were flying with their wings.

ascend with us. Cf. iii. 1, &c.
9. **sons.** 1 En. lxxxi. 5, 6; xci. 1 mentions them, but not by name.
10. **Regim.** See lvii. 2.
Gaidad. Gen. iv. 18 (LXX) gives this as the son of the Enoch who is Cain's grandson. So B rightly omits.

II. 1. **know not whither.** Cf. vii. 5.
2. **turn not from God.** 1 Sam. xii. 20.
vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth (B). Cf. Acts xiv. 15; Jer. x. 11; also Ps. xcvi. 5; Isa. ii. 18; Jub. xii. 2, 3, 4.
3. **make confident,** &c. Prov. xiv. 26.

III. 1. In 1 En. xiv. 8 the clouds invite and the winds raise Enoch.
2. **the ether** = the firmament of Asc. Isa. vii. 9, i. e. the first heaven.
3. **a very great Sea.** Cf. Rev. iv. 6; xv. 2. In Test. Levi ii. 7 this sea lies between the first and second heavens.

IV. 1. **the elders,** *starêishina* = 'elder', i. e. one set in command over.
the rulers of the stellar orders. For another account of these see 1 En. lxxxii. 9–18, 20. Note the divergence of B, which makes the elder, or special angel, of the stars act as guide to Enoch in the first heaven.
two hundred angels. In 1 En. vi. 5 this is the number of the apostatizing angels.

A

Of how the Angels keep the store-houses of the snow.

5 1 And here I looked down and saw the treasure-houses of the snow, and the angels who keep
2 their terrible store-houses, and the clouds whence they come out and into which they go.

Of the dew and of the olive-oil, and various flowers.

6 1 They showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its form, as of all the flowers of the earth; further many angels guarding the treasure-houses of these *things*, *and* how they are made to shut and open.

Of how Enoch was taken on to the second heaven.

7 1 And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great
2 and boundless judgement, and these angels were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours, and I said to the men who were with me:
3 'Wherefore are these incessantly tortured?' they answered me: 'These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also *is* fastened on the fifth heaven.
4 And I felt great pity for them, and they saluted me, and said to me: 'Man of God, pray for us to
5 the Lord'; and I answered to them: 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? who knoweth whither I go, or what will befall me? or who will pray for me?'

Of the assumption of Enoch to the third heaven.

8 1 And those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there;

B

He showed me the store-house of cloud, whence 5 1
it goes up and goes out, and showed me all the treasure-houses of snow and cold, and terrible angels guarding the treasure-houses,

and he 6 1
showed me the treasure-houses of the dew, like olive oil, and angels guarding their treasure-houses, and their clothing like all the flowers of the earth.

Enoch's ascent to the second heaven.

And the two men placed me *thence* and carried 7 1
me up on to the second heaven, and showed me there prisoners kept of the measureless judgement, and I saw the condemned weeping, and I spoke 2
to the two men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these tormented?' and the two men said to me: 'These are the Lord's apostates, not listen- 3
ing to the Lord's voice, but taking counsel of their own will.'

And I was very sorry for them. And the 4
angels bowed down to me and said to me: 'Man of God, would that thou mightst pray for us to God!'

And I answered them: 'Who am I, a mortal 5
man, that I should pray for angels? who knows whither I go or what will befall me or *who* pray for *me*?'

The ascent on to the third heaven.

And the two men placed me thence and carried 8 1
me up on to the third heaven and set me down

V. 1. **treasure-houses of the snow.** Job xxxviii. 22; cf. 1 En. lx. 17, 18—in the second heaven according to Test. Levi iii. 2.
store-house of cloud (B). Cf. 1 En. lx. 19. A seems corrupt.

VI. 1. **treasure-house of the dew.** Cf. 1 En. lx. 20.

VII. 1. **darkness . . . prisoners . . . watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgement.** Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6, and possibly Test. Levi iii. 2. The angels who sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth in 1 En. x as in 2 En. xviii. 7; those who sinned by ambition are imprisoned in the second heaven. See, however, xviii. 4 (note).
3. **took counsel with their own will.** Cf. Isa. xlvi. 10.
their prince = Satanail, xviii. 3.
fifth heaven. These angels had originally been in the fifth heaven, see xviii. But it is hard to see why their leader alone should be imprisoned there, when they are reduced to the second. See xxix. 3–5 (notes).
4. The angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in 1 En. xiii. 4.
Man of God. Deut. xxxiii. 1.
5. Cf. 1 En. xv. 2.

VIII. 1. Paradise is here in the third heaven, as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4.

A

and I looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known for
2 goodness. And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet-smelling, and all the foods borne *by them* bubbling
3 with fragrant exhalation. And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance,
4 and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides *it is* in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits. Its root is in the garden
5 at the earth's end. And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round
6 with quiet course, and go down into the paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other
7 elements. And here there is no unfruitful tree,
8 and every place is blessed. And *there are* three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place,' and those men said to me:

The showing to Enoch of the place of the righteous and compassionate.

9 1 This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgement, and give bread to the hungering, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him

B

in the midst of Paradise, and a place unknown in goodness of appearance.

Every tree sweet-flowering, every fruit ripe, all 2
manner of food perpetually bubbling with all pleasant smells, and four rivers flowing by with quiet course, and every growth is good, bearing fruit for food, and the tree of life is at that 3
place, at which God rests when he goes up into Paradise, and that tree is ineffable for the goodness of its sweet scent, and another olive tree 5
alongside was always discharging the oil of its fruit.

And there is no tree there without fruit, and 7
every tree is blessed. And the angels guarding 8
the Paradise are very bright and serve the Lord all days with incessant voice and sweet singing. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place!'

And the two men answered me: 'This place, 9
Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who suffer offence in their lives and spite in their souls, and avert their eyes from injustice and make righteous judgement, to give bread to the hungering, to clothe the naked and cover them with a garment, to raise the fallen, and help the wronged, who walk before God's face and serve him alone; now

unknown in goodness of appearance (B), i. e. the like of which is not known anywhere else.

2. **all the sweet-flowering trees**, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 9; 1 En. xxix. 2; Apoc. Mosis xxxviii. 4.

all the foods. Cf. 'twelve manner of fruits', Rev. xxii. 2.

3. **in the midst of the trees that of life.** For the 'tree of life' see Gen. ii. 9. For this familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypse cf. 1 En. xxv. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14; 4 Ezra vii. 53; viii. 52; Test. Levi xviii. 11. See also Iren. i. 5, 2. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 66, p. 278, bans the doctrine as Manichaean.

in that place whereon the Lord rests. Cf. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 64) *δένδρον παμμεγέθη ὡραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπαναπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, and Apoc. Mosis xxii. 4 *καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐνετρεπίζετο.*

5. **between corruptibility and incorruptibility**, i. e. at the earth's end. Cf. 'the ends of the earth,' 1 En. xxxiii. 1, to which Enoch proceeds from the garden of righteousness.

four rivers (B). These are taken over into the Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 52), and also into the Koran xlvii, where, however, a river of incorruptible water replaces the river of oil. The writer seems to be bringing into one organic conception what were originally two different conceptions—the earthly and the heavenly Paradise. The former was the older idea: Gen. ii. 8–17; 1 En. xxxii. 3–6; lxxvii. 3. The latter occurs in 1 En. lx. 8, lxi. 12, lxx. 3.

another olive tree (B). Cf. xxii. 8; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3.

IX. 1. **prepared for the righteous.** Cf. Matt. xxv. 34; also 1 En. lx. 8 (note).

avert their eyes from iniquity. Ps. cxix. 37.

make righteous judgement. Ezek. xviii. 8.

give bread, &c. Ezek. xviii. 7; cf. Tob. iv. 16; 4 Ezra ii. 20; Or. Sibyll. ii. 83; viii. 404–5 and esp. Matt. xxv. 35–9.

help injured orphans. Cf. Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16.

walk without fault. Luke i. 6.

A

alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

Here they showed Enoch the terrible place and various tortures.

1 And those two men led me up on to the Northern side, and showed me there a very
2 terrible place, and *there were* all manner of tortures in that place: cruel darkness and unillumined gloom, and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flameth aloft, and *there is* a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere *there is* frost
3 and ice, thirst and shivering, while the bonds are very cruel, and the angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture, and I
4 said: 'Woe, woe, how very terrible is this place,' and those men said to me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practise sin against nature, which is child-corruption after the sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds,
5 stealing, lies, calumnies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder, and who accursed, steal the souls of men, who, seeing the poor take away their goods and themselves wax rich, injuring them for other men's goods; who being able to satisfy the empty, made the hungering to die; being
6 able to clothe, stripped the naked; and who knew not their creator, and bowed down to soulless (*sc.* lifeless) Gods, who cannot see nor hear, vain gods, *who also* built hewn images and bow down to unclean handiwork, for all these is prepared this place amongst these, for eternal inheritance.

B

for these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

And the two men lifted me up thence, and 10 1
carried me up to the north of the heaven, and showed me there a very terrible place, all torture and torment; at that place *there was* darkness 2
and gloom, and there is no light there, but fire and flame, and obscurity comes down at that place and *there is* cold and ice and dungeons, and 3
cruel relentless angels carrying arms and tormenting without mercy.

And I said: 'How very terrible is this place. 4
And the two men answered me: 'This place, Enoch, is prepared for the dishonest, that work godless things on earth, who make witchcraft and sorcery and boast of their works, who steal 5
men's souls secretly, who sever a binding yoke, who grow rich by doing violence, from the property of the others, who being able to feed, kill the hungering through famine, and being able to clothe the naked, took away their clothes, who recognized not their creator, but bowed down to 6
vain gods: for all these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

eternal inheritance. Cf. Heb. ix. 15.

X. 1-6. The idea of evil in heaven is foreign to modern thought, but we find Satan presenting himself in heaven in Job i. 7, 8, while Eph. vi. 12 speaks of 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places'. Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9 represents the end of this state of things. Satan is cast down and henceforth limited to the earth, xii. 12. The older view is found in Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob 153, but was later banished from both Christian and Jewish thought.

2. **darkness**, &c. Cf. Apoc. Petri 12; Apoc. Pauli, pp. 57 and 62.

gloom (B). *m'gla* can also mean fog.

fiery river. In 1 En. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10 this idea is connected with God's holiness, but here it connotes punishment, like the Greek Pyriphlegethon. Cf. Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8; Or. Sibyll. ii. 196–200, 252–3, 286; iii. 84; viii. 411; Apoc. Petri 8; Apoc. Pauli, p. 57. Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38 combines the two ideas.

fire . . . and frost and ice. Cf. 1 En. xiv. 13, where God's dwelling is described.

3. For angels of destruction, cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; 1 Chron. xxi. 15; and probably Sirach xxxix. 28. In 1 En. liii. 3, 4; lvi. 1; lxii. 11; lxiii. 1, a class of evil angels whose sole function is to punish first appears, and the idea seems already a familiar one. Cf. Rev. ix. 11, 15 (Apollyon); xvi. In Matt. xiii. 49, however, good angels cast the wicked into the furnace of fire. For later occurrences of the view cf. Test. Levi iii. 3; Apoc. Petri 6, 8. Test. Abraham A. xii follows our text closely.

4. **prepared**, &c. Contrast Matt. xxv. 41.

4, 5. For the sins cf. Rev. xxi. 8; Apoc. Petri 17; Test. Isaac (ed. James, p. 148). One is too gross to appear in the text.

5. **souls of men.** Cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

6. Cf. Lev. xix. 4; xxvi. 1; Or. Sibyll. v. 77–85; viii. 378–81; 395–8; *Fragm.* i. 20–2; iii. 21–45.

A

Here they took Enoch up on to the fourth heaven where is the course of sun and moon.

11 1 Those men took me, and led me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the successive goings, and all the rays of the light of sun and 2 moon. And I measured their goings, and compared their light, and saw that the sun's light is greater than the moon's. Its circle and the wheels on which it goes always, like a wind going past with very marvellous speed, and day 3 and night it has no rest. Its passage and return *are accompanied by* four great stars, *and* each star has under it a thousand stars, to the right of the sun's wheel, *and by* four to the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight 4 thousand, issuing with the sun continually. And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it, and by night a thousand. And six-winged ones issue with the angels before the sun's wheel into 5 the fiery flames, and a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight.

Of the very marvellous elements of the sun.

12 1 And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names *are* Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head, their appearance *is* empurpled, like the rainbow; their size *is* nine hundred measures, 2 their wings *are like* those of angels, each *has* twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from 3 God. Thus *the sun* revolves and goes, and rises under the heaven, and its course goes under the earth with the light of its rays incessantly.

B

Enoch's ascent on to the fourth heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence, and 11 carried me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the courses and goings and all the rays of the light both of the sun and of the moon, their measurements and their goings, and I saw their goings.

The sun has sevenfold more light than the 2 moon and their circles are the chariots on which each of them rides just as the wind goes, and ever going and returning they have rest neither by day nor by night.

And *I saw* four great stars on the right of 3 the sun's chariot and four on the left going with 4 the sun always, and angels going before the sun's chariot.

Flying spirits, *each having* twelve *wings*, and 12 each of the angels that rolls the chariot has twelve wings, carrying dew and heat, when the Lord commands them to descend on to the earth with the sun's rays.

XI. 1. **fourth heaven.** This, according to *Chagiga* 12[b], contained the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael who offered daily sacrifice.

the successive goings . . . of sun and moon. Cf. 1 En. lxxii–lxxviii.

2. **The sun has sevenfold more light**, &c. (B). Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 37.

the wheels ('the chariots', B). Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8.

day and night it has no rest. 1 En. xli. 7, lxxii. 37.

3, 4. Not in 1 En.

5. Cf. 1 En. lxxv. 4.

XII. 1. **Phoenixes and Chalkydri.** This is the only reference to these creatures in literature. The phoenix was always solitary, Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28. Jewish authorities find a reference to the phoenix in Job xxix. 18, where they render כחול 'as the phoenix' and not 'as the sand'. The fable was believed in by 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv; Tertullian, *de Res. Carn.* xiii, &c. The poem *De Phoenice* of the pseudo-Lactantius has many apparent references to our text. The phoenix is, e.g. a 'satelles Phoebi' (33, cf. xii. 2 here), it greets the sun at rising (43–50) and claps its wings (51–4). Cf. xv. 1. For the two different legends in the Talmud about the phoenix's origin see Hamburger, *R.-E. für den Talmud*, 908–9, and on the question generally, Lightfoot, &c., on 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv.

Chalkydri, seemingly a transliteration of Χαλκύδραι, brazen hydras or serpents. These are classed with the Cherubim in 1 En. xx. 7, and so = the Seraphim of Isa. vi. 2, 6. These then were perhaps conceived as winged dragons, as the analogy of the animal-like forms of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 5–11 would lead us to suppose. The Serpent as an object of reverence or a symbol of healing occurs in Num. xxi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Matt. x. 16; John iii. 14; in a physically bad sense in Num. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6; and morally as a designation of Satan in Rev. xii. 9. It is significant that neither Cherubim nor Seraphim occur in the N.T.; their characteristics are fused in the four living creatures of Rev. iv. 6–8.

feet and tails . . . of a lion. The Cherubim's feet in Ezek. i. 7 are like calves' feet.

2. **each has twelve**, i.e. twice as many wings as the angel of xi. 4.

bearing heat and dew. Contrast 1 En. lx. 20.

3. **goes under the earth.** This seems to conflict with xxx. 3, where the sun's goings would appear to be in the fourth heaven. See xiv. 2 (note).

incessantly. Cf. 'always', xi. 2.

A

The angels took Enoch and placed him in the east at the sun's gates.

3 1 Those men bore me away to the east, and placed me at the sun's gates, where the sun goes forth according to the regulation of the seasons and the circuit of the months of the whole year, and the number of the †hours† day and night. 2 And I saw six gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium, and I measured *them* truly, and understood their size *to be* so much, through which the sun goes forth, and goes to the west, and is made even, 4 and rises throughout all the months, and turns back again from the six gates according to the 5 succession of the seasons; thus *the period* of the whole year is finished after the returns of the four seasons.

They took Enoch to the West.

4 1 And again those men led me away to the western parts, and showed me six great gates open corresponding to the Eastern gates, opposite to where the sun sets, according to the number of the days three hundred and sixty-five and a 2 quarter. Thus again it goes down to the western gates, *and* draws away its light, the greatness of its brightness, under the earth; for since the crown of its shining is in heaven with the Lord, 3 and guarded by four hundred angels, while the sun goes round on wheel under the earth, and stands seven great hours in night, and spends half *its course* under the earth, when it comes to the eastern approach in the eighth hour of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire.

The elements of the sun, the Phoenixes and Chalkydri broke into song.

15 1 Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord.

2 The giver of light comes to give brightness to

B

And the two men carried me to the East of 13 1 the heaven and showed me the gates through which the sun goes up at the appointed seasons and after the completion of every month and after the shortening to the lengthening of the days and nights, six great gates, and the greatness of 2 the proportions of those gates, and I could not comprehend their greatness; and of those through which the sun goes up and goes over to the West 3 through the first gates it goes out forty-two days, through the second gates thirty-five, through the fourth gates thirty-five days, through the fifth thirty-five, through the sixth gates . . . at the going out of the season the years finish at 5 the returns of the seasons.

And the two men carried me up to the West 14 1 of the heaven and showed me six great open gates after the Eastern entrance and opposite it, through which (*sc.* gates) the sun goes down there after the going up from the Eastern gates and according to the number of days, thus it goes down 2 through the Western gates. When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its 3 chariot and goes out without light, and they put the crown on it again *at* the Eastern gates.

XIII. 1. **the sun's gates,** i.e. the six of the next verse. Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 2–37, which is no doubt the original of this chapter.

2–5. Corrupt.

5. **four seasons.** Cf. xl. 6. Two of the four are dealt with in 1 En. lxxxii. 15–20.

XIV. 1. **three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter.** The writer of 1 En. lxxii–lxxxii knew of the solar year, but refused to recognize it from national prejudice.

2. In 1 En. lxxii. 5 the sun returns after sunset through the north to the east to rise again. In our text, however, during the night the sun, which revolves through the fourth heaven xi, xxx. 3, goes under the earth. It is without light at night, as its crown is taken from it, and its own light is under the earth. The sun cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, Apoc. Mosis xxxvi. 3. The crown is the added light bestowed by God.

3. **stands.** We should expect 'ceases from shining'; B has 'goes without light'.

spends half its course, i.e. apparently the seven hours, which are not hours of fixed duration. But it is hard to see why there should be *seven* hours.

XV. 1. See xii. 1 (note).

therefore every bird . . . light. A parenthetic reference to the songs of birds at sunrise.

A

the whole world, and the morning guard takes shape, which is the rays of the sun, and the sun of the earth goes out, and receives its brightness
3 to light up the whole face of the earth, and they showed me this calculation of the sun's going. And the gates which it enters, these are the great gates of the †computation of the hours†
4 of the year; for this reason the sun is a great creation, whose circuit *lasts* twenty-eight years, and begins again from the beginning.

They took Enoch and again placed him in the east at the course of the moon.

16 1 Those men showed me the other course, that of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out
2 of the customary times. It goes in at the first gate to the western places of the sun, by the first gates with *thirty*-one *days* exactly, by the second gates with thirty-one days exactly, by the third with thirty days exactly, by the fourth with thirty days exactly, by the fifth with thirty-one days exactly, by the sixth with thirty-one days exactly, by the seventh with thirty days exactly, by the eighth with thirty-one days perfectly, by the ninth with thirty-one days exactly, by the tenth with thirty days perfectly, by the eleventh with thirty-one days exactly, by the twelfth with
3 twenty-eight days exactly. And it goes through the western gates in the order and number of the
4 eastern, and accomplishes the three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days of the solar year,
5 while the lunar year has three hundred and fifty-four, and there are wanting *to it* twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the whole year. [Thus, too, the great circle con-
6 tains five hundred and thirty-two years.] The quarter *of a day* is omitted for three years, the fourth fulfils *it* exactly. Therefore they are taken outside of heaven for three years and are not added to the number of days, because they

B

The two angels showed me this disposition of 15
the gates by which it goes up and goes out. These gates the Lord made for the taking of time and counting of the years for the sun.

And they showed me the other lunar disposi- 16
tion, all its courses, and the two men pointed out to me all its circuits, and they pointed out to me its gates, twelve eternal gates to the East, through which the moon enters at the usual seasons, thus also through the Western gates 2
after going round and according to the number of the Eastern gates.

Thus it goes down also through the Western 3
gates, and completes the year; therefore it goes 5
in the year with three hundred and sixty-four days complete, and therefore it is called outside heaven, and the years are not reckoned in the 6
number of the days, because the seasons of the year change.

XVI. 1. **Twelve great gates.** These are the same as the gates of the sun in xiii, xiv.

2. This account cannot possibly apply to the moon, but applies perfectly to the sun, which must therefore be understood as the subject. The numbers when added together = 365, which accords with the statement in verse 4 that a solar year = $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, while in verse 5 we proceed to the lunar year which amounts to 354 days.

5. **364 days complete** (B). This seems to be an error for 354 (A).

twelve days. More exactly $11\frac{1}{4}$.

[**Thus, too, the great cycle contains five hundred and thirty-two years**]. I have bracketed these words as they have no real connexion with the context. They arose obviously from a marginal gloss. The writer in this chapter does not get beyond the Metonic cycle, whereas the great cycle of 532 years is produced by multiplying together the Metonic cycle of 19 years and the Solar cycle of 28 years. This great cycle is called the Dionysian or Great Paschal Period. As it includes all the variations in respect of the new moons and the dominical letters, it is consequently a period in which Easter and all the movable and immovable feasts would occur on the same day of the week and month as in the corresponding year of the preceding cycle. This cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine, *c.* A.D. 457. It is obvious that any reference to such a cycle here is an intrusion.

6. **the quarter**, &c. Explanation of leap year.

because they† change the time, &c. Hopelessly corrupt.

7. **with its light** (B). This seems to imply that her light is not borrowed from the sun as is taught in 1 En. lxxiii; 'to the lights' (A) seems meaningless.

A

†change the time of the years to two new months towards completion, to two others towards
7 diminution†. And when the western gates are finished, it returns and goes to the eastern to the lights, and goes thus day and night about the heavenly circles, lower than all circles, swifter than the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements
8 and angels flying ; each angel has six wings. It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years.

Of the singings of the angels, which it is impossible to describe.

7 1 In the midst of the heavens I saw armed soldiers, serving the Lord, with tympana and organs, with incessant voice, with sweet voice, with sweet and incessant *voice* and various singing, which it is impossible to describe, and *which* astonishes every mind, so wonderful and marvellous is the singing of those angels, and I was delighted listening to it.

Of the taking of Enoch on to the fifth heaven.

3 1 The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size *was* greater than that of great giants

B

And when they †finish the Western 7
gates and it goes towards the Eastern with its light.

Thus their circle goes around like the heaven, and their chariot, on to which the wind mounts in its course, and flying spirits draw along their chariot, six wings to each angel.

This is the lunar disposition.

And in the midst of the heaven I saw armed 17 1
troops serving the Lord on cymbals and organs with incessant voice. And I was delighted listening *to them.*

Enoch's ascent on to the fifth heaven.

And the men carried me up on to the fifth 18 1
heaven, and I saw there many troops, Egoroi, and their appearance was like the human appearance and their size greater than that of great giants

A

2 and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and there was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and *wherefore* is there no service on this heaven?'
3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of

each angel has six wings. The moon's attendant angels have *six* wings, as the sun's attendant creatures had *twelve* (xii. 2).

8. The reference is to the Metonic cycle, which consists of a period of nineteen solar years, after which the new moons happen on the same days of the year once more. As nineteen solar years = 6,939·186 days = 235 lunar months = nineteen lunar years and seven months, the solar and lunar years can be reconciled by intercalating seven lunar months at the close of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years of the cycle.

XVII. **armed soldiers.** The purpose for which they are armed is given in Test. Levi iii. 3, where, however, they are in the third heaven, not the fourth. They are *ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελίαρ.*

serving the Lord . . . various singing. This is the function assigned by Test. Levi iii. 8 to the inhabitants of the fourth heaven . . . *ἐν ᾧ ἀεὶ ὕμνοι τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται.* Note the dittography 'with sweet and incessant (voice)'.

XVIII. 1. **fifth heaven.** Our text and Test. Levi iii. 7 differ absolutely as to the inhabitants of the fifth heaven. According to the latter the inhabitants are *οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου.* This view, however, seems limited to the Test. Levi, whereas we find in *Chag.* 12[b] the same view expressed as here: i.e. in מעון the fifth heaven are to be found 'hosts of angels praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The latter clause is a late Rabbinic idea. Again, in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77, we find a fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah which supports, and in all probability is based on, our text: *ἆρ' οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ Σοφονία λεχθεῖσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.* This Apocalypse is extant in Thebaic in a fragmentary condition, but these fragments do not contain the passage just quoted.

Grigori. These are the Watchers, the Ἐγρήγοροι, or עירים, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. vi–xvi, xix, lxxxvi.

3. **The Grigori.** These are the angels whose brethren rebelled and were confined in the second heaven. See vi. 3 (note). These Watchers rebelled against God before the angels were tempted to sin with the daughters of men. In other words, we have here the agents of the original revolt in heaven, the Satans; and their leader is naturally named Satanail. These existed as evil agencies before the fall of the angels; for in 1 En. liv. 6 the guilt of the latter consisted in becoming subject to Satan. See 1 En. xl. 7 (note). The myth here, however, varies somewhat from that in 1 En. vi–xvi. The leaders in 1 En. vi–xvi are not Satans, but 'Watchers', like their followers. In 1 En. lxix, however, we have an account which harmonizes with our text. There we see that the superior angels had

A

4 light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took 5 to themselves wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made 6 lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity. And therefore God judged them with great judgement, and they weep for their brethren and they will be 7 punished on the Lord's great day. And I said to the Grigori: 'I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them *to be* 8 under earth till heaven and earth shall end for ever.' And I said: 'Wherefore do you wait, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face, lest you anger your Lord utterly?'

9 And they listened to my admonition, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! as I stood with those two men four trumpets trumpeted together with great voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.

A

Of the taking of Enoch on to the sixth heaven.

19 1 And thence those men took me and bore me up on to the sixth heaven, and there I saw seven bands of angels, very bright and very glorious, and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening, and there is no difference in 2 their faces, or behaviour, or manner of dress; and these make the orders, and learn the goings of the stars, and the alteration of the moon, or revolution of the sun, and the good government 3 of the world. And when they see evil-doing

B

And the two men took me from thence, they 18 carried me up on to the sixth heaven, and I saw there seven ranks of angels very bright and glorious, their faces shining like the sun, and there is no difference in *their* faces, nor in *their* extent, nor in the composition of *their* clothes.

These organize and learn the good ordering of 2 the world and the goings of the stars, of the sun and of the moon.

Angels, angels, these heavenly angels harmo- 3

rebelled before the creation of Adam; that they had tempted Eve and brought about the fall of the angels in the days of Jared. Thus, in 1 En. lxix and here, the leaders of the angels who fell in Jared's days are Satans. This is practically the view of portions of the Talmud. See Weber, pp. 211, 243, 244.

who with their prince Satanail. Quoted in Test. Dan v. 5, 6 . . . *τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. Ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου . . . ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν* (*ὑμῶν* is corrupt for *αὐτῶν*). Our text can hardly mean that all the Watchers rebelled, but only that it was from the class of the Watchers that the rebels proceeded. It is indeed possible that the writer's scheme may differ from the conception we have given above, and be as follows. The rebellious Watchers, with their prince Satanail, are confined to the fifth heaven. The subordinate angels ('after them') who followed them (? = 'the order that was under him,' xxix. 4) are imprisoned in the second heaven, whereas the Watchers who went further and descended to earth and sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth. This view is very attractive, but raises more difficulties than the one we have followed. The MSS. reading *fifth* in vii. 3 does indeed favour it, but for 'prince who' in that verse we must read 'prince and leaders who'. The main objections, however, lie in xviii. 8, 9, and in vii. 3 where the prisoners of the second heaven are clearly identified with the fallen Watchers. In xxix. 4, 5 Satanail with his angels is cast down from heaven, to the air, above the abyss.

4. **after them** (A), i.e. of the same sort as they.

three. According to 1 En. ix. 6 the leader was Azazel, or vi. 3, ix. 7 Semjaza; Jalkut Schim, *Beresch.* 44 gives Assael and Semjaza.

Ermon. See 1 En. vi. 2–6.

broke through their vows. Hermon means a place of cursing or vowing. We should expect 'bound themselves by mutual vows' as in 1 En. vi. 5.

5. 1 En. x. 8, vii. 2.

6. 1 En. x. 4–15.

they will be punished. Not those who weep, but the lustful Watchers are punished.

7. There is some confusion in this verse. Enoch has seen in vii the rebellious Watchers in torment in the second heaven, but here he proceeds to refer to the lustful Watchers punished under the earth. We have not had an account of his journey thither.

I prayed for them. See vii. 5 (note).

8, 9. The Watchers are silent out of sympathy for their fallen brethren, and at Enoch's rebuke they resume their worship, but with sadness.

XIX. 1. This account of the sixth heaven disagrees more or less with that of Test. Levi iii. 5, 6, with that of *Chag.* 12[b], and with the colourless account in Asc. Is.

there is no difference in their faces, &c. Asc. viii. 16 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis' seems to be derived from our text, as it emphasizes the differences in glory between the angelic orders in each of the first five heavens, and emphasizes no less the equality in glory of all the angels of the sixth heaven. (Cf. Asc. Is. viii. 5–7.)

2. The heavenly bodies are under Uriel in 1 En. lxxii–lxxxii.

A

they make commandments and instruction, and sweet and loud singing, and all *songs* of praise. These are the archangels who are above angels,
4 measure all life in heaven and on earth, and the angels who are *appointed* over seasons and years, the angels who are over rivers and sea, and who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels who are over every grass, giving food to all, to
5 every living thing, and the angels who write all the souls of men, and all their deeds, and their
6 lives before the Lord's face; in their midst are six Phoenixes and six Cherubim and six six-winged *ones* continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice †before the Lord† at his footstool.

Hence they took Enoch into the seventh Heaven.

20 1 And those two men lifted me up thence on to the seventh Heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones, nine regiments, the Ioanit stations of light, and I became afraid, and began
2 to tremble with great terror, and those men took me, and led me after them, and said to me:
3 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear,' and showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne. For what is there on the tenth heaven, since the Lord dwells here? On the tenth heaven is God, in the Hebrew tongue he is called Aravat. And all the heavenly troops would

B

nize all the heavenly life, organize the commands, teachings and euphony, and singing and every glorious praise.

And those angels *that rule* over the seasons 4
and the years, and the angels that are over rivers and seas, and the angels that are over the fruit and grass and everything bubbling (*sic*), and 5
angels *who* organize all the life of all people and write before the Lord's face.

In their midst seven phoenixes, seven cherubim, 6
and seven six-winged ones, voicing and singing to each other as one, and it is impossible to describe their singing, and the Lord rejoices in his footstool.

Enoch's ascent on to the Seventh Heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence and 20 1
carried me up on to the seventh heaven. And I saw there a great light and all the fiery troops of incorporeal archangels and the shining station of the Ostanim, and I became afraid and began to tremble.

And the two men put me in the midst of them, 2
saying to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not.'

They showed me from afar the Lord sitting on 3
his throne, and all the heavenly troops in companies stepping on to the steps and they kept bowing down to the Lord, and would then walk 4
away and go to their places in joy and happiness and in immeasurable light;

4. Subordinate spirits are over these natural objects in 1 En. lx. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 13; Rev. ix. 14, xvi. 5.
bubbling (B.), lit. 'boiling', i. e. 'gushing forth', 'abundant'.
5. Raphael's function in 1 En. xx. 3.
6. **six six-winged ones.** i. e. Seraphim, cf. xii. 1 (notes). Note that Cherubim and Seraphim are also in the seventh heaven. *Chag.* 12b places Seraphim, Ophannim, and Chajjoth, and other angels of service in the seventh heaven. Test. Levi iii. 5 agrees with this verse, and places in the sixth heaven *ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ λειτουργοῦντες.*
one voice. A dittography.

XX. 1. With this description of the heavenly hosts, cf. Isa. vi; Ezek. i; 1 En. xiv. 9–17, lxxi. 7–9; Rev. iv. For *Chag.* 12b see xix. 6 (note). But this account can well compare for grandeur with any of the above.
dominions, orders, and governments . . . thrones. So exactly Col. i. 16 *εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι.* Cf. Eph. i. 21 *ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος*: also Rom. viii. 38; Eph. iii. 10, 15; 1 Pet. iii. 22; 1 En. lxi. 10.
many-eyed. Seems to be derived from Ezek. x. 12. These are the Ophannim. Cf. 1 En. lxi. 10, and B here.
nine regiments. We must read 'ten', to agree with ver. 3, where there are ten grades corresponding to the ten steps.
Ioanit stations of light. Apparently some reference to the Apocalypse of John.
I became afraid, &c. 1 En. xiv. 14.
2. **Have courage,** &c. Cf. i. 8.
3. **the Lord . . . on His very high throne.** Isa. vi. 1; 1 En. xiv. 20; Rev. xix. 4.
tenth heaven. Cf. xxi. 6 (note), xxii. 1.
Aravat. See xxii. 1.
all the heavenly troops . . . on the ten steps according to their rank. These hosts consist of the ten troops mentioned in ver. 1, arranged in the order of their rank. According to Maimonides in the *Mishne Thora* S. 1; *Jesode Thora* C. 2, they are: Chajjoth, Ophannim, Arellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Mal'achim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim (Weber, p. 163). In the *Berith menucha* the list is different: Arellim, Ishim, Bene Elohim, Mal'achim, Chashmallim, Tarshishim, Shina'nim, Kerubim, Ophannim, Seraphim (Eisenmenger, ii. 374). But the nearest parallel is to be found in the nine orders of Dionysius the Areopagite, i. e. Σεραφίμ, Χερουβίμ, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Δυνάμεις, Ἐξουσίαι, Ἀρχαί, Ἀρχάγγελοι, Ἄγγελοι. These are reproduced in Dante, *Par.* c. xxviii, where the slightly differing arrangement of Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xxxiv. 7) is censured.

A

come and stand on the ten steps according to their rank, and would bow down to the Lord,
4 and would again go to their places in joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices, gloriously serving him.

Of how the angels here left Enoch, at the end of the seventh Heaven, and went away from him unseen.

21 1 And the cherubim and seraphim standing about the throne, the six-winged and many-eyed ones do not depart, standing before the Lord's face doing his will, and cover his whole throne, singing with gentle voice before the Lord's face: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord Ruler *of* Sabaoth,
2 heavens and earth are full of Thy glory.' When I saw all these things, those men said to me: 'Enoch, thus far is it commanded us to journey with thee,' and those men went away from me, and thereupon I saw them not. And I remained alone at the end of the seventh heaven and became afraid, and fell on my face and said to myself: 'Woe is me, what has befallen me?'
3 And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel, and *he* said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise before the Lord's face into eternity, arise, come with me,'
4 and I answered him, and said in myself: 'My Lord, my soul is departed from me, from terror and trembling,' and I called to the men who led me up to this place, on them I relied, and *it is*
5 with them I go before the Lord's face. And Gabriel caught me up, as a leaf caught up by the wind, and placed me before the Lord's face.

B

and the glorious 21
ones serving him do not leave him by night nor go away by day, standing before the Lord's face, and working his will, and all the troops of cherubim and seraphim about his throne never leaving *him*, and the six-winged ones cover his throne, singing before the Lord's face.

And when I saw all, the two men went away 2
from me and thenceforward I saw them not. And they left me alone at the end of heaven, and I grew afraid and fell on my face.

And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones 3
Gabriel to me, and he said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not the troops, come after me, and stand before the Lord's face into eternity.'

And I said to him: 'Woe is me, my Lord, my 4
soul is gone out of me for terror, call up to me the two men who brought me to the place, because I trusted them and with them I go before the Lord's face.'

And Gabriel seized me, just as a leaf seized by 5
the wind, and took me, and put me before the Lord's face.

A

6 And I saw the eighth Heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth, changer of the seasons, of drought, and of wet. and of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are above the seventh Heaven. And I saw the ninth Heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuchavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

In the tenth Heaven the archangel Michael led Enoch to before the Lord's face.

22 1 On the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns. Thus I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible.
2 And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? and I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne very great

XXI. 1. **do not depart.** Cf. 1 En. xiv. 23.
six-winged . . . Thy glory. Isa. vi. 2, 3.
3. **Have courage.** See i. 8, xx. 2, xxi. 5; 1 En. xv. 1.
5. Cf. ver. 3.
6. This verse is clearly an interpolation. It is not found either in B or Sok. Furthermore, throughout the rest of the book only seven heavens are mentioned or implied. The term Muzaloth is the Hebrew name for the twelve signs of the Zodiac מַזָּלוֹת. Kuchavim is merely a transliteration of כּוֹכָבִים. Some ground for this conception may be found in 1 En. xiv. 17, where the path of the stars is above the throne of God, and as the throne of God according to this book is in the seventh heaven, the signs and stars might be regarded as in the eighth or ninth.

XXII. 1–3. Aravoth a transliteration of ערבות, which according to *Chagig.* 12[b] was really the seventh heaven. The rest of ver. 1, and verses 2, 3, may in some form have belonged to the text. I have with some hesitation rejected them.

A

and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of cherubim and
3 seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable greatness of his glory?

A

4 And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord,
5 and the Lord with his lips said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise and stand before my face into eternity.'
6 And the archistratege Michael lifted me up, and led me to before the Lord's face.

And the Lord said to his servants tempting them: 'Let Enoch stand before my face into
7 eternity,' and the glorious ones bowed down to the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch go according to Thy word.'
8 And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory.'
9 And Michael did thus, as the Lord told him. He anointed me, and dressed me, and the appearance of that ointment is more than the great light, and his ointment is like sweet dew, and its
10 smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked at myself, and was like one of his glorious ones.
11 And the Lord summoned one of his archangels by name Pravuil, whose knowledge was quicker in wisdom than the other archangels, who wrote all the deeds of the Lord; and the
12 Lord said to Pravuil: 'Bring out the books from my store-houses, and a reed of quick-writing, and give *it* to Enoch, and deliver to him the choice and †comforting† books out of thy hand.'

Of Enoch's writing, how he wrote his wonderful journeyings and the heavenly apparitions and himself wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

23 1 And he was telling me all the works of heaven, earth and sea, and all the elements, their passages and goings, and the thunderings of the thunders, the sun and moon, the goings and changes of the stars, the seasons, years, days, and hours, the risings of the wind, the numbers of the angels,

B

and I fell prone, and could not see the Lord God, 22 4
and I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord 8
God spake to Michael: 'Take Enoch, and take him out from his earthly (*sc.* garments), and anoint *him* with sweet oil, and clothe him in garments of glory.' And Michael took me out from my 9
garments, and anointed me with sweet oil; and the appearance of that oil is better than great light, and its ointment like sweet dew, and its smell like myrrh, and shining like the rays of the sun.

And I looked down looking at myself, and 10
I was as one of the glorious ones, and there was no difference. And the terror and trembling went away from me, and the Lord with his mouth 4
summoned me and said: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not, stand before my face into eternity.'

And the Lord's archistratege Michael brought 6
me before the face of God. The Lord tempted his servants, and said to them: 'Let Enoch step up to stand before my face into eternity.' And 7
the Lord's glorious ones bowed down, and said: 'Let him step up.'

And the Lord summoned Vretil, one of his 11
archangels, who is wise and writes down all the Lord's works.

And the Lord said to Vretil: 'Take the books 12
from the safe places, and give Enoch a reed, and tell him the books.' And Vretil hastened and brought me the books all made sharp with myrrh, and gave me the reed out of his hand.

And he began to tell me all things in heaven 23 1
and earth and sea, the courses and dwellings of all the elements, the seasons of the years, the courses and mutations of the days, and the commandments and teachings.

4. **and could not see the Lord God** (B). Contrast xxii. 1 (A).
6. **Michael.** Cf. 1 En. lxxi. 13, 14, where Michael takes charge of Enoch. He is the chief of the archangels in 1 En. xl. 9 also. As the angel set over Israel, 1 En. xx. 5 he is naturally the chief captain.
8. **sweet ointment.** This is τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου of Apoc. Mosis ix. 3, xiii. 1. See also viii. 7; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3. In verse 9 here this oil is described and in verse 10 its effects.
garments of My glory. These are the raiment of the blessed. Cf. 1 En. lxii. 15, cviii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. *Sim.* viii. 2; Asc. Is. ix. 9.
11. **Pravuil.** I cannot find this name anywhere else. B has Vretil.
12. **safe places** (B), lit. 'store-rooms'.
a reed . . . give it to Enoch. These words are drawn upon in Liber S. Iohannis Apocryphus (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* N.T. vol. i, p. 890): 'Elevavit Henoc super firmamentum . . . et praecepit ei dari calamum . . . et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros'.
†comforting†. Read as B suggests 'fragrant with myrrh'.
XXIII. 1. This verse might well describe the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries in 1 En. lxxii–lxxxii.

A

2 and the formation of their songs, and all human things, the tongue of every human song and life, the commandments, instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all things that it is fitting to learn. And Pravuil told me: 'All the things 4 that I have told thee, we have written. Sit and write all the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them 5 to eternity; for all souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world.' And all 6 double thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote out all things exactly, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

Of the great secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him face to face.

24 1 And the Lord summoned me, and said to me: 'Enoch, sit down on my left with Gabriel.' And I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord spoke 2 to me: Enoch, beloved, all thou seest, all things that are standing finished I tell to thee even before the very beginning, all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible. 3 Hear, Enoch, and take in these my words, for not to My angels have I told my secret, and I

B

And Vretil was telling me thirty days and thirty nights, his lips talking unintermittently. And I did not rest thirty days and thirty nights writing all the signs, and when I finished, I had written three hundred and sixty books.

And the Lord summoned me, and put me on 24 his left near Gabriel. And I bowed down to the Lord.

And he spake to me: All the things thou hast 2 seen, Enoch, standing and walking and completed by me, I will tell thee, before they took shape.

First all the things I created from non-existence into existence, and from invisible to visible.

And to my angels I have not made known my 3

formation of their songs. Possibly we should read 'songs of the armed hosts', see xvii.

5. **all souls are prepared . . . before the formation of the world.** The Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is here taught. We find that it had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt; cf. Wisdom of Solomon viii. 19, 20 *παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐφυής, ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον.* This doctrine was accepted and further developed by Philo. According to him the whole atmosphere is filled with souls. Among these, those who are nearer the earth and are attracted by the body descend into mortal bodies (*τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίασιν ἐνδεθησόμεναι σώμασι θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγειότατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, De Somn.* i. 22). When they have entered the body they are swept off by it as by a river and swallowed up in its eddies (*ἐκεῖναι δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβᾶσαι τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ συρμοῦ δίνης βιαιοτάτης ἁρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, De Gigant.* 3). Only a few escape by obedience to a spiritual philosophy and come to share in the incorporeal and imperishable life that is with God (*De Gigant.* 3). But there were other souls, called demons in philosophy and angels in Scripture, who dwelling in the higher parts were never entangled by love of the earthly (*μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν, De Somn.* i. 22), and who reported the commands of the Father to the children, and the needs of the children to the Father (*τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι, De Somn.* i. 22; cf. *De Gigant.* 4). This doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul was according to Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 11, held by the Essenes: *καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μέν, ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἱρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπωμένας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι.* It became a prevailing dogma in later Judaism. All souls which were to enter human bodies existed before the creation of the world in the Garden of Eden (*Tanchuma*, Pikkude 3) or in the seventh heaven *Chagig.* 12[b]) or in a certain chamber (אוצר) (*Sifre* 143[b]) whence God called them forth to enter human bodies. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to *Bereshith rabba* c. 8, God takes counsel with the souls of the righteous before He creates the earth (cf. Weber, pp. 204, 205, 217–20). See xxx. 16 (note).

6. **double thirty days.** Cf. lxviii. 1, 'sixty days.'

XXIV. 2. **took shape** (B). lit. 'became'.

from non-being. Here creation *ex nihilo* seems to be taught. In Philo, on the other hand, the world was not created, but only formed from pre-existent chaotic elements. In one passage, however, where the absolute creation of the world is taught, we have an actual and almost verbal agreement with our text—*ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὤν* (*De Somn.* i. 13). Probably, however, **from non-being** is a rendering of *ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων.* This will harmonize with xxv. 1.

visible things from invisible. Cf. the passage just quoted from Philo; also Heb. xi. 3 'the world has been formed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear'. These words from *Hebrews* do not necessarily imply creation, but can naturally be interpreted after Philo's conceptions. In Gen. i. 2 we find the idea of invisible elements introduced by the LXX as it gives *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος* as a rendering of what we translate by 'the earth was waste'.

3. **not to My angels.** Cf. xl. 3; 1 Pet. i. 12.

A

have not told them their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating,
4 which I tell thee to-day. For before all things were visible, I alone used to go about in the invisible things, like the sun from east to west, and
5 from west to east. But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace, because I was creating all things, and I conceived the thought of placing foundations, and of creating visible creation.

God relates to Enoch, how out of the very lowest darkness comes down the visible and invisible.

5 1 I commanded in the very lowest *parts*, that visible things should come down from invisible, and Adoil came down very great, and I beheld
2 him, and lo! he had a belly of great light. And I said to him: 'Become undone, Adoil, and let
3 the visible *come* out of thee.' And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I *was* in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation, which I had thought to
4 create. And I saw that *it was* good. And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it, and said to the light: 'Go thou up higher and fix thyself high above the throne, and be
5 a foundation to the highest things.' And above the light there is nothing else, and then I bent up and looked up from my throne.

God summons from the very lowest a second time that Archas, heavy and very red, should come forth.

6 1 And I summoned the very lowest a second time, and said: 'Let Archas come forth hard,' and he came forth hard from the invisible. And Archas came forth, hard, heavy, and very red.
2 And I said: 'Be opened, Archas, and let there be born from thee,' and he came undone, an age

B

secrets, nor told them the secrets, nor their establishments, nor my endless and incomprehensible thinking out of creation. And I opened 4
up the light. And I rode through the midst of the light, just as one of the invisible, just as the sun rides from east to west; and I conceived the 5
thought to place foundations and to create visible creation.

I commanded in the very lowest that the very 25 1
great Idoil should come forth, having in his belly a very great stone.

And I spoke to him: 'Burst asunder Idoil, 2
and let there be the visible born out of thee.'

And he burst asunder. There came out of 3
him a great stone, and thither bearing (or 'carrying,' *sic*) all creation, which I had wished to create, and I saw that *it was* good.

And I put a throne also for myself, and sat 4
down on it. I said to the light: 'Go up higher and make thyself firm and be a foundation for the highest.'

And there is nothing higher than the light, 5
only nothing; and I saw, having bent myself up from my throne.

I summoned a second time in the very lowest, 26 1
and said that there should come out from the invisible into the firm one thing visible. And Aruchas came out firm and heavy and very black. And I saw that *it was* well. 3

their establishments (B). lit. 'the manner in which they were established'.

XXV. 1. Here the formation of the world from pre-existing elements is taught, as in the Book of Wisdom xi. 17 ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης. Cf. also Philo, *De Iustitia* 7 Μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ Κόσμου γένεσις . . . τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This is in the main the teaching of the Talmud. See Weber, 193–6.

Adoil. Is this from יד אל = 'the hand of God'? The word does not occur elsewhere that I am aware of. In this and the two subsequent verses we have an adaptation of an Egyptian myth.

2. We have here a modification of the egg theory of the universe. See Clem. *Recog.* x. 17, 30. In Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alten Aegypter*, p. 101, we find a very close parallel. According to the monuments: 'der erste Schöpfungsact begann mit der Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht, die unmittelbare Ursache des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt, herausbrach.'

3. **a great light came out.** This exactly agrees with the ancient Egyptian myth as described in preceding note. Cf. also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* pp. 160, 161 on 'Die Geburt des Lichtes'.

there came forth a great age. This should refer to the world of the heavens, as the earth is dealt with in the next chapter.

4. **I placed for myself a throne.** This throne was created before the world according to *Bereshith rabba* c. 1 as here. This idea may have found support in the LXX of Prov. viii. 27, where wisdom declares that she was with God at the creation when He established His throne upon the winds.

XXVI. 1. Formation, but not creation, of the earth. Archas may be from רָקִיעַ, or possibly from ἀρχή.

very red. So A, but B reads 'very black'; cf. next verse 'very dark'.

the firm (B) = 'the hard', 'fixed'.

A

came forth, very great and very dark, bearing
3 the creation of all lower things, and I saw that *it was* good and said to him: 'Go thou down below, and make thyself firm, and be for a foundation for the lower things,' and it happened and he went down and fixed himself, and became the foundation for the lower things, and below the darkness there is nothing else.

Of how God founded the water, and surrounded it with light, and established on it seven islands.

27 1 And I commanded that there should be taken
2 from light and darkness, and I said: 'Be thick,' and it became thus, and I spread it out with the light, and it became water, and I spread it out over the darkness,

B

And I said to him:

'Go below and make thyself firm.' And it became the foundation for the lowest. And under the darkness there is nothing.

Having surrounded some things with light, 27
I made thick and stretched forth a road of water 2
over the darkness,

A

3 below the light, and then I made firm the waters, that is to say the bottomless, and I made foundation of light around the water, and created seven circles from inside, and imaged it (*sc.* the water) like crystal wet and dry, that is to say like glass, *and* the circumcession of the waters and the other elements, and I showed each one of them its road, and the seven stars each one of them in its
4 heaven, that they go thus, and I saw that it was good. And I separated between light and between darkness, that is to say in the midst of the water hither and thither, and I said to the light, that it should be the day, and to the darkness, that it should be the night, and there was evening and there was morning the first day.

A

The week in which God showed Enoch all his wisdom and power, throughout all the seven days, how he created all the heavenly and earthly forces and all moving things even down to man.

28 1 And then I made firm the heavenly circle, and *made* that the lower water which is under heaven collect itself together, into one whole, and that the chaos become dry, and it became so.
2 Out of the waves I created rock hard and big, and from the rock I piled up the dry, and the dry
3 I called earth, and the midst of the earth I called
4 abyss, that is to say the bottomless, I collected the sea in one place and bound it together with a yoke. And I said to the sea: 'Behold I give thee *thy* eternal limits, and thou shalt not break loose from thy component parts.' Thus I made
5 fast the firmament. This day I called me the first-created.

B

And I made firm great rocks, and commanded 28
the bottomless waves to dry up on the dry
(*sc.* land), and on the rivers having collected into 4
one place the falling into (*sc.* the waters that fall into) the bottomless sea and binding *them* with a yoke, I gave an eternal boundary in the midst of (*sc.* between) sea and earth, that shall not be broken through by the water. And I made fast the firm, and founded the water over it.

XXVII. The title is very corrupt.
1. **there should be taken from light and darkness.** Contrast Gen. i. 4. I do not pretend to understand what follows.
3. **the seven stars.** See xxx. 5.
4. Gen. i. 4, 5.
XXVIII. 1. Gen. i. 9.
2. **the dry I called earth,** an exact rendering of Gen. i. 10.
3. This may be Sheol, or Tartarus (cf. xxix. 5), or it may be the abysses of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; 1 En. lxxxix. 7, 8; Jub. ii. 2.
4. Cf. Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. v. 22.
firmament. Gen. i. 7, 8.
5. This verse should be read immediately after xxix; and together with that chapter should be restored before xxviii. This is clear from the analogy of xxx. 1, 2, 7, 8. It is impossible in its present position.

A

9 1 Then it became evening, and then again morning, and it was the second day.
[Monday is the *first* day.] *The fiery Essence.*
And for all the heavenly troops I imaged the image and essence of fire, and my eye looked at the very hard, firm rock, and from the gleam of my eye the lightning received its wonderful
2 nature, *which* is both fire in water and water in fire, and one does not put out the other, nor does the one dry up the other, therefore the lightning is brighter than the sun, softer than water and
3 firmer than hard rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire; and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels, and their weapons are fiery and their raiment a burning flame, and I commanded that each one should stand in his order.

B

And for all the heavenly troops I formed the 29 1
sun out of the great light, *and* put it in the heavens that it should shine over the earth.

From the stone I cut a great fire and from the 3
stone I created the incorporeal troops, and all the troops of stars, of Cherubim, Seraphim and Ophannim I cut from the fire.

A

Here Satanail with his angels was thrown down from the height.

4 And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the order that was under him, conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power.
5 And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless.

A

0 1 And then I created all the heavens, and the third day was.
[Tuesday]. On the third day I commanded the earth to make grow great and fruitful trees,

B

And the earth I commanded to bring forth all 30 1
kinds of tree and high hills, all kinds of grass and

XXIX. 1. [**Monday is the first day**] bracketed as a Christian interpolation as 'Tuesday', 'Wednesday', &c., in xxx. 1, 2, &c. In Jub. ii. 2, and occasionally in patristic tradition, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7—but according to Shemoth Rabba 15 and the Targ. Jer. on Gen. i. 26 the angels were created on the second day as in our text.

3. **from the fire I created the . . . angels.** So Pesikta 3[a]: see Weber, *L. d. J.* 161.

4. **one . . . with the order that was under him.** This is clearly Satan. The rank below him is probably the Watchers. But however we interpret the text we are beset with difficulties. There are conflicting elements in the text. See xii and xviii with notes; vii; xix; xxxi. 3-7 (notes).

place his throne higher than the clouds. If this is genuine we must take *clouds* in the sense of heavens. Satan was one of the highest angels before his fall: cf. xviii. 4. Satan and Sammael can not be distinguished in Rabbinic writings. On the attempt of Sammael to found a kingdom see Weber, 244. The following passage from the *Book of Adam and Eve* I. vi is evidently derived from our text: 'The wicked Satan . . . set me at naught and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.'

5. **he was flying in the air continuously.** This view seems to have been generally received amongst the Jews. Cf. Eph. ii. 2 'The prince of the power of the air'; vi. 12; Test. Benj. iii. 4 *τοῦ ἀερίου (β-α) πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ*: Asc. Is. iv. 2 'Berial angelus magnus res huius mundi . . . descendet e firmamento suo'; vii. 9 'Et ascendimus in firmamentum, ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem eiusque potestates'; x. 29 'descendit in firmamentum ubi princeps huius mundi habitat'. Tuf. haarez, f. 9. 2 'Under the sphere of the moon, which is the last under all, is a firmament . . . and there the souls of the demons are'. Cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 411. According to the Stoics, on the other hand, the abode of the blessed was under the moon. Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54; Lucan, ix. 5 sq. For other authorities see Meyer on Eph. ii. 2; Eisenmenger, ii. 456. It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (xviii. 4; xxix. 4), seduced the Watchers of the fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, xxix. 4. Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, xxix. 5; xxxi. 4, and given the air for their habitation, xxix. 5. As for his followers, the Watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, vii. 3; xviii. 4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, xviii. 4. From these were born giants, xviii. 5. Thereupon these Watchers were imprisoned under the earth, xviii. 6, 7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan. To return to the Satans, however—when man was created, Satan envied him and wished to make another world, xxxi. 3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, xxxi. 6.

XXX. 1. Cf. Gen. i. 10, 11.

A

and hills, and seed to sow, and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed as armed *guardians* flaming angels, and thus I created renewal.

B

all kinds of seed that are sown, before I created living souls, and prepared food for them.

A

2 Then came evening, and came morning the fourth day.

[Wednesday]. On the fourth day I commanded that there should be great lights on the heavenly
3 circles. On the first uppermost circle I placed the stars, Kruno, and on the second Aphrodit, on the
4 third Aris, on the fifth Zeus, on the sixth Ermis, on the seventh lesser the moon, and adorned it with the lesser stars.

5 And on the lower I placed the sun for the illumination of day, and the moon and stars for the
6 illumination of night. The sun that it should go according to each animal (*sc.* signs of the zodiac), twelve, and I appointed the succession of the months and their names and lives, their thunderings,
7 and their hour-markings, how they should succeed. Then evening came and morning came the fifth day.

A

[Thursday]. On the fifth day I commanded the sea, that it should bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life.

8 And there came evening, and there came morning the sixth day.

B

And the sea I commanded to bring forth and 7
give birth to its fishes, all kinds of reptiles that creep over the earth, and wild beasts and cattle, and all kinds of feathered birds.

And when I had finished all, I told my wisdom 8
to create me man.

A

[Friday]. On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one,

hills. This is corrupt. We should have a reference here probably to non-fruit-bearing trees, as in Jub. ii. 7 *τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα.*

seed to sow (A): 'all kinds of seed that are sown' (B). This phrase is found in Jub. ii. 7, as one of the third day creations.

Paradise. Also in Jub. ii. 7, among the creations of the third day.

2. **heavenly circles.** In Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 38, we find seven circles as here, though with a different meaning: *τὸν οὐρανόν φασιν ἑπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις.*

3. Gen. i. 14–19. In the *Chronography of Joel*, circ. A.D. 1200, p. 34 (ed. Bekker, 1836), the discovery of the signs of the zodiac, the solstices and the seasons, and the naming of the planets, are assigned to Seth; but as such discoveries were anciently assigned to Enoch, and were only in later tradition ascribed to Seth, we may not unreasonably regard the mention in Joel of the five planets, Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, as ultimately derived from the Enoch literature. The statement in Joel is, *ὁ δὴ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρε . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πλανήτην ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Δία, τὸν τρίτον Ἄρεα, τὸν τέταρτον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν πέμπτον Ἑρμῆν.* In the mysteries of Mithras (see Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 22) the five planets and the sun and moon are said to be connected by a heavenly ladder. The previous chapter seems to connect these heavenly bodies with the seven heavens, as in our text. Their order in Origen is Kronos, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hermes, Ares, Selene, Helios. Archimedes' order (Macrob. *in Somn. Scip.* i. 19. 2) is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and this is the one generally followed, e.g. Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 43. Plato refers to the five planets in his *Timaeus*, but the *Epinomis*, by a disciple of his, is the first to assign each planet to a god. The five planets were known to Israel in O.T. times: Kronos as כיון, Amos v. 26; Aphrodite as הילל, Isa. xiv. 12; Ares as נרגל, 2 Kings xvii. 30; Zeus as גד, Isa. lxv. 11; Hermes as נבו, Isa. xlvi. 1.

5. **the sun . . . according to each animal.** See xiii–xiv and 1 En. lxxii for the periods corresponding to the signs of the zodiac.

6. **the months,** &c. See lvi and 1 En. lxxiii–lxxiv.

7. Cf. Gen. i. 20–26. Note that most of the sixth day creations are here assigned to the fifth day.

8. **commanded my wisdom.** Wisdom is here hypostatized as in Prov. viii. 30 'Then I was by him as a master workman'. In the *Book of Wisdom*, Wisdom is the assessor on God's throne, ix. 4; was with Him when He made the world, ix. 9; was the instrument by which all things were created, viii. 5; is the ruler and renewer of all things, viii. 1; vii. 27. Cf. Philo's Logos, the instrument by which God created the world. Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 31 *σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει*: also *de Cherubim* 35.

from seven consistencies. This list of substances seems to have some connexion with Stoic speculation (G. Sext. *Math.* ix. 81) and Philonic views. Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51; man's body is derived from the earth; his bones have something in common with stones, *Leg. All.* ii. 7 (*ἡ μὲν ἕξις κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς*

A

his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind.

9 And I gave him seven natures: to the flesh hearing, the eyes for sight, to the soul smell, the veins for touch, the blood for taste, the bones for endurance, to the intelligence sweetness (*sc.* enjoyment).

10 I conceived a cunning saying to say, I created man from invisible and from visible nature, of both are his death and life and image, †he knows speech like some created thing, small in great-
11 ness and again great in smallness†, and I placed him on earth, a second angel, honourable, great
12 and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler to rule on earth and to have my wisdom, and there was none like him of earth of all my existing creatures.

13 And I appointed him a name, from the four component parts, from east, from west, from south,
1 15 from north, and I appointed for him four special stars, and I called his name Adam, and showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness, and I told him: 'This is good, and that bad,' that

μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐοικότα λίθοις ὀστέα) and on a higher level again man is allied to plant nature (ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά. καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δέ εἰσιν ἐοικότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες), e. g. in respect to his nails and hair. Perhaps for 'veins' we should read 'nails' accordingly in our text. Finally, for the seventh element we may compare *De Mundi Op.* 46.

Philo's view of man's nature is well summed up in *De Mundi Op.* 51 πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ᾠκείωται θείῳ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως . . . ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκέκριται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἑκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσηται τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην εἰκόνα. For the later Talmudic views cf. Weber, 202–4; Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 209–15. In the Anglo-Saxon Ritual (circ. 950), to which Dr. Murray has called my attention, man is said to be made out of eight substances: 'Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam. Pondus limi, inde factus est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubeus est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, inde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anhela frigida; pondus gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.'

9. **seven natures.** Cf. Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἑπταχῇ σχίζεται, πρὸς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον. Thus Philo has the vocal organ and the generative power in place of the bones and the intelligence. Plutarch, *Plac.* iv. 4 agrees with Philo, but adds an eighth, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, or directive power. See especially Test. Naph. 2 (notes).

10. **saying.** We should expect a reference to a creative word. This verse is very corrupt, but obviously man's spiritual and material nature is meant.

11. **a second angel.** According to the *Beresh. Rab.* fol. 17, Adam, when first created, reached from the earth to the firmament. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. x, Adam is called a 'bright angel'.

12. Gen. i. 26, 28.

13. This verse may either be the source of or else derived from the *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 24-6:

αὐτὸς δὴ θεός ἐσθ' ὁ πλάσας τετραγράμματον Ἀδάμ
τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα καὶ οὔνομα πληρώσαντα
ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε καὶ ἄρκτον.

The third line frequently occurs, e.g. in ii. 195, viii. 321, xi. 3, and the order of letters is wrong. In the anonymous treatise *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, formerly ascribed to Cyprian, we have a long account: 'Nomen accepit a Deo. Hebreicum Adam in Latino interpretat "terra caro facta", eo quod ex quattuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno comprehendit, sicut scriptum est: "palmo mensus sum caelum et pugno comprehendi terram et confinxi hominem ex omni limo terrae; ad imaginem Dei feci illum." Oportuit illum ex his quattuor cardinibus orbis terrae nomen in se portare Adam.' At each of the four quarters four stars were set by the Creator, called anatole, dysis, arctus, mesembrion. Take from these stars the first letter of each, and you have the name ἀδάμ. Bede, *in Genesin Expositio* iv. approves, and adds that 'haec proprietas significat dominaturam Adam in quattuor partibus mundi'. Cf. too the *Chronicon* of Glycas (circ. 1150) p. 143, and see Jub. iii. 28 (note).

14. **four special stars.** Cf. *De Montibus Sina et Sion* quoted under verse 13. 'Stars' may here mean 'angels'. Certain ministering angels were appointed to wait on Adam, Jalkut Rub. fol. 13; Jalkut Schim. fol. 4 (see *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 215).

15. The strongest statement of free-will is that in Tanchuma Pikkude 3 (quoted by Weber, p. 208) 'God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this into the hands of the man only'. In the text free-will is presupposed in man, but this is prejudicially affected by his ignorance (verse 16): cf. Sirach xv. 14, 15 αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς, συντηρήσεις ἐντολάς, καὶ πίστιν ποίησαι εὐδοκίας. On the question generally see Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8, 14; *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; xviii. 1, 3; *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. by Ryle and James, pp. 95, 96.

the two ways, the light and the darkness. This popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death'; by Deut. xxx. 15 'I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil'; Sirach xv. 17 ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ: xvii. 6 καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς. For parallel N.T. expressions cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14; 2 Pet. ii. 2. Of the two great post-apostolic descriptions of the Two Ways, in the *Didachè* and in the *Ep. of Barnabas*, that of the latter presents the nearest parallel to our text: chap. xvii ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. In the *Didachè* i. 1 we have ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου: cf. Test. Asher i. 3, 4 δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁδοὶ γάρ εἰσι δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ: *Sibyll. Or.* viii. 399, 400 αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς προέθηκα δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε Καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προελέσθαι: cf. also Herm. *Mand.* vi. 1, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 5; *Apost. Church Order*, iv; *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 1; *Clem. Homilies* v. 7.

I told him: 'This is good and that bad,' &c. This does not harmonize with the account in Gen., where the knowledge of good and evil follows on eating the forbidden fruit.

A

I should learn whether he has love towards me, or hatred, that it be clear which in his race love me.

16 For I have seen his nature, but he has not seen his own nature, therefore *through* not seeing he will sin worse, and I said: 'After sin *what is there* but death?'

17 And I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him a rib, and created him
18 a wife, that death should come to him by his wife, and I took his last word and called her name mother, that is to say, Eva.

God gives over paradise to Adam, and gives him a command to see the heavens opened, and that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.

31 1 Adam has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command.

2 I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory, and the gloomless light.

3 And he was continuously in paradise, and the devil understood that I want to create another world, because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it.

4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, †as a fugitive he made, he made Sotona from
5 the heavens† as his name was Satomail, thus he became different from the angels, *but his* nature did not change *his* intelligence as far as *his* understanding of righteous and sinful *things*.

that I should learn whether he has love towards me or hatred. Deut. xiii. 3 'Your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God'.

16. **through not seeing he will sin worse.** This ignorance, as we see from the preceding verse, is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הטוב and יצר הרע). Ignorance is thus regarded here as an evil in itself. This is probably the result of Platonic thought, which had gained great influence over Hellenistic Judaism, and the idea of the text seems related, however distantly, to that ethical system which may be summed up in the words *πᾶς δ' ἄδικος οὐχ ἑκὼν ἄδικος* (Plato, *Legg.* 731 C): *οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἑκόντα ἐξαμαρτάνειν* (*Prot.* 345 D): *κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἑκὼν οὐδείς* (*Tim.* 86 D). See also *Legg.* 734 B; *Rep.* ix. 589 C; *Hipp. Mai.* 296 C. Herein it is taught that no man wilfully chooses evil in preference to good; but in every act of moral judgement the determining motive is to be found in the real or seeming preponderance of good in the course adopted; and that, should this course be the worse one, the error of judgement is due either to physical incapacities or faulty education, or to a combination of both. This view of sin as an involuntary affection of the soul follows logically from another Platonic principle already enunciated by our author (see xxiii. 5, note). This principle is the pre-existence of the soul. The soul, as such, according to Platonic teaching, is wholly good. Evil, therefore, cannot arise from its voluntary preferences, but from its limitations, i.e. from its physical and moral environment, from its relation to the body and from wrong education. In the *Book of Wisdom* this view is widely diverged from. There the body is not held to be irredeemably evil, but souls are already good and bad on their entrance into this life (viii. 19, 20). In Philo, on the other hand, there is in the main a return to the Platonic and Stoic doctrine. The body is irredeemably evil; it is in fact the tomb of the soul (*σῶμα = σῆμα*); and only the sensuously-inclined souls are incorporated with bodies (see above, xxiii. 5, note). The views adopted by our author on these and kindred points stand in some degree in a closer relation to the Platonic principles than do those of Philo or the author of the *Book of Wisdom*. Thus he held: (1) That the soul was created originally good. (2) That it was not predetermined either to good or ill by God, but left to mould its own destiny (see xxx. 15). (3) That its incorporation in a body, however, with its necessary limitations served to bias its preferences in the direction of evil. (4) That faithful souls will hereafter live as blessed incorporeal spirits, or at all events clothed only in God's glory (xxii. 7); for there is no resurrection of the body.

after sin . . . death. So Sirach xxv. 24 *ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκομεν πάντες*, for 'men were created exactly like the angels', 1 En. lxix. 11, righteous and immortal, but death came through sin, *Book of Wisdom*, ii. 23, 24; 1 En. xcviii. 4. The same teaching is found in the Talmud: see Weber, 208, 214, 239. This doctrine of man's conditional immortality and of death entering the world through sin does not belong to O.T. literature; for Gen. ii. 17, when studied in its context, implies nothing more than a premature death; for the law of man's being is enunciated in Gen. iii. 19 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return', and his expulsion from Eden was due first and principally to the need of guarding against his eating of the tree of life and living for ever. Furthermore, even in Sirach, where the idea of death as brought about by sin is first enunciated, the doctrine appears in complete isolation and in open contradiction to the main statements and tendencies of the book; for it elsewhere teaches that man's mortality is the law from everlasting (*ἡ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, Sirach xiv. 17): and that being formed from earth unto earth must he return, xvii. 1, 2, xl. 11. Nor again is this doctrine a controlling principle in the system of the writers of *Wisdom*. In N.T. times, however, we find it the current view in the Pauline Epistles, e.g. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 2 Cor. xi. 3. On various views on sin and death and their causes see 1 En. vi–viii; x. 8; xxxii. 6; lxix. 6, 11; xcviii. 4, with notes.

18. **death . . . by his wife.** Cf. Sirach xxv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 14. See note on verse 16.

I took his last word. Corrupt.

XXXI. 2. Cf. *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii. According to Ephrem, i. 139, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision on their fall. For this power of vision cf. Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii *in Gen.*

gloomless light. The light in Paradise was continual, *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. xii, xiii, xiv.

3. On Satan's envy see *Wisdom*, ii. 24; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

4. See xviii. 3; xxix. 4 (notes).

A

6 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva, but did not touch Adam.
7 But I cursed ignorance, but what I had blessed previously, those I did not curse, I cursed not man,
8 nor the earth, nor other creatures, but man's evil fruit, and his works.

After Adam's sin God sends *him* away into the earth 'whence I took thee', but does not wish to ruin him for all years to come.

32 1 I said to him: 'Earth thou art, and into the earth whence I took thee thou shalt go, and I will not ruin thee, but send thee whence I took thee.
Then I can again take thee at My second coming.'
And I blessed all my creatures visible and invisible. And Adam was five and half hours in
2 paradise. And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works.

God shows Enoch the age of this world, *its* existence of seven thousand years, and the eighth thousand is the end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days.

33 1 And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my
2 work, and that *the first seven* revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours.

A

3 And now, Enoch, all that I have told thee, all that thou hast understood, all that thou hast seen of heavenly things, all that thou hast seen on earth, and all that I have written in books by my great wisdom, all these things I have devised and created from the uppermost foundation to
4 the lower and to the end, and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations. I am self-

B

And now, Enoch, all the things I have told 33 3
thee and all the things thou hast seen on earth and all the things thou hast written in these books, I invented the creation of all *this*, having created from the highest to the lowest.
There is no counsellor here. I am eternal and 4
not made with hands, and my thought is counsellor, and my word is deed, and my eyes behold

6. See xxx. 18 (note). Weber, 211, 244.
7. The curse is not on man himself, but on his ignorance and sin.

XXXII. 1. **My second coming**. God's coming to judge the earth is called the καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς and ἡμέρα διαγνώσεως in Wisdom iii. 7, 18. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 5. The first coming was for Adam's sake and to bless all that God had made, lviii. 1.

XXXIII. 1, 2. From the fact that Adam did not live to be 1,000 years old, the author of the *Book of Jubilees*, iv. 30, concludes that the words of Gen. ii. 17 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' were actually fulfilled. It is hence obvious that already before the Christian era 1,000 years had come to be regarded as one world-day. To arrive at the conception of a world-week of 7,000 years—6,000 years from the creation to the judgement, followed by 1,000 years, or a millennium of blessedness and rest—it was necessary to proceed but one step further, and this step we find was taken by the author of our text. In Irenaeus, moreover, *Contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 this reasoning is given explicitly: *ὅσαις . . . ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελεῖται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ἡ γραφή. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ϛ' τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ζ' ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς ͵α ἔτη. ἐν ἓξ οὖν ἡμέραις συντετέλεσται τὰ γεγονότα. φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ ͵ϛ ἔτος ἐστί.* Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25 refers to this conception—possibly to our text. It is not improbable that the statements of Cedrenus on this head are drawn from our text. Thus on p. 9 he writes: *τούτου χάριν ηὐλογήθη καὶ αὕτη (ἡ ἡμέρα) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγιάσθη καὶ σάββατον ὡς καταπαύσιμος προσηγορεύθη, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἑβδόμης χιλιοετηρίδος καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν συντελείας, ὡς Ἰώσηππος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* It is, we repeat, not improbable that our text is the original source of Cedrenus's statements, inasmuch as nothing of the kind is found either in Josephus or the *Book of Jubilees*, from which he professes to derive them. Syncellus, on whom Cedrenus is largely dependent, is frequently wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature. A most interesting expansion and an adaptation of the text to Christian conceptions are to be found in Augustine, *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 'Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste Sabbatismus evidentius apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham . . . ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta nunc agitur . . . post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. . . . Haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus. . . . Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine.' For other speculations in reference to the world-week see *Evang. Nicodemi*, ii. 12; *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. iii.

2. **a time of not-counting . . . neither years nor months**, &c. Sibyll. Or. viii. 424–7 may have been influenced by our text where it speaks of the eternity of blessedness.

3. **the creation** (B), lit. 'to create'.

A

eternal, not made with hands, and without change. My thought is my counsellor, my wisdom and my word are †made†, and my eyes observe all things how they stand here and tremble with terror. If I turn away my face, then all things will be destroyed.

5 And apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who is speaking to thee, and take thou the books which thou thyself hast written.

6 And I give thee Samuil and Raguil, who led thee up, and the books, and go down to earth, and tell thy sons all that I have told thee, and all that thou hast seen, from the lower heaven up to my throne, and all the troops.

7 For I created all forces, and there is none that resisteth me or that does not subject himself to me. For all subject themselves to my monarchy, and labour for my sole rule.

8 Give them the books of the handwriting, and they will read *them* and will know me for the creator of all things, and will understand how there is no other God but me.

9 And let them distribute the books of thy handwriting—children to children, generation to generation, nations to nations.

10 And I will give thee, Enoch, my intercessor, the archistratege Michael, for the handwritings of thy fathers Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleleel, and Jared thy father.

God convicts the idolaters and sodomitic fornicators, and therefore brings down a deluge upon them.

34 1 They have rejected my commandments and my yoke, worthless seed has come up, not fearing God, and they would not bow down to me, but have begun to bow down to vain gods, and 2 denied my unity, and have laden the whole earth with untruths, offences, abominable lecheries,

B

all. If I look on all, then it stands (*sc.* exists), but if I shall turn away, then will all be destroyed.

Apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who 5 speaketh to thee, and take the books that thou hast written.

And I give thee the angel Semil and Rasuil 6 and him who brought *thee* up to me. And go down on to earth and tell thy sons all the things I have spoken to thee and all the things thou hast seen from the lowest heaven even up to my throne.

All the troops I have created; there is none 7 that opposes me or that submits not to me. All submit to my monarchy and serve my power.

And give them the books of thy handwriting, 8 children to children, kinsmen to kinsmen, race to 10 race, as mediator, Enoch, of my general Michael, because thy handwriting and the handwriting of thy fathers Adam and Seth shall not be destroyed 11 till the end of time, as I have commanded my angels Orioch and Marioch, how that I have put a chart on earth, and ordered the ages that it be preserved, and that the handwriting of thy fathers 12 be preserved, that it perish not in the deluge which I shall make in thy race.

For I know the wickedness of men, that they 34 will not carry the yoke which I have laid upon them, nor sow the seeds which I have given them, but having cast off my yoke, they will take another yoke, and will sow empty seeds and will bow down to vain gods and will reject my oneness,

4. **without change.** Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; Ezek. xxiv. 14.
my thought is my counsellor. Cf. xxx. 8 (note). Cf. Sir. xlii. 22.
my wisdom and my word are †made†, i.e. are reality. Cf. B and 1 En. xiv. 22 (Greek) πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9; Sir. xlii. 15.
my eyes observe all things. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 19.
If I turn, &c. Ps. civ. 29.
6. Cf. 1 En. lxxxi. 5, 6. **Raguil**, i.e. Raguel. See 1 En. xx. 4.
9. Cf. xlvii. 2, 3; xlviii. 7–9; liv; lv. 5; 1 En. lxxxii. 1, 2, where, as here, the books are to be transmitted immediately to the generations of the world, whereas in i. 2; xciii. 10; civ. 12 of 1 En. the method and times of the disclosure of the books are different. Though the writings are committed to the keeping of men, they are under the guardianship of special angels until the time for their complete disclosure and understanding has come. Compare verses 11 and 12 (B only).
10. **Michael.** Cf. xxii. 6 (note).
11. **till the end of time** (B), lit. 'till the last age'. At last the time for the due understanding of these books will arrive. See verse 9 (note); xxxv. 2, 3; (liv); 1 En. xciii. 10; civ. 12.
Orioch (B), a name found in Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14.
ages (B), lit. 'times'.

XXXIV. 1. **rejected . . . my yoke.** Cf. xlviii. 9; Sir. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. xi. 29.
sow empty seeds (B), or worthless seeds. Apparently metaphorical, as A shows, and not a reference to Deut. xxii. 9. **empty** (B), i.e. 'worthless'.
denied my unity. Cf. Deut. vi. 4 together with Joshua xxiv. 27.
2. It is this verse that is referred to in Test. Naph. iv. 1, though there differently applied.

A

namely one with another, and all manner of other unclean wickednesses, which are disgusting to relate.

3 And therefore I will bring down a deluge upon the earth and will destroy all men, and the whole earth will crumble together into great darkness.

God leaves one righteous man of Enoch's tribe with his whole house, who did God's pleasure according to his will.

35 1 Behold from their seed shall arise another generation, much afterwards, but of them many 2 will be very insatiate. He who raises that generation, *shall* reveal to them the books of thy handwriting, of thy fathers, *to them* to whom he must point out the guardianship of the world, to the faithful men and workers of my pleasure, who do not acknowledge my name in vain.

3 And they shall tell another generation, and those *others* having read shall be glorified thereafter, more than the first.

God commanded Enoch to live on earth thirty days, to give instruction to his sons and to his children's children. After thirty days he was again taken on to heaven.

36 1 Now, Enoch, I give thee the term of thirty days to spend in thy house, and tell thy sons and all thy household, that all may hear from my face what is told them by thee, that they may read and understand, how there is no other God but me. And that they may always keep my commandments, and begin to read and take in the books of thy handwriting.

2 And after thirty days I shall send my angel for thee, and he will take thee from earth and from thy sons to me.

Here God summons an angel.

37 1 And the Lord called up one of the older angels, terrible and menacing, and placed him by me, in appearance white as snow, and his hands like ice, having the appearance of great frost, and he froze my face, because I could not endure the terror of the Lord, just as it is not possible to endure a stove's fire and the sun's heat, and the frost of the air.

B

and the whole earth will quake with injustice, 2 wrongs, and fornication and idolatry.

Then also I shall bring a deluge on to the 3 earth, and the earth will crumble together in great chaos.

And I shall leave over *one* just man with all 35 1 his house, who shall work according to my will (*sc.* who shall be found to have been working, &c.), and from their seed shall rise another race afterwards, very numerous and insatiable.

Then he who has brought up (*sc.* founded and 2 formed) that race shall reveal the books of thy handwriting and of thy fathers, through whom the guardians of the earth shall show *them* to the 3 faithful men and shall tell *them* to that race, and it shall be glorified thereafter more than before.

And now, Enoch, I give thee a term of waiting 36 1 of thirty days to do (*sc.* all) in thy house; tell thy sons all that thy heart contains, that they may read and understand, how that there is no God but me, and after thirty days I shall send 2 my angels for thee, and they will take thee from the earth and from thy sons, whatever may be according to my will.

But the Lord summoned one of the angels, 37 1 the eldest (*sc.* commander) of Tartarus, and put him by me, and the appearance of that angel *was as* snow, and his hands *were as of* ice, and he chilled my face, because I could not suffer the great heat (*sic*) and that terror.

quake (B), lit. 'be shaken' (as though in fever).
3. This verse too is adapted in Test. Naph. iv. 2, which e.g. alters 'deluge' into 'captivity'.
XXXV. 1. **just man** (B), i.e. Noah.
2. Revelation of these disclosures to the faithful in due time.
3. These disclosures will then usher in a more glorified generation.
XXXVI. 1. The period is one year in 1 En. lxxxi. 6.
of waiting (B), or 'of sojourn'.
contains (B), lit. 'preserves'.
read and understand. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 1–3.
2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxi. 6.
XXXVII. This chapter is read after XXXIX in B.
1. **Tartarus** (B), horror (grozá).

A

2 And the Lord said to me: 'Enoch, if thy face be not frozen here, no man will be able to behold thy face.'

B

And thus spake the Lord to me.

A

Mathusal continued to have hope and to await his father Enoch at his couch day and night.

38 1 And the Lord said to those men who first led me up: 'Let Enoch go down on to earth with you,
2 and await him till the determined day.' And they placed me by night on my couch.
3 And Mathusal expecting my coming, keeping watch by day and by night at my couch, was filled with awe when he heard my coming, and I told him, 'Let all my household come together, that I tell them everything.'

A

Enoch's pitiful admonition to his sons with weeping and great lamentation, as he spoke to them.

39 1 Oh my children, my beloved ones, hear the admonition of your father, as much as is according to the Lord's will.

2 I have been let come to you to-day, and announce to you, not from my lips, but from the Lord's lips, all that is and was and all that is now, and all that will be till judgement-day.
3 For the Lord has let me come to you, you hear therefore the words of my lips, of a man made big for you, but I am one who has seen the Lord's face, like iron made to glow from fire it sends forth sparks and burns.
4 You look now upon my eyes, *the eyes* of a man big with meaning for you, but I have seen the Lord's eyes, shining like the sun's rays and filling the eyes of man with awe.
5 You see now, my children, the right hand of a man that helps you, but I have seen the Lord's right hand filling heaven as he helped me.
6 You see the compass of my work like your own, but I have seen the Lord's limitless and perfect compass, which has no end.
7 You hear the words of my lips, as I heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder incessantly with hurling of clouds.

8 And now, my children, hear the discourses of the father of the earth, how fearful and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of the earth, how much more terrible and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of heaven, the controller of quick and dead, and of the heavenly troops. Who can endure that endless pain?

B

Enoch's instruction of his sons.

For I am sent forth to you to-day from the 39
Lord's mouth to speak to you all things that are
and all that will be till judgement-day, and now,
my children, not from my own mouth am I
to-day informing you, but from the Lord's
mouth,

for you have heard my words from my 7
mouth, but I have heard the Lord's words like
great thunder with incessant hurling of clouds,
I have seen the Lord's raiment infinite and 6
incomparable, which has no end.

Now hear my words, telling of an earthly 8
ruler *how* it is fearful and miserable to stand
before the face of an earthly ruler; it is terrible
and miserable, because the ruler's will is death,
and the ruler's will is life or great heat (*sic*).

XXXVIII. 1. Cf. xxxvi.
2. Cf. i. 2–4.
3. Cf. 1 En. xci. 1.
XXXIX. 2. **the Lord's lips.** Cf. xxii. 5; xxxiii. 6–12.
3. **the Lord's face.** Cf. xxii. 1.
the Lord's eyes. Cf. xxix. 1.
8. **the father of the earth.** B gives a better sense—'an earthly ruler.' Perhaps we should put a stop after 'discourses' and read as B from 'telling' up to 'the ruler's will is life', and then return to A 'how much more', &c.

A

Enoch admonishes his children truly of all things from the Lord's lips, how he saw and heard and wrote down.

40 1 And now, my children, I know all things, for this *is* from the Lord's lips, and this my eyes have seen, from beginning to end.

B

For, my children, I know all things from the 40 1
Lord's mouth.

A

2 I know all things, and have written all things into books, the heavens and their end, and their plenitude, and all the armies and their marchings. I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude *of them*.

3 What man has seen their revolutions, and their entrances? For not even the angels see their number, while I have written all their names.

4, 7 And I measured the sun's circle, and measured its rays, counted the hours, I wrote down too all things that go over the earth, I have written the things that are nourished, and all seed sown and unsown, which the earth produces and all plants, and every grass and every flower, and their sweet smells, and their names,

A

8 and the dwelling-places of the clouds, and their composition, and their wings, and how they bear rain and rain-drops.

9 And I investigated all things, and wrote the road of the thunder and of the lightning, and they showed me the keys and their guardians, their rise, the way they go; it is let out in measure (*sc.* gently) by a chain, lest by a heavy chain and violence it hurl down the angry clouds and destroy all things on earth.

10 I wrote the treasure-houses of the snow, and the store-houses of the cold and the frosty airs, and I observed their season's key-holder, he fills the clouds with them, and does not exhaust their treasure-houses.

11 And I wrote the resting-places of the winds and observed and saw how their key-holders bear weighing-scales and measures; first, they put them in *one* weighing-scale, then in the other the weights and let them out according to measure cunningly over the whole earth, lest by heavy breathing they make the earth to rock.

12 And I measured out the whole earth, its mountains, and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers, all existing things I wrote down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and

B

This have my eyes seen from the beginning
even to the end, and the dwelling-places of the 8
clouds, both rain-bearing and thunderous. And 9
they showed me the angels that guard them and
their keys.

I saw the treasure-houses of snow and of ice, 10
and the going-up, whence they go up in measure 9
they are carried up by a chain and let down by
a chain, lest by heavy violence they tear asunder
the clouds and destroy what is on earth, both air 10
and frost. I beheld for a time how those who
hold fast the keys do fill the clouds full, and the
treasure-houses are never exhausted.

I saw the lairs of the winds, how those who 11
keep their keys do carry weighing-scales and
measures, and first put them (*sc.* the winds) in
the weighing-scales and then in the measure, and
let them out in measure over the whole earth,
lest by *their* heavy breath they make the earth
to rock.

Thence I was led to the judgement-place, and 12

XL. 1. **I know all things . . . my eyes have seen,** &c. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνὼχ τῷ εἰρηκότι 'καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας', and Origen, *de Princ.* iv. 35 'dicente Enoch universas materias perspexi'. Cf. too Sibyll. Or. viii. 375.

2. **the stars,** &c. Cf. 1 En. xliii. 1, 2; xciii. 14.

3. **not even the angels.** Cf. xxiv. 3.

4. See xiii, xiv (notes).

4–6. There is an addition in Sokolov's text between 'rays' and 'counted'. It deals with the moon and the seasons (see 1 En. lxxxii. 11–20, notes).

8. Cf. 1 En. lx. 19–22.

9. **road of the thunder.** Cf. 1 En. lix; lx. 13–15.

10. Cf. vi. 1, 2; 1 En. lx. 17, 18.

11. See 1 En. xli. 4.

A

downwards to the very lowest hell, and the judgement-place, and the very great, open and weeping hell. And I saw how the prisoners are
13 in pain, expecting the limitless judgement. And I wrote down all those being judged by the judge, and all their judgements (*sc.* sentences) and all their works.

Of how Enoch lamented Adam's sin.

41 1 And I saw all forefathers from *all* time with Adam and Eva, and I sighed and broke into tears and said of the ruin of their dishonour: 'Woe is me for my infirmity and *for that* of my forefathers,' and thought in my heart and said:
2 'Blessed *is* the man who has not been born or who has been born and shall not sin before the Lord's face, that he come not into this place, nor bring the yoke of this place.

Of how Enoch saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing.

42 1 I saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing, like great serpents, and their faces like extinguished lamps, and their eyes of fire, their sharp teeth,

B

I saw hell all open and the prisoners and infinite judgement,

And having seen I sighed and wept for the 41 1
destruction of the impious, and I said in my heart:

'Blessed is he who has not been born, or 2
who having been born has not sinned before God, that he may not be come to this place, nor have borne this yoke.'

and I saw the guardians of the keys 42 1
of hell standing over against the gates like great serpents, their faces like lamps that are gone out, their eyes like darkened flames, and their teeth naked down to their breasts.

And I spake to their faces: 'I had better not 2
have seen you, and may none of my tribe come to you.'

Enoch's ascent into the paradise of the righteous.

And I saw there a blessed place, and all blessed 3
creatures and all there living in joy and in infinite happiness in eternal life.

12. **the very lowest hell.** The old Jewish beliefs of an underworld of punishment are too strong to be excluded, and intrude even into our author's scheme which in x locates hell in the third heaven. But see xviii. 7 (note). It is possible further that the author may have had some idea of a series of seven hells, hence the phrase 'lowest hell' here. See Eisenmenger, ii. 302, 328–33 for later Rabbinic tradition.

13. **expecting the limitless judgement.** These words seem to imply an intermediate place of punishment, i. e. Sheol or Hades. They are used too in vii. 1, of the fallen Watchers.

An ancient Jewish belief: cf. liii. 2; lxiv; Jub. iv. 23; x. 17. From the idea of Enoch as scribe of God's works, as in 1 and 2 Enoch, the transition was easy to the idea of Enoch as scribe of the deeds of men. For later tradition cf. Test. Abraham (ed. James, p. 115) *ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράφωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἑκάστου.*

XLI. In B this chapter occurs after xlii. 1.

XLI. 1. Enoch's forefathers, including Adam and Eve, appear to be in the place of punishment. Contrast 1 En. lx. 8, 23; lxi. 12; lxx. 3, 4 where Paradise is already peopled with the righteous, though in lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8 Enoch and Elijah seem to be its only inhabitants. In 1 En. xxii. 7, however, Abel seems to remain in Hades till the judgement on Cain and his seed is consummated. Cf. the early Christian belief e. g. in *Descensus ad Inferos* viii–ix.

2. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 12; 1 En. xxxviii. 2; 2 Bar. x. 6.

XLII. 1. **the key-holders.** We have a strange application of this idea in Sibyll. Or. viii. 121–2 where the *αἰών* is *κλειδοφύλαξ*. For 'keys' cf. Rev. ix. 1; xx. 1.

guards of the gates of hell. Emek hammelech, fol. 144, col. 2, says that each division of hell is under the control of a certain angel (Eisenmenger, ii. 332). Cf. the word *τημελοῦχος* in Apoc. Pauli.

extinguished lamps. Contrast the heavenly angels' face and eyes, i. 5.

teeth naked down to their breasts (B), i. e. either the teeth reached down to the breasts, or the description of the teeth is incomplete, and the creatures themselves are referred to as naked down to their breasts.

2–13. These verses are omitted by A.

2. Cf. xli. 2.

A

14 and I saw all the Lord's works, how they are right, while the works of man are some *good*, and others bad, and in their works are known those who lie evilly.

Enoch shows his children how he measured and wrote out God's judgements.

43 1 I, my children, measured and wrote out every work and every measure and every righteous judgement.

2 As *one* year is more honourable than another, so is *one* man more honourable than another, some for great possessions, some for wisdom of heart, some for particular intellect, some for cunning, one for silence of lip, another for cleanliness, one for strength, another for comeliness, one for youth, another for sharp wit, 3 one for shape of body, another for sensibility, let it be heard everywhere, but there is none better than he who fears God, he shall be more glorious in time to come.

Enoch instructs his sons, that they revile not the face of man, small or great.

44 1 The Lord with his hands having created man, in the likeness of his own face, the Lord made

B

Then I spake: 'My children, and now I speak 6
to you: Blessed is he who fears God and serves him. And you, my children, learn to bring gifts to the Lord, that you may enjoy life. Blessed is 7
he who judges a judgement justly to the widow 9
and orphan, and helps every one that is wronged, clothing the naked with garments, and to the 8
hungry giving bread.

Blessed is he who turns back from the change- 10
able path and walks along the straight path.

Blessed is he who sows the seeds of righteous- 11
ness, for he shall reap sevenfold.

Blessed is he in whom is truth, that he may 12
speak truth to his neighbour.

Blessed is he in whose mouth is mercy and 13
gentleness.

Blessed is he who understands the Lord's 14
works and glorifies the Lord God.

Behold, my children (*sc.* all) the things that 43 1
can be used on earth and the things that have been planned I have written down from the Lord God.

Winter and summer, all have I put together, and of the years I have counted out the hours, and the hours have I all measured out and written down, and found out all the difference (*sc.* understood all their variety).

One year is more honourable than another, 2
and one day than another, and one hour is more honourable than another.

Likewise one man is more honourable than another, this one for much property, that for mercy of heart, that again for understanding and cunning and for silence of tongue and mouth.

For there is none greater than he who fears 3
God; they shall be glorious into eternity.

The Lord with his hands created man, and 44 1
likened *him* to his own face.

6–14. Nine rather colourless beatitudes.
7. **judges a judgement justly.** Cf. ix; Ezek. xviii. 8.
8, 9. Cf. ix: also for 9 cf. Ps. x. 18; Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16; Zech. vii. 9, 10.
10. **straight path.** Cf. Prov. iv. 11; Sibyll. Or. iii. 9–10; Sib. Or. Fragm. i. 23 sq.
11. Cf. Sirach vii. 3; Job. iv. 8; Prov. xxii. 8; Hos. x. 13.
12. Cf. Lev. xix. 11; Eph. iv. 25; Sibyll. Or. ii. 58, 64.
13. Cf. Prov. xxxi. 26.
14. **in their works . . . known,** &c. (A). Matt. vii. 16, 20.

XLIII. 2, 3. **As one year,** &c. We might expect 'as one day', cf. Sir. xxiii. 7. The main thought of this passage is derived from Sir. x. 20, 22, 24, 30: cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 125.

A

him small and great. Whoever reviles the ruler's face, and abhors the Lord's face, has despised
2 the Lord's face, and he who vents anger on any man without injury, the Lord's great anger will
3 cut him down, he who spits on the face of man reproachfully, will be cut down at the Lord's great judgement.
4 Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken
5 down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgement every weight, every measure and every makeweight *will be* as in the market, that is to say *they are* hung on scales and stand in the market, *and every one* shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward.

God shows how he does not want from men sacrifices, nor burnt-offerings, but pure and contrite hearts.

45 1 Whoever hastens to make offering before the Lord's face, the Lord for his part will hasten that offering by granting of his work.
2 But whoever increases his lamp before the Lord's face and make not true judgement, the Lord will *not* increase his treasure in the realm of the highest.
3 When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or flesh (*sc.* cattle), or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that *only* tests the heart of man.

B

The Lord God created *all things* great and small.
He that brings into contempt the face of man, brings the Lord's face into contempt.
The Lord's anger and great judgement *are on* 2
him who spits in the face of man.
Blessed is he who turns his heart towards such 4
a man, so as to help the condemned and raise the broken.

He who multiplies lights before the Lord's **45**
face, the Lord will multiply their storehouses.

The Lord God wants not bread nor candles, 3
meal nor cattle, but by this *means* tempts the heart of man.

A

Of how an earthly ruler does not accept from man abominable and unclean gifts, then how much more does God abominate unclean gifts, but sends *them* away with wrath and does not accept his gifts.

46 1 Hear, my people, and take in the words of my lips.
If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his gifts, and not give him over to
2 judgement? Or *if* one man make himself appear good to another by deceit of tongue, but *have* evil in his heart, then will not *the other* understand the treachery of his heart, and himself be
3 condemned, since his untruth was plain to all? And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there will be judgement for the just and the unjust, and there no one shall escape notice.

XLIV. 1. **Whoever reviles**, &c. Cf. James iii. 9.
2. Cf. Matt. v. 22.
4. This beatitude, out of place here, would come in fittingly at the end of xlii.

XLV. 3. Cf. Ps. xl. 6, li. 16; Isa. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8; Sir. xxxv. 1-3; Sibyll. Or. viii. 390, 391, also ii. 82; Athenag. *Supplic. pro Christo*, 13. This is not Essenism. See lix. 1-3. We find the same spiritual appreciation of sacrifices in Sir. xxxv. 1-3, side by side with injunctions to offer them.
candles. Cf. 'lamp' in verse 2.
pure hearts. Ps. li. 10.
tests the heart of man. Deut. viii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Ps. xxvi. 2. **tempts** (B), or 'proves'.

XLVI. 3. **a great light.** The reference is not clear, but cf. Isa. ix. 2 or John i. 9, v. 35, viii. 12, and esp. John iii. 19-21.

A

Enoch instructs his sons from God's lips, and hands them the handwriting of this book.

47 1 And now, my children, lay thought on your hearts, mark well the words of your father, which are all *come* to you from the Lord's lips.

2 Take these books of your father's handwriting and read them.

For the books are many, and in them you will learn all the Lord's works, all that has been from the beginning of creation, and will be till the end of time.

3 And if you will observe my handwriting, you will not sin against the Lord; because there is no other except the Lord, neither in heaven, nor in earth, nor in the very lowest *places*, nor in the *one* foundation.

4 The Lord has placed the foundations in the unknown, and has spread forth heavens visible and
5 invisible; he fixed the earth on the waters, and created countless creatures, and who has counted the water and the foundation of the unfixed, or the dust of the earth, or the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain, or the morning dew, or the wind's breathings? Who has filled earth and sea, and the indissoluble winter?

I cut the stars out of fire, and decorated heaven, and put it in their midst.

Of the sun's passage along the seven circles.

48 1 That the sun go along the seven heavenly circles, which are the appointment of one hundred and
2 eighty-two thrones, that it go down on a short day, and again one hundred and eighty-two, that it go down on a big day, and he has two thrones on which he rests, revolving hither and thither above the thrones of the months, from the seventeenth day of the month Tsivan it goes down to the month Thevan, from the seventeenth of Thevad it goes up.

3 And thus it goes close to the earth, then the earth is glad and makes grow its fruit, and when it goes away, then the earth is sad, and trees and all fruits have no florescence.

4 All this he measured, with good measurement of hours, and fixed a measure by his wisdom, of the visible and the invisible.

5 From the invisible he made all things visible, himself being invisible.

6 Thus I make known to you, my children, and distribute the books to your children, into all your
7 generations, and amongst the nations who shall have the sense to fear God, let them receive them, and may they come to love them more than any food or earthly sweets, and read them and apply themselves to them.

8 And those who understand not the Lord, who fear not God, who accept not, but reject, who do not receive them (*sc.* the books), a terrible judgement awaits these.

9 Blessed is the man who shall bear their yoke and shall drag them along, for he shall be released on the day of the great judgement.

XLVII. 1. Cf. xxxix. 2.

2. Cf. 1 En. xciii. 10 for this high estimate of the Enochic works.

3. **you will not sin.** Cf. xxxiii. 9; xlviii. 7–9. For a like claim cf. 1 En. xxxvii. 4; xcii. 1; xciii. 10; c. 6; civ. 12, 13, and contrast Sir. xviii. 3.

no other except the Lord. Cf. Isa. xlv. 5, &c.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 69, 760; viii. 377; Sib. Or. Fragm. i. 7, 15; iii. 3; v. 1.

4. **spread forth heavens.** Ps. civ. 2; Isa. xl. 22; xlii. 5.

fixed the earth on the waters. 2 Pet. iii. 5.

5. **who has counted . . . the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain.** Drawn from Sir. i. 2. Cf. Isa. xl. 12; Job xxxvi. 27 (LXX).

decorated heaven. Cf. Sir. xvi. 27.

XLVIII. 1. The text is faulty and unintelligible. The sun is in the fourth circle of the heavens in xi. 1; xxx. 3, and does not revolve through the seven circles. The twice-mentioned 182 thrones, too, are really, when added, the 364 world-stations of 1 En. lxxv. 2, i.e. the 364 different positions occupied by the sun on the 364 days of the year. As in 1 En. lxxii–lxxxii and Jub. iv the number is not exact (contrast 2 En. xiv. 1). This older Enochic reckoning may be partly due to opposition to heathen systems, and partly to the fact that 364 = 52 weeks of 7 days exactly.

2. Corrupt. Read either 'Sivan . . . Kislev' or 'Tamuz . . . Tebet'. Thevan and Thevad seem to be the same.

5. Cf. xxiv. 2 (note); xlvii. 2 (note).

6. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

7. **love them more than any food.** Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 3. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2 (note).

8. No such terrible judgement is threatened on the rejecters of Enoch's disclosures in 1 En., but cf. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

9. No such blessing is offered to the obedient in 1 En. There the righteous elect, or the righteous and the wise, receive Enoch's revelations. Cf. lxxxii. 3; xciii. 10; civ. 12.

A

Enoch instructs his sons not to swear either by heaven or earth, and shows God's promise, even in the mother's womb.

49 1 I swear to you, my children, but I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.

The Lord said: 'There is no oath in me, nor injustice, but truth.' If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words 'yea, yea', or else, 'nay, nay.'

2 And I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has been no man in his mother's womb, *but that* already before, even to each one there is a place prepared for the repose of that soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world.

Yea, children, deceive not yourselves, for there has been previously prepared a place for every soul of man.

Of how none born on earth can remain hidden nor his work remain concealed, but he (*sc.* God) bids *us* be meek, to endure attack and insult, and not to offend widows and orphans.

50 1 I have put every man's work in writing and none born on earth can remain hidden nor his
2 works remain concealed. I see all things. Now therefore, my children, in patience and meekness spend the number of your days, that you inherit endless life.

3 Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack.

4 If ill-requitals befall you, return *them* not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return *them* for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgement, that there be no avenging here among men.

5 Whoever of you spends gold or silver for his brother's sake, he will receive ample treasure in the world to come.

Injure not widows nor orphans nor strangers, lest God's wrath come upon you.

B

For I swear to you, my children, that before man was, a judgement-place was prepared for him, and a measure and a weighing-scale, in which man will be proved, and *they* are there already prepared. **49**

And I shall put the work of every man in writing. **50** 1

And now, my children, spend the number of your days in patience and gentleness, that you inherit the endless age that is to come. 2

Every wound, every hurt and heat (*sic*) and wicked word (*sc.* which) shall befall you, suffer them for the Lord God's sake; 3

and if you are able to requite (*sc.* ill), do not requite your neighbour (*sc.* with ill) because the Lord is your requiter, and he (*lit.* who) will be the avenger on the day of the great judgement. 4

Lose gold or silver for a brother's sake, that you receive inexhaustible treasure on the judgement-day. 5

XLIX. 1. **I swear not,** &c. Cf. Matt. v. 34, 35. See also Philo, *De Special. Leg.* ii. 1; *Leg. All.* iii. 72; *De Decem Orac.* 17; *De Sac. Abelis et Caini*, 28; *De Plant. Noe*, 19; *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 12. This appears to be a Jewish commonplace (Conybeare). For Jewish forms of swearing see Eisenmenger, ii. 490 sqq.

2. **to each . . . a place prepared for the repose,** &c. So *Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; Avodath hakkodesh, fol. 19, col. 1, where it is said a place is prepared for every man either in paradise or hell. Cf. the number of souls, lviii. 5; 2 Bar. xxi. 23, xxiii. 4, 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36, vii. 85, 95.

L. 1. **nor his works remain concealed.** 1 En. ix. 5.

2. **in patience.** Cf. Luke xxi. 19 'in your patience ye shall win your souls'. This book teaches a blessed immortality but not, it seems, the resurrection of the dead.

3. Cf. Sir. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Heb. x. 32; 1 Pet. ii. 19; James i. 12. See 2 En. li. 3.

4. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 1, 2.

avenger . . . day of great judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35 (LXX). Cf. too Prov. xx. 22; xxiv. 29. Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30 agree partly with Mass. and partly with LXX.

5. **Whoever,** &c. Cf. Prov. xix. 17; Sir. xxix. 10. See 2 En. li. 2 (note).

Injure not. We expect 'stretch out your hands to' as in ix. Cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 75.

A

Enoch instructs his sons, that they hide not treasures in the earth, but bids *them* give alms to the poor.

1 1 Stretch out your hands to the poor according
2 to your strength. Hide not your silver in the earth. Help the faithful man in affliction, and affliction will not find you in the time of your trouble.
3 And every grievous and cruel yoke that come upon you bear all for the sake of the Lord, and thus you will find your reward in the day of judgement.
4 It is good to go morning, midday, and evening into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your creator.
5 Because every breathing *thing* glorifies him, and every creature visible and invisible returns him praise.

God instructs his faithful, how they are to praise his name.

2 1 Blessed is the man who opens his lips in praise of God of Sabaoth and praises the Lord with his heart.
2 Cursed every man who opens his lips for the bringing into contempt and calumny of his neighbour, because he brings God into contempt.
3 Blessed is he who opens his lips blessing and praising God.
4 Cursed is he before the Lord all the days of his life, who opens his lips to curse and abuse.
5 Blessed is he who blesses all the Lord's works.
6 Cursed is he who brings the Lord's creation into contempt.
7 Blessed is he who looks down and raises the fallen.
8 Cursed is he who looks to and is eager for the destruction of what is not his.
9 Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his fathers made firm from the beginning.
10 Cursed is he who perverts the decrees of his forefathers.
11 Blessed is he who implants peace and love.

B

Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to 51
the widow, and according to your power help the poor, and thus you shall find your reward on the 3
judgement-day.

In the morning, at midday and in the evening 4
and by day (*sic*) it is good to go into God's house and to glorify the creator of all.

Blessed is he who opens his heart and mouth 52 1
for the Lord's praise.

Cursed is he who opens his mouth for the 2
humbling of his neighbour.

Blessed is he who glorifies all the Lord's works. 5
Cursed is he who brings a creature of the Lord 6
into contempt.
Blessed is he who beholds the labour of his 7
hands.
Cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of 8
others.
Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his 9
fathers.
Cursed is he who distorts the decrees and 10
limits of his fathers.
Blessed is he who goes (*sc.* with others) and 11
brings (*sc.* others) together in peace.

LI. 1. Sir. vii. 32; Prov. xxxi. 20. Cf. Job vii. 9; Sibyll. Or. ii. 88.
according to your strength. Cf. Sir. xiv. 13; xxix. 20.
2. **Hide not,** &c. Cf. Sir. xxix. 10.
Help . . . in affliction. Cf. Sir. iv. 4.
3. Sir. ii. 4. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 19; iii. 14. Cf. 2 En. l. 3.
4. Ps. lv. 17. Cf. Dan. vi. 10. For these three Jewish hours of prayer—the third, sixth, and ninth—cf. Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9.
the Lord's dwelling, i.e. the temple. Although the writer is a Jew living in Egypt, he writes for Judaism as a whole, and gives here the ideal conduct of a dweller at Jerusalem. In lix. 2, 3 he prescribes the right method of sacrifice, and sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem.
5. Cf. Ps. cl. 6.
LII. For these beatitudes cf. xlii. 6–14. They are derived mainly from Sirach.
2. Cf. Wisdom i. 11 *ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης.*
4. **curse and abuse.** Cf. Sir. xxiii. 9–12.
5. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 14 *εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.*
10. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2, 14; Sir. xvii. 11.
11. Cf. Matt. v. 9.

A

12 Cursed is he who disturbs those that love their neighbours.

13 Blessed is he who speaks with humble tongue and heart to all.

14 Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, while in his heart there is no peace but a sword.

15 For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgement.

[Let us not say: 'Our father is before God, he will stand forward for us on the day of judgement,' for there father cannot help son, nor yet son father.]

53 1 And now, my children, do not say: 'Our father is standing before God, and is praying for our sins,' for there is there no helper of any man who has sinned.

2 You see how I wrote all works of every man, before his creation, *all* that is done amongst all

3 men for all time, and none can tell or relate my handwriting, because the Lord sees all the imaginings of man, how they are vain, where they lie in the treasure-houses of the heart.

4 And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father, that I tell you, lest you regret, saying: 'Why did our father not tell us?'

Enoch instructs his sons, that they should hand the books to others also.

54 [At that time, not understanding this] let these books which I have given you be for an inheri-

B

Cursed is he who disturbs what is in peace. 12

Blessed is he who speaks peace, and he has 13
peace.

All this will be laid bare in the weighing- 15
scales and on the books on the day of the great judgement.

And now, children, keep your hearts from all 16
unrighteousness, that you may inherit the weighing-scale of the light into eternity.

Say not, my children, that our father is with 53
God, and will pray for us (*sc.* and obtain absolution) from our sins.

You see, how that I write down all the works 2
of every man.

And none can distort my handwriting, because 3
the Lord seeth all.

And now, my children, mark well all the 4
words of your father's mouth,

that they may be 54
for you for an inheritance of peace, and the books

12. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 9, 13.
14. Cf. Ps. xxviii. 3; lv. 21; lxii. 4; Sibyll. Or. ii. 120, 122.
16. **unrighteousness** (B). See lxi. 1 (note).

LIII. 1. This verse has a duplicate reading in A. The idea that departed saints interceded on behalf of the living has been attributed by some scholars to Isa. lxiii. 16 (see Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, i. 296; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 107–8; 299–300). If, however, the doctrine of a blessed immortality or of the resurrection was a late development among the Jews, this idea must necessarily have been later still, and accordingly unless we are prepared to bring down considerably the date of Isa. lxiii, we shall have some difficulty in justifying such an interpretation. It seems indeed that this idea among the Jews was comparatively late in origin. The first indubitable evidence in its favour is to be found in 1 En. xxii. 12; xcvii. 3, 5; xcix. 16; and thus we find that it was an accepted Pharisaic belief early in the second century B.C. The next mention of this belief is to be met with in 2 Macc. xv. 14 where Jeremiah, who appears in a vision to Judas Maccabaeus, is described as follows: *ὁ φιλάδελφος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερεμίας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης.* This was also the teaching of Philo, *de Exsecrat* 9: *τρισὶ χρησόμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν . . . δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἄπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνυμέναις πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς.* The same view was obviously held by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 13. 3, where he describes Abraham as saying to Isaac when on the point of sacrificing him: *μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοντος ἔσῃ μοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον.* And also in Sibyll. Or. 330–3 *τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο παρέξει εὐσεβέεσσ', ὁπότ' ἂν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτήσωνται· ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρός τε καὶ ἀκαμάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει.* Finally this doctrine is recognized and apparently accepted in certain parts of the N. T.: Matt. xxvii. 47, 49; Luke xvi. 24–31; John viii. 56 (?); Heb. xii. 1?; Rev. vi. 9–11. For the prevalence of this belief in later Judaism, see Eisenmenger ii. 357–9; 361. The idea of intercession may be derived from ancestor-worship, and not from the doctrine of a future life as I have implied above; cf. Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, 352, 353.

2. Enoch is the universal scribe.
3. **tell or relate.** B has 'distort'. Perhaps read 'tell or gainsay'. Cf. Ps. civ. 11; Sir. xvii. 15, 20.
relate = *raskazati*—possibly a mistake for *raskaziti* = 'to distort'. Cf. B.

LIV. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

A

tance of your peace. Hand them to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's very great and marvellous works.

Here Enoch shows his sons, telling them with tears: 'My children, the hour has approached for me to go up on to heaven; behold, the angels are standing before me.'

55 1 'My children, behold, the day of my term and the time have approached.

For the angels who shall go with me are standing before me and urge me to my departure from you; they are standing here on earth, awaiting what has been told them.

2 For to-morrow I shall go up on to heaven, to the uppermost Jerusalem to my eternal inheritance.

3 Therefore I bid you do before the Lord's face all *his* good pleasure.

Methosalam asks of his father blessing, that he (*sc.* Methosalam) may make him (*sc.* Enoch) food to eat.

56 1 Methosalam having answered his father Enoch, said: 'What is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that I may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings, and thy sons, and that thy people may be made glorious through thee, and then *that* thou mayst depart thus, as the Lord said?'

2 Enoch answered to his son Methosalam *and* said: 'Hear, child, from the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, *there has been no* food in me, and my soul remembers not earthly enjoyment, neither do I want anything earthly.'

Enoch bade his son Methosalam to summon all his brethren.

57 1 'My child Methosalam, summon all thy brethren and all your household and the elders of the people, that I may talk to them and depart, as is planned for me.'

2 And Methosalam made haste, and summoned his brethren, Regim, Riman, Uchan, Chermion, Gaidad, and all the elders of the people before the face of his father Enoch; and he blessed them, *and* said to them:

B

which I have given you from God, hide them not, tell them to all that want, that by word they learn of God's works.

For behold, my children, the day of my term 55 1
has approached, the angels coming from the Lord God urge the appointed time, and stand with me before my face.

And I shall go up to-morrow on to the highest 2
heaven into my eternal inheritance.

Therefore I command you, my children, that 3
you do *his* good pleasure before the Lord's face.

Mefusailom answered his father Enoch: 'What 56 1
food (*sc.* meal) is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that we may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings and thy sons, and all thy household, and glorify thy people, and thus after that depart?'

Enoch said to his son: 'Hear, my child, from 2
that day when the Lord anointed me with the oil of his glory, from that time there has been no food in me. I do not desire earthly food,

but 57 1
summon thy brethren and all our household, and the elders of the people, that I may speak with them and depart.'

And Mefusailom made haste and summoned 2
his brethren Regim and Rim and Azuchan and Chermion, and the elders of the people, and brought all before the face of his father Enoch. And he blessed them, and said to them:

the Lord's . . . marvellous works. Job xxxvii. 14, 16; Ps. lxxi. 17, &c.

LV. See xxxvi.
2. **the highest heaven** (B). Cf. lxvii. 2. A's reading, 'to the uppermost Jerusalem,' seems inferior.

LVI. 2. Cf. xxii. 7, 8.

LVII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 1; 1 En. xci. 1.
2. Riman, Uchan, and Chermion are not mentioned in i. 10.

A

Enoch's instruction to his sons.

58 1 'Listen to me, my children, to-day.
In those days when the Lord came down on to earth for Adam's sake, and visited all his creatures, which he created himself, after all
2 these he created Adam, and the Lord called all the beasts of the earth, all the reptiles, and all the birds that soar in the air, and brought them all before the face of our father Adam.
And Adam gave the names to all things living
3 on earth. And the Lord appointed him ruler over all, and subjected to him all things under his hands, and made them dumb and made them dull (lit. deaf) that they be commanded of man, and be in subjection and obedience to him.
Thus also the Lord created every man lord over all his possessions.
4 The Lord will not judge a single soul of beast for man's sake, but adjudges the souls of men to
5 their beasts in this world; for men have a special place.
And as every soul of man is according to
6 number, similarly beasts will not perish, nor all

B

'Listen, children, in the days of our father 58
Adam, the Lord God came down (*sc.* to earth) and visited it and all his creatures, which he 2
created himself, and the Lord God called all the beasts of the earth and all the wild animals and all the quadrupeds, and all the reptiles of the earth, and all the birds that soar, and brought them before the face of our father Adam, and called the names to all things that move over the earth. And God subjected to Adam all things 3
existing into subservience (lit. lessness) and secondly made them all dull (lit. deaf) that they might be in subjection and obedience to man.

For the Lord created man ruler over all his possessions.
In this there will be no judgement of every 4
living soul, but only of man's.
But for the souls of beasts there is in the great 5
age one place and one fold.
For no soul of any animal which the Lord 6
created will be shut up till the great judgement,

LVIII. 1. **the Lord came down,** &c. See xxxii. 1 (note).
5. **men have a special place.** See xlix. 2 (note).
similarly beasts will not perish. As the Jews believed about the opening of the Christian era that all animals had spoken one language before the fall, and so were rational to some extent (Jub. iii. 28; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4) it was natural they should infer a future existence of the animal world. Yet nowhere else except here do we find it, either in O.T. or pre-Christian Jewish works. Their future life is limited and has an ethical motive, not for the brute's own sake, but to accuse man at the final judgement. The Greek view of metempsychosis, and the deification of animals in Egypt show that the idea of animals' future life was conceivable in the ancient world. Plutarch, *Plac.* v. 20. 4 holds that brutes' souls are rational, but incapable of acting rationally on account of their bodies; according to Xenocrates they possessed a consciousness of God, *καθόλου γοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου ἔννοιαν Ξενοκράτης . . . οὐκ ἀπελπίζει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις* (Clem. *Strom.* v. 590). Chrysippus ascribed reason to brutes (Chalkid in *Tim.* p. 148 b); while Sextus Medicus (ix. 127) maintained that the souls of brutes and of men were alike. Hence it was generally believed that the souls of men could pass into brutes, *πρῶτον μὲν ἀθάνατον εἶναί φησι τὴν ψυχήν, εἶτα μεταβάλλουσαν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζῴων* (Porph. *V. P.* 19): while Plato indeed went further and derived the souls of all brutes ultimately from those of men, through a process of deterioration, *ὡς γάρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες καὶ τἆλλα θηρία γενήσοιντο, ἠπίσταντο οἱ συνιστάντες ἡμᾶς* (*Tim.* 76 D). With regard to individual animals, some thinkers believed that bees contained a divine element (Virg. *Georg.* iv. 219–21), while Democritus and Pliny placed religion among the moral virtues of elephants (*H. N.* viii. 1). But the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text. Thus in the Zend-Avesta Vendidad *Fargard* 13 (Darmesteter) we find an entire chapter dealing with the sacredness of the life of the domesticated dog and the crime of attempting its life—its murderer was to lose his soul to the ninth generation (1–4): with the food that was to be given to it and the penalties entailed by feeding it badly (20–28), which were to range from fifty to two hundred blows with the horse-goad. Nay more, the land, its pastures and crops were to suffer for the unatoned death of the dog, and these plagues were not to be removed till the man who had slain it was slain in turn or had offered sacrifices three days and three nights to the pious soul of the departed dog (54, 55). Finally, the soul of the dog went after death to the source of the waters (51). In the *Midrash Koheleth*, fol. 329, col. 1, we find the following quaint and slightly analogous thought: 'Rabbi Chama, the son of Gorion, said that wolves and unfruitful trees must give account: just as man must give account, so also must unfruitful trees.' Eisenmenger i. 468. It is noteworthy that the ideas of the text have passed over into the creed of the Mohammedans. Thus, according to Sale's note on the sixth chapter of the Koran, irrational animals will be restored to life at the resurrection that they may be brought to judgement and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they had inflicted on each other in this life. Then after they have duly retaliated their several wrongs, God will turn them again to dust (Sale's Koran, Prelim. Discourse, Sect. iv), with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the Seven Sleepers which will enjoy eternal life in Paradise (Koran iii; xviii). Are we to interpret in this manner Orac. Sibyll. viii. 415–18?—

καὶ ὕστερον ἐς κρίσιν ἥξω
κρίνων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον ἀνδρῶν·
καὶ κριὸν κριῷ καὶ ποιμένι ποιμένα θήσω
καὶ μόσχον μόσχῳ πέλας ἀλλήλων ἐς ἔλεγχον.

Even in Christian times animals were credited with intelligence, conscience, responsibility, as well as with the passions, vices, and virtues of mankind (see *Bestie delinquenti*, D'Addosio, 1892, from which the following facts are taken). They were accordingly solemnly tried, and advocates were assigned at the public expense to them to plead their cause. Thus moles (A. D. 824), a sow (1324), a cock (1474), snails (1487) were duly tried and condemned. They were

A

souls of beasts which the Lord created, till the great judgement, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill.

Enoch instructs his sons wherefore they may not touch beef because of what comes from it.

1 Whoever defiles the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.

2 For man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul.

B

and all souls will accuse the man,

whoever feeds 59 1
ill the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.

But he who brings sacrifice of clean beasts, 2
cures his own soul, and he who brings an offering of clean birds, cures his own soul.

A

And if they bring for sacrifice clean animals, and birds, man has cure, he cures his soul.

3 All is given you for food, bind it by the four feet, that is to make good the cure, he cures his soul.

4 But whoever kills beast without wound, kills his own soul and defiles his own flesh.

5 And he who does any beast any injury whatsoever, in secret, it is evil practice, and he defiles his own soul.

A

1 He who does injury to soul of man, does injury to his own soul, and there is no cure for his flesh, nor pardon for all time.

How it is not fitting to kill man neither by weapon nor by tongue.

2 He who works the killing of a man's soul, kills his own soul, and kills his own body, and there is no cure for him for all time.

3 He who puts a man in any snare, shall stick in it himself, and there is no cure for him for all time.

4 He who puts a man in any vessel, his retribution will not be wanting at the great judgement for all time.

5 He who works crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, will not make justice for himself for all time.

Enoch instructs his sons to keep themselves from injustice and often to stretch forth hands to the poor, to give a share of their labours.

1 And now, my children, keep your hearts from every injustice, which the Lord hates. Just as a man asks (*sc.* something) for his own

B

He who does injury to the soul of man, in- 60 1
jures his own soul, and there is no cure for him into eternity.

He who puts a man into †paradise†—his 3
judgement shall not be exhausted into eternity.

Now, my children, keep yourselves from every 61 1
thing unrighteous, which the Lord hateth, still more from every living soul.

also occasionally subjected to torture, and their cries were regarded as a confession of guilt (*l. c.* p. 46). Even as late as 1531 a book was written by Chassauée to discuss the lawfulness of trying animals judicially, and the legitimate methods of procedure (*l. c.* p. 75).

LIX. 1. **Whoever defiles the soul of beast.** This refers not to the sin of bestiality, but, as B and 2–4 show, to some unlawful way of sacrificing or slaughtering animals.

2, 3. These verses suggest a date earlier than the destruction of the Temple, A.D. 70.

4. Against strangling beasts.

5. Here bestiality may be meant.

LX. 1. The sin referred to in 1 Thess. iv. 6.

3. Cf. Ps. ix. 15; xxxv. 8; lvii. 6. There is an utter want of proportion between sin and penalty here. **†paradise†** (B). The text is corrupt but easily emended to give the sense '(crooked) dealing'.

4. **vessel** = *sosud*, perhaps a mistake for *sud* = 'judgement', 'lawsuit'.

5. Cf. Ps. ci. 5.

LXI. 1. **injustice which the Lord hates.** Cf. Jud. v. 17; Sir. xv. 11, 13; 2 En. lxvi. 1.
injustice. The same word, *nepravda*, means injustice, untruth, and unrighteousness. Cf. lxvi. 1.

A

2 soul from God, so let him do to every living soul, because I know all things, how in the great time (*sc.* to come) are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many.

3 Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad (*sc.* houses) there is no peace nor return (*sc.* from them).

B

Just as man asks (*sc.* something) for his own soul from the Lord, so let him do to every living 2 soul, lest in the great age . . . He has prepared many mansions, very good dwellings, and bad dwellings without number.

Blessed is he who departs into the sweet 3 houses.

A

4 Hear, my children, small and great! When man puts a good thought in his heart, brings gifts from his labours before the Lord's face and his hands made them not, then the Lord will turn away his face from the labour of his hand, and he (*sc.* man) cannot find the labour of his hands.

5 And if his hands made it, but his heart murmur, and his heart cease not making murmur incessantly, he has not any advantage.

A

Of how it is fitting to bring one's gift with faith, because there is no repentance after death.

62 1 Blessed is the man who in his patience brings his gifts with faith before the Lord's face, because he will find forgiveness of sins.

2 But if he take back his words before the time, there is no repentance for him; and if the time pass and he do not of his own will what is promised, there is no repentance after death.

3 Because every work which man does before the time, is all deceit before men, and sin before God.

Of how not to despise the poor, but to share with them equally, lest thou be murmured against before God.

63 1 When man clothes the naked and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God.

2 But if his heart murmur, he commits a double evil: ruin of himself and of that which he gives; and for him there will be no finding of reward on account of that.

3 And if his own heart is filled with his food and his own flesh (*sc.* clothed) with his clothing, he commits contempt, and will forfeit all his endurance of poverty, and will not find reward of his good deeds.

4 Every proud and magniloquent man is hateful to the Lord, and every false speech, clothed in untruth; it will be cut with the blade of the sword of death, and thrown into the fire, and shall burn for all time.'

B

Blessed is he who in his patience brings a gift 62 before the Lord's face, for he shall find forgiveness of *his* sins.

When a man gives from his mouth terms of 2 time to bring gifts before the Lord's face, doing thus (*sc.* fulfilling his promise) he will find repentance of forgiveness (*sic*). But if the appointed time pass by and he go back on his word he shall receive repentance.

When he covers the naked and gives bread to 63 the hungry, he shall find forgiveness.

But if his heart murmurs, then he makes ruin 2 of his giving of alms.

And if, when he has had his fill, he is con- 3 temptuous, then he shall lose all his good deeds, and shall not find (*sc.* forgiveness), for every con- 4 temptuous man is hateful to the Lord.'

2. **many mansions.** Cf. 1 En. xxxix. 4, 7, 8; xli. 2; John xiv. 2.
good for the good, &c. Sir. xxxix. 25; Sibyll. Or. Fragm. iii. 18–19.
4. The text seems corrupt, and the idea is: it is good to offer gifts to God; but if a man sacrifices to God what is another man's or ill-gotten, God turns away His face from him. Cf. lxvi. 2, and esp. Sir. xxxi. 21–4, 28.
his hands made them not. Cf. Sibyll. Or. viii. 403, 406.
5. Only willing offerers are blessed. Cf. Exod. xxv. 2; xxxv. 5; Prov. xi. 25.
his heart murmur. Cf. lxiii. 2; Deut. xv. 10; Sir. xxxii. 10.
LXII. 1, 2. There is forgiveness if men keep strictly to their vows. B has quite missed the point in ver. 2.
3. **before the time.** We might expect also 'or after the time'.
LXIII. 1. See ix (notes).
2. See lxi. 5 (note).
4. **proud . . . hateful to the Lord.** Ps. xviii. 27; ci. 5; Prov. vi. 16, 17.

A

Of how the Lord calls up Enoch, and people took counsel to go and kiss him at the place called Achuzan.

64 1 When Enoch had spoken these words to his sons, all people far and near heard how the Lord was calling Enoch. They took counsel together:
2 'Let us go and kiss Enoch,' and two thousand men came together and came to the place Achuzan where Enoch was, and his sons.
3 And the elders of the people, the whole assembly, came and bowed down and began to kiss Enoch and said to him: 'Our father Enoch, be
4 thou blessed of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy sons and all the people, that we may be glorified to-day before thy face.
5 For thou shalt be glorified before the Lord's face for all time, since the Lord chose thee, rather than all men on earth, and designated thee writer of all his creation, visible and invisible, and redeemer of the sins of man, and helper of thy household.'

And Enoch answered all his people, saying:

Of Enoch's instruction of his sons.

65 1 'Hear, my children, before that all creatures were created, the Lord created the visible and invisible things.
2 And as much time as there was and went past, understand that after all that he created man in the likeness of his own form, and put into him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to reflect, and intellect wherewith to deliberate.
3 And the Lord saw all man's works, and created all his creatures, and divided time, from time he fixed the years, and from the years he appointed the months, and from the months he appointed the days, and of days he appointed seven.
4 And in those he appointed the hours, measured them out exactly, that man might reflect on time and count years, months, and hours, *their* alternation, beginning, and end, and that he might count his own life, from the beginning until death, and reflect on his sin and write his work bad and
5 good; because no work is hidden before the Lord, that every man might know his works and never transgress all his commandments, and keep my handwriting from generation to generation.
6 When all creation visible and invisible, as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes

B

64 1 And it happened, when Enoch had spoken to his sons and to the princes of the people, all the people and all those near him heard how the Lord God was calling Enoch. All took counsel together, saying: 'Come, let us kiss Enoch.'
2 And these came together up to four thousand men, and they came to the place Achuzan, where Enoch was and his sons.
3 And the elders of the people began to kiss Enoch, saying: 'Blessed art thou of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy people, and
4 glorify us before the Lord's face, for the Lord
5 hath chosen thee, and appointed thee the taker away of our sins.' And Enoch said to all the people:

65 1 'Hear, my children, before all creation took shape, the Lord appointed the age of things created.
Then he created all his creatures visible and invisible.
2 And then he put together man in his own image, and put into him eyes to see and ears to hear, the heart to reflect and the mind to deliberate.
3 Then the Lord resolved the age for the sake of man, and divided up the various seasons and
4 years and months and hours, that man might reflect on the changes and end of the seasons, and the beginning and end of the years and the days and the hours, that he might reckon the death of his life.
6 And when the creation, which the Lord created,
7 shall end, and every man shall go to the Lord's great judgement, then the seasons shall perish, and thenceforward there will be no more years, nor months, nor days, and there will be no more hours thenceforward, nor will they be reckoned,
8 but there shall begin one endless age.
And all the righteous shall be collected together in the great age, and age and age of the

LXIV. 5. **writer of all his creation.** See xl. 13 (note); liii. 2.
redeemer. For Enoch as intercessor cf. 1 En. xiii. 4. Contrast 2 En. liii. 1.

LXV. 1. For creation cf. xxiv. 2 (note).
2. **created man . . . heart to reflect.** Cf. Sir. xvii. 3, 5.
4. **count years,** &c. Cf. Wisdom vii. 17–18.
5. Cf. xxxiii. 9 (note).
6. The judgement is to close man's existence on earth. At this judgement all men must appear, but there is nothing here to show that there is a resurrection of the body.

A

7 to the great judgement, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thenceforward there will be neither months nor days nor hours, they will be stuck together and will not be counted.

8 There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgement, shall be collected in the great aeon, for the righteous the great aeon will begin, and they will 9 live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor violence, nor night, nor darkness, but great light.

10 And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life.

Enoch instructs his sons and all the elders of the people, how they are to walk with terror and trembling before the Lord, and serve him alone and not bow down to idols, but to God, who created heaven and earth and every creature, and †to† his image.

66 1 And now, my children, keep your souls from all injustice, such as the Lord hates.

B

righteous shall be collected together, and they shall be eternal and incorruptible.

And thenceforward there shall be no labour amongst them, nor sickness nor humiliation, nor anxiety *nor* need, nor night nor darkness, but great, endless, and indestructible light.

And the great paradise will be their shelter and eternal dwelling-place, and they shall no more bear the injuries (lit. lawlessnesses) of those on earth.

The Lord will send down great destruction on to earth and the earth's whole composition shall perish.

For I know, that this will end in tumult and will perish, only my brother will be preserved on that day, placed in . . . and those of his tribe and the sun.

And now, my children, keep your souls from all unrighteousness, such as the Lord hates.

A

2 Walk before his face with terror and trembling and serve him alone. Bow down to the true God, not to dumb idols, [but bow down to his picture], and bring all just offerings before the Lord's face. The Lord hates what is unjust.

3 For the Lord sees all things ; when man takes thought in his heart, then he counsels the intellects, and every thought is always before the Lord, who made firm the earth and put all creatures on it. 4 If you look to heaven, the Lord is there ; if you take thought of the sea's deep and all the under-earth, the Lord is there.

5 For the Lord created all things. Bow not down to things made by man, leaving the Lord of all creation, because no work can remain hidden before the Lord's face.

6 Walk, my children, in long-suffering, in meekness, honesty, in provocation, in grief, in faith and in truth, in *reliance on* promises, in illness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another, till you go out from this age of ills, that you become inheritors of endless time.

7 Blessed are the just who shall escape the great judgement, for they shall shine forth more than 8 the sun sevenfold, for in this world the seventh part is taken off from all, light, darkness, food, enjoyment, sorrow, paradise, torture, fire, frost, and other things ; he put all down in writing, that you might read and understand.'

7. See xxxiii. 2.
8-9. A blessed immortality.
10. **wall.** Perhaps the wall that divides Paradise (see ix) from the place of punishment (see x).
11. Sir. xiv. 19.

LXVI. 1. **injustice . . . the Lord hates.** Cf. lxi. 1 ; Deut. xii. 31 ; Wisdom xiv. 9.
injustice. Cf. lxvi. 1 (note).
Walk . . . terror and trembling. Cf. Phil. ii. 12 ; also 2 Cor. vii. 13 ; Eph. vi. 5.
2. **all just offerings.** See lxi. 4 (note).
3. **sees all things . . . thought in his heart,** &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9 ; 2 Chron. vi. 30 ; Ps. xciv. 11 ; Prov. xv. 11 ; Dan. ii. 30.
4. Partly drawn from Ps. cxxxix. 8-12. Mention of Sheol is omitted here, as it is included in the author's conception of the heavens.
5. **no work . . . hidden.** Cf. Jer. xvi. 17 ; Sir. xvii. 15.
6. Cf. Rom. viii. 35 ; 2 Cor. xi. 27 ; 2 Pet. i. 4.
7. Cf. lxv. 8.
8. **enjoyment,** &c. 1 En. lxix. 8.

A

The Lord let out darkness on to earth and covered the people and Enoch, and he was taken up on high, and light came again *in the* heaven.

6 1 When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent out darkness on to the earth, and there was darkness, and it covered those men
2 standing and talking with Enoch, and they took Enoch up on to the highest heaven, where the Lord *is*; and he received him and placed him before his face, and the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again.
3 And the people saw and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God, and found a roll in which was traced: 'the invisible God,' and all went to their homes.

B

When Enoch had talked to the people, the 67 1
Lord sent down murk on to the earth, and there was darkness, it covered all the men standing with Enoch.

And the angels hastened and having taken 2
Enoch, they carried him up on to the highest heaven. And he received him, and put him before his face into eternity. And the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again, and all the people saw, and understood not how 3
Enoch had been taken, and glorified God.

And they came to their homes, those who had seen such things. Glory be to our God into eternity. Amen.

A

3 1 Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, and lived three hundred and sixty-five years.
He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven sixty
2 days. He wrote all these signs of all creation, which the Lord created, and wrote three hundred
3 and sixty-six books, and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth thirty days, and was again taken up to heaven on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, on the very day and hour when
4 he was born. As every man's nature in this life is dark, so are also his conception, birth, and departure from this life. At what hour he was conceived, at that hour he was born, and at that hour too he died.
5 Methosalam and his brethren, all the sons of Enoch, made haste, and erected an altar at the place called Achuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven.
6 And they took sacrificial oxen and summoned all people and sacrificed the sacrifice before the Lord's face.
7 All people, the elders of the people and the whole assembly came to the feast and brought gifts to the sons of Enoch.
And they made a great feast, rejoicing and making merry three days, praising God, who had given them such a sign through Enoch, who had found favour with him, and that they should hand it on to their sons from generation to generation, from age to age. Amen.

LXVII. 2. **highest heaven.** Cf. lxv. 2 (B). This is an exceptional privilege, as Paradise in the third heaven is the eternal abode of the righteous, lv. 2. In Asc. Is. ix. 7 the future habitation of the righteous is the *seventh* heaven.

LXVIII. A short *résumé* of Enoch's life. Cf. xxiii.
1. **sixty days.** Cf. xxiii. 6 and xxxvi. 1.
5–7. Cf. the fragment of Melchizedekian literature (appended to my Commentary on 2 Enoch) for Methusalem's sacrifice. The place of sacrifice, and here of Enoch's assumption, is called Achuzan in i. 3, but Aruzan in ii. 17.
7. **hand it on,** &c. Cf. xxxiii. 10.

II BARUCH

I. THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Apocalypse of Baruch, which for the sake of convenience will be designated 2 Baruch in this edition, is a composite work written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era. Its authors were orthodox Jews and it is a good representative of the Judaism against which the Pauline dialectic was directed.

In this Apocalypse we have almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. For ages after that epoch its people seem to have been bereft of their immemorial gifts of song and eloquence, or to have had thought and energy only for the study and expansion of the traditions of the Fathers. But when our book was written, that evil and barren era had not yet set in; breathing thought and burning word had still their home in Palestine, and the hand of the Jewish artist was still master of its ancient cunning.

This beautiful Apocalypse, with the exception of nine chapters towards its close, which under the title 'the Epistle of Baruch' or a similar one, were incorporated in the later Syriac Bible, was lost sight of for quite 1,200 years.

Written originally in Hebrew, it was translated into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac. Of the Hebrew original every line has perished save a few still surviving in rabbinic writings. Of the Greek version, a small fragment has been recovered from the papyri, while many phrases and sentences have been preserved in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (i. e. 3 Baruch in this edition) and in the Rest of the Words of Baruch (i. e. 4 Baruch). Happily the Syriac has come down to us in its entirety in a sixth-century MS., the discovery of which is due to Ceriani. Of this MS. Ceriani published a Latin translation in 1866, the Syriac text in 1871, and the photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. Though there are no adequate grounds for assuming a Latin version, it is demonstrable that our Apocalypse was the foundation of a Latin Apocalypse of Baruch, a fragment of which is preserved in Cyprian.

This Apocalypse is, as has already been stated, composite. The editor has made use of a number of independent writings, belonging to various dates between 50 and 90 A. D. They are thus contemporaneous with the chief New Testament writings, and furnish records of the Jewish doctrines and beliefs of that period, and of the arguments which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century, and with which its leaders sought to uphold its declining faith and confront the attacks of a growing and aggressive Christianity. Written by Pharisaic Jews as an apology for Judaism, and in part an implicit polemic against Christianity, it gained nevertheless a larger circulation amongst Christians than amongst Jews, and owed its very preservation to the scholarly cares of the Church it assailed. But in the struggle for life its secret animus against Christianity begat an instinctive opposition in Christian circles, and so proved a bar to its popularity. Thus the place it would naturally have filled was taken by the sister work 4 Ezra. This latter work, which forms in fact an unconscious confession of the failure of Judaism to redeem the world, was naturally more acceptable to Christian readers, and thus, in due course, our Apocalypse was elbowed out of recognition by its fitter and sturdier rival.

§ 2. The Various Books of Baruch.

1° The Book of Baruch in the LXX (i. e. 1 Baruch). On the probability that i. 1–3; iii. 9–iv. 29 of this book are a recast of a lost portion of our Apocalypse, i. e. 'the Letter to the Two and a Half Tribes', see § 8. There is no verbal borrowing between our Apocalypse and 1 Baruch, but in the following passages there is a similarity of diction or of thought or of both:

2 Baruch.	1 Baruch.
i. 1.	i. 3.
x. 16.	iv. 10, 14.
lix. 7.	iii. 12.
lxxvii. 10.	ii. 26.
lxxviii. 7.	iv. 36, 37 (v. 6, 7).
lxxix. 2.	i. 17, 18.
lxxx. 5.	ii. 13.
lxxxiv. 2–5.	i. 19; ii. 2.
lxxxvi. 1, 2.	i. 14.

2° 2 Baruch or the present Apocalypse.

3° 3 Baruch or the Greek Apocalypse—a work of the second century, which is dealt with fully in its proper place in this volume. On some points of connexion between this and the preceding work see my Commentary on *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. xxi. sq.

4° 4 Baruch or the Rest of the Words of Baruch. The book was written in Greek in the second century of our era. It is in part a Jewish work recast. The Greek text was first printed at Venice in 1609, next by Ceriani in 1868 under the title 'Paralipomena Jeremiae' in his *Mon. Sacr.* v. 11–18, and has been critically edited by Rendel Harris in 1889. This book exists also in the Ethiopic Bible, and was edited from three MSS. by Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia aethiopica* in 1886. But as these MSS. are inferior, a new edition is needed, which will take account of the Greek MSS. as well as of the Ethiopic—there are eight still uncollated of the latter in the British Museum—and also of the Jewish matter underlying the book.

5° A Gnostic Book of Baruch is drawn upon in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena*, v. 24–7.

6° A Latin Book of Baruch is quoted in an MS. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, iii. 29, which is clearly based on our Apocalypse.

7° Another Book of Baruch is mentioned in the *Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani*, published by Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. I, Heft 3, 1883), but so far as the quotation goes, this book has no connexion with our Apocalypse.

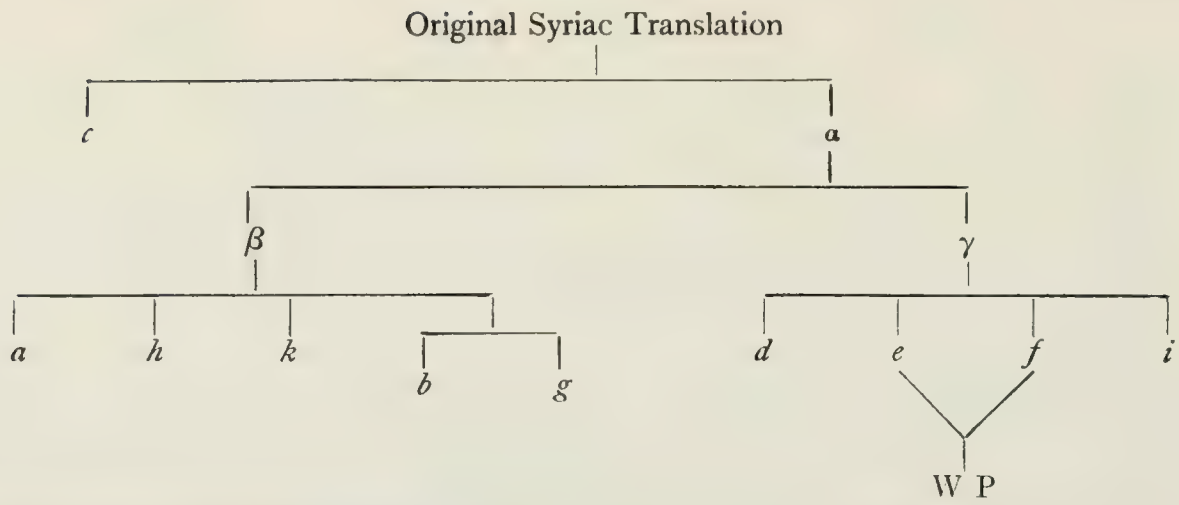
§ 3. The Syriac MSS.

For chapters i–lxxvii we have only one MS. This MS.—designated *c* in my edition—was found in the library in Milan. It belongs to the sixth century. In 1871 Ceriani edited the Syriac text from the MS. in his *Mon. Sacr. et Prof.* V. ii. 113–80. Of chapters lxxviii–lxxxvi, which form the Epistle of Baruch, many MSS. were known to exist, and three of them, *a*, *b*, *d*, were collated by Ceriani. In 1871 Fritzsche attempted to form a text on the basis of these four MSS. through the medium of an emended edition of Ceriani's Latin translation in his *Libri Apocryphi V. T. Graece*, 1871, pp. 690–9.

The present writer edited the Syriac text of these chapters in his edition of the Apocalypse of Baruch, 1896, in which he made use of the following MSS.

a Called A in Ceriani. See p. 167 note.
b Add. 17105 Brit. Mus., ff. 116ᵃ–121ᵃ. Sixth century.
c Milan MS., ff. 265ᵇ–267ᵇ. Sixth century.
d Cod. Ambrosianus A 145.
e No. 1 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 430–432. A. D. 1627.
f Egerton 705, Brit. Mus., ff. 373ᵃ–374ᵃ. Seventeenth century.
g Add. 12172 Brit. Mus., ff. 192ᵇ–195ᵇ. Tenth or Twelfth century.
h Add. 18715 Brit. Mus., ff. 242ᵇ–244ᵃ. Twelfth century.
i No. 2 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 492–493. A. D. 1614.
k No. 20 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 37–38.

Of these ten *b e f g h i k* were collated directly by the present writer. In addition to these he found excerpts from the Epistle in *l* = Add. 12178, Brit. Mus., f. 111ᵇ (ninth or tenth century), in *m* = 14482 Brit. Mus., ff. 47ᵇ–48ᵃ (eleventh or twelfth century), and in *n*, 14684 Brit. Mus., f. 24 (twefth century). Finally the readings of the Walton and Paris Polyglots were taken account of. As a result of a critical study of these authorities I arrived at certain definite results. Thus while *c* represents one type of text, *a b d e f g h i k l m n* represent another—say α. The latter again fall into two classes *a b g h k* ($=\beta$) being more trustworthy than *d e f i* ($=\gamma$). The originals of these three classes, α, β, γ, have been lost, but they are helpful in showing the interrelations of our authorities. The results finally arrived at (see my edition, pp. xxii–xxx) can best be represented in the following table:



Here W and P stand for the Walton and Paris Polyglots. It is of no little interest to have traced the sources of the text in the two great polyglots; for, as their editors have given no information on the subject, scholars had hitherto been in the dark in this respect.

§ 4. Date of the Syriac Version.

Since the MSS. *c* and *b* referred to in the preceding section both belong to the sixth century, we find that at that date there existed two distinctly developed types of text, both of which must have been for no brief period in existence owing to the variety of readings already evolved. Further, though *b* belongs to the sixth century, many of its readings are decidedly later than *c*, or even than *a h*. In fact *a h* represent the text at an earlier stage than *b*. The common parent *a b h* therefore, i.e. β, could not be later than the fifth century. Since, therefore, β belongs at latest to the fifth century, the common progenitor of *c* and α (= the parent of β and γ) can hardly be sought later than the fourth century. It may be as early as the third.

§ 5. The Syriac—a Translation from the Greek.—*The Oxyrhynchus Greek Fragment*, xii–xiv. 3.

The Syriac Version is a translation from the Greek. The conclusion was already arrived at before the discovery of the Greek fragment of Grenfell and Hunt. 1° For it is so stated in *c*. 2° There are certain corruptions in the text which are only explicable on the hypothesis that the translator misinterpreted the Greek, or found the corruption already existing there. The corrupt readings in iii. 7, xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7 are to be explained on this principle. 3° There are frequent transliterations of Greek words as in vi. 4; x. 17; xvii. 4, &c. 4° The Rest of the Words of Baruch preserves important fragments of the Greek Version.

All the above facts and more (see my edition, p. xlii sq.) were known when Grenfell and Hunt discovered an actual fragment of the Greek Version, which they published in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. 3–7. The papyrus is part of a leaf from a book, and is written in a large slightly sloping uncial hand—possibly as early as the fourth century, and probably not later than the fifth.

This fragment embraces xii. 1–5, xiii. 1–2, 11–12, xiv. 1–3. I have printed this fragment and an English translation of it in parallel columns with the Syriac. The text is *poor and defective*. In xiv. 2 it read μαρτυρήσαντες, but this was by a later hand rightly corrected into ἁμαρτήσαντες as we find in the Syriac. Again in xiv. 1 'shall be endured by the Gentiles' is corrupt for 'shall come upon the Gentiles'. Here the papyrus reads ὑπενεχθήσεται which seems corrupt for ἐπενεχθήσεται. At all events the phrase in the Syriac is exactly the same in xiii. 5, 'retribution which is coming upon' and in xiv. 1 'the retribution . . . shall come upon'. In xii. 3 the parallelism which is preserved in the Syriac is wholly lost. 'Condemn' cannot be right, if originally there was any parallelism. The fact that the parallelism is preserved in both Greek and Syriac in xii. 2 is in favour that the Syriac has rightly preserved it in xii. 3.

§ 6. The Greek—a Translation from the Hebrew.

Previous to my edition of Baruch in 1896 an unbroken unanimity prevailed among scholars on the question of a Greek original. Since the discovery of the book by Ceriani not a single serious attempt had been made to grapple with this problem, and yet in nearly every instance scholars spoke with an assurance on the subject that only a personal and thorough study of the subject could have justified. To this strong and unanimous tradition of the learned world I bowed without hesitation at the outset of my studies, but with an awakening distrust and an ever-growing reluctance

during the years in which I was engaged in the preparation of the work which was published in 1896. The necessity for postulating a Hebrew original which was first shown in this work was subsequently maintained by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 234), Ryssel (*Apok. und Pseudepig. A. T.*, 1900, ii. 411), and Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* ii. 555). As regards the grounds for this conclusion, I will here be as brief as possible, and adduce only the following. 1°. What is true of 4 Ezra the sister work, which was written in Hebrew, is true also of our Apocalypse. 2°. The quotations from the Old Testament agree with the Massoretic text except in one case. 3°. There are many paronomasiae which discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. 4°. Many passages in the book have been preserved in Talmudic and Rabbinic writings. 5°. Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.

1°. It is now an accepted view that 4 Ezra was written in Hebrew. Since the two books show in nearly every respect the closest affinities it may provisionally be accepted that as the former is derived from a Hebrew original so also is the latter. In my edition of 2 Baruch in 1896 I pointed out (p. lxxii) the necessity of assuming a Hebrew original for 4 Ezra. In the same year Wellhausen (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, pp. 12–13) insisted on the same necessity, and demonstrated this necessity in his *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. 234–40, 1899.

2°. See my edition, pp. xlv sq., 169.

3°. In xv. 8 there are two paronomasiae. Thus 'Labour with much trouble' = עמל באון and 'crown with great glory' עטרה בתפארה (see notes *in loc.*).

But these need not necessarily postulate a Hebrew original; the following cases undoubtedly do. Thus in xxi. 14 (see note for the Hebrew) we have a stanza of three lines, each line of which contains a rhyme within it. The writer is so fond of the last of these that he repeats it exactly in xlviii. 35 and partially in lxxxiii. 12. In xlviii. 35 we have another and still more remarkable instance of paronomasia. In this stanza there are three lines, the first, second, and fourth of which respectively contain this rhyming or alliterative character, but not the third. But even a cursory examination makes it clear that the third line is corrupt. It is against the parallelism and structure of the adjoining three lines. In the notes on the passage the reader will find an attempt to restore the original text, in which a paronomasia is recovered and also a parallelism in sense and structure with the adjoining lines. Again, in lxiii. 3, 4 there were undoubtedly plays in the Hebrew on the names of Hezekiah and Sennacherib. There is probably another instance of this play on words in lxxxiii. 10, certainly in lxxxiii. 14, and possibly in lxxxiv. 2.

The above evidence is of a very convincing character.

4°. *Many sections of our book have exact parallels in the Talmudic and Rabbinic writings.* Thus in ii. 1–2 Jeremiah is bidden to leave Jerusalem (implicitly) on the ground that it could not be destroyed so long as Jeremiah was in it. This is explicitly stated in Pesikta r. c. 26 (131*a* ed. Friedmann). On the interpolated passage on the heavenly Temple cf. Sakka 41*a*, Taanith 5*a*. The account of the destruction of Jerusalem, vi–viii, is substantiated at times verbally by Pesikta r. (*loc. cit.*). The poetical incident in x. 18 is recounted as a literal fact in Taanith 29*a*, Lev. r. xix. 6; Pesikta v. 26. See note *in loc.* With the marvel of the burning of the bodies of the host of Sennacherib, lxiii. 8, cf. Sanh. 94*a*, while the legend of the brazen horse, lxiv. 8, is found in Pesikta Rab Kahana, xxv. 162. See Ginzberg in *Jew. Encyc.* ii. 553.

5°. *Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.* We have here the clinching evidence of a Hebrew original. First of all in the following five passages xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7 I have been able to explain and restore an unintelligible text by retranslation first into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of δικαιοῦσθαι, and this in turn of צדק. Now צדק can mean either δικαιοῦσθαι or δίκαιος εἶναι. In the five passages above cited the context can admit only of the latter meaning; but the translator, who was probably a Christian and therefore influenced by the Christian doctrine of justification, wrongly adopted the former rendering. Ryssel has accepted without acknowledgement my restoration of these five passages.

Next in vi. 7 'ephod' is undoubtedly corrupt for 'ark' (see note). The corruption can have arisen either in the Hebrew or even in the Syriac, i. e. ܐܦܘܕܐ corrupt for ܐܪܘܢܐ, but the former is more likely.

In xxi. 22 the text can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew. See note. In xliv. 12 we arrive at a very interesting restoration, which Ryssel adopts without acknowledgement. In the Syriac the phrase 'on its beginning' is set over against 'to torment' as its antithesis. Here the context requires 'to its blessedness'. Now the Syriac = בראשו, which is obviously a corruption of באשרו = 'to its blessedness'. In lvi. 6 'boasting' is out of place, enumerated as it is along with

'untimely death', 'grief and anguish', 'pain', 'trouble', and 'Sheol'. The word = καύχημα = תהלה, which seems corrupt for מחלה, 'disease'. In lxx. 6 the text reads: 'some . . . shall be hindered.' But the parallelism requires a strong expression. Now 'shall be hindered' = κωλυθήσονται = יכלאו, corrupt for יכלו — 'shall be consumed'. These two verbs are often confused in Hebrew.

Finally, in lxxx. 2, it is said that the sacred vessels of the Temple were hidden 'lest they should be polluted by the enemy'. But this clause can hardly be right; for lxxx is simply a concise reproduction of vi–viii. Now in vi. 8 the real reason for the concealment of these vessels is given, i. e. 'that strangers may not get possession of them'. Furthermore, the vessels were put away with a view to their use in the restored Temple, vi. 7–10. Now if we retranslate the words, 'lest any should be polluted by the enemy', we have פן יחלו מאויבים, which is an easy corruption of פן ינחלום אויבים 'lest the enemy get possession of them'.

§ 7. The different Elements in 2 Baruch.

The composite nature of this book was first recognized by Kabisch in 1891 and the following year by De Faye, and subsequently by the present writer in 1896 and by Beer in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[3] art. 'Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments', p. 250. A short summary of the grounds on which it seems necessary to postulate a diversity of authorship may here be given. If we disregard the letter to the tribes in captivity (lxxviii–lxxxvi), the book falls naturally into seven sections separated by fasts, save in one case (after xxxv) where the text is probably defective. These sections, which are of unequal length, are (1) i–v. 6; (2) v. 7–viii; (3) ix–xii. 4; (4) xii. 5–xx; (5) xxi–xxxv; (6) xxxvi–xlvi; (7) xlvii–lxxvii. These treat of the Messiah and of the Messianic kingdom, the woes of Israel in the past and the destruction of Jerusalem in the present, as well as of theological questions which were debated in the schools, relating to original sin, free-will, works, the number of the saved, the nature of the resurrection body, &c. The views expressed on these subjects are often conflicting. In one class of passages there is everywhere a vigorous optimism as to Israel's ultimate well-being on earth; there is sketched in glowing and sensuous colours the blessedness which awaits the chosen people in the kingdom of the Messiah which is at hand (xxix; xxxix–xl; lxxiii–lxxiv), when healing will descend in dew, and disease and anguish flee away: when strife and hatred shall vanish and gladness march throughout the earth, when childbirth shall entail no pangs, and none shall die untimely, when Israel's enemies shall be destroyed (xxxix–xl; lxx. 7–lxxii) and God's own people enjoy a world-wide empire with its centre at Jerusalem (xl. 2; lxxiii–lxxiv). Over against these passages stand others of a hopelessly pessimistic character, wherein, alike as to Israel's present and future destiny on earth, there is written nothing save 'lamentation and mourning and woe'. The world is a scene of corruption, its evils are irremediable; it is a never-ceasing toil and strife, but its end is at hand; its strength exhausted; the ship is already come to the port and life to its consummation (lxxxv). The advent of the new and spiritual world is at hand (xxi. 19; xliv. 9–15; lxxxv). The first to draw attention to the conflicting elements in our book was, as I have already remarked, Kabisch in the *Jahrbücher für protest. Theol.*, 1891, pp. 66–107. Kabisch shows that we have in Baruch a measureless pessimism and world despair on the one hand, and on the other a vigorous optimism and world-joy. He further points out that the same subjects are treated several times and often without any fresh contribution to the subject at issue. Thus the Messianic kingdom is twice delineated, the advent of the Messiah twice foretold and the Messianic woes as often depicted. On these and other grounds he derives the book from three or four authors. He distinguishes as the groundwork i–xxiv. 1; xxx. 2–xxxiv; xli–lii; lxxv–lxxxvii written subsequently to A. D. 70 and saturated throughout by the pessimistic temper already referred to. But in this groundwork the order of the text was according to Kabisch originally different; i. e. i–xx, xxxi. 1–xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5–xxxiv, xxi. 1–xxiv. 2, xxx. 2–5, xli–lii. 7, lxxv, lxxvii–lxxxvii. In the remaining sections of the book there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism that looks for a Messianic kingdom of sensuous delights. These sections which are prior to A. D. 70 are the work of three writers, i. e. the Vine and Cedar Vision xxxvi–xl, the Cloud Vision liii–lxxiv, which are preserved unmutilated, and the third a fragmentary Apocalypse xxiv. 3–xxix. Finally these different writings were incorporated into one book by a Christian contemporary of Papias, and to this editor are probably due xxviii. 5, xxx. 1, xxxii. 2–4, xxxv, lxxvi. 1.

This analysis of Kabisch is good in regard to the separate visions, but his so-called groundwork is as composite as the whole work is composite. The problem is far more complex than Kabisch conceived it.

[1] See my edition of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. liii–lxv.

It is interesting to find that some of Kabisch's conclusions were reached independently at about the same date by a French scholar, De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 25-8, 76-103, 192-204. De Faye like Kabisch distinguishes xxxvi–xl and liii–lxxv as distinct works written before A. D. 70. The rest of his conclusions are less satisfactory. i–xxxii. 6 constitute an Apocalypse of Baruch written after A. D. 70; i–v and vi–xxxii. 6, however, being originally derived from two different authors. Another distinct work was the Assumption of Baruch, i. e. xlviii–lii, xliii. 1–2, lxxvi. 1–4, written after A. D. 70, xxxii. 7–xxxv, xli–xlvii. 2, lxxvi. 5–lxxxvii are for the most part the work of the final editor, but xliv. 9–15, xlvi. 7 was due to a Christian reviser. On the whole this analysis is less convincing than that of Kabisch.

Since the above solutions of the complex problems before us are inadequate, the present writer addressed himself afresh to the task in 1895–6. From the conclusions then arrived at he has seen no good ground for departing save in a few minor points.

With Kabisch and De Faye I recognize the fact that two distinct types of documents are present in our book, the one of an optimistic character as to Israel's future on Earth and the other of a pessimistic character in this respect. To the former type I assign the three Messianic Apocalypses xxvii–xxx. 1; xxxvi–xl; liii–lxxiv, which for convenience' sake I designate A^1, A^2, A^3, and a short original Apocalypse of Baruch B^1. In the remaining sections are B^2, B^3, the contents of which we shall determine presently, the doctrine of a Messianic kingdom is absolutely relinquished.

Different documents behind the Text. Thus A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1 agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future and inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom: whereas in B^2, B^3 the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgement and the spiritual world. (For details see my edition pp. 49, 61, 87, 68–69, 119, 140.)

But at this point a difference between A^1, A^2, A^3 and B^1 emerges. The former look for a Messiah at the head of the kingdom, but B^1 for a kingdom without the Messiah.

Their relative dates. As we pursue our study we discover further that: 1° In A^1, A^2, A^3 Jerusalem is still standing—hence they were written before A.D. 70; whereas in B^1, B^2, B^3 it is already destroyed (though in B^1 it is to be restored): 2° In A^1, A^2, A^3, it is only to the actual inhabitants of Palestine that the promise of protection is given in the time of the Messianic woes (see xxix. 2; xl. 2; lxxi. 1)—thus the Jews are still in Palestine; but in B^1, B^2, B^3, they are already in exile. In B^1 they are ultimately to be restored.

Facts confirming the above conclusions. A cursory examination of the books reveals the scheme of the final editor. According to this scheme the book was divided into seven sections separated by six fasts. Each of the last six of these sections thus opens with or is preceded by a fast: cp. v. 7, ix. 2, xii. 5, xxi. 1, (mention of fifth fast which should occur after xxxv is lost), xlvii. 2. In each section a definite movement or order of events is observed. This order briefly is: *first a fast, then a divine command or revelation and finally the publication of the command or matter revealed unless accompanied by a prohibition to do so as in* xx. 3. In some cases a prayer follows the fast xxi. 3, xlviii. 1, and a lamentation the publication of the divine disclosure x. 6 (see the notes in my edition pp. 1, 9, 13, 36, 61). This being so, it is significant that in the addresses on xxxi. 2–xxxiv, xlvi. 4–6, lxxvii. 1–17 there is not a single reference to the Messianic Apocalypses A^1, A^2, A^3. From this it follows that A^1, A^2, A^3 have no real organic connexion with the rest of the book B^1, B^2, B^3. Their removal serves to restore some cohesion to the text (see my edition xxx. 2 note, xli note, lxxv–lxxvi note).

The relations of A^1, A^2, A^3 to each other. A^1 is of distinct authorship from A^2 and A^3; for whereas in A^1 the Messiah pursues a passive rôle and does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed and the kingdom established, in A^2, A^3 it is the Messiah that destroys the enemies of Israel and establishes the kingdom. A^2 and A^3 though differing in some respects may come from the same author. All three Apocalypses were written before A.D. 70.

The relations of B^1, B^2, B^3 to each other. Since B^3 consists of a single chapter we shall deal with it first.

B^3 = lxxxv. This chapter agrees with B^1, B^2 in being written after A.D. 70; but differs from B^1 and agrees with B^2 in despairing of a national restoration, and in looking only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption. But again it differs from B^2 also, in that B^2 was written in Jerusalem or Judaea, whereas B^3 was written in Babylon or some other land of the dispersion, lxxxv. 3—in the former most probably; for it was written in Hebrew. Again whereas, according to B^2, Jeremiah was with the captivity in Babylon, it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead, and that the exiles have none to intercede for them, lxxx. 1, 2. Thus B^3 is a fragment written in Hebrew after A.D. 70 by an exile probably in Babylon.

B^1 B^2—their extent and characteristics. Even the elimination of the preceding sections does not leave a coherent whole as we have already seen. Thus i–ix. 1, xxxii. 2–4, xliii–xliv. 7, xlv–xlvi,

lxxvii–lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi sq. (= B^1) are optimistic and hopeful as to this world, whereas x–xxv, xxx. 2—xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5—xxxv, xli sq., xliv. 8–15, xlvii–lii, lxxv sq., lxxxiii (= B^2) are decidedly of an opposite character. But the differences are not only of a general but of a detailed character. Thus in B^1 the dispersion is to return, lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 7, but in B^2 no such restoration is expected. In B^1 the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, i. 4, vi. 9, xxxii. 2–4, lxxviii. 7 (see notes in my edition), but not in B^2: cf. x. 10, xx. 2. In B^1 Baruch is to die an ordinary death, xliv. 2, xlviii. 30, lxxviii. 5, lxxxiv. 1, but to be translated in B^2 xiii. 3, xxv. 1, lxxvi. 2. In B^1 Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, lxxvii. 12, but in B^2 he is sent, x. 2, xxxiii. 2. In B^1 Jerusalem is destroyed by angels lest the enemy should boast, vii. 1, lxxx. 3, but this idea is foreign to A^3: cf. lxvii. 6–7, and appears to be so to B^2 as it was to 4 Ezra iv. 30 and the Ass. Mosis iii. 2. Finally though the Law is valued in B^1, it is extravagantly glorified in B^2. See note on xv. 5 in my edition.

The final editor's use of B^1 and B^2. From B^1 the editor borrowed materials and used them in a straightforward fashion, as will be seen by referring to the preceding paragraph. But this is not the case with B^2. This source the editor mutilated and transposed in a fashion that appears quite incredible to the ordinary reader. But the serious student cannot ignore the present hopeless order of xiii–xxv. In these chapters the original text has been frequently transposed, the original development of thought arrested and inverted, questions are frequently recorded after their specific answers have already been given in full, and passages torn from their original setting in Baruch's address to the people and inserted in Baruch's prayers to God, where they have no conceivable meaning. On the note on xiii–xxv the question is treated with sufficient fullness for our present contention, and as a result of the facts and deductions there given we might restore provisionally the order of x–xxv as follows: x–xiii. 1–3^a, xx, xxiv. 2–4, xiii. 3^b–12, xxv, xiv–xix, xxi–xxiv. 1.

As regards the remaining sections of B^2, they appear to have received the same drastic treatment from the editor as the earlier chapters. Thus the gist of xxxi–xxxii. 6, which contains an address of Baruch to the people, consists of three themes. These should of course have been dealt with in a preceding revelation, since the subject on which Baruch addresses the people is to be found in each instance in the previous divine revelation: cf. v. 5, x. 4. But the themes on which Baruch discourses in xxxi–xxxii. 6 are not made the subject of revelation till later. See note on xxxi–xxxv, where it is shown that xlii. 6–8, xlviii. 22–24, 38–41, 49, lii. 3, 8–9, 16 are presupposed by xxxi–xxxii. 6. Again, liv. 16–18 is clearly in its wrong context and likewise xlviii. 48–50, lii. 5–7. These passages seem to belong to an address of Baruch to the people: they form a direct address to the wicked and could not therefore occur in a prayer of Baruch to God. In every case, too, they break the sense of the context. We cannot enter here into the many other dislocations which the original document B^2 underwent at the hands of the final editor. The reader will find some of these treated in the notes that follow. For a full treatment of the question he can consult my edition pp. lxi sqq. and the notes referred to there.

As a result of the above criticism we may provisionally restore the original order of the source B^2 as follows: x–xiii. 3^a, xx, xxiv. 2–4, xiii. 3^b–12, xxv, xiv–xix, xxi–xxiv. 1, xxx. 2–5, xli. sq., xlviii. 1–47, xlix–lii. 3, lxxv, xxxi–xxxii. 1, 5–6, liv. 17, 18, xlviii. 48–50, lii. 5–7, liv. 16, xliv. 8–15, lxxxiii, xxxii. 7–xxxv, lxxvi.

The solution here offered seems extremely complex, but since the problem is almost incredibly complex, the solution cannot be a simple or obvious one. Further investigation will no doubt modify some of the above conclusions, but I know of no study since my edition in 1896 that gives adequate grounds for any serious departure from the above analysis.

§ 8. The Lost Epistle to the Two and a Half Tribes.

In my edition of 2 Baruch in 1896, pp. lxv–lxvii, I advanced the hypothesis, which is now steadily gaining acceptance, that a portion of the lost Epistle to the Two and a Half Tribes, which is referred to in lxxvii. 12, 17, 19, has been preserved in 1 Baruch i. 1–3, iii. 9–iv. 29. The lost Epistle was addressed to Judah and Benjamin in exile (lxxvii. 12, 17). So was 1 Bar. iii. 9–iv. 29. The lost Epistle was 'an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings' (lxxvi. 12). So, too, is 1 Bar. iii. 9–iv. 29. The lost Epistle was to hold out the promise of return and was written by Baruch to Babylon. So, too, was 1 Bar. iii. 9–iv. 29. For the enforcement of these and other grounds for the identification of the lost Epistle, see my edition as referred to above.

§ 9. The Relations of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra.

The affinities of our Apocrypha and 4 Ezra are so numerous (see my edition of the former, pp. 170–1, for some sixty-six passages with such affinities) that Ewald and Ryle assumed identity of authorship. But their points of divergence are so weighty (*op. cit.* pp. lxix–lxxi) that this view

cannot be sustained. Three conclusions remain open according as we assume the integrity or compositeness of these books. If on the one hand we assume unity of authorship, either 2 Baruch is earlier or later than 4 Ezra. According to Schürer, Bissell, Thomson, Deane, Kabisch, De Faye, Clemen, Wellhausen, 2 Baruch is the earlier, while Langen, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Dillmann, Rosenthal, Gunkel are just as strongly convinced that it is the later. Moreover, the arguments of the one side are just as weighty as the counter arguments of the other, and beyond this *impasse* it is impossible, in my opinion, for criticism to advance, until it recognizes the composite nature of both books. The subject cannot be discussed here. The reader can consult an attempt to deal with the chronological relations of the various constituents of the two books in my edition of 2 Baruch, pp. lxxii–lxxvi. See also Box's edition of 4 Ezra, which is about to be published, as well as his Introduction to 4 Ezra in the present volume.

§ 10. Theology.

This book presents a vivid picture of the hopes and beliefs of Judaism during the years A.D. 50–100. As it was written at different dates and by different authors, its composition was thus contemporaneous with that of the New Testament. It is, therefore, of great value to the New Testament student, as it furnishes him with the historical setting and background of many of the New Testament problems.

Original Sin and Free-will. Sin in 2 Baruch is the conscious and deliberate breach of the law, xv. 5–9, xix. 1–2. Man does not fall inevitably into it; for he does not possess a *cor malignum* as in 4 Ezra. Jeremiah is 'pure from sin', ix. 1.

Sin, then, being a conscious breach of law, it began with Adam's transgression. Adam is the starting-point as in 2 Enoch, whereas in 1 Enoch and Jubilees human depravity is traced mainly to the angels that sinned. When Adam fell, his name became symbolical for the power of darkness opposing the power of light, which is the law, xviii. 1–2.

On the fall of Adam certain consequences followed. (*a*) First of all, *physical death.* In B^2, i.e. xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. This conditional immortality of man appears also in 1 Enoch lxix. 11, Wisdom i. 13, 14, 2 Enoch xxx. 16, 17, 4 Ezra iii. 7. But in A^3, i.e. liv. 15, lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only premature death. (*b*) *Psychical and physical declension.* This consequence appears in many passages but most clearly in lvi. 6, where trouble and anguish, disease and death, sensual passion and the begetting of children are traced to it.

> 'For when he transgressed
> Untimely deaths came into being:
> Grief was named,
> And anguish prepared:
> And pain was created,
> And trouble consummated:
> And disease began to be established,
> And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood:
> And the begetting of children was brought about,
> And the passion of parents produced:
> And the greatness of humanity was humiliated,
> And goodness languished.'

(*c*) *Spiritual evil* in that man became a danger to himself, lvi. 10, and to the angels, lvi. 10. In the former passage the text states shortly that man 'became a danger to his own soul'. This fact, therefore, that man henceforth became his own worst enemy, implies that by the Fall a hereditary tendency to evil was established in man. In one passage only does spiritual death appear to be traced to Adam, i.e. in xlviii. 42 sq., but even there it does not follow as an inevitable consequence.

Notwithstanding the above penalties that followed on the Fall, man according to 2 Baruch preserves his free-will, his moral nature remains unimpaired, and the spiritual consequences of Adam's Fall are in the main limited to Adam himself, liv. 15, 19.

> 'For though Adam first sinned
> And brought untimely death upon all,
> Yet of those who were born from him
> Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
> And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.
>
> Adam is, therefore, not the cause, save only of his own soul,
> But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.'

Thus man remained the captain of his own soul and therefore of his destiny. The issues of right and wrong are placed before him and the power of choice remains in his keeping, xix. 1, 3.

> '"Behold I have placed before you life and death,"
> And he called heaven and earth to witness against them . . .
> But after his death they sinned and transgressed,
> Though they knew they had the Law reproving (them),
> And the light in which nothing could err,
> Also the spheres which testify, and Me.'

'The lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness', lix. 2: even from the Gentiles the needful knowledge was not withheld and their conscience testified to their guilt: only their pride withheld from them a knowledge of the law. Hence the choice of evil on man's part is deliberate, li. 16.

> 'For then they chose ⟨not⟩ for themselves this time,
> Which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away:
> But they chose for themselves that time,
> Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils . . .
> So that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before.'

Thus in 2 Baruch there is no doctrine of inherited guilt or of total depravity. This differs wholly from the Pauline doctrine. In the latter owing to the Fall man is henceforth dominated by original sin, which makes his fulfilment of the law and therefore his realization of righteousness impossible. He is not, indeed, thereby robbed wholly of free-will, but retains it in a degree just sufficient to justify his condemnation.

The Law. This book is of a strongly Pharisaic character. The writers are assured of their power to fulfil the law, and the self-complacency of Baruch xiii. 3, xxv. 1, xliii. 1 stands out in strong contrast with the self-depreciation that marks 4 Ezra. The importance of the law is emphasized iii. 6, xv. 5. It was the centre round which Jewish thought and life revolved. To a limited extent the Messianic expectation was likewise a centre, and, in proportion the more one is emphasized, the more the other falls into the background. Thus in B^1 *where the restoration of Jerusalem is looked for but no Messiah*, the law is spoken of as follows: God gave the law to Israel, lxxvii. 3; for transgressing it they were sent into exile, lxxvii. 4, lxxxiv. 2; but let not Israel withdraw from the law, xliv. 23, but obey it, xlvi. 5; let them remember it, lxxxiv. 8; for if they do so, they will see the consolation of Zion, xliv. 7, and a son of the law shall never be wanting, xlvi. 4, nor a lamp nor a shepherd, lxxvii. 16. In B^2 *where there is no Messiah and no expectation of the restoration of Jerusalem*, the law is still further glorified. It will protect those who receive it in their hearts, xxxii. 1, xlviii. 24; by it they will be justified, li. 3; in it will be the hope of the righteous, li. 7; the law is with Israel, and so long as they obey it they will not fall, xlviii. 22, 24. They have received one law from One, xlviii. 24. For further treatment of this question see my edition of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. lxix, 26–31, 63–4.

Here we have decidedly orthodox Judaism. In 4 Ezra on the other hand man trembles before the law: he needs mercy, not the award of the law; for all have sinned, viii. 35: it has served rather unto condemnation; for only a very few are saved through good works, vii. 77, or the divine compassion, vii. 139.

Works and justification. In our apocalypse the righteous are saved by their works, li. 7, and their righteousness is of the law, lxvii. 6. In the consciousness of their justification by the law, li. 3, they can with confidence approach God, and look to Him for the fulfilment of their prayers because of their works wherein they trust, lxiii. 3, 5; lxxxv. 2, and owing to the same ground of confidence they depart from this world full of hope, xiv. 12. But their works are not limited to themselves in their saving effects. So long as the righteous live, their righteousness is a tower of strength to their people, ii. 2, and after death it remains to their country a lasting ground of merit, xiv. 7, lxxxiv. 10.

The Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom. The hope of a Messiah is entertained only in A^1, A^2, A^3, the hope of the Kingdom without a Messiah in B^1, which sections were written before A.D. 70. Since the chief characteristics of these sections have been dealt with in this respect in § 7, we shall touch only briefly upon them. The kingdom of the Messiah is not like that of the centuries preceding 100 B.C., which was to last for ever. According to this Apocalypse the whole present world belongs to the sphere of corruption. Even so does the Messianic kingdom. It forms the end of the world of corruption, xl. 3, and the beginning of the world of incorruption, lxxiv. 2. Although of temporary duration it is the Golden Age, lxxiii. 1, 2, 7.

1. 'And it shall come to pass when he has brought low everything that is in the world,
And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of his kingdom,
That joy shall then be revealed
And rest shall appear.

2. And then healing shall descend in dew,
And disease shall withdraw,
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,
And gladness proceed through the whole earth . . .

7. And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear,
Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

lxxiv. 1. And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build toilworn,
For the works shall of themselves speedily advance
Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.'

At the close of this temporary kingdom the Messiah will return to heaven and the righteous shall rise to a blessed life, xxx. 1. Then shall the righteous receive their promised reward, lix. 2, and enjoy the glories to come, liv. 15, but the unrighteous shall be cast into the torment of fire, liv. 14, lv. 7, lix. 2, 10.

In the other sections, B^2, B^3 written after A.D. 70, no period of earthly blessedness is looked for; the hope of a kingdom of righteousness on earth is abandoned wholly. An extreme note of despair as to this world marks both these sections but especially B^3 (i.e. lxxxv), which was written in exile: cp. lxxxv. 2. According to this latter writer (lxxxv. 10):

'The youth of the world is past,
And the strength of the creation already exhausted . . .
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to the port:
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to (its) consummation.'

Resurrection. In xlix. 2–li a view of the resurrection is expounded, which sets forth first the raising of the dead with their bodies in exactly the same form in which they had been committed to the earth with a view to their recognition by those who knew them, and next their subsequent transformation with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration. In my edition of this book, pp. 83–4, I have shown that the Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. xv. 35–50 is in many respects not an innovation, but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism. In Judaism the same physical body was resuscitated and transformed: in the Pauline teaching, the two bodies were wholly unconnected except in so far as they were the successive organs of the spirit in the material and spiritual worlds. They were so far from being identical in any respect that it was not till the physical body was destroyed that the spiritual body could be assumed. There is no transformation of dead or resuscitated bodies in the Pauline teaching: only of bodies of the faithful who should be alive at the Parousia.

§ 11. Relation of the Apocalypse with the New Testament.

The points of contact between this Apocalypse and the New Testament are many in number. The most of these, however, are insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side; for the thoughts and expressions in question could be explained from pre-existing literature, or were commonplaces of the time.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Matt. iii. 16: Lo, the heavens were opened.	xxii. 1: Lo, the heavens were opened.	Ezek. i. 1.
Matt. iii. 17 (xvii. 5; John xii. 28): A voice from heaven.	xiii. 1; xxii. 1: A voice from the height.	Dan. iv. 31.
Matt. iv. 8.	lxxvi. 3.	Deut. xxxiv. 1–4.
Matt. xxiv. 7 (Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11): Famines and . . . earthquakes.	xxvii. 6, 7.	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Matt. xxiv. 11, 24: Many false prophets.	xlviii. 34 (see note).	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Matt. xxiv. 19 (Luke xxiii. 29).	x. 13, 14 (resemblance slight).	Isa. liv. 1.
Matt. xxvi. 24: It had been good for that man, &c.	x. 6: Blessed is he who was not born, &c.	A Jewish commonplace.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Matt. xxiv. 27: For as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man.	liii. 9: Now that lightning shone exceedingly so as to illuminate the whole earth. (The lightning here symbolizes the Messiah.)	A coincidence (?).
Luke xx. 36: Equal unto the angels.	li. 10.	1 Enoch civ. 4, 6.
Luke xxi. 28 (1 Pet. iv. 7): Your redemption draweth nigh.	xxiii. 7: My redemption has drawn nigh.	1 Enoch li. 2.
Acts xv. 10 (where the law is spoken of as a 'yoke'; cp. Gal. v. 1).	xli. 3: The yoke of Thy law.	A current expression.
Rom. ii. 14, 15.	xlviii. 40 (see note).	A Jewish commonplace.
Rom. viii. 18 (2 Cor. iv. 17): The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory, &c.	xv. 8: This world is to them . . . a labour with much trouble . . . and that . . . which is to come, a crown with great glory.	A Jewish commonplace.
1 Cor. iv. 5 (Heb. iv. 13).	lxxxiii. 3.	1 Enoch ix. 5.
2 Cor. iii. 18: Reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord are transformed into the same image from glory to glory.	li. 10: And they shall be made like unto the angels, . . . and they shall be changed . . . from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory.	
2 Cor. iv. 17 (Rom. viii. 18).	xv. 8.	A Jewish commonplace
1 Tim. i. 2: Mercy and peace.	lxxviii 2: Mercy and peace.	A coincidence.
2 Pet. iii. 9.	xxi. 20.	A coincidence.
2 Pet. iii. 13 (Matt. xix. 28; Rev. xxi. 1): New heavens and a new earth.	xxxii. 6: Renew His creation.	Isa. lxv. 17.
Rev. xx. 12: The books were opened.	xxiv. 1: The books shall be opened.	Dan. vii. 10.

In the following passages our text is dependent on the New Testament, or on some lost common source :—

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.
Matt. xvi. 26: For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?	li. 15: For what then have men lost their life and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?
Luke i. 43: Blessed art thou among women, &c.	liv. 10: Blessed be my mother among those that bear, &c. (probably interpolated).
1 Cor. xv. 19: If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.	xxi. 13: For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.
1 Cor. xv. 35: How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?	xlix. 2: In what shape will those live who live in Thy day?
James i. 2: Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold temptations.	lii. 6: Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer.
Rev. iv. 6: In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, four living creatures.	li. 11: The living creatures that are beneath the throne.

§ 12. Bibliography.

For a full bibliography see Charles' *Apocalypse of Baruch* with short criticisms of the various works, and Schürer, *in loc.*

(*a*) The Greek Version. Fragments published in Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. 3–7, 1903; reprinted in this volume, p. 487 sqq.

The Syriac Version. The entire version in Ceriani's *Monumenta sacra et profana*, V. ii. 113–80, from one MS. *c*; chapters lxxviii–lxxxvi. 1–2, the Epistle of Baruch, in the London and Paris Polyglots; Lagarde's *Libri Vet. Test. Syriace*, 88–93, 1861, from one MS.; Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 125–67, from ten MSS.

(*b*) Modern Translations. Into Latin by Ceriani, *op. cit.*, I. ii. 73–98, 1866; into English by Charles, *op. cit.*; in German by Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 413–46.

(*c*) Critical Inquiries. Langen, *De Apocalypsi Baruch*, 1867; Hilgenfeld, *Messias Iudaeorum*, 63–4, 1869; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 190–6, 1879; Rosenthal, *Vier apocryphische Bücher*, 72–103, 1885; Kabisch, 'Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs,' *Jahrbücher f. protest. Theol.*, 66–107, 1891; De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 25–8, 76–103, 192–204, 1892; Ryle, *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, i. 361–2; Ginzberg in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ii. 554–6, 1902, a very valuable article.

(*d*) Edition of the book. Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1896.

THE BOOK OF THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH

[Translated from the Greek into Syriac.]

I—IV. 1. *Announcement of the coming Destruction of Jerusalem to Baruch.*

1 And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, that the word of the Lord i–ix. 1
2 came to Baruch, the son of Neriah, and said to him: 'Hast thou seen all that this people are doing = B[1]
to Me, that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of)
3 the ten tribes which were carried away captive? For the former tribes were forced by their kings
to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit
4 sin. For this reason, behold I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it shall be
removed from before Me for a time, and I will scatter this people among the Gentiles that they
may do good to the Gentiles. And My people shall be chastened, and the time shall come when
they will seek for the prosperity of their times.

2 1 For I have said these things to thee that thou mayst bid Jeremiah, and all those that are like
you, to retire from this city.
2 For your works are to this city as a firm pillar,
And your prayers as a strong wall.'

THE FIRST SECTION. I–V. 6. The first of the seven sections into which, according to the scheme of the final editor, the book was originally divided by fasts, generally lasting seven days. See v. 7, note; ix, note.

In this section the word of the Lord comes to Baruch announcing the coming, though temporary, destruction of Jerusalem (i); Baruch is to bid Jeremiah to withdraw (ii); Baruch then asks, Will this destruction be final? will chaos return? (iii); God answers that the punishment is temporary (iv. 1). Yet even so, Baruch rejoins, The enemy will boast before their idols over God's own nation (v. 1). Not so, God replies, the heathen will have no cause to glory, as it is not they who will destroy Zion (v. 2, 3). Baruch assembles the people, and delivers the message (v. 5).

I. **[Translated from the Greek into Syriac.]** These words occur in the Syriac MS., and the statement is supported by (1) transliterations of Greek words; (2) renderings explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator followed the wrong meaning of the Greek word before him.

I. 1. **in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah.** The reckoning is by the years of Jeconiah's life, and not of his reign. He was eighteen years old when he began to reign in 599, and thus his twenty-fifth year would be 592, or two years before Nebuchadrezzar's approach. In vi. 1 only one day, and not two years, elapses between the prediction and its fulfilment. So, too, the siege of Jerusalem is there represented as lasting but one day, whereas it lasted two years. Moreover, Jeconiah was in captivity when the city fell, and Zedekiah was king, as the author was aware (viii. 5). Accuracy of detail is sacrificed to general dramatic effect.

the Lord. This title of God is found in all sections of the book alike.

Baruch, the son of Neriah. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxvi. 4; 1 Baruch i. 1.

2. **the ten tribes.** Elsewhere in this Apocalypse called 'the nine and a half tribes'. See lxxviii. 1 note.

3. **forced by their kings**, e.g. Jeroboam, and other kings of Israel.

these two . . . compelling their kings to commit sin. It was the princes of Judah rather than Zedekiah that resisted Jeremiah's teaching and prophecy.

4. **for a time.** This phrase recurs in iv. 1, vi. 9; xxxii. 3. It is thus peculiar to B[1]. Jerusalem has fallen under the Romans, but the writer of these chapters believes its desolation will be but 'for a time'. Its future restoration is implied also in lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 7, where the return of the ten tribes is foretold. In B[2], and B[3] i.e. lxxxv, no such restoration is looked for; Jerusalem is removed, xx. 2 (see note *in loc.*) in order to usher in the judgement more speedily; in x. 10 the writer abandons all hope of a restored Jerusalem.

do good to the Gentiles. This seems to mean to make proselytes of the Gentiles. Cf. xlii. 5.

My people shall be chastened. Cf. xiii. 10, &c. Pss. Sol. vii. 3, &c.

the prosperity of their times, a Messianic kingdom or period of blessedness for Israel on earth.

II. 1. According to Jer. xxxviii. 13, 28 Jeremiah was a prisoner in the court of the guard till the capture of Jerusalem.

those that are like you. This phrase recurs in three of the sections of this book. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36, &c.

retire from this city. Cf. 4 Baruch ('The Rest of the Words of Baruch') i. 1. 'Jeremiah . . . go forth from this city'. The reason for this command appears in the Talmud. In Taanith 19 we are told a house cannot fall so long as a good man is in it. In Pesikta 115[b] (Buber's edition, 1868) it is said 'So long as Jeremiah was in Jerusalem it was not destroyed, but when he went forth from it, it was destroyed'.

2. **your works are to this city as a firm pillar**, &c. Here Jer. vi. 27 is illegitimately applied, 'I have made thee a tower and a fortress among my people.' Cf., however, Gen. xviii. 23–33.

your works. On the doctrine of works taught in this book see note on xiv. 7. 4 Baruch omits the reference to 'works', as it is of Christian authorship.

3 1 And I said: 'O LORD, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the
2 evils of my mother? Not (so) my Lord. If I have found grace in Thy sight, first take my spirit
3 that I may go to my fathers and not behold the destruction of my mother. For two things
vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist Thee, and my soul, moreover, cannot behold the evils
4, 5 of my mother. But one thing I will say in Thy presence, O Lord. What, therefore, will there be
after these things? for if Thou destroyest Thy city, and deliverest up Thy land to those that hate
6 us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered? Or how shall one speak of Thy praises?
7 or to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained? Or shall the world return to its nature (of
8 aforetime), and the age revert to primeval silence? And shall the multitude of souls be **taken away**,
9 and the nature of man not again be named? And where is all that which Thou didst say to Moses
regarding us?'

4 1 And the Lord said unto me:
'This city shall be delivered up for a time,
And the people shall be chastened during a time,
And the world will not be given over to oblivion.

IV. 2–7. *The heavenly Jerusalem.*

2 [' Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: "On the palms of My hands have I graven
3 thee"? This building now built in your midst is not that which is revealed with Me, that which was
prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to
Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment it was removed from him, as
4 also Paradise. And after these things I showed it to My servant Abraham by night among the
5 portions of the victims. And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to him
6 the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as also
7 Paradise. Go, therefore, and do as I command thee.']

III. 1. **O LORD, my Lord.** This title of God is confined, except in one instance (xxxviii. 1), to B^2 and B^1. It recurs in xiv. 8, 16; xvi. 1; xxiii. 1; xlviii. 4, 5. While used only of God in this work, in 4 Ezra it is applied to an angel six times (see 4 Ezra iv. 38, &c.), as also אֲדֹנָי in Dan. x. 17, 19. The words ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ are to be rendered 'O LORD, my Lord', as above, and not *Dominator Domine*, as we find in Ceriani. The suffix is not moribund. The Syriac is a translation either of *δέσποτα κύριε μου* or *κύριε κύριέ μου*; and these in turn would point either to אדני יהוה or יהוה אדני.

my mother. Cf. iii. 2, 3, x. 16; 1 Baruch iv. 9–16. This was a very natural term for a Jew to apply to Jerusalem, as Isa. xlix. 21. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 37. The writer here (B^1) uses it as an earthly Jerusalem, as St. Paul in Gal. iv. 26 of the heavenly.

2. **take my spirit.** Cf. Ps. xxxi. 13; Jer. xv. 15.

4–IV. 1. Baruch asks God if the end of all things will follow on the delivering up of Jerusalem; will Israel's name be lost, and students of the law fail? Will chaos return and men die? In iv. 1 God answers that Jerusalem will again be restored, the chastening of its people soon be accomplished, and chaos will not return.

6. **to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained?** Answered by Baruch, xlvi. 4.

7. The Syriac word here translated 'world' really means 'ornament'. Thus the translator followed a wrong sense of *κόσμος*.

revert to primeval silence. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 30 for the doctrine of a thousand years' Sabbath, which may be referred to here and in xliv. 9 (B^2) and denied in iv. 1.

8. **shall . . . be taken away.** The MS. reads ܡܫܬܩܕ, which Ceriani emends into ܡܫܬܫܕ, which I have rendered. Ryssel proposes ܡܫܬܫܕ = 'shall be destroyed'.

IV. 2–7. Apparently an interpolation. The earthly Jerusalem is here derided, and contrasted with the one to be revealed. In vi. 9, Jerusalem, though to be delivered up for a time, as in iv. 1, will be again restored, and that for ever. Further in vi. 7–8, *the actual vessels of the earthly temple* are committed to the earth to be preserved for future use in the restored Jerusalem.

2. **'On the palms of My hands.'** Quoted from Isa. xlix. 16, Syriac Version, which alone has 'palms'. This fuller phrase is usual, e.g. 1 Sam. v. 4.

3. **This building . . . is not that which is revealed.** The growing transcendence and enlargement of the idea of God, combined with the deepened consciousness of sin, and the consequent sense of the unfitness of Jerusalem as God's habitation, led to the evolution of the doctrine of a heavenly Jerusalem complete in all its parts. Of heavenly antitypes of the Tabernacle and its furniture we are told as early as the Priests' Code (Exod. xxv. 9, 40; cf. Heb. viii. 5). The purification or even total renewal of the earthly copies is postulated in Isa. lx; Ezek. xl–xlviii. The first full emergence of the idea of the heavenly city seems to be in 1 En. xc. 28, 29, where the old Jerusalem is removed, and the new is brought and set up by God Himself, though even there no prior existence is assigned to the latter. This would be about 166 B.C. But the purification of Jerusalem seems sufficient in Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 (70–40 B.C.); 1 En. x. 16–19, xxv. 1 (180 B.C.), to prepare for the Messianic kingdom. See my Commentary.

took counsel to make Paradise. Which Paradise is this? It may be, like the heavenly Jerusalem, the Paradise kept in heaven, or it may be the earthly counterpart in which Adam was placed at the first.

4. **I showed it to My servant Abraham.** We are not told so in Gen. xv. 9–21. But in 4 Ezra iii. 13, 14 Abraham is said to have been shown 'the end of the times', while the Beresh. rabba on Gen. xxviii. 17 tells us that the above vision was accorded to Jacob sleeping at Bethel.

V. *Baruch's Complaint and God's Reassurance.*

5 1 And I answered and said:
'So then I am destined to **grieve** for Zion,
For Thine enemies will come to this place and pollute Thy sanctuary,
And lead Thine inheritance into captivity,
And make themselves masters of those whom Thou hast loved,
And they will depart again to the place of their idols,
And will boast before them:
And what wilt Thou do for Thy great name?'
2 And the Lord said unto me:
'My name and My glory are unto all eternity;
And My judgement shall maintain its right in its own time.
3 And thou shalt see with thine eyes
That the enemy will not overthrow Zion,
Nor shall they burn Jerusalem,
But be the ministers of the Judge for the time.
4 But do thou go and do whatsoever I have said unto thee.'
5 And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish, and Gedaliah, and all the honourable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Cedron, and I narrated to them all
6, 7 that had been said to me. And they lifted up their voice, and they all wept. And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

VI–VIII. *Invasion of the Chaldeans and their Entrance into the City after the Sacred Vessels were hidden and the City's Walls overthrown by Angels.*

6 1 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo! the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city, and at the time of the evening, I, Baruch, left the people, and I went forth and stood by the
2 oak. And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon
3 the people. And lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of
4 Jerusalem. And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of
5 them holding a torch of fire in his hands. And another angel began to descend from heaven,
6 and said unto them: 'Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you. For I am first sent to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded

V. 1. **grieve.** MS. reads سد (='guilty') which I have emended into حاد = 'grieve'.
whom Thou hast loved, lxxviii. 3, xxi. 20, 21; 4 Ezra iv. 23.
what wilt Thou do. Joshua vii. 9. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 25.
2. **My judgement . . . shall maintain its right.** Recurs in a slightly different form in xlviii. 27, and lxxxv. 9.
3. This is carried out in vi. 5; vii.
5. **Adu.** A priest of this name went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). The Mass. gives Iddo, but the Syriac and Vulgate Addo.
Seriah, brother of Baruch and chief chamberlain of Zedekiah with whom he went to Babylon (see Jer. li. 59, 61).
Gedaliah, son of Ahikam (see Jer. xl. 14).
narrated to them, &c. Baruch usually makes known his revelations to his friends and the elders. He is forbidden to do so in the fourth section, i. e. xii. 5–xx.
7. **fasted until the evening.** The other fasts mentioned are of seven days. Of these there are four (ix. 2; xii. 5; xxi. 1; xlvii. 2). The scheme of the final editor is first a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or revelation, then an announcement of this either to an individual (e. g. v. 5) or to the people (e. g. xxxi. 2–xxxiv), followed occasionally by a lamentation. This scheme is broken through in the fifth section only, i. e. in xxi–xlvi, where another fast is required after xxxv. In 4 Ezra there are four fasts of seven days.

THE SECOND SECTION. VI–VIII. This is a short section. After a day's fast Baruch, while lamenting alone, sees in a vision the sacred vessels committed to the earth for a season and the city destroyed by angels lest the enemy should triumph (vi. 3–vii). The realization of this vision follows.

VI. 1. **on the morrow,** &c. 4 Baruch (iv. 1) reproduces these words.
by the oak. This oak is outside the city, probably near or in the valley of the Cedron, where Baruch and the others had fasted. It cannot be the oak at Hebron.
It is noteworthy that no mention of this oak occurs in B^2. In B^1 it is found twice (vi. 1 and lxxvii. 18). A tree is referred to in A^3 in lv. 1.
4. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 'I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth'; 4 Baruch iii. 2.
5. Cf. Rev. vii. 2; 4 Baruch iii. 4.
6. The office of the angel here is executed by Jeremiah in 4 Baruch iii. 8.
the Lord the Most High. This full title occurs here only in this book; the 'Most High' is found in xvii. 1, &c., lxxxiii. 1, and 4 Ezra.

7 me.' And I saw him descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from thence the veil, and the holy **ark**, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the **altar of incense**, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned and all the holy
8 vessels of the tabernacle. And he spake to the earth with a loud voice:

'Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God,
And receive what I commit to thee,
And guard them until the last times,
So that, when thou art ordered, thou mayst restore them,
So that strangers may not get possession of them.
9 For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered for a time,
Until it is said, that it is again restored for ever.'
10 And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.

7 1 And after these things I heard that angel saying unto those angels who held the lamps:

'Destroy, therefore, and overthrow its wall to its foundations, lest the enemy should boast and say:

"We have overthrown the wall of Zion,
And we have burnt the place of the mighty God."'

2 And †ye have seized the place† where I had been standing before.

8 1 Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the corners of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying:

2 'Enter, ye enemies,
And come, ye adversaries;
For he who kept the house has forsaken (it).'

3, 4 And I, Baruch, departed. And it came to pass after these things that the army of the Chaldees
5 entered and seized the house, and all that was around it. And they led the people away captive, and slew some of them, and bound Zedekiah the king, and sent him to the king of Babylon.

IX–XII. 4. *First Fast of seven Days: Baruch to remain amid the Ruins of Jerusalem and Jeremiah to accompany the Exiles to Babylon. Baruch's Dirge over Jerusalem.*

9 1 And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been

7. **take from thence**, &c. In 2 Macc. ii. 4–8 there is a very similar tradition. Jeremiah is warned of God to hide in the mountain where Moses climbed up 'the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense'. This place was to remain unknown till God should gather His people again together.

ark. MS. = אפוד corrupt for ארון. The converse corruption of אפוד into ארון is found in 1 Sam. xiv. 18. In 2 Macc. ii. 5 the things hidden are these—*τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος.*

According to Bammidbar rabba 15, five things were taken away and preserved on the destruction of Solomon's temple: the candlestick, the ark, the fire, the Holy Spirit, and the Cherubim.

the altar of incense. The Syriac implies *θυμιατήριον.* In the LXX this word = 'censer', but in Philo and Josephus it means not 'censer' but 'altar of incense'. Cf. Heb. ix. 1–5 (?), and 2 Macc. as above (*τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*) which mention the altar but not a censer. See Appendix to my Commentary, p. 168.

forty-eight precious stones. Why forty-eight? There were twelve on the breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 15–21) and two on the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 9).

8. **Earth . . . of the mighty God**, drawn from Jer. xxii. 29. 'Earth' is repeated three times also in Mass., Syr., Vulg. of that passage; in LXX only twice.

Mighty God. This title recurs in vii. 1, and xiii. 2, 4. Not in 4 Ezra.

guard them until the last times. Cf. 4 Baruch iii. 8, 'Preserve the vessels of worship until the coming of the Beloved.'

9. **restored for ever.** A Messianic kingdom of indefinite duration is looked forward to with Jerusalem as its centre, and likewise the temple in which the sacred vessels of the former temple will again be used. During this kingdom the dispersion will again return to Palestine (lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, notes).

VII. 2. **ye have seized the place.** The text is impossible here. Possibly ܐܣܦܬܘܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ is corrupt for ܠܐܬܪܐ (ܐܬܚܙܝܬܘܢ or) ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܢܦܫܝ 'the spirit brought me to the place.' In vi. 3 a strong spirit carried Baruch aloft over the walls for the vision: now he carries him back to the place beside the oak.

VIII. 2. 4 Baruch iv. 1.

He who kept the house has forsaken it. Cf. Tacitus *Hist.* v. 13 'Apertae repente delubri fores et audita maior humana vox excedere deos'.

5. The writer knows of Zedekiah and his captivity. See note on i. 1.

IX. 1. **heart . . . pure from sins.** In Pss. Sol. xvii. 41 the Messiah is said to be *καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας.*

THE THIRD SECTION. IX. 2–XII. 4. After a seven days' fast amid the ruins of Zion, the word of the Lord bids Baruch to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon, and promises a revelation of what should be in the end. Baruch tells Jeremiah the message, and laments before the temple gates for Zion.

2 captured in the seizure of the city. And we rent our garments, we wept, and mourned, and fasted ix. 2–xxv. = B²
seven days.

1, 2 And it came to pass after seven days, that the word of God came to me, and said unto me: 'Tell
3 Jeremiah to go and support the captivity of the people unto Babylon. But do thou remain here
amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show to thee after these days what will befall at the end of
4, 5 days.' And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me. And he, indeed, departed with the
people, but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with the
following lamentation over Zion and said:

6 'Blessed is he who was not born,
Or he, who having been born, has died.
7 But as for us who live, woe unto us,
Because we see the afflictions of Zion,
And what has befallen Jerusalem.
8 I will call the Sirens from the sea,
And ye Lilin, come ye from the desert,
And ye Shedim and dragons from the forests:
Awake and gird up your loins unto mourning,
And take up with me the dirges,
And make lamentation with me.
9 Ye husbandmen, sow not again;
And, O earth, wherefore givest thou thy harvest fruits?
Keep within thee the sweets of thy sustenance.
10 And thou, vine, why further dost thou give thy wine;
For an offering will not again be made therefrom in Zion,
Nor will first-fruits again be offered.

IX. 2. The first fast of seven days.
Fasting was the usual preparation for supernatural communications. Cf. Dan. ix. 3, 20–21; and see note on v. 7.

X. 1. **God.** This word is found only twice again, i.e. liv. 12; lxxxii. 9. Its use is more frequent in 4 Ezra.

2. We have here a violation of the true historical tradition. According to Jer. xliii. 4–7, both Jeremiah and Baruch were carried down into Egypt. In 1 Baruch i. 1, Baruch appears in Babylon five years after Jerusalem was taken. In 4 Baruch, too, Jeremiah is taken to Babylon, but by force. The references to Jeremiah in connexion with Babylon probably belong to B². In lxxvii. 17–19, &c., Baruch writes to the brethren in Babylon, never to Jeremiah; while in 4 Baruch he directs his letter to Jeremiah. But later Judaism, according to Pesik. R. 26 (131ᵇ ed. Friedmann) held that Jeremiah accompanied the exiles part of the way to Babylon.

support. So I render according to a recognized meaning of the Syriac verb ܡܨܡ. Ryssel thinks that this verb goes back to הָכִין לְ, and that לב was to be understood with it. Thus he arrives at his rendering 'care for'. But this is most unlikely; for in xliii. 1 we have the actual Syriac phrase in full which corresponds to the Hebrew הכין לב, i.e. ܡܨܡ ܠܒܐ. There we should render as in Hebrew, 'direct thy heart,' &c. Now it is noteworthy that the clause in our text 'go and support' recurs practically in xxxiii. 2, but there ܡܨܡ is used instead of ܡܨܡ. ܡܨܡ is a Syriac equivalent of הכין. Hence there we render 'make ready'. In lxxvii. 12 yet another verb, ܣܕܪ, is used in nearly the same sense as ܡܨܡ in x. 2. Returning now to xxxiii. 2 we recognize at once that there is a slight corruption in the text: 'make ready the rest of the brethren †in† Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity.' Here the brethren are first of all said to be already 'in Babylon', and then in the next clause to be sentenced to exile to Babylon. Thus 'in Babylon' may be corrupt for 'for Babylon'. It must be confessed, however, that the original standing behind these words is very uncertain.

5. This lament of Baruch prepares for the third fast of xii. 5.

before the gates of the temple. This is the scene of the following lamentation, and also that in xxxv. 1. A passage in the beginning of 3 Baruch seems to be derived from our text: *οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια.* Mount Zion, on the other hand, is the scene where revelations are accorded to him (xiii. 1, &c.).

6. **Blessed is he who was not born,** &c. Cf. Eccles. iv. 2–3, from which the text may ultimately have been derived. Cf. 4 Ezra: it is said that it were better man had not been born at all than be born to have to face future torment and judgement (e.g. vii. 66, 116, 117). But it is the present woes of Jerusalem that here are said to make the unborn blessed, and those in Sheol (xi. 7) happy in comparison with the living.

8. **Sirens.** These are said in 1 En. xix. 2 (Greek version) to have been the wives of the angels who went astray. Here they are sea-nymphs, as in Greek legend. The Greek translators of the O.T. used the term for ostriches and jackals.

Lilin, night-demons. Male and female demons named Lil and Lilit belong to Assyrian and Babylonian demonology. The Lilith (לילית) are mentioned in Isa. xxxiv. 14, along with the satyr שָׂעִיר.

Shedim. Male demons, to which various origins were assigned. See my Commentary, *in loc.*

dragons. So, too, Pesh. renders תנים in Isa. xiii. 22. But the word may mean 'jackals'.

10. The writer of x. 6–xii. 4 resigns absolutely all hope of the restoration of Jerusalem, as B² does throughout.

11 And do ye, O heavens, withhold your dew,
And open not the treasuries of rain:
12 And do thou, O sun, withhold the light of thy rays.

And do thou, O moon, extinguish the multitude of thy light;
For why should light rise again
Where the light of Zion is darkened?

13 And you, ye bridegrooms, enter not in,
And let not the **brides** adorn themselves with garlands;
And, ye women, pray not that ye may bear.

14 For the barren shall above all rejoice,
And those who have no sons shall be glad,
And those who have sons shall have anguish.

15 For why should they bear in pain,
Only to bury in grief?
16 Or why, again, should mankind have sons?

Or why should the seed of their kind again be named,
Where this mother is desolate,
And her sons are led into captivity?

17 From this time forward speak not of beauty,
And discourse not of gracefulness.

18 Moreover, ye priests, take ye the keys of the sanctuary,
And cast them into the height of heaven,
And give them to the Lord and say:

"Guard Thy house Thyself,
For lo! we are found false stewards."

19 And you, ye virgins; who weave fine linen
And silk with gold of Ophir,
Take with haste all (these) things
And cast (them) into the fire,
That it may bear them to Him who made them,
And the flame send them to Him who created them,
Lest the enemy get possession of them.'

11 1 Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against thee, Babylon:
'If thou hadst prospered,
And Zion had dwelt in her glory,
Yet the grief to us had been great
That thou shouldst be equal to Zion.

2 But now, lo! the grief is infinite,
And the lamentation measureless,
For lo! thou art prospered
And Zion desolate.

3 Who will be judge regarding these things?
Or to whom shall we complain regarding that which has befallen us?
O Lord, how hast Thou borne (it)?

13. **brides.** Syriac gives virgins, who first rightly occur in verse 19. The references here are to marriage. The text = בתולות, corrupt for כלות in the Hebrew original.

14. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 19; Luke xxiii. 29, 'Blessed are the barren, &c.'

16. **this mother**, Jerusalem. See iii. 1 note.

18. The priesthood are found false stewards and resign charge of the temple. Cf. 4 Baruch iv. 3, 4, where Jeremiah casts up the keys 'before the sun', and the *Jalkut Shim.* on Isa. xxi, where the flower of the priests cast them up aloft. The same incident is recounted in Taanith 29ᵃ; Lev. R. xix. 6, in connexion with the destruction of the first temple. In Ab. R. N. vii the incident is recorded in connexion with the destruction of the second temple.

XI. 1. Babylon stands here for Rome, as in Rev. xiv. 8, &c.

3. **how hast Thou borne (it).** Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 30, 'how Thou dost bear with them that sin.' Also Pss. Sol. ii. 1, and 4 Ezra iii. 8; Isa. xiv. 6.

4 Our fathers went to rest without grief,
And lo! the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquillity;

5 For they knew not this anguish,
Nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us.

6 Would that thou hadst ears, O earth,
And that thou hadst a heart, O dust:
That ye might go and announce in Sheol,
And say to the dead:

7 "Blessed are ye more than we who live."'

OXYRHYNCHUS GREEK FRAGMENT, from Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. iii. 3–7, 1903.

	Verso.	*Verso.*
.2 1 But I will say this as I think.	(2–5) 12. 1. But I will say this as I think,	⟨ 17 letters αλλα τ⟩ουτο 12 1 οιο⟨ν⟩
And I will speak against thee, O land, which art prospering.	And speak against thee, the land that is prospering.	⟨οιομαι ερω και λαλη⟩σω προς σε την
2 The noonday does not always burn.	2. Not always does the noonday burn,	⟨γην την ευοδουσαν ο⟩υ 2 παντοτε μεσεμ
Nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.	Nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.	5 ⟨βρια αποκαιει ουδ⟩ε το διηνεκες αι ακτι
3 Do not expect [and hope] that thou wilt always be prosperous and rejoicing.	(6–8) 3. And do not thou expect to rejoice,	⟨νες του ηλιου λα⟩μπουσιν· 3 και συ μη προς
And be not greatly uplifted and **boastful**.	Nor †condemn† greatly.	⟨δοκα χαιρησειν⟩ μηδε επ⟨ι⟩πολυ καταδικα
4 For assuredly in its own season shall the (divine) wrath awake against thee.	(8–10) 4. For assuredly in its season shall the (divine) wrath be awakened against thee,	⟨ζε αληθως γαρ ευ⟩ καιρω 4 εξϋπνισθησεται
Which now in long-suffering is held in as it were by reins.	Which is now restrained by long-suffering as it were by a rein.	⟨προς σε η οργη η νυν υπο τ⟩ης μακροθυμ⟨ι⟩

XII. 5–XIII. *Second Fast. Revelation as to the coming Judgement on the Heathen.*

5 And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.	(10–16) 5. And having said these things I fasted seven days.	10 ⟨ας ως χαλινω κατεχεται 5 και⟩ ειπων ταυτα

4. **went to rest . . . sleep in the earth.** Cf. xxi. 24. Dan. xii. 2, 'sleep in the dust of the earth.'
5-6. In Berakh 18[b] there is a long legend narrated, the object of which is to teach that the departed know nothing of what is going on in this world.
6. **That ye might go.** The Syriac = 'and go ye', a Hebrew idiom, i. e. an imperative used for a jussive: see Driver, *Moods and Tenses*,[3] p. 82.

XII. 3. **[and hope].** A duplicate rendering.
be . . . uplifted = תנשא. The Greek 'condemn' = תִּרְשָׁעַ, is against the parallelism.
boastful. I have emended ܠܡܬܟܠܝܢ = 'do (not) oppress', into ܠܡܬܗܦܟܝܢ.

THE FOURTH SECTION. XII. 5–XX. After a fast of seven days follows a long revelation to Baruch (xiii. 2–xx. 2). The text is very confused. See next note.

XIII–XXV. The text of these chapters is inexplicable as it stands. The difficulties are due not to corruption, though this exists, but to a recasting of the original text. In this process many passages were torn from their original contexts and placed in settings which are quite unsuitable. It appears impossible to restore the original order; for not only were the chapters broken up and rearranged, but also mutilated and interpolated. It is only occasionally possible to explain the grounds for such dislocations of the text. But that they occur not infrequently is indubitable. We have it on a large scale in 2 Corinthians which is composed of two letters, and where the later in date is placed before the earlier. Other instances which can be consulted by the reader occur in this volume: see 1 Enoch xii–xvi; where the dislocation and consequent confusion are almost as great as in our text: lxxviii–lxxxii; xci–xciii.

But let us return and state the chief grounds for regarding this section as disarranged and confused. 1°. In xiii. 4 'those prosperous cities' are represented as speaking without a single note of introduction. Before xiii. 4 probably some reference was made to these cities. 2°. The retribution of the Gentiles referred to in xiii. 4, 5 has not been

13 1 And it came to pass after these things, that I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came from the height and said 2 unto me: 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.'

13. 1. And it came to pass after these things that I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came forth from the height and said unto me: 2. 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.'

⟨ενηστευσα ημε⟩ρας ζ̄ και 13
εγενετο με
⟨τα ταυτα οτι εγω⟩ Βαρουχ
ϊστηκει^ν^ επι το
⟨ορος Σιων και ιδου φων⟩η
εξηλθεν εξ ϋ
⟨ψους και ειπε μοι ανα⟩στα 2
επι τους πο
15 ⟨δας σου Βαρουχ και ακουε⟩
τον λογον ϊσχυ
⟨ρου θεου
. . . . .

3 Because thou hast been astonied at what has befallen Zion, thou shalt therefore be assuredly 4 preserved to the consummation of the times, that thou mayst be for a testimony. So that, if ever 5 those prosperous cities say: 'Why hath the mighty God brought upon us this retribution?' Say

mentioned before, though the text presupposes some such mention. It is intelligible if xxv or xxiv. 4 precedes where Baruch asks what will befall the enemies of Israel. 3°. In xiv. 1 Baruch replies that God has shown him 'the method of the times', *whereas in* xx. 6 *this is not yet done*; for the promise is there given that Baruch shall receive directions with regard to them. 4°. In xiv. 1 it is said that God has shown to Baruch the retribution that shall befall the Gentiles. But this is not done by God till xxv. 3. The Gentile cities in xiii. 4 sq. complain of it after it has come upon them. Hence xxv. should precede xiii. 4–xiv. 5°. In xxiv. 4^b^ Baruch asks what retribution awaits the enemies of Israel and when would the judgement be. Now the answer to the first question has already been given in xiii. 4–12; and the answer to the second question follows in xxv. Hence xxiv. 4 should precede xiii. 3^b^–12, xxv. 6°. In xiii. 5 the words 'thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil' are unexplained in their present context and are in fact inexplicable, unless xxiv. 2 precedes, in which God tells Baruch that he and many with him should see the judgement of God. But if xxiv. 2 'thou shalt see—and the many that are with thee' originally preceded xiii. 3^b^–5, then everything is clear. Hence xxiv. 2–4 should precede xiii. 3^b^–12. 7°. Again, there is no adequate explanation of the 'therefore' in xx. 1. But if xx is read immediately after xiii. 1–3^a^ the text would at once become clear.

Thus, provisionally, the text might be restored as follows:—xiii. 1–3^a^; xx; xxiv. 2–4; xiii. 3^b^–12; xxv.

Now we have to remark regarding these sections that their interest is at once *theological and national.* To reassure Baruch, who is plunged in grief over Jerusalem (xiii. 3^a^), God declares (xx. 1–2) that the days and years will speed more quickly in order to usher in the judgement, which will right all wrongs, and that even Jerusalem has been removed with this end in view. Baruch is then promised that disclosures shall be made on 'the method of the times' (xx. 6) and that 'he †and the many that are with† him' (xxiv. 2) shall witness God's dealings. Baruch, thereupon, asks two questions (xxiv. 4): (*a*) What will befall Israel's enemies? (*b*) when will this judgement be of which God has already spoken (xx. 2)? The answer to (*a*) is given in xiii. 3^b^–12. But the first words of this answer are lost, somewhat to the effect that 'retribution will come upon the prosperous cities of your enemies'. Baruch, moreover, will be preserved until those last days (xiii. 3) in order to testify together with the surviving righteous (xiii. 5, xxiv. 2) the reason of the retribution that had befallen those cities, and to answer the remonstrances of the tormented Gentiles. In answer to Baruch's second question, he is informed (xxv. 1–2) that he shall be preserved till the sign of the last days has come. This sign shall be a stupor that shall seize the inhabitants of the earth (xxv. 3, 4). Baruch, thereupon, acknowledges that God has shown him 'the method of the times', and told him of the retribution coming upon the Gentiles (xiv. 1). This verse closes the questions of theological and national interest in xiii–xxv. In xiv. 2–xix, which follows, we have a section that is of a purely *theological and individual* interest, as will be seen from the summary at the beginning of these chapters (p. 489).

xxi–xxiv. 1 is mainly of the same theological cast. Their substance, in a word, is that the end cannot come till all souls are born.

Thus the original order of xiii–xxv appears to have been: xiii. 1–3^a^, xx, xxiv. 2–4, xiii. 3^b^–12, xxv, xiv–xix, xxi–xxiv. 1.

XIII. 1. Mount Zion is the scene of the revelation here; of the prayer in xxi. 4–25; of the revelation in xxii–xxx; of the seven days' fast in xlvii. 2; and of the prayer and revelation following in xlviii–lii.

3. **thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved**, &c. This promise recurs twice again in B^2^, i.e. in xxv. 1 and lxxvi. 2. Thus the assumption and preservation of Baruch till the last judgement is the teaching of B^2^. Cf. also xlviii. 30 and xlvi. 7. In B^1^, on the other hand, Baruch is to die a natural death (lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1), and go the way of all the earth (xliv. 2). This conflict of accounts is due to the transference of a distinct Enochic function to Baruch in B^2^. For in Jub. iv. 24 it is said: 'Enoch was set as a *sign* there (in Eden), and that he should testify against all the children of men' (Cf. also x. 17). Enoch's acceptance among Christians was the ground for his rejection by the Jews. Though he was second only to Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic prior to A.D. 40 his functions and achievements were in subsequent Jewish literature assigned to others, e.g. Moses, Ezra, or Baruch. By observing this tendency of Jewish thought we are enabled in lix. 4–11 to conclude that a document, seen to be on other grounds prior to A.D. 70, is later than the rise of Christianity.

be assuredly preserved. The Syriac reveals a Hebraism; lit. = σωσθεὶς σωσθήσει.

4. **those prosperous cities.** The text preceding these words seems to have been lost; or preferably (see note on xiii–xxv on p. 487) we should read xiii. 3^b^–12 after xxiv. 2–4. In any case, xiii. 3^b^–12 gives an answer to xxiv. 4. The cities here mentioned are Gentile cities. 'A land' is referred to as prospering in xii. 1, 3.

brought upon us this retribution. Cf. the phrase in regard to Israel in lxxvii. 4. Here the Gentile cities suffer as there Israel does.

thou to them, thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil: '⟨This is the evil⟩ and retribution which is coming upon you and upon your people in its (destined) time that the nations
6, 7 may be thoroughly **smitten**. And then they **shall be in anguish**. And if they say at that time:
8 **For how long?** Thou wilt say to them:

"Ye who have drunk the strained wine,
Drink ye also of its dregs,
The judgement of the Lofty One
Who has no respect of persons."'

9 On this account he had aforetime no mercy on His own sons,
But afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned,

10 Then therefore were they chastened
That they might be sanctified.

OXYRHYNCHUS GREEK FRAGMENT.

		Recto.	*Recto.*	
			. . . . .	
			.⟨	
11 But now, ye peoples and nations, ye are guilty	(19–20)	11. (Ye) peoples and . . .	ο̣π̣η⟨	11
Because ye have always trodden down the earth,		(Ye) have trodden down the earth	τα εθνη κ̣α̣⟨ 14 letters καταπα	
And used the creation unrighteously.		And misused the created things in it.	20 τησαντες την ⟨γην και καταχρησαμενοι	
12 For I have always benefited you.	(21–22)	12. For ye were always being benefited	τους εν αυτη κτισμ̣⟨ασι υμεις γαρ ευερ	12
And ye have always been ungrateful for the beneficence.		But ye were always ungrateful.	γετουμενοι αει· ηχα⟨ριστε-ιτε αει	

XIV–XIX. *The Righteousness of the Righteous has profited neither them nor their City; God's Judgements are incomprehensible; the World was made for the Righteous, yet they pass and the World remains* (XIV). *Answer—Man knows God's Judgements and has sinned willingly. This World is a Weariness to the Righteous but the next is theirs* (XV), *to be won through Character whether a Man's Time here be long or short* (XVI–XVII). *Final Weal or Woe—the supreme Question* (XVIII–XIX).

14 1 And I answered and said: 'Lo! Thou hast shown me the method of the times, and that which	(23–25)	**14.** 1. And I answered and said: 'Behold, thou hast shown me the methods of the times, and that which shall be.	και απεκριθην και ειπο⟩ν ιδου απεδει ξας μοι καιρων ταξεις· κ⟨αι το μελλον	**14** 1

5. **thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil.** 'those like thee', i. e. הדמים לך, are the same as '†the many (= הרבים corrupt for הדמים) who are with† thee' in xxiv. 2. All previous translations have wrongly rendered ܚܙܝܢ as 'have seen', whereas the context requires that it should be rendered 'shall have seen'. The time referred to is in the future—the end of the world: the evil referred to is not the destruction of Jerusalem in the past, but the retribution which should befall the Gentiles in the last days. To this time of the end Baruch was to be preserved (xiii. 3) to testify to the Gentiles that full retribution had at last come upon them.

those like thee. These are the righteous who shall be surviving in the last days, and who shall join with Baruch in his testimony.

5–7. **This ⟨is the evil⟩ and retribution,** &c. The text in this verse and the next is defective. First of all I have restored with Ryssel 'this is the evil', which fell out through hmt., and read 'retribution' in the singular, as in *v.* 4. Next the text reads 'chastened'. But *v.* 8 shows that the punishment is not corrective, but vindictive. Text = *παιδευθῶσιν*, which I take to be corrupt, as in 1 Sam. xxvi. 10, for *παισθῶσιν* = יִכּוּ. Next, in *v.* 6, the text reads 'shall expect', 'shall hope' = *ἐλπίσουσι* = יוחילו, corrupt for יָחִילוּ = 'shall be in anguish'. The same confusion is found in Jer. iv. 19, in the Hebrew MSS. Finally, in *v.* 7, the text reads 'when' where we require 'for how long', i.e. עד־מתי—not מתי alone.

8. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 7, 8.

the Lofty One. Here only in this book (see 4 Ezra iv. 34; Isa. lvii. 15).

XIV. 1. Baruch has not been shown 'the method of the times'. Chapter xiii has only told us why the retribution has come on the Gentile cities, and when their punishment will be consummated. Disclosures about the method of the times are promised in xx. 6, and would seem to be given in xxiv. 2–xxv, taken together with xiii, or else in xxvii–xxx.

shall be after these things, and Thou hast said unto me, that the retribution, which has been spoken of by Thee, shall come upon
2 the nations. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity, and departed from the world, but that few nations will be left in those times, to whom those words shall be said which Thou didst
3 say. For what advantage is there in this, or what (evil), worse than what we have seen befall us, are we to expect to see?

(25–27) And thou hast said unto me that the retribution which was spoken of by thee shall be †endured† by the nations.

(27–32) 2. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived . . ., and departed from the world, but that few nations will be left in those times to whom . . . the words (which) thou didst say.

(32–33) 3. And what advantage (is there) in this or what worse than (these?) . . .

25 ⟨εσ⟩εσθαι και ειπες μ⟨ο⟩ι· ⟨οτι υπ εθνων
υπενεχθησε⟨ται η υπο σου λεχθεισα
πραξις και νυν ⟨οιδα οτι 2
πολλοι . . . . .
εισιν οι ᵃμαρτυρησαν⟨τες και . . . . .
εζησαν· και επορευθη⟨σαν εκ κοσμου
30 ολιγα δε περι⟨εσται εθνη εν εκεινοις
τοις καιροις· οι⟨ς . . . . .
. . . ους ειπες
λογους· και τι π⟨λεον εν 3
τουτω η τινα χει
ρονα τ⟨ο⟩υ τ⟨ων
. . . . .

4, 5 But again I will speak in Thy presence: What have they profited who had knowledge before Thee, and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead: "Give
6 us life," but always feared Thee, and have not left Thy ways? And lo! they have been carried off,
7 nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. And if others did evil, it was due to Zion, that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven, and
8 should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who wrought unrighteousness. But who, O LORD, my Lord, will comprehend Thy judgement,

Or who will search out the profoundness of Thy way?
Or who will think out the †weight† of Thy path?
9 Or who will be able to think out Thy incomprehensible counsel?
Or who of those that are born has ever found
The beginning or end of Thy wisdom?

10, 11 For we have all been made like a breath. For as the breath ascends involuntarily, and again dies, so it is with the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not
12 what will befall them in the end. For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear

come upon the nations. This could also be rendered: 'be of service to the nations.' But xiii. 8 is against this rendering.

2. **few nations . . . in those times, to whom,** &c. Do these words refer back to xiii. 3? In that case Baruch complains that few of the Gentile nations will be alive to whom the words in xiii. 5, 8–11 are to be addressed.

4–19. What has the righteousness of the righteous profited them or their city, though the latter should have profited by it? (4–7). Man cannot understand Thy judgement (8, 9), for he is but a breath, his end is a mystery (10, 11); though for that end the righteous may hope for they have treasures of works in heaven, but for us there is only woe here and hereafter (12–14). What Thou hast done on behalf of Thy servants, Thou knowest, but we cannot discover. Can the world be made for man? We pass away and the world abides (15–19).

5. **have not said to the dead.** Cf. Isa. viii. 19ᵇ: 'on behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead?'

6. **nor on their account hast thou had mercy on Zion.** A great difficulty for a Jew. Ten righteous men would have saved Sodom; why did Zion fall? Moreover, the preservation of the world, according to the Talmud (Weber, 208) depends on Israel. See xiv. 18, note.

7. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23–33. Here, however, the *works* not the *persons* of the righteous avail for their city. On the question of good works the thought of the writers in this book, i. e. between A. D. 50 and 80 is: (*a*) the righteous are saved by their works (li. 7), and justified by the law (li. 3; lxvii. 6). (*b*) They trust in them, and are heard of God, as Hezekiah (lxiii. 3, 5), and the prophets (lxxxv. 2). (*c*) These works avail as a defence for their unrighteous fellow citizens (ii. 2), and after their death give merit to Zion (xiv. 7, lxxxv. 10). (*d*) These works go before them to the next world, and are there guarded in God's treasure-chambers, till the final judgement (xxiv. 1); hence the righteous hope for the end, and leave the world without fear (xiv. 12). In 4 Ezra we have no parallels to (*b*) and (*c*), and only seeming parallels to (*a*), as ix. 7, and xiii. 23, where faith is included with works. But to (*d*) we have good parallels in vii. 77 (Ezra's 'treasury of works laid up with the Most High') and in viii. 33. For the doctrine of justification see note on xxi. 9.

8. **weight** (or 'burdensomeness'). There is some corruption here. I see no obvious explanation. The text seems in some form to go back to דרכך אין חקר = 'Thy unsearchable paths'. In this case we should have to suppose that חקר was corrupted into יוקר = 'weight', which led to the omission of אין.

10. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 39 'a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again'.

11. **involuntarily.** Literally 'not from the heart'. Cf. Peshitto on Num. xvi. 28 (Schulthess).

depart not according to their own will. Cf. xlviii. 15; 4 Ezra viii. 5.

12. **the righteous justly hope,** 1 En. cii. 4.

depart from this habitation, because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries.
13 On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to
14 receive the world which Thou hast promised them. But as for us—woe to us, who also are
15 now shamefully entreated, and at that time look forward (only) to evils. But Thou knowest accurately what Thou hast done by means of Thy servants; for we are not able to understand
16 that which is good as Thou art, our Creator. But again I will speak in Thy presence, O LORD,
17 my Lord. When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst devise and speak
18 with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before Thee. And Thou didst say that Thou wouldst make for Thy world man as the administrator of Thy works, that it might be known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.
19 And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart.'

5 1 And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'Thou art rightly astonied regarding the departure of
2 man, but thou hast not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin. And as regards
3 what thou hast said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious are prospered, And as
4 regards what thou hast said: "Man knows not Thy judgement"—On this account hear, and I will
5 speak to thee, and hearken, and I will cause thee to hear My words. Man would not rightly have understood My judgement, unless he had accepted the law, and I had instructed him in understand-
6 ing. But now, because he transgressed wittingly, yea, just on this ground that he wot (thereof), he shall be tormented.

7 And as regards what thou didst say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this
8 world come, so also again **shall** that, which is to come, **come** on their account. For this world is to them a strife and a labour with much trouble; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown with great glory.'

16 1 And I answered and said: 'O LORD, my Lord, lo! the years of this time are few and evil, and who is able in **his** little **time** to acquire that which is measureless?'

a store of works, or lit. a 'supply'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 77 ('a treasure of works'); Matt. vi. 19, 20; Pss. Sol. ix. 9.

13. **the world which Thou hast promised.** Clearly the spiritual world, 'which does not die' (li. 3); cf. xliv. 13, 15, xv. 7, 8. B^2 promises no earthly felicity, but only spiritual blessedness.

14. **evils.** What these are is given in xliv. 15; lxxxv. 13.

15. **what Thou hast done by means of Thy servants**, or the Syriac may = 'What Thou hast made out of Thy servants', or, without the diacritic point, 'What Thou hast wrought out of Thy works.' With the rendering in the text, verse 16 comes better before 15, which then runs on naturally to 17 and 18.

17. **speak with a word.** Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6; Heb. xi. 3; 4 Ezra vi. 38.

18. **Thou wouldst make for Thy world man**, &c. Cf. Ps. viii. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 54.

the world on account of him. This view of man's dignity seems to occur first in the first century of the Christian era. Why was the world created? (1) Here and in 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44 we are told 'for man'; (2) 4 Ezra vi, 55, 59, vii. 11; Ass. Mosis i. 12 say 'for Israel'; (3) here in xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24 'for the righteous in Israel'. The real Jewish view from the Christian era onwards is (2) or (3). 'On Israel stands the world', Shemoth rabba, xxviii.

19. The 'us' and the 'we' are the righteous in Israel, as xv. 7, xxi. 24. In Pesikta 200^b God is said to have created the world on account of Abraham's merit.

XV. 2. See xiv. 6.

3. See xiv. 8, 9.

5. **the law.** The law and the Messianic expectation were the two centres round which Jewish thought and life revolved. The law predominated at all times, and in B^1 where there is no Messiah, but Jerusalem's restoration is expected, it is supremely exalted (e.g. lxxvii. 15, 16). In B^2, which does not look forward to restoration or Messiah, the law is further glorified (e.g. xlviii. 24, 27, li. 3, 7), as also in B^3 (e.g. lxxxv. 3, 14). On the other hand, in the Messiah Apocalypses A^1 and S we find no mention of the law at all, and only once in A^2 (xxxviii. 2), though in A^3 it rises again into prominence (esp. lxvii. 6, righteousness by the law). Thus the Messianic expectation tends to eclipse the supremacy of the law, and after the Messiah's advent there is no allusion to it (lxx–lxxiv). For fuller treatment and comparison with 4 Ezra see my Commentary.

6. **transgressed wittingly.** Cf. xix. 3, xlviii. 40 (see note *in loc.*), lv. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 72; cf. Luke xii. 48.

7. **as regards . . . has this world come.** See note on xiv. 18. On the parallel in the short hexaemeron in 4 Ezra vi. 55, see xxix. 4, note.

shall . . . come. Emended according to Ryssel by reading ܢܐܬܐ instead of ܢܗܘܐ.

8. **this world is to them . . . trouble**, &c. Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 14; 4 Ezra vii. 3–14; Ps. xc. 10 'yet is their pride labour and sorrow'; Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17. B^2 regards this world as a place of trial, discipline, and sorrow, unlike B^1. There is a still more ascetic tone about 4 Ezra, and above all in 1 Enoch cviii. 7, 'the spirits of the humble and of those who have afflicted their bodies.'

crown with great glory. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 4. In Hebrew we have here a paronomasia, as in Isa. lxii. 3, עטרה בתפארה רבה.

XVI. 1. **years . . . few and evil.** Gen. xlvii. 9.

in his . . . time. For ܗܢܐ (='this') read ܕܝܗ = 'his time'. Cf. xix. 2. There is no need to add 'time', and render 'this his little time,' with Ryssel. Text = 'in this little'.

17 1 And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'With the Most High account is not taken of much
2 time nor of a few years. For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years,
3 and transgressed that which he was commanded? Therefore the multitude of time that he lived
4 did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him. Or wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and, inasmuch as he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp for the nation of Israel?'

18 1 And I answered and said: 'He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that
2 have imitated him. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp.'

19 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant and said:

"Behold I have placed before you life and death,"
And he called heaven and earth to witness against them.
2 For he knew that his time was but short,
But that heaven and earth endure always.
3 But after his death they sinned and transgressed,
Though they knew that they had the law reproving (them),
And the light in which nothing could err,
Also the spheres which testify, and Me.

4 Now regarding everything that is, it is I that judge, but do not thou take counsel in thy soul
5 regarding these things, nor afflict thyself because of those which have been. For now it is the consummation of time that should be considered, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame,
6 and not the beginning thereof. Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully
7 entreated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had. And again, if a man is shamefully entreated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembereth not again his evil
8 entreatment. And again hearken: though each one were prospered all that time—all the time from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress—and in his end was destroyed, in vain would have been everything.'

XX. *Zion has been taken away to hasten the Advent of the Judgement.*

20 1 'Therefore, behold! the days come,
And the times shall hasten more than the former,
And the seasons shall speed on more than those that are past,
And the years shall pass more quickly than the present (years).

2 Therefore have I now taken away Zion,
That I may the more speedily visit the world in its season.

XVII. 3. **brought death,** &c. See xxiii. 4 (note).
4. **brought the law.** Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 19.
lighted a lamp. Cf. lix. 2 'lamp of the eternal law'; Ps. cxix. 105 'Thy word is a lamp', &c.

XVIII. 1. **has taken from the light,** i. e. has chosen the light, and not Adam's darkness.
2. The law is light, and Adam is darkness, the primary source of human transgression. This passage agrees with 2 Enoch, and like it does not teach the doctrine of original sin, any more than A^3 (i. e. liv. 15, 16). In 1 Enoch and Jubilees human depravity is traced to the angels who sinned with the daughters of men.

XIX. 1, 2. The choice of light or darkness was the choice of life or death. Later times concluded from Deut. xxx. 19, that the law was to last while heaven and earth should be. Cf. verse 2; Matt. v. 18. Contrast Luke xvi. 17; Mark xiii. 31.
3. **the spheres which testify,** i. e. heaven, and its unfailing lights. The law is part of the heavenly order. Cf. 1 Enoch ii. 1–v. 4.
5. Here the end of all things is looked for—not an earthly felicity in a rebuilt Jerusalem.
6–8. We must consider the end of a man or a matter. Cf. Solon's saying in Herodotus i. 32.
8. **on which death was decreed.** See xxiii. 4 (note).

XX. 1. **Therefore.** It is not clear that this word follows upon anything in xix. It might follow on xviii, but better on xiii. 3^a. Jerusalem has fallen, and the years intervening before the judgement will therefore be shortened. Cf. liv. 1; Matt. xxiv. 22.
the times shall hasten. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6.
2. The fall of Jerusalem prepares the way for final judgement: there is no hope here of its restoration. See i. 4 (note).
speedily visit, lit. 'speed and visit', a Hebraism.
visit, in Baruch in a bad sense, of God's penal visitation. Contrast the N. T. associations of joy, Luke i. 68, &c., and usually in O.T.

3 Now therefore hold fast in thy heart everything that I command thee,
And seal it in the recesses of thy mind.

4 And then I will show thee the judgement of My might,
And My ways which are unsearchable.

5 Go therefore and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to
6 anyone. And afterwards come to that place and I will reveal Myself to thee, and speak true things with thee, and I will give thee commandment regarding the method of the times; for they are coming and tarry not.'

XXI. 1–11. *Fast of seven Days: Baruch's Prayer: God's Answer.*

The Prayer of Baruch the Son of Neriah.

21 1 And I went thence and sat in the valley of Cedron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my soul there, and I eat no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and
2 I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me. And afterwards I came to that place
3 where He had spoken with me. And it came to pass at sunset that my soul took much thought,
4 and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said: 'O Thou that hast made the earth, hear me, that hast fixed the firmament **by the word**, and hast made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that hast called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and
5 they obey Thee. Thou that hast commanded the air by Thy nod, and hast seen those things which
6 are to be as those things which Thou art doing. Thou that rulest with great thought the hosts that stand before Thee: also the countless holy beings, which Thou didst make from the beginning, of
7 flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne Thou rulest with †indignation†. To Thee only
8 does this belong that Thou shouldst do forthwith whatsoever Thou dost wish. Who causest the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knowest the consummation of the times
9 before they come; have respect unto my prayer. For Thou alone art able to sustain all who are, and those who **have** passed away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who **are**
10 **righteous** [as living (and) being past finding out]. For Thou alone dost live immortal and past

4. **the judgement of My might.** Cf. lxxxiii. 7.
6. **that place.** See xiii. 1 (note).
method of the times. See xiv. 1 note.
are coming and tarry not. Heb. ii. 3. Cf. xlviii. 39.

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH SECTIONS. XXI–XLVI. The words 'The prayer of Baruch the son of Neriah' are found in the MS. The fifth Section ends with xxxv.

XXI. 1. **Cedron.** See v. 5.
2. **that place.** Probably Mount Zion. Cf. xx. 6; or else the temple, x. 5.
3. **the Mighty One.** This is the first time this title occurs. It is found in B^1, B^2, B^3, but not in A^1, A^2.

4. **by the word** = ܒܡܠܬܐ, emended by Ryssel from ܒܡܠܝܢܗ (= 'in its fullness'). This emendation is justified and necessitated owing to the parallel 'by the spirit.' The text, as I pointed out in my Commentary, is dependent on Ps. xxxiii. 6 'By *the word* of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth.
hast called . . . that which did not yet exist. Cf. xlviii. 8. We seem to have here creation *ex nihilo*. Cf. Philo, *de Iustitia*; which contradicts his usual doctrine. For creation by the word, cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5; 2 Pet. iii. 5; Philo, *de sacrif. Abel et Cain.*
6. **hosts that stand before Thee.** Cf. xlviii. 10; 4 Ezra viii. 21[a].
countless holy beings. Cf. lix. 11; lvi. 14.
which Thou didst make from the beginning. In Jub. ii. 2 the angels are created on the first day (so Job xxxviii. 7 is interpreted). 2 En. xxix. 1 says the second day. And so Targ. Jer I. on Gen. i. 26.
†with indignation†. Cf. xlviii. 8. ܐܢܬܪܥܝܬܐ = 'indignation' seems corrupt for ܐܢܬܪܥܝܬܐ = 'reproof'.
7. Ps. cxv. 3, &c.
8. **the drops of rain . . . by number.** Cf. lix. 5; Sirach i. 2; 2 En. xlvii. 5 (note).
9. **have passed away.** Reading with Ryssel ܥܒܪܘ instead of ܥܒܪܘܢ = 'pass away'.
those who sin, and those who are righteous. The Syriac here and in xxiv. 2; xxi. 11, 12; lxii. 7 follows a Greek mistranslation of the original Hebrew verb צדק, which in this context meant 'to be righteous', i. e. δίκαιος εἶναι, and not 'to be justified', δικαιοῦσθαι, though the LXX rendering is usually the latter. The antithesis in our text is actually found in Job x. 15 and xxxv. 36, 37. Hence in all these passages I have emended the text. Ryssel has accepted this emendation in these five passages, but without acknowledgement.
The doctrine of justification in this Apocalypse differs from that taught in 4 Ezra. (1) In Baruch the law justifies (li. 3; lxvii. 6; lxxxi. 7). In Ezra salvation is by works and faith (ix. 7; xiii. 23). (2) Baruch is absolutely sure of salvation (xiii. 3, &c.). Ezra assumes his future woe till assured otherwise in viii. 47–9, 51–4.
For further treatment see Commentary.
[as living . . . out], bracketed as a dittography of the opening clause of the next verse.

11 finding out, and knowest the number of mankind. And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous.

XXI. 12–18. *Baruch's Depreciation of this Life.*

12 Thou knowest where Thou preservest the end of those who have sinned, or the consummation of
13 those who have been righteous. For if there were this life only, which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this.
14 For of what profit is strength that turns to sickness,
Or **fullness of food** that turns to famine,
Or beauty that turns to ugliness.
15, 16 For the nature of man is always changeable. For what we were formerly now we no longer are,
17 and what we now are we shall not afterwards remain. For if a consummation had not been prepared
18 for all, in vain would have been their beginning. But regarding everything that comes from Thee, do Thou inform me, and regarding everything about which I ask Thee, do Thou enlighten me.

XXI. 19–25. *Baruch prays to God to hasten the Judgement and fulfil His Promise.*

19 How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of mortals be prospered, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much
20 wickedness? Command therefore in mercy and accomplish all that Thou saidst Thou wouldst
21 bring, that Thy might may be made known to those who think that Thy long-suffering is weakness. And show to those who know not, **that** everything that has befallen us and our city until now **has been** according to the long-suffering of Thy power, because on account of Thy name Thou hast called
22, 23 us a beloved people. Bring to an end therefore henceforth mortality. And reprove accordingly the angel of death, and let Thy glory appear, and let the might of Thy beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasuries of

10. **knowest the number of mankind.** Gen. xxiii. 4, 5.

11. **not a few have been righteous.** This optimism contrasts strongly with 4 Ezra's pessimism, e. g. viii. 3 'multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur'. Cf. too viii. 2.

12–13. The balance of this life needs re-adjustment in another life.

13. Quoted from 1 Cor. xv. 19, or else both come from a common source. Life ever changes for the worse (verses 14, 15) and is mortal (16, 17, 22).

14. We have here a stanza of three lines, in each of which there is either a paronomasia or a rhyme. In the second line the text reads 'food of fullness'. On two grounds I have changed this into 'fullness of food'. First we have שׂבעת לחם in Ezek. xvi. 49, and next the rhyme requires it. The stanza runs thus:

מה יואיל חיל נהפך לחלי
או שׂבע מזון נהפך לחסרון
או יופי נהפך לדופי

Instead of לחסרון in the second line we might read לרזון with Ginzberg. As I have shown in my edition of this book, the third line of this stanza recurs in xlviii. 35. See lxxxiii. 11, 12.

19. **How long will that which is corruptible remain?** The final editors answer this question in xl. 3; B^2 answers it in xxiii. 7–xxiv. 1. The writers of this book (esp. the writer of B^2) are impressed with the corruptibility of this present world, the *olam hazzeh.* It all belongs to the sphere of corruption. So too does the Messianic kingdom if it falls within the *olam hazzeh*, as in A^1, A^2, and A^3. In A^2 it ends corruption, in A^3 it ends corruption and begins incorruption (lxxiv. 2). See my Commentary, *in loc.*

transgress, or 'pass away', as in verse 9.

20. A prayer for the hastening of the final judgement.

21. The fall of Jerusalem was brought about in God's mercy to hasten the judgement.

that . . . has been. So I have emended ܚܙܘ (='and they have seen') into ܘܚܙܘ. If the text is correct then it represents a Hebraism, the perfect with strong waw as a continuation of the imperative, and so='and let them see'.

22. **Bring to an end.** Text reads 'everything' = כל which I take to be a corruption of כַּלֶּה. Schulthess and Ryssel, on the other hand, emend the Syriac ܟܠܠ into ܟܠܝ = 'restrain', but the next verse supports the emendation in the text.

23. To hasten the final judgement the writer prays to God to end death, to let his glory appear, and the dead rise.

the angel of death. Cf. Rev. vi. 8. Prominent in later Jewish writings. See Testament of Abraham (ed. James).

be sealed. Cf. Isa. v. 14.

treasuries of souls. To these chambers only the righteous were admitted. After his death a righteous man's soul was permitted for seven days to behold the seven ways of the righteous, and a wicked man's the seven ways of the wicked. Then his soul entered these chambers, in Sheol (4 Ezra iv. 35, 41; vii. 101). They were guarded by angels, and were full of rest (1 En. c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95). At the judgement they were to restore the souls (2 Bar. xxi. 2, 3, xxx. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 32). There were also treasuries of righteous works (see xxiv. 1). Note that the souls of the wicked are not mentioned here.

24 souls restore those which are enclosed in them. For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who
25 sleep in the earth, on whose account Thou didst say that Thou hadst created the world. And now
26 quickly show Thy glory, and do not defer what has been promised by Thee.' And ⟨when⟩ I had completed the words of this prayer I was greatly weakened.

XXII–XXIII. *God's Reply to Baruch's Prayer: He will fulfil His Promise: Time needed for its Accomplishment: Things must be judged in the Light of their Consummation* (XXII). *Till all Souls are born the End cannot come* (XXIII).

22 1 And it came to pass after these things that lo! the heavens were opened, and I saw, and
2 power was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high, and it said unto me: 'Baruch, Baruch,
3 why art thou troubled? He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or who departs by sea
4 but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted? Or he who promises to give a present to
5 another, but does not fulfil it, is it not robbery? Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its
6 fruit in its season, does he not lose everything? Or he who plants a plant unless it grows till the
7 time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it? Or a woman who has
8 conceived, if she bring forth untimely, does she not assuredly slay her infant? Or he who builds a house, if he does not roof it and complete it, can it be called a house? Tell Me that first.'

23 1, 2 And I answered and said: 'Not so, O LORD, my Lord.' And He answered and said unto me: 'Why therefore art thou troubled about that which thou knowest not, and why art thou ill at ease
3 about things in which thou art ignorant? For as thou hast not forgotten the people who now are
4 and those who have passed away, so I remember those who are appointed to come. Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might
5 dwell and the dead might be guarded. Before therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the creature will not live again [for My spirit is the creator of life], and Sheol will receive the dead.
6, 7 And again it is given to thee to hear what things are to come after these times. For truly My redemption has drawn nigh, and is not far distant as aforetime.

24. Read probably after verse 19.
25. **what has been promised by Thee**, i.e. 'the world which Thou hast promised them' (xiv. 13; cf. lxxxiii. 5).
26. **⟨when⟩**. Inserted with Ryssel.
greatly weakened. Cf. xlviii. 25; Dan. x. 17, &c.

XXII. 1. **the heavens were opened and I saw.** Ezek. i. 1; Matt. iii. 16; John i. 52; Rev. iv. 1, &c.
a voice was heard, i.e. the *bath-qôl.* Cf. xiii. 1; Matt. iii. 17; Rev. iv. 1.
3–8. In xxii. 3, 5 God replies, 'What is work without the result, and how can it be judged? So this life requires the consummation for its explanation (xxii. 3, 8 answer xxi. 13–17). Again, God replies 'all in due time' to Baruch's plea for haste (xxii. 6, 7 answer xxi. 19, &c.). Moreover, God is bound by His promise (xxii. 4 answers xxi. 25).
7. **does . . . assuredly slay.** A Hebraism.

XXIII. 1, 2. The future and the end are known only to God, and they alone explain the present. All time is alike to God, and he keeps the due proportion. A reply to xxi.

3. Text reads ܕܐܬܝܢ ܘܕܠܐ ܐܬܝܢ 'who are remembered, and those who are to come', which I have emended into ܕܐܬܝܢ ܘܕܠܐ = 'who are appointed to come.'

4. **when Adam sinned and death was decreed.** There are two different views in this work regarding the *physical* effect of Adam's sin on mankind. (1) In B^2, i.e. in xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. Cf. St. Paul. (2) In A^3, i.e. liv. 15, lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only premature death.
See my Commentary *in loc.*
the multitude of those who should be born was numbered. God alone knew this secret (xxi. 10, xlviii. 46). The number was unalterable, and had to be completed before the judgement could come (xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 33–43).
for that number a place was prepared. Cf. 2 Enoch xlix. 2, lviii. 5. In the Tractate Chagiga, fol. 15, col. 1, it is said a place is prepared for every man either in Paradise or hell.
the dead might be guarded, i.e. the righteous by angels (1 En. c. 5, &c.; the wicked by the guardians of the gates of Hades (2 En. xlii. 1).
5. The resurrection cannot come till mankind's secret number is fulfilled. In Rev. vi. 11; 4 Ezra iv. 36 the consummation comes with the fulfilling of the number of the saints, not of mankind. According to Jebam. 62ᵃ the Messiah is not to come till 'all the souls have gone forth which are in the chambers' of souls. This chamber is here called נופא.
Before. I emend ܐܠܐ (= 'unless' or 'but') into ܩܕܡ.
7. Cf. lxxxii. 2; Luke xxi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 7.

XXIV. *The coming Judgement.*

24 1 'For behold! the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have
2 been righteous in creation is gathered. For it shall come to pass at that time that thou shalt see—and †the many that are with† thee—the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all who are born, (alike) those
3 who sin and (those who) are righteous.' And I answered and said: 'But, behold! O Lord, no one knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come.
4 For I know indeed that which has befallen us, but what will happen to our enemies I know not, and when Thou wilt visit Thy works.'

XXV–XXVI. 1. *Sign of the coming Judgement.*

25 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Thou too shalt be preserved till that time till that
2 sign which the Most High will work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days. This
3 therefore shall be the sign. When a stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they
4 shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. And it will come to pass when they say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: "The Mighty One doth no longer remember the earth"—yea, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake.'

26 1 And I answered and said: 'Will that tribulation which is to be continue a long time, and will xxv = B that necessity embrace many years?'

XXVII–XXX. 1. *The Twelve Woes that are to come upon the Earth: the Messiah and the temporary Messianic Kingdom.*

27 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of xxv xxv
2 them is reserved for that which is appointed for it. In the first part there shall be the begin- 1 = 1
3, 4 ning of commotions. And in the second part (there shall be) slayings of the great ones. And in
5, 6 the third part the fall of many by death. And in the fourth part the sending of the sword. And

XXIV. 1. **the books shall be opened.** Dan. vii. 10; 1 En. xc. 20; Rev. xx. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 20. Here the books record the sins of sinners only, as in 1 En. xc and probably Rev. (as cited). 4 Ezra vi. 10 has also 'another book of life'.

the treasuries in which. Divine storehouses are a familiar idea in the O.T., e.g. of rain (Deut. xxviii. 12). Again, the idea of laying up spiritual things in store is found in the LXX, Prov. i. 18 θησαυρίζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κακά (cf. Pss. Sol. ix. 9). One may lay up treasures of works or faith (4 Ezra vii. 77, vi. 5); treasures in heaven (Matt. vi. 19, 20); stores of wrath (Rom. ii. 5). אוצר and θησαυρός may mean the treasure itself, and the place where it is stored.

the righteousness of all, &c. The standard of righteousness was the Law. The legalistic wing of the Pharisees held it consisted first and mainly in fulfilling ceremonial observances. See, e.g. the Book of Jubilees. The prophetical wing, from whom emanated most of the Messianic Apocalypses, understood it primarily as the fulfilling of moral duties.

XXIV. 2–4. Probably followed originally on xx. See note on xiii–xxv.

†the many that are with† thee. See xiii. 5 (note). Read 'those like thee', i.e. the surviving righteous.

3–4. Baruch objects that no man knows when the end may come, and he knows only that Israel is in distress. What will the Gentiles suffer as the penalty (answered xiii. 3ᵇ–12). When will they suffer it? (answered xxv).

4. **us.** Text reads 'me'.

XXV. Answers the question 'When wilt Thou visit Thy works'.

1. **the inhabitants of the earth,** always in a bad ethical sense in Baruch. See note on 1 Enoch xxxvii. 5 (also note in my Commentary on 2 Baruch).

3. **stupor.** Cf. lxxx. 2, and *excessus mentis* 4 Ezra xiii. 30.

4. At the end of the tribulation and torments the time of the judgement has come (cf. xiii. 8). This leaves no room for the Messianic kingdom in xxix, which precedes the judgement.

XXVI. Added by the final editor in order to introduce xxvii–xxx. 1; xxv was originally followed by xiv–xix.

XXVII–XXX. 1. A fragment of a Messiah Apocalypse, A¹. (1) After terrible tribulation over all the earth, imperilling even the elect, a glorious kingdom of joy and plenty was to be established under the Messiah, who afterwards was to return in glory to heaven. The resurrection was to follow. The outlook is thoroughly optimistic. (2) Palestine was to escape the prevailing woes, and since there is no mention of a restoration of Jerusalem or of the setting up of the New Jerusalem, Jerusalem must still have been standing (Contrast B¹ and 4 Ezra xiii. 36). Thus the events of A.D. 70 could not have happened as yet. (3) In B¹ and B² Jerusalem is destroyed and its people in exile. The law, too, is the centre of interest and expectation in B¹ and B², but the Messiah in A¹, which has no allusion to the law, as B¹ and B² have no allusion to the Messiah.

XXVII. 1. We have twelvefold divisions in A³ (i.e. liii–lxxiv) and 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12, but there of world-history, here only of the tribulations preceding Messiah's coming. These travail-pains (ὠδῖνες Matt. xxiv. 8) in the Gospels precede Christ's second coming, and not His first appearance.

5. **the sword.** Cf. Jer. xxv. 16, 27.

7 in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain. And in the sixth part earthquakes and
9 terrors. [Wanting.] And in the eighth part a multitude of spectres and attacks of the Shedim.
12 And in the ninth part the fall of fire. And in the tenth part rapine and much oppression. And in
13 the eleventh part wickedness and unchastity. And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling
14 together of all those things aforesaid. For †these parts of that time are reserved, and† shall be
15 mingled one with another and minister one to another. For some shall **leave out** some of their own, and receive (in its stead) from others, and some complete their own and that of others, so that those may not understand who are upon the earth in those days that this is the consummation of the times.

1, 2 'Nevertheless, whosoever understandeth shall then be wise. For the measure and reckoning of
3 that time are two parts a week of seven weeks.' And I answered and said: 'It is good for a man to
4 come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall. [But I will say this also: xxviii. 4–5
5 Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible, and whatever befalls in the = E
case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not
6 corruptible?] But if, O Lord, those things shall assuredly come to pass which Thou hast foretold
7 to me, so do Thou show this also unto me if indeed I have found grace in Thy sight. Is it in one place or in one of the parts of the earth that those things are come to pass, or will the whole earth experience (them)?'

1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Whatever will then befall (will befall) the whole earth;
2 therefore all who live will experience (them). For at that time I will protect only those who are
3 found in those self-same days in this land. And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that
4 was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed. And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall
5 be for food for all that are left. The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold and on each (?)

6, 7. **famine . . . earthquakes,** as signs of the end. Cf. lxx, 8; Matt. xxiv. 7, &c.

9. **spectres.** Or 'portents'. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 21.

10. **the fall of fire.** Cf. lxx. 8; 4 Ezra v. 8.

14. As Ryssel has observed, this is corrupt. By reading ܗܠܝܢ instead of ܗܘܝ and omitting the following ܘ we arrive at the following: 'these parts which till that time had been reserved (?) shall (then) be mingled', &c.

15. **leave out.** Text reads ܡܫܬܪܝ = 'leave over'. But the context requires the sense of 'omitting', 'leaving out'. The error can be explained, if we suppose that παραλείψουσι, which has both the above meanings, stood before the translator and that he followed the wrong one here.

XXVIII. 1. Cf. Dan. xii. 10: 'the wise shall understand'.

2. Interpretation seems impossible.

3. The difficulty of faithfulness during the woes (cf. xli. 1, lxxv. 5; 4 Ezra xiii. 16–20; Matt. xxiv. 22) and the blessings which await those who endure.

4–5. These verses break the connexion of thought, and no account is taken of them in the context. An answer is given to the question in xliii. 2.

XXIX. 2. **I will protect,** &c. Here God protects His people who are found in the Holy Land, whereas in A^2 the Messiah does so (xl. 2), and in A^3 the Holy Land itself (lxx. 1). In B^2 it is the law that protects the faithful, wherever they dwell (xxxii. 1).

found . . . in this land. Cf. last note, and 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49. A special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that should befall all the earth besides. But this thought is found only in the sections of this book written prior to A. D. 70. It first appears in Joel ii. 32 in Apocalyptic literature, though it was before for a time, in the eighth century B. C., the belief of the Jews. For the privileges attached to residence in Palestine see my Commentary *in loc.*

3. The Messiah's rôle here is passive. Cf. 1 En. xc. 37, 38; 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29. Contrast A^2 and A^3 (e. g. xl) where the Messiah fights, destroys His enemies, and sets up His kingdom.

The phrase 'begin to be revealed' may be corrected to 'the principate of the Messiah will be revealed' (xxxix. 7) or 'Messiah the prince shall be revealed' (Dan. ix. 25).

Whence will Messiah be revealed? Here, and in xxx. 1, it seems from heaven; elsewhere, perhaps, from some place on earth. Cf. John vii. 27: 'When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.' Cf., too, 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32. The Messiah may be already born and yet not know his calling till Elijah comes and anoints him, in Justin's *Dial. c. Tryph.* 8.

The Talmud states that the Messiah was born at Bethlehem on the day of the destruction of the temple, was named Menahem, and afterwards suddenly carried away by a storm (Jer. Berachoth, p. 5).

4. **And Behemoth shall be revealed,** &c. For the full form of this myth see 4 Ezra vi. 49–52. The diction is so similar that both must quote from the same source—a lost short hexaemeron, like that in 4 Ezra vi. 38–54. See my Commentary *in loc.*

Behemoth . . . and Leviathan. See 1 En. lx. 7–9, 24 notes; Targ. Jon. on Gen. i. 21 'And God created great beasts Leviathan and his wife which were prepared for the day of consolation'. Also Targum on Ps. l. 10.

all that are left. An indefinite statement; *quibus vis* in 4 Ezra vi. 52.

5. We have here another fragment of an old Apocalypse, of which we find a version in Irenaeus, v. 33. Papias is there said to ascribe it to our Lord. Irenaeus preserves a longer and fuller form than our text, and all seeds and fruit-trees share in the miraculous fruitfulness in his quotation. 1 En. x. 19 gives a still more fragmentary quotation.

We have, curiously, three diets provided in our syncretistic text for the members of the Messianic kingdom. In

vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each
6 cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine. And those who have
7 hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also, they shall behold marvels every day. For winds shall go
forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the
8 day clouds distilling the dew of health. And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the
treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because
these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

30 1 'And it shall come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, that He shall return in glory.

XXX. 2–5. *The Resurrection.*

2 Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. And it shall come to pass at xxx.
that time that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the xxx = B²–
righteous, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one sum
3 assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved. For xxv.
they know that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times.
4 But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all these things, shall then waste away the more.
5 For they shall know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived.'

XXXI–XXXIII. *Baruch exhorts the People to prepare themselves for worse Evils.*

31 1 And it came to pass after these things that I went to the people and said unto them: 'Assemble
2 unto me all your elders and I will speak words unto them.' And they all assembled in the valley
3 of the Cedron. And I answered and said unto them:

'Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to thee,
And give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct thee.

xxix. 4 flesh, in verse 5 vegetable, in verse 8 heavenly food, i. e. manna. The second is a return to Adam's food in Paradise.

As to the ten thousand-fold yield of corn and wine Dr. Rendel Harris gives a probable explanation in a misreading of רב = 'plenty' in the blessing of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 28) as רבו = 10,000.

each branch, &c. For 'each' the Syriac gives 'one' three times over, following the idiom in the Hebrew original.

a cor, about 120 gallons.

6. **rejoice.** Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xii. 34.

behold marvels. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 27, xiii. 50; Matt. xi. 4–6; John vii. 31.

8. **the treasury of manna shall again descend.** In Sibyll. Or. vii. 149 manna is to be the food of the members of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Rev. ii. 17 'hidden manna'.

consummation of time, i. e. the Messianic age. Cf. xxvii. 15. In xxx. 3 the phrase has a different meaning, but there we have the work of B².

XXX. 1. **when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled.** This seems to mean that after His reign the Messiah will return in glory to heaven. 'Advent' may be rendered 'presence', i. e. visible reign on earth.

return in glory, back to heaven, where He was before His revealing on earth. For His pre-existence see 1 Enoch xlvi. 1. 2, xlviii. 3 (note), &c. In 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30 the Messiah and the righteous die at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Then all who have fallen asleep . . . shall rise again. The resurrection here follows immediately on the Messiah's return to heaven: but on his death in 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30. The words 'of Him' spoil the sense, and the parallelism to LXX of Ps. xvi. 9 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.

fallen asleep. We are not told the fate of the living, as A¹ is fragmentary.

2. Here we return to B², and resume the text that ended at xxiv. 1.

3. **they know.** Text reads 'he knows'.

the consummation of the times. Here = the final judgement. Contrast xxix. 8.

4. **waste away.** Cf. li. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 87.

XXXI–XXXV. Baruch assembles and addresses the elders of the people. He exhorts them not to forget Zion and its anguish; the end of all that is corruptible is coming; the law, if they hold fast to it, will protect them when the whole creation is shaken; they are to grieve for the coming woe more than for the past, when the creation shall be renewed. Thereupon Baruch sends away the people, and when they remonstrate against his forsaking them, he rejoins that he is only going to the Holy Place to seek light from God. There he laments over Zion. (A fast of seven days should follow here.)

The subject of Baruch's address is to be found in each instance in the preceding revelation (as in v. 5, x. 4), but it will be observed that this address, xxxi. 3–xxxii. 6, is out of relation to all that has gone before. The gist of the address is (*a*) the end of corruption is at hand; (*b*) the law will save in the coming crisis; (*c*) the present creation must give place to a new and incorruptible creation. Now these questions are discussed later in the dialogues between Baruch and God. Thus, for (*a*) see xlii. 6–8; for (*b*) see xlviii. 22–4, 38–41; for (*c*) see xlviii. 49; lii. 3, 8–9, 16. Thus originally xxxi–xxxv followed lii. Moreover, xliv. 8–15 really concludes Baruch's address in xxxi, xxxii; i. e. it follows xxxii. 6. *Thus xlviii–lii originally preceded xxxi–xxxv.*

XXXI. 1. **all your elders.** See xliv. 1, note.

4 Forget not Zion,
But hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem.

5 For lo! the days come,
When everything that is shall become the prey of corruption
And be as though it had not been.

32 1 'But as for you, if ye prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it shall pro-
2 tect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation. [Because after a
3 little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it may be built again. But that building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out, and will remain desolate until
5 the time. And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and perfected for evermore.] Therefore we should not **be distressed** so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is
6 still to be. For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will
7 renew His creation. And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to
8 you.' And it came to pass when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way,
9 and when the people saw me setting out, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said: 'Whither departest thou from us, Baruch, and forsakest us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and departs from them?

33 1 'Are these the commands which thy companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded thee, and
2 said unto thee: "Look to this people till I go and make ready the rest of the brethren †in† Babylon,
3 against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity"? And now if thou also forsakest us, it were good for us all to die before thee, and then that thou shouldst withdraw from us.'

XXXIV–XXXV. *Lament of Baruch.*

34 And I answered and said unto the people: 'Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw from you, but I will only go unto the Holy of Holies to inquire of the Mighty One concerning you and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you.'

35 1 And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said:

2 'O that mine eyes were springs,
And mine eyelids a fount of tears.

3 For how shall I lament for Zion,
And how shall I mourn for Jerusalem?

5. **shall become the prey of,** lit. 'shall be taken to'. See xxi. 19, note.

XXXII. 1. **prepare your hearts.** An O.T. phrase, and a favourite expression in B^1 and B^2; cf. xlvi. 5, lii. 7, &c.
the fruits of the law, i.e. good works. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 20, ix. 32.
it shall protect. Cf. xlviii. 22–4, xliv. 13, 14.
shake the whole creation, i.e. to prepare for new heavens and a new earth. The thought comes originally from Haggai ii. 6; cf. Heb. xii. 26.

2–4. Here it is said that *after a little time* Zion will be destroyed. But according to xx. 1–2, xxxi. 4, xxxii. 5, xxxiii. 2–3, xxxv. 1 Jerusalem is already overthrown. These verses also break the connexion of thought between xxxii. 1 and xxxii. 5. The people are to prepare themselves by obedience to the law for the end of all things, xxxii. 1. Compared with this the evils attendant on the fall of Jerusalem are slight. These three verses are closely akin to Tobit xiv. 4–5. Cf. Ber. R. 2 and Pesikta 145 for a similar hope. These verses are an intrusion here.

2. **Zion will be shaken.** Apparently 'after a little time' = by Nebuchadnezzar in 588 B.C.
be built again, i.e. by Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. **again . . . be rooted out,** i.e. by the Romans in A.D. 70.

4. On the heavenly Jerusalem, see iv. 3, note.

5. **be distressed.** I have here followed Bensly's emendation of the Syriac, which has the active form instead of passive.
the evil which has now come = Jerusalem's fall.

6. **two tribulations,** i.e. those accompanying the destruction of Jerusalem and the renewal of creation. Perhaps 'than these two tribulations' is an addition; the text without them would run 'For the trial will be great when', &c.
renew His creation, i.e. replace the corruptible by the incorruptible world. See further li and lii. It was a current expectation after the captivity (cf. Isa. lxv. 17; 1 En. xlv. 4, note; 4 Ezra vii. 75; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1).

7. This verse was originally preceded by xliv. 8–15.
for a few days, i.e. for the seven days' fast, omitted in xxxv. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 18, 19.

XXXIII. 1. 2. See x. 2, note. According to B^1 Jeremiah does not seem to have gone to Babylon. On 'make ready' see note on x. 2. Here the 'in' is decidedly corrupt. See note on x. 2.

3. Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 44, 48.

XXXIV. **Holy of Holies.** Cf. x. 5, xxxv. 1; the holy place, xxxv. 4, where the altar stood.

XXXV. 2. From Jer. ix. 1; cf. 1 En. xcv. 1.

4 Because in that place where I am now prostrate,
Of old the high priest offered holy sacrifices,
And placed thereon an incense of fragrant odours.

5 But now our glorying has been made into dust,
And the desire of our soul into sand.'

XXXVI–XXXVII. *The Vision of the Forest, the Vine, the Fountain and the Cedar.*

36 1, 2 And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night. And lo! xxx -xl
a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty and rugged rocky mountains surrounded it, and that =
3 forest occupied much space. And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth
4 a fountain peacefully. Now that fountain came to the forest and was (stirred) into great waves, and those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the greater part of that forest, and
5 overthrew all the mountains which were round about it. And the height of the forest began to be made low, and the top of the mountains was made low and that fountain prevailed greatly, so that it
6 left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. Also when it had cast it down and had destroyed and rooted out the greater part of that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its place be recognized, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquillity, and it came to a place which was not far from that cedar, and they brought the cedar which had
7 been cast down to it. And I beheld and lo! that vine opened its mouth and spake and said to that cedar: 'Art thou not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means
8 wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never. And thou didst keep conquering that which was not thine, and to that which was thine thou didst never show compassion, and thou didst keep extending thy power over those who were far from thee, and those who drew nigh thee thou didst hold fast in the toils of thy wickedness, and thou didst uplift thyself always as
9, 10 one that could not be rooted out! But now thy time has sped and thine hour is come. Do thou also therefore depart, O cedar, after the forest, which departed before thee, and become dust with it,
11 and let your ashes be mingled together. And now recline in anguish and rest in torment till thy last time come, in which thou wilt come again, and be tormented still more.'

37 And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the plain full of unfading flowers. And I indeed awoke and arose.

XXXVIII–XL. *Interpretation of the Vision.*

38 1 And I prayed and said: 'O LORD, my Lord, Thou dost always enlighten those who are led by
2, 3 understanding. Thy law is life, and Thy wisdom is right guidance. Make known to me therefore
4 the interpretation of this vision. For Thou knowest that my soul hath always walked in Thy law, and from my (earliest) days I departed not from Thy wisdom.'

THE SIXTH SECTION. XXXVI–XLVI. We must insert a seven days' fast after xxxv to keep the symmetry of the book as constructed by the final editor. The structure of this section is then as follows: first, the omitted fast, then a Messiah vision and its interpretation (xxxvi–xl) with disclosures as to apostates and proselytes (xli. 2–xlii. 8), and an announcement as to Baruch's coming death (xliii), and finally Baruch's address to the people (xliv–xlvi). This section is very composite. xxxvi–xl is a Messiah Apocalypse earlier than A.D. 70; xliii–xliv. 7, xlv–xlvi. 6 belongs to B^1; the rest mainly to B^2.

XXXVI–XL. The Second Messiah Apocalypse, A^2.

(*a*) Date of A^2—before A. D. 70. Unlike B^1 and B^2 it has no mention of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem; nor has it a restoration of the city for the Messiah's rule, or a return of the dispersion. A^2 is optimistic as regards this world, unlike B^2; and centres its hope on the Messiah, not the law, unlike B^1 and B^2.

(*b*) Relation of A^2 to A^1. In A^1 the Messiah has a passive rôle; here an active one, destroying the wicked and vindicating Israel.

XXXVI. 1. These visions are only found in A^2 and A^3. Elsewhere we have direct revelations.
2. This vision is obviously founded in some respects on Ezek. xvii.
8. **rooted out.** This word עקר is constantly used in the Talmud with reference to the future fate of Rome.
11. **in anguish.** See xxx. 5, where the intermediate state involves some degree of happiness or pain.

XXXVII. **unfading flowers.** Cf. Apoc. Pet.

XXXVIII. 1. God Himself interprets this vision for Baruch: but Ramiel the vision in A^3 (see lv. 3).
2. **Thy law is life.** Cf. xlv. 2; Sir. xlv. 5. Hillel (Aboth. ii. 7): 'The more law the more life . . . he who gains knowledge of the law gains life in the world to come.' Also see John vii. 49.
Thy wisdom is right guidance. This is based on the Massoretic text of Eccles. x. 10, where the versions vary.
4. **from my (earliest) days.** This is the Hebrew idiom מִיָּמַי, as in 1 Kings i. 6.

39 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Baruch, this is the interpretation of the vision which thou
2 hast seen. As thou hast seen the great forest which lofty and rugged mountains surrounded, this is
3 the word. Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion,
4 and it will be subjected to that which comes after it. Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be
5 destroyed. And after these things a fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it
6 will hold fast for times, and will exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon. And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and
7 creep into the forest. And it will come to pass when the time of its consummation that it should fall has approached, then the **principate** of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain
8 and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of its host. And as touching that which thou hast seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and the fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which thou didst hear, this is the word.

40 1 'The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and he will be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict
2 him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. And afterwards he will put him to death, and protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which
3 I have chosen. And his principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end,
4 and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled. This is thy vision, and this is its interpretation.'

XLI–XLII. *The Destiny of the Apostates and of the Proselytes.*

41 1 And I answered and said: 'For whom and for how many shall these things be? or who will be xli–xlii
2 worthy to live at that time? For I will speak before thee everything that I think, and I will ask of = B²
3 Thee regarding those things which I meditate. For lo! I see many of Thy people who have with-
4 drawn from Thy covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. But others again I have seen
5 who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. What therefore will be to
6 them? or how will the last time receive them? Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?'

42 1, 2 And He answered and said unto me: 'These things also will I show unto thee. As for what thou didst say—"To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)?"—to those who have believed there shall be the good which was spoken of aforetime, and to those who despise there shall
3 be the contrary of these things. And as for what thou didst say regarding those who have drawn

XXXIX. 3–5. Of the four world-empires here mentioned undoubtedly the first is Babylon (ver. 3), and the fourth Rome (5–7; xxxvi. 5–10). The second and third are probably Persia and the Diadochi. The fourfold division of world-empires is due to Dan. vii, where the fourth kingdom is decidedly different, as 4 Ezra xii. 11–12 admits.

6. **the truth will be hidden.** Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1, where the same statement is made about Rome.

7. **the principate of My Messiah.** For ܫܘܪܝܐ = 'beginning', read ܫܘܠܛܢܐ = 'principate', as in xl. 3, lxxv. 8. See xxix. 3, note.

XL. 1. Who is this last leader? Probably Pompey, as 'his impieties' suggests (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 24–35).

The Talmud says a single leader, called Armilus, was to unite in himself all hatred and hostility against God's people. See Weber, 365, 366.

My Messiah. In A¹ (i. e. xxvii–xxx. 1) God Himself protects Israel and destroys their enemies, and the Messiah only appears after this (xxix. 3). Here the Messiah takes the active part.

convict of . . . impieties. So Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 37.

2. **protect the rest,** &c. See xxix. 2, note.

3. **for ever, until . . .,** or 'for the age'. Cf. lxxiii. 1. The Messianic kingdom belongs to the *olam hazzeh* (see xxi. 19, note).

XLI, XLII. These two chapters belong to B², and originally followed xxx. As in xx, the times are hastened (xlii. 6) in order to usher in the end, the resurrection, and the life of incorruption. The chief topics in these chapters are: (1) the ultimate destiny of the apostates; (2) that of the proselytes.

XLI. 1. Baruch's question goes back to xxx. 2–5; which it originally preceded in B². For the question cf. lxxv. 5.

3. These apostates may be Christians.

yoke of Thy law. 'Yoke' means 'obligation'. Cf. Sirach li. 26. Cf. for this phrase Pss. Sol. vii. 8, xvii. 32; Acts xv. 10; Gal. v. 1. Contrast Matt. vi. 29, 30.

4. The proselytes, i. e. the גרים. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 133.

their vanity, i. e. idols (Deut. xxxii. 21).

fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. The writer follows the Hebrew text of Ps. xxxvi. 8, as against the LXX and Syriac. The phrase is used of a proselyte in Ruth ii. 12. Cf. Shabbath 31ᵃ.

5. **the last time,** described in xxx. 2–5.

XLII. 2. **those who have believed.** See liv. 5, note; also xxi. 9, note.

4 near and those who have withdrawn this is the word. As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples, the time of these was
5 the former, and was accounted as something exalted. And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the **people** which had separated itself, the
6 time of these (is) the **latter**, and is accounted as something exalted. And time shall succeed to time and season to season, and one shall receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation shall everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons.
7, 8 For corruption shall take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it. And the dust shall be called, and there shall be said to it: "Give back that which is not thine, and raise up all that thou hast kept until its time".'

XLIII. *Baruch told of his Death and bidden to give his last Commands to the People.*

43 1 'But, do thou, Baruch, direct thy heart to that which has been said to thee, xlii div. 7=
And understand those things which have been shown to thee;
For there are many eternal consolations for thee.

2 For thou shalt depart from this place,
And thou shalt pass from the regions which are now seen by thee,

And thou shalt forget whatever is corruptible,
And shalt not again recall those things which happen among mortals.

3 Go therefore and command thy people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to thee and speak with thee.'

XLIV. 1–8, XLV–XLVI. *Baruch tells the Elders of his impending Death, but encourages them to expect the Consolation of Zion.*

44 1 And I, Baruch, went from thence, and came to my people, and I called my first-born son and [the Gedaliahs] my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said unto them:

'Behold, I go unto my fathers
According to the way of all the earth.

4. The apostates have only this world.
mingled peoples. Jer. xxv. 20, 24.
5. **of the people.** The Syriac reads 'peoples', which does not suit Israel, though it does suit the proselytes.
separated itself, i. e. the legalistic Israel by the 'fence' of the law (cf. xlviii. 23). The 'separatists' are the Pharisees.
the latter. So Kabisch emends. The text reads 'the former'. Thus the proselytes inherit the world to come.
6. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 37.
8. **Give back,** &c. Cf. l. 2. The earth gives back the body; Sheol the soul, in virtue of its relation to which the body is conceived as persisting, and even sensitive. Job xiv. 22.

XLIII–XLVI. These chapters belong to B^1, with the exception of xliv. 8–15. They do not belong to B^2, for in xliii. 2, xliv. 2, lxxviii. 5, lxxxiv. 1, Baruch is to *die an ordinary death* and *forget all the concerns of mortals*, whereas in B^2 he is to be *preserved till the last day to testify* against the Gentile oppressors of Israel, xiii. 3, xxv. 1, xlviii. 30. Again the people are assured of good tidings in store for them xlvi. 6, as in lxxvii. 12, and bidden to look for the restoration of Zion (lxxxi. 1, 4 taken with i. 4, vi. 9), whereas in B^2 there is no consolation of any kind for them in this world.

XLIV. 8–15 belongs to B^2; for the present world is hopeless—defiled with evil xliv. 9, and with its corruption about to pass away xliv. 8; it is, moreover, to be given over to oblivion xliv. 9—a statement in flat contradiction with iv. 1. Accordingly all hope is to be directed to the world to come xliv. 15, the promised inheritance xliv. 13, the world of incorruption xliv. 12. *The original position of* xliv. 8–15 *was after* xxxii. 6. These verses presuppose xlviii–lii, just as xxxi–xxxv presuppose them; see note on xxxi–xxxv.

XLIII. 1. Refers probably to some lost passage of B^1.
2. **thou shalt depart.** The word and the context indicate ordinary death here. Cf. xliv. 2.
whatever is corruptible. Cf. xxi. 19, note.
3. **command thy people,** i. e. impart to them the disclosures just made to Baruch. As Baruch has just been told of his coming death, the word 'command' (צַוֵּה) is here used in the technical Hebrew sense of giving one's last command.
this place. This conflicts with xlvii. 1—to Hebron.

XLIV. 1. **son.** Elsewhere only in xlvi. 1.
[the Gedaliahs]. Possibly this phrase belongs to the text, but has originated in a corrupt transliteration of הַגְּדוֹלִים 'the great men'.
seven of the elders. Seven only, as the city is now destroyed. In v. 5, before its fall, he summons them all.
2. Contrast xiii. 3 (see note).

3 But withdraw ye not from the way of the law,
But guard and admonish the people which remain,
Lest they withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One.

4 For ye see that He whom we serve is just,
And our Creator is no respecter of persons.

5 And see ye what hath befallen Zion,
And what hath happened to Jerusalem.

6 For the judgement of the Mighty One shall (thereby) be made known,
And His ways, which, though past finding out, are right.

7 For if ye endure and persevere in His fear,
And do not forget His law,
The times shall change over you for good,
And ye shall see the consolation of Zion.

8, 9 Because whatever is now is nothing, xliv. 8–15 = B^2
But that which shall be is very great.
For everything that is corruptible shall pass away,
And everything that dies shall depart,
And all the present time shall be forgotten,
Nor shall there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils.

10 For that which runs now runs unto vanity,
And that which prospers shall quickly fall and be humiliated.

11 For that which is to be shall be the object of desire,
And for that which comes afterwards shall we hope;
For it is a time that passes not away,

12 And the hour comes which abides for ever.

And the new world (comes) which does not turn to corruption those who depart **to its blessedness**,
And has no mercy on those who depart to torment,
And leads not to perdition those who live in it.

13 For these are they who shall inherit that time which has been spoken of,
And theirs is the inheritance of the promised time.

14 These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom,
And with them are found stores of understanding,
And from mercy have they not withdrawn,
And the truth of the law have they preserved.

15 For to them shall be given the world to come,
But the dwelling of the rest who are many shall be in the fire.'

45 2 'Do ye therefore so far as ye are able instruct the people, for that labour is ours. For if ye teach them, ye will quicken them.' xlv–xlvi. 6 = B^1

46 1 And my son and the elders of the people answered and said unto me: 'Has the Mighty One humiliated us to such a degree
As to take thee from us quickly?

3. **commandments of the Mighty One.** Cf. xlviii. 38.
5. These words vividly recall vi–viii. See note on xliii–xlvi above.
6. **which, though . . . right.** The text = 'which are past finding out and right'.
7. **the consolation of Zion**, i. e. its restoration. Cf. lxxxi. 1, 4; for the temple was to be rebuilt, according to B^1. (Cf. vi. 9.)
8–15. These verses should be read after xxxii. 6. See note on xliii–xlvi above.
9. **corruptible.** Cf. xxi. 19, note.
12. **the new world.** Cf. the new creation (xxxii. 6), and li. 3; lii. 9, 16.
who depart to its blessedness. The text here has 'on its beginning', which gives no parallel to 'to torment' in the next clause, and no sense in itself. A corruption in the original Hebrew easily explains the difficulty and restores the sense, באשרו for בראשו. Ryssel reproduces this emendation without acknowledgement.
14. This verse presupposes li. 3, 7. The treasures in xxiv. 1 are those of righteousness.
15. **in the fire.** Cf. xlviii. 39, 43, lix. 2, lxiv. 7, lxxxv. 13.

XLV. B^1 reappears here, and the connexion broken at xliv. 7 is resumed.
2. **if ye teach**, &c. Cf. Ps. cxix. 50, 93. This is the true scribe's work. Cf. xxxviii. 2, xliv. 7.

2 And truly we shall be in darkness,
And there shall be no light to the people who are left.

3 For where again shall we seek the law,
Or who will distinguish for us between death and life?'

4 And I said unto them: 'The throne of the Mighty One I cannot resist;
Nevertheless, there shall not be wanting to Israel a wise man
Nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.

5 But only prepare ye your hearts, that ye may obey the law,
And be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding;
And prepare your souls that ye may not depart from them.

6 For if ye do these things,
Good tidings shall come unto you.

[Which I before told you of; nor shall ye fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before.' xlvi. 6c–7
7 But with regard to the word that I was to be taken I did not make (it) known to them or to my son.] =

47 1 And when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them: 'Behold! xlvii.
2 I go to Hebron: for thither the Mighty One hath sent me.' And I came to that place where the =
word had been spoken unto me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

XLVIII. 1–47. Prayer of Baruch.

48 1 And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said

2 'O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times,
And they stand before Thee;
Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away,
And they do not resist Thee;

Thou arrangest the method of the seasons,
And they obey Thee.

3 Thou alone knowest the duration of the generations,
And Thou revealest not Thy mysteries to many.

4 Thou makest known the multitude of the fire,
And Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.

5 Thou explorest the limit of the heights,
And Thou scrutinizest the depths of the darkness.

XLVI. 4. **a son of the law** = בר מצוה, i.e. one bound to observe the Law. An answer to the question put in iii. 6b. The expression seems to occur here first in existing literature. The verse means: There never should be lacking wise teachers and obedient servants of the Law. The expression has nothing to do with בר מכילאן as Ryssel suggests.

5. **be subject.** Obedience to the Rabbis is here enforced.

6 *c*–7. This addition was made by the final editor to adapt the fragment of B^1 just given to its new context. Contrast xlvi. 1.

6 *c*. **the torment.** This refers to xliv. 12, 15.

7. **I was to be taken.** Cf. xiii. 3, note, xlviii. 30. The idea of the ascension into heaven of great heroes in Jewish history was a familiar one. See Commentary *in loc.* Also N.T. (Mark xvi. 19; Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16).

The Seventh Section. XLVII–LXXVII. First we have Baruch's fast of seven days, followed by his prayer (xlvii. 2–xlviii. 24). Then in the dialogue ensuing various revelations are made to Baruch touching the coming woes and the judgement (xlviii. 26–41), and the resurrection (l–lii). There follows a Messiah Apocalypse (liii–lxxiv = A^3). In lxxvi Baruch is told of his coming translation, and in lxxvii he addresses the people.

This section is composite; xlviii–lii is derived from B^2; liii–lxxiv from A^3; lxxv–lxxvi from B^2; and lxxvii from B^1.

XLVII. 1. Why this journey to Hebron? Baruch has received no such command in our text. This verse is probably original to B^1 or B^2; it seems, moreover, corrupt. After dismissing the people, Baruch addresses them! The 'gone forth' and 'went thence' possibly refer to 'the cavern in the earth' in xxi. 1. As chapters xxi–xxiv. 1, xxx. 2–5, xli, xlii belong to B^2, and in some sense form a whole, they may be connected with the cavern as their scene. If so, xlvii. 1 belongs to B^2.

2. Conflicts with verse 1, and is due, like xliii. 3, to the final editor.

6 Thou **carest for** the number which pass away **that** they may be preserved,
And Thou preparest an abode for those that are to be.

7 Thou rememberest the beginning which Thou hast made,
And the destruction that is to be Thou forgettest not.

8 With nods of fear and †indignation† Thou commandest the flames,
And they change into spirits,

And with a word Thou quickenest that which was not,
And with mighty power Thou holdest that which has not yet come.

9 Thou instructest created things in the understanding of Thee,
And Thou makest wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders.

10 Armies innumerable stand before Thee
And minister in their orders quietly at Thy nod.

11 Hear Thy servant
And give ear to my petition.

12 For in a little time are we born,
And in a little time do we return.

13 But with Thee hours are as a time,
And days as generations.

14 Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing
15 And take not account of our works; For what are we?

For lo! by Thy gift do we come into the world,
And we depart not of our own will.

16 For we said not to our parents, "Beget us,"
Nor did we send to Sheol and say, "Receive us."

17 What therefore is our strength that we should bear Thy wrath,
Or what are we that we should endure Thy judgement?

18 Protect us in Thy compassions,
And in Thy mercy help us.

19 Behold the little ones that are subject unto Thee,
And save all that draw nigh unto Thee:

And destroy not the hope of our people,
And cut not short the times of our aid.

20 For this is the **nation** which Thou hast chosen,
And these are the people, to whom Thou findest no equal.

21 But I will speak now before Thee,
And I will say as my heart thinketh.

22 In Thee do we trust, for lo! Thy law is with us,
And we know that we shall not fall so long as we keep Thy statutes.

XLVIII. 6. See xxiii. 4, note.
Thou carest for. The text here follows a wrong sense of פקד in the Hebrew original, and so gives 'commandest'.
that they may. Text reads 'and they are'. The Greek translator appears to have rendered וְיִשָּׁמֵר wrongly.
8. †**indignation**†. See note on xxi. 6.
flames . . . spirits. Cf. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.
9. **the spheres . . . in their orders.** Cf. 1 En. ii. 1; 2 En. xxx. 2, 3; Pss. Sol. xix. 2, 3.
10. **in their orders.** Jews held there were ten orders; Christians nine.
13. We should expect 'time is as hours', &c.
15. **depart not.** In xiv. 11 men 'come not of their own will'. In 4 Ezra viii. 5 the two statements are combined.
18. See lxxv. 6.
19. **subject unto Thee.** Cf. xlii. 4 = Jews.
that draw nigh. Cf. xli. 4, xlii. 3 = proselytes.
20. Cf. xxi. 21; 4 Ezra v. 27.
the nation, a necessary emendation (ܐܡܬܐ for the unmeaning ܚܝܐ). Ceriani proposes 'the servant'.
22. See xv. 5, note.

23 [To all time are we blessed at all events in this that we have not mingled with the Gentiles.]
24 For we are all one celebrated people,
Who have received one law from One:

And the law which is amongst us will aid us,
And the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us.'

25, 26 And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. And He answered and said unto me:

'Thou hast prayed simply, O Baruch,
And all thy words have been heard.

27 But My judgement exacts its own
And My law exacts its rights.

28 For from thy words I will answer thee,
And from thy prayer I will speak to thee.

29 For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all; he has both wrought iniquity so far as he
30 could do anything, and has not remembered My goodness, nor accepted My long-suffering. There-
31 fore thou shalt surely be taken up, as I before told thee. For that time shall arise which brings affliction; for it shall come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it shall be turbulent coming in
32 the heat of indignation. And it shall come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the earth shall be moved one against another, because they know not that My judgement has drawn nigh.
33 For there shall not be found many wise at that time,
And the intelligent shall be but a few:
Moreover, even those who know shall most of all be silent.
34 And there shall be many rumours and tidings not a few,
And the doings of phantasmata shall be manifest,
And promises not a few be recounted.
Some of them (shall prove) idle,
And some of them shall be confirmed.
35 And honour shall be turned into shame,
And strength humiliated into contempt,
†And probity destroyed,†
And beauty shall become ugliness.
36 And many shall say to many at that time:
"Where hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself,
And whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself?"

23. This verse is bracketed as a prosaic intrusion.
24. **one law from One.** lxxxv. 14. This is directed against Christians.
the law . . . will aid us. Cf. xxix. 2, note; and xxxii. 1. Cf., too, *De singularitate cler.* 15 (Cyprian, Ed. Hartel ii, 190) 'sicut Esaias ait, legem inquit in adiutorium dedit.'
29. The Syriac text is unintelligible.
31–41. The last woes and the final judgement. Cf. xxvii–xxix. 1; lxx. 2–10.
32. **shall be moved.** Text reads ܢܬܢܝܚ (= 'shall rest') which I emended in 1896 into ܢܬܙܥܥ 'shall be moved'.
33. Cf. lxx. 5. This verse resembles what Cyprian (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotes as from Baruch: 'Erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis.'
34. Cyprian again seems to quote 'alii autem sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta'. For the many impostors cf. Matt. xxiv. 11, 24.
35. Of the four lines in this stanza three give a series of paronomasiae when retranslated into Hebrew, as in xxi. 14. Thus the first, second, and fourth run:

כבוד יהפך לקלון
עז יורד אל בוז
יופי יהיה לדופי

As regards the third it is certainly corrupt. The analogy of the other three leads us to expect a paronomasia here also. The Syriac is ܫܘܟܠܐ ܠܐܝܠܐ, where the first word may be corrupt for ܫܘܟܠܢܘܬܐ. The text would then = 'and understanding would become foolishness.' This at once gives a good sense and a paronomasia on the Hebrew, i.e. שכל יהיה לכסל.

On the last line cf. xxi. 14; lxxxiii. 12.
36. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 9–11. Does Cyprian refer to this in his quotation (*Testim.* iii. 29)?—'Quaeretis me et vos et qui post vos venerint audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus et non invenietis.'

37 And whilst they are meditating these things,
Then envy shall arise in those who had not thought aught of themselves (?)
And passion shall seize him that is peaceful,
And many shall be stirred up in anger to injure many,
And they shall rouse up armies in order to shed blood,
And in the end they shall perish together with them.

38 And it shall come to pass at the self-same time,
That a change of times shall manifestly appear to every man,
Because in all those times they polluted themselves
And they practised oppression,
And walked every man in his own works,
And remembered not the law of the Mighty One.

39 Therefore a fire shall consume their thoughts,
And in flame shall the meditations of their reins be tried;
For the Judge shall come and will not tarry.

40 Because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was transgressing.
But My Law they knew not by reason of their pride.

41 But many shall then assuredly weep,
Yea, over the living more than over the dead.'

42 And I answered and said:
'O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee?
And what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent?

43 For all this multitude are going to corruption,
Nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours.

44, 45 But again I will speak in Thy presence. Thou, O LORD, my Lord, knowest what is in Thy
46 creature. For Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam, and Thou knowest the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before Thee, who have
47 existed and not confessed Thee as their Creator. And as regards all these their end shall convict them, and Thy law which they have transgressed shall requite them on Thy day.'

XLVIII. 48–50. *Fragment of an Address of Baruch to the People.*

48 ['But now let us dismiss the wicked and inquire about the righteous.
49 And I will recount their blessedness
And not be silent in celebrating their glory, which is reserved for them.
50 For assuredly as in a little time in this transitory world in which ye live, ye have endured much labour,
So in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light.']

37. Cf. lxx. 6.
38. **walked every man**, &c. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 8.
the law of the Mighty One. Cf. xliv. 3, 7.
40. **knew when he was transgressing.** Cf. Ep. Barn. v. 4, and see xv. 6 note, where Israel is referred to as knowing the law. Here all men know when they do wrong. Cf. Rom. ii. 14, 15.
My Law they knew not by reason of their pride. The Talmud says the Gentiles rejected the law, which was designed for all nations. See, too, 4 Ezra vii. 72, 73.
41. The load of sin increases with time, and so will its penalty.
42–50. What havoc Adam and Eve have wrought by the spiritual death and torments they brought upon their posterity! Yet God, as Creator, knows what is in man; the number of men that are to be, and their sins (42–6). The law and the judgement will give all their due, so let us inquire rather about the blessedness to come for the righteous who now awhile endure labour.
42. The mention of fire shows that spiritual death is here traced to Adam and Eve, whereas in xvii. 3, &c., it is only physical death that is so traced. In 4 Ezra both are always traced to Adam (e.g. iii. 21, 22). But this spiritual death is not due to the incapacity of man for righteousness after the fall, but to his following of his own choice in the steps of Adam.
46. **command the dust to produce Adam.** 4 Ezra iii. 4, 5; vii. 116.
the number . . . born. See xxiii. 5, note.
48–50. A fragment of an address delivered by Baruch to the people, as verse 50 shows, and not to God. Another fragment of this same address, originally preceding 48–50 here, is given in liv. 16–18, and yet another, following 48–50, in lii. 5–7.
49. **be silent in celebrating.** A Hebrew idiom.
50. Cf. xv. 8.

XLIX–LII. *The Nature of the Resurrection Body: the final Destinies of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

49 1 'Nevertheless, I will again ask from Thee, O Mighty One, yea, I will ask mercy from Him who made all things.
2 "In what shape will those live who live in Thy day?
Or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue?
3 Will they then resume this form of the present,
And put on these entrammelling members,
Which are now involved in evils,
And in which evils are consummated,
Or wilt Thou perchance change these things which have been in the world
As also the world?"'
50 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Hear, Baruch, this word,
And write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn.
2 For the earth shall then assuredly restore the dead,
[Which it now receives, in order to preserve them].
It shall make no change in their form,
But as it has received, so shall it restore them,
And as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them.
3 For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that
4 those who had departed have returned (again). And it shall come to pass, when they have severally recognized those whom they now know, then judgement shall grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of shall come.
51 1 'And it shall come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the **aspect** of those
2 who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified. For the aspect of those who now act wickedly shall become worse than it is, as they shall suffer torment.
3 Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour shall be glorified in changes, and the form of their face shall be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to
4 them. For over this above all shall those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped
5 their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding. When therefore they see those, over whom they are now exalted, (but) who shall then be exalted and glorified more than they, they shall respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of angels, and the former shall yet
6 more waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms. For they shall first behold and afterwards depart to be tormented.

XLIX. 2. **In what shape,** &c. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 35 'How are the dead raised up? and with what manner of body do they come?'
splendour, or perhaps 'appearance'; also in li. 3, 5.
3. **entrammelling members,** lit. 'members of bonds'.

L–LI. The nature of the resurrection body. The world in its renewal becomes undying (li. 3), incorruptible (lxxiv. 2) and invisible to mortal vision (li. 8). This conception of transformation, which is as old as Isa. lxv. 17–lxvi, was applied in due course to those who were to live in the renewed world. This is done partially in Isa. lxv. 17–25, but fully in Dan. xii. 2. Also in 1 Enoch civ. 4, 6, &c. Thus the spiritual transformation was a familiar idea to the Pharisees before the writers of Baruch lived; while 1 Cor. xv. 35–50 is in one of its aspects the logical sequel of Isa. liv. 17. Paul was not altogether an innovator, but an able and advanced expositor of some current Jewish views.

Opposed to this spiritual view of the future life lay the materialistic one prevalent among people and Rabbis alike, which said the blessed should beget children, and eat the flesh of Leviathan. (Weber 383, 384.)

L. 2. See notes on xi. 4; xlii. 8; 1 Enoch li. 1. The resurrection united soul (from Sheol, its abode, xxi. 23) and body (resting in the earth, xlii. 8). Note that here the earth preserves the body intact, as committed to it.

4. The object for which the dead are raised is for common recognition. So also *Beresh. rab.* 95 and the later Judaism. Contrast the silence of the N.T.

LI. 1. This transformation of the living also is mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 51.
aspect. So Ceriani emends the text.
3. **justified in My law.** See xv. 5, note.
root of wisdom. lix. 7; Sir. i. 6, 20; Wisdom iii. 15.
their splendour. Their bodies gradually are assimilated to their new environment.
4. **rejected,** i.e. wicked Gentiles as well as Israelites.
stopped their ears, follows Hebrew of Zech. vii. 11; not LXX.
5. **waste away,** not 'be annihilated'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 87.

7 But those who have been saved by their works,
And to whom the law has been now a hope,
And understanding an expectation,
And wisdom a confidence,
Shall wonders appear in their time.

8 For they shall behold the world which is now invisible to them,
And they shall behold the time which is now hidden from them:

9 And time shall no longer age them.

10 For in the heights of that world shall they dwell,
And they shall be made like unto the angels,
And be made equal to the stars,
And they shall be changed into every form they desire,
From beauty into loveliness,
And from light into the splendour of glory.

11 For there shall be spread before them the extents of Paradise, and there shall be shown to them the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne, and all the armies of the angels, who [are now held fast by My word, lest they should appear, and] are held fast by a
12 command, that they may stand in their places till their advent comes. Moreover, there shall then be
13 excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels. For the first shall receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away.

14 For they have been delivered from this world of tribulation,
And laid down the burthen of anguish.

15 For what then have men lost their life,
And for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?

16 For then they chose ⟨not⟩ for themselves this time,
Which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away:
But they chose for themselves that time,
Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils,
And they denied the world which ages not those who come to it,
And they rejected the time of glory,
So that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before.'

2 1 And I answered and said:
'How can we forget those for whom woe is then reserved?

2 And why therefore do we again mourn for those who die?
Or why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol?

3 Let lamentations be reserved for the beginning of that coming torment,
And let tears be laid up for the advent of the destruction of that time.

4 [But even in the face of these things will I speak.

5 And as for the righteous, what will they do now?

6 Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer:
For why do ye look for the decline of your enemies?

7 Make ready your soul for that which is reserved for you,
And prepare your souls for the reward which is laid up for you.']

9. After this verse read probably verses 13 and 14, then 10, 11, and 12 as climax.
10. Note spiritual conception. The risen righteous live in the heights of the invisible world (8, 10), and their glory is more than that of the angels (12).
equal to the stars. 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.
11. **living creatures . . . beneath the throne.** Rev. iv. 6.
armies of the angels. Cf. 2 Enoch xvii; Test. Lev. iii. 3. The brackets indicate a gloss or dittograph.
13. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 42; also Matt. xix. 30.
15. Cf. Matt. xvi. 26.
16. I have added a negative in the first clause, as the sense requires it—an addition accepted by Ryssel. So too in lvi. 14, where Ceriani also inserts it.
of glory. So Ryssel has emended text which reads 'and glory'.

LII. 1. **we.** Text reads 'I' which Ryssel has emended.
2, 3. We should weep rather for those destined to torments than those who depart to Sheol.
5–7. See note on xlviii. 48–50.
6. Cf. lxxxviii. 6; James i. 2. The sentiment looks Christian.

LIII–LXXIV. The Messiah Apocalypse.

LIII. *The Vision of the Cloud with black and white Waters.*

53 1 And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision, and lo! a cloud was liii–liv
ascending from a very great sea, and I kept gazing upon it, and lo! it was full of waters white and = 4
black, and there were many colours in those self-same waters, and as it were the likeness of great
2 lightning was seen at its summit. And I saw the cloud passing swiftly in quick courses, and it
3 covered all the earth. And it came to pass after these things that that cloud began to pour
4 upon the earth the waters that were in it. And I saw that there was not one and the same like-
5 ness in the waters which descended from it. For in the first beginning they were black **and many**
for a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not many, and
after these things again I saw black (waters), and after these things again bright, and again
6 black and again bright. Now this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous
7 than the bright. And it came to pass at the end of the cloud, that lo! it rained black waters,
and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled
8 with them, and where those waters descended, they wrought devastation and destruction. And
after these things I saw how that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud, seized
9 hold of it and hurled it to the earth. Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate
the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and wrought
10, 11 devastation. And it took hold of the whole earth, and had dominion over it. And I saw after
these things, and lo! twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround
12 that lightning and to become subject to it. And by reason of my fear I awoke.

LIV–LV. *Baruch's Prayer for an Interpretation of the Vision: Ramiel's advent for this Purpose.*

54 1 And I besought the Mighty One, and said:

'Thou alone, O Lord, knowest of aforetime the deep things of the world,
And the things which befall in their times Thou bringest about by Thy word,
And against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times,
And the end of the seasons Thou alone knowest.

2 ⟨Thou⟩ for whom nothing is too hard,
But who dost everything easily by a nod:

3 ⟨Thou⟩ to whom the depths †come† as the heights,
And whose word the beginnings of the ages serve:

LIII–LXXIV. The third Messiah Apocalypse, or A^3. In date it seems to be prior to A.D. 70 (lxviii. 5–6), and subsequent to A.D. 50. If this is the date of this section, it is distinct from B^1 and B^2, which were composed subsequently to the fall of the Temple. In B^1 and B^2 there is no expectation of the Messiah, whereas in A^3 the Messiah is the centre of interest. Again, it appears to be distinct from A^1; for in A^1 the Messiah does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed, whereas in A^3 the Messiah is the agent of their destruction. The relations of A^3 to A^2 are doubtful. They could come from the same hand. The warlike character of the Messiah in this section is noteworthy.

LIII. In this vision a cloud rises from the sea with its summit crowned with lightning. After six successions of black and bright waters, comes the blackest shower of all. Then the lightning flashes forth and heals the earth.

1. **a very great sea.** Cf. Dan. vii. 2.
5. **and many.** Here, as the words in the next line 'not many' show, we expect 'and many'. Hence with Ryssel I emend ܗܘܝ into ܗܘܝܢ.
6. For the twelvefold division of history see 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12.
7. These black waters are interpreted in lxix, lxx. They symbolize the travail pains of the Messiah.
8. The lightning on the cloud symbolizes the Messiah. The imagery is derived from Dan. vii. 13.
9. **lightning shone . . . whole earth.** Cf. Matt. xxiv. 27 'as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man'.
12. Are these twelve rivers the Gentiles submitting to the Messiah, or the twelve tribes of Israel?

LIV. 1. Before this chapter the MS. inserts the words 'The Prayer of Baruch'.
2. I have with Ryssel restored 'Thou' at the beginning of verses 2, 3, 4. The context requires this restoration.
for whom nothing is too hard. This is a rendering of the phrase found in Gen. xviii. 14; Jer. xxxii. 17, 27.

4 ⟨Thou⟩ who revealest to those who fear **Thee** what is prepared for them,
That thenceforth they may be comforted.

5 Thou showest great acts to those who know not;
Thou breakest up the enclosure of those who are ignorant,
And lightest up what is dark,
And revealest what is hidden to the pure,
[Who in faith have submitted themselves to Thee and Thy law.]

6 Thou hast shown to Thy servant this vision;
Reveal to me also its interpretation.

7 For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought Thee, I have received a response,
And as regards what I besought, Thou didst reveal to me with what voice I should praise Thee,
And from what members I should cause praises and hallelujahs to ascend to Thee.

8 For if my members were mouths,
And the hairs of my head voices,
Even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise,
Nor laud thee as is befitting,
Nor could I recount Thy praise,
Nor tell the glory of Thy beauty.

9 For what am I amongst men,
Or why am I reckoned amongst those who are more excellent than I,
That I have heard all these marvellous things from the Most High,
And numberless promises from Him who created me?

10 Blessed be my mother among those that bear,
And praised among women be she that bare me.

11 For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One,
And with the voice of praise I will recount His marvellous deeds.

12 For who doeth like unto Thy marvellous deeds, O God,
Or who comprehendeth Thy deep thought †of life†.

13 For with Thy counsel Thou dost govern all the creatures which Thy right hand has created,
And Thou hast established every fountain of light beside Thee,
And the treasures of wisdom beneath Thy throne hast Thou prepared.

14 And justly do they perish who have not loved Thy law,
And the torment of judgement shall await those who have not submitted themselves to Thy power.

15 For though Adam first sinned
And brought untimely death upon all,
Yet of those who were born from him
Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

16 [For assuredly he who believeth will receive reward.

17 But now, as for you, ye wicked that now are, turn ye to destruction, because ye shall speedily be visited, in that formerly ye rejected the understanding of the Most High.

18 For His works have not taught you,
Nor has the skill of His creation which is at all times persuaded you.]

4. **Thee.** So I emend text = 'Him'.
5. **in faith.** See note on liv. 21. I have bracketed this line as a later addition.
10. An interpolation? it breaks the connexion. Cf. Luke xi. 27.
14. Cf. xlviii. 40.
15–19. The two doctrines of fate and free-will, though seen to be mutually exclusive, were accepted *theoretically* as equally imperative by the Pharisees. St. Paul alone develops them into naked antagonism. The general tendency was to insist on free-will as here, and in the Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 224 sq.). See my Commentary, *in loc.*
15. The effect of Adam's sin is limited to physical results—the premature death of his descendants. Contrast the pessimism of 4 Ezra.
untimely. See xxiii. 4, note.
16–18. See xlviii. 48–50, note. These verses break the context and are out of place here. They properly precede xlviii. 48–50. A direct address to the wicked could not occur in a prayer to God.
18. God's law can be learnt in nature. Cf. Rom. i. 20. This argument is as old as the Psalter, Job, and Isaiah (e.g. Ps. xix. 1).

19 Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul,
But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.

20 But do Thou, O Lord, expound to me regarding those things which Thou hast revealed to me,
And inform me regarding that which I besought Thee.

21 For at the consummation of the world vengeance shall be taken upon those who have done wickedness according to their wickedness,
And Thou wilt glorify the faithful according to their faithfulness.

22 For those who are amongst Thine own Thou rulest,
And those who sin Thou blottest out from amongst Thine own.'

55 1 And it came to pass when I had finished speaking the words of this prayer, that I sat there under
2 a tree, that I might rest in the shade of the branches. And I wondered and was astonied, and pondered in my thoughts regarding the multitude of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth have rejected, and regarding the great torment which they have despised, though they knew that
3 they should be tormented because of the sin they had committed. And when I was pondering on these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel who presides over true visions was sent to me, and he said unto me:

4 'Why does thy heart trouble thee, Baruch, and why does thy thought disturb thee?

5 For if **owing** to the report **which** thou hast only heard of judgement thou art so moved,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt see it manifestly with thine eyes?

6 And if with the expectation wherewith thou dost expect the day of the Mighty One thou art so overcome,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt come to its advent?

7 And, if at the word of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly thou art so wholly distraught,
How much more when the event will reveal marvellous things?

8 And if thou hast heard tidings of the good and evil things which are then coming and art grieved,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt behold what the majesty will reveal,
Which shall convict these and cause those to rejoice.'

LVI–LXXIV. *Interpretation of the Vision. The black and bright Waters symbolize the World's History from Adam to the Advent of the Messiah.*

56 1 'Nevertheless, because thou hast besought the Most High to reveal to thee the interpretation
2 of the vision which thou hast seen, I have been sent to tell thee. And the Mighty One hath assuredly made known to thee the methods of the times that have passed, and of those that are destined to pass in His world from the beginning of its creation even unto its consummation,
3 of those things which (are) deceit and of those which (are) in truth. For as thou didst see a great cloud which ascended from the sea, and went and covered the earth, this is the duration of the world (= αἰών) which the Mighty One made when he took counsel to make the world.
4 And it came to pass when the word had gone forth from His presence, that the duration of the world had come into being in a small degree, and **was established** according to the multitude of
5 the intelligence of Him who sent it. And as thou didst previously see on the summit of the cloud black waters which descended previously on the earth, this is the transgression wherewith Adam the first man transgressed.

19. See verse 15, note. Man's guilt and sin are due to his own action, and are not derived from Adam. The evil impulse is not sin unless obeyed. It is placed in man, say the Talmudists, to be overcome (Weber, 217 sq.).

21. **the faithful according to their faithfulness.** Here 'faithfulness' is contrasted with 'wickedness', so it = 'righteousness' or 'fidelity to the law'; but elsewhere in this work 'faith' = 'belief'. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 5 for the former sense.

LV. 3. **Ramiel.** Cf. lxiii. 6; 1 En. xx. 7 (Greek); 4 Ezra iv. 36 (Syriac); Sibyll. Or. ii. 215–17. In 4 Ezra Ramiel answers a question, as here. Elsewhere he has charge of souls for judgement.

5. **owing . . . which.** The text is defective. I have added ܡܢ after ܕܥܒܪ and ܗ before ܡܫܡܥܬܐ. Ceriani adds ܡܢ after ܕܥܒܪ. With the latter reading we should render 'if when thou hast only heard a rumour of His judgement'.

LVI. 3. **a great cloud . . . this is the duration of the world.** The twelve alternate black and bright waters, and the last black water, symbolize the thirteen periods of the world's history prior to the Messiah's kingdom, which is foreshadowed by the lightning that shone on the cloud's summit.

4. **was established.** So Ceriani has emended.

6 For [since] when he transgressed
Untimely death came into being,
Grief was named
And anguish was prepared,
And pain was created,
And trouble consummated,
And **disease** began to be established,
And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood,
And the begetting of children was brought about,
And the passion of parents produced,
And the greatness of humanity was humiliated,
And goodness languished.

7, 8 What therefore can be blacker or darker than these things? This is the beginning of the black
9 waters which thou hast seen. And from these black (waters) again were black derived, and the
10 darkness of darkness was produced. For he became a danger to his own soul: even to the angels
, 12 became he a danger. For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty. And
13 some of them descended, and mingled with the women. And then those who did so were tormented
14 in chains. But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is ⟨no⟩ number, restrained
15 themselves. And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters
16 of the deluge. These are the black first waters.

57 1 'And after these (waters) thou didst see bright waters: this is the fount of Abraham, also his
2 generations and advent of his son, and of his son's son, and of those like them. Because at that time the unwritten law was named amongst them,
And the works of the commandments were then fulfilled,
And belief in the coming judgement was then generated,
And hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up,
And the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted.
3 These are the bright waters, which thou hast seen.

58 1 'And the black third waters which thou hast seen, these are the mingling of all sins, which the nations afterwards wrought after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of
2 Egypt, wherein they did wickedly in the service wherewith they made their sons to serve. Nevertheless, these also perished at last.

59 1 'And the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen are the advent of Moses and Aaron and
2 Miriam and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them. For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the
3 promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them. But also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of
4 the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself. For He showed him many admonitions together with the principles of the **law** and the consummation of the **times**, as also to thee, and likewise the pattern of Zion and its measures, **in the pattern of which the**

6. **disease.** Text = 'boasting' = תהלה, corrupt for מחלה = 'disease', or ܡܗܬܘܠܐ = 'boasting' is corrupt for ܡܚܘܠܐ = 'disease', as in lxxiii. 2. 'Disease' comes with the Fall, but it disappears on the advent of the kingdom, lxxiii. 2.

Sheol . . . demanding. For Sheol's hunger, cf. Prov. xxvii. 20; Isa. v. 14.

10. Man's physical nature became a danger to his spiritual; because of it the angels fell through lust, and in it resided the evil impulse.

11. **they enjoyed liberty**, i.e. the angels. Cf. 1 En. vi. 2, note.

14. **⟨no⟩ number.** Ceriani restored the negative.

LVII. The first bright period is from Abraham to Jacob.

2. This tendency to trace the observance of the law to the patriarchs had already reached its most extreme expression in the Book of Jubilees.

the world . . . to be renewed. In A^1 and A^2 at the close of the Messianic kingdom, which in A^3 ends this world and begins the next (lxxiv. 2).

LVIII. 1. **the service . . . serve.** The text follows the Hebrew of Exod. i. 4, not the LXX.

LIX. 2. **the lamp . . . darkness.** A Rabbinic application of Isa. ix. 2.

the eternal law. Cf. xvii. 6; xv. 5, note.

torment of fire, i.e. a material fire to torment the wicked after the resurrection. Cf. xliv. 15, &c.

4. **law . . . times.** Text reads 'laws . . . time'.

the pattern of Zion. Cf. Exod. xxv. 40, &c.

in the pattern of which . . . made. So by a change of a single letter I have emended the text, which read 'which was to be made in the pattern of the sanctuary', &c. This emendation is followed by Ryssel.

5 sanctuary of the present time was to be made. But then also He showed to him the measures of
the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of
6 rain: And the suppression of anger, and the multitude of long-suffering, and the truth of judgement:
7, 8 And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge: And the
height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, and the consummation of the ages, and the beginning
9 of the day of judgement: And the number of the offerings, and the earths which have not yet come:
10 And the mouth of Gehenna, and the station of vengeance, and the place of faith, and the region of
11 hope: And the likeness of future torment, and the multitude of innumerable angels, and the flaming
hosts, and the splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs
of the angels, and the treasuries of light, and the changes of the times, and the investigations of the
12 law. These are the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen.

60 1 'And the black fifth waters which thou hast seen raining are the works which the Amorites
wrought, and the spells of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their
2 mysteries, and the mingling of their pollution. But even Israel was then polluted by sins in the days
of the judges, though they saw many signs which were from Him who made them.

61 1 'And the bright sixth waters which thou didst see, this is the time in which David and Solomon
were born.

2 And there was at that time the building of Zion,
And the dedication of the sanctuary,

And the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned then,
And many offerings which were offered then in the dedication of the sanctuary.

3 And peace and tranquillity existed at that time,
4 And wisdom was heard in the assembly:

And the riches of understanding were magnified in the congregations,
5 And the holy festivals were fulfilled in blessedness and in much joy.

6 And the judgement of the rulers was then seen to be without guile,
And the righteousness of the precepts of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth.
7 And the land [which] was then beloved by the Lord,
And because its inhabitants sinned not, it was glorified beyond all lands,
And the city Zion ruled then over all lands and regions.

8 These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

62 1 'And the black seventh waters which thou hast seen, this is the perversion (brought about) by the
2 counsel of Jeroboam, who took counsel to make two calves of gold: And all the iniquities which
3 kings who were after him iniquitously wrought. And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols
4 which Israel practised at that time. And the withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred
5 until women eat the fruit of their wombs. And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine
6 tribes and a half, because they were in many sins. And Salmanasar king of Assyria came and led

5–11. Here one of Enoch's functions is for the first time transferred to Moses. Cf. another such transference to Ezra in 4 Ezra xiv. 50. Enoch, like the LXX, was much appealed to by Christians, and like it, therefore, fell into disuse by the Jews. This aggressive attitude of Judaism cannot be earlier than 50 A. D., and therefore places this writing (A^3) after that date. It is prior to A. D. 70 (lxviii. 5).

5. **the depths of the abyss.** 1 Enoch xviii. 11; xxi. 7–10, &c; 2 Enoch xxviii. 3.
the weight of the winds. 2 Enoch xl. 11. Cf. 1 Enoch xli. 4.

8. **the greatness of Paradise.** The measures of Paradise are taken by the angels for Enoch. Cf. 1 Enoch lxi. 1–4; lxx. 3, 4.
the beginning of the day of judgement. A definite reckoning is given in 2 Enoch xxxii. 2–xxxiii. 2; lxv. 7–10; and indefinite measures in 1 Enoch lxxxiii–xc; xci–civ.

10. **the mouth of Gehenna.** Cf. lxxxv. 13; 1 Enoch xxvii. 2, 3, &c.
the station of vengeance. Many places of vengeance are described in the two books of Enoch: 1 Enoch xviii. 12–16; xix; xxi; xxii. 10–13; liv. 1–6; xc. 24–7; 2 Enoch x; xl. 2.
the place of faith, and the region of hope. These seem to be the places of intermediate bliss. Cf. 1 Enoch xxii. 5–9.

11. **the likeness of future torment.** 2 Enoch xl. 12.
lightnings . . . thunders. 1 Enoch xli. 3, &c.
the orders of the chiefs of the angels. The Syriac has 'chief' (sing.). Cf. xlviii. 10; 2 Enoch xx. 1, 3.

LX. 1. **mingling of their pollution.** Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 15 ἐν φυρμῷ ἀναμίξεως.
2. **of the judges.** The Syriac has 'judgement'.

LXI. 7. **by the Lord.** The text = ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, where I take καιρῷ to be corrupt for Κυρίῳ, and ἐκείνῳ to be a later addition. I have bracketed the 'which'.

LXII. 4. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 28, 29.
6. i. e. Shalmaneser, 2 Kings xvii. 3, 6. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

7 them away captive. But regarding the Gentiles it were tedious to tell how they always wrought
8 impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness. These are the black seventh waters which thou hast seen.

3 1 'And the bright eighth waters which thou hast seen, this is the rectitude and uprightness of
2 Hezekiah king of Judah and the **grace** ⟨of God⟩ which came upon him. †For when Sennacherib was stirred up in order that he might perish, and his wrath troubled him in order that he might thereby
3 perish, for the multitude also of the nations which were with him.† When, moreover, Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (i.e.) to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained: nay, more he wished to overthrow Zion also: then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spake with
4 the Mighty One and said: "Behold, for lo! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion."

5 And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise,
And He had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous.

6, 7 And thereupon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel His angel who speaks with thee. And I went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and
8 eighty-five thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command). And at that time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and that thereby His name might
9 be spoken of throughout the whole earth. And Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also
10 was freed from tribulation. And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the
11 Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

4 1 'And the black ninth waters which thou hast seen, this is all the wickedness which was in the days
2 of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah. For he wrought much impiety, and he slew the righteous, and he wrested judgement, and he shed the blood of the innocent, and wedded women he violently polluted, and he overturned the altars, and destroyed their offerings, and drove forth their priests
3 lest they should minister in the sanctuary. And he made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the
4 Mighty One. And then wrath went forth from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that
5 Zion should be rooted out, as also it befell in your days. But also against the two tribes and a half
6 went forth a decree that they should also be led away captive, as thou hast now seen. And to such a degree did the impiety of Manasseh increase, that it removed the praise of the Most High from
7 the sanctuary. On this account Manasseh was at that time named "the impious", and finally his
8 abode was in the fire. For though his prayer was heard with the Most High, finally, when he was cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it served as a sign unto him for the
9 hour. For he had not lived perfectly, for he was not worthy—but that thenceforward he might
10 know by whom finally he should be tormented. For he who is able to benefit is also able to torment.

5 1 'Thus, moreover, did Manasseh act impiously, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would
2 not inquire into these things. These are the black ninth waters which thou hast seen.

LXIII. 1. **the grace.** The MS. originally read 'bounty'. I have with Ryssel added 'of God'. Ryssel emends and reads 'the benignity of God'.

2. This verse is very corrupt.

3. **Hezekiah trusted in his works.** See xiv. 7, note. There is a play on Hezekiah's name in the words when retranslated into Hebrew חזקיה התחזק על. Cf. Sirach xlviii. 22, and 17.

4. There is a play again on 'Sennacherib' and 'destroy' in Hebrew סנחריב עתיד להחריב.

7. In 2 Kings xix. 35; Isa. xxxvii. 36, 185,000 is the complete number of the slain. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, only the slaughter of the chiefs is mentioned. The text combines the two accounts.

8. Cf. Sanh. 94[a], where it is said that the souls were burnt up but the bodies preserved.

LXIV. 3. **he made an image with five faces: four of,** &c. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7 says 'he set the graven image of the idol'. The Syriac version, however, gives 'and he set the four-fronted image'. Cf. the Arabic, and also the Talmud, *Sanh.* 103[b] 'at first he made for it one face, and in the end he made for it four faces that the Shechinah might see and be provoked'.

6. **removed the praise.** Sanh. 103[b] says Manasseh erased the divine name and overturned the altar.

7. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11–19, on the other hand, implies that Manasseh was really forgiven on his repentance.

8. **his prayer.** 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19; The Prayer of Manasseh in the Apocrypha.

the brazen horse. Cf. the Targum of Chronicles on 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Also Apost. Const. ii. 22; Anastasius on Ps. vi; Suidas (under Μανασσῆς).

9. Text corrupt.

LXV. The writer holds thus that Manasseh, though he prayed, did not really repent. Cf. Sanh. 101, and Sanh. 10, and contrast Debarim rabba 2, where Manasseh is to be saved at the last.

66 1 'And the bright tenth waters which thou hast seen: this is the purity of the generations of Josiah king of Judah, who was the only one at the time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all
2 his heart and with all his soul. And he cleansed the land from idols, and hallowed all the vessels which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and raised the horn of the holy, and exalted the righteous, and honoured all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and necromancers from
3 the land. And not only did he slay the impious that were living, but they also took from the
4 sepulchres the bones of the dead and burned them with fire. [And the festivals and the sabbaths he established in their sanctity], and their polluted ones he burnt in the fire, and the lying prophets which deceived the people, these also he burnt in the fire, and the people who listened to them when
5 they were living, he cast them into the brook Cedron, and heaped stones upon them. And he was zealous with zeal for the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of
6 his life. **Therefore** he shall receive an eternal reward, and he shall be glorified with the Mighty One
7 beyond many at a later time. For on his account and on account of those who are like him were
8 the honourable glories, of which thou wast told before, created and prepared. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

67 1 'And the black eleventh waters which thou hast seen: this is the calamity which is now befalling Zion.

2 Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One,
That Zion was so delivered up,
And that lo! the Gentiles boast in their hearts,
And **assemble** before their idols and say,

"She is trodden down who ofttimes trod down,
And she has been reduced to servitude who reduced (others)"?

3 Dost thou think that in these things the Most High rejoices,
Or that His name is glorified?

4 [But how will it serve towards His righteous judgement?]

5 Yet after these things shall the dispersed among the Gentiles be taken hold of by tribulation,
And in shame shall they dwell in every place.

6 Because so far as Zion is delivered up
And Jerusalem laid waste,
Shall idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles,
And the vapour of the smoke of the incense of the righteousness which is by the law is extinguished in Zion,
And in the region of Zion in every place lo! there is the smoke of impiety.

7 But the king of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion,
And he will boast over the people,
And he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High.

8 But he also shall fall at last. These are the black waters.

68 1, 2 'And the bright twelfth waters which thou hast seen: this is the word. For after these things a time will come when thy people shall fall into distress, so that they shall all run the risk of
3 perishing together. Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence.

LXVI. 2. **necromancers,** i.e. אוב. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 6.
4. The words bracketed might come after 'to their ministry' in verse 2.
6. **Therefore.** Here I have emended ܗܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܝ (='now', to wit, 'he who') into ܗܕܐ ='therefore'. But the original is doubtful.
7. Cf. xiv. 18.

LXVII. 2. **assemble.** The Syriac reads ܩܗܠܐ (='crowds') corrupt for ܩܗܠܗ (='assemble').
6–7. With Jerusalem's destruction godlessness is everywhere triumphant. A^3 is unaware of the divine interposition to save the sacred vessels and destroy Zion by angels which B^1 narrates (vi. 4–10; lxxx. 1–3). Here in A^3, too, the Gentiles (lxvii. 2) and the King of Babylon (lxvii. 7) boast over the fall of Zion. Contrast the ideas of B^1 in vii. 1 and lxxx. 3, where such boasting is provided against.
6. **righteousness which is by the law.** See xv. 5, note.

LXVIII. 2, 3. The danger of the Jews according to the book of Esther and their deliverance. This is the second earliest allusion to this O.T. book. The first is in 2 Macc. xv. 36.

4, 5 And they will have in (due) time much joy. And at that time after a little interval Zion will again
be builded, and its offerings will again be restored, and the priests will return to their ministry, and
5, 7 also the Gentiles will come to glorify it. Nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning. But it will
8 come to pass after these things that there will be the fall of many nations. These are the bright
waters which thou hast seen.

9 1 'For the last waters which thou hast seen which were darker than all that were before them, those
2 which were after the twelfth number, which were collected together, belong to the whole world. For
3 the Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will befall. For as
to the enormities and the impieties which should be wrought before Him, He foresaw six kinds of
4 them. And of the good works of the righteous which should be accomplished before Him, He
foresaw six kinds of them, beyond those which He should work at the consummation of the age.
5 On his account there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; for it is the
consummation.

70 1 'Hear therefore the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come [after the black]: this
2 is the word. Behold! the days come, and it shall be when the time of the age has ripened,
And the **harvest** of its evil and good seeds has come,
That the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers
Perturbation of **spirit** and stupor of heart.

3 And they shall hate one another,
And provoke one another to fight,
And the mean shall rule over the honourable,
And those of low degree shall be extolled above the famous.

4 And the many shall be delivered into the hands of the few,
And those who were nothing shall rule over the strong,
And the poor shall have abundance beyond the rich,
And the impious shall exalt themselves above the heroic.

5 And the wise shall be silent,
And the foolish shall speak,
Neither shall the thought of men be then confirmed,
Nor the counsel of the **mighty**,
Nor shall the hope of those who hope be confirmed.

6 And when those things which were predicted have come to pass,
Then shall confusion fall upon all men,
And some of them shall fall in battle,
And some of them shall perish in anguish,

7 And some of them shall be **destroyed** by their own. Then the Most High will reveal those peoples whom He has prepared before,
And they shall come and make war with the leaders that shall then be left.

8 And it shall come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the war shall die in the earthquake,
And whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake shall be burned by the fire,
And whosoever gets safe out of the fire **shall be destroyed** by famine.

6. The second temple was less esteemed. See Mal. i–ii; 1 En. lxxxix. 73, 74; Ass. Mos. iv. 8. This temple then was standing when liii–lxxiv was written.

LXIX. 1. **last.** Syriac = 'other'.
the last waters, &c. See liii. 7.
2–4. This division recalls Sirach xlii. 24.
3. **and.** So I emend the Syriac (='of') with Ryssel.
kinds: or 'methods'.
4. **beyond those which.** The travail-pains of the Messiah are developed in lxx–lxxii.

LXX. 1. The words bracketed spoil the scheme of the writer. In lxviii the last black waters come after the bright twelfth waters.
2. **harvest . . . spirit.** In both cases in the plural in the MS.
3–10. For these last woes cf. xxv. 2–4; xxvii; xlviii. 31–9; 4 Ezra v. 1–12; vi. 20–4; ix. 1–9; xiii. 29–31.
3, 5. Cf. xlviii. 37, 36.
5. **the mighty.** I have here changed the singular into the plural; in lxx. 2 the plural into the singular.
6. **destroyed by their own.** Cf. Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 35, 36. The Syriac 'hindered' is due to a corruption in the original Hebrew, יִכָּלְאוּ for יִכַּלוּ.
7. **whom He has prepared before.** Are these the hosts of Gog and Magog?
8. **the earthquake . . . fire.** Cf. xxvii. 7, 10; 4 Ezra ix. 3 and v. 8.
shall be destroyed. So Ceriani emends text, which = 'shall add'.
famine. Cf. xxvii. 6.

9 [And it shall come to pass that whosoever of the victors and the vanquished gets safe out of and
10 escapes all these things aforesaid will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.] For all the earth shall devour its inhabitants.

71 1 'And the holy land shall have mercy on its own,
And it shall protect its inhabiters at that time.

2, 3 This is the vision which thou hast seen, and this is the interpretation. For I have come to tell thee these things, because thy prayer has been heard with the Most High.

72 1 'Hear now also regarding the bright **lightning** which is to come at the consummation after these
2 black (waters): this is the word. After the signs have come, of which thou wast told before, when the nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, he shall both summon all the
3 nations, and some of them he shall spare, and some of them he shall slay. These things therefore
4 shall come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him. Every nation, which knows not Israel
5 and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared. And this because some out of
6 every nation shall be subjected to thy people. But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword.

73 1 'And it shall come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world,
And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom,
That joy shall then be revealed,
And rest shall appear.

2 And then healing shall descend in dew,
And disease shall withdraw,
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,
And gladness proceed through the whole earth.

3 And no one shall again die untimely,
Nor shall any adversity suddenly befall.

4 And judgements, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges,
And blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred,
And whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed.

5 For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils,
And on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled.

6 And wild beasts shall come from the forest and minister unto men,
And asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child.

7 And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear,
Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

74 1 'And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build be toilworn;
For the works shall of themselves speedily advance
Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.
2 For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible,
And the beginning of that which is not corruptible.
3 Therefore those things which were predicted shall belong to it:
Therefore it is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not.
4 This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters.'

9. An interpolation? Verse 10 is the natural sequel to verse 8. The appearance of the Messiah and the extermination of the Gentiles are at least anticipated if not premature here.

LXXI. See xxix. 2, note.
3. Cf. liv. 1.

LXXII. 1. **the bright lightning.** The Syriac has 'the bright waters', which contradicts the vision in liii. 7–11. The same emendation is necessary in lxxiv. 4. The verb must be read in the sing. to agree with its subject.
4–6. The Messiah was to extend his dominion over the Gentiles (Ps. lxxii. 11, 17; Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19–21; Zech. xiv; 1 En. xc. 20; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32). A harsher view grew up in the first century B.C. In 1 Enoch xxxvii–lxx and Assumpt. Mos. x the Gentiles are to be annihilated; so in 4 Ezra xiii. 37, 38, 49, and later Judaism. The Messiah here, as in xxxix. 7–xl; 4 Ezra xii. 32, is a warrior who slays Israel's enemies with his own hand. Cf. Isa. xi. 4. Contrast His passive rôle in xxix. 2 of this book.

LXXIII. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25.
6. Cf. Isa. xi. 6–9; lxv. 25; Sibyll. Or. iii. 620–3, 743–50.

LXXV. *Baruch's Hymn on the Unsearchableness of God's Ways and on His Mercies through which the Faithful shall attain to a blessed Consummation.* lxxv-lxxvi = B².

75 1 And I answered and said:

'Who can **understand**, O Lord, Thy goodness?
For it is incomprehensible.

2 Or who can search into thy compassions,
Which are infinite?

3 Or who can comprehend Thy intelligence?
4 Or who is able to recount the thoughts of Thy mind?
5 Or who of those who are born can hope to come to those things,
Unless he is one to whom Thou art merciful and gracious?

6 Because, if assuredly Thou didst not have compassion on man,
Those who are under Thy right hand,
They could not come to those things,
But those who are in the numbers named can be called.

7 But if, indeed, we who exist know wherefore we have come,
And submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt,
We shall come again and remember those things which have passed,
And shall rejoice regarding that which has been.

8 But if now we know not wherefore we have come,
And recognize not the principate of Him who brought us up out of Egypt,
We shall come again and seek after those things which have been now,
And be grieved with pain because of those things which have befallen.'

LXXVI. *Baruch bidden to instruct the People for forty days and then to hold himself ready for his Assumption on the Advent of the Messiah.*

76 1 And He answered and said unto me: ['Inasmuch as the revelation of this vision has been interpreted to thee as thou besoughtest], hear the word of the Most High that thou mayst know what
2 is to befall thee after these things. For thou shalt surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not
3 unto death, but **thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation** of the times. Go up therefore to the top of that mountain, and there shall pass before thee all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top(s) of the mountains, and the depth(s) of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers, that thou mayst see what thou art leaving, and
4 whither thou art going. Now this shall befall after forty days. Go now therefore during these days and instruct the people so far as thou art able, that they may learn so as not to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times.'

LXXV–LXXVI. Here B² returns. Baruch addresses God and not Ramiel, who in lv. 4–lxxiv. has been explaining the vision in liii.

LXXV. 1. **understand.** Syriac reads ܡܕܡܐ = 'be likened to', which I have emended into ܡܕܥܐ = 'understand', omitting the following ܕ.

2. The mercies of God are not much dwelt on in this book. The righteous are fully conscious of their own merit (cf. xiv. 7). But cf. lxxxi. 4; lxxv. 5, 6.

6. **who are under Thy right hand.** Cf. Ps. lxxx. 17.

7, 8. **We shall come again,** i.e. we shall rise and meet with our fate according as we are obedient and righteous or not.

LXXVI. 1. The words bracketed are inserted by the final editor.

hear the word of the Most High. Cf. xiii. 2; xxv. 1.

2. **thou shalt be preserved until the consummation of the times.** The Syriac here has 'unto the preservation of the times'. From xxv. 1 we see we must read 'thou shalt be preserved unto the times', or rather the fuller form we find in xiii. 3 'thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation of the times'. Ryssel has adopted this suggestion.

3. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1–3; Matt. iv. 8.

4. **forty days.** Cf. Exod. xxiv. 18, and 4 Ezra xiv. 23, 42–5.

LXXVII. *Baruch's Admonition to the People and his writing of two Letters—one to the nine and a half tribes in Assyria and the other to the two and a half in Babylon.*

77 1 And I, Baruch, went thence and came to the people, and assembled them together from the lxxv
2 greatest to the least, and said unto them: 'Hear, ye children of Israel, behold how many ye are who lxxx
3 remain of the twelve tribes of Israel. For to you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law more B[1]
4 excellent than to all peoples. And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High,

He brought vengeance upon you and upon them,
And He spared not the former,

And the latter also He gave into captivity:
And He left not a residue of them,
5 But behold! ye are here with me.

6 If, therefore, ye direct your ways aright,
Ye also shall not depart as your brethren departed,
But they shall come to you.

7 For He is merciful whom ye worship,
And He is gracious in whom ye hope,
And He is true, so that He shall do good and not evil.

8 Have ye not seen here what has befallen Zion?
9 Or do ye perchance think that the place had sinned,
And that on this account it was overthrown?

Or that the land had wrought foolishness,
And that therefore it was delivered up?

10 And know ye not that on account of you who did sin,
That which sinned not was overthrown,
And, on account of those who wrought wickedly,
That which wrought not foolishness was delivered up to (its) enemies?'

11 And the whole people answered and said unto me: 'So far as we can recall the good things which the Mighty One has done unto us, we do recall them; and those things which we do not remember
12 He in His mercy knows. Nevertheless, do this for us thy people: write also to our brethren in Babylon an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of hope, that thou mayst confirm them also before thou dost depart from us.

13 For the shepherds of Israel have perished,
And the lamps which gave light are extinguished,
And the fountains have withheld their stream whence we used to drink.

LXXVII–LXXXVI. These chapters belong to B[1] with the exception of lxxxiii and lxxxv. The chief differences between B[1] and B[2] are: in B[1] an earthly felicity is looked for, the dispersion is to return, and the earthly Jerusalem to be rebuilt; in B[2] none of these things are expected. In B[1] Baruch is to die, in B[2] to be translated; in B[1] Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, in B[2] he is.

LXXVII. 1. **from the greatest to the least.** This order belongs to the later books; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30; Esther i. 5, 20. Contrast Gen. xix. 11; 1 Sam. v. 9; Jer. vi. 13, &c.

4. **upon you,** i. e. the two and a half tribes = 'the former' in the next line.
upon them, i. e. the nine and a half tribes = 'the latter'.
left not a residue. This denies the Samaritan claim.

5. **here with me.** Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 33. Ryssel misunderstands and tries to emend.

6. **they shall come to you.** Seems to include the nine and a half tribes. Cf. lxxviii. 7.

7. **do good and not evil.** Cf. Jer. xxi. 10; Amos ix. 4.

9. The place itself had not sinned, therefore the angels, instead of the king of Babylon, had destroyed it. Cf. v–viii; lxxx.

10. Note that Jerusalem's fall is attributed here not only to the sins of the two and a half tribes, but also of the nine and a half. Cf. Jer xi. 17; 1 Bar. ii. 26; Ass. Mos. iii. 5.

12. **to our brethren in Babylon,** i. e. the two and a half tribes. Cf. verse 19. In 4 Baruch the letter is addressed to Jeremiah; not so here. See x. 2, note. This letter is lost.
depart, i. e. die (xliii. 2, note).

14 And we are left in the darkness,
And amid the †trees of the forest†,
And the thirst of the wilderness.'

15 And I answered and said unto them:
'Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law:
And though we depart, yet the law abideth.

16 If therefore ye have respect to the law,
And are intent upon wisdom,
A lamp will not be wanting,
And a **shepherd** will not fail,
And a fountain will not dry up.

17 Nevertheless, as ye said unto me, I will write also unto your brethren in Babylon, and I will send
by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of
18 a bird.' And it came to pass on the one and twentieth day in the eighth month that I, Baruch,
came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but
19 I was alone. And I wrote these two epistles: one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes;
20 and the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men. And I called the eagle
21 and spake these words unto it: 'The Most High hath made thee that thou shouldst be higher than
22 all birds. And now go and tarry not in (any) place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till
thou hast passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and hast gone to the
23 people that dwell there, and cast down to them this epistle. Remember, moreover, that, at the time
of the deluge, Noah received from a dove the fruit of the olive, when he sent it forth from the ark.
25 Yea, also the ravens ministered to Elijah, bearing him food, as they had been commanded. Solo-
mon also, in the time of his kingdom, whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything,
26 commanded a bird (to go thither), and it obeyed him as he commanded it. And now let it not
weary thee, and turn not to the right hand nor the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that thou
mayst preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said unto thee.'

LXXVIII–LXXXVI. The Epistle of Baruch the Son of Neriah which he wrote to the Nine and a Half Tribes.

8 1 These are the words of that epistle which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half
2 tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written. Thus saith Baruch
3 the son of Neriah to the brethren carried into captivity: 'Mercy and peace.' I bear in mind, my
brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved us from of old, and never hated us, but above
4 all educated us. And truly I know that behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one bond,
5 inasmuch as we are born from one father. Wherefore I have been the more careful to leave you the
words of this epistle before I die, that ye may be comforted regarding the evils which have come
upon you, and that ye may be grieved also regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren; and
again, also, that ye may justify His judgement which He has decreed against you that ye should be

14. **left in the darkness**: xlvi. 2; 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

†**trees** = עצ', possibly corrupt for עצבי = 'toils'. But whether this is so or not, the general sense is clear. In verse 13 three things have been lost: shepherds to guide the people, lamps to give light to them, and fountains to satisfy their thirst. Now, owing to the loss of the lamps, the people are 'left in darkness', owing to the loss of the fountains they suffer from the 'thirst of the wilderness'. Hence the second line must deal with the evils that followed on the loss of the shepherds, and its restoration must satisfy this requirement. Accordingly I offer the following suggestion: that ܕܝܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ is corrupt for ܕܠܝܬ ܪܥܝܐ = 'without pasture', or 'without a shepherd'.

16. **shepherd.** So Ceriani emends ܪܥܝܐ = 'mind', into ܪܥܝܐ.

17. **by means of men.** In 4 Baruch an eagle carries Baruch's letter to Jeremiah at Babylon.

21. Cf. 4 Baruch vii. 3: 'Elect above all the birds of heaven.'

23. Cf. Gen. viii. 11; 4 Baruch vii. 10.

LXXVIII. 1. The nine and a half tribes. In this book the tribes of Israel carried away by the king of Assyria are always so designated, except in i. 2. Cf. John Malalas 158. In 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called 'the ten tribes' in the Latin version, 'the nine and a half tribes' in the Syriac and Arabic versions, and 'the nine tribes' in the Ethiopic version.

2. **Mercy and peace** + 'unto you' c. Cf. 1 Tim. i. 2.

3. In the genuine parts of B[1] Baruch speaks frequently in the first person singular, but not in the interpolated portions.

5. **justify.** See xxi. 9, note. Cf. Ps. li. 4.

carried away captive—for what ye have suffered is disproportioned to what ye have done—in order
6 that, at the last times, ye may be found worthy of your fathers. Therefore, if ye consider that ye
have now suffered those things for your good, that ye may not finally be condemned and tormented,
then ye will receive eternal hope; if above all ye destroy from your heart vain error, on account of
7 which ye departed hence. For if ye so do these things, He will continually remember you, He who
always promised on our behalf to those who were more excellent than we, that He will never forget
or forsake us, but with much mercy will gather together again those who were dispersed.

79 1 Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion: how that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came
2 up against us. For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the command-
3 ments which he commanded us, yet he hath not chastened us as we deserved. For what befell you
we also suffer in a pre-eminent degree, for it befell us also.

80 1 And now, my brethren, I make known unto you that when the enemy had surrounded the city,
the angels of the Most High were sent, and they overthrew the fortifications of the strong wall, and
2 they destroyed the firm iron corners, which could not be rooted out. Nevertheless, they hid **all**
3 the vessels of the sanctuary, lest **the enemy should get possession of them.** And when they
had done these things, they delivered thereupon to the enemy the overthrown wall, and the plundered
house, and the burnt temple, and the people who were overcome because they were delivered up, lest
the enemy should boast and say: 'Thus by force have we been able to lay waste even the house of the
4 Most High in war.' Your brethren also have they bound and led away to Babylon, and have caused
5, 6 them to dwell there. But we have been left here, being very few. This is the tribulation about
7 which I wrote to you. For assuredly I know that ⟨the consolation of⟩ the inhabitants of Zion
consoleth you: so far as ye knew that it was prospered (your consolation) was greater than the
tribulation which ye endured in having to depart from it.

81 1, 2 But regarding consolation, hear ye the word. For I was mourning regarding Zion, and I prayed
for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

3 'How long will these things endure for us?
And will these evils come upon us always?'
4 And the Mighty One did according to the multitude of His mercies,
And the Most High according to the greatness of His compassion,
And He revealed unto me the word, that I might receive consolation,
And He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish,
And He made known to me the mystery of the times.
And the advent of the hours he showed me.

82 1 Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that ye may comfort yourselves regarding the
2 multitude of your tribulations. For know ye that our Maker will assuredly avenge us on all our
enemies, according to all that they have done to us, also that the consummation which the Most
High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgement,
is by no means far off.

5. **the last times,** i.e. the Return, verse 7.
7. **those who were more excellent.** The patriarchs.
with much mercy. In 4 Ezra xiv. 34, 35, after death the righteous obtain mercy. Here Israel obtains it in their Return.
gather together . . . dispersed. Cf. lxxvii. 6; lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10. For the Return spoken of in the O.T. and elsewhere, see my Commentary, *in loc.* The return in B^1 accords well with the rebuilding of Jerusalem expected in B^1. See i. 4; vi. 9, notes.

LXXIX. 2. **chastened.** Cf. i. 5; xiii. 10.

LXXX. This chapter resembles and implies vi–viii, but conflicts with lxvii.

2. **all the vessels.** Syr. 'the vessels of the vessels' = כלים מכלי, corrupt for כל כלי.
lest the enemy should get possession of them. Syr. reads 'lest they should be polluted by the enemy' = פן יחלו מאויבים, corrupt for פן ינחלום אויבים, as in vi. 8.
4. Jeremiah not mentioned. See x. 2, note.
5. Jer. xlii. 2.
7. ⟨**the consolation of**⟩ **the inhabitants of Zion consoleth,** &c. ܡܚܝܐ requires a subject. In lxxvii. 12 the people ask Baruch to send to their brethren in Babylon 'a scroll of hope'. Hence some such word is needed here, i.e. ܟܣܝܐ = 'consolation' as in lxxxi. 1, 4. Ryssel proposes most extraordinarily to insert 'tribulation' where I have added 'consolation'. The tribulation of the Jews in Zion is to comfort the exiles in Babylon!

LXXXI. As in lxxx. 7 the nine and a half tribes were consoled when Jerusalem prospered and were grieved at its downfall, Baruch has now a word of consolation for them touching Zion; for God has comforted him by a revelation regarding it.
1. **consolation,** i.e. Zion's restoration. Cf. xliv. 7.
4. **mystery.** ch read 'mysteries.'

LXXXII. I am doubtful whether lxxxii. 2–9 belongs to B^1 or B^2; perhaps the latter.

3 For lo! we see now the multitude of the prosperity of the Gentiles,
Though they act impiously,
But they shall be like a vapour:

4 And we behold the multitude of their power,
Though they do wickedly,
But they shall be made like unto a drop;

5 And we see the firmness of their might,
Though they resist the Mighty One every hour,
But they shall be accounted as spittle.

6 And we consider the glory of their greatness,
Though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High,
But as smoke shall they pass away.

7 And we meditate on the beauty of their gracefulness,
Though they have to do with pollutions,
But as grass that withers shall they fade away.

8 And we consider the strength of their cruelty,
Though they remember not the end (thereof),
But as a wave that passes shall they be broken.

9 And we remark the boastfulness of their might,
Though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them,
But they shall pass away as a passing cloud.

83 1 [For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, lxxxiii = B²
And He will assuredly bring on His hours.

2 And He will assuredly judge those who are in His world,
And will visit in truth all things by means of all their hidden works.

3 And He will assuredly examine the secret thoughts,
And that which is laid up in the secret chambers of all the members of man.
And will make (them) manifest in the presence of all with reproof.

4 Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expec-
5 tant, because that which is promised to us shall come. And let us not now look unto the delights
6 of the Gentiles in the present, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end. For the ends of the times and of the seasons and whatsoever is with them shall assuredly pass by
7 together. The consummation, moreover, of the age shall then show the great might of its ruler,
8 when all things come to judgement. Do ye therefore prepare your hearts for that which before ye believed, lest ye come to be in bondage in both worlds, so that ye be led away captive here and be
9 tormented there. For that which exists now or which has passed away, or which is to come, in all these things, neither is the evil fully evil, nor again the good fully good.

10 For all healthinesses of this time are turning into diseases,
11 And all might of this time is turning into weakness,
And all the force of this time is turning into impotence,
12 And every energy of youth is turning into old age and consummation.

3, 4. **a vapour . . . a drop.** Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 61, vi. 56 (Isa. xl. 15).
5. **accounted as spittle.** The text here and in 4 Ezra vi. 56 agrees with LXX against the Hebrew.

LXXXIII. This chapter seems to belong to B². The times are to be hastened (lxxxiii. 1, 6) and everything brought to judgement (2, 3, 7); let them attend not to the present but to the end and its joys (4, 5), and hold to their old faith, to avoid torment in the world to come (8), for this world is passing away with its strength, its virtues and its lusts (9–23). There is a close connexion between lxxxiii and xx. This chapter seems to have formed originally part of Baruch's address to the people, and to have followed on xliv. 8–15.
3. See 4 Ezra xvi. 65. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 5; also Heb. iv. 12.
4. **Let none therefore,** &c. Cf. Col. iii. 2 τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε.
promised. See xiv. 13, note.
8. **prepare your hearts.** See xxxii. 1, note.
that which before ye believed, refers to apostates, i.e. Christians who had left Judaism. Cf. xli. 3.
10. Probably we have here a play on words כל־מרפא מעתה יהפך למדוה.
11, 12, 13. **might . . . beauty . . . dominion.** xxi. 14; xlviii. 35.

And every beauty of gracefulness of this time is turning faded and hateful,
13 And every proud dominion of the present is turning into humiliation and shame,
14 And every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the shame of silence,
And every vain splendour and insolence of this time is turning into voiceless ruin.

15 And every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and corruption,
16 And every clamour of the pride of this time is turning into dust and stillness.

17 And every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol alone,
18 And all the rapine of passion of this time is turning into involuntary death,
And every passion of the lusts of this time is turning into a judgement of torment.

19 And every artifice and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth,
20 And every sweetness of unguents of this time is turning into judgement and condemnation,
21 And every love of lying is turning to contumely through truth.

22 Since therefore all these things are done now, does anyone think that they will not be avenged? But the consummation of all things will come to the truth.]

84 1 Behold! I have therefore made known unto you (these things) whilst I live; for I have said (it) that ye should learn the things that are excellent; for the Mighty One hath commanded me to instruct you: and I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgement before I die. lxx = B¹
2 Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you and said;
3 'If ye transgress the law ye shall be dispersed, but if ye keep it ye shall be kept.' And other
4 things also he used to say unto you when ye the twelve tribes were together in the desert. And after his death ye cast them away from you: on this account there came upon you what had been
5 predicted. And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you;
6 for ye have forsaken the law. Lo! I also say unto you after ye have suffered, that if ye obey those things which have been said unto you, ye will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid
7 up and reserved for you. Moreover, let this epistle be for a testimony between me and you, that ye may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that also there may be to me a defence
8 in the presence of Him who sent me. And remember ye the law and Zion, and the holy land and
9 your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers, and forget not the festivals and the sabbaths. And deliver ye this epistle and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers
10 delivered (them) to you. And at all times make request perseveringly and pray diligently with your whole heart that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you, and that He may not reckon the
11 multitude of your sins, but remember the rectitude of your fathers. For if He judge us not according to the multitude of His mercies, woe unto all us who are born.

85 1 [Know ye, moreover, that lxxx = B³
In former times and in the generations of old our fathers had helpers,
Righteous men and holy prophets:

2 Nay more, we were in our own land
[And they helped us when we sinned],

12. **beauty . . . hateful.** Cf. xlviii. 35.
14. **glory . . . shame.** Again a play on words in the Hebrew קלון . . . כבוד.

LXXXIV. 1. **learn . . . instruct you.** So b d g h i l W P. c reads 'above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One wherein I should instruct you'.

2. See xix. 2, note. In this verse we get several traces of the Hebrew original: the idiom העד העיד; the play on 'keep' and 'kept'; and perhaps a paronomasia in 'transgress' and 'be dispersed' תסורו and תזורו.

be kept. So all MSS. but c which reads 'be planted'.

6. The nine and a half tribes must endure chastisement before they could attain to the promised happiness. This chastisement was for their well-being (lxxviii. 6); was less than they deserved (lxxix. 2), and was intended to make them worthy of their fathers in the last days (lxxviii. 5).

10. **that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you.** Cf. 4 Ezra x. 24. The return to Palestine is to follow the reconciliation (lxxviii. 7).

the rectitude of your fathers. For their merit see xiv. 7, note; and contrast this next verse.

LXXXV. An interpolation, B³. The restored Jerusalem and the return expected in B¹ is here implicitly denied, as in B². This world is lost, and only spiritual blessedness is looked for in the world of incorruption. B³ is more individualistic than B², and moreover was written outside Palestine (lxxxv. 2, 3), whereas B² seems to have been written in Jerusalem. B³ is the most pessimistic part of this book.

1–3. In these verses we have a strophe of five lines and an antistrophe. I have bracketed two clauses in verse 2 as interpolations.

1. Jeremiah's generation seems far in the past.
2. The writer is among the Dispersion.

they helped us. Cf. 4 Baruch ii. 3.

And they interceded for us with Him who made us,
[Because they trusted in their works],
And the Mighty One heard their prayer and forgave us.

3 But now the righteous have been gathered
And the prophets have fallen asleep,
And we also have gone forth from the land,
And Zion has been taken from us,
And we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law.

4 If therefore we direct and dispose our hearts,
We shall receive everything that we lost,
And much better things than we lost by many times.

5 For what we have lost was subject to corruption,
And what we shall receive shall not be corruptible.

6 [Moreover, also, I have written thus to our brethren to Babylon, that to them also I may attest these very things.]

7 And let all those things aforesaid be always before your eyes,
Because we are still in the spirit and the power of our liberty.

8 Again, moreover, the Most High also is long-suffering towards us here,
And He hath shown to us that which is to be,
And hath not concealed from us what will befall in the end.

9 Before therefore judgement exact its own,
And truth that which is its due,
Let us prepare our soul
That we may possess, and not be taken possession of,
And that we may hope and not be put to shame,
And that we may rest with our fathers, and not be tormented with our enemies.

10 For the youth of the world is past,
And the strength of the creation already exhausted,
And the advent of the times is very short,
Yea, they have passed by;
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to the port,
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to (its) consummation.

11 And again prepare your souls, so that when ye sail and ascend from the ship ye may have rest
12 and not be condemned when ye depart. For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things,

There shall not there be again [a place of repentance, nor] a limit to the times,
Nor a duration for the hours,
Nor a change of ways,
Nor place for prayer,
Nor sending of petitions,
Nor receiving of knowledge,
Nor giving of love,

trusted in their works. The dead righteous avail not, only the living. See xiv. 7, note; lxiii. 3.

3. **we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law.** The law was Israel's everlasting and unconditional possession. Cf. Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 38. The land, the sanctuary, and the kingdom of David were conditional (Mechilta, 68[b]). Cf. xlviii. 22. With the law Israel could not fall.

6. This verse is due to the final editor.

7. **the power of our liberty**, i. e. enjoy free-will. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 37; Acts i. 7; v. 4; Pss. Sol. ix. 7. On the doctrine see liv. 15, note.

8. **hath shown to us.** In B[1] Baruch does not use the plural 'we' and 'us' in this connexion. See lxxviii. 3 note.

9. **that we may possess**, &c. Probably corrupt.
rest with our fathers. Cf. xi. 4.

10. **the youth of the world is past.** Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 10, 16; v. 50–66.

12. **[a place of repentance nor].** This phrase is a dittograph of what follows later. The idea is here in its wrong context, whereas it is in its right context later. Finally it is against the parallelism.

Nor place of repentance for the soul,
Nor supplication for offences,
Nor intercession of the fathers,
Nor prayer of the prophets,
Nor help of the righteous.

13 There there is the sentence of corruption,
The way of fire,
And the path which bringeth to Gehenna.

14 On this account there is one law by one,
One age and an end for all who are in it.
15 Then He will preserve those whom He can forgive,
And at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins.]

86 1, 2 When therefore ye receive this my epistle, read it in your congregations with care. And meditate
3 thereon, above all on the days of your fasts. And bear me in mind by means of this epistle, as I also bear you in mind in it, and always. Fare ye well.

LXXXVII. *The Dispatch of the Letter to the Nine and a Half Tribes.*

87 1 And it came to pass when I had ended all the words of this epistle, and had written it sedulously to its close, that I folded it, and sealed it carefully, and bound it to the neck of the eagle, and dismissed and sent it.

HERE ENDS THE BOOK OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH.

nor place of repentance. 4 Ezra ix. 12. This is the universal teaching in the Books of Enoch and 4 Ezra.
intercession of the fathers. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 102–15; 2 Enoch liii. 1.
14. **one law by one.** Moses is meant; in the Ass. Mos. iii. 12, he is called the mediator of the law. Thus this verse is directed against Christians. It seems out of place.

LXXXVI. 3. **Fare ye well** (a b d e f g h i W P). > c.

LXXXVII. This chapter is found only in c, but it belongs to the book. Cf. lxxvii. 17, 20-6.
bound it to the neck of the eagle. 4 Baruch vii. 8.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH
OR III BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

Until the end of the last century this apocalypse was unknown. Its existence was surmised from a passage in Origen (*de Princip.* ii. 3. 6), 'Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel caelis evidentius indicatur.' About 1896 the Rev. E. C. Butler, O.S.B., drew the attention of Dr. M. R. James to a manuscript in the British Museum of a Greek apocalypse which answered in part to Origen's description. It contains an account not of seven heavens but of five, but the conclusion is evidently incomplete, and the existence of other heavens is implied. This text was edited and published by Dr. James in 1897. A Slavonic version of the book had been known previously, and was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii, pp. 205–9, by Novakovic in 1886. This version, however, is less complete than the Greek, and mentions only two heavens.

Neither the Greek nor the Slavonic represents more than a condensation of the original.

In its present form the work is a composite production, belonging to the second century A. D. The Jewish original has been worked over by a Christian redactor, whose purpose it is to sound a note of stern warning to the unconverted Jews, and also to instil into the minds of Christians the need of patience and forbearance in dealing with them (see § 8 below).

§ 2. The Title.

There are two superscriptions to the book. The first begins Διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ.; the second Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ. Dr. James names it *Apocalypsis Baruchi Tertia Graece*, and it is referred to as 3 Baruch in this edition.

§ 3. The MSS.

The only known Greek manuscript of this apocalypse is that numbered Add. 10073 in the British Museum, which contains in addition several other works and fragments. It is a minuscule MS. on Italian paper, of the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Slavonic text published by Novakovic was found in a manuscript which possibly dates from the sixteenth century. This version is more abridged than the Greek. The main points of contact and difference between the two versions are indicated in the notes.

§ 4. Relation to other Baruch Literature.

1. *The apocryphal book of Baruch* (1 Baruch). There is no point of contact between this book and 3 Baruch save that both raise the problem of the sufferings of Israel (cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1–8 and 3 Bar. i).

2. *The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 Baruch). There are several similarities of expression in this apocalypse and our text. They are indicated in the notes. The parallelisms are not so close as to imply the necessary dependence of our apocalypse upon the Syriac. In 2 Baruch lxxvi. 3, Baruch is promised certain cosmical revelations, but the book contains no record that the promise was fulfilled. It has been contended that 3 Baruch was written to supply the deficiency in 2 Baruch. Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*) holds it to be questionable whether the author of 3 Baruch used 2 Baruch, and thinks that 2 Bar. lxxvi. 3 makes against rather than for such a supposition. 'The assumption is untenable that the Gk. apoc. was written to show the actual fulfilment of the promise. The critical point in the Syr. apoc. lies in this chapter, when Baruch before leaving the earth obtains a full survey of it, that he may see what he is leaving, and whither he is going. This idea is based upon an opinion held by Akiba b. Joseph (*Sifre Num.* 136) and others, that God allowed not only

Moses, but other favoured pious men, to behold before their death the whole world and all the mysteries of nature. Now if the Gk. apoc. was complementary to the Syriac, the author of the former would not have failed to join his story of Baruch's passage through the heavens to that of his last act on earth.'

3. *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* (4 Baruch). In the Christian interpolation as to the vine in 3 Bar. iv occurs *τὸ πικρὸν τούτου μεταβληθήσεται εἰς γλυκύ*, which recalls *τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἁλμυρὰ γενήσονται* in 4 Bar. ix. 16. But this cannot be held to be a very close parallelism. In ch. xi of our apocalypse Michael is called *ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν* and in 4 Bar. ix. 5 (Aeth.) he is described as the archangel who holds open the gates of righteousness until the righteous enter in. The closest references to 4 Baruch in 3 Baruch are in the superscription, in which mention is made of the long sleep of Abimelech in the Garden of Agrippa (cf. 4 Bar. iii. 9–v. 30). But it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the superscription is a later addition, especially as it is in the third person, whereas ch. i is in the first.

§ 5. Relation to other Apocalyptic Literature.

1. *Slavonic Enoch.* There is a very close connexion between 2 Enoch xi–xv and 3 Bar. vi–ix. In each case there is a reference to the chariot of the sun and of the moon, the attendant angels, the renewing of the sun's crown. 2 En. contains the only reference in literature to the existence of more than one phoenix at a time, and associates with them other birds called chalkydri. In 3 Baruch there is only one phoenix, and it, in language like that of the birds in 2 En. xv. 1 f., sings 'Light-giver, give to the world radiance.'

2. *Apoc. Pauli.* The reference to the defilement of the sun by the unrighteousness of men (3 Bar. viii) finds a parallel in *Apoc. Pauli* 4 '.Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellauit dominum dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum: permitte me et faciam eis ⟨quae⟩ sunt virtutes meae, ut cognoscant quia tu es solus deus. Et facta est uox ad eum dicens: Haec omnia noui; oculus enim meus uidit et auris audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos, dum ad usque conuertentes peniteantur. Sin uero non reuertuntur ad me omnes ego iudicabo.'

Chs. xii and xiii of our apoc. find a close parallel in chs. 7–10 of *Apoc. Pauli* (see note below under ch. xii). James thinks it likely that *Apoc. Pauli* is a *pasticcio* of a rather late date. The relation of the two books to each other is not clear. It is not likely that 3 Baruch has been altered to bring it into conformity with *Apoc. Pauli*, for as we shall endeavour to show (see § 8 below), the three classes of angels with their respectively full, half-full, and empty baskets were essential to the purpose of the Christian redactor. It is not improbable that the motive which induced him to work over this apocalypse to give it a Christian form is to be found in the didactic use he could make of this incident. Either then the passage in *Apoc. Pauli* is derived from 3 Baruch, or both are taken from a common source.

3. A few points of contact with the *Story of Zosimas* (*Apoc. Anecdota* 1) are indicated in the notes. They are not such as to imply necessary dependence.

§ 6. Composite Nature of the Text.

The framework of this apocalypse is characteristically Jewish. The story that the vine was the forbidden tree, the cosmic revelations, showing kinship with the Enoch literature, and the angelology —all mark it out as a work of Jewish origin. The hand of a Christian redactor can be traced in certain interpolations. In ch. iv a long passage is introduced to reconcile the story that the vine was the forbidden tree with the use of wine in the Eucharist. This section is full of Christian phrases (see notes). The Editor's influence is most evident in the concluding chapters (xi–xvii). The original conclusion is missing from our text, and these chapters probably represent a somewhat drastic treatment of the groundwork. It is probable that we have to deal here not merely with interpolations, but with a partial reconstruction of the text. So far as possible the influence of the redactor is indicated in the notes.

James attributes the lists of sins in chs. iv, viii, xiii to Christian influence, and compares them with Matt. xv. 19 and Gal. v. 21 (cf. also Rom. i. 29–31). It may of course be so, but it is not a necessary assumption. The lists are by no means the same. Our apocalypse does not reproduce the order of either Matt. or Paul, and it omits some of the sins enumerated by them. It must be admitted, however, that all included in the lists of 3 Baruch occur in some form in the Pauline Epistles (except *μαντεία*). But on the other hand it must be remembered that such lists were part of the stock-in-trade of the Jewish, and indeed of other ancient writers. *The Tests. of the Twelve Patri-*

archs speak of spirits of πορνείας, ἀπληστείας γαστρός, μάχης, ἀρεσκείας καὶ μαγγανείας, ὑπερηφανείας, ψεύδους, ἀδικίας (T. Reub. iii. 3–6); τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας (T. Dan. i. 6); τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ φθόνου (T. Sim. iii. 1); τοῦ θυμοῦ (T. Dan. ii. 4); ἐπιθυμίας, πυρώσεως, ἀσωτίας, αἰσχροκερδίας (T. Jud. xvi. 1). There are also similar lists in Wisd. xiv. 25 f. αἷμα καὶ φόνος, κλοπὴ καὶ δόλος, φθορά, ἀπιστία, τάραχος, ἐπιορκία . . . μοιχεία καὶ ἀσέλγεια; and in 2 En. x. 4, sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, devilish magic, stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, and murder.

Deissman (*Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 320 ff.) contends that the Primitive Christian lists of virtues and vices were based on Jewish and pagan series. He refers to counters used in an ancient game, which have been discovered, upon which are inscribed a large number of popular names of vices and virtues. 'Although we have not yet recovered all the counters necessary for the game . . . the parallels with St. Paul strike us immediately. Take for instance the list of vices in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. With the exception of "covetous", which is rather colourless, and "idolaters", which is not to be expected in a pagan list, all these will be found substantially word for word on the counters.' He also points to some striking parallels between the lists in St. Paul and Plautus.

§ 7. The Author.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.*) is of opinion that the author was a Jewish Gnostic of the beginning of the second century, 'when gnosis was at its height both among Jews and Christians'. He bases his view upon the mediatorial functions ascribed to Michael and his angels, and upon the traces of Greek and Oriental mythology found in the Apocalypse. But it is difficult to discern Gnostic influences in the teaching as to mediation, since it shows little advance on Tobit and T. Levi (see § 10 below, and note on ch. xii). But if there is not sufficient evidence to show that the author was a Gnostic, it is clear that his Judaism was tempered by a Hellenic-Oriental syncretism.

§ 8. The Christian Redactor.

Apart from the interpolation as to the vine, the hand of the Christian redactor is most evident in the concluding chapters. It is said of the men committed to the charge of the angels who bring empty baskets, that they will not enter the Church, nor among spiritual fathers (ch. xiii); they are to be 'provoked against a people that is no people, a people that has no understanding'; they are 'despisers of God's commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaim God's words to them' (ch. xvi). The Slavonic says: 'They do not gather together in the church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings.' It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that in each case the reference is to the Jews. Their provocation 'against a people that is no people' when read in the light of Rom. x. 19 can only refer to the anger of the Jews against the Gentile Christians. To whom is the phrase 'instead of prayer they bring cursings' so applicable as to the Jews?

4 Baruch like 3 Baruch seems to be in part at any rate a Jewish work recast by a Christian editor. According to Dr. Rendel Harris the former was issued in its present form soon after A. D. 136 as an eirenicon to the synagogue after Hadrian's edict banishing the Jews from Jerusalem. It was in effect an invitation to the Jews to evade that edict by submitting to baptism and joining the church, since the edict did not apply to Christians. According to Dr. Harris the book reflects a conflict between the old school of Jews and the Gentile Christians for the possession of the intermediate party, the Judaeo-Christians of various types. 'What makes one a little more confident in this interpretation that it was an appeal on the part of the Gentile Christians, or at least of the Gentilizing Christians to the more conservative, half-convinced among their Jewish brethren, is that we find from the account that some undecided people in the middle ground came part way to Jerusalem, and then returned; and that on their returning to Babylon they were received with an intimation that as they had secretly departed from them, they would not be received again: Babylon would have none of them. This, according to the story, leads to the formation of a new colony which is derisively called Samaria. Now this is not difficult of interpretation, if we imagine that there were those who had gone so far from Judaism as to provoke an edict against their being received again into ecclesiastical fellowship, and yet had not come so near to Christianity as to be able to pass the baptismal standards. In this case, then, one result of the Hadrian edict is the formation of a new Ebionite movement in Palestine. This exactly agrees with the statements of Epiphanius and Jerome as to the origin of Ebionism; they attempted to be both Jews and Christians, and ended by being neither' (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 15).

There were therefore three parties in the writer's mind, the Jews who stubbornly resisted the Gospel, the middle party of waverers, and the Christians. It seems to me that the same parties are reflected in 3 Baruch. The angels with the full baskets represent the Christians (ch. xii); those with

the half-full baskets the half-converted Jews (ch. xii); and those with the empty baskets the Jews who stubbornly resisted and opposed the Gospel (chs. xiii, xvi). Ch. xvi (especially in the Slavonic) exhorts the angels to be patient with Israel, and at the same time announces terrible judgements against the people if they continue unrepentant. The purpose of the Christian redactor was therefore to appeal to the church for patience and long-suffering in their endeavour to convert the Jews, and also to utter a note of stern warning to the Jews themselves.

§ 9. The Date.

The limits within which our Apocalypse must have been written are, on the one hand, 2 Enoch (A.D. 1–50), of whose influence it bears traces, and, on the other hand, Origen, who describes it. If the reference to Abimelech's long sleep, in the superscription, occurred in the original, then it must be dated subsequent to 4 Baruch (A.D. 136). But as we have seen, it is possible that the superscription is a later addition. We shall probably not err in dating the original 3 Baruch near the beginning of the second century, especially as its syncretism harmonizes with the tendency of that age.

The data for determining the date of the Christian redaction are even fewer, for as the Apocalypse which Origen saw contained an account of seven heavens, the passage in *de Princip.* does not fix a *terminus ad quem* for our form of the text. But since (as shown in § 7 above), like 4 Baruch, its motive seems to be the conversion of Jews and Ebionites, it is probable that the same circumstances called it forth, and that it was written soon after A.D. 136. The suggestion may be hazarded that the superscription referring to Abimelech was added by the Christian redactor as a result of his acquaintance with 4 Baruch.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that πνευματικοὺς πατέρας and ἱερεύς, as applied to a Christian minister, are undoubtedly later expressions, but it is possible that a later editor or scribe is responsible for them.

§ 10. Theology of the Book.

1. *The Seven Heavens.* Traces of the belief in a plurality of heavens are to be found in the O.T. (Deut. x. 14, 1 Kings viii. 27, Ps. cxlviii. 4), and more clearly in the N.T. (2 Cor. xii. 2, Eph. i. 3, 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; Heb. iv. 14, vii. 26). The conception is found in Babylonian, Parsee, and Greek thought, as well as in apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature. It also appears in early Christian writings. The subject is treated at length in its relation to Greek, Oriental, Jewish, and Christian literature in Charles's *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (pp. xxx–xlvii), and by Salmond in Hastings' *D. B.* (ii. 321–3). It will suffice here to indicate the teaching of apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature on the subject.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The account is found in T. Levi ii. 7–iii. 8, which contains several redactions of the original text. Charles is of opinion that the original description of three heavens has been transformed into a description of the seven.

The First Heaven. The waters above the firmament, and the treasuries of fire, ice, and snow. It is a gloomy place and contains the instruments for the punishment of wicked men (α).

The Second Heaven. Characterized by brightness. Abode of the angels who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (α). Treasuries of fire, snow, and ice (A α, β, A β, S^1).

The Third Heaven. Angelic armies who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (β, A β, S^1).

The Fourth Heaven. 'Thrones and dominions' who sing praise to God.

The Fifth Heaven. Angels who carry up men's prayers to the angels of the presence.

The Sixth Heaven. Archangels who make propitiation to God for the sins of men.

The Seventh Heaven. The abode of God.

2 Enoch.

The First Heaven. Great sea. Rulers of the stars. Treasuries of snow, ice, clouds, and dew and their guardians (iii–vi).

The Second Heaven. Darkness. Imprisoned angels awaiting judgement (vii).

The Third Heaven. Paradise prepared for the righteous; and, on the north, Hell for the wicked (viii–x). Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2–4.

The Fourth Heaven. Sun, moon, and attendant angels; phoenixes and chalkidri. An armed host of angels praising God (xi–xvii).

The Fifth Heaven. The Watchers whose brethren are imprisoned in the Second Heaven (A). Great hosts (B).

The Sixth Heaven. Seven bands of angels, set over the works of creation, and the souls of men (xix).

The Seventh Heaven. Abode of God and the archangels (xx).

Ascension of Isaiah. Sammael and his angels are located in the firmament. Then follow six heavens, each with a throne and angels increasing in glory with each successive heaven. Isaiah is transfigured as he ascends from heaven to heaven. The seventh heaven is the abode of God and all the righteous. Here too are stored the garments of the saints (vii–xi; cf. iv. 14 ff.).

3 Baruch.

The First Heaven. A plain. The builders of the Tower of Babel.

The Second Heaven. A plain. The designers of the Tower of Babel.

The Third Heaven. A great serpent. Hades. Sun, moon, and attendant angels. The Phoenix.

The Fourth Heaven. Plain. A pool. Birds (= souls of the righteous) singing praise to God.

The Fifth Heaven. Michael receives men's prayers from the angels. There is a suggestion of other heavens beyond.

Chagigah 12. The Seven Heavens are enumerated according to name.

Vilon serves no purpose whatever, save that it enters in the morning and goes forth in the evening, and renews every day the work of creation.

Rakia is that in which are set sun and moon, stars and constellations.

Shechakim is that in which the millstones stand, which grind manna for the righteous.

Zbul contains the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple. The altar is built there, and Michael offers sacrifice upon it.

Makhon contains the treasuries of hail, the high dwelling-place of harmful dews, the chamber of the whirlwind and of the storm, and the retreat of noisome vapour. And their doors are made of fire.

Araboth is that in which are righteousness, judgement, and grace; the treasuries of life and peace and blessing; the souls of the righteous; the spirits and souls which are about to be created; and the dew with which the Holy One is about to quicken mortals. There are also celestials and seraphs, and holy beings and ministering angels, and the throne of glory and the King, the Living God.

2. *Doctrine of the Mediation of Angels.* Perhaps the most characteristic doctrinal feature of this Apoc. is its teaching as to the mediation of Angels (xi–xvii). There are traces of this doctrine in the O.T. (Gen. xvi. 7 ff., xxi. 17 ff., xxviii. 12). There was a great development in Israel's angelology in post-exilic days (Is. lxiii. 9, Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1). This was due to three causes: (*a*) Advancing ideas of the Divine transcendence, and a growing feeling against anthropomorphic conceptions of God. (*b*) 'A tendency to personify abstract conceptions such as the "spirit" of a nation, and a further tendency to locate these personified forces in the supersensible world, from whence they ruled the destinies of men' (Davidson). (*c*) The stimulus of contact with Persian thought. The seven archangels, e.g., are connected with the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas. It is important to notice, however, that there is only one clear instance in the O.T. of angels interceding on behalf of men (Zech. i. 12). They are the messengers of God to man, not of man to God.

But the belief in the mediation of angels was not by any means universally accepted in post-exilic times. P never mentions angels, nor do they play a prominent part in the Apocrypha. Tobit, a book which bears evident marks of Persian influence, refers to the intercession of Raphael (iii. 16 f., xii. 12, 15). The mediation of a supernatural being is referred to in 2 Macc. xv. 12–15, but he is not called an angel. There is a marked dearth of references to angels in the other apocryphal books. In 4 Ezra (vii. 102 ff.) mediation of any kind is explicitly denied. It is only when we turn to the Pseudepigrapha that we find a highly developed doctrine of angels. Among the passages which explicitly teach angelic mediation are Eth. En. ix. 3 ff., xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 2, 16, civ. 1; T. Levi iii. 5; Test. Abraham xiv. The subject is treated at length in Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, pp. 37–44. See, too, notes below on chs. i, ii, xi, xii.

According to A. xxxiii. 8 the Sadducees denied the existence of angels. It is difficult to know how this is to be interpreted, since they received the written Scriptures. It may be, as Davidson suggests, that 'they interpreted the angelophanies of the written Scriptures received by them in a rational way as personified natural forces.' The Essenes held exaggerated doctrines on the subject. The Pharisees appear to have held a middle position, but it must be remembered that Pharisaism is a wide term, and that in all probability Eth. En. (in part), and the *Tests. of the Twelve Patriarchs* emanated from Pharisaic circles.

The N.T. reflects the current angelology, but its whole tendency is opposed to the conception of the mediation of angels. This idea occurs, however, in Rev. viii. 3. Swete is of opinion that the reference is the same in Heb. i. 14.

The only advance in our Apocalypse is in the introduction of the three classes of angels, who

intercede for three classes of men. In other respects its doctrine does not differ from that of 1 Enoch, Tobit, and Test. Levi, and it cannot therefore be said that it marks an advance in the direction of Gnosticism. It is true that underlying 3 Baruch there is an advanced conception of the divine transcendence. At no point in the narrative is the veil that hides God lifted, and we are not permitted to behold even Michael's communion with Him. In 1 Macc. God is even more remote, for His transcendence is modified by no angelic mediation. Doctrines of the mediation of angels owed their origin in part to a feeling that such teaching was one-sided, and closed the door to communion with God. Gnosticism was an elaborate attempt to bring a transcendent God into some sort of touch with the world, through a hierarchy of mediators. But such teaching as appears in 3 Baruch does not go beyond beliefs that were current in some Jewish circles.

3. *The Fall.* The forbidden tree was the vine, which the angel Sammael planted (see notes below on ch. iv). As in Wisd. (ii. 24) and 2 En. (xxxi. 3) Adam's disobedience is due to the Devil, who is prompted by envy. Too much must not be deduced from a writer's silence, but it may be noted that 3 Baruch does not enumerate inherited depravity and death among the consequences of the Fall. Adam 'obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God'. His descendants suffer in so far as they are participators in the same sin, and those which spring from it, 'the men who now drink insatiably . . . transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire.' This is not unlike the teaching of 2 Baruch, 'Adam is therefore not the cause save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (liv. 19).

§ 11. Bibliography.

The Greek text is edited (with an introduction) by Dr. M. R. James in Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, vol. v, No. 1, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, iii, 1897. A German translation, with introduction and notes by Ryssel, is included in Kautzsch, *Die Apok. und Pseudep. des A. T.* ii. 446–57, 1900. The Slavonic version was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii, pp. 205–9, 1886, and a German translation (with introduction) by Prof. Bonwetsch appeared in 1896 in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Heft i. An English translation of this version, by Mr. Morfill, appears in Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, v. 1.

The article of Ginzberg on this Apocalypse in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, and that of Zenos in Hastings' *D. C. and G.* (i. 86 f.), should be read.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

OR III BARUCH

Prologue.

1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord.

2 A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river † Gel † weeping over the captivity of
3 Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa. And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.

1 Verily I Baruch was weeping in my mind and **sorrowing** on account of the people, and that
2 Nebuchadnezzar the king was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying: Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste? Why didst Thou do this? And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement, but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they
3 reproach us and say, Where is their God? And behold as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me: Understand, O man, greatly beloved, and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem, for thus saith the Lord God,
4 the Almighty. For He sent me before thee, to make known and to show to thee all ⟨the things⟩
5, 6 of God. For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God. And when he had said these things to me, I was silent. And the angel said to me: Cease to provoke
7 God, and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these. And I Baruch said, As the Lord God liveth, if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine, I will not continue to speak any longer.
8 God shall add to my judgement in the day of judgement, if I speak hereafter. And the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee the mysteries of God.

PROLOGUE. 2. **Gel.** James suggests that Kedron is meant. 'Part of the word has gone and ΚΕΔ- has passed into ΓΕΛ-.' Cf. 2 Bar. v. 5; xxi. 1; xxxi. 2.

Abimelech was preserved. See 4 Bar. iii. 9–v. 30, where it is recorded that Abimelech fell asleep in the garden of Agrippa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and did not awake for sixty-six years.

the farm of Agrippa. Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 12) identifies this with the fertile valley below Solomon's Pools, known as Solomon's Gardens. See Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 7. 3, 'There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he (Solomon) use to go out in the morning.' Cf. Eccles. ii. 5 f.

3. **the beautiful gates.** Cf. 2 Bar. x. 5; also Josephus, *B. J.* v. 5. 3, 'There was one gate that was without [the inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered with silver and gold.' Cf. Acts iii. 2.

where the Holy of holies lay. James holds that the words *ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια* allude to the hiding of the sacred vessels (2 Macc. ii. 1–8; 2 Bar. vi. 7–10; 4 Bar. iii. 7 f.). It is better, however, to translate it as above. Cf. 2 Bar. xxxiv 'I will . . . go unto the Holy of Holies to enquire of the Mighty One concerning you, and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination.'

I. 1. **sorrowing.** Ryssel (in Kautzsch) reads *πενθῶν* for *ἔχων*. Cf. 2 Bar. vi. 2; x. 5; xxxv. 1.

2. **Thy vineyard.** Cf. Isa. v. 1; 4 Ezra v. 23.

For similar laments cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1–8; Pss. Sol. vii. 1–3; 2 Bar. iii. 5 f.; v. 1; xiv. 5 f.; 4 Ezra iii. 28 f.; v. 28 f.

3. **O man, greatly beloved,** *ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν.* The phrase occurs in Dan. x. 11 f. (Theodot.).

6. **other mysteries.** Either some previous revelations have dropped out, or, as James suggests, the phrase is an assimilation to the words of the angel in chapters ii and v.

7. **I will not continue to speak.** The Slavonic forbids Baruch to add a word to the revelation, but the context makes it clear that *προσθήσω* is here to be translated as above.

the day of judgement. *ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως* is not necessarily a Christian phrase. It occurs in T. Levi iii. 3; Pss. Sol. xv. 13; 1 Enoch (Giz. Gk.) x. 6; xxii. 11. See too Jub. iv. 19; 2 Enoch xxxix. 1; 4 Ezra vii. 102, 113; xii. 34 (*dies iudicii*). Ginzberg (*JE*) says that יוֹם הַדִּין is an expression which occurs more frequently in Rabbinic literature than in the N.T.

8. **angel of the powers.** This phrase occurs in 1 En. (G^{g1}) xx. 1; cf. 1 En. lxi. 10. Michael is called *ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων* in Test. Abraham xiv. In 2 Thess. i. 7 we find *ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως*, which is taken by some to refer to the angels set over the cosmic forces. There is a striking passage in Philo which seems to throw light on the subject. 'There is only one God, but this one God has about Him innumerable powers as helpers and saviours of all created existences. Among them are punitive powers. . . . By these powers the incorporeal intelligible world was built. . . . There is, moreover, in the air a high and holy choir of incorporeal souls in attendance upon the heavenly powers—angels as the prophetic Scriptures are accustomed to call them. . . . The King communes with His powers, and uses them as His servants, for the performance of such duties as are not appropriate to God Himself' (*De Confus. ling.* xxxiv). The six highest powers are Divine Logos, Creative Power, Sovereign Power, Mercy, Legislation, and Punitive Power (*De profugis*, xviii. See Pfleiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, iii. 41 f.). As Philo identifies

The First Heaven.

2 1 And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river
2 which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze of all those which God created. [And he took me
and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size. And he said to me, Let us enter
3 through it, and we entered as though *borne* on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey.] [And
he showed me within the heaven a plain; and there were men dwelling thereon, with the faces of
4 oxen, and the horns of stags, and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs. And I Baruch asked
the angel, Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed,
5 or what is its extent, or what is the plain, in order that I may also tell the sons of men? And the
angel whose name is †Phamael† said to me: This door which thou seest is the door of heaven, and
as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness; and again as great as
is *the distance* ⟨from North to South, so great⟩ is the length of the plain which thou didst see.
And again the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries. But
6, 7 I said, I pray thee show me what are these men. And he said to me, These are they who built
the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.

The Second Heaven.

3 1 And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there
2 also a door like the first and said, Let us enter through it. And we entered, being borne on wings
3 a distance of about sixty days' journey. [And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of
4 men, whose appearance was like *that* of dogs, and *whose* feet *were* like *those* of stags. And I asked
5 the angel: I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these. And he said, These are they who gave

Michael and the Logos (*Quis rer. div. haeres*, xlii), it is probable that the Philonic powers correspond with the archangels.

Pfleiderer (*op. cit.*, p. 43) thinks that the six Philonic powers are ultimately derived from 'the six Amesha Spentas which surround the throne of Ahura Mazda, among whom the three chief are Vohu Mano, the Divine Logos; Asha Vahista, the Highest Righteousness; and Kshathra Vairya, the kingdom of Good-will—representatives, that is, of creative intelligence, power, and goodness, just as the highest Powers of Philo are.'

II. 1. **where the firmament has been set fast.** Cf. 1 En. xviii. 5; xxxiii. 2.

a river. According to James this river is the Ocean (Apoc. Pauli xxi; xxxi; Test. Abr. B viii; 1 En. xvii. 5 f.). But Ginzberg (*JE*) holds that it is מַיִם הָעֶלְיוֹנִים (the upper waters), and quotes in support Gen. R. iv. 3 and Chag. 15 a.

no one can cross. Cf. Zos. ii *οὐ δύνασαι διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὰ ὕδατά μου διακόψαι . . . καὶ εἶπεν ἡ νεφέλη· Ζώσιμε . . . δι' ἐμοῦ οὐ διέρχεται πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οὐδὲ πνοὴ ἀνέμου οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος, οὐδὲ ὁ πειράζων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ δύναται διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ.*

breeze. The above passage from Zos. makes it likely that *πνοή* is to be translated 'breeze' here, and not 'living creature' as in ch. viii, and in Ps. cl. 6 (LXX).

2. **the first heaven.** See Introd. § 10 (1).

a door. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 23; Rev. iv. 1. In 2 En. xiii. 8 the gates through which the sun goes forth are mentioned.

as though borne on wings. Cf. Zos. ii; 1 En. xiv. 8.

3. **a plain.** Cf. Zos. iii.

men . . . lambs. Ginzberg (*JE*) says this means they were transformed into demons (Sanh. 109 a). For this reason they are not in the place of torment, which is in the third heaven, but at the entrance to heaven (Chag. 16 a).

5. **Phamael.** This is corrupt. The Slavonic preserves the true reading 'Phanuel'. According to 1 En. xl, he is one of the four angels of the presence who stand on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel. He is 'set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life'. But in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) ix. 1 Uriel is mentioned in place of Phanuel. James thinks there is the bare possibility that he is to be identified with Ramiel, who appears in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) xx. 7, and in 2 Bar. lv. 3 is described as presiding over true visions, which agrees with the description of Baruch's angel in 3 Bar. xi, as 'the interpreter of the revelations, to those who pass through life virtuously'. Ramiel is also mentioned in 4 Ezra iv. 36 (Lat. *Hieremihel*); and in Sib. Or. ii. 215–17 he is said to be one of the five angels who know all the evils that men have wrought, and 'shall from dark gloom then lead to judgement all the souls of men, before the judgement-seat of the great God immortal'. Ryssel points out that the form Eremiel appears in the Apoc. of Sophonias.

the distance from earth to heaven. Cf. Chag. 'And is not from the earth to the firmament a journey of five hundred years, and so too the interspace of the firmaments?'

⟨from . . . great⟩. James supplies *ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου, τοσοῦτον.*

length of the plain. Cf. Apoc. Pauli 32.

7. James points out a parallel to this story in the *Book of Jashar* (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 1107 f.). There were three classes of builders. One said, 'Let us ascend and fight against heaven'; these were dispersed. The second said, 'Let us go up and set our gods in heaven'; these were changed into monkeys and baboons. The third said, 'Let us go up and smite heaven with our bows and arrows'; these slew each other.

III. 1. **a second heaven.** See Introd. § 10 (1).

5. **gave counsel.** Cf. Mark iii. 6, where *συμβούλιον διδόναι* = 'to take counsel'.

counsel to build the tower, for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks; among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth, but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron, and
6 continued to make bricks. And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech, when they
7 had built the tower to *the height of* four hundred and sixty-three cubits. And they took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see ⟨whether⟩ the heaven is made of clay, or of
8 brass, or of iron. When God saw this He did not permit them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.

The Third Heaven.

IV 1 And I Baruch said, Behold, Lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things; and now
2 show me all things for the sake of the Lord. And the angel said to me, Come, let us proceed. ⟨And I proceeded⟩ with the angel from that place about one hundred and eighty-five days'
3 journey. And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be two hundred plethra
4 in length. And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable. And I said,
5 Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him? And the angel said, The dragon is he
6 who eats the bodies of those who spend their life wickedly, and he is nourished by them. And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him, in that it also drinks about a cubit from
7 the sea, which does not sink at all. Baruch said, And how ⟨does this happen⟩? And the angel said, Hearken, the Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the chief of
8 all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and because of these the sea does not sink. And I said, I pray thee show me which is the tree which led Adam astray. And the angel said to me, It is the vine, which the angel **Sammael** planted, **whereat** the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant, while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it, and therefore

a woman . . . child-birth. Ginzberg (*JE*) refers to a similar Rabbinic legend about a woman in Egypt (Pirke R. El. xlviii).

IV. 2. **let us proceed.** There is no mention here of entry into a third heaven, and when the next heaven is entered in ch. x, the scribe has changed its number from fourth to third, as is evident from the fact that in ch. xi the fifth heaven is mentioned. At what point in the narrative is the entry made into the third heaven? In ch. vii the angel says to Baruch, 'All that I showed thee is in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through, and gives light to the world.' It would harmonize with this to place the entry into the third heaven at the commencement of ch. vi. But against this is the fact that Hades (ch. iv) is usually located in the third heaven (cf. 2 En.). It seems best therefore to follow James in placing the transition here. It should be noted that the Slavonic account of the third heaven shows fewer signs of mutilation than the Greek.

3. **a serpent.** The relation of the dragon to Hades is not clear. Here they seem to be separate, but in ch. v they are united. The closest parallel is to be found in the Pistis Sophia, p. 319, which says 'caligo externa magnus δράκων est, cuius cauda in suo ore est extra κόσμον totum, et circumdat κόσμον totum'. There are said to be within this dragon twelve places of chastisement, where souls are tormented (James, p. lxi). The Slavonic reads 'So the angel took me to the light, a journey of thirty-two days, and showed me a great field; the mind of man could not comprehend it; and in that field there was a very great mountain, and on it lay a serpent as from the East to the West, and it bent down, drinking from the sea every day a cubit, and ate the earth like grass. And I Baruch said to the angel: My Lord, why does this serpent drink from the sea a cubit during the day, and how is it that the sea does not become scanty? And the angel said to me: Listen, Baruch, God made three hundred three and thirty great rivers . . . There are many other great rivers, and they all go into the sea, and the sea is filled. On account of this God made this serpent, and ordered it to drink of the sea a cubit a day, so that the sea should not increase nor diminish'.

4. **this monster around him.** τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής; James thinks this may be corrupt and that the dragon encircled Hades, and not vice versa.

5. Cf. Greek goblin Eurynomus.

6. **which does not sink at all.** Lit. 'and nothing is lacking from it'.

7. **the Gericus.** James suggests that Gericus = γυρικός = the Ocean; but this is hardly likely in view of the fact that it is mentioned as one of the rivers which supply the sea. The Slavonic speaks of three hundred and thirty-three rivers, and mentions Aphia, Avaria, Agorenik, Dunav, Ephrat, Asavat, Zietnust, Ineus, Tigris.

8. **the tree which led Adam astray.** The transition is sudden, but there may be a hiatus in the narrative. Baruch is still in the third heaven where Paradise was placed, and by now the angel may have shown him it. In the Slavonic the story of the vine does not break into the description of the dragon, but comes after it.

the vine. For the conception of the vine as the forbidden tree cf. Sanh. 70a; Gen. Rabb. xix. 8. (See art. 'Vine', *JE*.) It is related of Shamdon (Asmodeus) that at the planting of the first vine by Noah, he helped with the work and said to Noah: 'I want to join in your labour and share with you; but take heed that I take not of your portion, lest I do you harm' (Gen. R. xxxvi. 3; see art. 'Demonology', *JE*). The story does not occur elsewhere in the exact form of that of the text.

the angel Sammael (i.e. סַמָּאֵל). Greek Σαμουήλ. Slavonic reads 'Satanïl' (cf. 2 En. xviii. 3, xxix. 4 f., xxxi. 4). For Sammael cf. Asc. of Isa. i. 8 *et passim*. He was originally one of the chief archangels, but tempted Eve with a view to making the earth his kingdom. Thenceforth he is the chief of the Satans, the angel of death, and Israel's special foe (*v.* Charles' *Asc. of Isa.* p. 6. Cf. also Deut. Rabb. xi and Pirk. R. El. xiii, quoted in *JE*).

whereat. For ὅτινι in text read ᾧτινι.

9 the devil being envious deceived him through his vine. [And I Baruch said, Since also the vine
has been the cause of such great evil, and is under judgement of the curse of God, and *was* the
10 destruction of the first created, how is it now so useful? And the angel said, Thou askest aright.
When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and four hundred and nine
thousand giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest *mountains, then* the water
entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot
11 of the vine and cast it outside. And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out
12 of the ark, he began to plant of the plants which he found. But he found also the shoot of the
vine; and he took it, and was reasoning in himself, What then is it? And I came and spake to
13 him the things concerning it. And he said, Shall I plant it, or what *shall I do*? Since Adam
was destroyed because of it, let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it. And saying
14 these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it. And when
he had completed the prayer *which lasted* forty days, and having besought many things and wept,
15 he said: Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant. But God
sent his angel Sarasael, and said to him, Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith
the Lord: Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing,
and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God; and as through it the human
race obtained condemnation, *so* again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the
16 upward calling, and the entry into paradise]. Know therefore, O Baruch, that as Adam through
this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God, so also the men who now
drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the
17 glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire. For ⟨no⟩ good comes through it.
For those who drink it to surfeit do these things: neither does a brother pity *his* brother, nor a
father *his* son, nor children *their* parents, but from the **drinking** of wine come all *evils*, such as
murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established
by it.

5 1, 2 And I Baruch said to the angel, Let me ask thee one thing, Lord. Since thou didst say to me
3 that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea, say to me also, how great is his belly? And the
angel said, His belly is Hades; and as far as a plummet is thrown ⟨by⟩ three hundred men, so
great is his belly. Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.

6 1 And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth; and he showed me a chariot and four,
2 under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire, ⟨and⟩ the
chariot ⟨was⟩ drawn by forty angels. And behold a bird circling before the sun, **about nine**
3 **cubits away.** And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the

the devil being envious. Cf. Wisd. ii. 24; 2 En. xxxi. 3.

9–15. The passage in brackets is clearly an interpolation by the Christian redactor, who felt it necessary to modify the condemnation of wine, on account of its use in the Eucharist.

15. **Sarasael.** Perhaps to be identified with Saraqael, 'one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits who sin in the spirit' (1 En. xx. 6).

bitterness . . . sweetness. Cf. 4 Bar. ix. 16 *τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἁλμυρὰ γενήσονται.*

the blood of God. Cf. Acts xx. 28.

the upward calling. Cf. Phil. iii. 14.

16. **drink.** Text reads *δρῶντες.* The emendation *χρῶντες* will not do, as *χρώμενοι* is required. It is perhaps best (with Ryssel) to read *πίνοντες.*

are surrendering themselves. *προξενοῦσιν.*

17. **⟨no⟩.** *οὐ*, which the sense clearly requires, has dropped out of the text.

drinking. For *πτώσεως* in text read *πόσεως* (James).

murders, &c. Cf. Introd. § 6. See Matt. xv. 19; Gal. v. 21; Apoc. Pauli 6; Did. iii and v.

V. 3. **His belly is Hades.** Slavonic reads 'As great as is the bottom of hell, so great is his belly'.

⟨by⟩. James translates 'a plummet of 300 men', but it seems best, with Ryssel, to insert *ὑπό.* The meaning is then, as far as a plummet can be thrown by the strength of 300 men.

VI. 1. **where the sun goes forth.** The courses of the sun and moon are placed in the fourth heaven in 2 En.

a chariot and four. Slavonic says that the horses were winged angels.

a crown of fire. This conception prevailed among the Greeks, as may be seen from the monuments. It occurs in Rabbinic lit. Cf. Pirk. R. El. vi; Num. R. xii. 4 (Ginzberg, *JE*).

drawn by forty angels. Cf. 2 En. xi. 4 f.

2. **about nine cubits away.** Text reads *ὡς ὄρει ἐννέα.* James reads *ὄρη* for *ὄρει*, but that leaves the meaning obscure. It is possible that the original reading was *ὡς ὀρεύων*, where *ὀρεύω* is to be translated 'guard'. But there is very little support for the use of the word in this sense; LS only mentions Hesychius. Dr. J. H. Moulton has drawn my attention to the fact that in Petrie Papyri i, p. 78 *ἕκαστος τῶν ὁρῶν* is taken to be 'each of the watchers' by Mahaffy on Bury's suggestion, with the admission that the word exists nowhere else, except in its compounds. Perhaps it is best to adopt *ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα* from the Disputation of the Panagiote, a very late document which is clearly based on our text (James, p. lxv). I am indebted to Dr. Moulton for this suggestion.

4, 5 guardian of the earth. And I said, Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth? Teach me. And
the angel said to me, This bird flies alongside of the sun, and expanding his wings receives its fiery
6 rays. For if he were not receiving them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other
7 living creature. But God appointed this bird *thereto*. And he expanded his wings, and I saw on
his right wing very large letters, *as large* as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four
8 thousand modii; and the letters were of gold. And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read,
9 and they ran thus: Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth, but wings of fire bring me forth. And
10 I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name? And the angel said to me, His name is called
11 Phoenix. ⟨And I said⟩, And what does he eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and
12 the dew of earth. And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm,
and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and thou shalt
13 see the glory of God. And while he was conversing *with me*, there was as a thunder-clap, and the
place was shaken on which we were standing. And I asked the angel, My Lord, what is this sound?
And the angel said to me, Even now the angels are opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates
14 of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness. And a voice came which said, Light-
15 giver, give to the world radiance. And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this
16 noise? And he said, This is *the bird* who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth. For as
men do through the mouth, so also does the cock signify to those in the world, in his own speech.
For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.

1, 2 And I said, And where does the sun begin its labours, after the cock crows? And the angel
said to me, Listen, Baruch: All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven,
and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world. But wait, and thou
3 shalt see the glory of God. And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird, and he appeared

4. **this bird.** Cf. 2 En. xii, xv, which speaks of several phoenixes. According to Jewish authorities, the Phoenix is referred to in Job xxix. 18. Charles (2 En. p. 12) mentions the following references to this bird among the Greeks and Romans: Herod. ii. 73; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392; Mart. *Epigr.* v. 7, 1; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 4, 37; Plin. *N. H.* x. 2. There are also several references in patristic writers. According to Pliny (*N. H.* x. 2) there is only one phoenix at a time, who, at the close of his long life, builds himself a nest with twigs of cassia and frankincense on which he dies. From his corpse is generated a worm, which grows into a young phoenix. Pliny says that the young bird buries his father on the altar in the City of the Sun, but Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 28) has it that he burns him there. There are traces of a similar tradition both in Egyptian and in Indian literature. A writer in the *Encyc. Brit.* thinks that the prototype of the phoenix is a bird called bennu, mentioned in the 'Book of the Dead', and other Egyptian texts. This bird was one of the sacred symbols of the worship of Heliopolis, and according to Wiedemann (*Ztsch. f. Aeg. Sprache*, xvi, p. 89 f.) was a symbol of the rising sun, and is called 'self-generating', 'the soul of Ra', and 'the heart of the renewed sun'. Further, this writer points out that it is significant that both 'bennu' and φοῖνιξ mean 'palm-tree'. James mentions a parallel in Indian literature—the bird Gadura, who carried Aruna on his back, and placed him in front of the sun, where he acted as charioteer and screened the world from the sun's consuming rays (*Mahabarata Adi Parva* xvi–xxxiv, especially xxiv). In none of these references is the phoenix represented as the sun's daily companion. That tradition appears only in 2 En. text A (there is no reference to the phoenix in B), in 3 Bar., and in the Disputation of the Panagiote.

7. **modii.** A modius = 200 ὀργυιαί (ὄργυια = the length of the outstretched arms, usually estimated at about 6 ft.).

8. **wings of fire.** Slavonic reads 'son of the Father', which is evidently due to Christian influence.

12. **a worm,** &c. In other accounts the worm develops into a new phoenix.

13. **the place was shaken.** Cf. Acts iv. 31; 4 Ezra vi. 29.

the three hundred and sixty-five gates. This is evidently intended to correspond with the number of days in the year. 2 En. speaks of twelve gates, six on the east and six on the west (chs. xiii, xiv). 1 En. says that there are twelve portals with twelve windows each to the right and left of each of them (ch. lxxii. 3, 7).

14. **Light-giver . . . radiance.** Cf. 2 En. xv. 1 f. 'Then the elements of the sun called Phoenixes and Chalkidri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord. 'The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world.'

15. **the bird who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth.** It is doubtful whether there is not here a confusion between the tradition of the phoenix and that of the heavenly cock. As a sun-bird the Greeks made the cock attend on Helios and Apollo. According to an Armenian tradition the heavenly cock first crows, and the angelic choirs begin their hymns of praise. These are heard by the cock on earth, who then awakens mankind, and himself lauds the Creator (Hastings, *Dic. R. & E.* iii. 694 ff.). Dr. J. H. Moulton has kindly drawn my attention to a passage in the Vendidad, *Farg.* xviii (*S. B. E.* iv, p. 193), where Sraosha, the angel who sets the world in motion, is likened to 'the bird named Parôdas [fore-seer] which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, the bird that lifts up his voice against the holy dawn', and calls men to worship and firelighting, lest Bûshyasta, the long-handed demon of procrastination, come upon them.

16. **as men do through the mouth.** ὡς γὰρ τὰ δίστομα is difficult and probably corrupt. James conjectures that the meaning is 'For as articulate-speaking beings do, &c.', but admits there is no such usage of δίστομος elsewhere. I have adopted Ryssel's emendation τὰ διὰ στόματος, the τά being taken to represent οἱ ἄνθρωποι or something similar.

the cock. Cf. Ber. 60 b. 'Blessed be He Who has given the cock intelligence [to distinguish between day and night]. In the Fragments of the Apoc. of Adam (*Apoc. Anec.* i. 144) it is said that the cock crows when the seraphim clap their wings.

VII. 1. **begin its labours.** ἀποσχολεῖται.

4 in front, and grew less and less, and *at length* returned to his full size. And behind him I saw the shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its head, the sight of which we were
5 not able to gaze upon, and behold. And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out his wings. But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear, and I fled and
6 hid in the wings of the angel. And the angel said to me, Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt also see their setting.

8 1 And he took me and led me towards the west; and when the time of the setting came, I saw again the bird coming before *it*, and as soon as he came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown
2, 3 from its head. But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted. And beholding these things, I said, Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun, and wherefore is
4 the bird so exhausted? And the angel said to me, The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day—four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it, because it and its rays have been defiled upon earth; moreover it is so renewed each day. And I Baruch said, Lord, and where-
5 fore are its beams defiled upon earth? And the angel said to me, Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness, murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations, and such like, which are not well-pleasing to God. On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed.
6 But *thou askest* concerning the bird, how it is exhausted. Because by restraining the rays of the
7 sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day, it is exhausted thereby. For, as we said before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would be preserved.

9 1 And they having retired, the night also fell, and at the same time *came* **the chariot** of the
2 moon, along with the stars. And I Baruch said, Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee, how
3 it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along. And the angel said, Wait and thou shalt see it also shortly. [And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot.] And there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of
4 angels in like manner. And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs? And he said to me,
5 They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that it at one time increases, but at another
6 time decreases? And ⟨he said to me⟩, Listen, O Baruch: This which thou seest had been written
7 by God beautiful as no other. And at the transgression of the first Adam, it was near to Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself but increased, and God was
8 angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days. And I said, And how does it not also shine always, but only in the night? And the angel said, Listen: as in the presence of a king, the courtiers cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun; for the stars are always suspended, but they are screened by the sun, and the moon, although it is uninjured, is consumed by the heat of the sun.

3. **grew less and less.** The bird Gadura in *Mahabharata Adi Parva* (xxiv) diminishes its size.
4. **which draw it.** Lit. 'bearing along with it'.
6. **their setting.** i.e. of the sun and the Phoenix.

VIII. 1. **before it.** i.e. the sun.
2. **exhausted.** This is the meaning which the context demands for *τεταπεινωμένον*.
4. Cf. 2 En. xiv. 2 (B) 'When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its chariot, and goes out without light. And they put the crown on it again at the Eastern gates.' See also Eliyahu R. ii (Ginzberg, *JE*).
5. **because it beholds.** T. Levi iii. 1 says that the lowest heaven is dark because it beholds 'all the unrighteous deeds of men'. Cf. Lat. Apoc. Pauli 4 'Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellauit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum'.
fornications, &c. Cf. Introd. § 6.
7. **unless . . . no living creature would be preserved.** The language is similar to that of Matt. xxiv. 22 and Mark xiii. 20, but that does not necessarily imply dependence. The writer has chosen the most natural form of words to express his idea.

IX. 1. **they.** The sun and the phoenix.
along with the stars. Text reads *καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ καὶ μετὰ τῆς σελήνης καὶ με⟨τὰ⟩ τῶν ἀστέρων.* I have adopted Ryssel's emendation *καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ, τὸ ἅρμα* (or *ἡ ἅμαξα*) *τῆς σελήνης κτλ.*
3. Slavonic reads 'the moon is like a woman sitting on a chariot, and [like] oxen drawing her chariot are forty angels'. The idea of the chariot drawn by oxen and lambs is Greek.
7. **shortened its days.** The Slavonic attributes the fall of the moon to the fact that it laughed at the fall of Adam and Eve. R. Simeon b. Pazzi declared that at the time of the creation the moon was of the same size as the sun. The moon then objected that it would not be decorous for two kings to use one crown, whereupon God diminished her size (Hul. 60 b; see art. 'Moon', *JE*). For other versions of the story see Shebuot 9 a, and Gen. R. vi. 3 (Ginzberg *JE*).
8. **shine . . . only in the night.** Cf. Apoc. Mosis xxxvi.

The Fourth Heaven.

X 1 And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel, he took and led me into a **fourth**
2 3 heaven. And I saw a monotonous plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water. And there were
in it multitudes of birds of all kinds, but not like those here *on earth.* But I saw a crane *as great* as
4 great oxen; and all *the birds* were great beyond those in the world. And I asked the angel, What
5 is the plain, and what the pool, and what the multitudes of birds around it? And the angel said,
Listen, Baruch: The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is *the place* where the
6 souls of the righteous come, when they hold converse, living together in choirs. But the water is
7 that which the clouds receive, and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase. And I said again to
the angel of the Lord, But ⟨what⟩ *are* these birds? And he said to me, They are those which
8 continually sing praise to the Lord. And I said, Lord, and how do men say that the water which
9 descends in rain is from the sea? And the angel said, *The water* which descends in rain—this also
is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth; but that which stimulates the fruits is ⟨only⟩ from
10 the latter source. Know therefore henceforth that from this *source* is what is called the dew of
heaven.

The Fifth Heaven.

XI 1, 2 And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven. And the gate was closed. And
I said, Lord, is not this gate-way open that we may enter? And the angel said to me, We cannot
enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; but wait and thou shalt see
3 the glory of God. And there was a great sound, as thunder. And I said, Lord, what is this sound?
4 And he said to me, Even now Michael, the commander *of the angels*, comes down to receive the
5 prayers of men. And behold a voice came, Let the gates be opened. And they opened *them*, and
6 there was a roar as of thunder. And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to
7 face with him and said, Hail, my commander, and *that* of all our order. And the commander Michael
said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life
8 virtuously. And having saluted one another thus, they stood still. And I saw the commander

X. 1. **a fourth heaven.** Text reads τρίτον. See note on ch. iv.

2. **a pool of water.** As James indicates, this is probably the Ἀχέρουσα λίμνη referred to in Apoc. Mosis xxxvii and Apoc. Pauli 22.

3-5. For the idea that the souls of the righteous are transformed into birds, see Sanh. 92 b, 'And the soul may say: The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like a bird.'

7. **said again to.** λέγω is used here and in ch. xv with an acc. without a prep., in the sense of the dative of the person addressed.

8. **how do men say,** &c. Slavonic reads: 'How do men say that the clouds go out of the sea and rain on the earth? And the angel said to me: The race of man is deceived knowing nothing. All the water of the sea is salt, for if the rain came from the sea, no fruit would grow on the earth.' The meaning of the Greek seems to be that while the rain is derived in part from the sea, those elements which are responsible for the dew and for the growth of fruit are derived from the other waters upon earth.

XI. 2. **Michael.** Michael, one of the archangels, was commonly regarded as Israel's special protector. See Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6, xxxiii. 10. In Ass. Moses x. 2, it is said that he will avenge Israel on its enemies at the end of the world. In T. Levi v. 6 f., he is the angel 'who intercedeth for the nation of Israel, and for all the righteous', and in T. Dan vi. 2 he is 'a mediator between God and man', specially concerned for 'the peace of Israel'. He is mentioned in N. T. in Jude 9, Rev. xii. 7-9, and according to Charles (Hastings *D. B.* iii. 362 b) he is referred to in Acts vii. 38. In Targ. *Cant.* viii. 9, he is called 'Israel's chief'. In Yalkut Shimeoni, *Bereshith* 132, he is described as the prince over all the angels, and as Israel's representative and portion in the presence of God. In Chag. 12 b, he is called 'the Advocate of the Jews' (Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, p. 84). In Test. Abraham xiv, Michael appears as intercessor on behalf of Abraham, and the combined intercession of Michael and Abraham wins a sinner's entry into paradise.

who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In 4 Bar. ix. 5, Michael is called the archangel of righteousness who leads the righteous to heaven; and in the Ethiopic version it is added that he holds open the gates of righteousness, until the righteous enter in.

the Kingdom of Heaven. This phrase is not necessarily a Christian interpolation. Cf. Ps. ciii. 19; Dan. iv. 34; Test. Ben. ix. 1 (ἡ βασιλεία κυρίου), Ass. Moses x. 1 ('And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation'), Sib. Or. iii. 47 f. (τότε δὴ βασιλεία μεγίστη ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι φανεῖται).

4. **Michael comes down.** According to Chag. 12 b the altar upon which Michael offers up sacrifice stands in the fourth heaven.

5. **the gates.** Slavonic says that the names of those men who may enter the gates are written on them (cf. Apoc. Pauli 19).

opened. The idea that the gates of heaven are opened at a fixed time to receive the prayers of men is found in the fragments of the Apoc. of Adam, where it is stated that at the tenth hour 'the gate of heaven opens in order to let in the prayers of every living thing. . . . At this hour all that a man asks of God is granted him' (*Apoc. Anecdota*, i. 143).

Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel ; its depth *was* as great as *the distance* from heaven to
9 earth, and its breadth as great as the *distance* from north to south. And I said, Lord, what is that
which Michael the archangel is holding ? And he said to me, This is where the merits of the righteous
enter, and such good works as they do, which are escorted before the heavenly God.

12 1 And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers. And
2 they gave them to Michael. And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these, and what are the things
3 brought hither from beside them? And he said to me, These are angels ⟨who⟩ are over the
4, 5 **righteous**. And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel. And the angel
6 said to me, These flowers are the merits of the righteous. And I saw other angels bearing baskets
which were ⟨neither⟩ empty nor full. And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near,
7 because they had not the prizes complete. And Michael cried and said, Come hither, also, ye
8 angels, bring what ye have brought. And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was
with me, because they did not fill the vessel.

13 1 And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear, Behold
how we are overclouded, O Lord, for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from
2 them. And Michael said, Ye cannot depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to
3 the end ; but say to me what ye ask. And they said, We pray thee, Michael our commander,
transfer us from them, for we cannot abide with wicked and foolish men, for there is nothing good
4 in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed. For we do not behold them entering [into
Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers, nor] into any good work. But where there is murder,
there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries,
jealousies, drunkenness, strife, envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like,
5 then are they *workers* of such works, and of others worse. Wherefore we entreat that we may
depart from them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall
come to pass.

14 1 And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed. And there was a sound as
2 thunder. And I asked the angel, What is the sound? And he said to me, Michael is even now
presenting the merits of men to God.

15 1, 2 And in that very hour Michael descended, and the gate was opened ; and he brought oil. And
as for the angels which brought the baskets *which were* full, he filled them with oil, saying, Take

8. **an exceedingly great vessel.** Cf. Rev. v. 8, 'Golden bowls of incense which are the prayers of the saints' (cf. viii. 3). The cabalistic work Zohar (thirteenth century A.D.) says that the angel Sundelfon forms of the prayers a crown for the Almighty.

XII. 1. **angels.** The function of presenting the prayers of men to God is not limited to Michael in Jewish literature. Tob. xii. 5 reads 'I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One'. T. Levi iii. 5 ff. reads 'In [the heaven next to] it, are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord, for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous: offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering'. Then follows a reference to the subordinate angels mentioned in our text, 'And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence.' Apoc. Pauli in the Greek mentions the coming of three classes of angels, two joyful and the third dejected. The first are the guardians of the godly, the second of the ascetics, and the third of the worldly. The last class desire to be relieved of their charge, but their request is not granted. The first of these classes is omitted in Latin and Syriac. For the significance of the three classes of angels in our text, see Introd. § 8.

baskets, *τὰ κανίσκια.* This form, which occurs three times in our Apoc., is regular. But *ὁ κάνισκος* and *ἡ κάνισκος* (xv) do not appear to occur elsewhere.

flowers. The Spanish text of 4 Ezra adds to a list of names in i. 40 'et angelos duodecim cum floribus' (*Cambridge Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, p. 85).

3. **who are over the righteous.** Text reads *οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν*, which hardly harmonizes with the context. As Slavonic reads 'These are they who wait upon righteous men', it is perhaps best to follow Ryssel and read *δικαίων* for *ἐξουσιῶν*.

6. **⟨neither⟩ empty nor full.** Text reads *κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα.* From the context it is evident that the baskets were partly filled. It is therefore necessary to read *⟨οὔτε⟩ κενὰ οὔ⟨τε⟩ γέμοντα.*

the prizes. Cf. Phil. iii. 14 ; 1 Cor. ix. 24.

XIII. 4. **entering [into Church . . . nor],** *εἰσελθεῖν [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ, οὐδὲ εἰς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας οὐδὲ] εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἕν.* The clause in brackets is a Christian interpolation. The construction *εἰσελθεῖν ἐν* is clumsy, the original sequence being evidently *εἰς*. The expression *πνευματικοὶ πατέρες* is distinctively Christian. It is possible that *εἰς πατέρας* stood in the original, as the official title 'father' was in use among the Scribes (Matt. xxiii. 8 ff.). If the whole phrase is an interpolation it is later than the Christian redactor. At the martyrdom of Polycarp the mob shouted, 'This is the Christians' father' (Mart. Polyc. 12), but there is no evidence that at this time Christians themselves applied the term to their bishops. In the West, in Cyprian's time, the bishop was known as *papa*. It is not till the fourth century that we find teachers of a past generation described as 'fathers' (Ath. *Ep. ad Afros* 6). See Swete, *Patristic Study*, p. 5.

fornications, &c. See Introd. § 6.

XV. 2. **which were full,** *πλήρης.* Ryssel reads *τλήρη*, but it is more probable that *πλήρης* is used indeclinably (cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 50).

filled them. i. e. the baskets.

it away, reward our friends an hundredfold, and those who have laboriously wrought good works.
3 For those who sowed virtuously, also reap virtuously. And he said also to those bringing the
half-empty baskets, Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought, and
4 deliver *it* to the sons of men. [Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those *who brought* the **half-empty** baskets: Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the Lord, Ye are faithful over **a few things, I** will set you over many things; enter into the joy of your Lord.]·

16 1 And turning he said also to those who brought nothing: Thus saith the Lord, Be not sad of
2 countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone. But since they angered me in their works, go and make them envious and angry and provoked against *a people that is* no people, a
3 people that has no understanding. Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the unwinged locust, and the mildew, and the common locust ⟨and⟩ hail with lightnings and anger, and
4 punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons. For they did not hearken to my voice, nor did they observe my commandments, nor do *them*, but were despisers of my commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaimed my words to them.

17 2 And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew. And the angel took me and
3 restored me to the *place where I was* at the beginning. And having come to myself, I gave glory
4 to God, who counted me worthy of such honour. Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

3. **he said also to.** λέγω is used with the simple accusative of the person addressed.
half-empty. Text reads ἀποκένους. The context makes it clear that the angels referred to are those bearing the baskets which were neither full nor empty. We must therefore read ὑποκένους, somewhat empty.
4. The words in brackets are a Christian interpolation, as is evident not only from the quotation from Matt., but also from the fact that the re-enumeration of the first two classes of angels destroys the symmetry of the passage.
half-empty. For ἀπόκενα read ὑπόκενα.
over a few things. Text reads ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ. It should probably read ἐπὶ ὀλίγα. Cf. Matt. xxv. 20.
I will set you. For καταστήσει in text read καταστήσω (Ryssel).

XVI. 1. Slavonic reads 'But Michael said: Listen, ye angels of God; it is not ordered that you should depart from sinful men, but you are ordered to labour for them till they repent and return. I will judge them, saith the Lord. And again there was a voice from the heavens: Attend upon the sinners till they repent; for if they do not repent, then ye shall inflict upon them a cruel disease and sudden death, and locusts and caterpillars, frost and thunder and hail and demons and the destruction of cities; and ye shall strangle their children, because God is not feared [among them] and they do not gather together in the Church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings'. Cf. Apoc. Pauli 10.
2. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 21; Rom. x. 19.
3. **punish them severely,** διχοτομήσατε. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 51.
4. The Greek text has nothing to say as to the future destiny of the righteous and of the wicked, but the Slavonic reads 'The angel said to me: Look, servant of God, and see the resting-place of the righteous, and their glory and joy and delight: and again see the resting-place of the wicked, their tears and sobs and worms that never sleep. The sinners call to heaven: O just judge, have pity upon us. And I Baruch said to the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are the sinners. And I said to the angel: Bid me, my Lord, that I may weep with them so that the Lord may hear my voice and pity them. A voice came from heaven saying: Take Baruch to the earth, that he may tell to the sons of men all the secrets of God, which he has seen and heard.' The absence of any parallel to this passage is further evidence of the free treatment of the concluding sections of the original by the editor of the Greek text in its present form.
the priests who proclaimed my words to them. The term ἱερεύς does not seem to have been applied to the Christian ministry till the end of the second century.

XVII. 2. **restored . . . beginning.** See 2 Bar. vii. 2 (note).
3. Cf. 2 Bar. liv. 8 f.

IV EZRA

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Fourth Book of Ezra (or 2 Esdras) is extant in a number of translations, all of which have been made, apparently, from a lost Greek version ; and this, there is reason to believe, was itself made in the first instance from a Hebrew original. The extant translations are in the following languages: Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic (two independent versions), and Armenian. The most important of the versions is the Latin ; and it is through this version, incorporated in many important Latin Biblical MSS., that the book has passed first into the Latin Bible (the Vulgate), as an appendix ; and thence into our Bibles as one of the Deutero-canonical books, or official *Apocrypha*. The Ezra-Apocalypse proper corresponds to chapters 3–14 of the 2 Esdras of our Apocrypha (or the Fourth Book of Ezra of the Vulgate). Chapters 1 and 2 and 15 and 16 belong only to the Latin form of the book : the Oriental versions recognize only chapters 3–14. The chief conclusions reached by the present Editor regarding the Ezra-Apocalypse are the following: (*a*) The work is of composite character. In its present form it is a compilation made by an Editor or Redactor (R), and was published by him about the year A. D. 120, in the early part of the reign of Hadrian. The sources utilized by R were—

(1) a Salathiel-Apocalypse (S) which was originally published in Hebrew in the year A. D. 100, and is almost wholly embodied in our book. It is contained in chapters 3–10 mainly (= the first four visions), together with a certain amount of interpolated material.

(2) To this have been appended three independent pieces, extracts from other apocalypses, viz. the Eagle-Vision (= ch. 11–12), denominated A (= Adlergesicht), the Son of Man Vision (= ch. 13), denominated M (= Menschensohn), and the Ezra-legend (= ch. 14 mainly), denominated E^2.

(3) Extracts from another source have also been utilized by R and interpolated in S. These are from an old Ezra-Apocalypse (denominated E), and detail the signs which precede the End of the world (iv. 52–v. 13 a and vi. 11–29). This source may also have been utilized by R in his compilation of the passages vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

The whole has been compiled in its present form by R, the different material being welded together by redactional links and adjustments. But the distinctive features of the sources have not been seriously affected. The purpose of the compilation appears to have been to commend the apocalyptic literature to certain Rabbinical circles which were hostile, and to secure for it a permanent place within orthodox Judaism. With this end in view the Redactor invested the whole composite work with the name of Ezra—a name specially honoured in the Rabbinical Schools—and took care to select material in which the cruder elements of the older apocalyptic had been largely refined away. The compilation thus represents a fusion, to some extent, of the Rabbinical and Apocalyptic types of thought of a novel kind. Its importance for the history of Rabbinical doctrine and for the elucidation of the earlier (pre-Talmudic) phases of Judaism is very great. Together with the twin-Apocalypse 2 Baruch, which may have been edited in its final form somewhat later, it may be regarded as the product of a school of writers; in the one case—4 Ezra—we have a writing which reflects the influence of the School of Shammai ; in the other—2 Baruch—one that reflects the work of a school of writers under the influence of Aqiba.

§ 2. Title of the Book.

In most of the Latin MSS. the additional chapters (1–2 and 15–16) are distinguished from the Apocalypse proper by a separate enumeration, and are marked off as separate books. A common arrangement is the following :

1 Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah of the Canon.
2 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 1–2 (2 Esdras i–ii of our Apocrypha).
3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha (3 Esdras of the Vulgate).
4 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 3–14 (our Apocalypse).

5 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 15–16 (2 Esdras xv–xvi of our Apocrypha).
According to this enumeration:
2 Esdras = chapters 1–2.
4 Esdras = „ 3–14 (our Apocalypse).
and 5 Esdras = „ 15–16.
This is adopted by James (*BJ*, p. xxvii).[1]

The prevailing usage of the Latin MSS. (including the important codices SA) is to designate chapters 3–14 (= our Apocalypse) as the Fourth Book of Ezra (4 Ezra). (See also Vol. I, pp. 2–3 of this work on this question.—*Gen. Edit.*)

The Oriental versions are also inconsistent in the titles they employ. In Ar.[1] and Ethiop. the Apocalypse (= chapters 3–14) is called *The First Book of Ezra*. The Syr. and Ar.[2] attach no number to the title. It seems probable that the title prefixed to the lost Greek version was Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, as Clement of Alexandra quotes from our Apocalypse as from Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης (cf. Clem. Alex., *Stromateis*, iii. 16), while St. Ambrose also uses the name *propheta Ezra* (cf. also the opening words of 4 Ezra i *liber Ezrae prophetae secundus*). Another possible form (suggested by Westcott) is Ἀποκάλυψις Ἔσδρα.

§ 3. The Ancient Versions.

(*a*) The Latin. The text of the Old Latin version reproduced in the Vulgate rests upon late MS. authority, and is full of corruptions and inaccuracies. The first serious contribution towards the formation of a critical text was made by Sabatier in the eighteenth century, who noted the variants of the *Codex Sangermanensis* (Codex S) in his great corpus of the Latin texts of the Bible.[2] A further advance was made by Volkmar in 1863, who published a Latin text, adding the variants of a Zürich MS. (*Codex Turicensis*, thirteenth century), in his edition of our Apocalypse.[3] A few years later Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Iudaeorum* (Leipzig, 1869), and Fritzsche (*Libri Vet. Test. pseudepigraphi selecti*, Leipzig, 1871) published critical editions of the Latin text embodying readings from other MSS. But all previous work in this direction was dwarfed into insignificance when Bensly in 1875 published his epoch-making contribution to the critical study of 4 Ezra—*The missing fragment of the Latin translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge). Up to this time all known MSS. of the Latin text yielded a defective text of chapter 7: a long passage (some 70 verses) was missing between verses 35 and 36 of this chapter, as was shown clearly by the Oriental versions which attest the missing verses. In 1875 Bensly had the good fortune to discover the Latin text of the missing fragment in a ninth-century MS. which was then in the possession of the communal library of Amiens. The discovery was without delay communicated to the world in a splendid edition of the text of the fragment, enriched with a valuable introduction and commentary. Bensly's *Missing Fragment* (*MF*) is valuable not only for the text of the fragment itself, but for the textual study of the whole book. It abounds with notes, remarks, and accurate information which make it indispensable for the serious student of the Latin Bible. The curious lacuna in chapter 7 which characterizes all known Latin MSS. (except the few enumerated below) is due to the mutilation of the great Codex S (preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris).[4] In 1856 Prof. Gildermeister, in collating this MS., discovered that a leaf (which had originally contained the missing fragment) had been (no doubt purposely) cut out in early times. 'From this and other indications he drew the indisputable and highly important conclusion that *all MSS. of 4 Esdras which do not contain that passage were ultimately derived from the Codex Sangermanensis*. . . . Codex S is the oldest known manuscript of 4 Esdras and is the parent of the vast majority of extant copies.'[5]

Besides (1) Codex S the following are among the most important MSS. for text-critical purposes:

(2) Codex A (i. e. *Codex Ambianensis*). This is the MS. in which Prof. Bensly discovered the missing fragment. It was apparently written in the ninth century, and, though closely related to S, has an independent value by the side of it.

(3) Codex C (*Codex Complutensis*, formerly at Complutum) known as the Bible of Alcala. It is now in the Library of the Central University at Madrid. The text is independent of S and A; date ninth to tenth century. This MS. contains the missing fragment, and curiously enough the text of the latter had been transcribed by Prof. Palmer in 1826, but never published by him. After the publication of *MF* in 1875 this transcript was found among Prof. Palmer's papers, and was printed in the *Journal of Philology* in 1877 (vii. 264).

[1] The Latin MSS. vary considerably in the enumeration: see for further details the present writer's Ezra-Apocalypse, p. iv; Bensly, *MF*, pp. 85–86; and *BJ*, pp. xxvi foll.
[2] *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, tom. iii (Rheims, 1749). The date of Codex S is 822.
[3] *Das vierte Buch Esra* (Tübingen, 1863), pp. 3–213.
[4] *Fonds latins*, 11505.
[5] *BJ*, p. xiii.

(4) Codex M (*Codex Mazarinaeus*): in the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris. The existence of this MS. was made known by M. Berger in 1885. Its text (which includes the missing fragment) is of the same type as that of C (eleventh century).

To these—the principal MS. authorities—must now be added:

(5) Codex V (= *Codex Abulensis*) now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. It is known as the Bible of Avila. Its text is unmutilated, and appears to be a copy of Codex C (early thirteenth century). It was discovered by M. Berger.

(6) Codex L (*Codex Legionensis*) in the Library of San Isidro de Leon at Leon. This Codex (in 3 vols.) contains a remarkable text of 4 Ezra, which diverges from that of all other authorities. According to Violet these peculiarities are largely due to deliberate revision by a late transcriber. Its date, according to the same scholar, is probably about 1300. See further Violet, pp. xxii–xxiv.

(7) The latest discovered unmutilated text is a MS. which is denoted N (Codex N) by Violet. It is preserved at Brussels, and its existence was first made known in October, 1906 (by D. Donatien de Bryne, O.S.B.). It is part of a Bible in 4 vols.; the writing is of the twelfth century. According to Violet its text is closely related to that of M (hence the choice of the symbol N).

For the special MS. evidence that exists for chap. viii. 20–36 (the so-called *Confessio Esdrae*) see the introductory section to that passage in the present writer's edition of the book (*EA*, p. 176); and cf. further the introductions of *BJ* and Violet for this point, and for the MS. evidence generally: also Bensly *MF*.

The critical edition of the text of the whole book, which Bensly was prevented from completing by death, was finally edited and published, with a valuable introduction, by Dr. M. R. James, in 1895.[1] A splendid critical edition of the Latin text, with a full apparatus criticus, and with German translations of the Oriental versions (also provided with an apparatus criticus) in parallel columns has been edited by Dr. Bruno Violet for the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, and recently published.[2]

Both Bensly (with James) and Violet agree in the conclusion that broadly the MSS. yield two types of text: the one, represented by the group SA, may be styled the French recension (= Violet's ϕ); the other, the Spanish recension, represented by the group CMNVL (= Violet's ψ). On the whole the former group (ϕ) yields a decidedly superior text to that of the latter (ψ).

See further on this point Violet, § 12. Violet also (p. xxvi) calls attention to the existence of a number of Latin MSS. containing the unmutilated text of our book, which are in existence at various libraries, but have not as yet been utilized for the criticism of the text.

The Latin translation of the book, which, like the Oriental versions, was made from the lost Greek version, is undoubtedly very early. It was well known to Ambrose of Milan, who cites freely from it (see *BJ*, pp. xxxii–xxxiv). Possible but doubtful citations are made by Tertullian (4 Ezra viii. 20) and Cyprian (4 Ezra v. 54, 55). It has also been supposed that Commodian the Christian poet of the third century, cites 4 Ezra xiii. 40 f. It is interesting to note in this connexion that it seems fairly probable that in the time of Ambrose the Latin text of the additional chapters 15–16 was already current 'in the version in which we possess them and . . . that they were also attached to chapters 3–14'.[3] The Latin version as a whole is singularly faithful and literal, and it is not difficult to arrive at the Greek text underlying it. It has itself suffered a certain amount of internal corruption in transmission; but this, with the aid partly of new MS. evidence, and partly of the other versions, can often be corrected successfully. From every point of view it is the most valuable of the versions that have come down to us.

Of the Oriental versions the most valuable is (*b*) THE SYRIAC. This is far more faithful and less paraphrastic than the other Oriental versions. The Syriac text of the book is unfortunately only known to us in a single MS. authority—the great Ambrosian (sixth century) Bible-Codex at Milan, which has been made available for scholars by the Italian scholar A. Ceriani. In this Codex 4 Ezra follows the Baruch-Apocalypse, and precedes the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah (here reckoned as one book; viz. *the second Book of Ezra*): 4 Ezra has no number attached to it. A printed edition of the Syriac text has been published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana* (vol. v, fasc. i, 1868); and it is also included in the photo-lithographic reproduction of the Ambrosian Codex. Ceriani's Latin translation of the Syriac text of 4 Ezra is reprinted, with some improve-

[1] *The Fourth Book of Ezra* in *Texts and Studies* (vol. iii, no. 2): Cambridge.

[2] *Die Esra-Apocalypse* (4 Esra): Erster Teil: *Die Ueberlieferung*. Leipzig, 1910. (A second volume is to follow.)

[3] *BJ*, p. xliii. For the whole subject of the ancient quotations of 4 Ezra cf. the full discussion (with the passages set out in full) in *BJ*, pp. xxvii f.

ments, in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum*, pp. 212 ff. Like all the Oriental versions the Apocalypse in the Syriac text consists of chapters 3–14 of the Latin only. A translation (in German) with critical notes is printed in Violet, vol. i.

(*c*) THE ETHIOPIC. This version was first published in 1820 by the famous Orientalist Richard Laurence (afterwards Archbishop of Cashel; editor of *1 Enoch* and of *The Ascension of Isaiah*). Laurence's Latin translation of the Ethiopic text, revised by Praetorius, is printed in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 262 ff.). A critical text of this version, based upon the collation of several MSS., was prepared by Dillmann and published after his death.[1] A French translation, based upon Dillmann's critical text, was published by Basset in 1899. The Ethiopic version is not so valuable as the Syriac. It is much more paraphrastic and free in its handling of the text, but it sometimes attests interesting and important readings, and is important for the criticism of the Greek text underlying it. A German translation, based upon Dillmann, is printed in Violet, vol. i (with critical notes).

(*d*) THE ARABIC VERSIONS. Two independent Arabic versions of the book are in existence which (following Gunkel) we may designate Ar.[1] and Ar.[2]. Of the first Arabic version (Ar.[1]) two MSS. are known to be in existence—the original MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (part of the Laudian collection), and a transcript of this preserved at the Vatican. An English translation was made by Simon Ockley from the Oxford MS., and appeared in William Whiston's *Primitive Christianity reviv'd* (vol. iv, 1711), and a Latin version, made from Ockley's English, and corrected by Steiner from the Arabic text, is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 323 ff.). The Arabic text was first published by Ewald in *Abhandlungen d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*[2]

In this MS. our book appears as 1 Ezra; then follows Ezra-Nehemiah as 2 Ezra, succeeded by the Book of Tobit. A curious fact concerning the Oxford MS. is that there is a lacuna in the text of one page, which is supplied by the Vatican transcript. There are two other lacunae common to both MSS. In 1898 Violet, however, found in the Oxford MS. itself (but displaced) the missing page, which is given in the Vatican transcript in its right place (see further Violet, pp. xxxi–xxxvi). This version, which is exceedingly free, was also made from a Greek text; whether it—or the Greek text underlying it—has been revised is uncertain. A German translation, with critical notes, is given in Violet.

The *Second Arabic Version* (Ar.[2]) is an independent version made directly from the Greek. It exists in a complete form in a Vatican MS. (Arab. 462) which has been edited and published, with a Latin translation, by Gildemeister (*Esdrae liber quartus arabice e cod. Vat.*, Bonn 1877). Extracts from this version are contained in an Oxford (Bodleian) MS. 260; and a fragment containing ch. vii. 75–91 has been found in a Paris MS. by Violet.

This version contains some interesting and valuable readings which have led Gunkel to postulate the existence of a second Greek version, made from the Hebrew original, which he supposes to have been the basis of this version.

Gunkel supports this view by citing chap. viii. 23 where Ar.[2], alone among the versions, renders *ceaseless* (*eternal*) = Heb. לָעַד: the other versions imply *for a witness* (= לְעֵד). Evidently there were two Greek readings, representing two renderings of a single Hebrew text. One has been followed by Ar.[2]; the other by the other versions. Again, in xiv. 3 Ar.[2] has *Sinai* (= סיני) where the other versions have *bush* (= סנה)—phenomena which point to different readings in the Greek, due to a difference of reading the Hebrew. But it is not necessary to infer from such instances (which, in any case, are few) that two different recensions of the Greek existed. The readings more probably represent marginal variants or corrections in the Greek exemplar used. In any case, as Violet has shown, both Ar.[1] and Ar.[2] go back to one recension of the Greek, which is characterized by a lacuna in the text, viii. 50–ix. 1 being omitted. It is probable that different MSS. of this Greek recension (if it may be so called) were used by the translators of Ar.[1] and Ar.[2].

Thus Ar.[2], though it is very free and paraphrastic on the whole, is often an important textual witness, and must never be neglected.

It is interesting to notice that Ar.[2] agrees with the Syr. in omitting the first half of xi. 30 (= *et vidi quomodo complexa est*), and again with the Syr. in attesting (in xi. 43) a clause which has fallen out in all the other versions (= *that thou shouldst forsake us also*).

Two further fragments of an Arabic version independent of Ar.[1] and Ar.[2] are also known; but these seem to be of secondary importance, depending, as they not improbably do, on the Latin

[1] *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici* tomus v (Berlin, 1894, pp. 152–93).
[2] 1863, vol. xi (also reprinted separately).

version. [See further Violet, xxxi–xxxix: Violet gives a German translation of both Ar.[1] and Ar.[2] with critical notes.]

(*e*) THE ARMENIAN. This version was first printed in the Armenian Bible of 1805 (Venice), and again in the Armenian edition of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament (Venice, 1896). A Latin translation (by J. H. Petermann) is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 378 ff.), and a German one by Violet. The version is exceedingly free, and possesses little or no value for the criticism of the text. It may have been made from the Syriac.

(*f*) FRAGMENTS AND TRACES OF OTHER VERSIONS. An important discovery of some fragments of a Sahidic version of our book was made known in 1904.[1] The fragment in question covers chap. xiii. 29–46; but the leaf containing it is unfortunately much damaged. The recovery of other parts of this version, which is not impossible, would probably afford valuable help in reconstructing the underlying Greek text, if, as is likely, the Sahidic was made directly from the Greek. The Sahidic translation would certainly embody many of the original Greek words as loan-words.

Traces also exist of an old Georgian version of our book. [See further Violet, pp. xl ff.]

§ 4. THE LOST GREEK VERSION.

The dependence of all the versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian) upon a lost Greek version hardly needs any detailed proof. The differences between the versions can constantly be explained by corruptions of a Greek text underlying them.

To select a few instances out of many: in v. 28 the Latin has *praeparasti* (= ητοιμασας) *unam radicem super alias*; but the Oriental versions rightly render 'thou hast dishonoured (= ητιμασας) the one root', &c. Again in vii. 26 the Latin has *et apparebit sponsa* [*et*] *apparescens civitas* = 'and the bride shall appear even the city appearing' (so Syr. substantially); but the true text, represented by the Ethiopic and Armenian runs: *then shall the city that now is invisible appear* = και φανησεται η νυν μη φαινομενη πολις which was misread by the Latin και φαΐνησεται η νυμφη φαινομενη πολις. In x. 28, again, the true text represented by the Latin and the Oriental versions, with the exception of the Ethiopic, runs: *for he it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment* (εκστασιν); but the Ethiopic has *search* for *bewilderment*, misreading εκστασιν as εξετασιν.

Further, the internal evidence of the versions singly often clearly demonstrates dependence upon a Greek underlying text. Thus the Latin sometimes reproduces Greek constructions (e. g. the genitive absolute, v. 55), and Greek genders unknown to Latin (e. g. x. 23 *signaculum Sion . . . resignata est*: 'seal' being treated as fem. as in Greek = η σφραγις). See further on these points *MF*, pp. 17 f.; *EA*, pp. xi, xviii (see also Index V of the latter work under *Greek constructions* and *Greek words*).

Positive evidence of the existence of such a Greek version as is desiderated by the evidence of the secondary versions is afforded by actual citations in the early patristic literature, as well as by the existence of Greek works which have been based upon, or imitated from, the lost Greek version. The most certain of the citations are the citation of v. 35 in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, iii. 16; and of viii. 23 in *Const. Apost.* viii. 7; while *Const. Apost.* ii. 14 contains a passage, the language of which is strongly reminiscent of vii. 103 (*fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest*). The passage in question runs as follows:—

Εἰ δὲ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐ τιμωροῦνται, οὔτε υἱοὶ ὑπὲρ πατέρων, δῆλον ὡς οὔτε γυναῖκες ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, οὔτε οἰκέται ὑπὲρ δεσποτῶν, οὔτε συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ συγγενῶν, οὔτε φίλοι ὑπὲρ φίλων, οὔτε δίκαιοι (*v. l.* δίκαιος) ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων. ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου ἔργου τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθήσεται.

A knowledge of the Greek 4 Ezra appears to be presupposed, also in the Hippolytean fragment περὶ τοῦ παντός.[2] The alleged citations in our book of the *Epistle of Barnabas* are, however, more than doubtful (see the notes on v. 9 below). For a full discussion of these points reference must be made to *BJ*, pp. xxvii–xxx; cf. also *EA*, p. xii. For later Greek works which have imitated the Greek 4 Ezra (viz. the Apocalypses of Esdras and Sedrach), see Violet, pp. l–lix.

The reconstruction of the lost Greek text from the Latin version of our book has been carried out with a considerable amount of success by Hilgenfeld (with the assistance of Lagarde and Hermann Rönsch). It is printed in *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 36–113), and is a most valuable piece of work. Volkmar, also, in his edition of our book (*Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1863) has constantly suggested Greek renderings which are often important for this purpose; while in Gunkel's commentary some

[1] In the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Band 41, Heft 2, pp. 138–40).
[2] Also cited sometimes as 'Hippolytus *Against Plato*'.

useful notes of a similar character by Wilamowitz are occasionally cited. An elaborate reconstruction is promised by Violet.

A specimen of the Greek translation of part of the additional chapters, which do not strictly belong to the Ezra-Apocalypse, viz. 4 Ezra xv. 57–59, has been discovered (1909) among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and been published with other papyri in the collection of Grenfell and Hunt. This important find encourages the hope that parts, or even the whole, of the lost Greek version of the Apocalypse proper may yet come to light.

Gunkel (*ap.* Kautzsch) has propounded a theory that two independent Greek translations of a Hebrew original were made; while the Lat., Syr., Ethiop., Ar.[1] (and possibly the Armenian) rest upon one of these, Ar.[2], he thinks, rests upon a mixed Greek text, made up of the edition used by the other versions, and a second made independently and later. The evidence adduced for this view is, however, very slight, and has already been dealt with above in § 3*d* (in connexion with Ar.[2]). The textual phenomena are susceptible of an alternative and simpler explanation, viz. that Ar.[2] has embodied marginal variants occasionally; while, in other respects, it has handled its Greek text rather freely, omitting considerable portions. [For Volkmar's theory of a second Greek recension see *EA*, p. xiii.]

§ 5. The Original Hebrew Text.

The most recent investigators of the textual problems of our book are agreed in postulating a Hebrew text as the original form in which 4 Ezra was composed. These scholars include Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Violet.[1] The opposite view (of a Greek original) has been championed by Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld.

The fullest discussion of the grounds for assuming a Hebrew original is that of Wellhausen.[2] It may be said, without qualification, that judged by any of the properly applicable tests, the phenomena point to a Semitic original. The syntax reflects characteristically Hebrew features. Thus the sentences are co-ordinated with rather than subordinated to each other, and in consequence it is sometimes difficult to determine exactly where the protasis of a hypothetical sentence ends, and the apodosis begins.

Cp. e.g. iii. 12 (*et factum est cum coepissent multiplicari . . . et multiplicaverunt filios . . . et coeperunt . . . impietatem facere*, &c.); iii. 17 f. (*et factum est cum educeres semen eius ex Aegypto et adduxisti eos . . . Et transiit gloria tua*, &c.); iii. 29 f.; v. 4 ff.; v. 31; vi. 18 f. In some of these cases the punctuation of the editors is not certainly correct—the sentences should, perhaps, be run on.

Note also turns of expression as *et factum est et* and *et erit et*, which are essentially Hebrew modes of expression, as also are *et ecce* (very frequent in chapters 10 and 11), and *et vidi et ecce* (iv. 48, xi. 1 f.) or *et audivi et ecce* (vi. 18). All these, as Wellhausen points out, are characteristically Hebrew, and not Greek.

The following are examples of strongly marked Hebraisms: the complement of the relative by a demonstrative pronoun, e. g. *de quibus si mihi renunciaveris ex his* (iv. 4), *de quo me interrogas de eo* (iv. 28), *in quo stas super eum* (vi. 14), *super quem stabam super eum* (vi. 29), *qui per semet ipsum liberabit creaturam suam* (xiii. 26).

The last instance cited is an excellent example of the ambiguity which may arise from the misunderstanding of the Hebrew relative and its complement (the Heb. relative particle אשר does not distinctly express either number or case). Similar instances of misunderstanding also occur in ix. 20 (*propter cogitationes quae in eo advenerunt* should be *p. c. eorum qui in eo*, &c.); and in xiii. 40 (*quem captivum duxit Salmanassar* should be *quas* or *quos captivos duxit*, &c.).

The construction of the Hebrew infinitive absolute with the finite verb is of extraordinarily frequent occurrence. It is usually rendered by a particle or by an abstract substantive.

The following are illustrative of numerous examples: *excedens excessit cor tuum* (iv. 2); *festinans festinat saeculum pertransire* (iv. 26); *mensura mensuravit tempora et numero numeravit tempora* (iv. 37); *odiens odisti populum tuum* (v. 30). The number of these examples might be somewhat increased if the instances could be added where the Syr. attests the same construction without the support of the Latin.

One of the characteristic features of Hebrew, which it shares with other old Semitic languages, is the paucity of its adverbs. The language, consequently, is forced to adopt other modes of speech in order to express the adverbial idea. The infinitive absolute often does duty in this way (expressing intensity or iteration: = *surely*, *much*, *often*, &c.). But sometimes other methods are resorted to. Thus repeated action (= *again*) is expressed in Hebrew by such phrases as *to add to do* (הוסיף + another verb). This usage is reflected in our text by such un-Greek expressions as *adiciam* (*dicere*)

[1] Among earlier scholars Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, vol. 7) held this view; earlier still Jo. Morinus.
[2] *Skizzen*, vi, pp. 234–9 (1899).

coram te (v. 32); *superdixerunt* (vii. 23); *noli ergo adicere inquirendo* (viii. 55); *adiciam dolorem* (ix. 41); *adposui adhuc loqui* (x. 19).

The usage of prepositions is often Hebrew rather than Greek (see the examples cited in *EA*, p. xv f.). The characteristic features of Hebrew style are marked throughout all sections of the book. Thus in the dialogue between the seer and the angel the expression *he answered* (*I answered*) *and said* constantly recurs; cf. also *ask . . . and say*, v. 46, 50. Before the *oratio recta saying* (= לאמר) is constantly prefixed, *dixit dicens* even occurring (xi. 37, xii. 40). Such diffuseness is a well-known feature in Hebrew composition. Another characteristic feature in the dialogue is the self-designation of the human speaker as *thy servant*, while the angel is addressed as *domine* (cf. v. 45–56, vi. 12, vii. 75, 102, viii. 6, 24, x. 37, xii. 8, xiii. 14); in the case of a woman *thine handmaid* (ix. 43, 45).

The title of address *O dominator domine* (*O Lord that bearest rule*, R.V.) which occurs several times is properly applicable only to God = Δέσποτα κύριέ μου (Heb. יהוה אדני or אדני יהוה).

Characteristically Hebrew, again, is the artless simplicity with which sentences (esp. imperative forms of speech) are constantly expanded by the use of redundant expressions.

The following examples are cited by Wellhausen: *vade pondera mihi* (iv. 5); *venite et eamus* (iv. 14); *venite ascendentes debellemus* (iv. 15); *vade et interroga* (iv. 40), &c. The materializing of the action is detailed by the side of the description of the action itself: e.g. *Respexi oculis meis et vidi* (ix. 38); *apertum est os meum et inchoavi dicere* (ix. 28). Especially frequent is the somewhat similar use of *incipere* (= Heb. הואיל): cf. vi. 8, 19, 32; vii. 75, 88, 97, 122, 126, &c. (cf. the similar use of ἄρχεσθαι in the Gospels). The ollowing are also examples of expanded descriptions of simple actions, which are characteristically Hebrew: *surge super pedes tuos* (v. 15; vi. 13, 17; x. 30; xi. 7); *capax est tibi visus oculorum videre* (x. 55); *torquent me renes mei* (v. 31); *cogitationes meae ascenderunt super cor meum* (iii. 1); *conturbatus est sensus cordis tui* (x. 31); *ne expavescat cor tuum* (x. 55); *vultus tuus tristis* (v. 16); *amara animo* (ix. 41); *figmentum manuum tuarum* (iii. 5; viii. 7); *plantavit dextera tua* (iii. 6). The bare mention of the person who is the instrument or object of an action is not sufficient; the organ through which the action is performed must also be mentioned. Thus the writer says *thy right hand has planted* for *thou hast planted*, *thy countenance is sad* for *thou art sad*, &c.

Further examples of genuine Hebraisms are the following: *dixi in corde meo* (iii. 28); *accepisti in corde tuo* (vii. 16); *reddere animam suam* (vii. 75); *non dirigentur viae eorum* (εὐοδοῦσθαι v. 12); *dare vocem suam* (= נתן קולו v. 5, 7); *nomen uni vocasti* (vi. 49); *nomen tuum invocatum est super nos* (iv. 25, x. 22); *fiebat species coruscus* (x. 25); *factus est in uno casus eorum* (iii. 10); *factus est Iacob in multitudine magna* (iii. 16); *factus est in vano* (iv. 16); *concupiscentia gustus multiformis* (vi. 44).

A number of words are used also in a sense that can only be explained by Hebrew usage: cf. e.g. *confractio* (vii. 108 and note), *cor maris* (iv. 7), *flumen* (= *the River* sc. Euphrates, xiii. 40), *lignum* = tree (iv. 13; v. 5 = Heb. עץ = both *wood* and *tree*), *multus* for *magnus* (Heb. רב, x. 38, &c.), *nationes* (= דורות or תולדות iii. 7 and note), *nomina* (*names* = individuals, persons, iii. 36), *opus* (= Heb. פעלה *reward* vii. 35, cf. iii. 33 note *n*), *proximus* = ? Heb. קרוב (v. 11 *interrogabit regio proximam suam*), *radix* used in a technical sense (v. 28, in another technical sense viii. 53 note *t*), *a saeculo* (= מעולם ix. 7, 18), *sermo* = דבר (vii. 101 *ut videant qui predicti sunt sermones*), cf. also x. 5, *spiritus intellectus* (v. 22), *unicus* (= יחיד v. 28), *vas bellicosum* (= כלי מלחמה xiii. 9, 28), *via* (= Heb. דרך *mode* or *kind*; cf. vii. 80, iv. 3 and often: see note *v*, p. 145); among verbs the following, which reflect Hebrew usage, may be noted: *vincere* and *vinci* (= Heb. זכה and חוב, iii. 21, vi. 28, vii. 115, 128), *confortare* (= חזק v. 15, &c.), *congregari* (= נאסף vii. 33), *inquirere iustitiam ab* (= דרש מן vi. 19 and note), *spernere* used absolutely, like καταφρονεῖν (= בגד vii. 76, 79, &c.).

It would, no doubt, be possible to explain isolated examples in the lists given above without recourse to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original; but the cumulative effect of the whole evidence creates a presumption which amounts to a certainty that the Greek text which underlies the extant versions was itself a translation from a Hebrew original. The whole book is coloured by Hebrew diction, Hebrew modes of thought and characteristic modes of expression.

This conclusion is in no way weakened by the fact that Graecisms are of not infrequent occurrence. As Wellhausen remarks, Graecisms occur in the LXX. Attention has already been called to the fact of the occurrence of Greek usages and constructions in the Latin text.[1] These merely reflect the Greek text on which the Latin translator worked. Of Graecisms proper in the Greek translation itself a good instance is *in eo quod misereatur* (vii. 132) = ἐν τῷ οἰκτείρειν, several examples of which occur (ἐν τῷ + infin.). Occasional word-plays in the Greek may also be explained as due to the translator.[2]

[1] For a full and detailed list see Volkmar, pp. 313 ff.
[2] A good example of this occurs in xii. 24–5.

One other criterion exists by which the hypothesis of a Hebrew original may be tested: viz. whether the hypothesis will explain, or is compatible with, the variations that exist in the versions. A certain number of these are due to internal corruptions in the versions themselves.[1] But a large number of cases remains where divergent readings of the Greek can best be explained by the hypothesis of corruption in the original Hebrew text (for examples see the notes in the following commentary).

Again *ex hypothesi* it ought to be possible throughout to arrive at an approximation to the underlying Hebrew text. This has been constantly borne in mind by the present editor, and it can confidently be asserted that, all through, the textual phenomena are compatible with a Hebrew original.

An apparent exception to this rule occurs in vi. 56 where the LXX of Isa. xl. 15 (*like unto spittle*) is followed against the Masoretic Hebrew text. But this can be explained without violence to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original (cf. notes *ad loc.*). The word-play in the Greek of xii. 24–25 has already been referred to.

In the previous discussion it has been assumed throughout that a *Hebrew* original is postulated. The textual phenomena certainly point to this rather than Aramaic. The constant use of such expressions as *et factum est*, *et erit*, *et ecce*, and, above all, the recurring use of the infinitive absolute, point to a Hebrew rather than an Aramaic original.

It remains to add a word on the relation of the Hebrew original to the versions. The extant versions are, as has already been pointed out, translations directly from the lost Greek version (with the possible exception of the Armenian, which may have been made from the Syriac). The original Greek version was itself a translation of the Hebrew text which embraced the Apocalypse proper (i. e. chapters iii–xiv of 2 Esdras in the Vulgate form). To this original Greek version were appended (in the third century) the additional chapters (i–ii and xv–xvi of the Vulgate and our own official Apocrypha). They were composed in Greek and are of Christian origin. In the time of Ambrose apparently the Latin version of chapters xv–xvi was already current, and it is probable that these chapters were already attached to chapters iii–xiv (see further *BJ*, p. xliii; and for the whole subject of this section *EA*, pp. xiii–xix).

§ 6. The Composite Character of the Text.

Is the present form of 4 Ezra a compilation, made by an editor from different sources? Or is it, on the whole, a uniform composition which in a real sense goes back to a single author? The latter alternative is accepted by (among modern scholars) Gunkel[2] and F. C. Porter[3]; the former is upheld by Kabisch and Dr. Charles.

At the outset we are confronted with a *datum* that strongly suggests the use by an editor of an independent source. In the very first verse we read: *I Salathiel who am also Ezra* (iii. 1). This strange identification of Salathiel with Ezra cannot be justified historically, nor can it be explained as due to defective historical knowledge on the part of the original writer of this section of the book. The only adequate explanation is that an editor or compiler is using an independent writing in which the seer who is the recipient of the revelations that follow, spoke in the name of Salathiel, and that the compiler who utilized this written source was anxious, for some reason, to connect it with the name of Ezra; accordingly he inserted the words *who am also Ezra.*

What other explanation is possible? If it be assumed that the author wrote the words, then we must suppose that he thought of himself sometimes as Ezra, sometimes as Salathiel. But such an assumption is surely far-fetched, and in the highest degree unnatural. If the author had wished to speak throughout in the name of Ezra it would have been perfectly easy for him to do so. The importation of Salathiel would in that case be perfectly gratuitous. On the other hand, if the identification be due to a compiler who is using sources, all is explained.

We may assume, then, that the present form of our book reveals unmistakably the hand of a Compiler or Redactor (R) who has used as a source an originally independent Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It remains to determine what are the limits of S, so far as it is embodied in our own book, and what are its relations to other parts of the book.[4]

§ 7. The Sources of the Book.

No question arises in connexion with regard to chapters 3–10 which, apart from the eschatological passages, may be assigned as a whole to S. The Redactor (R) will, of course, be in evidence

[1] A good example of internal corruption in the Latin is vii. 4 (*altum* for *latum*).
[2] In Kautzsch.
[3] *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers* (1909), p. 336.
[4] See further the discussion of this point in *EA*, p. xxi f.

occasionally; but there will be little difficulty in assigning limits to his work after the more important question as to what other main sources, if any, are embodied in our own book has been discussed.

This resolves itself into the question whether the author of S can have embodied in his work the 5th, 6th and 7th visions of the book (chapters xi–xiv), or whether these are to be regarded in the light of appendices, drawn from independent sources, and inserted in their present position by R.

The famous Eagle-vision (chapters xi–xii) has all the appearance of an independent writing. It has a style and form of its own. But the all-important fact about it is that it reveals eschatological conceptions which are radically opposed to those of S. The latter holds strongly to a dualistic and transcendental view. There are two ages; one the present corruptible age, and the other the glorious incorruptible age that is to succeed the present one, after the Final Judgement. The hopes of S are fixed on the latter; he gives up the present as hopeless (see further § 10 (1)). On the other hand, in the Eagle-vision a strongly political view is held. The writer's hopes are fixed on the annihilation of the Eagle (i. e. the Roman Empire). It is this that will mark the decisive moment; the Day of Judgement will dawn, according to this writer's conception, when the Roman Empire is annihilated by the Messiah, and the Rule of God becomes a reality upon the earth. The two conceptions are difficult to harmonize. Doubtless the compiler (R) did try to harmonize them by combining them in thought; he doubtless anticipated that the world, even after the victory of the Messiah over Rome, would still come to its predestined end which would usher in the final Day of Judgement. But can such a conception be attributed to S? If anything is certain about this writer it is that he wrestles with real difficulties, and strives to reach a real solution. He is not a mere collector of opposed opinions. The conviction that dominates the whole thought of S is that the evil which reigns in the present order is so deep-rooted that nothing less than the dissolution of the present world and the ushering in of the future and better world (or age) will suffice to eliminate the wrongs and unrighteousness that now exist.[1] Is it conceivable that S can at the same time have held the view that the annihilation of the oppressive world-power by the Messiah will usher in a new age in the present world, which will bring felicity to those who live on into it, and justify the ways of God by making the divine rule a reality upon the earth? No. This older view was doubtless well known to S, and had failed to satisfy him. In his agonizing struggle for fresh light he implicitly repudiates the older eschatology, with its political hopes and somewhat materialistic aspirations, and takes refuge in a transcendental view. Consequently we are justified in treating the Eagle-vision (A) as an independent source which owes its position in the book to R.[2] The general theme of the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii)—viz. the annihilation of hostile powers and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom—is identical with that of the Eagle-vision. For the reasons already advanced it cannot, therefore, belong to S. Its eschatology also is different from that of the Eagle-vision, as will be shown later. Consequently it must be regarded as an independent writing. Though in tone and in some of its characteristic conceptions the final chapter (xiv) of our Apocalypse is much more akin to S than the two independent sources already referred to, it yet cannot be regarded as belonging to the Salathiel-apocalypse. The situation presupposed throughout this chapter (with the exception of some interpolations due to R) is that of the historical Ezra, living in the fifth century B.C.; it cannot, therefore, be brought into accordance with the situation of Salathiel (who lived a century earlier) as this is implied in S.[3]

Thus, as a result of our discussion, so far, we have reached the conclusion that the Salathiel-apocalypse (S) is contained within chapters iii–x of our book; while outside of and independent of this at least three other independent sources have been used, viz. the Eagle-vision (chapters xi–xii = A), the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii = M), and an Ezra-piece (ch. xiv = E^2).

The combination of these elements into the present whole of the Ezra-apocalypse will have been the work of the compiler (R). In the process of redaction the hand of R will naturally be evident especially in fitting together the diverse material, and in the work of harmonization. It becomes important, therefore, to determine the extent and limits of R's work.

But before this is attempted the question of the possible existence of another source within our book remains to be discussed. Within the chapters which contain S there are four eschatological passages, marked by special features, the relation of which to S it is important to determine. These passages are the following: (1) iv. 52–v. 13 a, (2) vi. 11–29, (3) vii. 26–44, and (4) viii. 63–ix. 12. In general they contain eschatological descriptions, of a well-known traditional type, which set forth the 'signs' that are to precede the end of the world, and usher in the Final Judgement.

Thus (1) describes the 'signs' that precede the End as follows: it will be a time of commotions, and the general break up of moral and religious forces (v. 1–2); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed

[1] Cf. especially iv. 26–43 (which should be carefully read).
[2] See further the discussion in *EA*, pp. 246 ff.
[3] Cf. further *EA*, pp. 306–7.

(v. 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (v. 4–8, cf. vi. 21–22), and wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (v. 10–12). In (2) the description of the signs that precede the End is taken up again and interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. It also contains a description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' (vi. 13–28). In (3) a description is given of the sudden revelation of the Messiah, his 400 years' reign on the earth and death, and finally a vivid delineation of the dissolution of the world interwoven with a description of the Judgement itself (vii. 26–44). In (4) the signs of the End are again reviewed (viii. 63–ix. 12).

Are these passages integral parts of S? Or can S have been responsible for their insertion in their present contexts? The traditional character of the passages as a whole is generally conceded; they belong to a type which has many parallels elsewhere. Is it conceivable, then, that S took up this widely current traditional material, and embodied it in his own work? An examination of the first of the passages (iv. 56–v. 12) mentioned discloses unmistakable marks of interpolation. Its awkward insertion in its present context cannot be due to S; it was doubtless interpolated by R. The second passage is parallel to and depends upon the first. If (1) is an interpolation, it follows that (2) must be also. The source from which R excerpted them was, Kabisch thinks, an old Ezra-apocalypse, containing eschatological descriptions of the 'signs' preceding the End, and of the End itself. It may be denominated E (=Ezra-apocalypse; so Kabisch). For similar reasons the third and fourth passages (vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12) cannot belong to S or have been inserted in their present contexts by S. Kabisch believes that both these passages have been drawn from E. The present writer, however, thinks that in their extant form both are the work of R, who may have drawn upon E, but has also utilized other material. They are in fact a compilation of diverse elements (cf. the discussion in *EA*, pp. 108 ff. and 199 ff.).

The results thus reached may be stated as follows: the present form of our apocalypse is due to a Redactor (R) who used the following sources:

(1) S, A SALATHIEL-APOCALYPSE which (so far as it has been utilized) is embodied in iii. 1–31, iv. 1–51, v. 13 b–vi. 10, vi. 30–vii. 25, vii. 45–viii. 62, and ix. 15–x. 57; in addition the two sections xii. 40–48 and xlv. 28–35 are probably misplaced pieces which belong to S (see the introductory sections *ad loc.*).

(2) E, AN EZRA-APOCALYPSE, from which iv. 52–v. 13 a and vi. 13–29 are extracts. Their present position is due to R, who has also drawn upon this source in vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

(3) A, THE EAGLE-VISION, contained (with revision by R) in chapters xi–xii.

(4) M, A SON OF MAN VISION, contained (with much revision and insertions by R) in chapter xiii.

(5) E^2, AN EZRA-PIECE, contained in xiv. 1–17 a, 18–27, 36–47.

(6) R is responsible for the compilation of the book as a whole. By means of redactional links and adjustments he has fitted the different elements of the book together; the following passages (redactional links) are due to his hand: iv. 52 (*as for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part but*) introducing the extract from E which follows: (v. 1–13 a), vi. 11–12 (introducing the second extract from E which follows in vi. 13–28), vi. 29, x. 58–9 (transition to the Fifth vision), xii. 49–51 (transition to the Sixth vision), xiv. 49–50 (conclusion of the book). In the process of adjustment R has also, apparently, misplaced certain sections of S. Besides the two sections already mentioned (xii. 40–8 and xiv. 28–35) the following also fall under this category: v. 14–15 and xiii. 57–8. The following are the longer insertions which were probably compiled in their present form, as well as inserted by R: iii. 32–6, vii. 26–44, viii. 63–ix. 12, and xiii. 13 b–24: R is also responsible for a certain amount of revision in the fourth and following visions (especially in the interpretation): x. 45 (*in eo* altered in the original Heb. to *in ea*) and x. 46 (*David* altered into *Solomon*), xi. 12 (*on the right side*), xi. 20 (*upon the right side*), xii. 8 (*completely*), xii. 9, xii. 14, xii. 15 (*the twelve*), xii. 26 b–28. xii. 32 (partly), xii. 34, xii. 39, xiii. 26 b, xiii. 29–32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48, xiii. 52 (*or those that are with him*). For minor adjustments made by R reference must be made to *EA*, p. xxvii.

The above analysis agrees, in the main, with the results of Kabisch's masterly discussion in his essay on our book.[1] The present editor, however, differs from Kabisch in assigning rather more to R—in particular the sections vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12 which appear to be compilations by him.

Thus the book as a whole is a compilation from different sources. In the case of EA and M we have only extracts from larger works (see further *EA*, p. 244 f., 285 f.). In the case of E^2 we have also a piece which was extracted from a larger source (cf. *EA*, pp. 301). Only

[1] *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (1889).

in the case of S, which forms the groundwork of the whole book, have we a source which is substantially preserved in its entirety—though even here there are some curtailments. With S the compiler interwove extracts from other (Ezra) apocalypses, and then invested the whole with the name of Ezra (cf. the case of 1 Enoch, which is a compilation of extracts from a number of Enochic apocalypses interwoven with fragments of a Noah-apocalypse).[1]

§ 8. The Date of the Sources and of the final Redaction.

Fortunately in the opening verse of the book we have a precise statement which points definitely to an exact date for the original appearance of the Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It is stated in iii. 1 that it was *in the thirtieth year of the downfall of the city* that Salathiel was in Babylon and underwent the experiences detailed in the visions that follow; and this statement is confirmed in iii. 29 (*these thirty years*). This date, which probably is intended to refer to the original publication of S, points to the year A. D. 100 (i. e. thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70) as the time when S originally appeared or was completed as an independent work. For reasons supporting this view reference must be made to *EA*, p. xxviii f. The place of composition of S was probably Palestine, and not Rome as Kabisch supposes (ibid.).

With regard to the dates of the other sources embodied in our book, E is marked by traditional features which suggest that it was current long before it was utilized by R, who has handled it with considerable freedom.[2] From the absence of any clear indication that the horrors of the struggle which culminated in A. D. 70 have coloured the delineation of the Messianic 'woes' in these passages it may be inferred that E had assumed literary form some time before A. D. 70.[3] Kabisch suggests as a possible date about 30 B.C.

The date of the original composition of the Eagle-vision (A) may be more definitely determined. The one usually favoured is some time in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81–96); but a date in the reign of Vespasian (A. D. 69–79) is quite possible, and not improbable (see the point fully discussed *EA*, p. 249).

In the case of the Son of Man vision (M) the interpretation of the vision presupposes a time for its composition before A. D. 70 (cf. *EA*, p. 286). As the Christology of M is more advanced than that of E it is probable that it was reduced to written form at a later date than the latter, though it must be remembered that the actual vision in M (4 Ezra xiii. 1–13 a) embodies traditional elements that are much older.

On the other hand, E^2 (ch. xiv) clearly implies a date subsequent to A. D. 70. The emphasis laid upon the representation of Ezra as the restorer of the Law that has been burnt (xiv. 21) points unmistakably to this. Kabisch regards this source as of contemporaneous origin with S, and this is quite possible; in tone it occasionally resembles S. But all that can be said with certainty is that it must have been composed some time between A. D. 70 and the time of the Redactor (? *c.* A. D. 120); it is probable that some considerable time elapsed between the Fall of Jerusalem and the time of its composition; consequently a date at or about A. D. 100 is not improbable.

The limits within which the final redaction of our book must have taken place may be fixed as A. D. 100–135. It is clear that the book cannot have been published in its present form before the former date in view of the explicit reference in iii. 1 to *the thirtieth year after the downfall of the city*; and on the other hand, it would have been impossible for a Jewish book of this kind to have found its way into Christian circles after the Bar-Kokba revolt, when Church and Synagogue had become hopelessly alienated. Sufficient time must be allowed before A. D. 132–135 for the Hebrew original to have been translated into Greek, and for the Greek version to have won its way into Christian circles. The date of the original publication cannot, therefore, be placed much after A. D. 120. Can it be placed any earlier?

We have already seen reason to believe that the explicit time-determination given in iii. 1 marks the date of the publication of S—not that of the whole book. If that be so, sufficient time must be allowed for S to have become well known in the circles to which R belonged, and for the work of compilation to have taken place. A number of indications suggest that at the time when the Redactor compiled the work feeling towards Rome on the part of Jewish circles in Palestine had become embittered.[4] This was the case after the suppression of the Jewish rebellions in A. D. 116–117;

[1] For later apocalyptic literature circulating under Ezra's name cf. pp. 470 seq. of this vol.; *BJ*, pp. lxxxvi ff.

[2] We have extracts from E, probably in v. 1–12, vi. 12–28; while it has, apparently, been utilized by R in vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

[3] The reference to *the humiliation of Sion* in vi. 19^b is probably a later interpolation; see *EA*, p. xxx.

[4] The insertion of the Eagle-vision by R is evidence of this.

and though with the accession of Hadrian a better feeling manifested itself, this was of short duration, and the old spirit of hostility soon re-asserted itself. These various indications point to a date about A. D. 120 as the time when the Redactor wrote and completed his work. It may have been somewhat later.

A similar date (between A. D. 120–130) is suggested by Charles as the time when 2 Baruch was edited in its final form (in Hebrew and then translated into Greek).

§ 9. The relation of 4 Ezra to 2 Baruch.

It is evident from a comparison of parallel passages[1] that a relation exists between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch of the closest and most intimate description. To determine the exact details of this relationship is not possible here in view of the complex critical problems involved by the composite character of the text of each book. All that can be attempted is to set forth some of the *data* that will serve to indicate the lines of a solution.

The composite character of 4 Ezra has already been indicated in the former part of this Introduction (see above §§ 6 and 7). In the case of 2 Baruch also the editor (Dr. Charles) finds it necessary to analyse the book into a number of sources, which are denominated A^1, A^2, A^3 (i. e. the three Messianic apocalypses, which look for a personal Messiah, being chapters xxvii–xxxi, xxxvi–xl, and liii–lxxiv); as in these sections Jerusalem is represented, according to Dr. Charles, as still standing it may be concluded that they assumed literary form before A. D. 70: another set of passages, denominated B^1 (= i–ix. 1, xxxii. 2–4, xliii–xliv. 7, xlv–xlvi, lxxvii–lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi f.), which are optimistic as to the future of the present world-order, but do not expect the advent of a personal Messiah, may be grouped partly with A^1, A^2, A^3; but the date of composition of B^1 must be subsequent to A. D. 70 as the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile are presupposed. Dr. Charles also distinguishes two other sources, viz. B^2 (= x–xxv, xxx. 2–xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5–xxxv, xli–xlii, xliv. 8–15, xlvii–lii, lxxv sq., lxxxiii) and B^3 (= lxxxv): both B^2 and B^3 are pessimistic in their view of the present world-order, and do not look for a Messianic kingdom; their hopes are fixed on the advent of the final judgement and the spiritual world; they also presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, and therefore assumed literary form subsequent to A. D. 70.

The broad results of this critical analysis suggest that 2 Baruch is a compilation from diverse elements similar, in many respects, to 4 Ezra. In both cases older documents, containing the national eschatology, have been combined with later elements which reveal a fundamentally different outlook. The elements B^2, B^3 in 2 Baruch are comparable with S in 4 Ezra, while A^1 has affinities with the E source of 4 Ezra, and the date of its composition may be much the same. As to the date of composition of A^2 and A^3 the present writer must confess to some doubts. The former of these, A^2, i. e. the fountain and cedar vision, is a vision of the fall of the Roman power, and may be compared with the Eagle-vision (A) of 4 Ezra. Like the latter it is a dream-vision, and may very well be of much the same date (some time in the reign of Vespasian or Domitian). May it not have formed one of the collection of dream-visions from which the Eagle-vision of 4 Ezra was excerpted? The possibility must of course always be allowed for that the actual material of the vision is older than its interpretation. In A^2 (the cloud and water vision) there is apparently a fusion of early and later elements. It has several points of contact with E^2 of 4 Ezra, and in its present form may well be of much the same date as regards literary composition (some time between A. D. 70 and 100, or even later); its reflective and theological tone harmonizes with this view. The material of the vision is probably one of the older elements, as also is the eschatological scheme of the Messianic 'woes' in ch. lxx.

The numerous points of contact between B^1, B^2 in 2 Baruch and S in 4 Ezra may be seen from the list of parallel passages in Dr. Charles's edition of 2 Baruch (pp. 170–1; cf. also pp. lxix–lxx in *EA*). It looks sometimes as if one were actually citing the other.

In each book we apparently have the work of a school of apocalyptists. The schools are, it would seem, rival schools. One is answering the other. The present writer believes that 4 Ezra represents the work of a somewhat earlier school of apocalyptists who were under the influence of Shammaite teachers (such as Eliezer b. Hyrqanos); while 2 Baruch embodies the work of a rather younger school, who were under the influence of Aqiba. The latter work answers the former; and, on the whole, it gives answers decidedly more in accordance with what later became orthodox Judaism. Thus whereas in 4 Ezra vii. 119 (*O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants!* a passage belonging to S) Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the whole race, this teaching

[1] See the list printed in Charles's edition of 2 Baruch, pp. 170–1.

is expressly refuted in 2 Baruch (cf. liv. 19: *Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul,* a passage which belongs to A^3 according to Dr. Charles's analysis).

It seems probable that 2 Baruch in its final form was edited and put forth soon after the appearance of 4 Ezra in its present form; i. e. some time between A. D. 120 and 135, perhaps very soon after A. D. 120. Like 4 Ezra it was originally written in Hebrew, and soon after its appearance in this language was translated into Greek.

§ 10. The Theology and Eschatology of the Book.[1]

The book as a whole presents, as Gunkel has pointed out, two kinds of material: '(1) properly apocalyptical and especially eschatological mysteries; this material is to be compared with Dan. vii. ff. or Revelation iv ff.; (2) religious problems and speculations which relate to eschatology and find in it either their answer or their occasion; this material is comparable with the speculations of the Pauline letters. The author put these problems in general before the mysteries, as being of greater importance, an order which can be compared with that of Revelation.'[2] In the light of the critical analysis given in §§ 6 and 7 above by 'author' here we must understand, for the purposes of our discussion, Redactor. The latter, in compiling our book, must have placed the discussion of the religious problems, which is embodied in S, first, because this discussion was felt to be concerned with one of the burning subjects of the day—the religious significance of the Fall of Jerusalem. The appendices to S (chapters xi–xiv) were intended to supplement the Salathiel-apocalypse by setting forth some classical expressions of the older eschatology. As will be seen, the eschatology of S, both explicit and implicit, is in many respects of a fundamentally different character.

(1) *The theology and eschatology of* S. The author of S appears to have been in close touch with the circles of the Teachers of the Law, and may have actually been a member of the scribal class (cf. viii. 29). Like many Pharisees of the time he valued and practised an ascetic mode of life (cf. vi. 32, and the frequent references to fasting in the first four visions). As a Jew he postulates the fundamental beliefs of Judaism. He insists on God's unity and uniqueness; God and God alone, without the intervention of any mediatorial agency, is responsible for creation, and God alone will exercise the functions of Judge at the final judgement (vi. 1–6). Israel is God's elect people (v. 27; cf. the whole passage v. 23–30; vi. 58; viii. 16, &c.), with whom God entered into a special covenant-relation (iii. 14 f.), and for whose sake the world was made (vi. 55, vii. 11). The Law is a special divine gift to Israel (iii. 19 f., ix. 31 f.). It had indeed been offered to the other nations of the world but deliberately rejected by them (cf. vii. 23, 24, vii. 72); Israel, on the other hand, had accepted it, and had thereby acknowledged the divine sovereignty. In consequence Israel is the true representative of humanity before God—the other nations are 'nothing'; by rejecting the divine gift they have put themselves outside the pale (vi. 56, vii. 23 f.). The apocalyptist glorifies the Law (cf. esp. ix. 29–37), but is perplexed by the problems presented by it in its relation to Israel. These problems are debated in the first part of the book. Why is the chosen people given up as a prey to the heathen? Because of its sins? But the sins of the godless heathen far outweigh those of Israel; why, then, should the former be allowed to lord it over and oppress the latter? (cf. v. 29, iii. 28). To these questions no satisfactory answer can be found in the Law alone. The Law is impotent to redeem and save the sinner (ix. 36; cf. Rom. iii. 20). To a race doomed to sin the promises of the Law are a mockery (vii. 116–31). The utmost that the seer can hope from the Law is that while the many are born to perish, but few shall be saved. The answers to the problem of the nation to which the apocalyptist struggles in the debate are the following:

(a) *God's ways are inscrutable.* Man cannot understand or fathom the most ordinary elements of the material world: how, then, can he hope to comprehend the things of the incorruptible world? (iv. 7–11; cf. v. 35 f.).

(b) *Human intelligence is finite and limited.* The angel enforces the point that the human intelligence must keep within its own prescribed bounds by a parable taken from the sea and the forest (iv. 12–21). The seer protests that he has no desire to explore heavenly secrets, but that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth, and is told that the New Age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (iv. 22–32).

(c) *The course and duration of the present world has been pre-determined.* Evil must run its course; the harvest of evil must first be gathered before the good can take its place (iv. 28–31); but everything has been pre-determined—the number of the righteous elect, and the duration of the present

[1] For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. xxxiv–lvii.
[2] Cited by F. C. Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

age—and things as they are will not be moved nor stirred *till the measure appointed be fulfilled.* But when the predestined moment shall have come nothing will be able to delay its consummation (iv. 33–43). That moment, it is hinted, will soon arrive (iv. 44–50).

(d) *In spite of all appearances to the contrary God loves Israel now and always.* The apocalyptist never wavers in his conviction that God's love for Israel exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation (v. 31–40; cf. viii. 47).

The one positive result reached in the discussion so far is an eschatological one. The future age will solve all difficulties. This is a fundamental conviction of our apocalyptist. The present age, in his view, is hopelessly involved in evil: it is *full of impotence and sorrow.* The contrast between the two ages—the present and the future—is emphasized in the strongest possible manner throughout. The corruptible world, and all that is mortal, will dissolve and be succeeded by the incorruptible world and immortality. It will thus be seen that the apocalyptist's view of the present world-order is extremely pessimistic. He gives up the old hope of a renovation and purification of the present world, and fixes his gaze and his hopes on the future world or age—the age of true life and immortality wherein

corruption is passed away,
weakness is abolished,
infidelity is cut off,
while righteousness is grown,
and faithfulness is sprung up (vii. 114).

But having won his way to this position the apocalyptist still finds himself baffled and perplexed with sore difficulties.

In answer to the difficulty that *the coming age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto many* (vii. 47) the angel can only say that the few are precious and the many worthless (vii. 49–61). This naturally fails to satisfy the seer, who protests that man had better not have been created at all (cf. vii. 62–9) or at least been restrained from sinning (vii. 116–26). Against the logical result of pure legalism the seer confidently appeals to the divine compassion (vii. 132–40). Moreover, he is answered by the angel that his love for creation comes far short of the divine love.

It will have become apparent from the previous discussion that the author of S realizes the inherent weakness of the Law as a redemptive power. He thus approaches to the attitude of mind of St. Paul (cf. Rom. viii. 3 f.); and it is clear that this attitude of mind was by no means so rare and isolated a phenomenon in contemporary Judaism as is sometimes supposed. This becomes even more apparent when we examine the doctrine of sin as it emerges in our Apocalypse together with the related doctrine of salvation by faith and works.

It is important to remember that in the theology of S it is *the acceptance of the Law that is the standard by which men must be judged at the last, not the observance of it.* True, the Law, once given, ought to have been observed. But so far is this from being the case that very few, if any, even in Israel have lived up to the divine requirements as set forth in the Law:

For in truth
There is none of the earth-born that has not dealt wickedly,
And among those that exist who has not sinned (viii. 35).

So conscious is the apocalyptist of this that he reckons himself among the sinners (cf. vii. 48, vii. 64, vii. 118, 126, viii. 17, viii. 31). Thus, according to S, sin is conceived as consisting essentially in unfaithfulness to the Law (cf. ix. 36: *we who have received the Law and sinned must perish*). The result has been alienation and estrangement from God (vii. 48); and this result is due, in some way, to the sin of Adam which has involved the fall of the entire human race (cf. vii. 118). Man's infirmity is to be traced to the *evil heart* (*cor malignum*) which was developed in Adam and transmitted to his descendants (cf. iii. 20–2 and iii. 25–6). The effect of the Law was nullified because of the *evil germ* (*root* iii. 22) or *grain of evil seed* (*granum seminis mali*) *which was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning* (iv. 30). This *evil root* or *grain of evil seed* doubtless corresponds to *the evil impulse* (*yeṣer hā-ra'*) of Rabbinic theology. Adam clothed himself with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of the *evil impulse.* The *evil heart,* thus developed, inevitably led to sin and death. The evil seed sown in the heart of Adam was transmitted to his descendants (iv. 30) with the result that *the infirmity became inveterate* (iii. 22). All men have fallen into sin (viii. 35), and, as a consequence, *this age* [the present world-order] *is full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27); the *ways of this world* have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12). The *evil heart* has *estranged from God* and *brought into destruction . . . not a few only, but wellnigh all that have been created* (vii. 48); for *all the earth-born are defiled with iniquities,*

full of sins, laden with offences. At the most, judged by the standard of the Law, only a few can hope to be saved (vii. 45).

Exactly how the fall of Adam and the universal state of sin are connected is nowhere explicitly stated. That the two things are connected is certainly implied in vii. 118. It is true Adam's descendants share his responsibility for what has happened in that they have deliberately followed his example in clothing themselves with the *evil heart* (iii. 26); the moral responsibility of each individual member of the race is not denied. Probably at the back of the apocalyptist's thought lies the idea that Adam by his transgression lost much of his power of resisting the *evil impulse* or *thought*, and transmitted this weakness to his descendants. It is noteworthy that the fall of man is nowhere in our apocalypse attributed to external agency (demonic incitement).

The corruption of the human race is regarded as due to a development of something inherent in man's nature (*yeṣer hā-raʿ* of Rabbinic theology); but by representing the Law as powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery (iii. 22), our apocalyptist directly contradicts the orthodox Rabbinic view, according to which the *evil yeṣer* could be—and as a matter of fact has been by the pious in Israel generally—successfully resisted by the study of the Law and the practice of good works. In S also the entry of physical death into the world is directly connected with the Fall. Thus, according to this teaching, both physical and spiritual death are a legacy from Adam. For a comparison of these positions with that of St. Paul see *EA*, p. xlii.

In fact the doctrine of our apocalyptist ultimately resolves itself into a pure and lofty individualism. His view of sin as universal, owing to its root in the evil heart which is also universal, leads him to manifest a certain compassion for and sympathy with the perishing masses of mankind:

> *But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?*
> *Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?*
> *For in truth*
> *There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,*
> *And among those that exist who has not sinned* (viii. 34, 35).

Where all are involved in a state of unrighteousness before God there is little room for self-gratulation. One of the most striking features in S is the absence of the note of self-confidence, based upon Israel's possession of the Law, which is so prominent in 2 Baruch.[1] The Law in S rather brings terror by its condemnation than hope of salvation. The universal need is mercy rather than the award of the Law; and so the apocalyptist is driven to appeal, against the Law, to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness (cf. vii. 132–viii. 3, viii. 36).

Nowhere is the individual note more clearly sounded than in what may be described as our apocalyptist's *eschatology of the individual.* This is set forth, with great wealth of detail, in vii. 75–101, which gives a long description of the state of the soul after death and before the judgement. It is further stated (vii. 102–15) that no intercession will be allowed on the Day of Judgement:

> *The Day of Judgement is decisive, and displays unto all the seal of truth . . . none shall pray for another on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on another; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness* (vii. 104–5).

While the theology of S recognizes the Day of Judgement and an intermediate state for the soul between death and judgement, it knows of no resurrection of the body. In the description of the state of the soul after death it is made clear that the soul enters at once into a state of blessedness or the reverse, according as it is righteous or wicked. The souls of the righteous are guarded in *chambers*, and there, in great tranquillity and happiness, await the final judgement; the souls of the wicked, on the other hand, move about restlessly in torment. These conditions—though they will be intensified—are not to be essentially altered on the Day of Judgement itself. This practically means that judgement sets in immediately after death, and that a man's fate is virtually determined by the present life—which is the doctrine of the Book of Wisdom and of Hellenistic Judaism.[2]

It has already been pointed out that the writer of S discards, implicitly, the older eschatology of the nation. He does not look forward to a restoration of the Jewish State, or a rebuilding of Jerusalem; nor to a renewed and purified earth under the conditions of the present world-order. His hopes are fixed on the advent of the new and better world which is to follow the collapse of the

[1] In this book (especially in the section written after A.D. 70) 'the Law is everything; it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7), and so long as it is with Israel, Israel cannot fall (xlviii. 22, 24)'. (Charles's note on *Ap. Bar.* xv. 5, p. 31.)

[2] For a fuller discussion of the position of S regarding the resurrection-belief see *EA*, p. xlviii f.

present world. Consequently he anticipates merely the catastrophic end of the present world-order —his theology does not allow of any intermediate Messianic Age. The new Jerusalem which is to come will be the Heavenly City, which is shown to Salathiel in his final vision (x. 25 f.), and which belongs to the future incorruptible age. As to the precise time when the end of the present order is to come the apocalyptist has no definite knowledge; but he is made to understand that the decisive moment is not far distant (cf. iv. 41, iv. 44–50); the appointed time has been pre-determined by God (iv. 36 f.), as well as the number of the righteous elect, and till this number shall have been completed the promised salvation cannot come (iv. 36). God's purpose is fixed, but it is beyond the power of the human mind to fathom it (cf. v. 34–40, vi. 6, vii. 11, vii. 20). There is thus a strong element of determinism in S; but the freedom of the human will is also emphatically asserted—the two truths are set side by side.

The theology of S is essentially other-worldly. The writer's dualism is emphatic and pronounced. The present age and the future, above and below, are in fundamental opposition. The same violent contrast characterizes the material and the spiritual (cf. iv. 11). The body, regarded as the prison-house of the soul, is described as *this corruptible vessel* (vii. 88). It is significant that in S there is no resurrection of the body; what is anticipated is practically a pure immortality of the soul. According to S the human heart, which has received the Law, is essentially a *corruptible vessel*, which belongs to the present order and will perish (ix. 36). In contrast to the present world-order, which *is full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27), and the ways of which, owing to man's sin, have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12), *the ways of the future world are broad and safe, and yield the fruit of immortality* (vii. 13). In the future age, which is already prepared:

The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
Infirmity from your path extinguished;
And Death is hidden,
Hades fled away;
Corruption forgotten,
Sorrows passed away;
And in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest (viii. 53, 54).

The pessimistic view of the present world-order which is characteristic of S naturally harmonizes with the ascetic tendencies to which reference has already been made. Taken together all these various tendencies—which are also marked in other apocalyptic literature—suggest, perhaps, the influence of Alexandrine rather than specifically Palestinian thought. But it must not be forgotten that Palestine was saturated with Hellenistic influence at this period, and that Palestinian Judaism was profoundly affected by it. The partial elimination of Greek elements, and the hardening and crystallization of the Rabbinic type of thought, was only effected later. The religious significance of S has been well set forth by Dr. Maldwyn Hughes in a sentence. Our apocalyptist, he says, 'despairs of a life of absolute obedience to the Law, even by Israel, not to speak of the world. The unconscious and unexpressed cry of the book is for a moral dynamic, which legalism could not supply.'[1]

(2) *The theology and eschatology of the other original sources.* Of the remaining original sources of our Apocalypse apparently the oldest is E. The contents of this source, so far as it is embodied in our book, are purely eschatological in character. The themes with which it deals are (1) the Messianic 'woes', i. e. the signs and portents that are to usher in the End of the world (iv. 56–v. 13 a, vi. 21–2); (2) the End of the world (this is announced by the Voice of God, but not actually described: vi. 13–20, 23–4); (3) the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' and live on into the Messianic Age (vi. 25–8). It seems probable that E in its original form regarded the age of felicity, that was to follow the judgement, as a Messianic kingdom, of indefinite duration, set up on a purified earth; but, apparently, there was no Messiah, though certain heralds of the Messianic Age were to appear—the *men who have not tasted death from their birth*—whose task it was to convert the surviving members of the human race to *a different spirit* (vi. 26–8). This eschatological scheme is of the older type, common in the prophetic books of the Old Testament and in the older apocalypses (e. g. 1 Enoch i–xxxvi). As has been pointed out in a former chapter, E has probably been utilized by R in vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12, and, in any case, only appears in our book in fragments. This fact makes it difficult to determine its theological positions precisely. It is possible that one of the missing portions contained an account of the resurrection, the place of which has been taken in R's compilation by vii. 31. The description of the Messianic 'woes' has many traditional features which find close parallels in similar descriptions elsewhere (cf. *EA*, p. 41).

[1] *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, p. 240.

In the case of the Eagle-vision (ch. xi–xii) the dominating eschatological conception is a political one. Wickedness is concentrated in godless imperial Rome[1] and the judgement will be effected when Rome is destroyed by the Lion of Judah, i. e. *the Messiah . . . who shall spring from the seed of David* (xii. 32). The overthrow of the Roman Empire is to be followed by the setting up *on earth* of the theocratic kingdom under the direct rule of God. The author was apparently a zealot (see these points fully discussed in *EA*, pp. 246 f.). The Messiah appears in a very active rôle here as the instrument for overthrowing the Roman Empire.

Very different eschatological conceptions emerge in the Son of Man vision (M = ch. xiii). These have been fully discussed in *EA* (pp. 282–6), to which the reader must be referred. One feature, however, that comes out in the interpretation of the vision calls for special mention here. This is the emphasis that is laid on *the Law*. The heavenly Messiah destroys his enemies *without labour by the Law* (xiii. 38). Further, in the legend of the Ten Tribes, which is given in the same context, their deliverance and ultimate return are represented as due to a return on their part to the observance of the Law. In order to do this they leave their heathen surroundings and migrate to *a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep the statutes which they had not kept in their own land* (xiii. 41 f.). In other words, to the author of this apocalyptic piece the Law is the standard of piety, and he can only conceive of the restoration of the lost Tribes as due to a whole-hearted acceptance of the 'yoke of the Law'.

In the last of the original sources embodied in our book, viz. E^2 (i. e. the Ezra-legend given in ch. xiv) the most outstanding doctrinal feature is the conception of the Messiah (God's Son) as pre-existing in heaven, surrounded by a community of elect ones. This agrees with the representation of the heavenly Son of Man of the Parables of 1 Enoch (xxxvii–lxxi). Just as in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 Enoch lxx. 1 f.), so here Ezra's assumption to remain henceforth with God's Son, in company with other elect ones, *until the times be ended*, is described (cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 9). So too, as in the Parables, the heavenly Messiah is not to appear until the End and the coming of the Judgement (cf. xiv. 9, 10 and notes). The world history is divided into twelve parts, nine and a half of which have already passed in the time of the historical Ezra (i. e. the middle of the fifth century B. C.). This suggests that the apocalyptist conceives the world to have already entered upon the last period of tribulation (the last three and a half years of woe of Dan. ix. 27), and regards the approach of the final consummation as imminent (cf. xiv. 11, 12 and notes). Another feature of E^2 is its pessimistic outlook on the present world-order. It also assigns a high place to the Law and the other Scriptures, but by the side of the apocalyptic books (cf. *EA*, pp. 304–7).

(3) *The theology and eschatology of the Redactor* (R). The Redactor who is responsible for the present form of our Apocalypse has impressed a certain unity on the book, which, though it involves the combination of conceptions essentially disparate, yet serves to reveal a whole which he contrived to combine (by the insertion of connecting links and supplementary matter at different points) into one system in his own thought.

The groundwork of his compilation is the Salathiel-apocalypse. But evidently he felt it necessary to supplement this with extracts from other apocalypses which represent very different points of view. From the position and bulk of S in R's compilation it may be inferred that he was specially interested in its main theme—a discussion of the religious problems involved in the fall and destruction of Jerusalem. The element in S which is concerned with the eschatology of the individual, involving, as it does, the discussion of the problem of the origin and prevalence of sin, to which the misery of the world is due, would doubtless have appealed to R with special force. On the other hand, R was not prepared to discard the older hope of the coming of Messianic redemption for the nation, and so found it necessary to append the Eagle and Son of Man visions (ch. xi–xiii). The combination of these elements results in the following eschatological scheme, which was adopted by R:

(1) The period of 'woes' preceding the advent of the Messiah (iv. 56–v. 13 a, vi. 11–28) will first occur.

(2) The Messiah and his immortal companions (Enoch, Elijah, &c.) will then suddenly be 'revealed', the new Jerusalem will appear and a temporary Messianic kingdom, lasting 400 years, set up in which those who have survived the Messianic 'woes' are destined to enjoy a period of felicity (vii. 26–8 R). In ch. xii. (M) the active work of the Messiah is described more fully. There, a principal part of his mission is to destroy the assembled enemies of the divine rule (= 'the wars of Gog and Magog'), and gather together the lost Ten Tribes who are to be brought back to the Holy Land. Apparently the destruction of the hostile forces is conceived as closing the period of 'woes'.

[1] Cf. the 'Beast' of the Johannine Apocalypse.

After the annihilation of the last enemies has been effected, the 'survivors', who are defined as *those that are found within my holy border* (xiii. 48) shall be defended by the Messiah (xiii. 49, cf. xiii. 26 b), and see *very many wonders*. Presumably the rule of the Messiah here indicated was conceived by R to synchronize with the 400 years' reign referred to in vii. 28, though this was not its significance in the original vision.

(3) The temporary Messianic kingdom and the rule of the Messiah will terminate in his death and that of all human beings, and creation will revert to primaeval silence for seven days (vii. 29–30).

(4) This will be followed by the Resurrection and the Final Judgement (vii. 31–44).

It should be noted that the Eagle-vision (ch. xi–xii), which depicts the destruction of the Roman Empire by the Lion of Judah (i. e. the Messiah), has no logical place in this scheme. The eschatological drama, as outlined above, was inherited by R from tradition, which was too firmly rooted to be ignored. But in the Eagle-vision we ought probably to see an expression of the real hopes which animated our compiler. Living at a time when Israel had suffered—and was still suffering—so much at the hands of Rome his hopes for the Messianic deliverance were naturally concentrated on the prospect of the annihilation of the oppressive world-power, and the incarnation of all wickedness.

Such is the scheme of the national eschatology as it was combined in the mind of R. How essentially incompatible the diverse elements of which it is composed really are needs no further demonstration.

In combination with and supplementing this our compiler accepted the eschatology of the individual as set forth in S. In contrast with S, R has much greater confidence in the Law as such as a protective power to the Jew (cf. iii. 26–36, and see further *EA*, pp. lv–lvii).

§ 11. Relation of the Apocalypse with the New Testament.[1]

A number of resemblances in thought, and (occasionally) of diction, with the New Testament occur in 4 Ezra; but nothing which suggests direct dependence.

Gunkel, it is true, thinks that 4 Ezra xii. 42 (*For of all the prophets thou alone art left to us . . . as a lamp in a dark place*) is cited in 2 Pet. i. 19 (*And we have the word of prophecy more sure; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place*). But the common use of such a figure may be explained as due to its currency, possibly in apocalyptic circles, before the writing of 4 Ezra and 2 Peter.

In 4 Ezra iv. 28 the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest is applied metaphorically to evil, and it is stated that the harvest of evil must first be reaped before the good can take its place; the thought here is parallel with that of the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii); cf. in particular Matt. xiii. 39: *the enemy that sowed . . . is the devil, and the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels.*

In 4 Ezra iv. 36 the seer is reminded by the angel that he cannot know the duration of the time that must elapse before the End (though elsewhere it has been revealed to him that the End is imminent); in other words the exact moment cannot be fixed—it is known to God alone. The passage runs:

Number me the days that are not yet come (the implication being—you cannot); cf. Mark xiii. 32 and parallels: *But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.*

There is a certain amount of literary contact between the Johannine Apocalypse and 4 Ezra, which, however, does not amount to direct literary dependence, but, probably, points to a common source or sources; thus 4 Ezra ix. 35 and Rev. vi. 9–11 seem to be related in this way[2]; so in 4 Ezra iv. 41 *the underworld* (*infernum* = *Sheol*) is used as in Rev. i. 18, &c., as the place where the wicked dead remain in the intermediate state.

An abundance of resemblances in thought or diction has been pointed out in the notes on the text.[3] One or two examples may be given here: in 4 Ezra vii. 88 the body is called *this corruptible vessel*; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53 *this corruptible*; in 4 Ezra ix. 37 *the Law*, it is said, *perishes not but abides in its glory* (i. e. the Law is heavenly and divine); cf. Rom. vii. 14 (*the Law is spiritual*), 2 Cor. iii. 7 f., &c., &c.

The close parallels in thought as to the origin and prevalence of sin between S and St. Paul have already been pointed out in § 10 (1).

[1] For the affinities of the Book with other early literature cf. *EA*, pp. lxx–lxxiv.
[2] Cf. Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, pp. 272 f.
[3] The passages cited in this connexion in the writer's larger work are registered in Index IV of *EA*, pp. 375–8.

§ 12. Bibliography.

Besides the works already referred to in this Introduction, the following are also important for the study of 4 Ezra:—

(*a*) Editions of Text.

Syr. (*Cer.*) = The Syriac Text of 4 Ezra, printed in Ceriani's *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Tom. v (pp. 41–111).

(*b*) Translations with Notes, etc.

Gunkel = *Das vierte Buch Esra*; edited by Prof. Gunkel in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii (Tübingen, 1900), (contains a valuable introduction, critical translation, and notes).
Ball = critical notes on 2 Esdras in *The Variorum Apocrypha*, by C. J. Ball.

(*c*) Essays, Discussions, etc.

Rosenthal = *Vier Apokryphische Bücher, aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, von Dr. F. Rosenthal (Leipzig, 1885).
Kabisch = *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht*, von Richard Kabisch (Göttingen, 1889).
Vaganay = *Le Problème eschatologique dans le IVe livre d'Esdras*, par Léon Vaganay (Paris, 1906).
Wellhausen = *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, von J. Wellhausen; sechstes Heft (Berlin, 1899).
F. C. Porter = *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers*, by F. C. Porter (London, 1909).
[Cf. also Charles's discussion in the introduction to his edition of *The* (Syriac) *Apocalypse of Baruch*; also articles in the Bible Dictionaries (*DB* and *EB*) and in *JE*.]

(*d*) Other Works referred to.

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Volz = *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, von Paul Volz (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903).
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Also the following editions of ancient works:—
Ps. Sol. = *The Psalms of the Pharisees* (*or Psalms of Solomon*), edited and translated by Ryle and James (Cambridge, 1891).
Mekilta = the early Jewish Midrash so called (on Exodus); Hebrew text edited by Friedmann.
Sifra, *Sifre* = the early Jewish Midrashim so called (on Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy).

Abbreviations Employed.

EB = *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (4 vols.).
DB = *Dictionary of the Bible.*
DCG = *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (ed. Hastings, 2 vols.).
JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (12 vols.).
JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vols. i–xx).
TB = Talmud of Babylon.
TJ = Talmud of Jerusalem.
OL = Old Latin.
PBH = Post Biblical Hebrew.
Bensly, MF = *The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra, discovered and Edited with an Introduction and Notes*, by Robert L. Bensly, M.A. (Cambridge, 1875).
BJ (= *Bensly and James*) = *The fourth Book of Ezra: the Latin version edited from the MSS.* by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A., with an introduction by Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. (*Texts and Studies*, vol. iii, no. 2, Cambridge, 1895).
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Violet = *Die Esra-Apokalypse* (*IV. Esra*), *Erster Teil: Die Überlieferung*, herausg. von Lic. Dr. Bruno Violet (contains a critical edition of the Latin text, and carefully edited German translations of the Oriental Versions and valuable critical notes), Leipzig, 1910.
Volkmar = *Das vierte Buch Esra* (being Part II of the *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*), herausg. von Dr. Gustav Volkmar (contains Latin text, commentary, German translation and elaborate Introduction; the critical notes are often useful), Tübingen, 1863.
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IV EZRA

THE FIRST VISION.

(iii. 1–v. 19.)

(I. iii. 1–3) INTRODUCTION (S).

1 In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City I, Salathiel—[who am also Ezra]—was in Babylon,

THE FIRST VISION (iii. 1–v. 19).

(1) CONTENTS. In the person of Salathiel (Ezra) the writer, bewailing, some thirty years after the event, the desolation of Sion and the continued prosperity of Babylon, gives vent to his grief and despair on account of the ruin which has befallen Jerusalem at the hands of her Roman conquerors in A.D. 70. He finds it difficult to understand the meaning of this appalling catastrophe. How can it be reconciled with God's providence and justice? It is true the human race is corrupt and steeped in sin; but the reason why all men have sinned is that sin goes back to Adam, and Adam sinned because the root of sin was inherent in his nature (cf. iii. 20 f.). God had chosen Israel and given them His Law, but so long as the evil germ remained in man's nature, the Law was powerless to produce righteousness (cf. iii. 19, 20). Hence perfect righteousness could not justly be expected even from Israel. On the other hand, nations far more godless and faithless than Israel are allowed to remain in prosperity, and trample underfoot the chosen people.

The seer's protests are answered by the angel Uriel. The most serious part of the charge levelled by the seer against the justice of God's providence had been the implication that God, as Creator, was ultimately responsible for the inherent evil of man's nature, and hence cannot justly punish men for sin. To this indictment the angel replies (cf. Job xxviii) that the seer cannot understand the simplest things that are bound up with his daily life; how, then, can he hope to understand the ways of the Most High? God's ways are inscrutable (iv. 1–11). The seer rejoins despairingly: 'It would have been better that we had never been created, than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not know why we suffer.' The angel replies that it is foolish and senseless to seek to know what is beyond nature. Man belongs to the earth; his vision is bounded by the finite; therefore it is vain for him to seek to comprehend what is heavenly and infinite (iv. 12–21). The seer, disclaiming any desire to be curious about the ways above, protests that what perplexes him most of all is a fact of daily experience, viz. that Israel, God's chosen people, should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen. This is answered as follows: the present age is hastening fast to its close; the new age that is about to dawn will solve all difficulties. God's remedy for the present state of things will not be consummated within the present order, but will be realized in the future world. The present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (iv. 22–32). If the solution lies in the future the question naturally arises at this point, how soon will it come? This question is asked impatiently by the seer. The answer is: till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come; but when the moment has arrived nothing (not even men's sins) can delay its consummation (iv. 33–43). The seer again inquires more particularly as to the time of the End. Is the present age more than half gone? He is shown, by a vision, that by far the greater part of the present age has run its course (iv. 44–50). In reply to a further question the angel states that he cannot tell whether the End will come within the seer's own lifetime (iv. 51–52). An interpolated passage (from E) narrates the signs of the near approach of the End (v. 1–13). The first vision thus falls into the following divisions:

i. *Introduction* (iii. 1–3) (S).
ii. *The first questions* (the seer's difficulties stated) (iii. 4–36) (mainly S).
iii. *The divine reply* (iv. 1–v. 13):
(*a*) iv. 1–11; (*b*) iv. 12–21; (*c*) iv. 22–32; (*d*) iv. 33–43; (*e*) iv. 44–50; (*f*) iv. 51–v. 13 (S) (E).
iv. *Conclusion of the Vision* (v. 14–19) (S).

(2) THE MISSING INTRODUCTION TO THE VISION. As Kabisch has pointed out, a number of indications suggest that in the original form of S the present vision was preceded by an introductory piece, explaining the preparation of the seer for what follows. It is probable that a command to fast seven days preceded the first vision in its original form (cf. vi. 35, where the 'three weeks' of fasting mentioned implies this). It may, therefore, be concluded that before the prayer of Salathiel (iii. 4 f.) there stood originally an introductory section detailing the appearance of the angel Uriel, the command to the seer to fast seven days, and the fulfilment of this command. Then followed a dream-vision the conclusion of which has been misplaced by R, and now stands in v. 14–15. This again was probably followed by some such statement as: 'So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping as the angel commanded me. And it came to pass after seven days' (cf. v. 20). Here followed the words 'my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts', &c. (iii. 1 ff.). The whole of this introductory section has been cut out by R, apparently, as unimportant (see further *EA*, pp. 4–6).

1. **In the thirtieth year.** The thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar is primarily meant, i.e. 556 B.C. But typically this was designed, doubtless, to suggest the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, i.e. A.D. 100; this probably fixes the date of the publication of S (see Introduction, § 8). For the opening of the book in this way cf. Ezek. i. 1.

Salathiel. The Hebrew form of the name is *Shĕ'alti'el.* Shealtiel is mentioned as the father of Zerubbabel in Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; Neh. xii. 1; but in 1 Chron. iii. 17 as his uncle.

[who am also Ezra]. The identification of Ezra and Salathiel is, of course, impossible chronologically. Ezra appears first in history a century later (459–458 B.C.) than the date here presupposed (556 B.C.). The words are doubtless a gloss due to R (see Introduction, §§ 6 and 7).

S and as I lay upon my bed I was disquieted. [a] . . . . . [a] and my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts; because I saw Sion's desolation on the one hand (matched) with the abundant wealth of Babylon's
3 inhabitants on the other. And my spirit was stirred profoundly, and in my agitation I began to address the Most High.

II. iii. 4–36. THE FIRST QUESTIONS: WHENCE ARISE THE SIN AND MISERY OF THE WORLD? HOW CAN ISRAEL'S CONTINUED AFFLICTION BE RECONCILED WITH THE DIVINE JUSTICE?

4 And I said: [b] O Lord my Lord,[b] was it not thou who in the beginning, when [c] thou didst form the
5 earth—and that thyself alone—didst speak and commandedst the dust, so that it gave thee Adam [c], a lifeless body? But yet it was both itself the formation of thy hands and thou breathedst into
6 him the breath of life, so that he was made living before thee. And thou leddest him into Paradise,
7 which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came forward; and to him thou commandedst [d] one only observance of thine [d], but he transgressed it. Forthwith thou appointedst death for him [e] and for his generations [e], and from him were born nations and tribes, peoples and clans innumerable.
8 And every nation walked after their own will, and behaved wickedly before thee, and were ungodly
9 —but thou didst not hinder them. Nevertheless again in (due) time thou broughtest the Flood
10 [f] upon the earth and [f] upon the inhabitants of the world, and destroyedst them. And [g] their fate [g]
11 was one and the same; as death (overtook) Adam, so the Flood (overwhelmed) these. Nevertheless one of them thou didst spare—Noah with his household (and with him) all the righteous his
12 descendants. And it came to pass that when the inhabitants upon the earth began to multiply, and [h] there were born [h] children also and peoples and nations many, that they began to practise
13 ungodliness more than former (generations). And it came to pass that when they practised
14 ungodliness before thee, thou didst choose thee one from among them whose name was Abraham: him
15 thou didst love, and unto him only didst thou reveal [i] the end of the times [i] secretly by night; and with him thou didst make an everlasting covenant, and didst promise him that thou wouldst never
16 forsake his seed. And thou gavest him Isaac, and to Isaac thou gavest Jacob and Esau. And thou
17 didst set apart Jacob for thyself, but Esau thou didst hate; and Jacob became a great host. And it came to pass that when thou leddest forth his seed out of Egypt, and didst bring them to the Mount Sinai,

18 Thou didst bow down the heavens,
didst make the earth quake

[a–a] *For the lacuna here see the discussion on the previous page.* [b–b] 𝔏: O dominator Domine (*R.V.* O Lord that bearest rule) = Δεσποτα κυριε (*Hilg.*): = 𝔚 אדני יהוה [c–c] *reading* plasmasti terram . . . et imperasti pulveri et dedit tibi Adam *with BJ and Violet*: *so* 𝔖 (*cf.* Ethiop. Ar.[1]): *Lat. MSS.* plantasti terram . . . et imperasti populo (*so SA*: orbi *CM*) tuo et dedisti Adam (*so SA*: *cf. the rendering of A.V.*) [d–d] 𝔏 diligentiam unam tuam: *the Oriental Versions render* commandment (*for this sense of* diligentia *cf. Bensly*, '*Missing Fragment*', p. 56) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental Versions*): 𝔏 et in nationibus eius [f–f] *so* 𝔖 *and* Ethiop.; 𝔏 Ar.[1] > [g–g] 𝔏 casus eorum: 𝔖 their destruction (*cf.* Ethiop.) [h–h] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 multiplicaverunt (*so* 𝔖) [i–i] *reading* temporum finem *with C*

4. **in the beginning.** Cf. Gen. ii. 7 f. In accordance with the wide philosophic outlook of the apocalyptists the writer begins his survey with Creation. On the other hand, the prophets characteristically begin with the Exodus from Egypt, which marked the birthday of Israel as a nation. Cf. Jer. ii. 2; Hos. xi. 1.

6. **before ever the earth came forward.** According to one view current in later Jewish circles Paradise (= the Garden of Eden) was one of seven things created before the world (viz. Torah, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the Messiah; cf. *Pesaḥ* 54 *a*, *Nedar.* 39 *b*, *Ber. rab.* xx). For this view, as regards Paradise, our text here is the earliest literary evidence. It was deduced from Gen. ii. 8 (where the Hebr. word *miqqedem*, understood as = 'from the beginning' [not 'eastward'] was interpreted to mean 'before' the creation of the world [1]). According to the earlier view the Garden of Eden was one of the things created on the third day: cf. *Book of Jubilees*, ii. 7, and Charles's note on the passage. *Paradise* has varying meanings in apocalyptic literature. The conception of an earthly and heavenly paradise is also to be noted. Here Eden as man's primitive home of blessedness is meant. See further the discussion in *EA*, pp. 195 ff.

10. **And their fate was one and the same.** A like fate overtook both Adam and the generation of the deluge. Note that the survey begins with Adam; contrast 2 Pet. ii. 4.

13. **thou didst choose thee one,** &c. Cf. Gen. xii. 1.

14. **unto him only didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly by night.** The vision described in Gen. xv. 9 f. was later invested with an extended significance; it was supposed to give an intimation of Israel's later captivity and subjection to the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel, which are interpreted to be Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome (cf. Targums *ad loc.*).

16. **Jacob became a great host.** Cf. Gen. xxxii. 10 f.

18. **Thou didst bow down the heavens,** &c. The whole description is of a theophany, and may be compared with Ps. lxviii. 7 ff. The particular theophany referred to is described in Exod. xix. 16 f.

[1] So the Targums (cf. also the Syriac and Latin versions, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion). According another view, however, the expression means 'before the creation of man': cf. *Gen. rab.* xv.

and convulsedst the world—
Thou didst cause the deeps to tremble
and didst alarm the spheres.
19 And thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold,
To give Law to Jacob's seed
and Commandment to the generation of Israel.
20 And yet thou didst not take away from them the evil heart, that thy Law might bring forth fruit
21 in them. For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome;
22 and likewise also all who were born of him. Thus the infirmity became inveterate; the Law indeed was in the heart of the people, but (in conjunction) with the evil germ; so what was good departed,
23 and the evil remained. So the times passed away and the years came to an end; and (then) thou
24 didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; and thou commandedst him to build the
25 City (which is called) after thy name[j], and to offer thee [k] oblations therein of thine own [k]. And after
26 this had been done many years, the inhabitants of the City committed sin, in all things doing even as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also [l] had clothed themselves with [l] the evil
28 heart: and so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies. Then I said in my heart:
29 Are their deeds any better [m] that inhabit Babylon? Has he for this [n] rejected [n] Sion? It came to pass when I came hither and saw ungodly deeds innumerable, and myself saw many sinners [o] these
30 thirty years [o], that my heart [p] was perturbed [p]: for I have seen
how thou dost suffer the sinners
and dost spare the ungodly,
how thou hast destroyed thy people
and preserved thine enemies;
31 and hast not made known at all unto any how this course of thine shall be abandoned. Have the
32 deeds of Babylon been better than those of Sion? [Has any other nation known thee beside Israel?
33 Or what tribes have so believed thy covenants as those of Jacob?—whose reward (nevertheless) hath not appeared nor their labour borne fruit! For I have gone hither and thither through the nations
34 and seen them in prosperity, although unmindful of thy commandments. Now, therefore, weigh thou our iniquities, and those of the inhabitants of the world, in the balance and so shall be found

(S A >): *cf.* 𝔖 Ethiop. [j] 𝔖 + and a house [k–k] *reading* in ea de tuis oblationes *so* CM = 𝔖: *cf.* Ar.[1,2] (*thus* et oblationes, *cf. A.V. and Vulg., is a corruption*) [l–l] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 utebantur (*emend to* induebantur *with Hilg.*) [m] *Ethiop.* + than ours (*cf. Ar.*[1]) [n–n] *so* 𝔖 Ar.[1]: 𝔏 *corrupt*: dominabit SA (? *read* damnavit *with Violet, or* abominavit *with Gunkel*) [o–o] *so* Ar.[1] (Ethiop.): 𝔏 hoc tricesimo anno (*a misrendering of original Hebrew*) [p–p] 𝔏 excessit (= εξεστη)

19. **thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold.** The writer, in accordance with the developed Jewish conceptions of Jahveh's majesty and transcendence, pictures God as appearing in theophany on earth (at Sinai) in a gradual descent from His throne in the highest of the heavens through the lower heavens by their successive 'gates'. The idea of a plurality of heavens is implied. In the earlier form of this doctrine there were three, in the later form (which was already current in the first century A.D.; cf. 2 Enoch) there were seven heavens. The 'gates' alluded to in our text are apparently those of the four lowest heavens. See further *EA*, p. 14.

20. **the evil heart,** Lat. *cor malignum.* In this and the following verses (21–22, 25–26) the subject of Adam's transgression and the hereditary tendency to sin (created by his lapse) in all his descendants is introduced. It is pursued in iv. 30–31, and in vii. 118 Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race ('O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned the fall was not thine alone but ours also who are thy descendants'). The inherent infirmity of human nature is a dominating idea in the apocalyptic writer's mind, and a characteristic note of his pessimism. In the stress he lays on Adam's sin he reminds us of St. Paul (cf. Rom. v. 12 f.). The *cor malignum* is regarded as the result of Adam's yielding to the evil impulse (the *yeṣer ha-ra'* of Rabbinic theology, called the 'grain of evil seed' [*granum seminis mali*] in iv. 30. In vii. 92 it is called 'the evil thought (*cogitamentum malum*) which was fashioned with them').

that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them. Cf. Rom. vii. 5; v. 20.

21. **clothing himself with the evil heart.** Adam 'clothed himself' with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of 'the evil impulse'. The 'evil heart' thus developed inevitably led to sin and death.

22. **the Law indeed was in the heart of the people.** Cf. the conflict described in Rom. vii. 7 f., and especially vii. 20 f.

what was good departed. i.e. the good tendency (the *yeṣer ha-tob*) was entirely overcome. The Law was powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery. This is clean contrary to Rabbinic theology, which emphasizes the power of the Law to keep the evil tendency in check and overcome it: cf. the dictum: 'The Law wears away the evil *yeṣer* as water wears away stone' (*T. B. Suk.* 52 *b*).

24. **thou commandedst him to build.** David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City; cf. x. 46.

oblations therein of thine own. The supreme glory and unique distinction of the divine city consists in its being the place where sacrifice and oblation were properly and regularly offered to God.

31. **how this course of thine** (lit. **this way**) **shall be abandoned.** God's course of action is meant. 𝔖 renders: 'how thy way may be comprehended.'

32–36. For the reasons for assigning these verses to R see *EA*, p. 6 f.

R 35 [q] which way the turn of the scale inclines [q]. Or when was it that the inhabitants of the earth did
36 not sin before thee? Or what nation hath so kept thy precepts? [r] Individual men of note [r] indeed thou mayst find to have kept thy precepts; but nations thou shalt not find.]

III. The Divine Reply; God's Ways are Inscrutable.

(iv. 1–v. 19.)

(*a*) iv. 1–11. *The human spirit can only hope to understand dimly and in part* (S).

S 4 1, 2 Thereupon the angel answered me who had been sent to me, [and whose name was Uriel]; and he said to me: Thy heart hath utterly failed thee regarding this world; and thinkest thou to comprehend the way of the Most High?

3 Then said I: Yes, my Lord.

And he answered me, and said: Three ways have I been sent to show thee, and three similitudes
4 to set before thee: if thou canst declare me one of these I also will show thee the way thou desirest to see, and teach thee [s] whence comes [s] the evil heart.

5 And I said: Speak on, my Lord.

Then he said unto me:

Come, weigh me the weight of the fire;
Or measure me [t] the measure [t] of the wind,
Or recall me the day that is past.

6 Then answered I and said: Who of the [u] earth-born [u] could [v] do so [v] that thou shouldst ask me about such matters?

7 And he said to me: Had I asked thee

How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea?
Or [w] how many springs [w] in the source of the deep?
Or how many [x] ways [x] above the firmament?
[y] Or where are the portals of Hades [y]?
Or where the paths of Paradise?

[q–q] 𝔏 momentum (*inferior MSS.* nomen tuum) puncti ubi declinet [r–r] 𝔏 homines per nomina [s–s] *reading* unde sit (*with one Codex*); quare sit S A C M = 𝔖 Ethiop. Ar.[1] [t–t] *reading* satum = 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]) *for* flatum S C M [u–u] 𝔏 natorum [v] *reading* hoc facere (A* *); *cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*; *other Latin MSS.* > hoc [w–w] *so Ar.*[1] *Ethiop.* 𝔏 quantae venae [x–x] emending venae of 𝔏 *to* viae (*cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*) [y–y] *so* 𝔖 *and other Oriental VSS.* 𝔏 > (*by homoioteleuton*; *cf. next clause*) [z–z] *so Oriental*

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36. **Individual men of note.** Such as Job, regarded as a non-Israelite of conspicuous piety: cf. St. Paul's treatment of the theme of the law-abiding Gentile in Rom. ii. 26 f.

(*a*) iv. 1–11. The angel (or rather archangel; cf. iv. 36) Uriel is sent to the seer, and propounds three problems to him which he is unable to answer. If these are beyond his capacity, how can he presume to challenge the inscrutable ways of God? The general character of the passage is similar to parts of Job (cf. especially Job xxviii). For the dialogue between the angel and Salathiel cf. e.g. Zech. i–vi, Dan. x, &c.

1. **Uriel.** Uriel (= ? 'the fire of God', Heb. *'ûr-'ēl*) is mentioned again in verse 36, v. 20, and x. 38 (not again in the Bible). He was one of the four chief angels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel), of whom Michael was the highest (cf. Lueken, *Michael*, p. 32 f.). According to 1 En. xx. 2 Uriel was 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'.[1] In 1 En. x. 1 (Greek) he is the divine messenger who is sent to warn the son of Lamech. So here. The problems he propounds to Ezra accord with the character assigned to him and his name. The first ('weigh me the weight of the fire') is suggested by the meaning of the name Uriel—'Fire of God'. The others are concerned with the waters of the deep (*tĕhôm*), and with the underworld. Uriel is thus designated, therefore, as being 'the archangel of fire and of Gehenna, where flame is the chief element' (cf. *JE*, xii. 383). Later he became (mistakenly) associated with light (Heb. *'ôr*), and was regarded as the enlightener ('he who brings light to Israel', *Num. rabb.* ii. 10). In 1 En. xl, Fanuel, one of the four 'presences' (Michael, Rufael, Gabriel, Fanuel), is, apparently, Uriel under another aspect. For Uriel as propounder and answerer of questions as here, cf. 1 En. xxi. 5, 9; xxvii. 2; xxxiii. 3, 4.

2. **Thy heart hath utterly failed thee**, &c. For the sentiment cf. John iii. 12.

5. **fire . . . wind.** For the conjunction of 'fire' and 'wind' cf. iii. 19, viii. 22, Wisd. xiii. 2. The four winds were regarded as having their dwelling-places in the four corners of the earth. Here they were detained in 'treasuries' and issued forth from time to time through 'portals' (cf. 1 En. xxxv f., where the portals which open into heaven from the ends of the earth are spoken of; cf. also 4 Ezra vi. 1). According to Rev. vii. 1 the four storehouses of the winds are guarded by four angels. As their dwelling-place was fixed at the extremities of the earth the winds would be under the supreme rule of Uriel, 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'. To the ancients the wind was a supremely mysterious agent (cf. Eccles. xi. 5, 'as thou knowest not the way of the wind', and John iii. 8).

measure me the measure of the wind. Cf. Job xxviii. 22 for the similar idea of 'weighing' the wind; and for the whole verse, 2 Bar. lix. 5 (cf. also 1 En. xli. 4, 2 En. xl. 11).

7. **How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea.** Cf. Job xxviii. 16–17.

paths of Paradise, i.e. leading to Paradise; the heavenly Paradise is meant.

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[1] 'Over thunder and earthquake', according to the Eth. text; the Greek gives as above. [Probably the clause 'and whose name was Uriel' was added by R.]

8 Perchance thou wouldst have said to me:
Into the deep I have not descended,
nor as yet [z] gone down [z] into Hades;
Neither to heaven have I ever ascended,
[a] nor entered Paradise [a].
9 But now I have only asked thee of the fire, the wind, and the day [b] that is past [b],—things without which thou canst not be; and yet thou hast vouchsafed me no answer about them!
10 He said moreover unto me: [c] What belongs to thee [c]—the things that have intermingled with thy
11 growth—thou art incapable of understanding; how then should thy vessel be able to comprehend the way of the Most High? [d] For the way of the Most High has been formed without measure [d], [e] how, then, should it be possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the Incorruptible [e]?

(*b*) iv. 12–21. *The dialogue continued: it is foolish and senseless to demand what is against nature* (S).

12 [f] [And when I heard these things I fell upon my face] [f] and said unto him: It would have been better [g] that we had never been created [g] than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not [h] to know [h] why we suffer.
13 And he answered me and said: [i] Once upon a time the woods of the trees of the field went forth,[i]
14 and took counsel, and said: Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may retire before
15 us, and we will make us [j] more woods [j]. In like manner also the waves of the sea took counsel, and said: Come, let us go up and wage war against the wood of the field, that there also we may win us
17 more territory. The counsel of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; likewise,
18 also, the counsel of the waves of the sea, for the sand [k] stood up [k] and stopped them. If thou, now,
19 hadst been judge between them whom wouldst thou have justified or whom condemned? I answered and said: Both have taken a foolish counsel; for to the wood the land has been assigned, and [l] to the sea a place [l] to bear its waves.
20 Then he answered me and said: Thou hast judged aright; but why hast thou not given judgement
21 in thine own case? For just as the earth has been assigned to the wood, and [m] the place of the sea to bear its waves [m]; even so the dwellers upon earth can understand only what is upon the earth, [n] and they who are above the heavens [n] that which is above the heavenly height.

(*c*) iv. 22–32. *The dialogue continued: The seer protests that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth. He is told that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties* (S).

22 Then answered I and said: I beseech thee, O Lord, wherefore have I been endowed with an

VSS. 𝔏 > [a–a] *so Ethiop. Arm.* (*cf.* Ar.[2]); 𝔏 𝔖 > [b–b] *so* Ethiop. (*cf.* Ar.[1]): 𝔏 per quae (= 𝔖; *v. l.* quem) transisti [c–c] 𝔏 quae tua sunt: 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*one reading*) *Arm.* > [d–d] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar. Arm.*): 𝔏 > (*by homoioteleuton*) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 *substantially* (nor is it possible, &c.): *cf. Ethiop.* Ar.[1]: 𝔏 et iam exteritus corrupto saeculo intellegere incorruptionem? [f–f] *so Oriental Versions*: 𝔏 *corrupt* [g–g] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 nos non adesse [h–h] *reading* intellegere (= 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] *Arm.*): *for* intellexi (S A C) [i–i] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 *is corrupt* [j–j] 𝔏 alias silvas: 𝔖 *Ethiop.* a new wood [k–k] *so* 𝔏 stetit (= εστη) = 𝔖 Ar.[1]; *but Ethiop. and Arm.* stayed (= εστησε) [l–l] *reading* mari locus (C, &c.); *but S A* maris locus = 𝔖 [m–m] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et mare fluctibus suis [n–n] 𝔏 qui super coelos: *Ar.*[2] *Arm. interpret as plural* (they who are above the heavens): 𝔖 *as sing.* (he who is above, &c.)

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9. **things without which thou canst not be.** Man cannot live apart from wind, warmth, and the passing day; cf. for the thought Wisd. ix. 16.

10. **What belongs to thee—the things . . . thy growth.** The 'things' referred to include fire and wind, two of the four primal elements (fire, wind, earth, and water); for these cf. Wisd. vii. 17, xiii. 1, xix. 18 (τὰ στοιχεῖα). There may be an allusion, as Gunkel suggests, to man's living organism (the microcosm) being compounded of the elements (cf. viii. 8). This view is of Oriental origin.

thy vessel. The body is the 'vessel' of the soul or understanding.

(*b*) iv. 12–21. In answer to Salathiel's despairing interjection the archangel further enforces the point of the preceding paragraph by a parable, taken from the sea and the forest. The idea of the sea being held in check and kept within prescribed bounds by the divine power is an ancient one, and forms the motive of some early mythological Creation myths (cf. Job. vii. 12, xxxviii. 8 f.). The application of the idea to the wood seems to be original to the apocalyptist (so Gunkel).

12. **It would have been better that we had never been created,** &c. The seer here takes the pessimistic view of the school of Shammai on the question whether it would have been better for man never to have been created. According to *T. B. Erub.* 13 *b* the controversy lasted two and a half years.

17. **the sand stood up and stopped them.** Cf. Jer. v. 22.

(*c*) iv. 22–32. Disclaiming any desire 'to be curious about the ways above', the seer protests that his difficulties are very real and rooted in daily experience. He is above measure perplexed because the chosen race—the people that bear God's sacred name of Israel—should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen (*vv.* 22–25). He is assured in

S 23 understanding to discern? For I meant not to ask [o] about the ways above [o] but of those things we daily experience;
Why is Israel to the heathen given over for reproach,
thy beloved people to godless tribes given up?
The Law of our fathers [p] has been brought to destruction [p],
the written covenants exist no more;
24 We vanish from the world as locusts,
our life is [q] as a breath [q].
25 We indeed are not worthy to obtain mercy; but what will he do for his own name whereby we are called? It is about these things that I have asked.

The Answer.

26 Then he answered me and said: [r] If thou survive [r] thou shalt see, and if thou livest long thou shalt marvel; for the age is hastening fast to its end.
27 Because it is unable to bear the things promised [s] in their season [s] to the righteous; for this age is full of sorrow and impotence.
28 For the evil [t] concerning which [t] thou askest me is sown, but [u] the ingathering of it [u] is not yet
29 come. Unless, therefore, that which is sown be reaped, and unless the place where the evil is sown
30 shall have passed away, the field where the good is sown cannot come. For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit of ungodliness has it produced unto this time, and shall yet produce until the threshing-floor come!
31 Reckon up, now, in thine own mind: [v] if [v] a grain of evil seed has produced so much fruit of
32 ungodliness, when once the ears [w] of the good seed [w] shall have been sown without number, how great a floor shall they be destined to fill?

(*d*) iv. 33–43. *The dialogue continued. In reply to his question, When shall these things be? the seer receives the answer—When the number of the righteous is complete* (S).

33 Then I answered and said: [x] How long and when [x] shall these things (be coming to pass)? [y] For [y] our years are few and evil.
34 And he answered me and said: Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High; for thou art hastening [z] for thine own self [z], but the Exalted One on behalf of many.

[o–o] *reading* de superioribus viis (C) = 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[2]: de superioribus tuis S A [p–p] *reading* in interitum (S A); C M in inritum (*so BJ*) [q–q] *reading* ut vapor = 𝔖 Ethiop.: ut pavor S A M [r–r] *so* Ethiop. (= εαν μενης): 𝔏 si fueris (= εαν μεν ης) [s–s] 𝔏 in temporibus: 𝔖 *Ethiop.* > [t–t] *reading* de quo . . . de eo (*cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*): de quibus S A [u–u] *reading* destrictio ipsius (S A*): *v. l.* destructio [v–v] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 𝔖 > [w–w] *so* 𝔖 Ethiop.: 𝔏 > [x–x] *reading* usquequo et quando (= 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*): quo (*for* usquequo) S A [y–y] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 quare [z–z] *reading* propter temetipsum = 𝔖 Ethiop. 𝔏 *corrupt.* [a–a] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 usquequo spero sic

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reply that the present age is hastening to its close, and that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (*v.* 26). It is further explained to him why the present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (*vv.* 27–32). Cf. the reference in a similar connexion to the harvest of good and bad seed in 2 Baruch lxx. 2.

23. **the written covenants.** The expression is a synonym for the Law (Scriptures). In *T. B. Berak* 48 *b* the Law (*Torah*) is said to have been given 'by three covenants', viz. those with Israel at Sinai, at Gerizim, and in the plains of Moab; cf. Rom. ix. 4, and Sir. xliv. 11, Wisd. xviii. 22. For the destruction of the Law cf. xiv. 21 f.

25. **what will he do for his own name.** Cf. Isa. lxiii. 19; 2 Baruch v. 1; also 4 Ezra x. 22.

whereby we are called. lit. 'which is called upon us'. The expression implies ownership. Cf. Isa. xliii. 7; 2 Chron. vii. 14; James ii. 7. Israel's election is appealed to.

27. **this age is full of sorrow and impotence.** It is characteristic of the apocalyptic writer's pessimism that he gives up the present age entirely. It must be destroyed absolutely, and an entirely new order take its place. The older view that the present world should be renewed in a purified form is abandoned.

28. **the ingathering of it.** For the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest applied metaphorically to evil, cf. the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii), and in particular Matt. xiii. 39.

32. **be destined to fill.** The harvest of good, when once it has been sown (immediately after the end of the present evil age), will in the golden future far surpass the previous harvest of evil. The argument *a minori ad maius* is characteristically Jewish.

(*d*) iv. 33–43. The seer's impatient question—'How long? when shall these good things come to pass?'—is rebuked. Everything has been predetermined. Till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come. But when the moment has arrived nothing can delay its consummation. The point is further enforced by a similitude. On the whole passage cf. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 293 f.

34. **Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High.** The seer is rebuked for selfish impatience. The Most High is no less ready to 'haste' than himself, but determines His action in accordance with the interests of all (many); cf. v. 33. As Gunkel remarks, such admonitions to be patient are a standing feature of apocalyptic writings. Acquiescence in the divine will was the highest virtue in a time when even the most pious sighed for the end of the present world.

35 Were not these questions of thine asked by the souls of the righteous in their chambers?
[a] How long are we (to remain) here? [a] When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward?'
36 And to them the archangel Jeremiel made reply, and said: Even when the number [b] of those like yourself [b] is fulfilled!
For he has weighed the age in the balance,
37 And with measure has measured the [c] times [c],
And by number has numbered the [c] seasons [c]:
Neither will he move nor stir things,
till the measure [d] appointed [d] be fulfilled.
39 Then I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, [e] but behold [e] we are all full of ungodliness. [f] Is it, perchance,[f] on our account that [g] the threshing-floor of the righteous is kept back [g]—on account of the sins of the dwellers upon earth?
40 So he answered me and said: Go and ask the woman who is pregnant, when she has completed her nine months, if her womb can keep the birth any longer within her?
41 Then said I: No, Lord, it cannot. And he said to me: [h] The underworld and the chambers of

[b-b] *reading* similium vobis = 𝔖 Ethiop. Ar.[2]: seminum S A C M (*corrupt*) [c-c (c-c)] 𝔏 tempora . . . tempora: 𝔖 times . . . hours (*changing expression, prob. rightly*) [d-d] 𝔏 praedicta [e-e] *so Ethiop.* (*and* 𝔖 *by an easy emendation*): 𝔏 sed et (? *read* ecce *for* et) [f-f] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 et ne forte (? *read* num forte) [g-g] *reading* prohibeatur iustorum area (C M) = Ethiop. (*cf.* 𝔖): *v. l.* impleatur (S A), non impleantur (iustorum areae) [h-h] *so* 𝔖 Ethiop. (*hence Violet emends* 𝔏 infernum et promptuaria animarum): 𝔏 (MSS.) in inferno promptuaria animarum

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35. **by . . . the righteous.** i.e. the righteous dead.

in their chambers. Lat. *in promptuariis suis* = ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις αὐτῶν. The word *promptuaria* recurs in iv. 41, vii. 32, 95 (cf. v. 9, 27, vi. 22); also in Ps. cxliv. 13, and apparently not again in the Vulgate. These 'chambers' are the 'treasuries of souls' referred to sometimes in apocalyptic books (cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 23, 'And let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them'; 1 En. xxii. 3 f.). These 'treasuries' or 'habitations' (*habitacula*, 4 Ezra vii. 80) were reserved for the righteous only (vii. 80), who entered them at death, and there enjoying 'great quietness' and 'guarded by angels', they awaited the final judgement (vii. 95). Then the 'chambers' were to restore the souls committed to them (vii. 32, cf. iv. 42; 2 Bar. xxi. 3, xxx. 2). According to the Talmud (*T. B. Shabbath* 152*b*) the souls of the righteous dead are beneath the throne of God (cf. Rev. vi. 9 f., where the souls of the righteous who have suffered martyrdom are represented as being 'beneath the [heavenly] altar'). In a few passages in the Rabbinical literature the word *treasury* (Heb. *'ōṣār*) is used in this connexion: cf. e.g. *Midr. rab.* on Qoheleth (iii. 21), where the souls of the righteous are said to be 'placed in the treasury', which is located in the heavenly 'height'. According to 4 Ezra vii. 41, however, these 'treasuries' or 'chambers' are placed in Sheol (the lower world). But the alternative reading is better (see *ad loc.*).

36. **Jeremiel.** Gk. Ἱερεμιήλ (= Heb. ירחמאל). This archangel may confidently be identified with Ῥεμειήλ (note that the Syr. of our verse actually reads *Ramiel*), who appears in the Greek (Gizeh) text of 1 En. xx. as the seventh of the seven archangels (1, Uriel; 2, Raphael; 3, Raguel; 4, Michael; 5, Sariel [= Eth. Saraqâêl]; 6, Gabriel; 7, Remiel [= Jeremiel]). In the Ethiop. text the first six only are mentioned; but, doubtless, the Greek is right in enumerating seven. The last (= Jeremiel) is described as 'one of the holy angels whom God appointed to be over those who rise [from the dead]' (ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων). This agrees admirably with the rôle assigned to him here as the archangel who has charge of the souls of the righteous who are guarded in the 'treasuries', and await the final judgement and resurrection. [Only two of the seven archangels are mentioned in 4 Ezra, viz. Uriel and Jeremiel.]

those like yourself is fulfilled. The end of the age and the 'regeneration' can only take place when the number of the saints has been completed. This is also the view represented in Rev. vi. 11 ('until their fellow-servants . . . should be fulfilled'); Swete, *ad loc.*, aptly cites from the Anglican Burial Service, 'that it may please thee . . . shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom.' According to Rev. vii. 4 the number of the 'sealed', i.e. the elect, is 144,000. In 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 the number that is to be fulfilled is of mankind as a whole (all who should be born)—a view which is referred to in Rabbinical literature (see the references cited by Charles on *Ap. Bar.*, *loc. cit.*). This number was a secret known only to God Himself (2 Bar. xxi. 10, xlviii. 46).

36–37. **weighed . . . measured . . . numbered.** The times and periods of the course of the world's history have been predetermined by God. The numbers of the years have been exactly fixed. This was a fundamental postulate of the apocalyptists, who devoted much of their energy to calculations, based upon a close study of prophecy, as to the exact period when history should reach its consummation. One scheme especially favoured divided history into a world-week of seven millenniums, corresponding to the week of Creation (cf. vii. 30, 43; according to 2 Pet. iii. 8 [cf. Ps. xc. 4] a day = 1,000 years). Here, however, as in the case of the number of the righteous (elect), no definite number is mentioned. The categories of 'weight', 'measure', and 'rule' (or 'number') are also applied to Creation generally; cf. *Test. Twelve Patr.* Naph. ii. 3; Wisd. xi. 20 ('by measure, number, and weight thou didst order all things') Philo, *Somn.* ii. 29 ('God . . . measures, weighs, and numbers all things, and circumscribes them with bounds and limits'). In the O.T. similar expressions are occasionally met with; thus in Job xxviii. 25 the winds are said to be 'weighed' and the waters 'measured'; in Isa. xl. 12 the mountains and hills; cf. 1 En. xliii. 2 (the stars); also 4 Ezra iv. 5. The underlying idea is predestinarian (cf. Charles on 1 En. xlvii. 3).

41. **the underworld and the chambers of souls.** For the text cf. crit. note. The treasury of the souls of the righteous dead is, no doubt, meant. Gunkel, indeed, and some other scholars take the 'chambers of souls' here to refer to unborn souls, not to those of the righteous dead. In this case an antithesis is intended between *promptuaria animarum* and *infernum*; the latter (= Sheol) is the place where all the dead are received, the abode of all departed souls; the former the abode of souls yet unborn (cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 [same antithesis between abode of unborn and

S 42 souls[h] are like the womb: for just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the
43 travail; even so do these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the beginning. Then to thee it shall be showed concerning those things that thou desirest to see.

(*e*) iv. 44–50. *The dialogue continued. In reply to a further question, the seer is shown by a similitude that the End will come soon* (S).

44 Then I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be
45 sufficient, show me this also: whether there be more to come than is past, or whether the more part
46 is already gone by us? For what is gone by I know, but what is to come I know not.
47 And he said to me: Stand to the right, and I will explain the meaning of a similitude unto thee.
48 So I stood, and saw, and lo! a blazing furnace passed by before me; and it happened that when the flame had gone by I looked and lo! the smoke remained still.
49 Thereupon there passed by before me a cloud full of water, and sent down much rain with a storm; and when the rain-storm was past the drops remained therein still.
50 Then said he unto me: Consider for thyself; for as the rain is more than the drops, and as the fire is greater than the smoke, so has the measure of what is past exceeded by far; but there are still left over—the drops and the smoke!

(*f*) iv. 51–v. 13. *The signs which precede the End* (E) (R).

51 Then I made supplication, and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? [i]Who[i] shall be (live) in those days?
52 He answered me, and said: [As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee

(*so BJ*) [i–i] 𝔏 vel quis; *so* 𝔖: *but Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] What [shall happen in those days] [j–j] *reading* in excessu

departed spirits]; xlviii. 16, lii. 6, lvi. 6). But in *v.* 35 the *promptuaria* are undoubtedly the chambers containing the souls of the righteous dead. It would be strange if a few verses later the same expression were used, without any limiting phrase, to denote something else. In this case the *infernum* (underworld, Sheol) will be a general term for the abode of the souls of the wicked dead, where they await the final judgement. This is the meaning of Sheol (Hades), apparently, in the Johannine Apocalypse, where Hades and Death are always combined, and (like the wicked) are consigned to the lake of fire (cf. Rev. i. 18; vi. 8; xx. 13, 14; and see Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 352).

(*e*) iv. 44–50. The seer now asks, but in a more subdued and less impatient manner, whether more of the drama remains to be enacted than what is already past. He is shown a vision of fire and storm, of which nothing remains, after they have gone by, but the smoke and the rain-drops, and is told that in a like manner the greater part of the world's history that precedes the End is already past.

47. **Stand to the right.** The Arabic renders: 'Turn thyself towards the right side and look'; but the expression may mean upon the right side of the speaker. The seer is bidden to stand upon the right side of the angel in order that both (now facing one way) may watch the spectacle as it passes; presumably before this they had been standing face to face.

(*f*) iv. 51–v. 13. In reply to a further question as to whether he shall live to see 'those days' and as to what will then happen, the seer is given a description of the signs of the End. These are set forth in detail (v. 1–12). It will be a time of commotions and the general break up of moral and religious forces (*vv.* 1–2); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed (*v.* 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (*vv.* 4–9, vi. 21–22); wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (*vv.* 10–12). There is a further reference to these 'signs' in ix. 3 f.

A close examination of the passage makes it clear that the section detailing the 'signs' (v. 1–12) cannot belong to S. In iv. 51 the seer asks: 'Thinkest thou that I shall live in those days? Or who (*v. l.* what) shall be in those days?'—the 'days' = the time of the End. The answer that follows (in the present form of the text) is: ['As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part, but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof.' Only the latter part of this verse (the words outside the brackets) is an answer to Salathiel's question. He had not said a word about the 'signs'. The attempt to evade this difficulty in some of the versions (Ethiop. and Arab., cf. Vulg.) by substituting 'what' for 'who' (against the Latin and Syriac) in the second half of the question only complicates matters by introducing another (and totally different) question. It is no answer to Salathiel to tell him some of the signs that shall precede the End. He desires to know whether he himself shall live to see the End. Moreover, the description of the 'signs' that follows (v. 1–12) is in tone and style alien to S. It is in any case much older, and bears marks of being traditional. Of course it is conceivable that S may have used such older material; but if he had done so he would have invested it with some of the marks of his own style. He cannot have been responsible for its awkward introduction here. No doubt the passage has been inserted by R from E. The original sequence of S here (the inserted passage being ignored) will have been as follows: 'Then I made supplication and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? Or who shall be in those days? He answered me, and said: Concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof. If, however, thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast [again] seven days, thou shalt hear yet greater things than these' (iv. 51, 52, v. 13 *b*).

The passage is really a descriptive list of the Messianic 'woes', and bears a general likeness to other eschatological descriptions of the signs that precede the End. See further *EA*, p. 41, and the literature there cited.

52. **the signs concerning which thou askest me.** To the instructed the events which were to precede and herald the End were a 'sign'; cf. ix. 1 f. (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14).

)S of them in part; but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge (thereof).

5 1 Concerning the signs, however:
Behold, the days come when the inhabitants of earth shall be seized [j] with great panic [j],
And the way of truth shall be hidden,
and the land be barren of faith.
2 And iniquity shall be increased above that which thou thyself now seest or that thou hast heard of
3 long ago. And the land that thou seest now to bear rule [k] shall be a pathless waste [k]; and men
4 shall see it forsaken: if the Most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see it after [l] the third (period) in confusion [l].
Then shall the sun suddenly shine forth by night
and the moon by day:
5 And blood shall trickle forth from wood,
and the stone utter its voice:
The peoples shall be in commotion,
[m] the outgoings (?) (of the stars) [m] shall change.
6 And one whom the dwellers upon earth do not look for shall wield sovereignty, and the birds shall take to general flight,
7 and [n] the sea [n] shall cast forth its fish.
And one [o] whom [o] the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice.

multo = 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*); *Lat. MSS.* incensu multo [k-k] *reading* erit incomposita [et sine] vestigio *with BJ* (*bracketed words not in Lat. MSS.*): *Violet reads* et erit incomposito vestigio, '*in unordentlichen Trümmern*': 𝔖 unstable and untrodden [l-l] *reading* post tertiam turbatam (C) [tubam A] [m-m] 𝔏 gressus (egressos S): 𝔖 = ἀέρες (*so Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2]): *Ethiop.* = ἀστέρες [n-n] 𝔏 mare Sodomiticum (*corrected text*): *so Oriental VSS.*; *but* Sodomiticum *prob. to be deleted* [o-o] *reading* quem *for* quam

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in part. The description here is supplemented in vi. 11–28.

v. 3. **the land,** &c. The Roman Empire is, of course, meant.

shall be a pathless waste. Lit. 'shall be disordered and pathless' (corrected text; see crit. note).

4. **after the third (period) in confusion.** For the text cf. crit. note (probably ἡμέραν has fallen out). Some noun of time must be supplied (Ethiop., 'after the third month'; but Arm., 'after the third vision'). Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, pp. 268, 269, notes) has shown how significant a rôle the number $3\frac{1}{2}$ plays in the eschatological tradition. The mystic number has been applied to periods, years, months, and days (in Daniel the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years are variously reckoned as 1150, 1290, and 1335 days; cf. Dan. viii. 14, xii. 11, and xii. 12; in Rev. xi. 3, xii. 6 as 1260 days). In 4 Ezra xiv. 11 f. according to one form of the text $2\frac{1}{2}$ world-periods remain ($9\frac{1}{2}$ of the 12 parts having passed already); and there, as in our passage, the number ($2\frac{1}{2}$) denotes part of the period that is to elapse before the final destruction of the evil and oppressive world-power, i.e. Rome. So here 'after the third [day, i.e. period]' means more exactly towards the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ 'days' which remain before Rome's dominion comes to an end. [Hilg. and others understand *the land after the third* (cf. Syr.), i.e. the fourth kingdom of Daniel (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 11, where 'the fourth kingdom that appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel' is identified with Rome). The Arab. interprets: 'thou shalt afterwards see these three signs,' i.e. those of the sun and moon, the blood, and the stones that follow.]

sun . . . shine forth by night, &c. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 4, 5 for emended text.

5. **blood shall trickle forth from wood, and the stone utter its voice.** Cited in *Ep. Barnabas* xii. 1 as from a prophetic writing (probably not 4 Ezra): see further *EA*, p. 44.

the outgoings (?) (of the stars) shall change. For text see crit. note. The textual evidence suggests that the Oriental Versions read 'stars', or something like it, in their Greek text (ἀήρ, ἀέρες, confused with ἀστήρ, ἀστέρες), while the Lat. simply represents some word like ἔξοδοι. Possibly a combination of these readings may produce an approximation to the original text; such as, 'the outgoings of the stars are changed' or 'the stars change their outgoings' [ימירו מוצאי הכוכבים]. Cf. Ps. lxv. 8 (9): 'Thou makest the "outgoings" of the morning and evening to rejoice.' These 'outgoings' or 'exits' (cf. *exitus*, vi. 1) were the portals through which the stars proceeded and the winds blew; cf. 1 En. xxxiv–xxxvi. See further *EA*, p. 45.

6. **one whom . . . shall wield sovereignty.** i.e. the Antichrist (the wicked tyrant of the last days).

and the birds . . . flight. Birds, possibly as creatures which soar aloft, were regarded in antiquity as possessing supernatural knowledge. They could foresee impending events.

7. **and the sea shall cast forth its fish.** So Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vii. 246) and Charles. The Lat. and all the versions have 'sea of Sodom'. If this be right the portent will consist in the Dead Sea casting out fish, as no fish can live there; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 8 f., where the bitter waters of the Dead Sea are pictured as sweetened and made full of life by the stream issuing from the Temple. Local features are, however, out of harmony with the context, which depicts a convulsion of nature on the largest scale. Hence 'of Sodom' is probably to be deleted as an incorrect gloss, which was already present in the original Heb. text (suggested by 'salt waters . . . in the sweet' in *v.* 9?). ['Sea of Sodom' is one of the names given to the Dead Sea in the Talmud.] For the general conception cf. Isa. l. 3.

And one whom the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice: *et dabit vocem noctu quem* [emended from *quam*] *non noverunt multi, omnes autem audient vocem eius*: so Wellhausen, Charles. The Latin erroneously refers the relative (אשר) to *voice*, thereby depriving the sentence of a subject. With this emendation the clause *non noverunt multi* becomes more intelligible. A mysterious personage is indicated by a voice which all can hear: cf. Josephus' account of the mysterious voice heard in the Temple saying 'Let us

E 8 [p] And the earth o'er wide regions shall open,[p]
and fire burst forth for a long period:
The wild beasts shall desert their haunts, [q] and women bear monsters [q].
vi. 21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and [r] dance [r]. And suddenly shall the sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty.)
v. 9 Salt waters shall be found in the sweet; friends shall attack one another [s] suddenly [s].
10 Then shall intelligence hide itself,
and wisdom withdraw to its chamber—
by many shall be sought and not found.
11 And unrighteousness and incontinency shall be multiplied upon the earth. One land shall also ask another and say: Is Righteousness—that doeth the right—passed through thee? And it shall answer, No.
12 And it shall be
In that time men shall hope and not obtain,
shall labour and not prosper.
13 Such are the signs I am permitted to tell thee; but if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast seven days, thou shalt hear again greater things than these.

IV. v. 14–19. Conclusion of the Vision (S).

S 14 [Then I awoke, and my body trembled greatly; my soul also was wearied even unto fainting.
15 But the angel who came and spake with me took hold of me, strengthened me, and set me up upon my feet.]
16 And in the second night Phaltiel, the captain of the people, came unto me, and said: Where hast
17 thou been? And why is thy countenance sad? Or knowest thou not that Israel has been entrusted
18 unto thee in the land of their exile? Rouse thyself, then, and eat a morsel of bread, and do not desert us as a shepherd does (who leaves) his flock in the power of noxious wolves!
19 Then said I unto him: Depart from me, and come not nigh me for seven days; then thou mayst come unto me [t] and I will explain matters unto thee [t]. And when he heard what I said he left me.

[p–p] = 𝔖 (χασμα *or* χασματα *for* χαος): 𝔏 et chaus fiet per loca multa parient menstruatae monstra (menstruatae = *a corrupt doublet of* monstra)
[q–q] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 et mulieres
[r–r] *reading* scirtiabuntur (C)
[s–s] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*; 𝔏 omnes
[t–t] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 >

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depart hence', which he relates as a portent (*Jewish War*, vi. 5. 3 [299]; in the same context he relates other similar 'portents').

8. **The earth o'er wide regions shall open,** lit. 'a fissure (reading χάσμα for χάος: see crit. note) shall arise over wide regions'; cf. Zech. xiv. 4. The Armenian also supports this reading. The fissure starts and spreads over a widening area (*per loca multa*).

vi. 21–22. **And one-year-old children,** &c. These verses, which are obviously out of harmony with their present context in chapter vi, find an appropriate place here. For the feature referred to cf. Matt. xxiv. 19.

v. 9. **friends shall attack one another suddenly.** Cf. vi. 24.

13. **fast seven days.** Cf. 2 Bar. xx. 5, 6; and Charles's note on 2 Bar. v. 2. In 4 Ezra four fasts of seven days' duration, followed by a revelation, are referred to (v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51), and probably one preceded the first vision (cf. iii. 1 and notes).

v. 14–19. Conclusion of the Vision. In their present position the opening verses of this section (v. 14–15)—which clearly form the conclusion of a dream-vision—are misplaced. They have, presumably, been transferred from their proper position (at the conclusion of the lacuna in iii. 1) to their present place by R, so as to form the conclusion of the first vision.

The following verses (v. 16–19) in narrative form belong to the original framework of S, and imply an earlier passage (in the missing introduction after iii. 1), giving the command to the seer to repair to a certain spot in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and there by a seven days' fast prepare for the reception of further direct revelations. The section should be compared with the parallel passage, xii. 30–48 (also from the framework of S).

14. **I awoke,** viz. from sleep. Clearly this is the sequel of a dream-vision.

16. **Phaltiel.** Lat. *Phalthiel*, Gk. Φαλτιήλ = Heb. פלטיאל. [This name occurs in 2 Sam. iii. 15 as that of Michal's husband; in Numb. xxxiv. 26 of a prince of Issachar; cf. *Piltai* in the list Neh. xii. 17 (a representative of a priestly house in the time of Zerubbabel). Violet suggests that the Phaltiel of our text may originally have been the *Pelatiah* (= פלטיה) who is mentioned as one of the 'heads of the people' in the time of Nehemiah, in the list Neh. x. 22 (= the *Pelatiah* of 1 Chron. vi. 21). This would suit the time of Ezra but not Salathiel. The historical reference must remain uncertain.] The variants in the Lat. Codd. include *Salathiel* (so Vulg., A. V.), *Psalthiel*, *Spalthiel*; the Ethiop. has *Phelteyāl*; Syr. *Psaltiel*; Arm. *Phanuel*.

17. **that Israel has been entrusted unto thee.** Salathiel is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon, cf. xii. 42.

18. **as a shepherd,** &c. For the image cf. Matt. x. 15.

THE SECOND VISION.

(v. 20–vi. 34.)

I. v. 20–22. Introduction.

5 20, 21 So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, even as the angel Uriel commanded me. And
22 after the seven days the thoughts of my heart began to oppress me again grievously; then my soul recovered the spirit of understanding, and I began once more to address the Most High.

II. v. 23–40. The Prayer and its Answer.

(*a*) *The prayer* (v. 23–30.)

23 And I said: O Lord my Lord, [u] out of all the woods [u] of the earth and all the trees thereof thou
24 hast chosen [v] thee [v] one [w] vine [w]; out of all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one
25 planting-ground; out of all the flowers of the world thou hast chosen thee one lily; out of all the depths of the sea thou hast replenished for thyself one river; out of all the cities that have been built
26 thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself; out of all birds that have been created thou hast called for thyself one dove; out of all the cattle that have been formed thou hast provided thee one sheep;
27 and out of all the peoples who have become so numerous thou hast gotten thee one people: and the law [x] which thou didst approve out of all (laws) [x] thou hast bestowed upon the people whom thou didst desire.
28 And now, O Lord, why hast thou delivered up the one unto the many, and dishonoured the one root above the rest, and scattered thine only one among the multitude?
29 And (why) have [y] they who denied thy promises been allowed to tread under foot those that have
30 believed thy covenants [y]? If thou didst so much hate thy people they ought to have been punished with thine own hands.

[u–u] *so* 𝔖 (*cf.* Ar.[1]): 𝔏 ex omni silva (= *Ethiop.*) [v–v] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 > [w–w] so Oriental VSS.: 𝔏 vineam (*vineyard*) [x–x] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 ab omnibus probatam legem [y–y] *reading* conculcaverunt qui contradicebant sponsionibus tuis eos qui tuis testamentis credebant (*Lat. MSS. have* quique *for* eos qui): *so Oriental VSS.* (*see BJ*)

The Second Vision (v. 20–vi. 34). After a further fast of seven days the seer (Salathiel) again makes complaint to God. Why has God's chosen and beloved people Israel been given up to oppressors? (v. 20–30). The angel answers, as before, by showing that man is unable to comprehend the things nearest to himself; how then can he hope to fathom the judgements of God, or compass God's love? (v. 31–40). The dialogue is continued by the seer asking what the lot of those shall be who have died before the End comes, and is told that their lot will not be worse or better than that of those who survive. The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world is set forth in a series of striking analogies. The feebleness of age is, the angel declares, manifested in Mother Earth (v. 41–55). In the section that follows (v. 56–vi. 6) the prophet is assured that the End of the present age and the inauguration of the new order shall come by the agency of God alone. The present age of heathen (Roman) oppressors shall be succeeded by the glorious incorruptible age (vi. 7–10). A long passage detailing the signs of the last time and the End follows (vi. 11–28) and the vision concludes (vi. 30–34).

The vision thus falls into the following divisions—

i. *Introduction* (v. 20–22) (S).
ii. *The seer's prayer and its answer* (v. 23–40), viz. (a) *The prayer* (v. 23–30) and (b) *the answer* (v. 31–40) (S).
iii. *The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world* (v. 41–55).
iv. *The End of the age shall come by God alone* (v. 56–vi. 6).
v. *The parting asunder of the times* (vi. 7–10) (S).
vi. *The signs of the last time and the coming of the End* (vi. 11–28 (29)) (E).
vii. *Conclusion of the vision* (vi. 30–34).

v. 23–40. This section falls into two parts, viz. (*a*) the prayer of Salathiel (Ezra) (v. 23–30); and (*b*) the answer conveyed in a dialogue by the archangel Uriel (v. 31–40).

(*a*) v. 23–30. The Prayer of Salathiel (Ezra). Following on a carefully constructed exordium, which emphasizes in a variety of well-chosen figures Israel's unique position as the chosen people of God, Salathiel (Ezra) appeals to God once more with the question, Why has the beloved people been given up to heathen oppressors? Why has it been allowed to go into exile and be scattered?

23. **out of all the woods**, &c. The figures illustrating Israel's choice that follow have largely been drawn from the Old Testament. For the vine cf. Isa. v. 7, Ps. lxxx. 9 (10); for the lily cf. Canticles ii. 2 (interpreted allegorically of Israel), and Hos. xiv. 5; for the stream, Isa. viii. 6, Canticles iv. 15; for the dove, Ps. lxxiv. 19, Canticles ii. 14; for the sheep, Isa. liii. 7, Ps. lxxix. 13 ('sheep of thy pasture'), cf. Ps. xxiii and lxxx. 1 (2); and for the root, 1 En. xciii. 8 ('race of the elect root'); cf. also Rom. xi. 17 f. It is well known that the allegorical interpretation of Canticles is very old; in fact the book was only admitted into the Canon on this interpretation. Gunkel aptly notes that our passage already implies such an interpretation of the book.

25. **thou hast sanctified Sion.** Cf. e.g. Ps. cxxxii. 13.

26. **one dove.** The dove is a favourite emblem of Israel, especially of Israel unjustly persecuted (cf. *Midrash rabba* to Canticles i. 15, iv. 1); so here.

27. **out of all (laws).** For the idea of the superiority of the Mosaic Law above the laws of other nations cf. Deut. iv. 8 (cf. also Rom. i. 32, ii. 16).

30. **with thine own hands**, i.e. by famine, pestilence, or earthquake (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13), but not by the hand of foreign foes.

(*b*) *The answer: in spite of all God loves Israel now and always* (v. 31–40).

S 31 Now when I had spoken these words the angel who had before come to me on the previous night
32 was sent unto me: and he said to me:
Hear me, and I will instruct thee:
Attend unto me, and I will speak again before thee.
33 And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said: Art thou in sore perplexity of mind touching Israel? Lovest thou him better than he that made him?
34 And I said: No, lord: but of very grief have I spoken; for every hour I suffer agonies of soul in striving to comprehend the way of the Most High, and to seek out [z] the decree of his judgement [z].
35 And he said unto me: Thou canst not. And I said: Wherefore, Lord? Why then was I born? Wherefore did not my mother's womb become my grave
that I might have been spared the sight of Jacob's misery,
and the distressful toil of the stock of Israel?
36 And he said unto me:
Number me [a] the days that are not yet come [a],
gather me the rain-drops that are scattered,
make me the withered flowers bloom again;
37 Open me the chambers that are closed
and bring me forth [b] the spirits [b] shut up in them;
[[c] Show me the image of faces thou hast never seen [c]]
or show me the image of a voice;
and then I will display to thee [d] the
objective [d] thou askest to see.
38 And I said: O Lord my Lord, why who is able to understand such matters save he who has not his dwelling among men?
39 As for me, I am unwise [e] and powerless [e]: how then should I essay to speak of these things of which thou questionest me?
40 Then said he unto me: Just as thou art unable to do even one of these things that have been mentioned, even so thou art powerless to discover my judgement or the goal of the love that I have declared unto my people.

III. The Place of Successive Generations in the Divine Plan of the World (v. 41–55).

(*a*) v. 41–49. *The succession of generations accords with the Divine plan; God's judgement reaches all alike.*

41 And I said: But lo, O Lord, [f] thou art ready to meet (with blessing) [f] those who survive in the end; but what shall our predecessors do, or we ourselves or our posterity?

Ethiop. Ar.): 𝔏 > [f–f] *reading* praees = προφθαινεις (תקדם): 𝔖 thou hast promised (*cf. Ethiop.*): *Violet emends* [z–z] 𝔏 partem iudicii eius: cf. viii. 18. [a–a] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 qui necdum venerunt (*those who are not yet come*) (*cf.* 𝔖): *prob.* τας ημερας *had fallen out of the text rendered by* 𝔏 [b–b] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 flatos (= 𝔖) [c–c] *so* 𝔖 (*supported by Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 > [d–d] 𝔏 laborem (= κοπον: *prob. a mistake for* σκοπον: *cf. Ar.*[2]: *so Hilg.*) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 (*cf.*

(*b*) v. 31–40. The Answer to the Prayer. The archangel Uriel is again sent to reason with him in answer to his complaint. As in iv. 1–11, Uriel, by a series of hard questions, demonstrates to the seer his inability to fathom God's judgements or comprehend the 'goal' of the divine love for the chosen people. The dialogue form is here resumed.

33. **Lovest thou him better**, &c. The apocalyptist never doubts that God's love for His people exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation; cf. viii. 47.

35. **Wherefore did not my mother's womb**, &c. Cited in Clem. Alex. *Stromateis*, iii. 16; cf. Job iii. 11; x. 18, 19; Jer. xiv. 17.

36. **the days that are not yet come.** For text see crit. note. The apocalyptist is reminded that he cannot know whether the days that remain to the present order shall be few or many.

37. **the spirits shut up in them.** Or 'winds' (see crit. note). If winds are meant the reference will be to storehouses where the winds are shut up, and only let loose by angelic agency; cf. 1 En. xli. 4, lxxvii, and Rev. vii. 1.

v. 41–55. The dialogue is continued. The seer suggests that it would be better to be alive with the final generation when the End comes. Or why could not God have made all generations of men to live at once upon the earth, so that all might share under equal conditions in the great vindication? In answer he is shown by some striking analogies drawn from life that the succession of generations is according to the divine plan: 'So have I disposed the world which I created' (v. 41–49). The seer proceeds to ask whether our Mother Earth is still young. Are the last-born

42 And he said unto me: I will liken my judgement to a ring; just as there is no retardation of them that are last, even so there is no hastening of those that are first.
43 Thereupon I answered and said: Couldst thou not have created them all at once—those who have been, those who (now) exist, and those who are to be—that thou mightst display thy judgement the sooner?
44 He answered me and said: The creation may not proceed faster than the Creator; nor could the world hold all at once those created in it.
45 And I said: How then is it that thou hast (just now) said to thy servant that [g]thou wilt verily quicken[g] all at once the creation created by thee? [h]If, then, they (i.e. all of the created) shall indeed be alive all at once,[h] and [i]creation[i] shall be able to sustain them, it might even now support them (all) present at once.
46 And he said unto me: Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto it: If thou bringest forth ten children, why (dost thou bring them forth) each in its own time? Demand, therefore, that it produce ten all at once.
47 And I said: It cannot possibly, but (only each) in its own time.
48 Then said he unto me: [j]Thus have I also made the earth the womb for those[j] [k]who, in their own
49 time, are conceived by it[k]. For just as the young child does not bring forth, nor she that is aged any more, so have [l]I also[l] disposed the world which I have created[m] by defined periods of time[m].

(*b*) v. 50–55. *The Earth has grown old and its offspring degenerate.*

50 Thereupon I asked [n]him[n] and said: Seeing thou hast now showed me the way, I would fain speak (further) before thee. [o]Is our mother,[o] of whom thou hast told me, still young? Or does she now approach old age?
1, 52 He answered me and said: Ask a woman who has borne (children), and let her tell thee; say to her: Why are (the children) whom thou hast lately brought forth not like the first, but inferior [p]in
53 stature[p]? And she also shall answer thee: Those that are born in vigorous youth are of one
54 fashion, and those born in old age, when the womb fails, are otherwise. Consider, therefore, thou
55 also that ye are inferior in stature in comparison with your predecessors; and so, also, (will be) your posterity than yourselves: even as creation is already grown old, and is already past the strength of youth.

to promittis [g–g] *reading* vivificans vivificabis (*so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* Ar.[1]): vivificans vivificabit S A [h–h] *restoring* si ergo viventes vivent in unum = 𝔖: > S A C M (by homoioteleuton) [i–i] *so* 𝔏: *Ethiop.* the world [j–j] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et ego dedi matricem terrae his [k–k] 𝔏 qui seminati sunt super eam per tempus [l–l] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (= καγω): 𝔏 ego [m–m] so *Ethiop.* (Ar.[1]): 𝔏 𝔖 > [n–n] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 > [o–o] *reading* num mater nostra (num *for* nam) = 𝔖 [p–p] so 𝔏: *Ethiop.* in strength: Ar.[1] in stature and strength (*so v.* 54): 𝔖 = 𝔏

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generations inferior to those who were born in their mother's youth? In reply he is told that the Earth is now grown old—'past the strength of youth'—and that there is a corresponding degeneracy in the latest-born generations (v. 49–55). The eagerness of the seer that the End of the present world should be hastened is a striking feature.

41. **thou art ready to meet,** viz. with blessing and salvation.

those who survive in the end. Cf. Ps. Sol. xviii. 7; Luke ii. 29 f. The old view, which is reflected in the older literature of the Bible, that the 'community' as a whole was to be the subject of salvation would naturally give rise to such questions as this. With the rise of the doctrine of a future life, and the growing recognition of the religious claims and position of the individual, this view was modified. Not merely the generation that happened to live on into the Messianic (or, as here, the future) Age, but all the pious individuals of previous generations who had died should (by means of a resurrection) participate in the blessedness of the final age. A similar problem (viz. how the righteous dead could share in the felicity that comes to the final generation of the living) is dealt with in 1 Thess. iv. 13 f. It is not clear, however, that the writer of S believed in a resurrection of dead bodies. See further *EA*, p. 121, and p. xlviii f.

42. **just as there is no retardation,** &c., i.e. just as in the case of a ring or circle there is neither beginning nor end, so God's judgement will reach all generations at one and the same time; cf. 2 Bar. li. 13.

45. **How then is it that thou hast (just now) said,** i.e. how is the statement in the previous verse (44) to be reconciled with that made earlier (in *v.* 42) to the effect that all generations will be quickened simultaneously to receive the judgement? Lat. *quomodo dixisti* = πῶς ἔλεγες;

46. **unto it,** sc. the womb.

49. **disposed the world . . . by defined periods of time.** The earth in its earliest stage (as a child) brought forth no human inhabitants, neither will it do so in extreme old age; but only in the vigour and decline of youth.

55. **even as creation is already grown old.** The thought of the world's growing old is not uncommon in literature; cf. in this book, iv. 44 f., xiv. 10, 16; also 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; Lucretius ii. 1150 f. The representation of the latest generation as inferior in 'stature and strength' to the ancients (cf. Gen. vi. 4) comes to expression in Philo (cf. *de Mund. Opif.*, § 49). The feeling that they were standing at the end of the age is characteristic of the apocalyptists.

IV. The End of the Age shall come by the Agency of God alone.

(v. 56–vi. 6).

S 56 Then said I: O Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, show thy servant [q] by whom [q] thou wilt visit thy creation.

6 1 And he said unto me: [r] In the beginning of the terrestrial world [r]
before ever [s] the heavenward portals [s] [t] were standing [t], or ever the [u] wind-blasts [u] blew;
2 before the rumblings of thunderings did sound,
or ever the lightning-flashes did shine;
When
the foundations of paradise were not yet laid,
3 nor [v] the beauty of its flowers [v] yet seen;
Before ever [w] the motive powers (of heaven) [w] were established,
or the numberless armies of angels were gathered;
4 Before ever the heights of the air were uplifted,
ere the spaces of the firmaments were named;
ere the footstool of Sion [x] was appointed [x].
5 Before the years of the present [y] were reckoned [y],
[z] ere the counsels of present-day sinners were spurned [z],
or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed—

[q–q] so 𝔏 (per quem) = 𝔖 *and Ethiop.* (*one reading*): *but Ethiop.* (*one reading*) *Ar.*[1] on account of whom [r–r] 𝔏 initium (*v. l.* initio) terreni orbis: *Oriental VSS. vary*: 𝔖 the beginning by the Son of Man, but the end by myself alone (for as before, *&c.*); cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] [s–s] 𝔏 exitus saeculi [t–t] 𝔏 (S A C) starent = *Oriental VSS.*; *v. l.* statuerentur (M) [u–u] 𝔏 conventiones (*Gunkel emends to* convectiones) ventorum [v–v] so 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 decores flores [w–w] 𝔏 motus virtutes (*so BJ read*); or motuum virtutes = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*so Violet*) [x–x] 𝔏 (S A) aestimaretur (*corrupt*): 𝔖 was established (= firmaretur): *Hilg. suggests* aedificaretur, *Gunkel* destinaretur [y–y] 𝔏 investigarentur [z–z] 𝔏 et antequam abalienarentur eorum qui nunc peccant adinventiones: 𝔖 before the follies of sinners

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v. 56–vi. 6. In this section God is directly addressed, and God is the speaker. In response to the prophet's question, Through whom shall the End come? the answer is given, Through the God of Israel alone. A polemical aim is clearly to be detected in the passage. The apocalyptist will not allow any of the essentially divine attributes or functions to be assumed by any intermediate agency, therein agreeing with the view of orthodox Rabbinic Judaism. The polemic is directed against views which were held by early Christians, but which were probably not confined to Christian circles. At the same time it is possible that what the apocalyptic writer has in mind here is the Christian doctrine of the return of Christ in glory to judge the world. The burden of the passage is that just as Creation was brought into being at the beginning by God alone (without any intermediate agency), so the End of Creation will be brought about by God alone. It may be described as a splendid development of the theme expressed in Ps. xc. 2. The description of the works of Creation is one of great power and imaginative force. The conceptions of Creation underlying it are traditional and of great antiquity (cf. especially the Babylonian Creation-myths and see Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, p. 401 n. and especially p. 419). It should be compared with the parallel passage in Prov. viii. 24–9. [Cf. also the description of the Day of Judgement in vii. 39 ff.]

vi. 1. **In the beginning of the terrestrial world.** For the alterations introduced into the text of the Oriental Versions here under Christian influence see crit. note.

the heavenward portals, i. e. the portals open to heaven; cf. 1 En. xxxiv.

3. **the beauty of its flowers.** The flowers are those of the heavenly Paradise (originally the stars).

the motive powers (of heaven). The powers meant are probably the same as 'the powers of heaven' of Matt. xxiv. 29, i. e. angelic powers who move the heavens and the stars. Others, however, prefer to adopt the reading *motuum virtutes* (see crit. note) = 'powers of movements', i. e. earthquakes.

4. **the spaces of the firmaments**, lit. 'the measures (i. e. measured or defined spaces) of the firmaments': the divisions into which the heavens were separated (cf. 2 En. iii f. for a description of the different heavens).

were named. The names of the seven heavens are enumerated in *T. B. Hag.* 12 *b*.

5. **or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed.** It should be noted that it is the persons of the faithful that are here 'sealed', exactly as in Rev. vii. 4 (the 144,000 'who were sealed'); cf. Rev. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4. (In Rev. xiii. 16, xiv. 9, xx. 4 a mark of the opposite kind is mentioned.) [Some of the best Lat. codices make the 'sealing' in our text apply to 'the merits' of those 'who have gathered faith for a treasure'; thus C M have *consignarentur eorum merita qui* (with partial support from S and A but against the versions). Thus 'merits' here would balance 'abominations' (or 'machinations') in the preceding clause.] 'Faith' in this passage seems to mean the righteousness which comes from fidelity to the Law (or 'fidelity to the O. T. religion'). So in v. 1, vi. 28. It plays a conspicuous rôle in eschatological doctrine, and in such passages it is not always easy to be sure of the exact shade of meaning intended. Where the Law is valued and emphasized it will mean (as here prob.) the righteousness which results from fidelity to the Law (cf. 2 Bar. liv. 21). In vii. 34 it = fidelity to the Law, just as its opposite *incredulitas* = disloyalty in vii. 114. In ix. 7, 8, xiii. 23 'faith' and 'works' are combined (as complementary). But the Law as such is not always necessarily the object of 'faith' (cf. 2 Bar. lvii. 2, faith is prophecy of coming judgement). (Cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 31–4.)

6 Even then had I these things in mind ; and through me alone and none other were they created ; as also the End (shall come) through me alone and none other.

V. The Parting Asunder of the Times.

(vi. 7–10) (S).

7 Then answered I and said: What shall mark the parting asunder of the times? When shall the End of the first (age) and the beginning of the second be?
8 And he said unto me: [a] From Abraham to Abraham.[a] [b] For from him sprang Jacob and Esau,[b]
9 [c] but Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning.[c] [d] The heel of the first age is Esau;
10 the hand of the second is Jacob.[d] [e] The beginning of a man is his hand, and the end of a man is his heel.[e] Between heel and hand seek naught else; Ezra!

VI. The Signs of the Last Time and the End.

(vi. 11–28) (E) (R).

(*a*) vi. 11–12. *Redactional Introduction.*

1, 12 [I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, [f] (I beseech thee) that thou show[f] thy servant the last of thy signs of which thou didst show me a part in the night that is past.]

(*b*) *Description of the End* (vi. 13–20, 23, 24) *together with some misplaced verses describing the signs that precede the End* (vi. 21–22).

13 And he answered and said unto me: Stand up upon thy feet, and thou shalt hear a voice exceeding

were yet invented [a–a] *reading* ab Abraham usque ad Abraham (S A) = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (Ar.[1]): *v. l.* usque ad Isaac (C M) = Ar.[2] (*also v. l. in Ethiop.*) [b–b] *so* 𝔏 = *Ethiop.* (cf. Ar.[2]): 𝔖 from Abraham was born Isaac and from Isaac was born Jacob and Esau (= Ar.[1]) [c–c] so 𝔏 = 𝔖: *but Ethiop. Ar.*[1] > [d–d] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 finis enim huius saeculi Esau, et principium sequentis Iacob (= *Ar.*[1] *cf. Ethiop.*) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 = Ar.[1] (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 *defective* [f–f] 𝔏 ut demonstres

6. **had I these things in mind.** Creation, Gunkel remarks, regarded as predetermined by and the outcome of thought, is a loftier conception than that of creation through the Word. The truth of this statement depends upon the conceptual content of the Word.

as also the End . . . through me alone, &c. This clause is omitted by the Oriental Versions for dogmatic reasons.

vi. 7–10. In allegorical language, probably derived from current tradition, the apocalyptist indicates that the present corrupt age (symbolized by Esau) will be succeeded immediately, without a break, by the glorious future age of incorruption (symbolized by Jacob). The connexion in thought with what precedes seems to be: just as there is no room in the divine acts of creation and judgement for a mediatorial Messiah, so in the transition from the present to the future age, there is no room for a Messianic interim—the temporary Messianic kingdom which precedes the dissolution of the present world. This interpretation harmonizes with the thought of S. See further *EA*, p. 68.

8. **From Abraham to Abraham.** For text see crit. note. The meaning is, the interval between the old age and the new is no longer than that between Abraham and his immediate descendants: i.e. 'it will be a case of immediate succession' (Ball). The new age will follow the old without a break. This answers the first question in *v.* 7; the answer to the second is given in *vv.* 8 *b*–10.

10. **Between heel and hand,** &c., i.e. do not look for any interval between the two ages.

vi. 11–28. The passage as a whole is parallel to iv. 56–v. 13 *a*, and embodies material taken from the same older source (E). The theme of the earlier passage is the signs that precede the End. Here, however, the description of these signs is interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. The text appears to be in some confusion. The subject of *vv.* 13–20 and 23 is the End of the world; in *vv.* 21, 22 the description of the signs that precede the End is continued from iv. 56–v. 13 *a*, and probably belongs to that passage in its original form, while *vv.* 25–28 describe the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes; *vv.* 11–12 and 29 appear to be redactional additions, designed to adapt the older material here embodied to its present context (so Kabisch).

The section will thus fall into the following divisions:—

(*a*) Redactional introduction (*vv.* 11–12);
(*b*) Announcement of the End of the world, the speaker being the Divine Voice [of God] (*vv.* 13–20, 23, 24), together with some inserted [misplaced] verses describing the signs preceding the End (*vv.* 21, 22);
(*c*) Description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes (*vv.* 25–28).

See further *EA*, p. 71.

(*a*) vi. 11–12. The redactional character of these introductory verses is evident. They show clearly that R intended all that follows (*vv.* 13–29) to be understood as descriptive of the signs preliminary to the End; *v.* 11 seems to have been imitated from v. 56 *a*.

(*b*) vi. 13–20, 23–24 (*vv.* 20–21 belong to ch. v, between *vv.* 8 and 9; see *ad loc.*). In its present form the eschatological material embodied in this passage is in a fragmentary condition. But it is all probably derived from one source (E).

13. **And he answered.** 'He', i.e. the angel.

Stand up upon thy feet. Cf. Ezek. ii. 1; Dan. vii. 4, viii. 18.

E 14, 15 loud; and it shall be if the place whereon thou standest, [g] be greatly shaken [g], [h] when it (i. e. the voice) speaks [h] [i] with thee [i] be not thou terrified; for the word is of the End, and the foundations of the
16 earth [j] shall understand [j] that the speech is concerning themselves. They shall tremble and be shaken, for they know that their end is to be changed.

17 And it happened that when I had heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened: and lo! a voice spake, and the sound of it was as the sound of mighty waters.

18 And it said:

Behold the days come, and it shall be,
When I am about to draw nigh
to visit the dwellers upon earth,

19 And when I require from the doers of iniquity
([k] the penalty of) their iniquity [k];

R [[l] *And when the humiliation of Sion*
shall be complete,[l]]

E 20 And when the Age which is about to pass away
shall be sealed

then [*will I show these signs*]: the books shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all see [m] together.

vv. 21–22 misplaced.

21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and dance. And suddenly shall the
23 sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty;) And the
(E) R trumpet shall sound aloud, at which all men, when they hear it, shall be struck with sudden fear.
24 And at that time [*friends shall war against friends like enemies*], the earth shall be stricken with fear [*together with the dwellers thereon*], and the springs of the fountains shall stand still so that for three [n] hours [n] they shall not run.

(*c*) vi. 25–28 (29). *The felicity of those who survive the Messianic Woes.*

25 And it shall be whosoever shall have survived all these things that I have foretold unto thee, he
26 shall be saved and shall see my salvation and the end of my world. And the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth, shall appear. Then shall the heart of the inhabitants [o] ⟨of the world⟩ [o] be changed, and be converted to a different spirit.

[g–g] *reading* commotione commovebitur (C M) [h–h] 𝔏 in eo cum loquitur (= εν τῳ λαλειν) [i–i] *so* Oriental VSS.: 𝔏 > [j–j] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 intellegetur [k–k] *so Ethiop.* (= την αδικιαν αυτων): 𝔏 iniustitia sua (= τῃ αδικιᾳ αυτων) [l–l] *this clause is prob. due to R*; *cf. EA*, p. xxx. [m] 𝔖 + my judgement [n–n] *so* 𝔏 *&c.* *Ar.*[2] years [o–o] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental VSS.*): 𝔏 > [p–p] *so* 𝔏, *&c.*: *Ar.*[1] the evil heart [q–q] so 𝔏 (tantis

17. **the sound of it . . . mighty waters.** Cf. Ezek. i. 24; Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6. The divine voice is meant.

18. **Behold the days come.** A common O.T. phrase, especially in the prophetic literature; cf. Amos viii. 11, ix. 12; often in Jeremiah.

19. [**And when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete**]. The fall of Jerusalem is regarded as marking a definite step towards the speedy advent of the divine judgement; cf. 2 Bar. xx. 2. The clause is probably due to R (see *EA*, p. xxx).

20. [**will I show these signs**]. These words are probably due to R, who desired to invest the substance of the section (which is concerned with the final judgement) with the character of a description of the signs preceding the End.

the books shall be opened, i.e. the celestial books in which are recorded the deeds of the righteous and wicked. See 1 En. xlvii. 3 and notes.

23. **the trumpet**, i.e. the trumpet, the blowing of which ushers in the last Judgement. See further *EA*, p. 75.

24. [**friends shall war against friends like enemies**]. This clause, which belongs logically to a description of the signs preceding the End (cf. v. 9), has probably been added by R.

and the springs of the fountains . . . not run. Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6.

for three hours. The number 'three' in such connexions seems to be a favourite one in apocalyptic tradition.

(*c*) vi. 25–28 (29).

26. **the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth.** Men who were removed from the earth without dying are meant. In this connexion figure especially Enoch and Elijah (cf. Wisd. iv. 10 f. [? Enoch], Jub. iv. 23, 1 En. xxxix. 3 f., lxx. 1–3, 2 En. xxxvi. 2, all of Enoch; 1 En. lxxxix. 52 of Elijah). Such men were expected to return with the Messiah in order to inaugurate a period of felicity and salvation (cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 52). Elijah is especially prominent in this connexion in Rabbinic literature (his rôle was, as high priest, to anoint the Messiah, to promote Israel's repentance and reunion, and to bring about the resurrection of the dead) (cf. Volz, p. 192 f.). Moses and Elijah sometimes appear together in their capacity of forerunners of the Messiah (cf. *Midr. Deb. rab.* x. 1; and in the Gospels the account of the Transfiguration, Mark ix. 2 f., Matt. xvii. 1–8, Luke ix. 28–36). The mysterious two witnesses of Rev. xi are also perhaps Elijah and Moses, though in the antichrist tradition they are Elijah and Enoch; cf. Bousset, *Antichrist*, ch. xiv. In 4 Ezra xiv. 9 ('thou shalt be taken away from men, and from

27 For [p] evil [p] shall be blotted out,
and deceit extinguished;
28 Faithfulness shall flourish,
and corruption be vanquished;
And truth, which [q] for so long a time [q] has been without fruit, shall be made manifest.
29 [And it came to pass while he spake to me, [r] behold, by little and little (?) the place whereon I stood rocked to and fro [r].]

VII. Conclusion of the Vision.

(vi. 30–34) (S).

31 And he said unto me: These things came I to show thee [s] this night [s]. If therefore thou wilt petition yet again, and fast seven days more, I will tell thee yet again greater things than these [t].
32 For thy voice has surely been heard before the Most High; for the Mighty One has seen thy rectitude, and marked also thy chastity which thou hast had ever since thy youth.
33 Therefore has he sent me to show thee all these things, and to say unto thee: Be of good cheer, and fear not!
34 [u] Be not over-solicitous [u] in the case of former times to indulge idle thoughts, [v] lest solicitude overtake thee [v] in the last times.

THE THIRD VISION.

(vi. 35—ix. 25.)

I. Introduction.

(vi. 35–37) (S).

35 And it came to pass after this that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that

temporibus): 𝔖 for many years (*so Ethiop.* [*some MSS.*]; cf. *Ar.*[1] *Arm.*) [r–r] *reading* ecce paulatim movebatur locus super quem stabam super eum = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar. Arm.*); *Lat. MSS. corrupt* [s–s] so 𝔖: 𝔏 et ventura nocte (*see further EA*, p. 80) [t] 𝔏 + per diem: *other VSS.* (*with possible exception of Ar.*[1]) > [u–u] 𝔏 et noli festinare [v–v] 𝔏 ut non properes

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henceforth thou shalt remain with my Son'), Ezra is assigned a place among the immortal companions, as also is the case with Baruch (cf. 2 Bar. lxxvi. 2). Jeremiah also appears in this rôle in 2 Macc. ii. 1 f., xv. 13; cf. Matt. xvi. 14, and see further *EA*, p. 78.

Then shall the heart . . . be changed, viz. by the preaching of the witnesses. This function was particularly associated with Elijah; cf. Mal. iv. 6 (= iii. 24 Hebr.).

29. **And it came to pass**, &c. On this verse see *EA*, p. 79.

vi. 30–34 (S). Here the speaker is again the archangel Uriel, and vi. 30 forms the immediate continuation of vi. 10. The usual direction to fast seven days is given, together with a promise of yet greater disclosures. The seer is assured that his prayer for fuller revelation has been heard especially because of his 'righteous dealing' and 'chastity' practised since youth.

31. **greater things than these.** Lat. adds here *per diem.* This is not represented in the Oriental Versions with the possible exception of the Arab.[1]. Hilg. emends to *pridem* and takes with the following verse (*pridem iam auditu audita est vox tua*; cf. with this Arab.[1] *nam nunc precatio tua audita est*, &c.). In any case *per diem* probably represents something which belongs to the opening words of *v.* 32.

32. **thy chastity.** Lat. *pudicitiam* = *τὴν σεμνότητα.* Heb. צניעותך (post-Biblical). Notice this ascetic touch. Chastity, like fasting (cf. 1 Macc. iii. 47, 2 Macc. xiii. 12), is here apparently regarded as intensifying the power of prayer: like fasting also a state of chastity was regarded in certain circles (especially Essene) as a necessary preliminary for the reception of higher revelation.

34. **Be not over-solicitous**, &c. The general sense is: 'Do not by your over-curious questioning and speculation trifle with your chances of eternal happiness at the last.'

vi. 35–ix. 25. The Third Vision. The long vision that follows forms the climax of the three visions with which the Apocalypse opens, and is preceded by a seven days' fast (in preparation for the revelation) which completes a cycle of three weeks' fasting. The general sequence of the thought will appear from the headings of the following divisions, into which the vision naturally falls. For a more detailed account of the argument reference must be made to the introductions to the several sections that follow:—

i. *Introduction* (vi. 35–37).
ii. *The problem propounded in its final form: If the world was created for Israel's sake, why is Israel deprived of its inheritance?* (vi. 38–59) (S).
iii. *The debate renewed: The corruption of the present world makes the path to the future world of felicity narrow and difficult* (vii. 1–25) (S).
iv. *The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the world* (vii. 26–44) (R).
v. *The debate continued* (from vii. 25): *Israel's election and the problem of righteousness* (vii. 45–ix. 22) (with the exception of viii. 63–ix. 12, which belongs to R, all this section is to be assigned to S).
vi. *Conclusion of the vision* (ix. 23–25) (S).

S 36 I might fulfil the three weeks that had been commanded me. And in the eighth night my heart
37 was troubled within me again, and I began to address the Most High. For my spirit was greatly inflamed, and my soul was in distress.

II. The Problem propounded in its Final Form: If the World was created for Israel's Sake why is Israel deprived of its Inheritance?

(vi. 38–59) (S).

38 And I said: O Lord, of a truth thou didst speak at the beginning of the creation upon the first
39 day, saying: Let heaven and earth be made! and thy word perfected the work. Then was the spirit hovering; darkness and [w]silence[w] were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet
40 before thee. Then thou didst command [x]a ray of light[x] to be brought forth out of thy treasuries, that then thy works might become visible.

41 Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament, and didst command it [xx]to make a division between ⟨the waters and⟩ the waters[xx] that the one part might go up, the other remain beneath.

42 On the third day thou didst command the waters to be gathered together in the seventh part of the earth; six parts thou didst dry up and preserve, [y]in order that (issuing) from them there might serve before thee those who both plough and sow[y].

43 But as soon as thy word went forth the work was done.

[w–w] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 = silentium soni [x–x] 𝔏 (*best reading*) lumen aliquod luminis: *v. l.* lumen luminosum: 𝔖 radiance of light [xx–xx] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 = ut divideret et divisionem faceret inter aquas [y–y] *so partly* 𝔖: *see further EA*, p. 86 [z–z] *following* 𝔖: 𝔏 et concupiscentia gustus multiformis [a–a] *so* 𝔖

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vi. 35–37.

35. **the three weeks that had been commanded me.** So far only two fasts of seven days have been mentioned, viz. one before the second vision and another here before the third. The author evidently is thinking of another before Vision I, which in the present form of the text is not mentioned, but doubtless was there originally. The three successive weeks of fasting culminate in the most important and the longest of the three visions. Cf. Dan. x. 2, which has served as a model for this passage: 'In those days I, Daniel, was mourning three weeks' (then follows a description of the fasting). This long fast preceded the vision which was highest in the scale of importance (Dan. x. 4 f.).

vi. 38–59. Salathiel first enumerates the works of Creation in their order, and then proceeds to ask how it is that the chosen race, for whose sake the world has been created, are dispossessed of their inheritance. The problem, which has already formed the theme of the first and second visions, is here propounded in its final form. In the first vision the question assumed the form: How will the Divine Name be vindicated when the only people that bears it (viz. Israel) is prostrate before the heathen? In the second vision the seer asks: Why, if the people that has been chosen above all others must be punished, has it been handed over to be oppressed and down-trodden by those who scorn the divine covenants? Why did not God Himself undertake the task of disciplining His elect? Here, in the third vision, the question is: If the present world is in such evil case (cf. iv. 26 f.) why is it not subjected to Israel, for whose sake the world has been created? The discussion of the question is taken up at the point reached in the previous vision (vi. 8–10). Why is this world Esau's, and only the future world Israel's, if it is indeed the case that this world was created for Israel's sake? In the account of Creation which is here given the original writer betrays his acquaintance with the haggadic exegesis of the Rabbis. See further *EA*, p. 83. For the various works of Creation that follow on different days cf. Gen. i, Jub. ii, &c.

38. **thy word perfected the work.** Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 17; also Ps. xxxiii. 6, 2 Pet. iii. 5, Heb. xi. 3.

40. **that . . . thy works might become visible.** According to Rabbinic tradition (cf. *T. B. Ḥag.* 12 *a*), though the luminaries did not shine till the fourth day (cf. *v.* 45 of this chapter) light was created on the first day: 'the light which the Holy One, blessed be he, created on the first day, Adam observed, and saw by its means from one end of the world to the other.' This light was afterwards withdrawn and reserved by God for the righteous in the world to come (ibid.). The heavenly light from which the light that shone on the first day emanated was older than Creation, and belonged to God's essence. The luminaries receive their light from the spark of this heavenly light, which is immeasurably more intense than the light visible on earth. This is the light which the righteous shall enjoy in the future world (cf. *Ḥag.* ibid.; Isa. lx. 19; Rev. xxi. 23). In 2 En. xxv. 1–3 there is a mystical account of the emergence of the heavenly light above God's throne.

41. **Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament.** This passage is cited by Ambrose (*De Spiritu Sancto*, ii. 7): 'Esdras nos docuit dicens in tertio (vulgo quarto) libro: Et in die secundo iterum creasti spiritum coelorum.' As Gunkel remarks, 'spirit' here = 'angel' (as often in the Book of Enoch). This is apparently a midrashic amplification of the Biblical text in Gen. i. 6. The divine command, 'Let there be a firmament,' must, it was assumed, have been addressed to an animated being, here = 'the spirit of the firmament' (cf. the pagan 'God of heaven' = *Anu*, *Baal shamayim*, &c.).

42. **seventh part of the earth; six parts.** This is clearly the reflex of old tradition: see the note *ad loc.* in *EA*, p. 86.

in order that . . . there might serve before thee those who both plough and sow. The sentiment that the Creator produced the land with the essential purpose of seeing its cultivation associated with the sanctions of religion is a natural one from the agricultural point of view, and is often implied or expressed in Jewish literature. See further *EA*, p. 86. Gunkel discovers a reference to the creation of Paradise here: see *op. cit.* ibid.

44 For immediately there came forth
Fruits in endless abundance,
[z] in pleasure of taste exquisitely varied [z],
Flowers of inimitable colour
[a] (trees infinitely varied in form) [a],
and odours of scent [b] indefinable [b].
This was done the third day.
45 But on the fourth day thou didst command that there should come into being the brightness of
46 the sun, the light of the moon and the order of the stars; and didst command them that they should
47 do service unto man, [c] who was about to be formed [c]. Upon the fifth day thou didst bid the seventh
part, where the water was gathered together, to bring forth living creatures, birds, and fishes; and
48 so it came to pass. The dumb and lifeless water produced living creatures that for this the nations
49 might declare thy wondrous works [d]. Then didst thou preserve [e] two living creatures [e]; the name of
50 the one thou didst call [f] Behemoth [f] and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan. And
thou didst separate the one from the other; for the seventh part [g], where the water was gathered
51 together, was unable to hold them (both). And thou didst give Behemoth one of the parts which
52 had been dried up on the third day to dwell in, (that namely) where are a thousand hills: but unto
Leviathan thou gavest the seventh part, namely the moist: and thou hast reserved them to be
devoured by whom thou wilt and when.
53 But upon the sixth day thou didst command the earth that it should bring forth before thee cattle,
54 beasts, and creeping things; and over these Adam, whom thou didst ordain lord over all the works
that [h] thou didst create before him [h]: of him we are all sprung, whom thou hast chosen (to be)
(thy) people.
55 All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou hast said that for our sakes thou hast
56 created [i] this world [i]. But as for the other nations, which are descended from Adam, thou hast said
that they are nothing, and that they are like unto spittle; and thou hast likened the abundance of
57 them to a drop on a bucket. And now, O Lord, behold these nations which are reputed as nothing
58 [j] lord it over us [j] and [k] crush [k] us. But we, thy people whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy
59 only-begotten, [l] thy beloved [most dear] [l], are given up into their hands. If the world has indeed
been created for our sakes [m] why do we not enter into possession of our world [m]? How long shall
this endure?

(*cf. Ethiop.* Ar.[1]) : 𝔏 Arm. > [b–b] 𝔏 investigabiles [c–c] 𝔏 futuro plasmato [d] 𝔏 + quod ei iubebatur: *but all other VSS.* > [e–e] *reading* duo animalia (= 𝔖, &c.): *Lat. MSS.* duo animas (S A C M) [f–f] *reading* Behemoth (so 𝔖 *Ethiop.*): Enoch (S A) [g] 𝔖 + the moist [h–h] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 fecisti [i–i] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 primogenitum saeculum [j–j] *reading* dominantur nostri (S dominari: A quaerunt dominari) [k–k] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 devorant [l–l] 𝔏 aemulatorem carissimum (? *a double rendering of* τον αγαπητον σου): *see further EA*, p. 96 [m–m] *reading* quare non haereditatem possidemus nostrum saeculum

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46. . . . **do service unto man.** The apocalyptic writer here especially emphasizes the thought that the stars are man's servants, because by all the rest of the world they were regarded as gods.

49. **two living creatures,** i.e. the two primaeval monsters, Behemoth and Leviathan. For the myth see *EA*, pp. 90–92, and cf. 1 En. lxix. 7 f., and notes.

51. **where are a thousand hills.** The haggadic interpretation of Ps. l. 10 made *Behemoth* (there rendered 'cattle' in *PBV*) identical with the primaeval monster of our text—*Behemoth* being pictured as lying 'upon a thousand hills' and feeding upon them.

52. **to be devoured by whom thou wilt and when.** By whom they are to be devoured is only vaguely indicated in our text. In the parallel passage in 2 Bar. xxix. 4 it is explicitly stated that the monsters will provide food for all who survive into the Messianic time (the Messianic banquet). This is, doubtless, the original form of the haggada, which has been purposely modified here by S because the Messianic hope was to him no longer clear.

55. **for our sakes thou hast created this world.** For the doctrine that the world was created for the sake of Israel cf. vii. 11, Ass. Mos. i. 12, 2 Bar. xv. 7, xxi. 24, xiv. 18 (and notes); and see further *EA*, p. 94.

56. **the other nations . . . are nothing.** Cf. Isa. xl. 17.

like unto spittle. Cf. Isa. xl. 15 (LXX), ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται. The Hebrew text has דק, 'small dust', which LXX misread רק, *sputum*. Apparently the Greek translator here made a similar mistake (perhaps under the influence of the LXX). The Syriac has 'thou hast likened' here for 'they are like'.

58. **thy first-born, thy only-begotten.** The only direct parallel where the epithet 'only-begotten' is applied to Israel appears to be Ps. Sol. xviii. 4 (cf. xiii. 8); but, as Volkmar points out, the application of μονογενής to God's Son in Christian writings (cf. John i. 18; Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Trypho.* c, cv) confirms the inference that Jewish exegesis had already deduced this epithet as applicable to the people of Israel. See further *EA*, p. 96. For the general idea of *vv.* 57–58, cf. 2 Bar. v. 1, 4 Ezra iv. 23.

III. The Debate renewed: the Corruption of the Present World makes the Path to the Future World of Felicity narrow and difficult

(vii. 1–25) (S).

(*a*) vv. 1–16.

S **7** 1 And when I had finished speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel who had been
2 sent unto me [n] on the former nights [n]. And he said unto me: Up, *Ezra*, and hear the words that
3 I have come to speak unto thee. And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said unto me: There
4 is a sea lying in a wide expanse so that it is [o] broad' [o] and vast; but the entrance thereto [p] lies [p]
5 in a narrow space so as to be like a river. He, then, that really desireth to go upon the sea to behold it or to [q] navigate it [q], if he pass not through the narrow part, how shall he be able to come into
6 the broad? Again, [r] another (illustration) [r]. There is a builded city which lies on level ground,
7 and it is full of all good things; but its entrance is narrow and lies [s] on a steep [s], having fire on the
8 right hand and deep water on the left; and there is one only path lying between them both, that is between the fire and the water, (and so small) is this path, that it can contain only one man's
9 footstep at once. If, now, this city be given to a man for an inheritance, unless the heir pass
10 through the danger set before him, how shall he receive his inheritance? And I said: It is so, lord!
11 Then said he unto me: Even so, also, is Israel's portion; for it was for their sakes I made the world; but when Adam transgressed my statutes, [t] then that which had been made was judged [t],
12 and then [u] the ways [u] of this world became narrow and sorrowful and painful [v] [*few and evil*], [v]

[n–n] 𝔏 primis noctibus = 𝔖: Ethiop. before on the night that was past: Ar.[1] > [o–o] *reading* latum *for* altum [p–p] so 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) 𝔏 erit . . . positus (= εσται [for εστι] . . . κειμενη) [q–q] 𝔏 dominari eius = 𝔖: (*Ethiop.* to attain it): *prob., as Gunkel suggests, the original Hebr.* לרדת = to go down on, *i.e.* to navigate, *was misread* לִרְדֹּת [r–r] 𝔏 aliud (*cf. Hebr. phrase* דָּבָר אַחֵר) [s–s] 𝔏 in praecipiti: 𝔖 in the height [t–t] 𝔏 iudicatum est quod factum est [u–u] *so Ethiop.* (*also in v.* 13) = αι οδοι: 𝔏 introitus (*so* 𝔖) = αι εισοδοι [v–v] *prob. a gloss* (*see EA*, p. 102)

vii. 1–25. The archangel Uriel now intervenes for the third time, and in this and the following sections of the third vision, which belong to S, sets forth the definitive solution of the problem, the answer to which had only been given in a partial and incomplete form in the earlier part of the Apocalypse (cf. iv. 1–21, iv. 26 f., v. 31 f.).

Uriel begins by comparing the present world to the narrow entrance which leads to a wide and open sea. Only through the narrow is it possible to come into the broad. Or, again, to a narrow and dangerous road, flanked by fire on one side and deep water on the other, which is the only means of entrance to a splendid city 'full of good things' and set in a spacious plain.

The present world is the narrow and difficult way along which the righteous must pass in order to gain the spacious freedom of the future world of happiness (cf. *v.* 14). The present world was originally created for Israel, but through Adam's transgression has become the vale of misery and suffering for the righteous which they now endure. It will be seen that the following results are implicit in this answer: (1) Israel has no part or lot in the present world; its inheritance of light and felicity will only be attained after the thornful path of the present world has been traversed; (2) the heathen enjoy and possess the present fleeting and corruptible world (so far as they actually do so) in accordance with God's will; they at the same time are being used by God as instruments for the discipline of the chosen people (cf. v. 30); this will continue till the present world comes to its predestined end, and meanwhile Israel has necessarily to endure the present evil with its consequences of mortality and death; (3) the future world is for Israel alone. The promises made to God's people can only be fulfilled by the extinction of the present evil, i.e. by the destruction of the present world. When this has been accomplished the future world will *ipso facto* have come into view.

In *v.* 17 f. a new question is propounded by the apocalyptist. Are 'these things' (i.e. the felicity of the future world) destined for Israel as such, or only for the righteous members of the nation? Salathiel's question can only refer to Israel. And since, even in the case of Israel, the *cor malignum* militated against any personal claim to justifying righteousness, the answer to the question should be that Israel, the people which owes its choice by God purely to an act of divine grace, and not to any merit of its own, is destined to participate in the future blessings. This, in fact, seems to be the significance of the answer given in *v.* 19 f. Here the angel, it would appear, replies to Salathiel's question only indirectly. He ignores the distinction between righteous and transgressors within Israel—all Israel, judged by the strict requirements of the divine Law, are transgressors—and proceeds to emphasize the heinous sin of the heathen world in openly despising and scorning the divine Law (*v.* 20 f.). Israel, however imperfect in obedience and performance, had at least recognized the obligation of accepting the divine Law, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Divine giver of the Law; it had not been guilty of open blasphemy.

There is a well-defined break at *v.* 16, where the author, having demonstrated the reality and significance of the future world, turns to consider the theme: Who will be found worthy of inheriting it? To mark this division the section is divided into (*a*) *vv.* 1–16 and (*b*) *vv.* 17–25.

5. **to navigate it**, lit. 'to go down upon it' (see crit. note); for the phrase cf. Ps. cvii. 23.

7. **having fire**, &c. The simile of the city with one entrance occurs in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Simil. ix. 12. 5; cf. also, for the figure of the difficult way, Matt. vii. 13, 14.

10. **Even so . . . is Israel's portion.** It is clear from this verse that Israel's portion is identified with the future world.

11. **then that which had been made was judged.** The thought of the apocalyptist is that the world, after Adam's sin, was no longer the good world as it had been originally created by the hand of God.

12. **the ways** (so also *v.* 13). So the Ethiop. (rightly). The Latin and Syriac have 'entrances'; but this confuses the representation. It is not so much the entrances of this world that are narrow and difficult, as this world itself considered as the way that has to be traversed in order to enter the next world.

13 and full of perils coupled with great toils. But the ways [w] of the future world [w] are broad and safe,
14 and yield the fruit of immortality. If, then, the living shall not have surely entered into these
15 narrow and vain things, they will not be able to receive what has been reserved for them. But now
Why disquietest thou thyself that thou art corruptible?
Why art thou moved because thou art mortal?
16 Why hast thou not considered what is to come, rather than what is now present?

(*b*) vv. 17–25.

17 Then answered I and said: O Lord my Lord, lo, thou hast ordained in thy Law that the righteous
18 shall inherit these things, but that the ungodly shall perish. The righteous, therefore, can endure the narrow things because they hope for the wide; those, however, who have done wickedly endure
19 the narrow things, but yet [x] shall not see [x] the wide. And he said unto me:
[y] Thou art not [y] a judge above God
Nor wise above the Most High.
20 Yea, rather, [z] let the many that now are perish [z] than that the law of God which is set before them
21 be despised! For God did surely command them that came (into the world), when they came, what
22 they should do to live, and what they should observe to avoid punishment. Nevertheless they were disobedient, and spake against him;
They devised for themselves vain thoughts,
they proposed to themselves [a] wicked treacheries [a];
23 They even affirmed the Most High exists not,
and [b] ignored [b] his ways!
24 His law they did despise,
and his covenants they denied;
In his statutes they have put no faith,
[c] and have set at naught his commandments [c]:
25 Therefore, *O Ezra*,
For the empty, empty things,
And for the full, full things!

[w–w] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 maioris saeculi [x–x] *reading* non videbunt (M) = 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: non viderunt (S A C) [y–y] *reading* non es (C*) = *Oriental VSS.*: non est (A C** M) [z–z] *reading* pereant . . . neglegatur (*so* S C): 𝔖 shall perish [a–a] 𝔏 circumventiones delictorum [b–b] 𝔏 non cognoverunt [c–c] *so Ar.*[1]: 𝔖 have set at naught his works = *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 et opera eius non perfecerunt

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15. **that thou art corruptible? . . . because thou art mortal?** The seer is bidden not to brood over death and mortality, because, though inevitable, they but mark a necessary stage in the transition to something higher and better. For different views regarding the connexion between death and sin see 2 Bar. xxiii. 4, notes.

16. **what is to come, rather than what is now present.** With these words, as Gunkel points out, the author passes from the consideration of the present age and its difficulties to a new problem. It has been made clear that a new age is destined to come, when a great transformation will be effected. Then present sorrow will be turned to joy, all riddles be solved, all sin wiped out. But the question arises: Who shall be found worthy to participate in the new age? With the discussion of this question, and the problems that arise in connexion with it, the book is now mainly concerned.

17. **in thy law.** Cf. Deut. viii. 1.

20. **Yea, rather, let the many that now are perish,** &c. The angelic reply seems to contemplate, in its reference to sinners, the heathen world, or world outside the chosen people, exclusively (see introduction to the section above). The idea that the Tôrah was not originally designed to be the exclusive possession of Israel, but was offered by God to the Gentiles and deliberately refused by them, is insisted upon in Rabbinic literature (cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 131 f., and see *EA*, p. 105 f.).

23. **They even affirmed the Most High exists not.** Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 59; Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 2.

24. **His law they did despise . . . set at naught his commandments.** The heathen in these verses are charged with open and deliberate defiance of the divine requirements. This is expressed in unbelief and contempt of fundamental moral laws, which are openly spurned. It is a favourite theme in Rabbinical literature that Israel's election was primarily due to faith in God and God's Law; while the heathen spurned the Tôrah as unfit. (Cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 59 f.)

25. **For the empty, empty things,** &c. Those who are destitute of the elements of goodness shall lack the good things of eternity, &c.; cf. Matt. xiii. 12.

IV. The Temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the World. (vii. 26–44) (R) (E).

(*a*) vii. 26–30. *The sudden revelation of the Messiah: his* 400 *years' reign and death: the End of the Age* (R).

R 26 For behold the days come, and it shall be when the signs which I have foretold unto thee shall come to pass,

[[d] Then shall the city that now is invisible appear[d], and the land [e] which is now concealed[e] be seen;]

27, 28 And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see my wonders. For [f] my Son the Messiah[f] shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and [g] shall rejoice[g] the
29 survivors [h] four hundred years[h]. And it shall be, after these years, that [i] my Son[i] the Messiah
30 shall die, and all [j] in whom there is human breath[j]. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left.

(*b*) vii. 31–44. *The General Resurrection and Final Judgement; the Day of Judgement described* (R).

31 And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and [k] that which is corruptible[k] shall perish.

[d-d] *so Arm.*: Ar.[1] and the city which was not shall appear: *Ethiop.* (*misplacing negative*) and the city which now appears shall be hidden: 𝔏 (*misreading* η νυν μη φαινομενη πολις as η νυμφη φαινομενη πολις) et apparebit sponsa [et] apparens (*so* C M; S apparescens) civitas = 𝔖 [e-e] 𝔏 quae nunc subducitur [f-f] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1]: *Ethiop.* my Messiah: *Ar.*[2] the Messiah; *Arm.* the Messiah of God; 𝔏 filius meus Iesus [g-g] *reading* iocundabit (S) = *Oriental VSS.*; iocundabuntur (A C M N) [h-h] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]; 𝔖 thirty; *Ar.*[2] one thousand; *Ethiop. Arm.* > [i-i] *so* 𝔏 𝔖; *Ethiop.* my servant [j-j] *reading* qui spiramentum habent hominis (S homines) [k-k] 𝔏 corruptum (*sc.* saeculum) [l-l] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 *and other VSS.* > [m-m] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 >

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vii. 26–44. The eschatological description which was broken off at vi. 28 is here resumed. The present section, however, seems to be partly the work of R, who has utilized older material. For a full discussion of the reasons for this view reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 108–112. The section falls into two subdivisions, (*a*) vii. 26–30 and (*b*) vii. 31–44.

(*a*) vii. 26–30. This subsection, as we have seen, may be assigned to R, who, however, depends upon an independent Rabbinical tradition, which he here summarizes. But in *v.* 26 *b* R has introduced a feature which is here incongruous—the appearance of the 'heavenly' Jerusalem and Paradise. These belong to the future age; whereas the temporary Messianic kingdom belongs to the present age and terminates with it. A similar confusion—probably also due to an interpolation by R—occurs in ch. xiii, where *v.* 36 does not harmonize with the context. The confusion might easily arise at a time when the earthly Jerusalem lay in ruins and when it would be natural to seek consolation in directing the thoughts to the more glorious city in heaven. The purification of the 'earthly' city would be the natural preparation for a 'temporary' Messianic age; but as the city had been destroyed this had been made impossible. Hence the necessity of introducing the heavenly Jerusalem—for a Messianic age without Jerusalem as a centre would have been inconceivable. In face of conflicting views as to whether Jerusalem was to be restored or no, R takes a mediating view. The End is not yet—a temporary Messianic age is to dawn; but the earthly city is not to be restored; instead, the heavenly city is to appear. Primaeval chaos and the End will only follow after this interlude.

The redactor has thus woven together two sets of mutually irreconcilable ideas. This is equally true of his representation of the Messiah himself. The Messiah is to be 'revealed'—suddenly, as it seems—'together with those who are with him'. As the latter must be the immortal companions 'who have never tasted death' it is clear that a heavenly pre-existence for the Messiah himself is implied, as in fact appears in other passages (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiv. 9; 2 Bar. xxx, &c.). At the close of his reign, therefore, the Messiah ought to return in glory to heaven, as he is made to do in 2 Bar. xxx. But according to R he and his immortal companions share the common fate with the righteous, and die with all men! See further *EA*, pp. 112–13.

26. **the city that now is invisible**, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem (for text see crit. note).

the land which is now concealed, i.e. the heavenly Paradise. For the juxtaposition cf. viii. 52.

28. **those who are with him**, i.e. the Messiah's immortal companions; cf. vi. 28 note.

the survivors. Only the surviving righteous share in the joys of the Messianic reign; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 50.

four hundred years. The versions are not consistent as to this number (see crit. note). In Rabbinic tradition various numbers were deduced for the length of the temporary Messianic kingdom (see the passages cited in *EA*, p. 115 f.); the number 400 is associated in one passage with R. Dosa, but elsewhere with the name of R. Eliezer b. Hyrqanos. The number was deduced by combining Gen. xv. 13 and Ps. xc. 15. It should be noted that the conception of a temporary Messianic kingdom which belongs to the present age, and terminates with it, is also met with in 2 Baruch (cf. xl. 3); cf. also Rev. xx. 3. It is a compromise between the older prophetic view which looked for a final consummation of felicity on the present earth, and the later transcendental view which transferred it to a future age, after the destruction of the present order.

30. **Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days.** *Urzeit* = *Endzeit* (Gunkel).

(*b*) vii. 31–44. Here again R is summarizing different traditions. These are not always easy to reconcile; thus, e.g., it is difficult to harmonize the 'week' of years (seven years) in *v.* 43 with the seven 'days' of primaeval silence mentioned in *v.* 30. An important point to note is that the judgement, which is final and universal, and which, therefore, is preceded by a 'general' resurrection, is depicted as forensic in character. This is implied by the

32 And
the earth shall restore those that sleep in her,
and the dust those that are at rest therein,
[and the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them].
33 And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement:
[l] (and then cometh the End) [l]
and compassion shall pass away,
[m] (and pity be far off,) [m]
and longsuffering [n] withdrawn [n];
34 But [o] judgement [o] alone shall remain,
truth shall stand,
and faithfulness triumph.
35 And [p] recompense [p] shall follow,
and the reward be made manifest;
[q] Deeds of righteousness [q] shall awake,
and deeds of iniquity shall not sleep.
36 And then shall [r] the pit of torment [r] appear,
[s] and over against it the place of refreshment [s];
The furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest,
and over against it the Paradise of delight.
37 And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised [from the dead]:
Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments ye have despised.
38 [t] Look, now, before [you] [t]:
here delight and refreshment,
there fire and torments!
Thus [u] shall he speak [u] unto them in the Day of Judgement,
39 [v] For thus shall the Day of Judgement be [v]:
[w] [A day] whereon is neither sun [w], nor moon, nor stars;
40 neither clouds, [x] nor thunder, nor lightning [x];
neither wind, nor rain-storm, nor [y] cloud-rack [y];
neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;

[n–n] 𝔏 congregabitur [o–o] *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop.*: 𝔖 my judgement [p–p] 𝔏 opus (= 𝔖; cf. *Ethiop.*) = Heb. פְּעֻלָּה [q–q] 𝔏 iustitiae [r–r] *reading* lacus tormenti = 𝔖 (*emended*) *Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar.*) [s–s] *reading* et contra illum erit locus requietionis (*for* requisitionis) = 𝔖 *Ar.* [t–t] = βλεπετε ουν κατεναντιον (*so Oriental VSS.* + you): 𝔏 videte contra et in contra (*dittography*) [u–u] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 shalt thou speak [v–v] *reading* dies enim iudicii talis qui [neque solem habet]; cf. 𝔖 (for that day of Judgement is thus; *cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 haec talis quae (this is such a day as) [w–w] *cf.* 𝔖 there is no sun in it: 𝔏 quae neque solem habet (? *pointing to a text* η ουκ ηλιος εσται εν αυτη = אשר לא יהיה שמש בו) [x–x] *so* 𝔏 (*cf. Ar.*[2]): *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. invert the order* [y–y] 𝔏 aerem = αηρ = ש.זק

representation in *v.* 33, according to which the Most High is revealed 'upon (i.e. seated upon) the throne of judgement'; cf. Dan. vii. 9, 1 En. xc. 20, xxv. 3; and in the similitudes (of the Elect One), 1 En. xlv. 3, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxix. 27. In all these passages the Divine Judge is spoken of as seated on the judgement throne (*sedes iudicii*, 4 Ezra vii. 33), i.e. to judge in a forensic sense. When, on the other hand, the Heavenly One is said to 'arise from his royal throne' (*Ass. Mos.* x. 3), this is the formula for the execution of retributive judgement (cf. Volz, p. 261). According to *T. B. Pesaḥ.* 54 *a* and *Ned.* 39 *b*, this throne was one of the seven things created before the world.

Both in this section and the preceding, clauses which R seems to have derived directly from S have been enclosed in square brackets. The long fragment which is missing from most of the Latin codices, and which was recovered by Bensly, begins after *v.* 35; it finds its place between *vv.* 35 and 36 of the ordinary Vulgate text. These additional verses are numbered consecutively in the following translation (as in R.V.), and form *vv.* 36–105. The remaining verses (Vulg. 36–70) now appear as 106–140.

31. **that which is corruptible,** i.e. the present corruptible and mortal world; with the appearance of the new order this vanishes. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 26.

32. **the earth shall restore . . . and the chambers the souls,** &c., i.e. the earth shall restore the bodies of the dead, and the chambers their souls. At the resurrection the soul would return to and revive the body. This is the orthodox Rabbinic doctrine. See further *EA*, p. 119 f.

33. **(and then cometh the End).** See crit. note. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

compassion . . . (pity) . . . longsuffering, viz. of the Divine Judge (Ethiop. renders 'his compassion', &c.). The final judgement is pictured as conducted in accordance with the strict requirements of perfect equity and justice.

35. **Deeds of righteousness.** In Rabbinic language this term would denote definite acts of charity such as those enumerated in Matt. xxv. 35–46 (cf. James ii. 14 f.), and more particularly almsgiving. Such acts, and the performance of religious duties generally, constituted 'the treasure of good works laid up with the Most High' (cf. vii. 77).

36. **the pit of torment.** Cf. Rev. ix. 2.

37. **the nations . . . raised [from the dead].** Cf. Matt. xxv. 31 f. For the idea cf. *EA*, p. 124.

R 41 [z] neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter;
neither heat, nor frost, nor cold [z];
neither hail, nor rain, nor dew;
42 neither noon, nor night, nor [a] dawn [a];
neither shining, nor brightness, nor light,
save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see
43, 44 what has been determined (for them). And its duration shall be as it were a week of years. Such is my Judgement and [b] its prescribed order [b]: to thee only have I showed these things.

V. The Debate continued (from vii. 25): Israel's Election and the Problem of Righteousness.

(vii. 45–ix. 22.)

(1) vii. 45–74. The Fewness of the Saved justified: this followed by a Lament over Man's Evil Case (S).

(*a*) vii. 45–61. *The fewness of the saved.*

S 45 And I answered and said: O Lord, I said even then and say now: Blessed are [c] they who come (into the world) [c] and keep [d] thy commandments [d].

[z–z] *so substantially* 𝔖; 𝔏 neque aestatem neque verem neque aestum neque hiemem neque gelum neque frigus [a–a] 𝔏 ante lucem (*? for an original* antelucium: *so Bensly*) [b–b] 𝔏 constitutio eius (= ? η συνταξις αυτου = חקתו): 𝔖 its law [c–c] *cf.* 𝔖 (all they who come): 𝔏 qui praesentes [d–d] 𝔏 quae a te constituta sunt (? τα σου διατε-

41. **neither summer . . . cold.** The order adopted in the text is substantially that of 𝔖; the first line contains the names of three seasons, the second those of three temperatures. The verse is an expansion of Gen. viii. 22 *b c*. For the equivalents (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) of the terms used cf. *EA*, p. 126.

42. **whereby all shall be destined to see,** &c. The meaning is that the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will serve to reveal what is prepared for the judgement. For the representation cf. Is. lx. 19 f., Rev. xxi. 23. Gunkel remarks that the verses breathe the spirit of the mystic before which all that hides the vision of God disappears.

43. **a week of years.** Cf. the seven days of silence in *v.* 30; but here each day = one year. For a week (or weeks) of years cf. Dan. ix. 24 f. (the seventy weeks = seventy weeks of years).

vii. 45–ix. 22. The rest of this long vision, which, with the exception of one section (viii. 63–ix. 12), belongs to S, is mainly occupied with the problem which has already been touched upon in vii. 17 f.: if, as the Law itself proclaims, piety—that is, the pious fulfilment of the duties and obligations entailed by the observance of the Law—is the necessary condition for enjoying the future blessedness, what of the godless who do not fulfil these conditions? The heathen, it is true, have not fulfilled the obligations of the divine Law, but who has? Who among mortals has not transgressed the divine precepts (vii. 46 f., cf. viii. 35)? This feeling of human unworthiness, which leads the apocalyptist sometimes almost to doubt whether any can be saved at all, and, in the conviction of his own personal unworthiness, to identify himself with the transgressors, and even to give noble expression to pity for the fate of the multitudes of mankind who are doomed to final perdition, is only set at rest with the assurance that a real difference exists between Israel and the heathen world. The election of the chosen people is not for nothing. They at least are the guardians of the divine Law, and as a whole strive to observe it, whereas the other nations of the world have deliberately rejected and spurned it (cf. vii. 72 and vii. 23 f.). The sin that dooms is rejection of the Law—salvation consists in accepting it. Judged by this standard Israel, on the one side, is accepted, and the heathen world, on the other, is condemned. Individual doubts as to personal unworthiness are resolved by a feeling for the solidarity of the nation. From this point of view the merits of the righteous in Israel may be pleaded on behalf of those members of the chosen race who have not kept the Law and are sinners (cf. the prayer in viii. 26 f., but note the answer, viii. 37–40). The whole of this part of the book forms a vivid and profoundly moving picture of the doubts and questions that must have agitated the minds of many pious Jews at the end of the first century. These doubts are calmed, perhaps, but hardly removed by the solution. The only consolation the apocalyptist receives is to be bidden to avert his gaze from the awful results of human frailty and sin, and contemplate rather the joys reserved for the righteous. The world to come is reserved for few. The whole section may be subdivided as follows:—

(1) vii. 45–74. *The fewness of the saved justified: this followed by a lament over man's evil case* (S).
(2) vii. 75–101. *The state of the soul after death and before the judgement* (S).
(3) vii. 102–115. *No intercession on the day of judgement* (S).
(4) vii. 116–131. *What avails the promise to man who is born to sin? Yet, though tragic, the sinner's doom is deserved* (S).
(5) vii. 132–viii. 62. *Doubts as to how the perdition of so many can be justified from the point of view of God's character and attributes: the divine reply* (S).
(6) viii. 63–ix. 12. *The signs of the End reviewed and applied to the author's own times* (R).
(7) ix. 13–22. *The divine reply concluded: final justification of the fewness of the saved* (S).

(1) vii. 45–74. The apocalyptist resumes the debate which was broken off at vii. 25. He had raised the question (vii. 17 f.) regarding the justice of the punishment meted out to the ungodly. To this subject he now returns. The righteous indeed are to be blessed, but what is to be said of those who have transgressed the divine covenant? The doom of disobedience lies not upon a few only, but upon well nigh all who have been created! True, the angel replies: the just are comparatively few, and for them the future felicity is reserved. But this is only in accordance with the

46 But concerning those for whom my prayer (was offered): who is there of those who have come
(into the world) that has not sinned? Or who of the earth-born is there that has not transgressed
47 [e] thy covenant [e]? And now I see that the coming Age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto
48 many. For the evil heart has grown up in us
which has estranged us [f] from God [f],
and brought us into destruction;
And [ff] has made known to us [ff] the ways of death,
and showed us the paths of perdition,
and removed us far from life;
and that not a few only, but well nigh all that have been created!
49 And he answered me and said:
Hear me,[g] and I will instruct thee,
and a second time will admonish thee:
50, 51 For this cause the Most High has made not one Age but two. And whereas thou hast said that
the righteous are not many but few, [h] while the ungodly abound [h]—[i] hear (the answer) to this [i]:
52 Suppose thou have choice stones, in number exceeding few; [j] wilt thou set (place) with them lead
and clay [j]?
53 And I said: Lord, how should it be possible?
54 And he said unto me: Not only so, but
Ask the earth, and she shall tell thee;
[k] Speak to her [k], and she shall declare it unto thee.
55, 56 Say to her: Thou bringest forth gold and silver and brass—and also iron and lead and clay: but
silver is more abundant than gold, and brass than silver, and iron than brass, lead than iron, and
57 clay than lead. Do thou, then, consider which things are precious and to be desired: that which is
abundant or that which is rare?
58 And I said: O Lord my Lord, that which is plentiful is of less worth, but that which is more rare
is precious.
59 And he answered me and said: [l] Weigh within thyself [l] what thou hast thought! For he that has
[m] what is rare [m] rejoices beyond him that has what is plentiful.
60 [n] So also shall be my promised judgement; [n] I will rejoice over the few that shall be saved, inas-
much as they it is [o] that make my glory prevail now already [o] and through them my name is now
already named (with praise).
61 And I will not grieve over the multitude of them that perish: for they it is who now
are made like vapour,

ταγμενα) [e–e] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]: 𝔖 commandment; *Ethiop.* statute (? *different readings in Greek*, διαθηκην, διαταγην) [f–f] 𝔏 ab his (*sc* commandments) = 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: *perhaps, as Violet suggests, in original Hebrew* מן־האלה (*i.e.* מן־האלהים) *was misunderstood* [ff–ff] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 > [g] 𝔖 + Ezra [h–h] *so* 𝔏 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*): 𝔖 > [i–i] 𝔏 audi ad haec = 𝔖 [j–j] *so* Ar.[1] (cf. 𝔖): 𝔏 si habueris paucos valde, ad numerum compones eos tibi . . . plumbum autem et fictile habundat (*prob.* plumbum et fictile *have fallen out in dotted space*: *then the last clause will be a gloss*: *see further EA*, p. 123) [k–k] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 adulare ei [l–l] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 *corrupt* [m–m] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[2]): 𝔏 quod difficile est [n–n] *so substantially Oriental VSS.*; 𝔏 sic et a me repromissa creatura (*confusion of* κρισις *with* κτισις) [o–o] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[2]): 𝔏 qui gloriam meam nunc dominationem (*l.* dominatiorem) fecerunt

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rule that the most precious things are the rarest. Therefore the few that are to be saved, inasmuch as they have made the divine glory to prevail, shall be a cause for rejoicing, and the multitude of the lost is not a subject for grief (*vv.* 45–61). If so, the apocalyptist replies, man's lot is indeed a terrible one: it had been better for him to have been like the beasts that perish. 'For it is far better with them than with us; they look not for judgement, neither do they know of torments or of salvation promised to them after death.' We perish conscious of the doom awaiting us! The angel answers: Man brings the doom upon himself—he has deliberately transgressed the divine commandments; and, moreover, the Most High has been very longsuffering (*vv.* 62–74).

The section falls into two subdivisions, (*a*) vii. 45–61 and (*b*) vii. 62–74.

52. **Suppose thou have choice stones . . . wilt thou set (place) with them lead and clay.** 'The comparison implies that the number of the elect (to borrow the epithet used in the Latin) cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements' (Bensly).

54. **Not only so, but.** The connexion is: one does not add inferior things to precious, in order to increase the number of the latter. There is a real distinction, which one recognizes between them. But further, the earth also teaches the same lesson tha what is rare is precious. It would appear, as Gunkel remarks, that the author, from the emphasis he lays on the statement that what is rare is precious, is conscious that there is something novel in the idea to his readers.

55. **Say to her.** For the representation (asking the earth) cf. viii. 2, Job xvi. 18, &c.

56. **but silver . . . lead.** This, according to Ewald, is to be regarded as the answer of the earth.

61. **are made like vapour.** For the figure cf. Ps. cxliv. 4, James iv. 14; also 2 Bar. lxxxii. 3 f.

S [p] counted as smoke,
are comparable unto the flame [p]:
They are fired, burn hotly, are extinguished!

(*b*) vii. 62–74. *The apocalyptist's lament over man's evil case.*

62 And I answered and said: O thou Earth, what hast thou brought forth, if the mind is sprung
63 from the dust as every other created thing! It had been better if the dust itself had even been unborn, that the mind might not have come into being from it.
64 But, as it is, the mind grows with us, and on this account we are tormented, because we perish and know it.
65 Let the human race [q] lament [q],
but the beasts of the field be glad!
Let all the earth-born [q] mourn [q],
but let the cattle and flocks rejoice!
66 For it is far better with them than with us; for they have no judgement to look for, neither do they know of any torture or of any salvation promised to them after death.
67 For what doth it profit us that [r] we shall be preserved alive [r], but yet suffer great torment?
68 For all the earth-born
[s] are defiled with iniquities [s],
full of sins,
laden with offences.
69 And if after death we were not to come into judgement, it might, perchance, [t] have been [t] far better for us!
70 And he answered me and said: When the Most High made the world, and Adam, and all that came [u] of him [u], he first prepared the Judgement, and the things that pertain unto the Judgement.
71 But, now, from thine own words understand: for thou hast said that the mind grows with us.
72 For this reason, therefore, shall the sojourners in the earth suffer torture, because having understanding they yet wrought iniquity, and receiving precepts they yet kept them not, and having obtained the Law [v] they set at naught [v] that which they received.
73 What, then, will they have to say in the Judgement, or how shall they answer in the last times?
74 For how long a time hath the Most High been longsuffering with the inhabitants of the world—not for their sakes, indeed, but for the sake of the times which he has ordained!

[p–p] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et flammae ac fumo adaequati sunt (= *Ethiop.*) [q–q] (q–q) *so* 𝔖 (*using two different verbs*): 𝔏 lugeat . . . lugeant [r–r] 𝔏 salvati salvabimur: 𝔖 = viventes vivimus (= *Hebr.* חיה נחיה: *see EA*, p. 138) [s–s] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 commixti sunt iniquitatibus (= συμπεφυρμενοι εισιν ανομιαις) [t–t] *so Oriental VSS.* (= fuisset): 𝔏 venisset [u–u] *so Oriental VSS. and CMV* (= ex eo): A cum eo [v–v] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 fraudaverunt (A) fraudati sunt

are comparable unto the flame. The flame which, as it were, consumes itself, is here a figure, apparently for evanescence.

62. **if the mind is sprung from the dust.** This materialistic view, though evidently familiar to S, is not shared by him; it is contrary to his theology, according to which the soul (with the mind) is the higher immortal element which enters into the body (regarded as the lower element) at birth.

64. **we perish and know it.** The possession of mind and reasoning powers only intensifies human sufferings at the last, because they must be endured with full knowledge and consciousness of their terrible nature; inevitable and unceasing.

65. **the cattle and flocks.** As Gunkel remarks, the statement expressed in this verse is, from the point of view of the ancients, startling and revolutionary. It represents a phase of doubt which threatened to subvert the whole outlook of the ancient world, which regarded man as lord of creation, and as raised to a pinnacle of superiority over all below him. Cf. Gen. i, Ps. viii.

70. **he first prepared the Judgement,** &c. It is a fundamental dogma of S that the whole course of the world's history has been predestinated by God: the End, which includes the Day of Judgement, comes when the predetermined number of the elect shall have been fulfilled (cf. iv. 35 f.). Paradise and Gehenna, the places essentially associated with the Judgement, were among the seven things created before the world, according to Rabbinic theology (cf. *T. B. Pesaḥ.* 54 *a*, &c.); cf. also viii. 52, and *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 16 (ed. Taylor).

72. **because having understanding they yet wrought iniquity.** Cf. 2 Bar. xv. 5, 6, and xix. 3, xlviii. 40; cf. also *Ep. Barn.* v. 4: 'A man shall utterly perish, who, having the knowledge of the way of righteousness, forceth himself into the way of darkness.' For the idea that the Gentiles had been offered and had rejected the Law, cf. Weber, pp. 57 ff.

73. **What, then, will they have to say,** &c. The representation is forensic. The questions addressed by God to those who appear at the bar of judgement at the last great assize are referred to in several passages both in apocalyptic and Rabbinical literature (cf. *T. B. Yoma* 35 *b*; and see further Volz, p. 246 f., *EA*, p. 140).

(2) vii. 75–101. THE STATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH AND BEFORE THE JUDGEMENT (S).

75 And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, [w] O Lord [w], show this also to thy servant: whether after death, even now when every one of us must give back his soul, we shall be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew the creation, or shall we suffer torture [x] forthwith [x]?

76 And he answered me, and said: I will show this also unto thee; but do not thou mingle thyself with them that have scorned, nor number thyself with those that suffer torment.

77 For thou hast a treasure of works laid up with the Most High, but it shall not be showed thee until the last times.

78 And concerning death the teaching is: When [y] the decisive decree [y] has gone forth from the Most High that the man should die,

as [z] the soul [z] from the body departs

[a] that it may return [a] to him who gave it,

79 to adore the glory of the Most High, first of all: if it be one of those that have scorned

(C M V): *l.* ? frustraverunt [w–w] *so* 𝔏, &c.: 𝔖 O Lord my Lord [x–x] 𝔏 amodo = *απ' αρτι* [y–y] 𝔏 terminus sententiae (= חק המשפט) [z–z] 𝔏 inspiratione [a–a] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 ut dimittatur (*cf.* 𝔖)

(2) vii. 75–101. The following section describes the state of the soul immediately after death. It is introduced between parts of the Apocalypse which have for their theme different aspects of the last Judgement. It is, therefore, in the nature of a digression: but the subject is one that logically arises from previous allusions, and comes in at this point quite naturally.

In answer to the apocalyptist's inquiry he is told that the spirit, after leaving the body, first of all adores the glory of the Most High and then enters into a state of misery or bliss, corresponding to its ultimate destiny, according as it belongs to the ungodly or righteous. The spirits of the wicked are destined to a wandering existence in torment, in seven degrees: (*a*) They shall be consumed with remorse; (*b*) they will recognize that the past is irrevocable; (*c*) they shall see the reward laid up for the righteous; (*d*) they shall catch a glimpse of the torment reserved for them after the last Judgement; (*e*) 'they shall see the dwelling-places of the others guarded by angels with great quietness'; (*f*) they shall see the torment henceforth reserved for them; (*g*) in the light of the vision of God they shall be consumed with agonizing remorse, confusion, and shame (vii. 78–87).

On the other hand, the spirits of the righteous 'shall be filled with joy (*a*) because they have striven to overcome the *cogitamentum malum*; (*b*) because they see the perplexity and punishment of the ungodly; (*c*) because they see the divine witness to their righteousness; (*d*) because they understand the rest and quiet of their intermediate state, and the glory that awaits them in the final Judgement; (*e*) because they realize the painful corruption from which they have been delivered, and cherish the hope of immortality; (*f*) because of the incorruptible radiance and glory that await them; (*g*) "because they shall rejoice with confidence, and be bold without confusion, and shall be glad without fear, for they hasten to behold the face of him whom in their lifetime they served, and from whom they shall receive their reward in glory"' (vii. 88–98).[1]

These descriptions, which are psychological in character, apparently portray the emotional experiences of the soul, through which it passes during the entire period of the intermediate state. In its subtle delineation of the soul-life the whole section is remarkable, and by the elevation and refinement of its conceptions affords a striking contrast to similar descriptions in other parts of the apocalyptic literature (e.g. 1 En. xxii). No such detailed description of the state of the soul occurs in the Baruch-Apocalypse.

At the end of the section (vii. 100–101) one other detail is added. The souls shall be free for seven days immediately after death that they may realize the things which have been described, after which they enter into their habitations. Apparently this only applies to the souls of the righteous, as it is explicitly stated in *v.* 80 that the souls of the wicked do not enter into habitations at all, but wander to and fro in torment. How the souls pass from the states here described to the final Judgement is not told. In 2 Bar. xxx this is accomplished by means of the resurrection, which is there described in detail. See further Volz, p. 135 f.; Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 294 f.

75. **thou shalt renew the creation.** For the expression cf. *καινὴ κτίσις* (= בריה חדשה), Gal. vi. 15, 2 Cor. vi. 17, and for the idea of the renovation of the world, Matt. xix. 28, 'in the regeneration' (*ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ*); 2 Pet. ii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. The same phrase occurs in 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, 'when the Mighty One shall renew his creation' (cf. xliv. 12, lvii. 2). The incorruptible world which is to succeed the present order at the final Judgement is meant. Cf. v. 45.

77. **a treasure of works.** The idea of works being stored up in treasuries (in heaven) occurs also in 2 Bar. xiv. 12. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 33 (contrast viii. 36). But much greater stress is laid on good works in 2 Baruch than in 4 Ezra. According to the latter very few indeed have, by their strict performance of the requirements of the Law, been able to claim any such accumulation of merit. It is faith in the Law (i.e. open acknowledgement of its divine character and obligation) which will save most of those who are destined to be saved: cf. ix. 7, 'every one that shall be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his faith'), xiii. 23 and vi. 5 ('treasuries of faith'). The most esteemed way in which such treasure in heaven could be gathered, according to the accepted Jewish standard of ethics, was by the practice of benevolence (Hebr. *gĕmîluth ḥăsadîm*), especially by almsgiving (cf. in the N.T. Matt. vi. 20, Luke xii. 33, 1 Tim. vi. 17 f., and illustrate from *Pe'a* i. 1, where it is said that *gĕmîlûth ḥăsādîm*, the promotion of peace between man and man, and the study of the Law, are 'the things whose fruits are enjoyed in this life, while their capital remains [invested] for the life to come').

it shall not be showed thee until the last times. The treasuries would not be opened till the last Judgement. Cf. 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

78. **that it may return to him who gave it.** Cf. Eccles. xii. 7.

to adore the glory of the Most High, &c. This sentence, as Gunkel points out, is epexegetical to the previous line ('that it may return to him who gave it'). The citation from Eccles. xii. 7 is understood by the author in the

[1] The above excellent summary is derived from Maldwyn Hughes's *Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Lit.*, p. 305 f.

S and have not kept [b] the ways [b] of the Most High,
[c] that have despised his law,[c]
and that hate those who fear God—

80 Such souls shall not enter into habitations, but shall wander about henceforth in torture, ever grieving and sad, in seven ways.

81, 82 The first way (is) that [d] they have scorned [d] the Law of the Most High; the second way, that they
83 are now unable [e] to make a good repentance for life [e]; the third way (is): they shall see the
84 reward laid up for those who have believed [f] the covenants of the Most High [f]; the fourth way,
85 that they shall regard the torture laid up for themselves in the last days [g]; the fifth way, that they
86 shall see how the habitations [h] of the other souls [h] are guarded by angels in profound quietness; the
87 sixth way, that they shall see [i] how from now henceforth they must pass over into torture [i]. The seventh way, which exceeds all the aforesaid ways, (is):

that they shall pine away for shame,
and be consumed [j] with confusion [j],
and withered [k] with fear [k],

in that they see the glory of the Most High, before whom they have sinned in life, and before whom they are destined to be judged in the last times.

88 Of those, however, who have kept the ways of the Most High this is [l] the order [l], when they shall be separated from this vessel of mortality.

89 [m] What time they dwelt therein [m] they painfully served the Most High, and were in jeopardy every hour, that they might observe the Law of the lawgiver perfectly.

90, 91 Wherefore the matter as it relates to them is as follows: First of all they shall see with great joy
92 the glory of him who receives them; and they shall rest [n] in seven orders [n]. The first order (is): that they have striven much and painfully to overcome [o] the innate evil thought [o], that it might not
93 lead them astray [p] from life [p] unto death. The second order (is): that they see [q] the round [q] in
94 which the souls of the ungodly wander, and [r] the punishment that awaits them [r]. The third order (is): they see the witness which their Fashioner attests concerning them, that while they were alive
95 [s] they faithfully observed the Law which was given to them [s]. The fourth order (is): they understand the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness

[b–b] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 viam [c–c] *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop.*: 𝔖 > [d–d] *so* 𝔏 (= ηθετησαν): 𝔖 they have resisted (= ηπειθησαν): *see EA*, p. 145 [e–e] 𝔏 reversionem bonam facere ut vivant: 𝔖 = επιστρεφειν και αγαθοποιειν (*Bensly adopts*) [f–f] so 𝔏 (*Ethiop. Ar.*): 𝔖 > [g] *here* 𝔖 *adds a verse which is not original*: *see EA*, p. 146 [h–h] *so* 𝔖 Ar.[1] (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 aliorum [i–i] *reading* quam amodo pertransient in cruciamentum (*see EA*, p. 146) [j–j] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 in honoribus (= εν τιμιαις [*for* ατιμιαις]: *read* εν ατιμια) [k–k] so 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 in timoribus [l–l] 𝔏 ordo (= η ταξις): 𝔖 way [m–m] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 in eo tempore commoratae [n–n] 𝔏 per septem ordines: 𝔏 *here and in following verses uses* ordo *consistently*; *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: *but* 𝔖 *Ar.*[2] *Arm. use* way (= οδος) *throughout* [o–o] 𝔏 cum eis plasmatum cogitamentum [p–p] so 𝔏 𝔖 *Ar.*[1]; *but Ethiop.* in their present life [q–q] 𝔏 complicationem (= συμπλοκην: *Hebr.* הצפירה; *see EA*, p. 149) [r–r] *reading* quae eis (*for* in eis) manet punitio [s–s] 𝔏 servaverunt quae per fidem

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sense that the soul of man after death appears before God for a certain limited time only, and for a certain purpose. This follows from his belief as to the intermediate state.

80. **Such souls.** For *inspirationes* = here disembodied souls, cf. *v.* 78 above (*recedente inspiratione*). נשמה is used of the disembodied soul in Rabbinic Hebrew: cf. e.g. *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *b* נטמותן של צדיקים, 'the souls of the righteous' (in reference to the souls being deposited beneath the throne of glory). For the theological controversies regarding *inspiratio* in this connexion cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 64.

but shall wander about henceforth in torture. In *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *b* the souls of the wicked are said to be given no place of rest until the Judgement, while the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place (מנוח) soon after death.

in seven ways, i.e. seven modes or kinds (= Hebr. *derek*). The arrangement of the sufferings and joys in seven kinds would appear somewhat artificial to us. According to Gunkel, it is derived from the old Babylonian tradition (which passed over to Judaism) of the existence of seven heavens and seven hells (this tradition appears in late Jewish literature; cf. Eisenmenger, ii, p. 328, for a description of the seven היכלות of Hell). Our passage may be a refinement of this idea. See further *EA*, p. 145.

81. **The first way,** i.e. the first kind (of torture); a Hebraism (*derek*, 'way' = kind, manner): this meaning, rare in Biblical Hebrew, is common in *PBH*.

88. **from this vessel of mortality,** lit. 'from this corruptible vessel'; Lat. *a vaso corruptibili*. The Greek equivalent for 'corruptible vessel' would be τὸ φθαρτὸν σκεῦος = Hebr. (?) כלי כִּלָּיוֹן. Cf. τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο, 'this corruptible' (that which is liable to corruption), 1 Cor. xv. 53. Notice in our passage the implied view of the body as the prison-house of the soul. [On the form *vaso* cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 66 f.]

91. **in seven orders,** i.e. orders or dispositions of mind (or emotion)—here of joys; for text see crit. note. A good Hebrew equivalent for τάξις would be מַעֲרָכָה or תכונה, which is used (in late Hebrew) in the same way of a disposition of the mind.

92. **The first order.** Gunkel correctly interprets this as = 'the first joy'.

93. **the round** (or circuit). The word might well be used of wild erratic motion (of the ungodly souls).

96 guarded by angels, and the glory which awaits them [t]at their latter end[t]. The fifth order (is): they rejoice that they have now escaped what is corruptible, and that they shall inherit that which is to come; and moreover that they see the straitness and [u]painfulness[u] [v]from which[v] they have been delivered, and the spacious liberty which they are destined [w]to receive with enjoyment and im-
97 mortality[w]. The sixth order: [x]that[x] it is shown unto them how their face is destined to shine as the sun, and how they are destined to be made like the light of the stars, [y]henceforth[y] incorruptible.
98 The seventh order, which exceeds all the aforesaid, (is): that

They shall rejoice with boldness,
be confident without confusion,
be glad [z]without fear[z],

for they are hastening to behold the face of him whom in life they served, and from whom they are destined to receive their reward in glory.

99 This is the order of the souls of the righteous as from now henceforward [a]is announced[a], ([b]and) the aforesaid ways of torture (are) those which they suffer henceforth who[b] [c]would not give heed[c].

100 And I answered and said: Shall time, therefore, be given unto the souls, after they are separated from the bodies, that they may see what thou hast described to me?

101 And he said to me: Seven days they have freedom, that during these seven days they may see[d] the things aforesaid[d], afterwards they shall be gathered together in their habitations.

(3) vii. 102–115. No Intercession on the Day of Judgement (S).

102 And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, show me, thy servant, this also: whether in the Day of Judgement the righteous shall be able to intercede for the ungodly, or to

data est lex (per fidem *may have been intended to qualify* observed *in original*) [t–t] 𝔏 in novissimis eorum [u–u] *reading* labore plenum (MSS. plenum *only*); cf. 𝔖 (the much toil) *Ethiop.* [v–v] *reading* a quo (M) = 𝔖: quoniam (A C V) [w–w] 𝔏 recipere fruniscentes et immortales [x–x] *so Ethiop.* (= οτι): 𝔏 quando (= οτε); *so* 𝔖 [y–y] *reading* amodo (*for* quomodo); *cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* [z–z] *reading* non reverentes (*for* revertentes): *Oriental VSS. either omit or obscure the clause* [a–a] *reading* adnuntiatur (*for* annuntientur) [b–b] *reading* (et) praedictae viae (sunt) cruciatus quas (*so* A) patiuntur amodo qui (*the bracketed words being supplied*) [c–c] 𝔏 neglexerint [d–d] 𝔏 qui praedicti sunt sermones

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96. **escaped what is corruptible.** Gunkel points out that the implied idea is that what is mortal and corruptible is an alien element in man's essential being.

97. **their face . . . as the sun . . . like the light of the stars.** The language is based on Dan. xii. 3, and is similarly applied to the righteous (in an eschatological connexion) in Matt. xiii. 43; cf. also 2 Bar. li. 3 (of the transformation of the righteous at the resurrection), li. 10; cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7 ('resplendent as lights of fire' = 'shine as the stars' [Charles]), li. 5, civ. 2 ('soon ye shall shine as the stars of heaven'); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 125. In 1 Cor. xv. 41 the spiritual body of the resurrection is compared to the stars ('one star differeth from another star in glory'); the righteous in the resurrection are compared with the angels in Matt. xxii. 30; cf. 1 En. li. 4 ('they shall become angels in heaven'), civ. 6, and 2 Bar. li. 10 (cited above). Gunkel points out that in the earlier circle of religious ideas from which the higher religion received the first impulse towards the development of the doctrine of the resurrection stars and angels are equivalent conceptions. In this earlier religion the stars were regarded as gods. 'To be made like the stars,' therefore, survived as a figure for immortality in the phraseology of spiritual religion.

98. **with boldness.** Cf. Wisd. v. 1, and see Volz, p. 264.

to behold the face, &c. Cf. Matt. v. 8.

100. **the souls.** Here and in the following verse the souls of the righteous only are, apparently, meant. These souls enter into the chambers reserved for them; the souls of the wicked do not (cf. *v.* 80).

101. **Seven days . . . freedom.** According to the dictum of R. Ḥisda, cited in *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *a*, the soul of a man mourns for him the first seven days after death. It is also said in the same context (152 *b*) that the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place soon. The origin of the idea of seven days' freedom being given to the soul immediately after death is obscure. It probably depends upon some primitive tradition. See further *EA*, p. 153.

habitations, i. e. in the intermediate state.

(3) vii. 102–115. The previous section (vii. 75–101) opened with the question whether after death the soul was permitted to rest until the Judgement, or whether it entered immediately into torment. The seer was evidently thinking of the souls of the unrighteous, with whom he identified himself. The question was answered in the negative—no peace is allowed for the souls of the lost. Still full of pity for the awful fate that awaits lost souls, Ezra-Salathiel asks whether there is any possibility of escape for the wicked in the Day of Judgement. Will intercession by the righteous for the ungodly be permitted? Again the answer is, No. Father will not be permitted to intercede for son, or son for father, or brother for brother, or friend for friend. This will be just as impossible as for one to take the place of another in illness, or in sleeping or eating: 'every one' in that day 'must bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness'.

The seer again pleads the many examples of intercession that are recorded in the Scriptures (Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, &c.), and is told that while the present (temporary) order endures such intercession is possible. But the Day of Judgement means the closing of all accounts. 'So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor overwhelm him who is victorious.'

The view, met with in Rabbinical literature, that the merits of sons will avail to save the fathers in the Day of Judgement (cf. e. g. *Eccles. rabb.* on Qoh. iv. 1) is thus implicitly condemned: indeed, the whole doctrine of imputed righteousness seems to be emphatically repudiated.

The apocalyptic writer thus here reaches the height of a pure and strenuous individualism. National limitations,

S 103 intreat the Most High in their behalf: fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kins-
104 folk for their nearest, friends for their dearest. And he answered me and said: Since thou hast found favour in my sight, I will show this also unto thee. The Day of Judgement is [dd] decisive [dd], and displays unto all the seal of truth. Even as now a father may not send a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest, that in his stead [e] he may be ill [e], or sleep, or eat, or be
105 healed; so shall [f] none then [f] pray for another [g] on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on
106 another [g]; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness. And I answered and said: How is it that we now find that first Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, and
107 Moses for our fathers who sinned in the wilderness; and Joshua after him for Israel in the days [h] of
108 Achar [h]; and Samuel [i] in the days of Saul [i], and David [j] for the plague [j], and Solomon [k] for those
109 that (should worship) in the sanctuary [k]; and Elijah for those who received the rain, and for the
110 dead, that he might live; and Hezekiah for the people in the days of Sennacherib, and (others) many
111 for many? If, therefore, now when corruption is grown up, and unrighteousness increased, the righteous have prayed for the ungodly, why shall it not be so then also?

112 And he answered me and said: The present age [l] is not the End [l]; [m] the glory of God abides not
113 therein continuously [m]: therefore have the strong prayed for the weak. But the Day of Judgement shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come; wherein

114 corruption is passed away,
[n] weakness [n] is abolished,
infidelity is cut off;
while righteousness is grown,
and faithfulness is sprung up.

115 So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor [o] overwhelm [o] him who is victorious.

[dd–dd] *so* 𝔖 (= ? συντομος): *Ethiop.* suddenly (= ? συντομως): 𝔏 audax (= ? ευτολμος *a corruption of* συντομος) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.* (= ινα νοση): 𝔏 intellegat (= ινα νοη) [f–f] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1]) = ουδε τοτε: 𝔏 nunquam (= ουδεποτε) [g–g] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 > [h–h] *so* 𝔏 (M N A) = 𝔖: Achaz (S) [i–i] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 (S A C M) > [j–j] 𝔏 pro confractione [k–k] 𝔏 pro eis qui in sanctificationem (= υπερ των εν τω ιερω): 𝔖 *Ethiop.* for the sanctuary (= υπερ του ιερου) [l–l] *so* 𝔏 (non est finis): *cf. Ethiop.*; 𝔖 has an end [m–m] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 gloria in eo (*supply* non) frequens manet [n–n] *so Ethiop.* (= η ασθενεια): 𝔏 intemperantia (= ? η ασελγεια: *cf.* 𝔖) [o–o] 𝔏 demergere (= καταποντιζειν) [p–p] 𝔏 coercere (= κατεχειν): 𝔖 instructed (= κατη-

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distinctions between race and race, are left behind: the individual soul comes to view, and the personal responsibility of each individual soul is asserted with the utmost emphasis. Between God and the departing soul no mediatorial or mitigating agency is allowed to stand. Here we may detect the influence of Alexandrine theology which tended to lay all stress upon the present life as determining the eternal fate of every man (cf. Bousset, *RJ*[2], p. 337 f.).

It is apparently against some such conceptions as have been described above that our passage is directed. It definitely excludes the entire cycle of such ideas. Probably at the time when our Apocalypse was written these ideas had assumed an exaggerated form in certain circles. It is curious to note that this passage of 4 Ezra gave offence to Christian theologians. Its citation as scriptural proof against the efficacy of intercessions for the dead evoked a severe reproof from Jerome (*Tu . . . proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdrae a te et similibus tuis legitur; ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi:* [*contra Vigilant.* c. vii]). This objection doubtless accounts for the disappearance of the section from the Latin Cod. S, and nearly all later copies—the lacuna only being made good by the discovery of the missing Fragment by Bensly.

[See, on the section, Volz, pp. 92, 136; Köberle, p. 662 f.; Bousset, p. 339 f.; and cf. *EA*, pp. 153–6.]

104. **the seal of truth**, i.e. the seal of the Judge which attests the truth and justice of the sentence (Gunkel). The representation is again forensic; the sealing of the document recording the sentence being the final act of the Judge.

105. **neither shall one lay a burden**, &c. The whole passage is a development of Ezek. xviii. 20.

106. **first.** Of the following series.

Abraham. The reference is to Gen. xviii. 23.

Moses . . . in the wilderness. See Exod. xxxii. 11.

107. **Achar.** See Joshua vii.

108. **in the days of Saul.** See 1 Sam. vii. 9, 12, 23.

for the plague. The reference is to 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f.

for those that (should worship) in the sanctuary. See 1 Kings viii. 22 f., 30 f.

109. **Elijah . . . the rain.** See 1 Kings xviii. 42.

for the dead . . . live. See 1 Kings xvii. 20 f.

110. **Hezekiah . . . Sennacherib.** See 2 Kings xix. 15 f.

112. **the glory of God abides not therein continuously.** For the various causes (idolatry, blasphemy, pride) which cause the removal of the Shekinah (= the divine presence and glory) from the earth, according to Rabbinic theology, see Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 223 *et al.* Here the idea is that the divine glory cannot permanently remain with what is essentially transitory.

(4) vii. 116–131. What avails the Promise to Man who is born to sin? Yet, though Tragic, the Sinner's Doom is deserved (S).

116 And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; better had it been that the earth had
not produced Adam, or else, having once produced him, (for thee) [p] to have restrained [p] him from
117 sinning. For how does it profit us all that in the present we must live in grief and after death look
118 for punishment? O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, [q] the
119 fall was not thine alone, but ours also [q] who are thy descendants! For how does it profit us that
120 the eternal age is promised to us, whereas we have done the works that bring death? And that
there is foretold to us [r] an imperishable hope [r], whereas we so miserably are brought to futility?
122 And that there are reserved habitations of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly? And
that the glory of the Most High is to defend them who have led a pure life, whereas we have walked
123 in ways most wicked? And that Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible, wherein is delight and
124 healing, shall be made manifest, but we cannot enter it because we have passed our lives [s] in unseemly
125 manners [s]? And that the faces of such as have practised abstinence shall shine above the stars,
126 whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness? For, while we lived and committed iniquity we
considered not what we were destined to suffer after death!
127 And he answered me and said: This is [t] the condition [t] of the contest which (every) man who is
128 born upon earth must wage; that, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said: but if he be
129 victorious, he shall receive what I have said. For this is the way of which Moses, while he was
130 alive, spoke unto the people, saying: Choose thee life, that thou mayst live! Nevertheless they
131 believed not him, nor the prophets after him, no nor yet me who have spoken unto them. [u] Therefore [u]
shall there not be such grief at their perdition, as there shall be joy over the salvation of those who
have believed.

(5) Doubts as to how the Perdition of so many can be justified from the Point of View of God's Character and Attributes: The Divine Reply (S).

(vii. 132—viii. 62.)

(*a*) vii. 132—viii. 3. *Will God—so merciful and compassionate—suffer so many to perish?* (S.)

132 And I answered and said: I know, Lord, that the Most High is now called compassionate in that

χειν) (= *Ethiop.*) [q–q] *reading* non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum (*cf.* 𝔖) [r–r] 𝔏 perennis spes [s–s] *cf. Ethiop.*: 𝔏 ingratis locis (*confusing* τροποις *and* τοποις): *so* 𝔖 [t–t] 𝔏 cogitamentum = ο διαλογισμος = חק (law, condition) [u–u] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 quoniam

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(4) vii. 116–131. It thus having been demonstrated that no possibility of escape from eternal punishment exists for the doomed race of sinners, the seer now bursts forth into a passionate lamentation over the fate of the mass of humanity. It would have been better if Adam had not been created with freedom of will to sin, than that his descendants should be born only to be doomed. To promise them happiness and immortality on conditions which they must almost inevitably fail to keep is but to mock their misery. To this the archangel can only reply that such are the conditions of the fight; there will be more joy in heaven over those who attain salvation than sorrow over the many who perish.

116. **that the earth had not produced.** Cf. iii. 5.

or else . . . to have restrained him from sinning. Cf., for the thought, vii. 63.

118. **the fall was not thine alone, but ours also.** Adam is here charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race; cf. vii. 20f., iv. 30–31, and contrast 2 Bar. liv. 19.

122. **is to defend.** For the idea of the divine glory (= the Shekinah) being a protection to the righteous, cf. the Rabbinic phrase 'to take refuge under the wings of the Shekinah' (*T. B. Shabb.* 31 *a*, &c., of one acknowledging God). Moses when dead lay in its pinions (*Sifre*, 355).

123. **Paradise,** i.e. the heavenly Paradise.

wherein (i.e. in which fruit) **is delight and healing.** For the representation cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12 (Rev. xxii. 2).

125. **of such as have practised abstinence.** The ascetic note here is discernible. For ascetic tendencies in Rabbinic theology cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 277–8.

shall shine above the stars. Cf. Dan. xii. 3 and Matt. xii. 43.

whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness. The conception at the background of the clause is that of sinners being banished to night and darkness (cf. the phrase in the Gospels, 'to be cast forth into the outer darkness,' Matt. viii. 12, &c.). The conception of hell as a place of fire is a distinct and more developed one.

129. **Choose thee life, that thou mayst live.** Cf. Deut. xxx. 19. Such words are interpreted in later Judaism in a deeper sense: 'life' = eternal life, the blessed life in heaven. In the original context 'life' = natural life (regarded as the highest of boons). Cf. Gunkel, *ad loc.*

(5) vii. 132–viii. 62. The seer's doubts still remain. In a fine passage he acknowledges (and implicitly appeals to) the divine mercy and compassion, which are displayed in manifold ways in the present order. This suggests a question which is not directly expressed: Is it possible to reconcile the final perdition of so many with the divine mercy? In reply he is told that the present world is for the many, the future world for the few (vii. 132–viii. 3). Again he asks: Is it possible that God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite care and skill, can have been created only to perish? With this question the seer gives up the problem of the race, and turns to his own people (viii. 4–19). For

S 133 he compassionates those who have not yet come into the world; and gracious, in that he is gracious
134 towards those [v] who return to his law [v]: and longsuffering, because he shows longsuffering to sinners
135, 136 [w] as his creatures [w]; and [x] bountiful [x], since he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact; and of
great mercy, because he multiplies mercies so greatly to those who are in existence, and who have
137 passed away, and who are to come:—for if he did not multiply [y] mercy [y] the world with its
138 inhabitants could not attain unto life—[z] and good (?), for if in his goodness he were not gracious [z], so
that evil-doers might be eased of their iniquities, the ten thousandth part of mankind could not attain
139 unto life; and [a] forgiving, for if he did not pardon [a] those that were created by his word, and blot
140 out the multitude [b] of their iniquities [b], there would, perchance, be very few left of an innumerable
multitude.

8 1 And he answered me and said: This age the Most High has made for many, but the age to come
2 for few. I will tell thee, now, a similitude, *Ezra*: as, when thou askest the earth, it shall say unto
thee that it produces much more mould from which earthen vessels are made, but little dust from
3 which gold comes; so also is [c] the course [c] of the present age. Many have been created, but few
shall be saved!

[v–v] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* 𝔏 [illis] qui faciunt conversionem in lege eius [w–w] 𝔏 quasi suis operibus
[x–x] *reading* munificus: 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) giver [y–y] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) 𝔏 > [z–z] *reading* et donator
quoniam si non donaverit (*see EA*, p. 167 f.) [a–a] 𝔏 et iudex (quoniam) si non ignoverit: *Simonsen reads*:
and the righteous judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon (*see EA*, p. 169)
[b–b] 𝔏 contemptionum = *των αθετηματων*: 𝔖 of their sins (= *των αδικηματων*) [c–c] 𝔏 actus (= *πραξις*:

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them and for himself he utters a beautiful prayer, appealing to God to have compassion on those who are destitute of good works (viii. 20–36). The angel briefly replies (viii. 37–40), and proceeds to compare man on the earth to seed. As the husbandman sows much seed, but only part comes up, so out of the multitude of created men only a part shall be saved. The seer answers that much seed perishes for lack or because of excess of rain, and once again appeals to the divine compassion (viii. 41–45). The divine reply that follows (viii. 46–62) constitutes a general answer to what precedes. The seer is told that his love falls far below God's for God's creature; his (the seer's) humility is, however, commended, and he is assured of felicity with the righteous. He is bidden to ask no more questions regarding the fate of the lost, who have brought their doom upon themselves.

(*a*) vii. 132–viii. 3. The seer, in his fine appeal to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness, obviously has in mind the passage of Scripture which has become classical in this connexion, Exod. xxxiv. 6–7 ('Jahveh . . . a God compassionate and gracious, longsuffering and of great mercy and faithfulness; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). This had already become a stereotyped formula of address to or description of God when the later books of the O. T. were written, and many reminiscences of the language used occur (cf. e. g. Neh. ix. 17, Joel ii. 13, Jonah iv. 2, Ps. lxxxvi. 15, &c.; also Sirach ii. 11 and Wisd. xv. 1). The passage is doubtless based upon, or interweaves, a Midrash on Exod. xxxiv. 6–7, as Prof. Simonsen holds; see further *EA*, pp. 164–165.

132. **those who have not yet come into the world.** God, in spite of His foreknowledge which enables Him to foresee man's future sins before he is born, is yet tender and compassionate towards him, treating him as righteous and free from sin until he actually commits sin; cf. *Midr. rabb.* to Gen. xxi. 17, where God says 'I judge man' (as to whether he is righteous or wicked) 'according to his time' (i.e. as he is at the time, without taking into account his future sins). In the passage Ishmael (not yet having sinned) is counted as pious.

133. **who return to his law.** God compassionates man both before he sins (*v.* 132), and also after he has sinned and made his repentance.

135. **he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact.** Cf. the following (from *Seder Eliahu*, p. 135): 'God bestows gifts on those who know him and on those who know him not and do not deserve his gifts.' Simonsen understands the clause to mean: God is ready to forgive guilt rather than exact punishment.

137. **could not attain unto life**, i.e. the future (eternal) 'life'. This agrees with the doctrine of the school of Shammai, according to which the truly pious passed at once, after death, to bliss; the very wicked went at once to Gehenna; while the intermediate class (which comprised the vast majority) were only consigned to Gehenna for a time, God's goodness and kindness being shown in allowing their release therefrom, so that they ultimately passed to eternal life (so Simonsen).

138. **and good (?), for if in his goodness**, &c. On the textual phenomena of this verse cf. *EA*, p. 167.

139. **forgiving.** The Lat. has *iudex*, judge; so the other versions. This has usually been supposed to be based on an erroneous reading in the original Hebrew text (שופט for שומט). For a brilliant alternative solution (by Simonsen) see crit. note.

140. **very few.** Simonsen's suggestion is to read the text of *vv.* 139–140: 'and the righteous Judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon,' &c. (Heb. ושפט בצדקה אשר לא ישא פנים וגו). This affords a fine paraphrase of Exod. xxxiv. 7 ('forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). God's attributes of mercy are pleaded all through the passage, and the conclusion reached is that if God did not possess these attributes nearly all created would be involved in perdition. This accords with one of the traditional interpretations of the words which follow the second clause of Exod. xxxiv. 7 cited above, viz. ונקה לא ינקה; i.e. (according to the interpretation referred to) 'He will not utterly extinguish'.

The seer thus, as Moses himself (Num. xiv. 17–18), pleads the revelation of God's attributes made in Exod. xxxiv. 6–7 in mitigation of the severity of the divine judgement. He does so, however, in a paraphrastic form which suggests a midrashic influence.

viii. 3. **Many . . . created . . . few . . . saved.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 14. The illustration in *vv.* 1–3 is parallel both in thought and expression with vii. 49–61.

(*b*) viii. 4–19. *Can God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite skill and labour, perish finally?* (S.)

4 And I answered and said:
[d] O my soul, drink thy fill of understanding [d],
And, [e] O heart [e], [f] feed on wisdom [f]!
5 [g] Involuntarily thou camest (into the world),
and when thou willest not departest [g]:
6 for [h] permission [h] has been given to thee only to live a brief time. [i] O Lord above us [i], if thou wouldst but suffer thy servant to pray before thee; and wouldst give unto us the seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding, whence fruit may come, whereby every corruptible one may
7 be able to live, who bears [j] the form of man [j]! For one art thou [k] and we are all one fashioning,
8 the work of thine hands [k], as thou hast said. [l] And when [l] thou quickenest [m] the body which thou fashionest in the womb [m], and endowest it with members, thy creature is preserved in fire and water, and nine months does that which thou hast fashioned (i. e. the womb) bear thy creature [n] which thou
9 hast created within it [n]. But [o] that which keeps and that which is kept [o] are both kept [p] by thy
10 keeping [p]. And when the womb gives up again [q] what has been created in it [q], thou hast commanded that out of the members themselves, [r] that is out of the breasts [r], milk, the fruit of the breasts, should
11 be provided, that what has been fashioned may be nourished for a time.
12 And afterwards thou sustainest it in thy mercy
and nourishest it in thy righteousness;
Thou disciplinest it through thy law,
and reprovest it in thy wisdom.
13 Thou wilt kill it—as (it is) thy creature,
and quicken it—as (it is) thy work!
14 If, then, [s] with a light word [s] thou shalt destroy him who with such infinite labour has been
15 fashioned by thy command, '[t] to what purpose was he made [t]? But now I will say: Concerning man in general, [u] thou knowest best [u], but concerning

Heb. דרך) [d–d] *so* 𝔖 = absorbe anima mea sensum: *Lat. MSS.* absolve [e–e] *cf.* 𝔖 my heart: *Ethiop.* = *το ους* (? *for* *τον νουν*): 𝔏 > [f–f] 𝔏 devoret quod sapit (Greek ? *καταφαγε το φρονουν*) [g–g] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 (*misreading* *ακουσα as* *ακουσαι*) convenisti enim obaudire et profecta es nolens [h–h] 𝔏 spatium (= ? *συγχωρησις* (*cf.* 𝔖 power) [i–i] 𝔏 O Domine super nos (*so v.* 45): 𝔖 O Lord my Lord (*so v.* 45) [j–j] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 locum hominis (*confusing* *τοπον and* *τυπον*) [k–k] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et una plasmatio nos sumus manuum tuarum [l–l] 𝔏 et quoniam (= *και οτι*: *for* *οτε*) [m–m] 𝔏 nunc in matrice plasmatum corpus (= *prob.* הבשר שאתה יוצר בבטן—*the two middle words being misread* שעתה יצור) [n–n] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 quae in eo creata est [o–o] *reading* ipsum [quod servat et] quod servatur (C) = 𝔖 *A C* > *words in brackets* [p–p] *reading* servatione tua = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* [q–q] *reading* quae in ea creata fuerint [r–r] 𝔏 [membris] hoc est mamillis: 𝔖 > [*clause may be a gloss*] [s–s] 𝔏 facili ordine (= *κουφη ταξει*: *Heb.* ? בדבר קל [Gunkel]): 𝔖 suddenly and quickly [t–t] 𝔏 et ut quid (= *ινα τι και*: *Heb.* ולמה): *so Oriental VSS.* [u–u] 𝔏 tu magis scis (= *συ μαλλον οιδας*)

(*b*) viii. 4–19.

4. **O my soul . . . feed on wisdom.** The sentiment expressed in this verse serves to reveal the seer's despair of being able to solve the problem by intellectual means. As the discussion proceeds it seems to become ever more unfathomable.

5. **Involuntarily thou camest . . . departest.** Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 14 f.; also xiv. 11.
only to live a brief time. Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 12.

6. **the seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding.** 𝔖 renders: 'the seed and culture of a new heart.' Possibly 'seed of a new heart' is right. In this case the seer asks for that 'transformation by the renewing of the mind' (*τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός*), of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. xii. 2; cf. Eph. iv. 23), and which amounts to *ἀναγεννήσις*. The *cor malignum* is to be replaced by a *cor novum*, and the *granum seminis mali* (iv. 30) by the *semen cordis novi*. The epithet 'new' is only found in the Syr.
whereby . . . may . . . live, who bears the form of man. The meaning of the whole verse is well paraphrased by Volkmar: 'O that thou wouldst grant unto thy human children not merely physical life, but also the seed of spiritual life and understanding to be cultivated (by them), so that thereby they might attain true life!'

7. **as thou hast said.** Isa. xlv. 11, lx. 21; cf. lxv. 14 f. The combination of the assertion of God's uniqueness and unity (*solus enim es*) and of His Fatherhood as the one Creator of all is notable; cf. vi. 1–6.

8. **thy creature is preserved in fire and water.** There is here a clear allusion to the Oriental doctrine that man's living organism is compounded of the primal elements ('the things that have intermingled with thy growth', iv. 10, cf. note there). Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51, where the human body is spoken of as compounded from earth, water, air, and fire: for Rabbinic views on the same subject cf. Weber, p. 210 f.
and nine months . . . bear thy creature which thou hast created within it, i. e. within the womb.

13. **Thou wilt kill it . . . quicken it . . . thy work.** Volkmar paraphrases: 'Thou wilt indeed bring man to death, as he is a creature of thine: but thou wilt—such is my hope—summon him also to renewed life, because thou hast once given him (physical) life.' Cf. for a somewhat similar sentiment 1 Sam. ii. 6 ('J. kills and makes alive: he brings down to Sheol and brings up'). The reference will then be to the future life: 'quicken' may, however, mean only 'to preserve alive' (God kills, or allows 'His creature' to live, as He will, viz. in this life). Cf. also 2 Kings v. 7; Deut. xxxii. 39.

14. **him who with such infinite labour has been fashioned.** Cf. Ps. cxxxix. 14 f.

S 16 Thy people, on whose account I grieve,
and thine inheritance for which I mourn,
And Israel for whom I am sad,
and Jacob's seed for whom I am dismayed—
17 [v] Therefore I would fain pray before thee for myself and for them! For I see [w] the falls [w] of us
18 that dwell in the land, [x] and now also [x] have heard [y] the decree of judgement [y] that is to come!
19 Therefore hear my voice,
and [z] consider my words [z],
and let me speak before thee!

(*c*) viii. (19 *b*) 20–40. *The seer's prayer for compassion on his people, and the divine reply* (S).

(i.)

The Prayer.

19 [a] [*The beginning* [b] *of the words of the Prayer* [b] *of Ezra before he was taken up. And he said:*] [a]

20 O Lord [c] that dwellest eternally [c],
[d] whose are the highest heavens [d],
whose chambers are in the air,
21 Whose throne is beyond imagination,
whose glory inconceivable;

[v] 𝔖 for behold [w–w] 𝔏 lapsos (= lapsus: ? τα πτωματα) [x–x] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 sed [y–y] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 celeritatem iudicii (= αποτομιαν κρισεως: *Heb.* גזר דין: *cf.* partem iudicii, v. 34) [z–z] 𝔏 intellege sermonum meorum (*Greek construction*): 𝔖 accept the words of my prayer [a–a] *This superscription is no part of the original text of the book; but it must have come into the text very early, as it is attested by* 𝔖 *and Ethiop. Its presence shows clearly that the passage was early singled out for separate use for liturgical or devotional purposes* [b–b] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 (*b*) verbi orationis (*a*) verborum [c–c] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 qui inhabitas (*b* habitas) saeculum [d–d] *so* 𝔏 (*b*) cuius altissimi celi (= caeli) sunt: *cf.* 𝔖 whose heights (= heavens) are exalted: 𝔏 (*a*) cuius oculi elati

16. **thine inheritance.** Cf. *v.* 45; Ps. xxviii. 9.
Jacob's seed. Cf. iii. 19.

(*c*) viii. (19 *b*) 20–40. The beautiful prayer which follows (viii. 20–36) opens with an invocation to God as the eternal, exalted, and omnipotent One, who is appealed to as the Creator to listen to the petition of one who is His creature (*vv.* 20–25); a prayer that God will have compassion on His people and regard those who have been loyal to His Law rather than its transgressors follows (*vv.* 26–30); finally an appeal is made to the fact that God has in the past been so longsuffering towards the sinners of His people (here the intermingling of appeal and confession is noticeable, *vv.* 31–36). Here as elsewhere in the Apocalypse the seer identifies himself with the sinners (cf. *v.* 32). The first part of the divine reply that follows (*vv.* 37–40), while apparently favourable to the seer's petition, really ignores or even negatives it. God will indeed, says the angel, have regard rather to the righteous than to the sinners. He will rejoice over the salvation of the former rather than grieve over, or even think of, the destruction of the latter! The issue is not squarely faced. For a similar indirect reply to the same issue expressed in another form cf. vii. 17 f.; cf. also vii. 64 compared with vii. 71 f.

The apocalyptic writer is still baffled by the problem of the lost. He is still struggling to arrive at a satisfactory solution from the point of view of the Law. One motive of the prayer seems to be to suggest the possibility that the merits of the righteous might avail for the salvation of sinners in Israel—the sinners intended being, it would seem, those mainly who repudiate the divine Law with a high hand and live as the very heathen (cf. *vv.* 27–30). But the divine reply makes it clear that no such hope can be entertained. Thus the problem of the lost, even when restricted to Israel, remains unsolved. The beauty of the prayer itself has led to its being excerpted and used for liturgical and devotional purposes. As a consequence the Latin manuscript authorities for this particular passage are more numerous than for the text of the rest of the book. It occurs in a separate form in a number of MSS. of the Latin Bible, and also in MSS. of the Mozarabic Liturgy, some of which are earlier than Codices A and S (cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 34). The title often prefixed to the passage is *Confessio Esdrae.*

Another curious and important fact to notice is that the Latin authorities yield two distinct recensions of the text: i. e. two distinct and more or less independent Latin translations of the Greek text of the passage appear to have been made at different times: but, strangely enough, neither recension seems to be represented in a pure form in any extant MS. The two recensions have been reconstructed (with the aid of fresh manuscript evidence) by Violet; and these are referred to below as text *a* (= the normal text of the liturgical MSS. and of S A C) and text *b* (= the divergent text especially represented in M). Both recensions attest good Greek readings, and it is impossible to say which is the older. See further the detailed discussion in *BJ* ('The Two Texts of the Confessio Esdrae'), pp. lxxx–lxxxvi; also Violet, Introduction, § 13 (pp. xxvi–xxix). There is a prayer in 2 Baruch which similarly has a separate title ('Prayer of Baruch'), ch. xlviii. The prayer in *Constit. Apost.* viii. 7 should also be compared.

20. **whose are the highest heavens.** For the general thought cf. Ps. ciii. 11; Deut. x. 14.
whose chambers are in the air. The figure is derived from an older conception according to which the world was thought of as a house consisting of two stories, in the upper of which God had His dwelling, while the lower formed the world as we see it (Gunkel). Here, however, transcendental ideas are dominant. Perhaps the heavenly Paradise was in the writer's mind.

21. **throne is beyond imagination.** The mystery of God's throne is the theme of Ezek. i ('the chariot').
whose glory inconceivable. God's glory would suggest to the Jewish mind the ineffable light of the divine presence which pervades heaven; cf. Rev. xxi. 23, xxii. 5.

[e] before whom (heaven's) hosts stand trembling [e],
[f] and at thy word change to wind and fire [f];
22 whose word is sure,
and behest constant,
23 whose commandment is strong
and enactment terrible;
whose look drieth up the depths,
whose indignation melteth the mountains;
whose faithfulness [g] standeth eternal [g]—
24 Hear [h] the voice [h] of thy servant,
give ear to [i] thy creature's petition [i],
and attend to my words!
25 For so long as I live must I speak,
and while I possess understanding, answer—
26 O look not on the sins of thy people,
but on them that have served thee in truth;
27 Regard not the deeds of the godless,
but (rather) them that have kept thy covenants in tortures;
28 [j] Think not [j] upon those that have walked in devious ways before thee,
but remember them that have willingly recognized thy fear;
29 Will not to destroy those that have lived like cattle,
but regard them that have gloriously taught thy Law;
30 Be not wroth with those that are deemed worse than the beasts,
but love them that have always put their trust in thy glory—

[e–e] 𝔏 (*a*) cui adstat exercitus angelorum cum tremore: (*b*) cui adsunt (*v. l.* assistunt) milicie (militiae) cum pavore [f–f] 𝔏 (*b*) et dicto tuo in ventum et ignem convertuntur (= 𝔖; *cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 (*a*) quorum servatio in vento et igni convertitur [g–g] *so Ar.*[2] (*rightly*): 𝔏 testificatur = 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): *The Greek translator wrongly rendered the Heb.* עמדת לעד (*which* = standeth for ever) *as* standeth as a witness (*misreading* לעד *as* לְעֵד): *apparently the mistake was corrected in the Codex used by Ar.*[2] [h–h] *so* 𝔏 (*b*) = 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 (*a*) *and Ar*[2] prayer [i–i] *so* 𝔏 (*a*): 𝔏 (*b*) deprecationi meae tui plasmati = *other VSS.* [j–j] 𝔏 neque cogites (= μηδε λογιζου): *so* 𝔖: *Ethiop.* be not angry (= μη οργιζου): *so* Ar.[1]

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and at thy word change to wind and fire. The meaning is that the angelic watchers serve before God by changing at His word into wind and fire. Cf. for the representation Ps. ciii. (Heb. civ.) 4 in the LXX, which renders: 'who makes his angels winds (πνεύματα) and his ministers a flaming fire'. The Heb. text of the passage can be rendered in this way, though it is not usually so rendered (cf. Driver, *Heb. Tenses*[2], p. 262 f.); our passage, therefore, is an interesting addition to the ancient authorities (LXX, Targ. substantially) for so understanding it. The reference here to angelic agency must not, however, be unduly pressed. One of the most remarkable features of 4 Ezra (and especially of S) is its practical ignoring of angelic and demonic agencies. Our present passage is in a poetical context and implies little more than that behind physical phenomena there is to be seen the activity of agents in the service of God. Of the crude popular angelology, with its distinct orders and personal names, there is here no trace.

22. **constant.** Lat. text *a*, *perseverantia*; text *b*, *permanens* = (?) διαμένον. The Heb. equivalent would be יָצִיב: cf. Ps. cxix. (LXX, cxviii.) 89, where *permanet* (Vulg.) = διαμένει (LXX) = Heb. נִצָּב and the subject is God's 'word' ('thy word is fixed in heaven'). There seems to be a clear allusion here to one of the oldest prayers in the synagogue liturgy, the benediction which follows the *Shĕma* and is known as *gĕ'ulla* (Redemption). This piece begins with the two words used in our passage, viz. 'sure (or 'true') and constant' (Heb. אמת ויציב), and is so referred to in the oldest Rabbinical sources (cf. e.g. Mishna, *Tamîd* v. 1); and the subject of the opening part of the benediction is God's word: 'True and constant, established and enduring . . . is this thy word (i.e. the preceding *Shĕma*) unto us for ever,' &c. (cf. Singer, *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (Heb.-English), p. 42 f.).

23. **whose look drieth up . . . eternal.** The whole of this clause appears in the *Const. Apost.* viii. 7 οὗ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἄβυσσον καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The seer here appeals to the wonders of creation (according to an older tradition) as attesting God's power. Cf. in Deutero-Isaiah a similar passage (l. 2) introduced with a similar motive and reference ('Behold with my rebuke I parch the sea'); cf. also li. 10 and the introductions to the sections in the present writer's *Isaiah*.

melteth the mountains. An eschatological feature derived from the representation of the destruction of the world by fire; cf. Mic. i. 4; Sir. xvi. 18 f.

27. **them that have kept thy covenants in tortures.** Such witnesses for the faith as the famous seven Maccabean martyrs are probably referred to.

28. **thy fear,** i.e. the fear of Thee. 'The fear of Jahveh' is a well-known term for religion, or the Law as revered (cf. Ps. xix. 10).

29. **those that have lived like cattle.** Probably Jews who live like heathen are in the author's mind. See *EA*, p. 181.

that have gloriously taught thy Law, i.e. the orthodox scribes. For the expression cf. Dan. xii. 3, Matt. v. 14–15.

30. **those that are deemed worse than the beasts,** i.e. live worse than the heathen (a class of Jews even worse than those described in the previous verse). Is there an allusion here to Jewish informers who betray their own countrymen to heathen officials?

S 31 For we and our fathers [k]have passed our lives in ways that bring death[k]: but thou, because of
32 us sinners, art called compassionate. For if thou hast a desire to compassionate us who have no
33 works of righteousness, then shalt thou be called 'the gracious One'. For the righteous, who have many works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive their reward—

34 But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?
Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?

35 For in truth
There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,
and [l]among those that exist[l] who has not sinned.

36 For in this, O Lord, shall thy righteousness and goodness be declared, if thou wilt compassionate them that have no wealth of good works.

(ii.)

The Divine Reply.

37 Then he answered me and said: Some things thou hast spoken aright, and according to thy
38 words so shall it come to pass. For indeed I will not concern myself about the creation of those
39 who have sinned, or their death, judgement, or perdition; but I will rejoice (rather)[m] over the creation
40 of the righteous, (over) their pilgrimage also and their salvation and their recompense[m]. [n]As thou hast spoken[n], then, so shall it be!

(*d*) viii. 41–45. *Mankind is like the seed sown by the husbandman* (S).

[*The speaker here is still the angel.*]

41 For just as the husbandman sows much seed [o]upon the ground[o] and plants a multitude of plants, and yet not all which were sown shall be saved in due season, nor shall all that were planted take
42 root; so also they that are sown in the world shall not all be saved. And I answered and said: If
43 I have found favour before thee, let me speak[p]. [q][r]The husbandman's seed, if it come not up—because it has not received thy rain in due season[r]—or if it be ruined by too much rain, [s]perishes;
44 but the son of man[s] who has been fashioned with thine own hands, [t]and is made like thine own image[t], for whose sake thou hast fashioned all things—[u]hast thou likened him to the seed of the husbandman[u]?

45 [v]Nay, Lord God![v] but
spare thy people,
compassionate thine inheritance,
for thou compassionatest thine own creation!

[k–k] *reading* (𝔏 *text a*) mortalibus moribus egimus (𝔏 (*b*) corruptum locum egimus = φθαρτον τοπον [*for* τροπον] διηχθημεν): *see further EA*, p. 182 [l–l] 𝔏 (*a*) de confitentibus (*read* confientibus = συνεστηκοτων): *see further EA*, p. 184) [m–m] 𝔏 super iustorum figmentum peregrinationis quoque et salvationis et mercedis receptionis (*for explanation of wrong construction see EA*, p. 185) [n–n] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 *and other VSS.* as I have said [o–o] *so* 𝔏 = *Ar.*; 𝔖 *Ethiop.* > [p] 𝔖 + before thee (*cf. Ethiop.*) [q] 𝔏 *pr.* quoniam (= οτι *introducing direct speech, and therefore not to be translated*: *R.V. wrongly* forasmuch) [r–r] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 will then the husbandman's seed, if it does not receive thy rain in its season, live? [s–s] *reading* (*with Gunkel*) sic patitur; et filius homo (𝔏 *corrupt*: M sic pat et filius: *S A C* hic pater et filius: *see further EA*, p. 187) [t–t] 𝔏 et tuae imagini [nominatus quoniam] similatus est: *the bracketed words are to be omitted with* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): *see further EA*, p. 187 [u–u] *to be taken as a question: so Oriental VSS.* [v–v] *reading* non Domine super nos

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33. **shall . . . receive their reward.** Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 12.

34. **that thou canst be so bitter towards it.** The whole verse recalls the bitter parody in Job vii. 17 f.; cf. Ps. viii. 4.

37. **according to thy words . . . shall it come to pass.** The angel refers to the form the seer's petition had taken: that God would regard not the sinners but the righteous. This part of the petition shall be granted, but in a totally different sense from that intended in the prayer. God will ignore the destruction of the godless, and think only of the achievements of the righteous! For a similar turning of expressions in the dialogue cf. vii. 64, 71 f.

39. **over the creation . . . recompense.** The three words, 'pilgrimage', 'salvation', 'recompense', form contrasted expressions to 'death', 'judgement', and 'perdition' in the previous verse: so 'pilgrimage' (= ἀποδημία) must mean departure from this life to a better, a return home to God; cf. 2 Cor. v. 6 f. for the idea. 'Salvation' here may mean the state of safety, security, and peace of the righteous dead in the intermediate state.

(*d*) viii. 41–45.

44. **hast thou likened him . . . husbandman?** To be taken as a question (against R.V.); so the Oriental Versions rightly. The seer warmly protests against the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields; contrast the parable of the Sower in the Gospels. For the image cf. also 4 Ezra iv. 28 f.

45. **for thou compassionatest thine own creation**, i.e. for (in doing so) thou compassionatest (or wilt compassionate); the creature appeals to the Creator. Note the passionate, almost despairing note of entreaty. The seer is all but overwhelmed with anguish in the face of the problem that confronts him.

(*e*) viii. 46–62. *The final divine reply: The seer is assured that his lot is with the blessed, and is bidden to contemplate their felicity, and not to think of the fate of sinners* (S).

46 And he answered me and said:
Things present (match) them of the present,
Things future them of the future!
47 For thou comest far short of being able to love my creation more than I!
Thou, however, hast many times [w]ranged thyself with[w] the ungodly. [x]This must not be![x]
48, 49 But even on this account thou shalt be honourable before the Most High; because thou hast humbled thyself, as it becomes thee, [y]and hast not assigned thyself a place[y] among the righteous;
50 and so thou shalt receive the greater glory. [z]For[z] with many afflictions shall they be afflicted that
51 inhabit the world in the last times, because they have walked in great pride. But do thou (rather) [a]think of thine own case[a], and of them who are like thyself search out the glory.
52 For for you
is opened Paradise,
planted the Tree of life;
the future Age prepared,
plenteousness made ready;

[w–w] 𝔏 te et ipsum proximasti [iniustis] [x–x] *so* 𝔖 (= μη ουτως): 𝔏 numquam (= μηποτε) [y–y] 𝔏 et non iudicasti te [z–z] *so* 𝔖 (= οτι): 𝔏 propter quod (= διοτι) [a–a] 𝔏 pro te intellege

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(*e*) viii. 46–62. In the reply that follows the angel lightly brushes aside the seer's objection to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the field, by reminding him that the simile suits the present corruptible order; with the future it will be different. Moreover, God's love of His creatures far exceeds that of any other being. A remarkable passage follows in which the seer's self-identification with sinners is partly rebuked and partly commended. He is told not to range himself with the ungodly, but his humility in doing so is commended. Many shall be brought to ruin in the last times by the sin of pride. But let the seer contemplate the glory that awaits him with other righteous—the delights of Paradise, and the abolition of evil, death, and corruption. Let no more questions be asked as to the lost, who have deserved their fate, because they have defied the Most High, and scorned the benefits prepared for them. The conclusion of this section, which follows in ix. 13–22, sets forth the almost total corruption of the world as due to man's sin. Only a remnant of the sinful mass has been rescued with difficulty and by the grace of God.

Here we have the apologia of orthodox Judaism as S conceived it. It is the best answer that can be furnished, from the orthodox standpoint, to meet the objections and difficulties that have been raised; and with it the seer has, perforce to be content. But, at the best, his doubts and perplexities can only have been stilled, they cannot have been really satisfied, by such a reply.

46. **Things present . . . future.** Gunkel renders crisply: 'Heute den heutigen, einst den Einstigen!' For the form of the sentence cf. vii. 25 (*vacua vacuis et plena plenis*). Hilg. renders: *τὰ παρόντα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς μέλλουσι*; i.e. present things are like present people, &c. The angel brushes aside the seer's objection (raised in *v.* 44) to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields, by reminding him that both the comparison and the thing compared belonged to the present order; the future (and all that belongs to it) has standards of its own. Here, again, the dualism of present and future is marked. Cf. vii. 16.

47. **to love my creation.** Cf. v. 33, note.

50. **in the last times.** It should be remembered, however, that the conceptions of S and E regarding 'the last times' are very different. While S thinks of this period as an evil time, when a generation lives that is distinguished by overweening arrogance and pride, and upon which judgement will descend suddenly, according to E the last period is to be a time of felicity for a righteous generation (cf. vi. 26–28), while according to R the final period is the (temporary) Messianic one of 400 years (vii. 28–29).

because they have walked in great pride. The emphasis laid by the author on the virtue of humility and the sin of pride is remarkable. The latter was a conspicuous and besetting fault of a section of the Pharisaic party in the first half of the first century (cf. Mark xii. 38 f., Matt. xxiii. 5 f.; cf. also for a more general reference Luke xiv. 7–11); and the present passage seems to be directed by the author against some of his contemporaries (end of first century A.D.).

51. **of them who are like thyself,** i.e. those whose destiny is like thine own—the righteous dead who in the intermediate state enjoy righteousness and peace, and who are to enjoy even greater glory after the Judgement. Here Salathiel is the subject. Contrast xiv. 9, where Ezra is the subject.

52. **for you is opened Paradise.** In *vv.* 52–54 the 'glory' spoken of in *v.* 51 is unfolded in a series of explicit references detailing the happy accompaniments of the future life of the righteous in heaven. In accordance with a mode of representation common in apocalyptic literature these various sources of happiness and delight are declared to be already in existence, prepared beforehand and held in reserve for the future delectation of the righteous. The contemplation of these future joys is regarded as a source of perennial consolation to the faithful in their trials and tribulations on earth: cf. in the N.T. such passages as 1 Pet. i. 4 ('an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you,' &c.); Heb. xi. 16, &c. See further Volz, p. 124 f.

By 'Paradise' here is meant the heavenly Paradise, which was shut up on account of Adam's sin, and which will be opened after the last Judgement to receive the righteous and elect. See, further, the additional note in *EA*, p. 195.

planted the Tree of life. The idealized 'Tree of Life' is one of the striking features of the heavenly Paradise on which the apocalyptists love to dwell. Cf. vii. 123; Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2; 1 En. xxiv f.

S a City builded,
a Rest appointed;
[b] Good works established [b],
[c] wisdom preconstituted [c];
53 The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
infirmity from your path extinguished;
And Death is hidden,
[d] Hades fled away [d];
[e] Corruption forgotten [e],
sorrows passed away;
54 and in the end [f] the treasures of immortality [f] are made manifest.
55, 56 Therefore ask no more concerning the multitude of them that perish; for having received liberty
they despised the Most High;
scorned his Law,
and [g] forsook [g] his ways:
57, 58 Moreover [h] his saints [h] they have trodden under foot; and have said in their heart that there
59 is no God—yea, though knowing full well that they must die. [i] Therefore as [i] the things aforesaid
[j] abide for you [j], so thirst and anguish [k] await them [k]. For the Most High willed not that men
60 should come to destruction; but they—his creatures—have themselves defiled the Name of him
that made them, and have proved themselves ungrateful to him who prepared [l] life for them [l].
61, 62 Therefore my judgement is now nigh at hand; and this I have not made known unto all men,
but only unto thee and to a few like thee.

(6) The Signs of the End reviewed and applied to the Author's own Times (R) (E).

(viii. 63–ix. 12.)

R 63 Then I answered and said: Behold, O Lord, thou hast already shown me a great number of the signs which thou art about to do in the last times, but at what time thou hast not shown me.

[b–b] perfecta est bonitas [c–c] 𝔏 ante perfecta sapientia [d–d] 𝔏 infernum fugit [e–e] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et corruptio in oblivionem, *which joined with the previous clause* infernum fugit *has led to the rendering* 'hell and corruption are fled into forgetfulness' (*R. V.*) [f–f] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 thesaurus immortalitatis [g–g] *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop.* (= κατελιπον): 𝔖 they made to cease (= κατελυον) [h–h] *so* 𝔖 (= τους οσιους αυτου): 𝔏 iustos eius (= τους δικαιους αυτου): *so Ethiop.* [i–i] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 sicut enim [j–j] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 vos suscipient [k–k] 𝔏 quae parata sunt *which prob. disguises a verb* (= ? μελλει Heb. עתיד)

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a City builded, i. e. the heavenly Jerusalem which will more than compensate for the loss of the earthly city. Apparently S did not contemplate a restoration or rebuilding of the earthly Jerusalem. See further, *EA*, p. 198 f.

a Rest appointed. The 'rest of God' is the final sabbath-rest (σαββατισμός, Heb. iv. 9) which awaits the people of God.

Good works established (founded). Cf. Eph. ii. 10.

wisdom preconstituted. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

53. **The (evil) root is sealed up from you.** Cf. iii. 22.

Death is hidden. For the abolition of death cf. Isa. xxv. 8; 2 En. lxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 14.

Hades fled away. Cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 3; notice the personification of Hades, as in Rev. vi. 8. For the juxtaposition of Death and Hades cf. Isa. xxviii. 15; Rev. i. 18, xx. 12, 14.

54. **and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest.** The sequence of thought in *vv.* 53–54 is noticeable; first the sources of sin are abolished, then its consequences (death, Hades, corruption, sorrows), and lastly the positive boons of the future life are revealed (the treasures of immortality).

59. **thirst and anguish.** For the representation cf. Luke xvi. 24.

62. **to a few like thee,** i. e. prophets (apocalyptists) like Salathiel or Ezra.

(6) viii. 63–ix. 12. At this point the divine reply in the dialogue (of S) is interrupted by a section which has obvious affinities with the eschatological sections describing the signs of the approaching End, derived from the older source E (iv. 56–v. 13*a*, vi. 11–28). It has been inserted in its present position by R, who, as in vii. 26–44, has embodied other material summarized partly from S. The composite character of the section as thus described will appear from an examination of its contents.

The seer begins by asking to be informed something as to the time of the End. He is told in reply to note carefully that when a certain number of the predicted signs are past, that is the very time when the Most High will visit the world (ix. 2). A short enumeration of the Messianic 'woes' follows—describing a time of physical, social, and political convulsions (ix. 3). This is particularly interesting here as it seems clear that R intends this description to apply to the times in which he himself is living (ix. 4–6). All who are able to escape by works or by faith shall see God's salvation (i. e. the Messianic Age that precedes the End of the world) within the borders of the Holy Land, which has been sanctified from the beginning (ix. 7, 8). The verses that follow (ix. 9–12) recall the tone of S, and have probably been derived in some way from that source by R. They describe the punishment and pains of those who have defied the Law and been unbelieving. Their punishment comes immediately after death, in accordance

1 And he answered me and said: Measure (the matter) carefully in thy mind, and when thou seest
2 that [m] a certain part [m] of the predicted signs are past, then shalt thou understand that it is the very
3 time when the Most High is about to visit the world which he has made. When in the world there shall appear

[n] quakings of places [n],
tumult of peoples,
[o] schemings of nations [o],
[p] confusion of leaders [p],
disquietude of princes,

4 then shalt thou understand that it is of these things the Most High has spoken since the days that
5 were aforetime from the beginning. For just as [q] with respect to all that has happened in the world [q]
6 [r] the beginning is obscure (?), but the end (issue) manifest [r], so also are the times of the Most High: the beginnings [s] are [visible] [s] [t] in portents and secret signs [t], and the end [u] in effects and marvels [u].
7 And every one that shall (then) be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his
8 faith [v] by which he has believed [v], [w] such shall survive [w] from the perils aforesaid, and shall see my
9 salvation in my land, and within my borders which I have sanctified for myself eternally. Then shall they be amazed that now have abused my ways; they shall abide in the torments which they
10 have spurned and despised. For [x] all who [x] failed to recognize me in their lifetime, [y] although
11 I dealt bountifully with them [y]; and all who have defied my Law, while they yet had liberty, and,
12 while place of repentance was still open to them, gave no heed but scorned (it); these must be brought to know after death by torment.

[l–l] 𝔏 eis nunc vitam [m–m] *reading* pars quaedam (*so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*) [n–n] 𝔏 motio locorum (= κινησις τοπων) [o–o] 𝔏 gentium cogitationes (? *read* coagitationes) [p–p] 𝔏 ducum inconstantia (= ηγεμονων ακαταστασια) [q–q] 𝔏 omne quod factum est in saeculo (*casus pendens*) [r–r] 𝔏 *corrupt*: 𝔖 the beginning is known and the end manifest: *perhaps Greek had* εν αφανει . . . εν εμφανει: *see further EA*, p. 202 [s–s] 𝔏 manifesta: *so* 𝔖 [t–t] 𝔏 in prodigiis et virtutibus = εν τερασι και δυναμεσι (δυναμις = תעלומה *Job xi.* 6 LXX: *see further EA*, p. 203) [u–u] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 in actu et in signis (*reading* σημασιοις *for* θαυμασιοις) [v–v] *reading* in qua credidit [w–w] *reading* is relinquetur [x–x] 𝔏 quotquot (= οσοι) [y–y] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 beneficia consecuti

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with the theology of S, whereas the older view is that punishment only comes completely after the resurrection; while it is partly effected by the destruction of the ungodly in the wars and tumults which precede the Messianic Age, and which the righteous survive.

The inconsistency of the section, as a whole, with S can easily be shown (see *EA*, p. 200). The whole section is a compilation from the hand of R, who has drawn partly upon E (ix. 3, 7, 8), and partly upon S (ix. 9, 12). It thus exhibits phenomena essentially the same as vii. 26–44.

63. **at what time.** Contrast Acts i. 7.

ix. 3. **tumult of peoples.** Cf. Isa. xvii. 13.

4. **then shalt thou understand . . . these things . . . from the beginning.** The author is conscious that the tradition he is citing is extremely old. The antiquity of one element in the eschatological tradition will, perhaps, account for its association with such names as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah—the heroic figures of the primaeval age. See *RWS* (ed. 2), p. 36.

5–6. **For just as . . . marvels.** For text see crit. notes. The point of the saying seems to be that the portents of the last times can be detected and read beforehand by the initiated, though their true significance is missed by the world at large; just as the real significance of the obscure beginnings of things that develop into great events or issues in human life and history generally is only grasped at first by the discerning.

6. **in effects and marvels.** Gunkel renders *v.* 6: 'so also are the times of the Most High: their beginning is in word (i. e. the prophetic word revealed to the apocalyptists referred to in *v.* 4) and portents, but their end in deeds and marvels' (αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐν φωναῖς καὶ ἐν σημείοις, καὶ ἡ συντέλεια ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει). He compares Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 12, where it is remarked that it is God's property to announce beforehand what is to occur, and then to bring it to pass. For the text adopted by Gunkel cf. *EA*, p. 203.

7. **on account of his works or his faith,** &c. R here combines the statements of S regarding faith and works. Cf. vi. 5, vii. 77.

8. **my salvation,** i. e. the Messianic salvation.

which I have sanctified for myself eternally. The Holy Land as sacrosanct—chosen by God—will be the scene of the Messianic salvation. Cf. xii. 13, 34, xiii. 48, 49; 2 Bar. xxix. 2, xl. 2. The idea of the specially privileged and sacrosanct character of the Holy Land lived on in various forms, even after the destruction of Jerusalem. Cf. Volz, p. 308 f., and see Charles's note on 2 Bar. xxix. 2.

12. **while place of repentance was still open to them.** For the phrase 'place of repentance' cf. Wisd. vii. 10, 20; Heb. xii. 17.

after death by torment. Verses 9–12 represent the point of view of S, and refer to the state of the wicked immediately after death; this representation is essentially inconsistent with the previous verses, which refer to Messianic blessedness.

(7) The Divine Reply concluded: Final Justification of the Fewness of the Saved (S).

(ix. 13–22.)

S 13 So, then, be thou no longer curious as to how the ungodly shall be punished, but inquire (rather) how the righteous [z] shall be saved [z]—they to whom the world (belongs) and for whose sakes, also, the
14, 15 world has come into existence [a]. And I answered and said: I have already said, and say now, and
16 shall say (it) again: There are more who perish than shall be saved, even as the flood is greater than a drop!

17 And he answered me and said:
As is the ground, so the sowings;
as are the flowers, so are the colours;
As is [b] the workman [b], so is the work;
as is the husbandman, so is the threshing-floor—

18 [c] For there was (a time) in the eternal ages when I prepared for those who now exist—before they had come into being—a world wherein they might dwell [c]; and then none gainsaid me—for none
19 existed. But now they that have been created in this world—(a world) made ready with both an unfailing table and an enexplorable pasture—have become corrupt in their manners.

20 Then I considered my world, and lo! it was destroyed;
and my earth, and lo! [d] it was in peril [d]—
on account of [e] the tumults [e] [f] of those who are (living) in it [f].

21 And I saw, and spared (some) [g] with very great difficulty [g], and saved me a grape out of a cluster,
22 and a plant [h] out of a great forest [h]. Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected!

[z–z] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* live (*as often elsewhere*) [a] 𝔏 + et quando: *but other VSS.* > [b–b] 𝔏 opera (= εργασια: *Heb.* פועל: *the latter* = workman *or* work) [c–c] *so* 𝔖; *cf. Ethiop.*: 𝔏 quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent [d–d] 𝔏 erat periculi [e–e] *reading* coagitationes (*for* cogitationes); *cf.* 𝔖 [f–f] *cf. Ethiop.*: 𝔏 quae in eo advenerunt [g–g] 𝔏 vix valde (= πανυ μογις) [h–h] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar.*[1]) = αφ υλης πολλης: 𝔏 de tribu multa (φυλης *for* αφυλης)

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(7) ix. 13–22. The first verse of this section forms the immediate continuation of viii. 62. The seer had been assured that the Judgement was near at hand, and had been revealed only to him and a few like him. Now he is once again told not to concern himself with the fate of the ungodly, but to fix his attention, rather, on the salvation which the righteous attain (cf. viii. 55). This declaration is not, as Volkmar and, later, Gunkel have supposed, the enunciation of a new subject for discussion in the visions that follow, but merely a recapitulation of what has already been discussed in the former part of the present vision. The seer's reply is also a repetition of former complaints about the large number of those who perish (ix. 15–16). The final form of the divine reply follows (*vv.* 17–22). The evil of the present world is due to man's sin. There was a time—before the generation of men had been created—when none defied the Most High; but now those who have been placed in the world, which has been provided and furnished for their needs, have degenerated and become corrupt. In order that the purpose of Creation shall not be entirely frustrated a few have been spared—'a grape out of a cluster, a plant out of a great forest': 'Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected.'

It should be noted that the preservation of a small remnant from the corrupt mass is due entirely to special efforts on God's part. In other words, it must be attributed entirely to the divine grace.

13. **be thou no longer curious . . . the righteous shall be saved.** Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 48.

15. **more who perish than shall be saved.** Cf. vii. 47.

16. **as the flood is greater than a drop.** Cf. iv. 48–50.

17. **as are the flowers, so are the colours.** Brilliant colouring betokens a beautiful flower.

18. **For there was (a time) in the eternal ages . . . they might dwell.** So 𝔖 (cf. crit. note). The Latin (apparently misreading the Greek, see *EA*, p. 207) renders: *quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent* = 'For there was a time in the world, even then when I was preparing for them that now live, before the world was made for them to dwell in; [and then,' &c.]; R.V. The Latin misses and obscures the point. To say that there was a time in the history of the world—which had been created for man's sake—when sin and rebellion did not exist, viz. before man had appeared on the scene, adds point to the divine indictment of the human race that follows: but to say (as the Latin text says) that before the world was made man did not exist, and therefore could not sin, is banal. The Ethiop. agrees essentially with the Syr. (cf. Violet); but the original Greek text appears to have been in some disorder in the MSS. used by the Latin and Ethiop.

19. **(a world) made ready with both an unfailing table and an unexplorable pasture.** The reference is to Paradise and its marvellous fruits ('an unfailing table') which its trees bear without cessation. The banquet which the righteous are to enjoy in the future world is often referred to (sometimes also in Messianic passages): cf. Rev. ii. 7 ('hidden manna') and see Bousset, *RJ*[2], p. 327: the Greek of the phrase 'an unexplorable (= mysterious) pasture' = (εἰς) νομὸν ἀνεξίχνευτον (Volk.). The Versions read νόμον, 'law', for νομόν, 'pasture' (or ? νομήν): hence 'unsearchable law' (R. V.).

VI. ix. 23–25. Conclusion of the Vision (S).

23 But if [i]thou wilt separate thyself[i] yet seven more days—thou shalt not, however, fast in them,
24 but shalt go into a field of flowers, where no house has been built, and eat only [j]of the fruit of the
25 field[j]; and thou shalt taste no flesh and drink no wine, but (eat) only the fruit—and pray unto the Most High continually, then I will come and talk with thee.

THE FOURTH VISION.

(ix. 26–x. 59.)

I. ix. 26–28. Introduction (S).

26 So I went, as he commanded me, into the field which is called [k]Ardat[k], and there I sat among
27 the flowers, and did eat of the herbs of the field; [l]and the eating thereof satisfied me[l]. And it

[i–i] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 [si] intermittas [j–j] *so Ethiop.* 𝔏 de floribus campi [k–k] *so* 𝔏 (S**); = Ar.[2] (?); *v. l.* Adar, Ardad, Ardas, Ardaf: 𝔖 *Ethiop.* Arpad (*cf.* 2 *Kings xviii.* 34); *Ar.*[1] Araab *or* Araat; *Arm.* Ardab [l–l] 𝔏 et facta est esca earum mihi in saturitatem

ix. 23–25. This short section forms the conclusion of the long third vision and the transition to the fourth. The seer is bidden to wait another seven days, when a further revelation shall be vouchsafed to him. He is, however, expressly told not to fast—as he had done in preparation for former visions—but to go into a field of flowers, and eat only flowers (?) or herbs of the field; he is, moreover, to abstain from tasting flesh and wine, and is bidden to pray continually. The field is to be destitute of any building. As the following vision makes clear, this locality is to be the scene of a vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The direction as to eating only of the produce of the field is remarkable. What is its significance? It is clearly not to be regarded as on a par with the strict fast, from which it is expressly distinguished. Moreover, in the introduction to the third vision (vi. 35) the seer says that he fasted seven days in order to complete the three weeks of fasting that had been commanded him (i.e. a week of fasting before each of the first three visions). Thus this form of preparation had reached its climax at the beginning of the third vision, and it is curious to note that no further direct mention of fasting is met with in the remaining chapters of the book (x–xiv), though contexts occur in which such might have been expected (cf. xi. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 1).[1]

Is, then, the direction as to eating herbs or flowers here to be regarded as a substitute for fasting proper—as a form of half-fasting? This is possible, as abstinence from flesh and wine is decidedly in the direction of a mild asceticism. But it may be argued that more probably what is intended is rather in the nature of an antithesis to strict fasting. It should be remembered that the destruction of the Holy City—and, above all, of the Temple—in A. D. 70 gave rise to a widespread ascetic movement among the Jewish people who survived, especially in Palestine. Many gave expression to their grief in severe and regular forms of fasting. It is this situation which is contemplated here. The seer is about to receive a vision in which grief at the desolation—bitter as it is—of the earthly Sion is to be transcended by a vision of the heavenly City. He is bidden, therefore, not to fast, but, in solitude, and far from human habitation and proximity, to prepare himself by partaking of the simplest food of nature, and by prayer, for the coming revelation. The food most appropriate in the circumstances would be that of the primaeval age and the age of man's innocence. See further *EA*, p. 209 f.

24. **thou shalt taste no flesh . . . no wine, but (eat) only the fruit,** i. e. eat only what grows in the field. So Daniel and his companions ate only vegetable food, and drank water rather than suffer defilement; cf. 2 Macc. v. 27.

ix. 26–x. 59. The Fourth Vision. The following vision seems to have been preserved largely without interpolation, and as it was composed by the author of S, the pen of the Redactor (R) only coming into evidence in one or two places and in the transitional verses at the end (x. 58–59). The composition is even and flowing, and moves in an easy logical sequence. The seer proceeds, as he has been commanded, to a field which bears the mysterious name of 'Ardat', and there lives on herbs for seven days (ix. 26–28). Then he addresses God, giving utterance to the thoughts that have arisen within him. Israel had been entrusted with the divine Law—it had been sown in their hearts—but they had failed to keep it. The vessel that received it was doomed to perish because of sin, while the Law remained 'in its honour', imperishable (ix. 29–37). This speech is interrupted by a vision of a woman in distress, who is mourning the death of an only son—a son who, born after thirty years of sterility, had died on the very morning of his wedding. The seer, therefore, by way of consolation, admonishes her that her loss is small compared with the disasters that have befallen the chosen people as a whole, and more especially the crowning disaster of the destruction of Sion (ix. 38–x. 24). Then suddenly the scene changes: the woman vanishes, and in her place appears a great and splendid city—the heavenly Sion (x. 25–28). The section closes with an account of the intervention of the angel (Uriel) and the explanation of the vision given by him to the seer (x. 29–57, followed by the conclusion x. 58–59).

The whole section thus falls into the following divisions:—

i. *Introduction* (ix. 26–28);
ii. *The abiding glory of the Law and Israel: a contrast* (ix. 29–37);
iii. *The vision of the Disconsolate Woman* (ix. 38–x. 24).

With this vision, which transports him into the heavenly world, the Apocalypse of Salathiel doubtless ended. The visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources. Some fragments of the work of S are embedded in these later visions (xii. 40–48 and xiv. 28–35); these will be discussed later in connexion with their present contexts.

ix. 26–28. The mysterious locality which is described as 'the field which is called Ardat', whither the seer went, in accordance with the divine command, and meditated for seven days, living on 'the herbs of the field,' has been the subject of much debate. The view that the name means 'the wilderness of Judah' (Lücke) or (as *Arbah* = ערבה,

[1] This fact affords a strong confirmation of the correctness of the critical analysis which separates these chapters from the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

S 28 came to pass after seven days, as I lay upon the grass, that my heart was again troubled as before.
Then [m] I opened my mouth [m], and began to address the Most High.

II. ix. 29–37. The Abiding Glory of the Law, and Israel: a Contrast (S).

29 And I said: [n] O Lord [n], thou didst verily reveal thyself unto our fathers [o] in the wilderness [p] when
they went forth out of Egypt, and when they walked through the untrodden and unfruitful wilder-
30 ness; and thou didst say:

O Israel, hear thou me;
O seed of Jacob, attend unto my words!

31 For, behold, I sow my Law in you, and it shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified
in it for ever.
32 But our fathers, who received the Law, observed it not, and the statutes they did not keep, and yet
33 the fruit of the Law did not perish, nor could it—because it was thine; but they who received it
34 perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them. [q] Now, it is a general rule [q] that,
when the ground has received seed, or the sea a ship, or any other vessel food or drink, [r] and when
it happens that what is sown [r], or [s] what is launched [s], or the things that have been taken in come to
35 an end,—these come to an end, while the receptacles remain: but with us it has not been so.
36 We who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken
37 it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory.

[m–m] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 apertum est os meum: *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[2] [n–n] *so* 𝔏: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* O Lord my Lord (= Δεσποτα κυριε) [o] 𝔏 + in nobis (*prob. a gloss*): *other VSS.* > [p] 𝔖 + of Sinai [q–q] = 𝔖 and this is the rule (*Heb.* וזה הכלל): 𝔏 et ecce consuetudo [r–r] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 > [s–s] 𝔏 quod missum est [t–t] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] *Arm.* 𝔏 et respexi oculis meis [u–u] *reading* adii-

'desert') is a symbolical name for the Holy Land generally, which might have been represented at the end of the first century A.D. as a veritable wilderness to the Jews (Volkmar), may be at once dismissed. More plausible is the suggestion put forward by Mr. Rendel Harris (*The Rest of the Words of Baruch* [Cambridge, 1889], pp. 35–39) that the locality intended is the neighbourhood of Abraham's oak, near Hebron. This would be a highly suitable place for a divine revelation; and, moreover, Hebron is mentioned in 2 Baruch as one of the seats of prophetic inspiration (xlvii. 1). Prof. Harris concludes that the scene of the fifth vision in 4 Ezra (ch. xi) is Hebron, and that this is identical with the scene of the fourth vision, i. e. 'the field of Ardat'. But in this view no account has been taken of the different sources which appear in these chapters; the connexion of the scene of the two visions is a purely artificial one, and is due to the compiler. Nor is it at all certain that the 'oak' mentioned in 4 Ezra xiv. 1 as the place where Ezra received the revelation is 'Abraham's oak', as Prof. Harris supposes. It may have been some well-known tree in Jerusalem (see notes *ad loc.*).

Thus the attempt to locate 'the field of Ardat' at Hebron cannot be regarded as successful. Whatever may be the true explanation of the name 'Ardat', it seems clear that its significance must be mainly of a symbolical character. The repeated statement that the mysterious place was one 'where no house has been built' (ix. 24, x. 51) not only excludes the actual site of the ruined earthly Jerusalem, but also points to a place which was still untouched by human hand, and so fit to be the spot where the heavenly city could (temporarily) rest. Presumably the reader was expected to think of this locality as in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon, where Salathiel is represented as residing at the beginning of the Apocalypse (4 Ezra iii. 1).

One slight indication (cf. x. 58) suggests that the time when this revelation took place was during the day, and not by night, as is the case with the dream-visions. See further *EA*, p. 212 f.

ix. 29–37. After seven days' meditation in 'Ardat' the seer gives characteristic expression once again to the thoughts which have agitated his heart. This takes the form of a soliloquy on the relation of Israel to the Law. At the Exodus from Egypt—when Israel became a nation—God had sown the Law in the heart of His people, with the promise: 'It shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever' (ix. 31). But the fathers observed it not; yet 'the fruit of the Law did not perish'—it could not—because it was essentially divine. But 'they who received it perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them'. The law that obtains in the natural world is that the receptacles remain after that which they have received has passed away—for instance, the ground remains after the seed that has been sown in it has sprung up and been gathered, the sea remains after the ship that has been launched in it has come to an end, and so on. But with Israel it is different. For 'we who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory'.

The application of the moral remains. The divine element is eternal—the corruptible vessel that receives it perishes. Even so the eternal reality which was partially and imperfectly expressed by the earthly Jerusalem remains; but the vessel that mediated it has perished. The earthly vessel (i. e. the earthly Jerusalem) has been destroyed—it has perished: how foolish and perverse to look for its revival! Hope should rather be fixed on the eternal City which exists—and has always existed—in the incorruptible world, and which is to be enjoyed by those who pass into the blessed immortal life of the age that is to come. The confirmation of the truth of these hopes—and the answer to any lingering doubts that may remain—is the burden of the vision that follows (ix. 38 f.).

29. **thoudidst verily reveal thyself.** The reference is to such passages as Ex. xix. 9, xxiv. 10, &c.

when they went forth out of Egypt. Cf. Judges xi. 16.

31. **For, behold, I sow my Law in you . . . in it for ever.** This is the author's paraphrase of the O.T. description of the relation set up between God and Israel by Israel's acceptance of the Law, and entry into the covenant-relation with God. He reads into the naïve O. T. promises of temporal reward his own transcendental views, and understands the glory promised to Israel to mean the unfading glory of the eternal and incorruptible heavenly world. For a similar heightening of O. T: language cf. vii. 120, where Deut. xxx. 19 is cited ('Choose thee life', &c., i. e. eternal life).

37. **the Law, however,** &c. The Law does not perish because it comes from heaven: it is spiritual (πνευματικός,

III. ix. 38–x. 24. The Vision of the Disconsolate Woman (S).

38 And when I spake thus in my heart [t] I lifted up my eyes [t], and saw a woman upon the right; and
lo! she was mourning and weeping with a loud voice, and was much grieved in mind, and her clothes
39 were rent and there were ashes upon her head. Then I dismissed my thoughts in which I had been
40 preoccupied, and turned to her and said: Wherefore weepest thou? And why art thou grieved in
41 thy mind? And she said unto me: Suffer me, my lord, to indulge my sorrow and [u] continue my
grief [u], for I am embittered in soul and deeply afflicted.
42 And I said unto her: What has befallen thee? tell me.
43 She said unto me: I, thy servant, was barren, and bore no child, though I had a husband thirty
44 years. Both hourly and daily during these thirty years I besought the Most High night and day.
45 And it came to pass after thirty years
God heard thy handmaid
and looked upon my affliction;
He considered my distress,
and gave me a son.
And I rejoiced in him greatly, I and my husband and [v] all my fellow townsfolk [v], and we gave great
4 47 glory unto [w] the Mighty One [w]. And I reared him with great travail. So when he was grown up,
I came to take [x] him [x] a wife, and made [y] a feast day [y].
1 1 And it came to pass when my son entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down and died.
2 Then [z] I removed the lights [z], and all my fellow townsfolk rose up to comfort me; but I remained
3 quiet [a] until the night of the next day [a]. [b] And it came to pass when they were all quiet (and
desisted) from consoling, as I remained quiet [b], I rose up by night, and fled, and came to this field,
4 as thou seest. And I purpose [c] never again [c] to return to the city, but here to stay and neither eat
5 nor drink, but continually to mourn and to fast till I die. Then I left the thoughts in which I was
6 still occupied, and answered her in anger, and said: O thou above all other women most foolish!
7 Seest thou not our mourning, and what has befallen us? How Sion, the mother of us all, is in great
8 grief and deep affliction? [d] It is right now to mourn [d], seeing that we all mourn, and to grieve, seeing
9 that we are all grief-stricken; thou, however, art grief-stricken for one son [e]. But ask the earth, and

ciam dolere [v–v] *so* 𝔖 (*lit.* all the sons of my town) *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2]: 𝔏 omnes cives mei [w–w] 𝔏 Fortem (= *τον ισχυρον* = האל in LXX) [x–x] *reading* ei [y–y] 𝔏 diem epuli: 𝔖 + and great rejoicing [z–z] *cf.* 𝔖 (1*st pers. sing.*): 𝔏 evertimus omnes lumina (everti = ? *καθειλον* = *Heb.* הסיר) [a–a] *so Ethiop.* 𝔏 usque in alium diem usque in noctem [b–b] 𝔏 et factum est cum omnes quievissent ut me consolarentur ut quiescerem (*original Heb. text perhaps was*: ויהי בהיותם מחרישים כ/ם מְנַחֵם לפי שאני מחריש: *see EA*, p. 221) [c–c] *so* 𝔖 (= *μηκετι*); *cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2]: 𝔏 iam non (= ? *μη αρτι*) [d–d] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] = 𝔏 (*Violet*): lugere validissimum est nunc (*BJ* lugete validissime [*end of v.* 7]. Et nunc) [e] 𝔖 + but we the whole world for our mother

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Rom. vii. 14): cf. also 2 Cor. iii. 7 f. [With *vv.* 36, 37 cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 19: 'And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart.']

ix. 38–x. 24. We now reach the final sections of the Salathiel-Apocalypse. It is altogether fitting that the close of the (Salathiel) book should contain a revelation of the realities of the future world where, according to the theology of S, the felicity and blessedness of the righteous can alone be consummated; and it accords with what would be expected that this revelation should be concerned with that part of the heavenly realities (viz. the heavenly City) whose earthly counterpart (viz. Jerusalem), in its humiliation and ruin, had formed the starting-point of the debates of the Apocalypse (cf. iii. 27). It has already been declared (cf. viii. 52) that the heavenly Sion is one of the things which belong to the eternal order, and which should be made freely available for the enjoyment of the righteous after the final Judgement. It is this heavenly reality which is now manifested to the seer. An examination of this section and the following makes it clear that the disconsolate woman who appears to the seer, mourning the death of her only son, must be the heavenly Sion: she cannot be identified with the earthly Jerusalem, as Kabisch justly points out, without making the story meaningless. See further *EA*, p. 216 f.

38. **ashes upon her head.** A sign of grief and humiliation. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 19; Isa. lxi. 3.

45. **we gave great glory.** To 'give God the glory' (cf. Luke xvii. 18) for boons bestowed was an all-important religious duty. The fact that this duty was religiously performed seems to be emphasized here in order to exclude the possibility of a suggestion that the calamity which followed was a judgement of God (so Gunkel).

47. **a feast day.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 2; Luke xiv. 16.

x. 1. **and died.** With the death of the bridegroom here cp. the story in Tobit (esp. ch. viii). Kabisch thinks this points to a knowledge of the Book of Tobit by S; but this does not necessarily follow.

2. **I removed the lights.** For the wedding lights cf. Matt. xxv. 7. Note the violent contrast between the brilliant illumination of the wedding-feast and the sudden darkness following on the death of the bridegroom.

to comfort me. To condole with mourners as well as to assist in the burial of the dead is a part of the practice of benevolence.

I remained quiet. A mother's grief would normally show itself in loud lamentation; but here she remains dumb.

7. **Sion, the mother of us all.** Cf. Gal. iv. 26 (but there of the heavenly Jerusalem).

8. **It is right now to mourn,** &c. The point of the passage is that the nation is now plunged into calamities, and therefore all may now properly mourn.

S she shall tell thee, that it is she who ought to mourn [f] the fall of so many [f] that have sprung into
10 being upon her. [g] Yea, from the beginning all who have been born, and others who are to come—
11 lo! they go [g] almost all into perdition, and the multitude of them comes to destruction. Who, then,
should mourn the more? Ought not she that has lost so great a multitude? or thou who grievest
12 but for one? But if thou sayest to me: My lamentation is not like the earth's, for I have lost the
fruit of my womb
which I bare with pains
and brought forth with sorrows—
13 [h] but as regards the earth, (it is) according to the course of nature [h]; the multitude present in it is
14 gone as it came: then I say to thee: Just as thou hast borne (offspring) with sorrow, even so also
the earth has borne (given) her fruit, namely man, from the beginning unto him that made her.
15 Now, therefore, keep thy sorrow within,
and bear gallantly the misfortunes that have befallen thee.
16 For if thou wilt acknowledge God's decree to be just, thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time,
17, 18 and shalt be praised among women. Therefore go into the city to thy husband. And she said unto
19 me: [i] I will not do so [i]: I will not enter the city, but here will I die. So I proceeded to speak further
20 unto her, and said: [j] No, woman! no, woman! [j] do not do so;
but [k] suffer thyself to be prevailed upon by reason of Sion's misfortunes [k],
be consoled by reason of Jerusalem's sorrow.
21 For thou seest how
our sanctuary is laid waste,
[l] our altar [l] thrown down;
our Temple destroyed,
our harp laid low;
22 our song is silenced,
our rejoicing ceased;
the light of our lamp is extinguished,
the ark of our covenant spoiled;
our holy things are defiled,
the name that is called upon us [m] is profaned [m];

[f–f] *reading* tantorum casum (*MSS.* > casum): *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1] [g–g] 𝔏 (*Violet*) et ex ipso initio omnes nati et alii venientes, ecce, *&c.*; *cf.* 𝔖 [h–h] 𝔏 terra autem secundum viam terrae [i–i] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 non faciam [j–j] *so* 𝔖: *other VSS.* > [k–k] *so* 𝔖 *Arm.*: 𝔏 consenti persuaderi quid enim casus Sion [l–l] 𝔖 > [m–m] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 paene profanatum est

14. **even so also the earth.** The idea is peculiar and the parallel intended not quite clear. Man is earth's highest production; but this her choicest fruit is produced only to be gathered in by the Creator (i. e. ? by the death of man); and the constant loss of her best, in this way, involves the earth in ceaseless anguish. Such seems to be the general meaning intended.

16. **thou wilt acknowledge . . . to be just.** Cf. Ps. of Sol. viii. 7, 27, 31; ii. 16; Luke vii. 29, 35. To acknowledge the justice of God's decree is equivalent to pious submission to His will.

thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time, i. e. either the dead son shall be restored to life, or another son shall be given to her in his stead, and so she shall win honour among women. It is possible that, as Gunkel suggests, the sequel of the original story set forth the restoration of the dead son to life; but it is significant that the writer here says nothing of this. He stops short at relating the son's death.

21. **our Temple,** i. e. the Temple-building proper, exclusive of the outer court.

our harp laid low: 'harp' here probably symbolizes the service of praise which has ceased in the ruined sanctuary.

22. **our rejoicing ceased.** Cf. Isa. xxiv. 8, 9.

the light of our lamp . . . extinguished. The extinction of the continual lamp marked the cessation of the functions of the Temple-services and sacrifices; cf. 1 Macc. iv. 36–59.

the ark of our covenant spoiled. This detail, of course, fits the position of the historical Salathiel (in the Exile), and can only be referred in strictness to the first Temple. The ark of the Covenant disappeared at the destruction of Solomon's Temple, and nothing took its place in the later Temples. Two divergent traditions are met with as to its fate; according to the one (which our text follows) the ark was carried off with the other holy vessels into Babylonia (cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10); according to the other, the ark was concealed within the Temple; cf. 2 Macc. ii. 5–8 and 2 Bar. vi. What is the significance of the mention of the spoiling of the ark in our passage? Perhaps the writer intended to suggest that it was vain to look for the restoration of the ark and other holy things in the Messianic Age in the last times. In other words, there would be no Messianic Age, and no restoration of the Temple on earth. The other form of the legend which makes the ark to be concealed within the Temple precincts seems to be governed by the idea that it would be brought to light again in the Messianic Age. It is significant that these two contradictory ideas are represented in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch respectively.

our holy things are defiled, i. e. the holy vessels which fell into the hands of the heathen. The writer, though the reference is directly to the first Temple, is thinking of the similar events connected with the destruction in A. D. 70 (e. g. the great candelabrum fell into the hands of Titus).

the name that is called upon us, i. e. the sacred name that has been bestowed upon us by God, the name of Israel; cf. Gen. xxxii. 28.

our nobles are dishonoured,
our priests burnt,
our Levites gone into captivity;
our virgins are defiled,
our wives ravished;
[n] our righteous are seized,
· [our saints scattered,]
our children are cast out [n],
our youths are enslaved,
our heroes made powerless:
23 and, what is more than all—
Sion's seal [o] is now sealed up dishonoured [o],
and given up into the hands of them that hate us.
24 Do thou, then, shake off thy great grief,
abandon thy much sorrow,
That the Mighty One may again forgive thee,
and the Most High give thee rest,
a respite from thy troubles!

IV. x. 25–28. Sion's Glory: the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (S).

25 And it came to pass, while I was talking to her, lo!
her countenance on a sudden shone exceedingly,
and [p] her aspect became brilliant as lightning [p],
so that I was too much afraid [q] (to approach her, and my heart was terrified exceedingly) [q]: and
26 while I was debating what this might mean, she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the
27 earth shook at the noise. And when I looked, lo! the woman was no longer visible to me, [r] but
there was a City builded [r], and a place showed itself of large foundations. Then I was afraid, and
28 cried with a loud voice, and said: Where is Uriel, the angel who came unto me at the first? For he
it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment;
and so [s] my prayer [s] is made futile,
and my request disappointed!

V. x. 29–57. Interpretation of the Vision (S).

29 And while I was speaking thus, lo! the angel came to me, who had come to me at the first; and

[n–n] *All VSS. give only two clauses here, except Ar.*[2] *which has three; clauses* 1 *and* 3 *are attested by* 𝔏 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔖 (*in an emended form*) *supports clause* 2 *and omits clause* 3; *see for details EA*, p. 228 f. [o–o] 𝔏 resignata est de gloria sua nunc [p–p] 𝔏 species coruscus fiebat vultus eius [q–q] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: *but* 𝔏 ad eam [r–r] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 sed civitas aedificabatur [s–s] 𝔏 finis meus = 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] (*cf. R.V.* mine end): *prob., as Violet suggests, there was a corruption in the Hebr. text here,* תפלתי *being misread* תַּכְלִתִי

our priests burnt. An allusion to the destruction of the Temple by fire. Josephus (*Wars*, vi. 5. 1) specially mentions two priests of eminence, who threw themselves into the fire 'and were burnt together with the holy house'.

23. **Sion's seal is now sealed up dishonoured**, lit. 'is sealed up away from its honour', i.e. is robbed of its honour. The 'seal of Sion' is doubtless a symbolical representation of Sion's independence. A more specific allusion to the issue of a national coinage may be intended; see *EA*, p. 229. In *vv.* 22–23 the utter ruin of Israel is set forth in detail.

24. **may again forgive thee.** The death of the son manifested God's wrath; therefore divine forgiveness was necessary.

x. 25–28.

25. **her aspect became brilliant as lightning.** This recalls the representation of the heavenly bride (= the heavenly Jerusalem) of Rev. xxi. 9; cf. Rev. xii. 1.

27. **of large foundations.** Cf. Rev. xxi. 19 f.

28. **my prayer is made futile**, &c. The seer hastily concludes that the revelation regarding Israel's future glory—how it was to be attained (cf. ix. 29–37)—which he had been expecting and for which he was longing so ardently, has been denied him, because the vision he has seen has simply left him in a state of bewilderment and terror, while in fact it is but the prelude to a revelation all the more complete. This, as Gunkel remarks, is a fine touch.

The state of terror into which the seer falls at the marvellous transfiguration of the woman is a feature derived, doubtless, from the actual experience of such ecstatics; cf. similar features in Hermas.

x. 29–57. The interpretation of the vision by the angel follows. The seer is told that the transfigured woman is Sion. Which Sion? the heavenly or the earthly? The most natural interpretation is that the heavenly Sion is represented by the woman. In this case her son must stand for the earthly Jerusalem, and the son's death for the downfall and ruin of the earthly city. It is difficult on any other interpretation to understand the significance of the son in the allegorical interpretation. If the woman stands for the earthly Sion, whom does her son represent? According to Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vi, p. 219 n.), the Messiah! But how can the Messiah have been pictured as being born when the Temple was founded by Solomon, and dying when the Temple was destroyed? The true explanation seems to be

S 30 when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead, [t]my understanding being confused[t], he grasped
my right hand and strengthened me, and set me on my feet, and said to me:
31 What aileth thee?
Why art thou so disquieted?
Wherefore is thy understanding confused,
and the thoughts of thy heart?
32 And I said: Because thou hast forsaken me! Yet I did as thou commandedst, and went into the
field, and lo! I have seen—[u]and yet see[u]—that which I am unable to express.
33, 34 And he said unto me: Stand up like a man, and I will advise thee. Then said I: Speak on, my
lord; only forsake me not, lest I die to no purpose.
35 For I have seen what I did not know [v]and heard[v] what I do not understand.
36 Or is my mind deceived,
and my soul in a dream?
37 Now, therefore, I beseech thee to show thy servant concerning this perplexity!
38 And he answered me, and said:
Hear me, and I will teach thee,
and tell thee concerning the things thou art afraid of;
for the Most High hath revealed many secrets unto thee.
39 For he hath seen [w]thy righteous conduct[w],
how thou hast sorrowed continually for thy people,
and mourned greatly on account of Sion—
40, 41 [x]The matter, therefore, is as follows.[x] The woman who appeared to thee a little while ago, whom
42 [y]thou sawest[y] mourning and begannest to comfort: whereas now thou seest no likeness of a woman
43 any more, but [z]a builded City[z] hath appeared unto thee: and whereas she told thee of the misfortune
44 of her son—this is the interpretation: This woman, whom thou sawest, is Sion, whom thou now
45 beholdest as a builded City; And whereas she said unto thee that she was barren thirty years: the
reason is that there were [a]three thousand years[a] in the world before any offering was offered [b]in (it)

[t–t] 𝔏 et intellectus meus alienatus erat (=? και ο νους μου ηλλοτριωθη) [u–u] 𝔏 et video; *so* 𝔖: *but Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.* > [v–v] *reading* audivi (C M) = *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: 𝔖 I hear = audio (S A) [w–w] 𝔏 rectam viam tuam: 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) = την ευθυτητα σου [x–x] *so* 𝔖 (= ουτος ουν εστιν ο λογος: וזה הדבר): *cf. Ethiop. Arm.*: 𝔏 hic ergo intellectus visionis [y–y] 𝔖 > [z–z] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 civitas aedificari (*R.V.* a city in building) [a–a] *so all the Versions except the Arm.* (*which has* many years) *and* 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) anni . . . tres [b–b] *reading* in eo (*for* in

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that the mother represents the heavenly, and the son the earthly Sion. For a full discussion of alternative views see *EA*, p. 233 f.

The original meaning of the vision has been obscured by two slight alterations in the text from the pen of R; in *v.* 45, 'in it' (= ἐν αὐτῷ, i.e. in the world) has been changed to 'in her' (= ἐν αὐτῇ, i.e. in Sion), thus producing the meaning that for 3,000 years no oblation was offered in Sion, i.e. the earthly Sion; and in *v.* 46 'David' has been altered into 'Solomon'. In this way R secures the interpretation that the woman = the earthly Sion; the son = the Temple (the son's birth = the founding of the Temple by Solomon), &c.; while the transfiguration of the woman is a prophecy of the future glory of the earthly Sion. But this destroys the original significance of the vision, and cannot be harmonized with the theology of S. See further *EA*, *loc. cit.*

29–30. **and when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead.** For the representation cf. Dan. viii. 17, 18; x. 9, 10, 15; Rev. i. 17, &c.

and set me on my feet. Cf. v. 15; vi. 13, 17.

32. **and yet see.** The vision of the City is still before the seer's eyes.

that which I am unable to express. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4 (also of an ecstatic experience).

33. **Stand up like a man.** Cf. v. 15; vi. 13, 17.

45. **three thousand years.** For text see crit. note. Gunkel adopts the Latin 'three years', and (with Wellhausen) explains thus: the three years = the three years that elapsed after Solomon became king and before he began to build the Temple (cf. 1 Kings vi. 1 with vi. 38); and these three years mystically = three millennial years, i.e. 3,000 years. But according to *v.* 45 in the Latin the three years = thirty years, i.e. thirty generations (?); thus it would have a mystical meaning (3,000), a literal (three), and again a literal (= thirty generations) meaning, all in juxtaposition. It is better to adopt the reading of the Versions (3,000), and to regard this as an actual reckoning (see next verse).

before any offering was offered in it (i.e. in the world). The Lat. has *quando non erat in ea adhuc oblatio oblata* = 'when as yet there was no offering offered in her' (i.e. in Sion; so all the other Versions). By the slight emendation suggested by Kabisch (viz. to read *in eo* [ἐν αὐτῷ] for *in ea*) the difficulty of the text-reading can be removed. *In her* can only mean in the *civitas aedificata*, which for 3,000 years was without a son, i.e. the heavenly Sion; but the statement that no offering was as yet offered in the heavenly Sion is meaningless. The unfruitfulness of the heavenly Sion consisted rather in the fact that for 3,000 years there was on the earth—in this aeon—no corresponding reality, no *aedificata civitas* where the cultus of the sacrificial worship was established. (So Kabisch.)

It is true altars had been erected and sacrifices offered before the time of David (e.g. by Abraham, Gen. xxii. 9, and others); but no 'regular system of sacrifice' had been established in one spot which was sufficient to make this the earthly dwelling-place of Jahveh. At any rate such seems to have been the view of S, who in his survey of the

46 (*i.e.* in the world) [b]. And it came to pass after [c] three thousand years that [c] [d] (David) [d] built the City,
47 and offered offerings: then it was that the barren bare a son. And whereas she told thee that she
48 reared him with travail: [e] that was the (divine) dwelling in Jerusalem [e]. And whereas she said unto
thee: 'My son entering into his marriage-chamber died,' [f] and that misfortune befell her [f]—this was
49 the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass. And lo! thou hast seen [g] the (heavenly) pattern of her [g],
how she mourned her son, and thou didst begin to comfort her for what had befallen [h].

50 Now, the Most High seeing
that thou art grieved [i] deeply [i]
and art distressed whole-heartedly on account of her;
hath showed thee the brilliance of her glory,
and [j] her majestic beauty [j].

52 Therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house has been builded; for I knew that the
53 Most High was about to reveal all these things unto thee. [k] [Therefore I bade thee come into the
54 field where no foundation of any building is, for in the place where the City of the Most High was
about to be revealed no building-work of man could endure [k].]

55 Therefore be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be terrified; but go in and see the brightness
[l] and [l] vastness of the building, as far as it is possible for thee with the sight of thine eyes to see!

ea) [c–c] *see note* a *above* [d–d] *all the VSS. read* Solomon; *see exegetical note* [e–e] 𝔏 haec erat habitatio Hierusalem [f–f] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]: *Ethiop. has direct speech* (this grief befell me): 𝔖 > [g–g] 𝔏 similitudinem eius [h] 𝔏 + haec erant tibi aperienda = Ar.[2]: *other VSS.* > (*doubtless a gloss*) [i–i] 𝔏 ex animo [j–j] 𝔏 pulchritudinem decoris eius (Hebr. ? תפארת הדרה) [k–k] *vv.* 51–52 *and* 53–54 *are doublets*: *perhaps* 53–4 *are more original* [l–l] *so all VSS. except* 𝔏 *which has* vel

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world's history in ch. iii ignores all previous sacrifices and offerings till he reaches the name of David. The earthly Jerusalem became the holy city—the *civitas Dei*—when David offered sacrifices in it. Cf. iii. 24.

46. **after three thousand years.** According to the LXX at least 4,227 years elapsed from the Creation to the founding of the Temple; thus S here follows the Hebrew text against the LXX. The period between the Creation of the world and the foundation of the Temple is estimated by Gutschmidt to be 3,043 years. Allowing 430 years for the oppression which ended in the Exodus (cf. Exod. xii. 40), and deducting from this the first three years of Solomon's reign and the forty years of David's, we reach 3,000 as the sum of the years from Creation to the beginning of David's reign, which may be the point of time fixed on by the apocalyptic writer as that of the founding of the earthly Sion, though, as a matter of fact, it was seven years later. This presupposes the emendation of 'Solomon' in the next clause to 'David' (see following note).

[It is true that in vii. 28 the reckoning 400 for the years of the oppression, in accordance with Gen. xv. 13, is implied; but that passage belongs to a different source.]

David built the City. All the Versions read 'Solomon'; but this is inconsistent with iii. 24 ('David; and thou commandedst him to build the City (which is called) after thy name, and to offer thee oblations therein of thine own'). There is, therefore, a strong presumption that the emendation adopted above (proposed by Kabisch) is right. If the reading of the Versions is retained 'City' must be understood to mean 'Temple'; so Ar. and Arm. add 'Temple' here ('the City and the Temple'). Volkmar is obliged to explain that in the apocalyptic writer's thought Temple and City are identical, so that he can speak indifferently now of one, now of the other, and similarly interchange David and Solomon. From the language of S, however, it seems clear that it was the inauguration of the regular 'offering of oblations' to God in the earthly Sion that constituted it as the *civitas Dei*. The altar erected to the Lord (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 f.; 1 Chron. xxi. 28, xxii. 1) by David marked the turning-point; this was the most sacred spot in the Holy City—the Temple, erected later, being regarded merely as the shelter or covering which contained it. To the apocalyptic writer (S) David was the founder and builder of Jerusalem, regarded as the one holy city of God (cf. iii. 24).

a son, i. e. the earthly Jerusalem (the heavenly Jerusalem being the mother). The representation of Jerusalem as a son, and not as a daughter, is certainly peculiar. It is probably due to the fact that the writer is adapting a popular tale to the purposes of his allegory; see further *EA*, p. 239.

47. **reared him with travail.** The difficulty referred to ('with travail') lay in the fact that during the existence of the first Temple the sins of the people (especially lapses into idolatrous worship) constantly threatened to interrupt the continuance of the divine dwelling (see next note) in the Holy City.

that was the divine dwelling in Jerusalem. The (divine) dwelling = the 'Shekinah' or visible manifestation of the divine presence in Jerusalem. It was the presence of the Shekinah in Jerusalem and the Temple, which sanctified the Holy City. According to one current view the visible Shekinah was one of the five things lacking in the second Temple (cf. Targ. to Hag. i. 8 and parallels in Talmud)—its throne being between the cherubim on the ark, which was absent after the destruction of the First Temple. But so long as a Temple existed in Jerusalem, and the sacrificial cultus was maintained, these, in a sense, were pledges and symbols of the divine presence. With these all visible tokens of the divine presence disappeared (in A. D. 70).

48. **the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass.** The death of the son, according to this verse = the fall of the earthly Jerusalem, which confirms the interpretation that the son = the earthly Jerusalem.

49. **the (heavenly) pattern** (or 'model') **of her.** The 'heavenly pattern' or model of the earthly city is the heavenly Sion. The conception is similar to that which is met with in the Ep. to the Hebrews (xi. 10, 16 ['The City which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God'], xii. 22, xiii. 14), according to which the heavenly Sion is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly City, 'the eternal reality of which the literal City is but a shadow.' For the idea of the heavenly counterpart or model cf. Heb. viii. 5; Exod. xxv. 9 and 40. The vision of the heavenly reality is the culminating point in the disclosures made to the seer.

how she mourned her son, i. e. how she (the heavenly City) mourned her son (the ruined earthly Jerusalem).

55. **as far as it is possible for thee . . . to see.** The permission given to the seer implies that he saw and heard

S 56 Then shalt thou hear as much as the hearing of thine ears can hear.
57 For thou art blessed above many,
and art named before the Most High as but few!

(*The true sequel should be* xii. 39 *b*, xiii. 57–58, *and* xii. 40–48 (xiv. 29–35); *see introductions to the two latter sections. The sequence is shown by the following verses:*)

[(xii. 39 *b*) And he departed from me. (xiii. 57) And I went forth and walked in the field greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season; (xiii. 58) and because he governs the times, and the things which come to pass in due time. (xii. 40 f.) And it came to pass when all the people heard, &c.]

VI. x. 58–59. Redactional Transition to the Fifth Vision (R).

R 58, 59 But [m]on the night of to-morrow[m] thou shalt remain here; so will the Most High reveal to thee
59 [n]in dream-visions[n] what the Most High will do unto the dwellers upon earth in the last days.

THE FIFTH (EAGLE) VISION.

(x. 60–xii. 35) (A).

I. The Vision.

(x. 60–xii. 3*a*) (A) (R).

A 60 So I slept that night and the following as he had commanded me.

[m–m] nocte . . . quae in crastinum futura est [n–n] 𝔏 eas visiones somniorum (= ταυτα τα οραματα των ενυπνιων: ? ταυτα *a corruption of* κατα: *so Volk.*)

(see next verse) much more than is told in the vision. As Gunkel remarks, this statement (obviously natural and unforced) makes it clear that the vision is the record of an actual experience. In the end what the seer saw and heard was so overpowering and marvellous that his powers of describing it all failed. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4. With *vv.* 55–56 cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9 and Isa. lxiv. 9. It should be noted that the City is conceived as still standing before the seer's eyes.

58–59. The seer is bidden to remain where he is (i. e. in the field of Ardat) for another two nights, in order that he may receive in dream-visions a revelation of what shall happen to the dwellers upon earth in the last days. It is obvious that these verses, which form the transition to the visions that follow, are the work of R. The situation presupposed is hardly a possible one for S. The seer had been bidden to resort to Ardat—the field untouched by any work of human hand—in order to receive a vision of the heavenly City. This has been accomplished, and to represent him as still remaining there in order to receive further revelations in dream-visions is in the nature of an anti-climax. Moreover the burden of the dream-visions, the revelation of what is to happen in the last days, has already formed the subject of long debates in the former visions of S. The dream-visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources; and the transitional verses have been inserted by R in order to fit in and link together these other elements with the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

58. **on the night of to-morrow**, i. e. the night that follows to-morrow. Thus the words would be spoken during the day. The vision in the field of Ardat, accordingly, was not a night- but a day-vision.

The chapters that follow are drawn from three main independent sources, viz.:

A (= Adlergesicht), the Eagle-Vision, ch. xi–xii;
M (= Menschensohn), the Son of Man Vision, ch. xiii;
E^2 = the Ezra-legend, ch. xiv.

x. 60–xii. 35. The Eagle-Vision. The famous Eagle-Vision—the last, apparently, of a series of dream-visions—follows. The seer in his dream sees an eagle, furnished with twelve wings and three heads, ascending out of the sea. It stretched its wings over all the earth, and all the winds of heaven blew upon it. From its wings eight other smaller wings developed; the three heads, of which the middle one was larger than the others, remained at rest. The Eagle flew with its wings, and reigned with undisputed sway over the whole earth. It stood up upon its claws, and told its wings that they should not all waken together, but each should sleep in its place, and awaken and keep watch in its own proper time; the heads were to be kept to the End. The voice announcing this proceeded not from the Eagle's head, but from the midst of his body. Presently a wing arose on the right side, reigned over the earth, and disappeared. The second arose and reigned a long time—a voice announced that none after it should reign even half as long—and this also disappeared. So it happened to the third and following wings. The seer now saw that the little wings were set up, on the right side, in order to rule; and of these some held it, but disappeared at once, while others rose up, but did not exercise rule. After this it was seen that the twelve wings had disappeared, and also two of the little wings—nothing remained in the Eagle's body but the three heads at rest and six little wings. Two of these latter were seen to detach themselves, and remained under the head at the right-hand side, while four remained in their place. These thought to set themselves up and reign. One did so and forthwith disappeared; and the second vanished even more quickly than the first. Two were now left in their original place, and while these were thinking to reign the middle head awoke and, uniting with itself the other two heads, devoured them. This head exercised rule over the earth with much oppression; but it, too, suddenly disappeared even as the wings. The two remaining heads reigned over the earth; but that on the right side devoured the one on the left. At this point the seer hears a voice telling him to look carefully and note what he should see. He saw a roaring lion come out from the wood,

1 And it came to pass the second night that I saw a dream: and lo! there came up from the sea
2 an eagle which had twelve (?) feathered wings, and three heads. And I beheld, and lo! he spread
his wings [o] over [o] the whole earth, and all the winds of heaven blew on him, and [p] (the clouds) were
3 gathered together (unto him) [p]. And I beheld, (and lo!) out of his wings there grew [q] anti-wings [q];
4 and they became wings petty and small. But his heads were at rest; the middle head was greater
5 than the other heads, yet it rested with them. And I beheld, and lo! the eagle flew with his wings

[o–o] *so Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: 𝔏 in = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* [p–p] *so Oriental VSS.* (*except Arm.*) 𝔏 colligebantur (> nubes ad eum)
[q–q] 𝔏 contrariae pennae (= ? αντιπτερυγια): *other VSS.* = πτερυγια

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which, with a man's voice, upbraided the Eagle for his tyranny and cruel oppression, and announces his coming destruction:

'Therefore shalt thou disappear, O thou Eagle,
and thy horrible wings,
and thy little wings most evil,
thy harm-dealing heads,
thy hurtful talons,
and all thy worthless body!
And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, shall be refreshed again, and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her' (xi. 45–6).

While the Lion spoke, the last head disappeared; the two little wings which had detached themselves and gone over to it rose up to reign, but their reign was short and full of uproar. Then they, too, vanished, the whole body of the Eagle was consumed in flames, and the earth was greatly terrified.

On awaking from his dream-vision the seer, much perturbed by what he has seen, prays that the interpretation of it may be granted him. He is told that the Eagle is the fourth kingdom which appeared to Daniel. The twelve wings represent twelve kings who shall reign in it one after the other. The second reign shall be longer than any of the other twelve. The voice proceeding from the midst of the body signifies that in the middle period (xii. 18, 'in the midst of the time of that kingdom,' according to the true text) great commotions shall arise, and it shall stand in peril of falling; but it shall recover, and regain its stability. The interpretation of the eight under (little) wings is: there shall arise in this kingdom eight kings 'whose times shall be transient and years swift'; two of these shall perish when the middle time of the kingdom approaches; four are to be kept for the time 'when its time for dissolution shall approach'; but two are to be reserved for the End. The interpretation of the three heads is: in the last days of the kingdom the Most High will raise up three kings who shall renew many things in the kingdom, and shall rule over the earth with much oppression above all that were before them. They are called the heads of the Eagle, because they shall bring its wickedness to a head and consummate its end. The disappearance of the largest (i. e. the middle) head signifies that the first of these three kings shall die upon his bed, but yet with torment. The other two are destined for the sword—one is to fall by the sword of the other, and the latter shall perish himself by the sword in the last days. The two wings that passed over to the right-hand head are reserved for the End. They shall reign for a brief time after the disappearance of the last head; but their reign shall be full of trouble and uproar. The Lion is the Messiah whom the Most High has reserved for the End.

Such is the vision and its interpretation as they lie before us in our present text. At first sight all seems clear; but a closer examination of the details reveals, as will appear, many grave difficulties. For a discussion of these see the introduction to the interpretation of the vision (xii. 3 *b*–39) below.

The vision must thus be regarded as an independent writing. It apparently belongs to a series of dream-visions, of which it forms the last, and which already existed in written form in a book when our vision was excerpted by R (cf. xii. 37). As in similar cases elsewhere R has inserted harmonistic additions designed to bring the matter into accord with other elements in our Apocalypse. Such are clearly xii. 9 and 34. But further, there seems to have been a revision of a more far-reaching character, as will appear when the details of the interpretation come to be examined.

The whole vision is clearly much influenced by, if it is not actually based upon, Dan. vii. The identification of the Eagle with the fourth kingdom of Dan. vii is an interesting case of the reinterpretation of prophecy.

With the Eagle-Vision should be compared the fountain and forest vision of 2 Baruch (xxxvi–xl), which remarkably enough is a dream-vision of the fall of the Roman power. As in our vision, this is effected by the Messiah; the last leader of the hostile host is taken captive to Mount Sion, where the Messiah, after upbraiding him with his wickedness, destroys him.

For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. 244–9. The vision in its original form appears to have been composed some time in the reign of Vespasian (A. D. 69–79) or possibly later (A. D. 96–97).

xi. 1. **I saw a dream.** Cf. Dan. vii. 1. A dream-vision (not merely a dream) is meant.

from the sea. Cf. Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1. In the latter passage, as here, the monster that ascends out of the sea = the Roman Empire. The latter, for the Orientals, came up, as a matter of historical fact, from the sea (i. e. the Mediterranean), and it is this fact that is doubtless present in the apocalyptist's thought here. [It is clear that the (perhaps contemporary) apocalyptic writers of Rev. xiii and our chapter both identified the fourth beast of Dan. vii with Rome: cf. esp. 4 Ezra xii. 10 f.]

an eagle. The eagle of the following vision undoubtedly represents the Roman Empire. The symbolism was particularly appropriate to Rome, whose military emblem was the eagle.

three heads, i. e. according to the probable original meaning of the vision the three Flavian Emperors (Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian). Cf. the four wings and four heads of the leopard in Dan. vii. 6.

2. **all the winds of heaven blew on him.** Cf. xiii. 2, and Dan. vii. 2.

3. **out of his wings there grew anti-wings.** As πτέρυξ = βασιλεύς, so ἀντιπτερύγιον would = ἀντιβασιλεύς (so Volk.). Usurpers or military commanders who might prove to be dangerous rivals to the Emperors are apparently meant.

A 6 to reign over the earth and over them that dwell therein. And I beheld how all things under
heaven were subject unto him, and no one spake against him—not even one of the creatures upon
7 earth. And I beheld, and lo! the eagle rose upon his talons, and uttered his voice to his wings,
8, 9 saying[r], Watch not all at once: sleep every one in his place, and watch by course: but let the heads
10 be preserved for the last. And I beheld, and lo! the voice proceeded not from his heads, but from
11 the midst of his body. And I numbered his anti-wings, and lo! there were eight.
12 And I beheld, and lo! [*on the right side*] there arose one wing, and reigned over the whole earth.
13 And it came to pass that, after it had reigned, it came to its end and [s]disappeared[s], so that the place
14 of it was not visible. Then arose the second and reigned, and this bare rule for a long time. And
it came to pass that, after it had reigned, it also came to its end, so that it disappeared even as the
15, 16 first. And lo! a voice sounded which said to it: Hear, thou that hast borne rule over the earth so
17 long a time: [t]this I proclaim[t] unto thee before thou shalt disappear—After thee shall none bear
18 rule (the length of) thy time, nay not even the half of it! Then the third lifted itself up and held
19 the rule even as the former, and it also disappeared. And so it fell to all the wings [[u]in turn[u]] to
20 rule and then disappear. And I beheld, and lo! in process of time [v]the little wings[v] also were set up
[[w]*upon the right side*[w]] that they also might hold the rule; and some of them bare rule but
21, 22 disappeared suddenly: and some of them were set up but did not hold the rule. After this I beheld,
23 and lo! the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings; and nothing was left in the eagle's body
24 save only the three heads that were at rest, and six little wings. And I beheld, and lo! from the
six little wings two detached themselves, and remained under the head that was upon the right side:
25 but four remained in their place. And I beheld, and lo! these under-wings thought to set themselves
26 up and to hold the rule. And I beheld, and lo! one was set up, but immediately disappeared;
27, 28 a second also, and this disappeared more quickly than the first. And I beheld, and lo! the two
29 that remained thought also in themselves to reign; and [x]while they were thinking thus[x], lo! [y]one

[r] 𝔖 (*against all the other VSS.*) + Go, rule over the whole earth: but remain quiet now (? *an explan. gloss*)
[s-s] 𝔏 non apparuit [t-t] *reading* hoc (*v. l.* haec) adnuntio [u-u] 𝔏 singulatim [v-v] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[2]: 𝔏 sequentes pennae [w-w] *so* 𝔏 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*: *but Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] > [x-x] 𝔏 in eo cum cogitarent (= εν τῳ λογιζεσθαι αυτα)
[y-y] 𝔏 unum de quiescentium capitum (*imitating Greek construction*)

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8. **Watch not all at once: . . . watch by course.** Each wing (or pair of wings) is to be awake and watch (i.e. reign) for a certain season, its allotted time (*per tempus* = κατὰ καιρόν) and in succession; all are not to be awake at once.

12. **[on the right side].** This certainly looks like an addition. If it were an original feature in the vision there would be a corresponding mention of the wings 'on the left side', and we should expect some comment upon the symbolical significance of right and left in the interpretation. But nothing of the kind occurs there. Consequently we are justified in regarding the words here as an interpolation: if by R, or some other reviser, then it would seem he is dividing the wings into two sets, right and left, and this might imply that previously they had been reckoned by pairs. But the words may be a gloss.

one wing. Lat. *una penna* = ἓν πτερόν: if pairs of wings were in the original writer's thought here we should expect 'the first wing' (Hebr.? האחת מן־הכנפים). Possibly something like this originally stood here, and has been modified by R; in this case 'the first of the wings' would have meant the first pair of wings.

17. **shall none bear rule (the length of) thy time, nay not even the half of it.** The reference is clearly to the long reign of Augustus (over fifty years).

19. **it fell to all the wings.** The expression 'all the wings' is noticeable; it refers, apparently, to all the twelve wings: therefore what follows in *v.* 20 must refer to the other set of 'little' wings.

20. **the little wings.** The verse describes the general character and fate of the eight little wings. Some such introductory statement is required before *v.* 22, where it is said that the twelve great wings and two of the little wings had disappeared (so Drummond, *JM*, p. 102 f.).

[upon the right side]. If the wings referred to were the twelve greater wings this clause could have no meaning; the left side would be required by the context (and so Hilg. renders here ἀπὸ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς: but against all the textual evidence, though five MSS. of the Ethiopic have 'on the left side'). In reference to the little wings it may be meant to suggest their elevation to actual power. The clause may possibly be an incorrect gloss.

22. **the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings,** i.e. (according to the original significance of the vision) the six Julian Emperors came to an end, and, about the end of the reign of the last emperor, Nero, 'two little wings' rose and disappeared: perhaps the fate of the conspirators Vindex (March, A. D. 68) and Nymphidius (a few months later) is referred to. Both were active in the last months of Nero's reign.

24. **under the head that was upon the right side.** This, according to the original meaning of the vision, must mean Domitian. Who the two 'little wings' represent in this case it is difficult to say—two Roman governors or generals probably who were expected to claim the imperial throne. Gunkel suggests Mucianus, proconsul of Syria, and Tiberius Alexander, prefect of Egypt (A. D. 69). But these leaders attached themselves to the cause of Vespasian (the middle head); it does not appear that either played any prominent part in the reign of Domitian ('the head on the right side'). Gfrörer suggests Agrippa II and Berenice, who went over to the Romans and were in favour with the Flavian family.

27. **a second . . . disappeared more quickly than the first.** Perhaps Galba's colleague (for a short time) is meant, viz. Piso. But more probably Galba and Otho are intended.

28. **the two that remained.** Perhaps Civilis (died June, 69) and Vitellius (died December, 69).

of the heads that were at rest [y]—it, namely, that was in the midst—awoke; for this one was greater
31 than the two [other] heads. And I beheld how it allied with itself the two other heads; and lo!
the head was turned with them that were with it, and did eat up the two under-wings that thought
32 to have reigned. This head [z] bare rule over the whole earth [z], and exercised lordship over the
dwellers therein with much oppression; [and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than
33 all the wings that had been.] And after this I beheld, and lo! the middle head [a] suddenly [a]
34 disappeared, [b] even as the wings [b]. But there remained the two heads which also reigned over the
35 earth, and over the inhabitants therein. And I beheld, and lo! the head upon the right side
36 devoured that which was upon the left. Then I heard a voice, which said unto me: Look before
37 thee, and consider what thou seest. And I beheld, and lo! as it were a lion, roused out of the
wood, roaring; and I heard how he uttered a man's voice against the eagle; and he spake, saying:
39 Hear, [c] thou Eagle [c]—I will talk with thee; the Most High saith to thee: Art thou not it that
remainest of the four beasts which I made to reign in my world, that the end of [d] my times [d] might
40 come through them? [e] Thou, however, the fourth, who art come, hast overcome [e] all the beasts that
are past;

[f] Thou hast wielded power over the world [f] with great terror,
and over all the inhabited earth with grievous oppression;
[g] Thou hast dwelt [g] so long in the civilized world with fraud,
41 and hast judged the earth, (but) not with faithfulness:
42 For thou hast afflicted the meek,
and oppressed the peaceable;
Thou hast hated [h] the upright [h],
and loved liars;
Thou hast destroyed [i] the strongholds [i] [j] of the fruitful [j],
and laid low the walls of such as did thee no harm—
43 And so thine insolence hath ascended to the Most High,
and thy pride to the Mighty One.
44 Then the Most High regarded his times—
And lo! they were ended;
And his ages—
(and) they were fulfilled.
45 Therefore [k] shalt thou disappear [k], O thou Eagle,
and thy horrible wings,
and thy little wings most evil,
[l] thy harm-dealing heads [l],
[m] thy hurtful talons [m],
and all thy worthless body!

[z–z] *reading* percontenuit omnem terram [a–a] *so* 𝔏 𝔖: *other VSS.* > [b–b] 𝔏 et hoc sicut alae (= *και τουτο καθως αι πτερυγες*) [c–c] *so* 𝔖: *but other VSS.* (*including* 𝔏) > [d–d] *so* 𝔏: *other VSS.* of the (Ar.[2] all) times [e–e] *reading* et quartus veniens devicisti: *cf.* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: *Ethiop. Lat. MSS. have 3rd person* [f–f] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*) [g–g] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*): 𝔏 inhabitabant *to be emended to* inhabitabas (*Violet*) [h–h] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1]: *Ar.*[2] the pious): 𝔏 verum dicentes (*cf. Ethiop. Arm.*) [i–i] *so Oriental VSS.* (= *τα οχυρωματα*): 𝔏 habitationes (? *dependent upon variant Hebr. readings*: מעוזי *and* מעוני) [j–j] 𝔏 qui fructificabant: 𝔖 of the prosperous (= *των ευθηνουντων*: *ευθηνουσα* = פּוֹרִיָּה Ps. cxxviii. [cxxvii] 3) [k–k] 𝔏 non apparens non appareas (= *αφανισθεις αφανισθησῃ*) [l–l] et capita tua maligna [m–m] 𝔏 ungues tui pessimi

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32. **[and it wielded . . . that had been].** This clause is somewhat tautologous after the two preceding, and is probably an addition of R, who identified the middle head with Trajan. The statement, as applied to Trajan, would have special point in view of his conquests and vast additions to the Roman empire. Volkmar supposes that in the first clause *omnem terram* ('over the whole earth') should be rendered 'over all the land', i. e. the land of Palestine, and that *orbem terrarum* in the last clause stands in contrast with this.

35. **the head upon the right side devoured that which was upon the left.** In the original form of the vision this doubtless referred to Domitian (the right head) and Titus (the left head), whose death was at the time supposed to have been brought about by Domitian. But R probably identified the right head with Hadrian, who recalled and executed Lusius Quietus (the left head). See introduction to the next chapter.

39. **the four beasts.** Cf. Dan. vii. 3. The eagle is here identified with the fourth beast of Dan. vii, as in the interpretation below (xii. 11).

44. **And his ages—(and) they were fulfilled.** The meaning is: the predetermined time is fulfilled. The conviction was common to all the apocalyptists that they were standing at the end of the age. It should be remembered, however, that in the eschatology of A the end of the present age coincides with the downfall of Rome; the future age is the Rule of God that is to succeed the heathen empire on the present earth.

45. **thy hurtful talons.** It should be noted that this detail receives no explanation in the interpretation that follows in chap. xii. Probably the Roman armies are meant.

A 46 And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, [n]shall be refreshed again[n], and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her.

12 1, 2 And it came to pass, while the lion spake these words unto the eagle, I beheld, and lo! the head 3 that remained disappeared. And the two wings, which went over unto it, set themselves up to reign; and their rule was short and full of uproar. And I beheld, and lo! these also disappeared, and the whole body of the eagle was burnt; and the earth was terrified greatly.

II. xii. 3 *b*–39. The Interpretation of the Vision (A) (R).

A (R) Then I awoke [o]by reason of great perplexity of mind[o] and from great fear, and said unto 4 my spirit: Lo! this hast thou brought unto me because thou searchest out the ways of the Most High.

[n–n] 𝔏 refrigeret et revertetur (*Hebr.* תשוב תנפש) [o–o] *reading* a multo (*for* tumultu) excessu mentis

46. **and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her,** i.e. after the world-empire has been destroyed the Rule (or Sovereignty) of God follows. 'Judgement' here cannot have the same sense as in S, where it means the judgement of the last day: it here = the Hebr. *mishpaṭ* and means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is condemned and destroyed.

xii. 3 *b*–39. The Interpretation of the Vision. It has already been pointed out that a close examination of the details of the vision and its interpretation reveals many grave difficulties, and it has been suggested that these are probably due to later revision and readjustment. No solution known to the present writer has so far been proposed that entirely meets these difficulties. A most illuminating review and critical discussion of the more important of the suggestions and hypotheses that have been made is given in Dr. Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, pp. 99–114. For a full discussion of later views reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 262 ff.

A New Solution.

Is it possible to frame a hypothesis which will meet the objections that have been adduced and satisfy the *data* of the text? The following seems to the present writer to be a possible solution. It may be taken for granted that whatever revision or readjustment has taken place in the text of the chapters must have been the work either of the editor who compiled our book, or of some redaction previous to his use of the special source. As there is no trace of specifically Christian influence in the text of the vision the possibility of later redaction is ruled out. It becomes important, therefore, to fix approximately the date of the editor (R), and to determine the meaning of the vision for him. Kabisch fixes the date of R at about A.D. 120, and this—or possibly even a later year—may be accepted as correct. It may be assumed that in the original form of the vision the three heads represent the three Flavian Emperors; the twelve wings represent the six Julian Emperors from Caesar to Nero, reckoning the wings by pairs. The present writer suggests that the reckoning by pairs in the original vision was intended only to apply to the twelve wings, and had a symbolical significance. The pairs served to emphasize the greater dignity and power of the real Emperors as contrasted with the ephemeral rulers symbolized by the little wings. In order to exaggerate the contrast the latter were intended to be reckoned singly. The eight little wings represent, in the original form of the vision, Vindex (March, 68), Nymphidius (a few months later)—these disappeared about the same time as the last of the twelve wings (end of Nero's reign), as represented in our text (xi. 22). The middle four represent Galba, Otho, Civilis (died June, 69), and Vitellius (died Dec., 69).

The two little wings that were to survive the last head probably signify Roman governors or generals who were expected to claim the imperial throne at the last, or possibly the two last members of the Herodian family, Agrippa II and Berenice. In its original form, then, the vision may date from the closing years of Domitian's reign (*circa* A.D. 95).[1] But if the editor did not incorporate it into his book—our Ezra-Apocalypse—till A.D. 120 or later (some time certainly in the reign of Hadrian), what, it may well be asked, was the significance he himself attached to the vision? He can no longer have identified the three heads with the Flavian Emperors, seeing that the reigns of these had already long ended and the predicted deliverance had not yet come.

It seems to the present writer that the requirements of the situation will be met by the hypothesis that R identified the three heads with Trajan, Hadrian, and Lusius Quietus. The last mentioned was a favourite of Trajan, of princely birth, who was generally expected to succeed to the Empire. His memory is deeply impressed upon the Jews owing to the stern part he took in suppressing Jewish rebellions first in Mesopotamia, and later in Palestine (A.D. 116–117). In the Rabbinical sources he is sometimes spoken of as if he were actual emperor. As a matter of fact he was recalled by Hadrian, soon after the latter's accession to the throne, and executed.

Having identified the three heads in this way, the editor reinterpreted the twelve wings to be the 'twelve Caesars'—a numeration which is found in Suetonius—i.e. the six Julian Emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and the three Flavian Emperors. In accordance with this view the present text of the vision has been redacted. Thus in xi. 12 the words 'on the right side', if not a gloss, are probably due to R, so also in xi. 19 'in turn' (*singulatim*). In xi. 20 the words 'on the right side' (they are omitted in the Arabic Version) may be a gloss; and in xi. 32 the clause 'and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than all the wings that had been' would apply with special force to Trajan, whose conquests were remarkable, though the possibility of their application to Vespasian is not excluded. They may be due to later revision.

In the interpretation of the vision in ch. xii the marks of revision are naturally more in evidence. Thus *v.* 14 ('In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other') we have the later interpretation clearly expressed. Coming to the

[1] Or possibly in some part of Vespasian's reign.

5 Lo! I am yet weary in my soul,
and very weak in my spirit,
nor is there (left) the least strength in me on account of the great fear wherewith I have been
6 affrighted this night. Therefore will I now beseech the Most High, that he will strengthen me unto
7 the end. And I said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, if I am justified with
8 thee above many, if my supplication in truth be come up before thy countenance—Strengthen me,
and show me, thy servant, the interpretation and [p] distinct explanation [p] of this fearful vision, that
9 thou mayst *completely* comfort my soul! [*For thou hast judged me worthy to show me* [q] *the end of the times and the last of the periods* [q].]
10 11 And he said unto me: This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. The eagle
which thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy
12 13 brother Daniel; [but it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee or have interpreted
it]. Behold, the days come when there shall arise a kingdom upon the earth, and it shall be [r] more
14 15 terrible [r] than all the kingdoms that were before it. [*In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other*;]
16 And the second that shall reign, he shall bear rule a longer time [s] than (any of) [*the twelve*] [s]. This is the
17 interpretation of the twelve wings which thou didst see. And whereas [t] thou didst hear [t] a voice which
18 spake, going out not from his heads, but from the midst of his body, [u] this is the interpretation [u]. [v] In
the midst [v] of the time of that kingdom there shall arise no small contentions, and it shall stand in peril
19 of falling; nevertheless it shall not then fall, but shall be restored again [w] to rule [w]. And whereas thou
20 didst see eight under-wings grow up with his wings, this is the interpretation: In it there shall arise eight
21 kings, whose times shall be transient and years swift: and two of them shall perish when the middle
time (of the kingdom) approaches; and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution

[p–p] 𝔏 distinctionem (= *την σαφηνειαν*) [q–q] 𝔏 temporum finem et temporum novissima: *other VSS.* = *των χρονων το τελος και των καιρων τα εσχατα* [r–r] *reading* timoratior [s–s] 𝔏 prae xii (prae = *υπερ*) [t–t] *so* 𝔏 *Arm.*: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] thou didst see [u–u] 𝔏 haec est interpretatio: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] = *ουτος εστιν ο λογος* (*Hebr.* זה הדבר) [v–v] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) *and* Arm. (= *μεταξυ*): 𝔏 post (= *μετα*: *a mistake*) [w–w] *so Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar.*[1]) *Arm.*: 𝔏 in suum initium (*misunderstanding* *εις αρχην αυτης*)

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heads we read: 'And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—[one of them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also shall fall by the sword in the last days'].

This description would suit admirably the circumstances of Trajan's end. He died in Cilicia in the year 117, upon his bed, it is true, but mortified by his half-successes and by the unrest in the East. It need hardly be added that 'the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him' suits the identification of right and left heads with Hadrian and Lusius Quietus admirably. Further, if, as is suggested in the note on xii. 21, the four wings (or anti-wings) that are kept for the time when the dissolution of the Empire approaches can be identified with the four senators who were executed by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, we have a further confirmation of the correctness of the hypothesis of reinterpretation already set forth.

7. **if I am justified with thee above many.** Cf. vi. 32, vii. 26, ix. 49, x. 39, xviii. 14.

8. **completely.** This implies that the seer had already been partially consoled (by the vision of the heavenly Sion)—a mark of R's hand.

9. **the end of the times**, &c. The whole verse reveals the hand of R. The Eagle Vision is not concerned with, and is not a revelation of, the 'last things'—these are treated in the preceding work of S and E—A is concerned only with the downfall of the Roman Empire. The reference here, therefore, to the end of the world is out of place, and is due to R (so Kabisch).

11. **is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel.** Cf. Dan. vii. 7 f. This is a particularly clear and interesting case of the way in which apocalyptic prediction was reinterpreted and reapplied. It is interesting to note that in the Talmud (*T. B. Abôdā Zārā* 1 *b*), Dan. vii. 23 (i.e. the fourth kingdom) is interpreted of Rome.

14. **In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other.** This sentence is evidently the work of R, who understood the twelve kings to be the 'twelve Caesars'. It cannot be explained as an interpretation of the original form of the vision, as it is impossible to enumerate twelve rulers, beginning with Julius Caesar and excluding the three heads (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian), who ruled consecutively. R may have altered a number merely, or may have recast the entire sentence.

15. **than (any of) [the twelve].** The number 'twelve' here reflects *ex hypothesi* the later interpretation.

18. **In the midst of the time of that kingdom.** The time referred to is the period of anarchy that ensued at the close of Nero's reign, and was put an end to by Vespasian (A.D. 68–70).

21. **and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution shall approach.** Apparently four usurpers or possible candidates for the imperial dignity are meant, who are to rise and fall as the time for the dissolution of the Empire approaches, i.e. presumably in the reign of one of the three heads (probably either Trajan or Hadrian). Now it is worth noting that at the beginning of his reign Hadrian found it necessary to put to death four 'consular senators, his personal enemies, and men who had been judged worthy of empire' (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. i, ch. iii). If the rise and fall of these four anti-wings is to be placed in the reign of Hadrian, unless the revision of the interpretation be credited to R at this point, it must already have reached an advanced stage before he incorporated A into our present book. In the original vision these four anti-wings apparently represent Galba, Otho, Civilis, and Vitellius (cf. xi. 27). In the reinterpretation Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are included in the twelve large wings (Civilis could be omitted as unimportant), thus involving the reinterpretation of the four anti-wings.

A (R) 22 shall approach: but two shall be kept for the end. And whereas thou didst see three heads resting,
23 this is the interpretation: In the last days thereof the Most High will raise up [x] three kings [x]; and
[y] they shall renew [y] many things therein, and shall exercise lordship over the earth and over the
24 dwellers therein with much oppression, above all those that were before them. Therefore are they
25 called the heads of the eagle: for these are they that shall bring to a head his wickedness, [z] and
26 consummate his last end [z]. And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—*one of*
27 *them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour*
28 *them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also*
29 *shall fall by the sword in the last days.* And whereas thou didst see two under-wings [a] passing over
30 to the head [a] that is upon the right side; this is the interpretation: These are they whom the Most
High hath kept for his (i.e. the eagle's) end; and their rule shall be short and full of uproar, as thou
31 hast seen. And as for the lion whom thou didst see roused from the wood and roaring, and speaking
32 to the eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness and all his deeds, as thou hast heard: This
is the Messiah *whom the Most High hath kept unto the end* ⟨[b] *of the days*, who shall spring from the
seed of David, and shall come and speak [b]⟩ unto them;
he shall reprove them for their ungodliness,
[c] rebuke them [c] for their unrighteousness,
[d] reproach them to their faces with their treacheries [d].
33 For at the first he shall set them alive for judgement; and when he hath rebuked them [e] he shall
34 destroy them [e]. [*But my people who survive he shall deliver with mercy, even those who have been*
saved throughout my borders, and he shall make them joyful until the End come, even the Day of
35 *Judgement, of which I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.*] This is the dream that thou
36 didst see, and this is its interpretation. Thou alone hast been found worthy to learn [f] this mystery [f]
37 of the Most High—Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book, and put them in

[x–x] = τρεις βασιλεις: *so all the VSS. except* 𝔏, *which has* tria regna (= τρεις βασιλειας) [y–y] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*: 𝔏 renovabit [z–z] 𝔏 et qui perficient novissima eius [a–a] *so* 𝔖: (= μεταβαντα εις την κεφαλην): 𝔏 traicientes super caput [b–b] *so* 𝔖 (*and the other Oriental VSS. substantially*): 𝔏 > [c–c] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔏 > [d–d] 𝔏 et infulciet coram ipsis spretiones eorum (= ? και επιπληξει ενωπιον αυτων τα καταφρονηματα αυτων): 𝔖 set in order (= ? επιταξει) before them, &c.: *Ethiop.* heap up (= ? επιπλησει) before them, &c. [e–e] *reading* corrumpet eos: *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.* (*inferior reading* corripiet eos = *A.V.* correct them) [f–f] 𝔏 secretum hoc

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two shall be kept for the end, i.e. till after the disappearance of the third head; cf. xi. 24.

23. **in the last days thereof**, i.e. of the kingdom.

they shall renew many things therein. The statement would apply equally well to the new period inaugurated by Vespasian or Trajan; in both cases the new régime consolidated and strengthened the Empire generally.

with much oppression. This would apply with special point to Trajan and Lusius Quietus, who suppressed with great severity the Jewish rebellions of A.D. 116 and later; and also to Hadrian later.

26. **shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain.** This description would certainly better suit the circumstances of Trajan's end than Vespasian's (see introduction to this section).

28. **the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him**, i.e. the sword of Hadrian shall devour Lusius Quietus; the latter was deposed and executed by Hadrian. On the other hand, the terms do not suit the case of Domitian and Titus.

32. **This is the Messiah.** Cf. Rev. v. 5, where 'the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah' is identified with the 'Root of David' and = the Messiah.

whom the Most High hath kept unto the end ⟨of the days⟩, i.e. the Messiah is already pre-existent in heaven. This representation suits the idea of the heavenly Messiah, but is inconsistent with the next clause, which applies to the earthly Messiah: probably the clause is due to R, and is a harmonizing interpolation.

reproach them, &c. Cf. xiii. 37.

33. **For at the first**, &c. One of the principal tasks of the Messiah is to overthrow hostile wicked powers. Here it is the power of Rome that is first rebuked and then destroyed; cf. xiii. 37 f.; 2 Bar. xl. 1 f.

34. **[But my people who survive**, &c.] This whole verse is an insertion of R, according with his view that before the End of the world a temporary Messianic kingdom was to be set up (cf. vii. 25 f. and notes). In its present context the verse is out of harmony with the representation. The End of the age in ch. xii = the end of the heathen domination of the world, and is followed by the rule of the righteous embodied in Israel.

[even those who have been saved throughout my borders], i.e. those who shall have survived the Messianic woes in Palestine; but the writer of the Eagle Vision contemplated a world-wide deliverance in which all earth's inhabitants should participate, after the overthrow of the Roman Empire; cf. xi. 46. The clause is meaningless in its present connexion (cf. xii. 48).

[he shall make them joyful]. Cf. vii. 28.

37. **Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book.** The secret revelation is to be written down in a book and preserved in a secret place for the future till the time for publishing it arrives. This representation is common in apocalyptic literature. It partly serves to reflect the originally esoteric character of the teaching which was treasured in apocalyptic circles—'apocrypha' in its original connotation (ἀπόκρυφος) = 'esoteric', 'secret', and carried with it no disparaging meaning—and partly serves to explain why, when the books were made known, their existence for so long a time previously had been unsuspected. Cf. Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4 (cp. xii. 9); 1 En. lxxxii. 1, civ. 11–13; *Ass. Mos.* i. 16, x. 11, xi. 1; cf. also 4 Ezra xiv. 26, 47.

(1 38 a secret place; and thou shalt teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest are
39 able to comprehend and keep these mysteries. [*But do thou remain here yet seven days more, that there may be shown unto thee whatsoever it may please the Most High to show thee.*]

III. xii. 39*b*–48. Conclusion of the Vision (S).

39 And he departed from me.
40 And it came to pass when all the people heard that the seven days were past and I not returned to the city, they assembled themselves together, [g]all[g] from the least unto the greatest; and they came unto me and said:
41 How have we sinned against thee,
or how have we dealt iniquitously with thee
that thou hast forsaken us and sittest in this place?
42 For of all the prophets thou [h]alone[h] art left to us,
as a cluster out of the vintage,
as a lamp in a dark place,
[i]as a haven of safety for a ship in a storm[i].
4 44 Are not the evils that have befallen us sufficient [j](that thou shouldst forsake us also)[j]? If thou shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us if we also had been consumed in the burning of
45 Sion! For we are not better than they who died there. And [k]they wept[k] with a loud voice.
46 And I answered them and said:
Take courage, O Israel;
be not sorrowful, O House of Jacob!
47 For you are remembered before the Most High,
the Mighty One hath not forgotten you [l]for ever[l].
48 But as for me, I have not forsaken you, neither will I depart from you; but I have come to this place
to pray for the desolation of Sion
and to supplicate mercy for [m]our[m] sanctuary's humiliation.

[*Originally it is probable that* xiv. 29–35 *immediately followed* xii. 48 (*see introductory section to* xiv. 27–36).]

IV. xii. 49–51. Redactional Transition to the Sixth Vision (R).

, 50 And now go every one of you to his own house, and after these days I will come unto you. So
51 the people went into the city as I had told them. But I sat in the field seven days, as he had commanded me: and I did eat only [n]of the flowers of the field[n]; my food was of the herbs in those days.

g–g *so* 𝔏 (omnis): 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.* all the people h–h *so Ethiop. Arm.*: 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) > i–i 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] which = *καθως λιμην σωτηριας νηι εν χειμωνι* (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔖 as a haven of life to a ship that is set in the tempest: 𝔏 sicut portus navis (*v. l.* navi) salvatae a tempestate j–j *cf.* 𝔖 (*Ar.*[2]): 𝔏 Ethiop. Ar.[1] Arm. > k–k *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop. Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: *but* 𝔖 Ar.[1] I wept l–l *so* 𝔖 (= *εις αιωνα*): 𝔏 in contentione (= *εις αγωνα*) m–m *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔏 vestrae n–n *so* 𝔏 𝔖: *Ethiop.* of the fruit of the field

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[*vv.* 36–38 clearly form the conclusion of the original vision.]

xii. 39*b*–48. The section that now forms the conclusion of the fifth vision is plainly a fragment of S, and has been transposed to its present position by R. It forms the true conclusion to the former vision, that of the heavenly Sion. For a discussion of the reasons for this analysis reference must be made to *EA*, p. 276 f. The passage is parallel to v. 14–16, which is also a misplaced fragment of S.

39. **And he departed from me.** 'He', sc. the angel Uriel: the verse forms the immediate continuation of x. 57.

40. **the seven days**, i. e. the seven days mentioned in ix. 23 f.

42. **a cluster out of the vintage.** For the figure cf. ix. 21, Isa. x. 6.
a lamp in a dark place. Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19.

45. **they wept.** For the representation cf. 2 Bar. xxxii. 8.

xii. 49–51. The verses that follow are clearly the work of R. The latter has introduced another seven days' stay in the field of Ardat as a preparation for the vision that follows (ch. xiii), which, however, is a dream-vision. We have already seen that the seven days' preparation in Ardat was for the final and crowning vision of the heavenly Sion, which concluded the Salathiel-Apocalypse (S). It cannot, therefore, have been repeated. In *v.* 49 (see note below) the expression 'after these days' must be due to R.

49. **after these days**, viz. those mentioned in xii. 39: but R has forgotten that this command to the seer had not been communicated to the people; to the latter 'these days' would be unintelligible.

THE SIXTH VISION.

(THE MAN FROM THE SEA.)

(xiii. 1–58) (M) (R).

I. xiii. 1–13 *a*. THE VISION (M).

M **13** 1, 2 And it came to pass after seven days that I dreamed a dream by night: [o]⟨and I beheld,⟩[o] and lo!
3 there arose [p]a violent wind[p] from the sea, and stirred all its waves. And I beheld, and lo! [q]⟨the
wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas as it were the form of a man. And I beheld,
and lo!⟩[q] this Man [r]flew[r] with the clouds of heaven. And wherever he turned his countenance to
4 look everything seen by him trembled; and whithersoever the voice went out of his mouth, all [s]that
5 heard his voice[s] [t]melted away[t], as the wax melts when it feels the fire. And after this I beheld,
and lo! there was gathered together from the four winds of heaven an innumerable multitude of men

[o–o] *so* 𝔏 (*cf. Arm.*): *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] > [p–p] *so* 𝔖 (= μεγας ανεμος) *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*: 𝔏 a wind [q–q] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*): 𝔏 > (*by homoioteleuton*) [r–r] *reading* convolabat (*for* convalescebat): *so Oriental VSS.* [s–s] *reading* qui audiebant vocis (*MSS.* voces, vocem) eius = οι ηκουσαν της φωνης αυτου [t–t] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*) = ετακησαν: 𝔏 ardescebant = εκαησαν

xiii. 1–58. THE SIXTH [SON OF MAN] VISION. A fresh dream-vision reveals a storm-tossed sea, a violent wind having arisen. The wind brings up from the midst of the sea the figure of a Man, who flies with the clouds of heaven. Everything trembles at his look; whoever hears his voice is consumed with fire. From the four quarters of the world a multitude of men presently gather to wage war against him. He carves out—whence, it is not stated—an immense rock, which he mounts and from which he annihilates the hostile host with a stream of fire and tempest which proceeds out of his mouth. His weapons, it is to be noticed, are not sword and spear, but fire and storm. When the hostile multitude has been consumed the Man descends from the mountain, and summons to his side a peaceable host, all who—whether from friendliness or fear—had not attacked him.

The seer, awaking from his dream, prays that the vision may be interpreted to him. The interpretation follows. The Man from the Sea is the Messiah; his enemies are the nations of the world; the graven rock, whose origin was so mysterious, is the heavenly Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven. The annihilation of the hostile powers is effected by the fire of the Law. Then the Messiah gathers the ten tribes out of alien lands, and with the joint aid of these and of the others who are already in Palestine, he establishes a kingdom of peace and glory.

A careful examination of the vision proper and the interpretation that follows it reveals certain incongruities between what is explained and the explanation. This is a common phenomenon in apocalyptic, and shows that the apocalyptic writers were handling traditional material which was already extremely old when they wrote. Thus the first point to be noted is that when the vision first assumed a written form (i.e. probably some considerable time before the redactor (R) compiled our present book) the real significance of many features in the original vision was already lost, and was obscured by a more or less artificially adjusted interpretation. In other words religious thought and outlook had long outgrown those of the fixed tradition. It had become necessary to reinterpret the latter to suit later conditions.

For a full discussion of 'the original significance' of the vision reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 282–4. Here it can only be noted that the term 'the Man' (or 'one like unto a son of Man' in Dan. vii) apparently denoted, in the earlier stages of the tradition, an angelic being who was invested with attributes, proper only to Jahveh Himself, and ultimately developed into the heavenly Messiah. In the earliest stage of all this 'Man' was the Cosmic Man—the 'Urmensch'—who, endowed with supernatural gifts, fights and overcomes the monster of chaos (see further, Volz, pp. 214 f., 216 f.).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION. As has already been pointed out, the written source used by R included not only the Vision proper (*vv.* 1–13 *a*), but also its interpretation (*vv.* 25–53). Here the details of the Vision have been forced to adjust themselves to a later eschatological scheme. The Man from the Sea = the pre-existent Messiah, who shall deliver creation (*vv.* 25–26); he will first of all destroy with wind, fire, and storm the hostile powers that assemble against him (*vv.* 27–28 and 33–35 [*vv.* 29–32 may be an interpolation by R]), after rebuking them for their offences (*vv.* 37–38); the fire with which he destroys them is the fire of the Law (*v.* 38). The assembly of the hostile nations and their destruction thus described correspond to the 'wars of Gog and Magog', which is a regular feature in the eschatological scheme. After the destruction of his enemies the Messiah gathers his subjects—the peaceable multitude of *v.* 12. These, it is significant to notice, are identified (*v.* 40 f.) with the Ten Tribes (= Israel's exiles), who now are led back and, together with the two tribes already in Palestine (*v.* 48), enjoy the Messianic kingdom of peace. Nothing is said in the interpretation of the vision of any heathen nations being included in the peaceable multitude, though such were certainly included in the representation of the vision itself (*v.* 12). Possibly, however, proselytes were intended to be included.

A number of considerations, which cannot be discussed here, show that the vision and its interpretation (i.e. M) form an independent source; and the historical situation presupposed clearly points to a date anterior to A.D. 70 (see further *EA*, p. 285 f.).

THE REDACTION OF M. The redactional readjustments made by R are mainly by way of supplement from the other sources of the book. The most considerable of his additions is in the section xiii. 13 *b*–24 (see introduction to this); his hand is also apparent in xiii. 26 *b*, xiii. 29–32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48 (see notes on these passages). The vision and its interpretation fall naturally into the following divisions: i. *The Vision* (xiii. 1–13 *a*); ii. *The Apocalyptist's reflections on the Vision* (xiii. 13 *b*–24); iii. *The interpretation of the Vision* (xiii. 25–53 *a*).

2. **from the sea.** Cf. xi. 1.

4. **as the wax melts when it feels the fire.** A standing figure in the O. T., especially in theophanic descriptions; cf. Ps. xcvii. 5, Micah i. 4; also Judith xvi. 15, 1 En. 1, 6, &c.

6 to make war against the Man that came up out of the sea. And I beheld, and lo! he cut out for
7 himself a great mountain and flew up upon it. But I sought to see the region or place from whence the
8 mountain had been cut out; and I could not. And after this I beheld, and lo! all who were gathered
together against him to wage war with him were seized with great fear; yet they dared to fight.
9 And lo! when he saw the assault of the multitude as they came he neither lifted his hand, nor held
10 spear nor any warlike weapon; but I saw only how he sent out of his mouth as it were [u]a fiery
stream[u], and out of his lips [v]a flaming breath[v], and out of his tongue he shot forth [w]a storm of
11 sparks[w]. And these were all mingled together—the fiery stream, the flaming breath, and [x]the
. . . storm[x], and fell upon [y]the assault of the multitude[y] [z]which[z] was prepared to fight, and burned
them all up, so that suddenly nothing more was to be seen of the innumerable multitude save only
12 dust of ashes and smell of smoke. When I saw this I was amazed. Afterwards I beheld the same
Man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable.
13 Then drew nigh unto him the faces of many men, [a]some of whom were glad, some sorrowful[a]; while
some were in bonds, some brought others who should be offered.

II. xiii. 13*b*–24. The Apocalyptist's Reflections on the Vision (mainly R).

Then through great fear I awoke. And I supplicated the Most High and said:
14 Thou from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders, and hast counted me worthy to
16 receive my prayer: oh show me now moreover the interpretation of this dream! For as I conceive
in my mind, woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that
18 do not survive! For they that do not survive must be sorrowful, knowing as they do what things are
19 reserved in the last days, but not attaining unto them. But woe unto them also that survive, for
20 this reason—they must see great perils, and many distresses, even as these dreams do show. Yet
[b]it is better[b] to come into [c]these things[c] incurring peril, than to pass away as a cloud out of the
21 world and not to see what shall happen in the last time. And he answered me, and said: The
interpretation of the Vision I will tell thee, and I will also explain unto thee the things of which

[u–u] 𝔏 fluctum (*v. l.* flatum) ignis [v–v] 𝔏 spiritum flammae [w–w] *reading* scintillas tempestatis [x–x] 𝔏 multitudo tempestatis (*we should expect* scintillae tempestatis *to be repeated*) [y–y] *reading* multitudinis impetum [z–z] 𝔏 quod (*sc.* multitudo = πληθος—*retaining the Greek gender*) [a–a] 𝔏 quorundam gaudentium quorundam tristantium = ων μεν ηδομενων, ων δε λυπουμενων [b–b] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔏 facilius (? *read* felicius: *so Hilg.*) [c–c] *reading* haec = 𝔖 *Ethiop.*

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6. **he cut out for himself a great mountain.** Cf. Dan. ii. 45 ('the stone cut out without hands').

10. **a storm of sparks.** The whole representation is based on Isa. xi. 4; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27, 1 En. lxii. 2. It is a striking feature that the Messiah, without the aid of weapons or allies, destroys the opposed nations by supernatural means. See further Volz, p. 224 f.

11. **the . . . storm.** The description is a threefold delineation of the fiery stormy emission from the Messiah's mouth—fire like a stream, flame like wind, a sea of sparks like a snowstorm, all forming a mingled mass (Volkmar).

12. **and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable.** The Messiah first destroys his enemies and then gathers his subjects, as in Ps. of Sol. xvii (cf. especially verses 27, 28); cf. Isa. xi. 12.

13. **the faces of many men.** The faces betray the moods (joy, sorrow, &c.) described in the following clause.
some . . . glad, some sorrowful. Jews and heathen, pious and godless, are meant (Gunkel).
some were in bonds, i.e. Jews in captivity.
some brought others who should be offered, i.e. the heathen bring in Jews as an oblation to the Messiah; cf. Isa. lxvi. 20 (Ps. Sol. xvii. 34).

xiii. 13*b*–24. As would be expected, R has not allowed the old source (M) from which he excerpted this vision to remain without revision and interpolation. In the section that follows (*vv.* 13*b*–24) his hand is much in evidence; practically the whole of it is his work. Thus *vv.* 16–20, beginning, 'Woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that do not survive!' is plainly out of place in the midst of a prayer for enlightenment as to the meaning of the vision. Such language is the work of one who knows that the vision describes the advent of the Messiah, though this has yet to be explained in the interpretation (*vv.* 25–52). R, in fact, has borrowed the language and ideas of this passage from the interpretation that follows, which begins with *v.* 25, as the form of that verse clearly indicates. The whole passage exhibits essentially similar features to those of viii. 63–ix. 12. It is a compilation made by R. Its reflective tone also accords with this view of its general character.

Possibly some of the language of the earlier source lies behind *vv.* 13*b*–14, but if so it has apparently been revised by R. See further *EA*, p. 290.

13. **And I supplicated the Most High.** The prayer is addressed directly to God. [What here followed originally has, it seems, been worked over by R.]

14. **from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders.** Cf. viii. 63. R here alludes to the disclosures which have been made in the former Visions.
hast counted me worthy to receive my prayer. Cf. ix. 24, 25.

18. **what things are reserved in the last days.** 'The last days' here = the temporary Messianic kingdom that precedes the End. This view harmonizes with the eschatology of E and R. Cf. vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

19. **even as these dreams do show.** By 'these dreams' R here means the whole series of preceding visions.

R 22 thou hast spoken. Whereas thou hast spoken of those who survive [d]⟨and of those who do not
23 survive⟩[d]—this is the interpretation: He that shall bring the peril in that time [e]will himself keep[e]
them that fall into the peril, even such as have works and faith toward [f]⟨the Most High and⟩[f] the
24 Mighty One. Know, therefore, that those who survive (to that time) are more blessed than those
that have died.

III. xiii. 25–52, 53 *a*. The Interpretation of the Vision (M) (R).

M 25 These are the interpretations of the vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from
26 the heart of the Sea: this is he whom the Most High is keeping [g]many ages[g] [(*and*) [h]*through whom*
27 *he will deliver his creation*[h],] and the same shall order the survivors. And whereas thou didst see
28 that out of his mouth there came wind, and fire, and storm; and whereas he held neither spear, nor
any warlike weapon, but destroyed the assault of that multitude which had come [i]to fight against
R 29 him[i]—this is the interpretation: [*Behold, the days come when the Most High is about to deliver them*
30, 31 *that are upon earth. And there shall come astonishment of mind upon the dwellers on earth: and*
they shall plan to war one against another, [j]*city against city*[j], *place against place, people against*
32 *people, and kingdom against kingdom. And it shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the*
signs shall happen which I showed thee before, then shall my Son be revealed whom thou didst see as
M 33 *a Man ascending.*] It shall be, when all the nations hear his voice, every man shall leave his own
34 land and the warfare which they have one against another; and an innumerable multitude shall be
35 gathered together, as thou didst see, desiring to come and to fight against him. But he shall stand
R 36 upon the summit of Mount Sion. [*And Sion shall come and shall be made manifest to all men,*
M 37 *prepared and builded, even as thou didst see the mountain cut out without hands.*] But he, my Son,
shall reprove the nations that are come for their ungodliness—which things (i.e., the rebukes) are
38 like unto a storm—; and shall reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts and with the
tortures with which they are destined to be tortured—which are compared unto a flame—; and then
39 shall he destroy them without labour [k]by the Law[k] which is compared unto fire. And whereas
thou didst see [l]that he summoned and gathered to himself[l] another multitude which was peaceable—

[d–d] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 > [e–e] *reading* ipse custodibit [f–f] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 >
[g–g] 𝔏 multis temporibus (= πολλοις χρονοις) [h–h] 𝔏 qui per semetipsum (*a misunderstanding of* אשר־בו = ος δι αυτου): *the correct translation is given by Ar.*[1] (*cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*) [i–i] 𝔏 ad (*so S, &c.*) expugnare eum (= προς το εκπολεμειν αυτον) [j–j] 𝔏 civitatis (*a false nom.* = civitas) civitatem [k–k] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et legem [l–l] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 eum colli-

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23. **even such as have works and faith.** A reminiscence of the theology of S; so in a similar composite passage, ix. 7 (cf. viii. 33 S).

xiii. 25–52, 53 *a*.

26. **many ages.** The pre-existent heavenly Messiah (='the Son of Man' of 1 En. xxxvii–lxx) is meant. His being hidden with God is referred to in *v.* 52 below. This heavenly pre-existence must be carefully distinguished from the earthly pre-existence which is attributed in various forms to the earthly Messiah in Rabbinic literature.

[through whom he will deliver his creation]. This clause does not accord with the rest of the interpretation; it has probably been interpolated by R from the former vision (A); cf. xi. 46. So, again, *v.* 29 in this chapter (the deliverance of creation).

and the same shall order the survivors. This is probably due to R (cf. *v.* 48).

29–32. **[Behold, the days come,** &c.] These verses appear to be an interpolation by R intended to explain how the nations had previously been engaged in internecine strife. The contents are in the style of E; cf. iv. 52–v. 12. The verses really interrupt the sequence of the interpretation, which is restored by their elimination.

29. **[Behold, the days come].** Cf. v. 1, vi. 18.

31. **[people against people, and kingdom against kingdom].** Cf. Isa. xix. 2, Matt. xxiv. 7.

34. **[and an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together].** An important point in the eschatological drama is assigned to the final conflict of the assembled heathen nations against the people of God (the 'wars of Gog and Magog'). The annihilation of these hosts forms an indispensable preliminary to the inauguration of the Messianic era. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii–xxxix; Joel iii (Hebr. iv) 12; Zech. xiv. 2; Isa. xxv. 2; and see further *EA*, p. 294 f.

35. **But he shall stand upon the summit of Mount Sion.** The identification of the mysterious mountain (which the Man cut out for himself and upon which he flew) with Mount Sion is implied. This is natural from a later point of view; cf. Ps. ii. 6. For the original significance of this feature cf. *EA*, p. 295.

36. **[And Sion shall come,** &c.] Another interpolation by R. Here Sion = the heavenly City which descends from heaven at the end of the Messianic age (cf. vii. 26). Cf. also Rev. xxi. 2, 9 f.

[without hands]. Cf. Dan. ii. 34, 35.

37. **shall reprove the nations.** Cf. xii. 32.

shall reproach them, &c. Cf. xii. 32.

38. **shall he destroy them.** Apparently the hostile multitude here destroyed includes *all* the heathen nations, as 'the peaceable' multitude which is preserved is identified with the Ten Tribes. Contrast the original vision (*v.* 13 *a*), which contemplates the submission of some of the heathen to the triumphant Messiah (so 2 Bar. lxxii. 2, 3; Ps. of Sol. xvii. 32). For the older view see Ps. lxxii. 11; Isa. lxvi; Zech. xiv; Dan. vii. 14. Possibly in our passage, however, proselytes are intended to be included in the 'peaceable' multitude. For the conflict of opinion on the ultimate fate of the heathen see Volz, p. 322–325; *RWS*[2], ch. xi. 2 *b*.

40 These are [m]the ten tribes[m] which were led away captive out of their own land in the days [n]of
Josiah[n] the king, [o]which (tribes)[o] Salmanassar the king of the Assyrians led away captive; he
41 carried them across the River, and (thus) they were transported into another land. [p]But they took
this counsel among themselves[p], that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth
42 into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep their
43 statutes which they had not kept in their own land. And they entered by the narrow passages
44 of the river Euphrates. For the Most High then wrought [q]wonders[q] for them, and stayed the
45 springs of the River until they were passed over. And through that country there was a great way
46 to go, (a journey) of a year and a half; and that region was called Arzareth. There they have dwelt
47 until the last times; and now, when they are about to come again, the Most High will again stay
the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over. Therefore thou didst see a multitude
48 gathered together in peace. [*But the survivors of thy people, even those who are found within my holy*
49 *border*, [r](*shall be saved*)[r].] It shall be, therefore, when he shall destroy the multitude of the nations
50 that are gathered together, he shall defend the people that remain. And then shall he show them
51 [s]very many wonders[s]. And I said: O Lord my Lord, show me this: wherefore I have seen the
52 Man coming up from the heart of the sea. And he said unto me: Just as one can neither seek out
nor know what is in the deep of the sea, even so can no one upon earth see my Son [*or those that*
53 *are with him*], but in the time [t]of his day[t]. Such is the interpretation of the dream which thou
hast seen.

IV. xiii. 53*b*–58. Epilogue and Transition to the Seventh Vision (partly E², partly S R).

53*b* . . . Therefore [u]has this been revealed to thee[u], and to thee alone,
54 because thou hast forsaken [v]the things of thyself[v],
and hast applied thy diligence unto mine
and searched out my Law;

gentem ad se [m–m] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 the nine and a half tribes = *Ethiop.* (*some MSS.*: *but others* nine) *Ar.*¹ *Arm.*: *Ar.*² the remnant of the nine tribes [n–n] 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) Josiae; *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*²: 𝔏 (M) Oseae [o–o] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*¹: 𝔏 quem (*due to misunderstanding the reference of* אשר) [p–p] 𝔏 ipsi autem sibi dederunt consilium hoc [q–q] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 signa [r–r] *so* 𝔖: *other VSS.* (*including* 𝔏) > [s–s] 𝔏 multa plurima portenta (= ? נפלאות רבות גדולות): 𝔖 many wonders (*Violet regards* multa *in* 𝔏 *as an uncorrected mistake for* plurima) [t–t] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental VSS.*): 𝔏 diei *only* [u–u] 𝔏 inluminatus es haec = εφωτισθης ταυτα [v–v] 𝔏 tua = τα σα

40. **the ten tribes.** This is a purely ideal designation of the Northern Kingdom here. For the legends concerning the Ten Tribes cf. *EA*, p. 300 f.; and for the explanation of the variant 'nine and a half' cf. *EA*, p. 296.

in the days of Josiah the King. This is the true reading of 𝔏 and the other versions. An historical error is involved, Hosea being the name of the king in whose reign the Captivity took place (cf. 2 Kings xvii). The error may be due to the original writer (cf. Dan. i. 1, 2 Bar. i. 1), or to textual corruption in the original Hebrew.

the River, i. e. the Euphrates.

41. **where the human race had never dwelt.** As Gunkel remarks, the fact that the Ten Tribes were not known to exist in any definite land made it necessary to suppose that they had removed to a locality not otherwise accessible, and out of contact with the rest of the world.

44. **and stayed the springs of the River until they were passed over.** Cf. Josh. iii. 15 f. This will explain why it is that the country in which the Ten Tribes are supposed to be dwelling is inaccessible (Gunkel).

45. **Arzareth,** i. e. as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (*Journal of Philology*, iii [1871], p. 114) correctly pointed out, the *'ereṣ 'achereth* (='another land') of Deut. xxix. 25–28 (Hebr. 24–27). The words of this passage are applied to the Ten Tribes in the Mishnah (*Sanh.* x. 3). See further *EA*, p. 298.

48. [**But the survivors . . . who are found within my holy border,** &c.] This verse must be an interpolation of R; it represents the point of view of E (cf. vi. 25), which R is fond of insisting upon (cf. vii. 28). The logical connexion is much improved by its omission. For the idea that Palestine is, in a special sense, the land of salvation (cf. ix. 8), and that to dwell there is in itself a source of protection and happiness, cf. 2 Bar. xl. 2 (also xxxix. 2) and notes there. See also Volz, p. 308.

49. **defend the people that remain,** i. e. those, presumably, who do not come under the destructive fire that proceeds out of the Messiah's mouth, viz. Israel, which includes the people in Palestine and the Ten Tribes. The latter may be intended to embrace the Dispersion generally, together with proselytes.

51. **show me this.** The meaning of the coming up of the Man from the Sea was already obscure to the apocalyptist. The explanation that follows is clearly an artificial one, the product of later reflection.

52. [**or those that are with him**]. There is no hint in the vision itself, or elsewhere in the interpretation, that the Messiah is accompanied by other beings; probably the words are an insertion by R (cf. vii. 28—also R). The Messiah's immortal companions may be meant (cf. vi. 26), or, possibly, angels.

xiii. 53*b*–58. The verses that follow form, in their present position, a short epilogue to the sixth, and a transition to the seventh vision. Probably *vv.* 53*b*–55 (which are vigorous and distinctive both in thought and diction) were derived by R from E², while *vv.* 57–58 are a misplaced fragment of S, which should follow x. 57. See *EA*, p. 301 f. In order to adjust these verses to their present context R has added the redactional link 'and there I sat three days'. This finds its explanation in the opening words of the next vision.

E² 55 Thy life thou hast ordered unto wisdom
and hast called understanding thy mother.
56 Therefore have I showed thee this ; for there is a reward (laid up) with the Most High. And it shall be after three more days I will speak other things unto thee, and will declare to thee things difficult and marvellous.

REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION

[*vv.* 57–58 (S) misplaced : proper position after x. 57].

S(R) 57 [[vv] Then I went forth and walked in the field [vv], greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on
58 account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season ; and because he governs the times and the things which come to pass in due season.] *And there I abode three days.*

THE SEVENTH VISION.

(THE EZRA-LEGEND.)

(Chap. xiv) (E²) (S) (R).

I. xiv. 1–17. EZRA'S COMMISSION (E²) (R).

E² **14** 1, 2 And it came to pass [w] after the third day [w], while I sat under the oak, lo ! there came a voice out

[vv–vv] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm. Ar.*²): 𝔏 et profectus sum et transii in campum [w–w] *so Ar.*² *Arm.* (*cf.* 𝔖 after this): 𝔏 tertio die

55. **hast called understanding thy mother.** Cf. Prov. vii. 4.

57. **Then I went forth and walked in the field,** i. e. the field of Ardat, the scene of the Vision of the heavenly City. The proper position of this and the following verse is, therefore, after x. 57. In its original context the clause means that the seer avails himself of the permission given him in x. 55 to go in and look more carefully at the wonders of the heavenly City, still conceived as being visible to his eyes in the field. So he passes from the spot, where he has received the revelation, further into the field to gaze upon the City.

xiv. THE SEVENTH VISION. The so-called 'Seventh Vision' begins with a narrative description of Ezra sitting 'under the oak', and 'on the third day' (i. e. at the end of the three-day period prescribed in xiii. 56) hearing a voice from a bush (as to Moses), which commanded him to recall carefully the things (of Scripture and tradition) that he had learnt, because his departure from the world is at hand—he is assured that he is to be translated to the heavenly regions to be with the Messiah and his companions. The age is hastening to its close. Of the twelve periods which the world had to run nine and a half have elapsed already, and only two and a half remain. Therefore the prophet is bidden to prepare to take his departure. On his asking who is to take his place after he himself has gone, and praying that he may be inspired, while he remains on earth, to write down again all the Scriptures that have been burnt, he is told to withdraw from the people forty days: during this interval, with the aid of five specially equipped scribes, he is to write down all that he has seen and heard. Part of the writings is to be published openly; part to be kept secret. The seer, after delivering a farewell address to the people (*vv.* 27–36), does as he is commanded. A cup is given him 'which was full as it were with water. but the colour of it was like fire', after drinking which he is specially inspired and strengthened to remember all the sacred writings. For forty days he dictates to the five scribes, with the result that in all ninety-four books are written down, twenty-four of which (= the Old Testament Books) are to be published, while seventy are to be treasured in secret among the wise of the people. In the Oriental Versions a short postscript gives the year, according to the Era of Creation, when these events took place, and ends with the announcement of Ezra's assumption.

For a full discussion of the significance of the Ezra-legend for the interpretation of the book reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 304 ff. It should be noted that the legend represents Ezra as the restorer not only of the lost canonical but also of the dispersed apocalyptic books.

This amounts to a claim that the apocalyptic tradition occupies an essential place in genuine Judaism. It claims for itself the great names of Moses and Ezra, 'the second Moses.' When the date of the formation of our book is taken into consideration (? A. D. 120 or somewhat later) it seems impossible to dissociate its appearance with the controversies regarding the Canon. The motive of R in compiling his Apocalypse and associating with it the name of Ezra seems to have been a desire to reassert the claim of apocalyptic tradition to secure (or maintain) for itself an officially recognized place within Judaism as part of the oral tradition.

While there was, at this time, a party among the Rabbis more or less favourable to apocalyptic, a larger number took up a hostile attitude. Our book seems to be due to an attempt to win over opponents by publishing one of the secret books (or a collection of selections from them) associated with the great name of Ezra, in which the cruder elements of apocalyptic are refined away.

A number of considerations go to show that E² is an independent source. For a full discussion of these reference must be made to *EA*, p. 306 f. The fitting in of ch. xiv to its present context by R was not accomplished without some adjustment and adaptation. This can be seen clearly in *vv.* 8*b*, 17*b*, 28, and *v.* 37 ('into the field'): in *vv.* 29–35 we have, apparently, a misplaced section of S ; while *vv.* 49–50 are obviously the work of R. The chapter falls naturally into the following divisions: (i) *vv.* 1–17 ; (ii) *vv.* 18–26 ; (iii) *vv.* 27–36 ; (iv) *vv.* 37–48 ; (v) *vv.* 49–50.

xiv. 1–17.

1. **under the oak.** Evidently some well-known oak is meant which had been fixed upon by tradition as a place where revelations were given. Such an oak is mentioned in several passages in 2 Baruch (vi. 1, lxxvii. 18, cf. lv. 1), and is there located in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Doubtless the same oak (in or near Jerusalem) is meant here ; it cannot be identical with 'Abraham's oak' at Hebron.

2. **there came a voice out of a bush.** Cf. Exod. iii. 8.

of a bush over against me; and it said, Ezra, Ezra! And I said: Here am I, Lord. And I rose
3 upon my feet. Then said he unto me: I did manifestly reveal myself [x] in the bush [x], and talked with
4 Moses when my people were in bondage in Egypt: and I sent him, [y] and led [y] my people out of
Egypt, and brought them to Mount Sinai; and I held him by me for many days.
5 I told him many wondrous things,
showed him the secrets of the times,
[z] declared to him [z] the end of the seasons:
Then I commanded him saying:
7 These words shalt thou publish openly, but these keep secret. And now I do say to thee:
8 The signs which I have shewed [a] thee [a],
The dreams which thou hast seen,
and the interpretations which thou hast heard—
9 lay them up in thy heart! For thou shalt be taken up from (among) men, and henceforth thou shalt
remain with my Son, and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended.
10 For the world has lost its youth,
The times begin to wax old.
11 For the world-age is divided into [b] twelve [b] parts; [c] nine (parts) of it are passed already [c], and the
12 half of the tenth part; and there remain of it two (parts), besides [d] the half [d] of the tenth part.
13 Now, therefore, set in order thy house,
and reprove thy people;
Comfort the lowly among them,
[e] and instruct those that are wise [e].
Now do thou renounce the life that is corruptible,
14 let go from thee [f] the cares of mortality [f];
cast from thee the burdens of man,
put off now the weak nature;
lay aside thy burdensome cares,
and hasten to remove from these times!
16 For still worse evils than those which thou hast seen happen [g] shall yet take place [g]. For the
weaker the world grows through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon the dwellers on earth.
17 Truth shall withdraw further off,
and falsehood be nigh at hand:
for already the Eagle is hastening to come whom thou sawest in vision.

[x–x] 𝔏 super rubum (= επι της βατου): *Ar.*[2] in Mount Sinai (*confusion of* סנה [*Aram.* סנייא] bush *and* סיני) [y–y] *reading* eduxi (S A): *the v. l.* eduxit *is supported by* 𝔖 Ar.[1] Ar.[2] [z–z] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental VSS.*): 𝔏 > [a–a] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: *but* 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) > [b–b] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[2]: *Ethiop.* ten [*vv.* 11–12 *are not attested in* 𝔖 *and Arm.*] [c–c] *reading* et transierunt eius ix iam (*MSS. of* 𝔏 *have* x [decem] = *Ar.*[2]) [d–d] *reading* dimidium [e–e] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 > [f–f] 𝔏 mortales cogitationes (= τους θανασιμους λογισμους) [g–g] *reading* iterum . . . facientur (*MSS.* facient)

4. **I held him by me**, i. e. 'I held' Moses (viz. on Mount Sinai); cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28.

5. **the secrets of the times . . . the end of the seasons**, i. e. the secret tradition regarding the crises of the world's history (measured by certain periods of time) which was associated with the name of Moses: a specimen of this exists in the *Assumption of Moses*; see i. 16 f., x. 12, xi. 1. There are traces of a larger apocryphal literature which circulated under the name of Moses, but which is no longer extant.

6. **These words . . . publish openly, but these keep secret.** Cf. the narrative in Deut. v. What was published openly by Moses was the Torah; what was kept secret was, according to our author, the apocalyptic tradition. So Gunkel. The terms of *v.* 5 certainly suggest an apocalyptic rather than an oral legal tradition, such as the oral Law which was treasured in Rabbinic circles, and which was largely traced back (in theory, at any rate) to Moses.

8. **The dreams . . . interpretations . . . heard.** These lines have probably been added by R to connect what follows with the contents of the previous visions.

9. **with my Son, and with such as are like thee.** The Messiah is here conceived as pre-existing in heaven, and (as in the Parables of 1 Enoch) as surrounded by a community of elect ones (cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7). So, too, in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 En. lxx. 1 f.), just as Ezra is here. See further *EA*, p. 309.

until the times be ended. The heavenly Messiah does not appear till the End; cf. 1 En. xlv. 3 f.

10. **the world has lost its youth, the times begin to wax old.** Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; see the idea worked out in 4 Ezra v. 50–55.

12. **the half.** For *vv.* 11–12 the Ethiop. has: 'For the world is divided into ten parts and is come to the tenth; and there remains the half of the tenth' (cf. the half-week in Dan. ix. 27 = the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of tribulation). So in *Sibyll. Oracles*, iv. 47 f., and in the apocalypse of ten weeks, 1 En. xciii (xci). The twelve-period division appears in 2 Bar. liii f. In our passage it is probable that the time-definition is intended to apply to the historical Ezra. See further *EA*, p. 310.

13. **thy house**, i. e. the house of Israel.

14. **cast from thee the burdens of man.** Cf. 2 Cor. v. 4.

17. **for already the Eagle**, &c. This is obviously a redactional link to bring in ch. xi.

II. xiv. 18–26. Ezra's Prayer for Inspiration to restore the Scriptures (E^2).

E^2 18, 19 And I answered and said: [h] Let me speak [h] before thee, O Lord! Lo, I will depart, as thou hast commanded me, and will warn the people who (now) exist: but they that shall be born later, who shall admonish them?

20 For the world lies in darkness,
and the dwellers therein are without light.

21 For thy Law is burnt; and so no man knows the things which have been done by thee, or the
22 works that shall be done. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me the Holy Spirit, that I may write all that has happened in the world since the beginning, even the things which were written in thy Law, in order that men may be able to find [i] the path [i], and that they who would live at the last, may live.

23 And he answered me and said: Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee
24 for forty days. But do thou prepare for thyself many [j] writing-tablets [j]; and take with thee Saraia, Dabria, Selemia, [k] Elkanah [k], and Osiel, these five, because they are equipped for writings wiftly;
25 and (then) come hither, and I will light the lamp of understanding in thy heart, which shall not be
26 extinguished until what thou art about to write shall be completed. And when thou shalt have finished, some things thou shalt publish, and some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise. To-morrow, at this hour, thou shalt begin to write.

III. xiv. 27–36. Ezra's Last Words (E^2) (S) (R).

E^2 27 Then I went forth as he commanded me, and assembled all the people and said:
R 28 [*Hear, O Israel, these words!*]
S 29 [Our fathers were at the beginning strangers in Egypt, and they were delivered from thence.
30 And (then) they received the Law of life, which they kept not, [l] even as [l] you also after them have
31 transgressed (it). Then was a land given you for an inheritance [m] in the land of Sion [m], but ye and

[h–h] *reading* loquar (*Lat. MSS. mostly* >) = *Oriental VSS.* [i–i] *so* 𝔏 𝔖: *Ethiop.* + of life [j–j] 𝔏 buxos (= πυξια: *Hebr.* לוחות) [k–k] *so* 𝔖 *and Arm.* (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 Ethanus [l–l] 𝔏 quem (*so* 𝔖): *prob. an original Hebr.* כאשר *was misread* אשר (*so Violet*) [m–m] *so* 𝔏 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): *Ar.*[1] >: *Ar.*[2] on Mount

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xiv. 18–26.

20. **the dwellers therein are without light**, i.e. without the light of God's Law. For the idea of the Law = light of divine revelation cf. Ps. xix, especially *v.* 8 *b*. Often, in apocalyptic, light and darkness correspond to piety and godlessness.

21. **thy Law is burnt**. The reference here is primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar when, with other things, the Law is presumed to have been burnt.

the things which have been done by thee, i.e. the narrative of the sacred (historical) books of the Old Testament.

the works that shall be done, i.e. according to Gunkel, the eschatological passages of the Old Testament. The Old Testament thus consists primarily of sacred history and eschatology.

22. **Law**. 'Law' here, apparently, has the wide sense of Scriptures of the Old Testament generally; cf. John x. 24, xv. 25; 1 Cor. xiv. 21.

that they who would live at the last, may live. Cf. 2 Bar. xli. 1 and notes, and lxxvi. 5.

23. **for forty days**. As at the first giving of the Law (to Moses) and its writing down; cf. Exod. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18. The precedent is followed in the case of the second Moses here.

24. **these five**. In Ezra and his five companions there may be a covert allusion to Johanan b. Zakkai—the re-founder of Judaism in A.D. 66–70—and his five famous disciples, Eliezer b. Hyrqanos, Joshua b. Ḥananya, Jose the Priest, Simeon b. Nathanael, and Eleazar b Araq. (so Rosenthal).

26. **some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise**. Just as Moses, according to Rabbinic tradition, had delivered the substance of the oral law to the teachers and wise of his people to be handed down to future ages.

xiv. 27–36. The section that follows is apparently of composite origin. In *v.* 23 God had said to Ezra: 'Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee for forty days.' Instead of simply carrying out this command Ezra, according to the present form of the section, assembles the people and delivers an address in which he reminds them that their fathers, though they were delivered from Egypt and received the Law of life, were unfaithful to their trust, and had not kept the behest of the Most High. In this unfaithfulness the assembled people had themselves shared. Therefore their land had been taken from them. If they will rule their understanding and instruct their hearts they shall be preserved alive, and after death obtain mercy. For after death there is the judgement, when the names of the righteous shall be made manifest, and the works of the ungodly declared. Ezra concludes by requesting that no one shall seek after him for forty days.

It seems probable that the passage as a whole formed no original part of E^2, and has been compiled by R, who has detached the original conclusion of S, and placed it here (it forms the true sequel to xii. 48). See further *EA*, p. 315. In its original form E^2 here simply had, it is probable, *vv.* 27 and 36.

28. **[Hear, O Israel, these words!]** This clause may have been added by R.

30. **the Law of life**, i.e. the Law which, if it was observed, would confer life and immortality—a characteristic thought of S.

your fathers have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which [n]the Most High[n] com-
32 manded you. [o]And[o] forasmuch as he is a righteous judge he took from you in due time that which
33 he had bestowed. And now ye are here [[p]*and your brethren are . . .*[p]].
34 If ye, then, will rule over your own understanding
and will discipline your heart,
Ye shall be preserved alive
and after death obtain mercy.
35 For after death shall the Judgement come,
[when we shall once more live again:]
And then shall the names of the righteous be made manifest,
and the works of the godless declared.]
36 Let no man, then, come unto me now, nor seek me for forty days.

IV. xiv. 37–48. The Restoration of the Holy Scriptures (E^2).

37 So I took the five men as he had commanded me, and we went forth [*into the field*] and remained there.
38 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo! a voice called me, saying:
Ezra, open thy mouth
and drink what I give thee to drink!
39 Then I opened my mouth, and lo! there was reached unto me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire.
40 And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk
My heart poured forth understanding,
wisdom grew in my breast,
and my spirit retained its memory:
41 and my mouth opened, and was no more shut.
42 And the Most High gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote what was dictated [q]in order[q], [r]in characters which they knew not[r].
43 [s]And so they sat[s] forty days:
They wrote in the day-time
and at night did eat bread;

Sinai [n–n] *so* 𝔏 *Arm.* (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔖 Moses the servant of the Lord: *Ar.*[1] > [o–o] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 > [p–p] 𝔏 et fratres vestri introrsus vestrum sunt (*cf.* Ar.[1]): 𝔖 and your brethren are further inland than you in another land (*cf. Ethiop. Arm.*): Ar.[2] your brethren are in the furthest East [q–q] 𝔏 ex successione (= καθεξης; *cf. Luke* i. 3) [r–r] *reading* [ex successione] notis (*MSS.* noctis) quae non sciebant (*so* 𝔖: *cf. Ethiop.*) (*corrupt text is* [quae dicebantur] excessiones noctis: the wonderful visions of the night that were told *A.V.*) [s–s] *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop.*: *but* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*) I sat

33. **ye are here**, i.e. in Babylon (if the passage belongs to S). In its present context 'here' ought to mean in Jerusalem.

[**and your brethren are . . . .**] The text is very uncertain (see crit. notes). If 'your brethren' = the Ten Tribes the verse is clearly a harmonistic addition based on xiii. 41.

34. **Ye shall be preserved alive**, i.e. spiritually alive.

35. [**when we shall once more live again**]. This clause seems certainly to refer to the bodily resurrection (preceding the last Judgement). But such a reference would not harmonize with the theology of S. Kabisch thinks the clause may have been originally a marginal gloss, which was added by a pious reader who believed in a general resurrection, and which afterwards got into the text.

37. [**into the field**]. This is probably due to R, who identified the spot to which Ezra and his five companions retired with the field of Ardat. Some other expression may have stood in the text originally.

39. **was full as it were with water . . . fire.** The cup is the cup of inspiration full of the holy spirit, which, clear as water, is like fire. Ezra after drinking it is inspired. The representation that is given in our passage of the inspired state is very interesting. It may be compared with Philo's conception which was influenced by the Platonic idea of the ecstatic or God-intoxicated seer. For an extended reference to this cf. Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*, §§ 51–52.

The representation of the cup here as being the medium by which the prophet receives inspiration is peculiar. It certainly suggests Essene affinities; the idea of divine power being sacramentally mediated was familiar to the members of this sect. See further *EA*, p. 318 f.

40. **and my spirit retained its memory.** The effect of ecstasy was often such that the subject of it lost consciousness and memory. In Ezra's case, however, the natural faculties are immensely strengthened and intensified. This is inspiration, so our passage seems to imply, in its highest form. The apocalyptic writer here is obviously well acquainted with the experiences and phenomena of the ecstatic state.

42. **in characters which they knew not**, i.e. in a new Hebrew script, the square or 'Assyrian' character used in our printed Hebrew Bibles. Ezra was traditionally regarded as the inventor of this form of Hebrew writing; cf. Jerome in his Preface to the Books of Kings (the so-called *prologus galeatus*): *certum est Esdram scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolymam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias litteras repperisse quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Ebraeorum characteres fuerint.*

E² but as for me, I spake in the day,
and at night was not silent.

44, 45 So in forty days were written [t] ninety-four books [t]. And it came to pass when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Most High spake unto me saying: [u] The twenty-four books [u] that thou hast
46 written publish, that the worthy and unworthy may read (therein): but the seventy last thou shalt keep, to deliver them to the wise among thy people.

47 For in them is the spring of understanding,
the fountain of wisdom,
and the stream of knowledge.

R 48 [v] And I did so [v], [w] *in the seventh year, of the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation and three months and twelve days* [w].

V. xiv. 49–50. Conclusion of the Book (R).

49 *And then was Ezra caught away, and taken up* [x] *into the place of such as were like him,* [x] *after*
50 *having written all these things. And* [y] *he is called the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever* [y].

[t–t] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*: *the number given in the Lat. MSS. varies between* 904, 970, *and* 974. [u–u] *so* 𝔖 (Ar.[1]): 𝔏 priora (*cf. Ethiop. Arm.*)—*omitting the number* [v–v] *here the Latin text breaks off* [w–w] *so* 𝔖 (= 5,042 years) *see exeget. notes* [x–x] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm.*): Ar.[1] to the land of the living of such as were like him [y–y] *so* 𝔖

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43. **but as for me**, &c. Cf. 2 En. xxiii. 3 f.

45. **The twenty-four books.** The twenty-four books are, of course, the books of the O.T., which were read openly in the synagogue, and were open for all to read. The number 24 is the ordinary reckoning of the O. T. books (5+8+11). In the Talmud and Midrash the O.T. is regularly termed 'the twenty-four holy Scriptures'. Another reckoning was 22 (cf. Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. 8) in accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet (so also Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome). This total seems to have been obtained by combining Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah.

46. **the seventy last**, i.e. the apocalypses which were secret books.

47. **the spring of understanding.** The high estimation in which the apocalyptic literature was held within certain circles in Judaism comes here to clear expression.

48. **And I did so.** Here the Latin text breaks off. The last verses of the Apocalypse are preserved in the Oriental Versions. They were eliminated from the Latin text when the additional chapters that conclude the book in its Latin form (15 and 16) were appended by a Christian editor.

in the seventh year, &c. So Syr. = 5,042 years after the creation of the world (Ethiop. and Arm., 5,004; Ar.[1], 5,025). The Versions also vary as to the month: Syr., 3 months 12 days; Ethiop., 3 months 22 days; so Ar.[1]; Arm., 2 months. Kabisch has shown that it is impossible to bring this date into chronological relation with any known system of reckoning the years of Creation. The verse is probably the work of R, and may possibly refer, as Kabisch suggests, to the time at which R himself wrote. But the minute specification of 3 months 12 (or 22) days is strange. Gunkel remarks that it recalls the $3\frac{1}{2}$ months of the Book of Revelation.

xiv. 49–50. Conclusion of the Book. These verses, which are in the third person, are obviously the work of R.

49. **such as were like him**, i.e. the Messiah and his immortal companions; cf. vi. 26, vii. 28, xiii. 52, xiv. 9.

50. **the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High.** This is otherwise the title of Enoch; cf. 1 En. xii. 3 f., xv. 1; also (?) of the archangel Vretil, 2 En. xxii. 11.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Psalms of Solomon are a collection of eighteen Psalms which were written, according to the theory (see below) now generally accepted, in the middle of the first century B. C.

These Psalms passed with many other Jewish writings into Christian use, being classed sometimes with the 'apocrypha', sometimes with the 'antilegomena';[1] but their influence on Christian literature was neither very extensive nor intense, and they had passed out of sight and almost out of memory when at the beginning of the seventeenth century they again received attention. The *editio princeps* was published in 1626 by John Louis de la Cerda. This edition was based, as subsequent investigation and discovery have proved,[2] on a faulty copy of one (H) of the eight now known Greek MSS. which contain, together with other canonical and apocryphal books, the Psalms of Solomon. Before proceeding to the question of the origin and character of these Psalms it will be convenient to consider the material available for determining the text.

It may be regarded as practically certain (see below, § 4) that the Psalms were originally written in Hebrew: but this Hebrew original has perished and no testimony to it even survives. Till recently only Greek MSS. were known: now a Syriac text of the Psalms is known: but the Syriac is not the Semitic original itself, nor a direct version of the original: it is a translation from the Greek. The hypothetical Hebrew original will be denominated 𝔥, the Greek text 𝔊, and the Syriac 𝔖.

§ 2. The Greek (𝔊) MSS.

The determination of the relation of the existing Greek MSS. to one another is due to Oscar von Gebhardt,[3] on whose discussion the following account is based. All editions previous to von Gebhardt's rest on inadequate textual material.

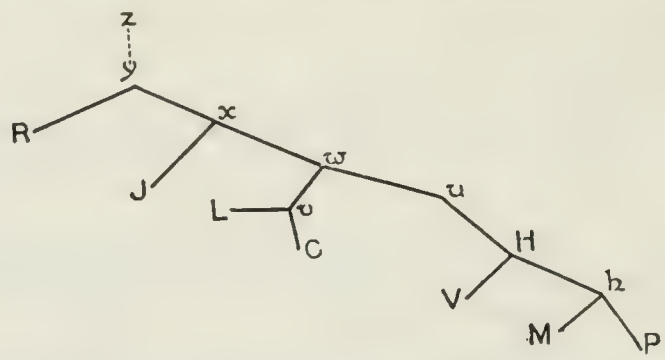
The following is a list of the MSS. of 𝔊, with the symbols by which they are cited, the century in which they were written, and brief description:

Symbol.	*Century.*	*Description.*
C	12–13	Codex Casanatensis 1908 (Rome). Ps. i. 1–ii. 26 and xvi. 8 to the end of the Psalter is missing or illegible.
H (= K, Ryle and James)	10–11	Codex Havniensis 6: purchased at Venice in 1699, but since 1732 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.
J	14	Codex Iberiticus: in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos.
L	12	A Codex of the Laura Monastery on Mount Athos.
M	12–13	Codex Mosquensis 147: in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow: formerly in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, whence it was removed to Moscow in 1653.
P	15 (dated 1419)	Codex Parisinus Gr. 2991 A: in the National Library, Paris.
R	11–12	Codex (Romanus) Vaticanus Gr. 336: in the Vatican Library at Rome.
V	11	Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 11: now in the Royal Imperial Library in Vienna.

The authority cited by Ryle and James (Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, Cambridge, 1891) as A is the faulty seventeenth-century copy of H, which was used for the *editio princeps*.

[1] Swete, *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 282; O. von Gebhardt (as cited below), pp. 14 ff.
[2] Von Gebhardt, pp. 1 ff.
[3] O. von Gebhardt, Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος: *die Psalmen Salomo's zum ersten Male mit Benutzung der Athoshandschriften u. des Codex Casanatensis herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1895.

The genealogy of these MSS., as established by von Gebhardt's investigations, is as follows:



where the small letters represent lost MSS. and capitals the existing MSS.: in particular *z* is the archetype of the Greek MSS., *y* is an (uncial) MS. from which R and *x* an (uncial) MS. were copied. MS. *w* was also probably uncial; *v* and *u*, on the other hand, probably minuscule. As between R and *x* (i. e. practically J L C H in agreement) von Gebhardt finds it difficult to determine which is the better MS. The variations between them amount to over 200 (von Gebhardt, p. 71), though by no means all of these affect the sense even of the Greek, and still less that of the Hebrew text lying behind the Greek. For some of the more important of these variations see ii 6, 24.

§ 3. The Syriac (𝔖): a Version from the Greek.

The Syriac Version is incompletely preserved: the MS., which also contained the really distinct work known as the Odes of Solomon, first published by Rendel Harris[1] in 1909, is defective at the close; xvii. 38 *b* to the end of xviii (the last Psalm) is missing. A small fragment of another MS. (containing xvi. 6–13) was subsequently discovered by Dr. Barnes in the Cambridge University MS. Add. 2012 (see Harris, p. 16), and Dr. Burkitt has still more recently drawn attention to yet another MS.[2] Harris (pp. 38 ff.) has argued (1) that the Syriac is a version of the *Greek*, not of the Semitic original of the Psalms: (2) that the place of the Greek text lying behind 𝔖 is with R J L, perhaps being intermediate between J and L: (3) that in some passages 𝔖 implies a reading of 𝔊 preferable to that of all existing MSS. of 𝔊 (e. g. in ii. 41 *ὑπὸ τῶν* 𝔖, *ἐνώπιον* 𝔊).[3] From these conclusions the present writer sees no sufficient reasons for dissenting: there are, here and there, renderings of 𝔖 which might well rest on a Hebrew original rather than on 𝔊, or which are not entirely explained by the text of any of the existing MSS. of 𝔊; but these renderings could scarcely establish a Hebrew original, and certainly should not outweigh the substantial evidence that 𝔖 is a version of 𝔊. For this evidence see Harris, pp. 38 ff.: he rightly declines to allow this evidence to be outweighed by the curious paronomasia in xi. 6 f., where ܐܬܝܠܝ might more readily have been suggested by an original Hebrew than by the *ἀνέτειλεν* of 𝔊. So again we might more readily explain ܒܢܝܐܘܬܐ of ii. 1 as a rendering of בְּנִיאוֹת (cp. Ps. ix. 23 (x. 2)) than of *ἐν τῷ ὑπερηφανεύεσθαι* (= בְּנִיאוֹת), for 𝔖 commonly has ܒ where 𝔊 has *ἐν* with the infin. (see e. g. i. 1, 3, v. 3, vi. 2, ix. 1, xvi. 1, 3); yet see v. 7, xv. 1. For another example of passages which might in themselves be well explained as resting on 𝔐 rather than 𝔊, see xvii. 21. Apart from the general agreement of 𝔖 with 𝔊, even where there is ground for suspecting that the latter rests on corruption in the transmission of 𝔊, or is the result of original faulty translation from 𝔐, there is evidence which may be illustrated by two or three examples: (1) in v. 16 ܐܟܠ must be due to a confusion of *οὐ* and *οὖ*; (2) in ii. 24 (vi. 7) *ἐδεήθην τοῦ προσώπου κου*, a euphemistic rendering of ואחל פני י״י (cp. 2 Kings xiii. 4), is literally rendered from the Greek ܐܚܠ ܦܢܝܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ; ct. 2 Kings xiii. 4, where 𝔐 is, indeed, paraphrased, but differently, ܐܪܟܐ . . ܡܝܡ ܦܢܝܗ; (3) in xiii. 3 the ambiguous clause *ἐν ταῖς μύλαις* is rendered by 𝔖, not as the context requires *with molar teeth* (= במתלעות), but *with millstones* (which in 𝔐 would have been entirely dissimilar—ברחים). See further notes on passages where 𝔖 agrees with 𝔊 though 𝔊 appears to have misunderstood 𝔐; e. g. ii. 12; iii. 2, 4; viii. 3 ('*us*'), 12, 17 (xvii. 14).

[1] *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon published from the Syriac Version*, by J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge, 1909; ed. 2, 1911.

[2] This MS., now in the British Museum (B. M. Add. 14538), was described in Wright's Catalogue, pp. 1003–1008, and assigned by him to the tenth century A. D. For a description of that part of the MS. which contains the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, and for a collation of the variants as compared with Harris's MS., see Dr. Burkitt's note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1912, pp. 372–378.

[3] See also ii. 20, where all MSS. of 𝔊 read *κώτέσπασε(ν)*, but 𝔖 = *κατεσπάσθη*; xvi. 9 *ἐν τόπῳ* (so all MSS. but J), a scribal emendation of *εν τωπω* (so J), which is itself a corruption of *ἐνώπιον* (so 𝔖).

§ 4. The Original Language of the Psalms: Hebrew (𝔥).

The Hebrew the basis of the following translation.

That the Psalms were originally written in Hebrew is now generally admitted: this conclusion was indeed disputed by Hilgenfeld (*Messias Iudaeorum*, Prolegg. xvi, xvii), but his arguments are criticized by Wellhausen (*Die Pharisäer u. die Sadducäer* (1874) and Ryle and James (p. lxxxiv. f.).

Briefly stated, the argument that the Greek is not the original work, but a translation from an original, and now lost, Hebrew text, is this: Not only (1) does the Greek throughout show many features in common with Greek versions of existing Hebrew originals, but (2) it contains a certain number of strange expressions which are more or less obviously due to blunders in translating from Hebrew. As to (1), which might, if necessary, be largely, though not easily altogether, explained as not due to translation, but as a Hellenistic style specially influenced by the LXX, it must suffice to refer to the illustrations collected by Ryle and James (pp. lxxx ff.) of peculiar uses of the infin. and the aorist, of prepositions, of the negative *οὐ . . . πᾶς* = לא . . . כל, of nouns anarthrous because equivalent to Hebrew nouns in the *status constructus*, of substantives in the genitive used in lieu of adjectives, and many other phenomena. For illustrations of (2) reference may be made to the notes below on ii. 12, 13, 19, 29, iii. 2, 4, v. 15, vii. 4, viii. 3, ix. 5, xv. 8, xvii. 14, 36.

A third line of argument might be urged: in not a few places the Hebrew rhythm can be still heard through the Greek version; as for example the so-called *ḳinah* rhythm (3 : 2) in Ps. viii.

But if the conclusion is right that behind the Greek lies a Hebrew original, the task of translation and interpretation must be constantly governed by it. Passages which might only be translated in one way, and so translated might receive *some* explanation, if the Greek were original, must often be translated otherwise, if the Hebrew, lying behind the Greek, would admit, or demands, an alternative translation that can receive a more satisfactory explanation. And in every case in which the Greek can only be explained in a strained and artificial manner, it is important to bear in mind the probability that the meaning of the Hebrew may have been different and simpler, even though the exact form and meaning of the Hebrew can no longer be discerned. In the notes that accompany the following translation it has been impossible to draw attention to all such alternatives; and in particular the tenses of the verbs have been represented by an equivalent in English which seemed most likely to express the force of the term in the original Hebrew, but only comparatively seldom have alternative possibilities been suggested. For a future tense the reader can always, if the context seems to him to render it more suitable, substitute a present and often a past.

§ 5. Date, Character, and Origin of the Psalms.

The earliest direct testimony to the Psalms of Solomon is in the catalogue at the beginning of the Codex Alexandrinus (A: fifth century A. D.). Here it stands after the final summary of the books of the Old and New Testaments.

Other references to the Psalms by name are later: the Pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae* (? sixth century A. D.) (§ 74) places *ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ Σολομῶντος* among the antilegomena after Maccabees (four books) and Ptolemaica, and before Susanna; Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (A. D. 806-814), places them between Eccles. and Esther. In the text attached to the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius Sinaita (*c.* 640–700) *Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος* are classed among twenty-five apocryphal books between the Assumption of Moses and the Apocalypse of Elijah.

The provision of the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea (*c.* 360 A. D.), *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, may be directed against church use of the Psalms of Solomon; but neither this reference nor a similar one in Ambrose, *Praef. in Lib. Psalmorum*, is free from ambiguity. So also the references in the *Pistis Sophia* (*c.* 250 A. D.) and Lactantius (fourth century A.D.) to the *Odes* of Solomon have a bearing on the date and history of the *Psalms* of Solomon only in so far as it can be shown that these two entirely distinct works were accustomed at an early date to be united as they are in the newly-recovered Syriac MS. On this see Harris, pp. 9 ff.

These references are of more importance as casting light on the circulation and position of the Psalms in the early Church than for closely determining the date at which the Psalms were written. For this we must turn to the internal evidence.

No argument can be based on language of the lost original, for though the Hebrew text can be to a large extent recovered, it cannot be so re-established in its minutiae as to admit of a linguistic argument of any weight.

It is different with the language of the Greek version, and attempts have been made to determine the date of that version, and consequently a *terminus ad quem* for the original work, by

means of the style and affinities of the Greek in which it is written. From the Greek style and the relation of Pss. of Sol. xi to the Greek of Baruch iv. 36–v. 9 Ryle and James (pp. lxxii ff.) have argued that the Psalms of Solomon had been turned into Greek before A.D. 70. In so far as this argument turns on the assumption that Baruch iv. 36–v. 9 was originally written in Greek and is not a translation from the Hebrew, it may require reconsideration: for, to mention but a single point, in Baruch v. 6 *αἰρομένους . . ὡς θρόνον* seems to be due to a thoughtless disregard of a well-known use of the Hebrew particle כ[1] (*BDB.* 458 *a*): the sense requires *borne as on a throne*; this the Hebrew ככסא would admit, but the Greek yields only the unsuitable meaning *borne as a throne.* However, the affinities of the Greek have convinced Viteau (pp. 140 ff.) who rejects, as well as Ryle and James who accept, the dependence of Baruch iv. 36–v. 9 on Pss. of Sol. xi, that the translation was made prior to A.D. 70.

But the main argument for the date of the Psalms must be based on the subject-matter of these. Now the state of society reflected in these Psalms and the ideas that dominate them are entirely compatible with all that is known of the middle of the first century B.C., while the definite historical allusions, if these are rightly explained of Pompey's actions in Palestine and his death in Egypt (48 B.C.), show that it is the middle of the first century B.C., and not any other period at which the state of society and the ruling ideas may have been similar, that is the actual age in which the Psalms of Solomon were written.

Not all the Psalms taken separately, it is true, point with equal clearness to the circumstances under, or the age in, which they arose: but there is a general similarity of tone and character about them which, failing direct evidence to the contrary, justifies the generally accepted theory that they are the work, if not of a single hand, yet of a single generation.

These Psalms are the work of a writer or writers who, in common with the authors of many of the canonical Psalms, held firmly by the belief in the relative righteousness of Israel as compared with the nations of the world; alien nations are as such 'sinners' (i. 1, ii. 1 f., 24 ff.)

Yet actually Israel is not righteous as it should be, and as it had thought itself (e.g. i. 2 f.). On the other hand, there is within Israel a class, a dominating class so influential and powerful as to give in some measure its character to the entire people (cp. e.g. i. 4, xvii. 22), of 'sinners'. Thus throughout the Psalms Israel appears divided into sections or parties; the one section, or party, consists of the righteous,[2] or pious,[3] or those that fear the Lord,[4] or the poor,[5] or the guileless;[6] the other section consists of the unrighteous,[7] or sinners,[8] or transgressors,[9] or profane,[10] or, as they are termed in the fourth Psalm, the men-pleasers (*ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι*).

In this division of the people into two different parties, regarded as morally or religiously opposed, and even in the use of the terms employed to describe them, the Psalms of Solomon do not differ essentially from a large group of the canonical Psalms. As in those so in these, the writers naturally identify themselves with the section of the righteous or the pious. The more closely we can determine the actual character of the two parties thus described, the more closely shall we be able to determine the nature of the circles from which the Psalms sprang and the conditions under which they were written. In attempting to gather from the Psalms this closer determination of the characteristics of each party it must of course be remembered, and allowed for, that we are dealing with a strongly partisan work. Neither the righteousness of the righteous, nor the sinfulness of the sinful, must be accepted too literally.

The 'sinners' had recently passed through a period of prosperity, and they had acquired wealth; but to ease and prosperity had succeeded the distress of war, which, of course, affected the whole nation, 'sinners' and 'righteous' alike (i), though in some ways more particularly the 'sinners'; it was members of that party, if not exclusively yet predominantly, who were led away captive by the invaders (ii. 3–15, ix. 3 ff., viii. 24).

Prosperity had produced in the 'sinners' insolence and self-reliance (i) and disregard of God (iv. 14, 24). They are charged, in particular, (1) with gross sensual sins (ii. 13–15, iv. 4 ff., viii. 9 ff., 24), (2) with profanation of the sanctuary, or the sacred objects (i. 8, ii. 3 *a*, viii. 12, 26), and of the sacrificial

[1] Cf. Judges xx. 39, where כמלחמה, 'as in the war', is rendered in the LXX *καθὼς ὁ πόλεμος.* See also my note at end of § 6 in Introd. to 1 Baruch, vol. i.—Gen. Editor.

[2] *δίκαιοι*, i.e. צדיקים; see ii. 38, iii. 3–8, 14, iv. 9, x. 3, xiii. 5–8, xiv. 6, xv. 8, xvi. 15.

[3] *ὅσιοι*, i.e. חסידים; see iii. 10, iv. 1, 7, 9, viii. 28, 40, ix. 6, x. 7, xii. 5, 8, xiii. 9, 11, xiv. 2, 7, xv. 9, xvii. 18.

[4] (*οἱ*) *φοβούμενοι* (*τὸν*) *κύριον*, i.e. יְרֵאֵי יי׳; see ii. 37, iii. 16, iv. 26 (ct. *v.* 24), v. 21, xii. 4, xiii. 11, xv. 15.

[5] *πτωχοί* (עניים?); see v. 2, 13 (also *πένης*), x. 7, xv. 2, xviii. 3.

[6] *ἄκακος*; see iv. 25, xii. 4.

[7] *ἄδικοι*, i.e. רשעים; see xii. 6, xv. 6.

[8] *ἁμαρτωλός*, i.e. חטאים; see ii. 38 f., iii. 11, 13, iv. 9, 27, xii. 8, xv. 9–14, xvii. 6, and elsewhere (cp. xiii).

[9] *παράνομοι*, i.e. פשעים (?); see iv. 21, xii. 1, 4, xiv. 6.

[10] *βέβηλος*, i.e. חנף; see iv. 1.

offerings (ii. 3 *b*, viii. 12 ff.). More than once they are said to have exceeded the nations in transgression (i. 8, ii. 11, viii. 14). Yet they are, or at least attempt to be, outwardly extremely respectable (iv. 2, 11, 25); they are hypocrites—ὑποκρινόμενοι (iv. 22), οἱ ἐν ὑποκρίσει ζῶντες (iv. 7). As a class they are, especially as contrasted with the righteous poor, wealthy (cf. xii. 4, xv. 7); as a set-off against this they will, in the judgement of their opponents, have no portion in the life of blessedness to come: all that awaits them after death is destruction in Sheol (xiv. 4 ff., xv. 11–14). The charges of profanation of the sacred offerings seem to imply that the wicked, or the nucleus of the party, were intimately connected with the Temple-service: another charge, viz. that they had set up a non-Davidic monarchy (xvii. 7, 8), points to their being the adherents of the later Hasmonaeans who from Aristobulus I (104 B. C.) and onwards claimed the title of king till the time (63 B. C.) when Pompey deposed Aristobulus II, and, while leaving Hyrcanus high-priest, deprived him of the title of king.

Over against this wealthy governmental party of 'sinners' stand the 'righteous', who are also called ὅσιοι, a term which doubtless here, as in the LXX version of the canonical Psalms, represents the Hebrew *ḥasîdim*, *godly* or *pious*. In x. 7 *the poor* stands in parallelism, and probably in synonymous parallelism, with *the pious*: and there are other indications, besides the further occurrence of the term 'poor', that the party of the righteous consisted largely of persons of restricted means (cp. xv. 1, xvi. 12 ff.). The 'righteous', moreover, were political quietists (xii. 6), accepting the present distress as a discipline from God, which it was their duty to endure patiently (xiv. 1, xvi. 11), and assured that such patience would find its reward, if not in this age or life, yet in the life to come (xiii. 9–11, xiv. 3, xv. 15, xvi. 1–3). They waited for the fulfilment of the promises (xii. 7), especially for the coming of the promised Messianic king (xvii. 23 ff., xviii. 6 ff.), who would fulfil the prophetic ideal of rule based, not on material resources, but on the power of God (xvii. 37).

Conspicuous elements in the righteousness of the righteous were abstention (xvi. 7 f.) from the sexual sins which so offended them in their opponents, and scrupulous anxiety about sins done in ignorance (xiii. 4 ff.): their righteousness was pre-eminently 'a righteousness according to the Law' (xiv. 2). Here, again, we are face to face with a circle not remote, in character at least, and probably not very remote in time, from circles whence some of the canonical Psalms proceeded (e. g. xix, cxix).

Thus apart from xvii. 7, 8, which if it is to be interpreted strictly must point to a date after 104 B. C., none of the passages so far cited are decisive as between the two periods *c.* 165 and *c.* 63 B. C., which have chiefly been claimed as the period of origin of these Psalms. More decisive, in the opinion of the majority of recent scholars, are the allusions to external events. These Psalms bring before us not only Jewish society divided into two parties, but also a foreign conqueror. The references to this conqueror are, again, in part general and applicable to almost any foreign foe: for example, we may compare ii. 25–28 with what is said in Isa. x. 5–15, and even the striking use of the term 'dragon' in ii. 29 has its parallel in the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar to a δράκων = תנין in Jer. li. (xxviii.) 34. But others are more specific; this conqueror comes from the West, for thence he carries his captives (xvii. 14): though at first welcomed by (a party of) the nation, who left the way open for him to approach Jerusalem (viii. 18 f.), he later found resistance and was compelled to use battering-rams to destroy the fortifications of Zion (ii. 1 f.); having captured Zion he defiled the altar by letting his soldiers contemptuously trample it (ii. 2, cp, vii. 2): ultimately he is slain dishonourably in Egypt and his body lay exposed for lack of burial (ii. 30 f.). Now all these somewhat particular characteristics of the conqueror agree pretty closely with what is known of Pompey, and in their entirety they do not agree with any other known historical character: as a Roman, Pompey came from the West, and thither he carried back captive Aristobulus and his children; at first he was not merely not resisted by the princes Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, but on his way from Damascus southwards ambassadors met him bearing a rich present, and the fortresses on the way to Jerusalem were delivered up to Pompey; later, however, the party of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in Zion, and then Pompey brought up battering-rams and therewith demolished the walls that protected the Temple area; it is true the profanation of the altar to which allusion is made in ii. 2 is not *directly* mentioned in the accounts of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, while his intrusion into the Holy of Holies is not alluded to in the Psalms; yet the alternative identification with Antiochus Epiphanes is in this respect not preferable, for the 'abomination of desolation' is just as little covered by the terms used in these Psalms. Finally, like the conqueror in the Psalms, Pompey is slain in Egypt, and his body, after being exposed on the beach, was hastily burned on an improvised pyre.[1]

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these similarities between the conqueror of the Psalms and Pompey can only be due to the fact that the conqueror in the Psalms and Pompey are one and

[1] For references to the sources for these or other details see notes on the passages cited above and others (ii. 1, 2, 30, 31, viii. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, xvii. 6, 14).

the same person. Frankenberg, who has most elaborately in recent times argued for identification with Antiochus Epiphanes, is compelled, not very satisfactorily, to treat the description of the death of the conqueror in ii. 30 ff., not as reference to fact, but as *unrealized prophecy*.[1] So also, on his interpretation, xvii. 7–10 is prophetic not historic, and 'the man alien to our race' (ἄνθρωπος ἀλλότριος γένους ἡμῶν) is not Pompey, nor even Antiochus, but the Messiah!

If we are right in identifying the person slain in ii. 30 f. with Pompey, that Psalm in particular was written after, and probably soon after, 48 B.C., the date of Pompey's death. None of the other Psalms refer to Pompey's death, and the majority of them may well be somewhat earlier than the second, and have been written soon after Pompey's invasion of Palestine (63 B.C.). Wellhausen suggested that iv might refer to, and also have been written in, the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–78), but this is uncertain. On the other hand, Ryle and James argue with some probability that Psalms iv and xii, in which the 'sinners' are denounced but not yet punished, and the intervention of the Gentiles was apparently as yet unforeseen, may be the earliest of the collection. These may have been written before Pompey's invasion.

If, now, the date of these Psalms is correctly determined, we need not hesitate to see in the 'righteous' of the Psalms the Pharisees, and in the 'sinners' the Sadducees (cf. iv. 2 ff.); and in the Psalms themselves the work of one or more of the Pharisees. It is the Pharisaic piety that breathes through the Psalms; it is their opposition to the worldly, non-Davidic monarchy, and to the illegitimate high-priesthood, of the ruling Hasmonaean king, Aristobulus, that finds expression here; the Messianic hope (esp. xvii. 23 ff.), the firm belief in a future life which characterizes them later (N.T., Jos.), and renders them naturally political quietists and indifferent to political schemes, are already conspicuous here. And, again, the later attitude of the Pharisees in the matter of free-will as described by Josephus (*B. I.* ii. 8. 14)—these ascribe all to fate and to God, and yet allow that to act as is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men: although fate does co-operate in every action—is almost exactly paralleled by two passages in these Psalms, v. 4, ix. 6.

A considerable literature has grown up around the Psalms: an account of what had appeared down to 1891 is given by Ryle and James, and the more recent, as well as the earlier literature, will be found in the extensive bibliography in J. Viteau, *Les Psaumes de Salomon* (Paris, 1911), pp. 240–251. The most important works are: for the Greek text, von Gebhardt's edition (cited above, p. 658); for the Syriac versions, Harris's edition, cited above (p. 659), in the second edition (pp. ix–xii) of which a full bibliography of discussions of the Syriac are given; for interpretation and the consideration of the original Hebrew, Wellhausen (cited above, p. 659), and Ryle and James (cited above, p. 658). See also Viteau, *op. cit.*; Kittel, in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen zum A. T.* ii. 127–48 (a German translation arranged in distichs and strophes, with brief introduction and notes); R. H. Charles in *E. Bi.* i. 241–245.

[1] Note also Cheyne's rejection of the identification of Pompey with the dragon of ii (*Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1910, p. 207 f.).

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

I.

1 1 I cried unto the Lord when I was in distress [ ],
Unto God when sinners assailed.
2 Suddenly the alarm of war was heard before me;
(I said), He will hearken to me, for I **am** full of righteousness.
3 I thought in my heart that I was full of righteousness,
Because I was well off and had become rich in children.
4 Their wealth spread to the whole earth,
And their glory unto the end of the earth.
5 They were exalted unto the stars;
They said they would never fall.
6 But they became insolent in their prosperity,
And . . .
7 Their sins were in secret,
And even I had no knowledge (of them).
8 Their transgressions (went) beyond those of the heathen before them;
They utterly polluted the holy things of the Lord.

II. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning Jerusalem.*

2 1 When the sinner waxed proud, with a battering-ram he cast down fortified walls,
And Thou didst not restrain (him).
2 Alien nations ascended Thine altar,
They trampled (it) proudly with their sandals;
3 Because the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the holy things of the Lord,
Had profaned with iniquities the offerings of God.

I. 1. **when I was in distress.** So perhaps 𝔓 (cf. e.g. Ps. lxvi. 14). 𝔊 adds εἰς τέλος, which may be (1) a mistranslated and misplaced title = 'To the chief musician' (cf. Ps. liv (lv)); the rhythm of 𝔓 (3 : 3) would have been complete without anything corresponding to this clause; or (2) an intensification: 'When I was in sore distress'; cf. 2 Chron. xii. 12, xxxi. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 16. 𝔖 'at my end'.

2. **the alarm.** 𝔖 'the voice'.

(I said). Not expressed in the MSS. of 𝔊, nor in 𝔖, but possibly lost in the course of the transmission of 𝔊.

full of righteousness. Cf. Isa. i. 21. 'Am full'; 𝔊 'was full'.

4. The fame of the wealth and glory of the Jews, the children (*v.* 3) of Zion, passed from mouth to mouth till it filled the whole world. For διεδόθη (cf. 2 Macc. iv. 39), the reading of R J L 𝔖, H has, erroneously, διέλθοι, 'may their wealth go forth'. The exact force of 𝔓 cannot be inferred.

5. **they would . . . fall.** πέσωσιν (R H), πέσωσι (J), πέσωσι μέν (L). Perhaps, originally, πέσωμεν, 'we shall never fall'. Cp. Ps. xxx. 7 (6).

6. **And . . .** 𝔊 οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, 'they brought not'. Fabricius suggested that 'sacrifices' was to be understood as the object of the verb: very improbable. Ryle and James, relying on Jer. xx. 9, Job. xxxi. 23, Jer. ii. 13, x. 10, Joel ii. 11, suggest that the meaning may be that they did not keep their ambition under control. 𝔖 ܘܠܐ ܝܕܥܘ may point to an original Greek reading καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκαν, 'and they are without knowledge' (cp. Isa. i. 2). Von Gebhardt suggests that ἤνεγκαν arose from misreading as לא הביאו an original ולא הבינו, 'and they were without understanding'.

8. **the holy things.** 𝔊 may also, and 𝔖 can only, mean 'the sanctuary', i. e. the Temple.

II. 1. Addressed to God. The 3rd pers. sing. in this verse and below may refer in particular to Pompey, or, being used collectively, to the Roman army (cp. *v.* 2).

When the sinner waxed proud (בְּגֵאוּת) **. . . he cast down**, or, 'proudly (בְּגֵאוּת) the sinner . . . cast down.' Cp. Ps. x. 2.

a battering-ram. Pompey brought up battering-rams from Tyre and therewith broke down the fortified wall that enclosed the Temple. See Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2; *B. I.* i. 7. 3.

2. The writer singles out for mention not Pompey's personal intrusion into the Holy of Holies (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4, *B. I.* i. 7. 6), but the irreverent treatment of the altar in front of the Temple by the Roman soldiers. To this Josephus does not specifically refer; though cp., 'Many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with their swords in their hands . . . went on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings and burning their incense' (*B. I.* i. 7. 5).

with their sandals. They not only trampled the altar, but that even without removing their sandals (cp. Exod. iii. 5).

3. **the holy things.** See i. 8 n.

4 Therefore He said: Cast them far from Me;

. . . . . .

5 It was set at naught before God,
It was utterly dishonoured;
6 The sons and the daughters were in grievous captivity,
Sealed (?) (was) their neck, branded (?) (was it) among the nations.

7 According to their sins hath He done unto them,
For He hath left them in the hands of them that prevailed.
8 He hath turned away His face from pitying them,
Young and old and their children together;
9 For they had done evil one and all, in not hearkening.
10 (9) And the heavens were angry,
And the earth abhorred them;
11 For no man upon it had done what they did,
12 (10) And the earth **recognized** all Thy righteous judgements, O God.
13 (11) They set the sons of Jerusalem to be mocked at in return for (the) harlots in her;
Every wayfarer entered in in the full light of day.
14 (12) They made mock with their transgressions, as they themselves were wont to do;
In the full light of day they revealed their iniquities.
(13) And the daughters of Jerusalem were defiled in accordance with Thy judgement,
15 Because they had defiled themselves with unnatural intercourse.
(14) I am pained in my bowels and my inward parts for these things.

4. **Cast them**, viz. the offerings (and holy things) of *v.* 3. This is clearly the meaning of the unambiguous neuter pronoun in 𝔊, but in 𝔓 the pronoun may have been masculine, and therefore ambiguous; in that case the real antecedent of the pronoun may have been 'the sons of Jerusalem'.

4, 5. The sense of the original in *vv.* 4 *b*, 5 *a*, cannot be determined; it may have differed considerably from that of the MSS. of 𝔊 and 𝔖, or of the conjectural emendations of 𝔊. Following the MSS. of 𝔊, and the punctuation found in them, we may render 4 *b*:—

His (i. e. God's) glorious beauty prospered them not.

Of this 𝔖 is perhaps merely a loose rendering:—

And He did not establish with them His glorious beauty.

Hilgenfeld conjectured εὐδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς for εὐόδωκεν (R J L: εὐώδωκεν H) αὐτοῖς; and this is adopted by von Gebhardt, who also adopts αὐτῆς (M) for αὐτοῦ (R J L H 𝔖). Then 4 *b*, 5 may be rendered:—

I have no pleasure in them (cp. Jer. xiv. 12).
Her (Jerusalem's, cp. *vv.* 20, 22, 23) glorious beauty was set at naught before God.

The conjecture gives a rather more attractive phraseology than the text of 𝔊, but *v.* 4 *b* would in that case have balanced *v.* 4 *a* very badly in the original Hebrew; and the position of τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτ. more naturally corresponds to that of the obj. of the verb in 4 *b* than to that of the subj. of the verb in *v.* 5.

5. **utterly**. Cp. i. 1 n.

6. **The sons and the daughters** of Jerusalem (cp. v. 3). So J L H; but R 'sons and daughters', 𝔖 'her sons and her daughters'.

6 *b*. The line in some way, doubtless, expressed the ignominy of the captive (*v.* 6 *a*) Jews; but the meaning of 𝔊 (of which 𝔖 'and on their neck is set the sealed yoke of the peoples', is probably a free rendering), and still more that of 𝔓, is far from clear. Most probably the allusion is to the branding of slaves with the tokens of their masters. It is true that the branding of the *neck* in particular is not elsewhere mentioned, but 'many slave collars have been found in Roman cities, inscribed with the master's name and some such addition as *Tene me, quia fugio*' (Ryle and James). Kit. thinks the allusion may be to the custom of sealing or stamping the collar or clothing of a slave (Talmud Babli *Shabb.* 28 *a*). For more or less different explanations see Viteau's n. *ad loc.*, and Büchler in *JQR*, xv (1903), pp. 115 ff.

Sealed. Gk. 'with (in) a seal'. This can scarcely mean '(surrounded) with a fetter' (Wellh.).

branded. Gk. 'with a slave-brand' (cp. Hesychius, *s. v.* ἐπίσημον). But another meaning is possible, viz. 'in the sight of' (Kit. ? = נכח לגוים). But ἐν ἐπισήμῳ scarcely means 'in a public place' (cp. xvii. 32), viz. Rome.

7 *a*. Ct. Ps. cii. 10.—7 *b*. Ct. Ps. xxxvii. 33.

12. **recognized.** 𝔊 𝔖 'will recognize' (וְתֵדַע for וּתְדַע). Cp. viii. 8.

13. Difficult and uncertain, but cp. viii. 9–14.

They, viz. the heathen; so R J L 𝔖. 'He' (viz. God) H.

in return for (the) harlots in her. πορνῶν ἐν αὐτῇ should correspond to זנות בה(ה), or זנותיה. In either case 𝔓 probably intended 'in return for her whoredoms' (Ezek. xxiii. 14, 18) (abstract זְנוּתָיָה, זְנוּת rather than זֹנוֹתיה, 'her harlots').

13 *a*, 14 *a*. 'According as the Jews were wont to do, even so, by way of retribution, the Gentiles exposed to the world the iniquities of the Jews.' This may correctly interpret the passage, but the punctuation of the MSS. of 𝔊 and parallelism favour the above division into lines rather than taking 'as they themselves were wont to do' with what follows.

14 *b*. **In the full light of day**, lit. 'before the sun'. Cp. 2 Sam. xii. 11 f.

15. **with unnatural intercourse**, lit. 'with confusion of mingling' (ἐν φυρμῷ ἀναμίξεως). The reference is probably to incest (viii. 10) and other foul unions.

(15) (And yet) I will justify Thee, O God, in uprightness of heart,
For in Thy judgements is Thy righteousness (displayed), O God.
(16) For Thou hast rendered to the sinners according to their deeds,
Yea according to their sins, which were very wicked.
(17) Thou hast uncovered their sins, that Thy judgement might be manifest;
19 Thou hast wiped out their memorial from the earth.
(18) God is a righteous judge,
And He is no respecter of persons.

(19) For the nations reproached Jerusalem, trampling it down;
Her beauty was dragged down from the throne of glory.
(20) She girded on sackcloth instead of comely raiment,
A rope (was) about her head instead of a crown.
(21) She put off the glorious diadem which God had set upon her,
23 In dishonour was her beauty cast upon the ground.

(22) And I saw and **entreated** the Lord and said,
Long enough, O Lord, has Thine hand been heavy on Israel, in bringing the nations upon (them).
(23) For they have made sport unsparingly in wrath and fierce anger;
26 And they will **make** an utter end, unless Thou, O Lord, rebuke them in Thy wrath.
(24) For they have done it not in zeal, but in lust of soul,
28 Pouring out their wrath upon us with a view to rapine.
(25) Delay not, O God, to recompense them on (their) heads,
To turn the pride of the dragon into dishonour.

(26) And I had not long to wait before God showed me **the insolent one**
Slain on the mountains of Egypt,

16. **I**: emphatic.

19. **is no respecter of.** 𝔊 'will be no respecter of', treating the Hebr. impf. as fut. instead of frequentative. For the phrase see e. g. Deut. x. 17.

20 *a b*. These lines are incorrectly given in the order *b a* in the *ed. princeps* and subsequent editions, including that of Ryle and James.

For. The γάρ, perhaps, as often in parts of the O. T. (e. g. Isaiah), had nothing corresponding to it in 𝔍.

was dragged down. MSS. of 𝔊 'he dragged down'; but 𝔖 has a passive verb and, so far, supports as the true Greek reading von Gebhardt's conjecture, κατεσπάσθη for κατέσπασεν (R), κατέσπασε (J L H).

24. **entreated.** 𝔊 𝔖 'entreated the face of', which is probably the same half-euphemistic, half-literal rendering of 𝔍 ('made sweet, or pleasant, the face of') that occurs in 2 Kings xiii. 4, Jer. xxvi. 19; cf. Exod. xxxii. 11 (ἐδεήθη ἔναντι).

Long enough . . . has Thine hand been. 𝔊 lit. 'makes sufficient that Thy hand should be': but the idiom in 𝔍 was probably the same as in Deut. i. 6, ii. 3.

O Lord. J. om.

Israel. So R (ἰῆλ) 𝔖: other MSS. of 𝔊 'Jerusalem'.

in bringing the nations upon (them), or, as in Ecclus. iii. 28 (cp. x. 13, xxv. 13 f.), ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ (H erroneously ἀπαγωγῇ) may = בְּמַכַּת, 'with smiting of the nations', i. e. God has smitten Israel by means of the nations; cp. Isa. x. 5, 20, 24.

25. **they.** The nations.

fierce anger: θυμῷ μετὰ μηνίσεως.

26. **And they**, i. e. the nations, **will make an utter end** of Israel. So probably 𝔍 (יְכַלּוּ); 𝔊 'And they', i. e. Israel, 'will be made an utter end of' (συντελεσθήσονται = יְכֻלוּ).

27. **they.** The nations.

not in zeal to fulfil God's punitive purposes concerning Israel; cp. Isa. x. 7.

28. **with a view to rapine.** Against Pompey personally this particular charge would be unfair; when he entered he refrained from plundering the Temple (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4); but against the nations, i. e. the Romans, it might well lie (see Ryle and James *ad loc.*).

29. **To turn.** 𝔖 'To cast down', 𝔊 'To say'. The τοῦ εἰπεῖν of 𝔊 is unintelligible and probably due to a translator's misunderstanding; probably למר, meant to be read לָמִר (= לְהָמִיר) and construed as in Hos. iv. 7, was mistakenly read לָמֹר = לאמר (Wellh.); for another suggestion, see Ryle and James. If ܠܡܗܦܟ is the original text of 𝔖 and not a subsequent correction of a literal rendering (ܠܡܐܡܪ) of τοῦ εἰπεῖν, 𝔖 cannot be explained either by 𝔊 or by such emendations as ἰδεῖν (Fabricius), or εἴκειν or τρέπειν (Hilgenfeld); but Viteau proposes ῥίπτειν.

the dragon. Seems clearly to be 'the insolent one slain on the mountains of Egypt' (*v.* 30), i. e. Pompey; cp. the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar with a dragon in Jer. li. 34, yet see above (p. 630, n. 2).

30. **I had not long to wait before.** Lit. 'I delayed not until God': 𝔖 'the Lord'.

the insolent one. 𝔊 'his insolence' (τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ = גאונו or גאותו, which was perhaps a corruption in 𝔍 of an original reading הגאה).

on the mountains of Egypt. According to Dio Cassius xlii. 3–5 Pompey was slain πρὸς τῷ Κασσίῳ ὄρει; Mons Cassius was near Pelusium. Possibly 𝔍 had יארי (not הרי), 'beside the streams of Egypt' (Ryle and James).

Esteemed of less account than the least, on land and sea;
31 (27) His body (, too,) borne hither and thither on the billows with much insolence,
With none to bury (him), because He had rejected him with dishonour.

(28) He reflected not that he was man,
32 And reflected not on the latter end;
33 (29) He said: I will be lord of land and sea;
And he recognized not that it is God who is great,
Mighty in His great strength.
34 (30) He is king over the heavens,
And judgeth kings and kingdoms.
35 (31) (It is He) who setteth me up in glory,
And bringeth down the proud to eternal destruction in dishonour,
Because they knew Him not.

36 (32) And now behold, ye princes of the earth, the judgement of the Lord,
For a great king and righteous (is He), judging (all) that is under heaven.
37 (33) Bless God, ye that fear the Lord with wisdom,
For the mercy of the Lord will be upon them that fear Him, **in the** Judgement;
38 (34) So that He will distinguish between the righteous and the sinner,
(And) recompense the sinners for ever according to their deeds;
39 (35) And have mercy on the righteous, (delivering him) from the affliction of the sinner,
And recompensing the sinner for what he hath done to the righteous.
40 (36) For the Lord is good to them that call upon Him in patience,
Doing according to His mercy to His pious ones,
Establishing (them) at all times before Him in strength.

41 (37) Blessed be the Lord for ever before His servants.

III. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning the righteous.*

3 1 Why sleepest thou, O my soul,
And blessest not the Lord?
2 Sing a new song,
Unto God who is worthy to be praised.

Esteemed of less account than the least. Held in less account than a person of the least position: so clearly 𝔖; on 𝔊 ὑπὲρ ἐλαχίστου (or conjecturally ἐλάχιστον), see Ryle and James.

31. **borne hither and thither,** διαφερόμενον. So R J L (𝔖); H 'destroyed' (διεφθαρμένον). The correct text of R J L (𝔖) is further from the literal truth of Pompey's end, as described by Plutarch (see Ryle and James), than the reading of H.

31 *b*. After lying for some time decapitated and unburied on the shore, Pompey's body was burnt on a pile of spars gathered from the beach (Plutarch).

33. **it is God who is great.** God, not Pompey, is 'Magnus'. 𝔖 'the Lord is God'.

34. **heavens.** 𝔖+'and over the earth'.

kings and kingdoms. 𝔖 'kingdoms and princes'.

35. **bringeth down.** Unless 𝔊 κοιμίζων translated מוריד (the verb which would have been the simplest antithesis to *v.* 35 *a*; cp. 1 Sam. ii. 6–8), the sense is: God causes the proud to lie down and sleep the sleep eternal (Ps. lxxvi. 6 (5); Job xiv. 12) of dishonour and destruction.

destruction. 𝔚 perhaps (cp. Ezek. xxviii. 7 f.) had שַׁחַת, in which case the rendering should be 'the pit'.

37. **in the Judgement.** On the day of judgement and discrimination those that fear God will, unlike the wicked (Ps. i. 5), stand through the mercy of God. Such was probably the meaning of 𝔚, and perhaps of 𝔖 (ܒܕܝܢܐ here as in Ps. i. 5, Pesch.). 𝔊 'with judgement' (בְּמִשְׁפָּט for בַּמִּשְׁפָּט): the mercy of God will be shown by introducing a principle of judgement or discrimination between the righteous and the unrighteous.

40. **to His pious ones.** So R J L C 𝔖 τοῖς ὁσίοις; H 'to them that are His' (τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ).

41. **before.** 𝔖 'by'.

III. *vv.* 1–2, Exordium; 3–10, the character and conduct of the righteous; 11–15, the conduct and fate of the sinner; 16, the contrasted fate of the righteous—resurrection and life eternal.

1. **O my soul.** So 𝔖; 𝔊 om. 'my'.

2. 𝔊 𝔖 probably fail to preserve the exact form and sense of 𝔚. Note in 2 *a* that ψάλατε, 'sing', is not the normal rendering of the verb שיר, stands abnormally after its object and is *plural* (ct. sing. in *v.* 1, 2 *c*); in 2 *c*, 'be wakeful against his awaking', a safer rendering of 𝔊 than 'keep watch at his watch', is not very obviously in place between 2 *b* and 2 *d*. Ryle and James, assuming a confusion between the Hebrew roots רוע and עור, render 2 *c* 'shout unto Him with a joyful noise'. Another possibility, suggested by the General Editor, may be considered: γρηγορεῖν in the LXX = עמד; so here γρηγόρησον ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν (cp. xvi. 4) αὐτοῦ may represent a clause used by the translator as containing עמד and a derivative from the same root; but עמד might easily arise (through the familiar confusion of

Sing and †be wakeful against His awaking†,
For good is a psalm (sung) to God from a glad heart.

3 The righteous remember the Lord at all times,
With thanksgiving and declaration of the righteousness of the Lord's judgements.
4 The righteous despiseth not **the chastening of** the Lord;
His will is always before the Lord.
5 The righteous stumble**th** and hold**eth** the Lord righteous:
He fall**eth** and looketh out for what God will do to him;
6 He seeketh out whence his deliverance will come.
(6) The steadfastness of the righteous is from God their deliverer;
There lodgeth not in the house of the righteous sin upon sin.
(7) The righteous continually searcheth his house,
To remove utterly (all) iniquity (done) by him in error.
(8) He make**th** atonement for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and afflicting his soul,
10 And the Lord counteth guiltless every pious man and his house.

(9) The sinner stumble**th** and curseth his life,
The day when he was begotten, and his mother's travail.
(10) He add**eth** sins to sins, while he liveth (?);
13 He fall**eth**—verily grievous is his fall—and rise**th** no more.
(11) The destruction of the sinner is for ever,
14 And he shall not be remembered, when the righteous **is visited**.
15 This is the portion of sinners for ever.

16 But they that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal,
And their life (shall be) in the light of the Lord, and shall come to an end no more.

IV. *A Conversation of Solomon with the Men-pleasers.*

1 1 Wherefore sittest thou, O profane (man), in the council of the pious,
Seeing that thy heart is far removed from the Lord,

מ and ב) from עבד; the original text of 𝔎 may, therefore, have meant 'and perform His service'. Perchance 'good' in *v.* 2 *d* was accidentally repeated in 𝔎 from the end of the line, and 2 *d* originally ran, 'For a psalm (is due) to God from a glad heart.'

a new song. So J H 𝔖; R L C (erroneously) 'song and praise'.

a glad heart. So, rather than 'a pious heart', should *ἀγαθῆς* (R J 𝔖) *καρδίας* be rendered; 𝔎 לב טוב means the glad or merry heart; see e.g. Isa. lxv. 14, Judges xvi. 25, Ruth iii. 7, Eccles. ix. 7; and cp. 'Is any merry? Let him sing psalms', James v. 13. The less well-supported reading, 'the whole heart' (L C H), is not to be preferred.

3. **remember.** So, and probably rightly, 𝔊 𝔖; 𝔎 (יזכרו) might also mean 'make mention of'.

3 *b.* Cp. iv. 9. 𝔊 is difficult; but the translation above may represent, at least approximately, the meaning of 𝔎. By means of bold conjecture Ryle and James obtain better parallelism:

The righteous ever make mention of the Lord with praise,
And justify the judgements of the Lord ⟨with thanksgiving⟩.

4. **the chastening of.** So (מוסר) probably 𝔎; 𝔊 𝔖 (= מְיַסֵּר) 'being chastened by'.

His will. Apparently the meaning is: the righteous places his will at the service of God.

5. **the Lord . . . God.** 𝔖 transposes. The first three verbs in the verse are aorists in 𝔊.

7. **steadfastness.** Lit. 'truth'.

lodgeth. 𝔎 doubtless ילין: the house of the righteous is not a khan open to all passing sins; on the contrary (*v.* 8), sins, that in spite of all his care, and unknown to him, have gained entrance, are discovered by means of constant and diligent search and turned out.

8. **The righteous . . . searcheth his house.** 𝔖 'He (i.e. God) searcheth the house of the righteous'.

8–9. **iniquity (done) by him in error. He maketh atonement.** Less probably 'Iniquity. With his trespass-offering he maketh atonement' (Ryle and James).

9. MSS. read *ταπεινώσει ψυχήν*, which von Gebhardt emends into *ταπ. ψυχῆς*.

10. **pious.** 𝔎 doubtless חסיד.

11. **begotten**, or 'born'. 'Stumbleth'; 𝔊 aor.

12. **sins to sins.** So Isa. xxx. 1 (𝔊); in 𝔎 perhaps 'sin to sin', as in *v.* 7 (cp. Isa. xxx. 1, 𝔎). In other respects *v.* 12 was perhaps a more exact antithesis to *v.* 7: 'while he liveth' (*τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ*) is doubtful.

12–13. **addeth . . . falleth.** 𝔊 aor., but 'riseth' in 𝔊 is fut. In 𝔎 probably all were imperfects.

13. **verily.** 𝔊 'for'; 𝔖 'and because'.

14. 𝔎 probably as above; 𝔊 'And He' (i.e. God) 'will not remember (him', viz. the sinner), 'when He visits the righteous', with His favour.

IV. TITLE. **Conversation**, R J L C; 'psalm', H.

1. **O profane (man).** Here and throughout the Psalm the sing. may refer collectively to the party opposed to

Provoking with transgressions the God of Israel?
2 Extravagant in speech, extravagant in outward seeming beyond all (men),
Is he that is severe of speech in condemning sinners in judgement.
3 And his hand is first upon him as (though he acted) in zeal,
And (yet) he is himself guilty in respect of manifold sins and of wantonness.
4 His eyes are upon every woman without distinction;
His tongue lieth when he maketh contract with an oath.
5 By night and in secret he sinneth as though unseen,
With his eyes he talketh to every woman of evil compacts.
6 He is swift to enter every house with cheerfulness as though guileless.

7 (6) Let God remove those that live in hypocrisy in the company of the pious,
(Even) the life of such an one with corruption of his flesh and penury.
8 (7) Let God reveal the deeds of the men-pleasers,
The deeds of such an one with laughter and derision;
9 (8) **That** the pious may count righteous the judgement of their God,
When sinners are removed from before the righteous,
10 (Even the) man-pleaser who uttereth law guilefully.
11 (9) And their eyes (are fixed) upon any man's house that is (still) secure,
That they may, like (the) Serpent, destroy the wisdom of . . . with words of transgressors.
12 (10) His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire.
13 He **never ceaseth from** scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans,
(11) Yea, he lay**eth** waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire.
14 He deceive**th** with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth, or judgeth.
15 (12) **He fills one (house)** with lawlessness,
And (then) his eyes (are fixed) upon the next house,

the psalmist, or to the leader of that party; adopting the latter view some have identified the profane man with Alexander Jannaeus (Wellh.), others with Aristobulus (Ryle and James).

the council of the pious. So J 𝔖; 'the pious council' R L C; 'in council' H. The fuller and correcter phrase need not necessarily refer to the Sanhedrin; *συνέδριον* may also stand for סוד; cp. e.g. Jer. xv. 17. 'Pious' = חסידים; cp. iii. 10.

1 *b*. Cp. Isa. xxix. 13 (also Matt. xv. 8) 'seeing that'; 𝔊 'and'.

2 *b*. Cp. 'the Sadducees . . . savage in judging (offenders) beyond all the Jews', Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1.

3. **upon him.** In carrying out the sentence on the condemned sinner; cp. Deut. xiii. 10.

wantonness. Cp. Matt. xxiii. 25 (R. V. 'excess').

4. **without distinction.** 𝔖 'immodestly'.

5. **of evil compacts.** Or, perhaps (𝔎), 'of assignations for evil'.

7. **the life of such an one.** Lit. 'his life'; 𝔊 is difficult in this verse and scarcely represents 𝔎 exactly; 𝔖 'God shall remove those who judge with respect of persons; but He lives with the upright in the corruption of his body and in the poverty (read ܡܣܟܢܗ for ܡܣܟܢܗ) of his life'.

8. **The deeds of such an one.** Lit. 'his deeds'; cp. *v*. 7, also the sing. in *v*. 3 *a* (him) after the plur. 'sinners' in *v*. 2.

8 *b*. May mean either that God will deride the wicked (cp. Ps. ii. 4), or expose them to the derision of men (cp. Ps. xliv. (xliii) 14).

10. **uttereth.** 𝔎, perhaps, עבר 'transgresseth' (von Gebh.).

11. The meaning seems to be: if any house still survives secure against their licentious conduct, their set purpose is, like the Serpent (Gen. iii), to gain their way by working on the wife with seductive speech. But the text is uncertain. Wellh. differently: their eyes are directed to the house of a man (= Alexander Jannaeus) who understands how to pervert the wisdom of God (reading *ἀγγέλων* = אלהים for *ἀλλήλων*).

the wisdom of . . . The genitive in 𝔊 is 'one another', but this yields no sense. For *ἀλλήλων* Ryle and James conjecture *λαλῶν*, 'to pervert wisdom, speaking with words,' &c.; the sing. part. in *v*. 11 *b* then resumes the plur. ('their') of *v*. 11 *a*; cp. *vv*. 7, 8. Von Gebhardt conjectures *λαῶν* = עמים, a corruption in 𝔎 for תמים, 'the wisdom of the flawless'. For other suggestions see preceding note and Ryle and James.

13. **He never ceaseth from.** So probably 𝔎; 𝔊 has 'He ceased not, till he prevailed (in)'.

13 *b*–14. The aorists of 𝔊 are rendered by English present tenses.

14. Possibly once followed by *v*. 12, to which it would form a parallel. Verse 15 (if correctly interpreted) would follow *v*. 13 better than *v*. 14. Rearranged the passage would read thus:—

14 He deceiveth with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth or judgeth;
12 His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire.
13 He never ceaseth from scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans,
Yea, he layeth waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire.
15 He is sated with lawlessness therewith:
And (then) his eyes are directed to the next house.

15 f. Obscure; but the general idea probably is that he has no sooner ruined one house than he turns his attention to the next, seducing its inmates to become the victims of his insatiable lust.

15 *a*. 𝔊 'he is filled with (*ἐν*) lawlessness in this' (*ἐν ταύτῃ*).

To destroy it with words that give wing to (desire).
13) (Yet) with all these his soul, like Sheol, is not sated.

16 Let his portion, O Lord, be dishonoured before thee;
Let him go forth groaning, and come home cursed.
15) Let his life be (spent) in anguish, and penury, and want, O Lord;
Let his sleep be (beset) with pains and his awaking with perplexities.
16) Let sleep be withdrawn from his eyelids at night;
Let him fail dishonourably in every work of his hands.
17) Let him come home empty-handed to his house,
And his house be void of everything wherewith he could sate his appetite.
18) (Let) his old age (be spent) in childless loneliness until his removal (by death).

19) Let the flesh of the men-pleasers be rent by wild beasts,
And (let) the bones of the lawless (lie) dishonoured in the sight of the sun.
20) Let ravens peck out the eyes of the hypocrites.
23 For they have laid waste many houses of men, in dishonour,
And scattered (them) in (their) lust;
21) And they have not remembered God,
Nor feared God in all these things;
25 But they have provoked God's anger and vexed Him.
22) May He remove them from off the earth,
Because with deceit they beguiled the souls of the flawless.

23) Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their flawlessness;
27 The Lord shall deliver them from guileful men and sinners,
And deliver us from every stumbling-block of the lawless (men).
24) Let God destroy them that insolently work all unrighteousness,
For a great and mighty judge is the Lord our God in righteousness.

28) Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love Thee.

V. *A Psalm. Of Solomon.*

1 O Lord God, I will praise Thy name with joy,
In the midst of them that know Thy righteous judgements.
2 For Thou art good and merciful, the refuge of the poor;
3 When I cry to Thee, do not silently disregard me.
(3) For no man taketh spoil from a mighty man;
5 Who, then, can take aught of all that Thou hast made, except Thou Thyself givest?
(4) For man and his portion (lie) before Thee in the balance;
He cannot add to, so as to enlarge, what has been prescribed by Thee.

O God, 7 (5) when we are in distress we call upon Thee for help,
And Thou dost not turn back our petition, for Thou art our God.
(5) Cause not Thy hand to be heavy upon us,
Lest through necessity we sin.

15 *d.* **like Sheol.** So R L J C S; H om. Cp. Prov. xxvii. 20, Isa. v. 14.
16 *b.* Cp. Deut. xxviii. 19, Ps. civ. 23, cxxi. 8.
19. **could.** G 'shall'.
20. **until his removal.** Or, perhaps, 'that (his family) may be taken away (from the earth)', i.e. let his old age be at once lonely and hopeless. S renders the entire verse by what is a free and inaccurate paraphrase of G, 'And of his children let not one draw near him.'
21. **rent.** Lit. 'be scattered'; H different?
23. **many houses of men.** So R J H S; 'houses of many men', L C. The latter rendering may more correctly represent H. Yet perhaps the original text of H ran rather as follows:

For they have laid waste houses in dishonour,
And by their lust scattered (i.e. made homeless) many men.

V. 4. Cp. Isa. xlix. 24 (G).
taketh. G 'shall take'.
5. **Who, then, can take.** G 'And who shall take'.
6. **what has been prescribed by Thee.** G *τὸ κρίμα σου*, where *κρίμα* is probably = חֹק, intended in the sense which it has in Gen. xlvii. 22, Prov. xxx. 8, xxxi. 15. For the thought of the verse cp. Matt. vi. 27; for the phraseology, Wisd. xi. 21.
7. **O God.** In G this goes with *v.* 6; in H it probably opened *v.* 7.
call . . . dost not turn back. In G the tenses are future.

9 (7) Even though Thou restore us not, we will not keep away;
But unto Thee will we come.
10 (8) For if I hunger, unto Thee will I cry, O God;
And *Thou* wilt give to me.

11 (9) Birds and fish dost Thou nourish,
In that Thou givest rain to the steppes that green grass may spring up,
(10) (So) to prepare fodder in the steppe for every living thing;
12 And if they hunger, unto Thee do they lift up their face.
13 (11) Kings and rulers and peoples *Thou* dost nourish, O God;
And who is the help of the poor and needy, if not Thou, O Lord?
14 (12) And Thou wilt hearken—for who is good and gentle but Thou?—
Making glad the soul of the humble by opening Thine hand in mercy.

15 (13) Man's goodness is (bestowed) grudgingly and . . .,
And if he repeat (it) without murmuring, even that is marvellous.
16 (14) But Thy gift is great in goodness and wealth,
And he whose hope is (set) on Thee **shall have no lack of** gifts.
17 (15) Upon the whole earth is Thy mercy, O Lord, in goodness.

18 (16) Happy is he whom God remembereth in (granting to him) a due sufficiency;
19 If a man abound overmuch, he sinneth.
20 (17) Sufficient are moderate means with righteousness,
And hereby the blessing of the Lord (becomes) abundance with righteousness.
21 (18) They that fear the Lord rejoice in good (gifts),
And Thy goodness is upon Israel in Thy kingdom.

Blessed is the glory of the Lord, for He is our king.

VI. *In Hope. Of Solomon.*

6 1 Happy is the man whose heart is fixed to call upon the name of the Lord;
2 When he remembereth the name of the Lord, he will be saved.
3 (2) His ways are made even by the Lord,
And the works of his hands are preserved by the Lord his God.
4 (3) At what he sees in his bad dreams, his soul shall not be troubled;

9*a*. Cp. Ps. lxxx. 7. 𝔖 'And turn not Thy face from us, lest we go far from Thee'.

11. To relieve the present awkwardness, von Gebhardt conjectured ἡτοίμασας, 'thou preparest', in place of ἑτοιμάσαι (𝔊 𝔖), 'so to prepare'; perhaps rightly. 𝔎 possibly suffered some misplacement and contamination, and read originally somewhat as follows:

When Thou givest rain, the green grass springs up;
Thou preparest provender in the steppe for every beast.
Birds and fish *Thou* dost nourish,
And if they hunger, they lift up their face to Thee.

At present the fresh grass of the steppes, which is not the food of fish and birds, is brought into unnaturally close relation to them.

12. The tenses, in 𝔊 future, were doubtless in 𝔎 imperfects with frequentative force; cp. *vv.* 11 *a*, 13 *a*.

14. **Making glad the soul of the humble,** or 'make glad', &c. 𝔖 'And his soul shall be satisfied'.

15. **grudgingly.** So J (ἐν φειδοῖ; R L C ἐν φειδῷ) 𝔖; the reading of H, ἐν φίλῳ, 'on a friend', arose from this by error. A synonymous clause followed, but has been obscured by the mistranslation of 𝔊, and subsequent mutilation (?). 𝔊 reads, ungrammatically, καὶ ἡ αὔριον, which is expanded by 𝔖, and, independently, by Ryle and James, into 'to-day and to-morrow'. Possibly 𝔎 read וּבְמָחָר (whence, by confusion with מָחָר, 𝔊's αὔριον), 'and for a price' (cp. Frankenberg).

16. **is great,** &c. Lit. 'great, with (μετά) kindness, and rich'. God's gift is given with a free, ungrudging (cp. 15 *a*) kindness, and is also in itself rich and costly.

shall have no lack of gifts. So, probably, the original text of 𝔎; but, if so, יחסר was miscopied יחום (Frankenberg). 𝔊 (cp. 𝔖) may be best rendered 'will not be sparing with his gifts'. See Ryle and James.

18. **God.** 𝔖 'the Lord'.

in (granting to him) a due sufficiency. Cp. e.g. Prov. xxx. 8. 𝔖 'in poverty', perhaps a paraphrase of 𝔊, for note 'poverty' also renders τὸ μέτριον in *v.* 20.

20*b*. Not very clear. Perhaps the meaning is: the moderate means given by God is equivalent to abundance, but an abundance that does not lead to sin (*v.* 19). Ryle and James render: 'and herein is the blessing of the Lord, that (a man) be satisfied in righteousness.'

VI. 3. **made even.** Cp. Ps. v. 8; or, 'established', cp. Ps. xxxvii. 23.

3*b*. **the Lord.** 𝔖 om.

5 When he passes through rivers and the tossing of the seas, he shall not be dismayed.
(4) He ariseth from his sleep, and blesseth the name of the Lord:
7 When his heart is at peace, he singeth to the name of his God,
(5) And he entreateth the Lord for all his house.
8 And the Lord heareth the prayer of every one that feareth God,
(6) And every request of the soul that hopes for Him doth the Lord accomplish.

9 Blessed is the Lord, who showeth mercy to those who love Him in sincerity.

VII. *Of Solomon. Of turning.*

7 1 Make not Thy dwelling afar from us, O God;
Lest they assail us that hate us without cause.
2 For Thou hast rejected them, O God;
Let not their foot trample upon Thy holy inheritance.
3 Chasten us Thyself in Thy good pleasure;
But give (us) not up to the nations;
4 For, if Thou sendest **pestilence,**
Thou Thyself givest it charge concerning us;
(5) For Thou art merciful,
And wilt not be angry to the point of consuming us.

(6) While Thy name dwelleth in our midst, we shall find mercy;
6 And the nations shall not prevail against us.
(7) For Thou art our shield,
7 And when we call upon Thee, Thou hearkenest to us;
8 For Thou wilt pity the seed of Israel for ever
And Thou wilt not reject (them):
(9) But we (shall be) under Thy yoke for ever,
And (under) the rod of Thy chastening.
(10) Thou wilt establish us in the time that Thou helpest us,
Showing mercy to the house of Jacob on the day wherein Thou didst promise (to help them).

7. **When his heart is at peace,** lit. 'in the stability (or 'prosperity', cp. iv. 17) of his heart'. 𝔅, perhaps, בשלות לבו; cp. בשלוי, Ps. xxx. 7 (6).
his God. 𝔖 'the Lord'.
7 *b*. This line was perhaps originally preceded by a parallel line.
he entreateth. Cp. ii. 24.
8. **God.** 𝔖 'him'.
8, 9. The lines of *v*. 8 are obvious parallels, and should not be placed in separate distichs (as by Kit.). Verse 9 is an isolated stichos, such as occurs at the end of other Psalms; see ii. 41, iv. 29, v. 22, ix. 20, x. 9, xi. 9 *c*, xvii. 51 *c*. Cp. the rather different conclusions in the canonical Psalms, xli. 13, lxxxix. 52, cxxv. 5 *c*, cxxviii. 6 *b*, and the הללויה that concludes several Psalms.

VII. TITLE. **Of turning.** The title may indicate that the subject of the Psalm is the restoration of the people by God to prosperity (cp. v. 9). Less probably the word expresses the turning of the people in repentance to God.
1 *a*. Cf. *v*. 6.
1 *b*. **they . . . that hate us without cause.** In view of line *a*, and *vv*. 3 *b*, 6 *b*, it is probable that foreigners are intended (cp. Lam. iii. 52). In another connexion the words might denote a Jewish party, as they perhaps do in Ps. xxxv. 19, lxix. 5.
2. **For.** The force of 𝔅 was, perhaps 'nay, but'.
Let not their foot. 𝔖 'in order that their foot might not'.
trample upon. Used of the profane intrusion of foreign soldiery in ii. 2; of the irreverent approach of Jewish worshippers in Isa. i. 12.
3, 4. The argument is: We have sinned and deserve chastisement (cp. *v*. 8 *d*); but let us be chastised directly by God, who even in wrath remembers mercy (*v*. 5, cp. ii. 24–7), not by pitiless men. Cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13–15, also 4 Esdras v. 30, Ecclus. ii. 18.
4. **pestilence.** 𝔊 𝔖 'death'; but *θάνατος* here, as in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13–15, probably rendered דבר, 'pestilence'.
6. **the nations.** So 𝔖; 𝔊 'nation'.
our shield. 𝔊 lit. 'he who holds a shield over us'; but in O.T. *ὑπερασπιστής* is generally = מגן 'shield', or מעוז 'refuge'. 𝔖 here 'our strength' (cp. Ps. xxvii. 1, Pesch.).
7. **And when we call . . . Thou hearkenest.** 𝔊 'And we shall call . . . and Thou wilt hearken'.
8 *c*, *d*. The prayer of *v*. 3 will have been granted.

VIII. *Of Solomon. Of the chief* **Musician.**

8 1 Distress and the sound of war hath my ear heard,
The sound of a trumpet announcing slaughter and calamity,
2 The sound of much people as of an exceeding high wind,
As a tempest with mighty fire sweeping through the **Negeb.**
3 And I said in my heart, Surely (?) God judge**th us** ;
4 A sound I hear (moving) towards Jerusalem, the holy city.
5 My loins were broken at what I heard, (5) my knees tottered ;
6 My heart was afraid, my bones were dismayed like flax.
7 (6) I said: They establish their ways in righteousness.

(7) I thought upon the judgements of God since the creation of heaven and earth ;
I held God righteous in His judgements which have been from of old.
8 God laid bare their sins in the full light of day ;
All the earth came to know the righteous judgements of God.
9 In secret places underground their iniquities (were committed) to provoke (Him) to anger ;
10 They wrought confusion, son with mother and father with daughter ;
11 (10) They committed adultery, every man with his neighbour's wife.
They concluded covenants with one another with an oath touching these things ;
12 (11) They plundered the sanctuary of God, as though there was no avenger.
13 (12) They trode the altar of the Lord, (coming straight) from all manner of uncleanness ;
And with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices, as (though these were) common flesh.
14 (13) They left no sin undone, wherein they surpassed not the heathen.

VIII. TITLE. **Of the chief Musician.** 𝔊 *εἰς νῖκος*, 'unto victory'; but in Theodotion's version of Ps. xii. 1, xiii. 1, *εἰς νῖκος* is the rendering of למנצח, 'Of (or to) the chief Musician.'

1 *a*. Cp. i. 2.

1 *b*. **announcing.** *ἠχούσης* = משמיע. Cp. Sir. xlv. 9.

2. **the Negeb,** i. e. the wilderness to the south of Judah. So probably 𝔐 here, as in Isa. xxi. 1 ; 𝔊 in both passages has the more general '(the) wilderness'.

3. **in my heart.** 𝔊 𝔖 'to my heart'.

Surely. 𝔊 𝔖 'where, then' (will God, &c.) ; *ποῦ* should imply in 𝔐 איפה or אנה, but neither of these words in such a context would mean 'surely'. Possibly 𝔐 was already corrupt. An assertive particle would be suitable ; but, since the dominant rhythm of the Hebrew poem seems to have been 3 : 2, *ποῦ ἄρα* should rather correspond to the corruption of some word that belonged to the first half of the verse, perchance to אוי לנו כי, 'Woe to us! for.' Cp. e. g. Jer. vi. 4.

judgeth. 𝔊 'will judge'.

us. 𝔊 𝔖 'him'. 𝔐 would have been ambiguous, permitting the different vocalizations, יִשְׁפְּטֵנוּ and יִשְׁפְּטֶנוּ.

4. **hear.** 𝔊 'heard'.

(moving) towards. *εἰς* (Ἱερουσαλὴμ *πόλιν*), R L C ; *ἐν* (Ἱερουσαλὴμ *πόλιν*) H ; 𝔖 'in (Jerusalem)'.

If the text of 𝔊 in *v*. 3 f. represents the meaning of the original, the point of the verse is that the poet is convinced that God will judge the hostile people (*v*. 1 f), but is at first uncertain where: 'I said' in my heart, Where then will God judge him?' (*v*. 3). He then hears the sound of judgement upon 'him', i. e. the enemy, in Jerusalem. But in this case the distress at the news described in *v*. 4 is difficult to account for, though it is natural enough, if the poet sees in the hosts (*v*. 1 f.) advancing on (*v*. 4) Jerusalem the instruments of God's judgement on 'us', i. e. Jerusalem.

a sound, or 'a voice' (and so in *v*. 1 f.).

5. **at what I heard,** lit. 'at hearing'; but cp. Ezek. xxi. 11 (6), Isa. xxi. 3.

tottered. Isa. xxxv. 3.

6. Rhythm suggests that the simile may have stood in the first part of the verse ; perchance *ἐφοβήθη* is paraphrastic, and the verse originally ran somewhat as follows: 'My heart trembled (cp. Isa. vii. 2) like flax, my bones were dismayed' (Ps. vi. 3).

7. The psalmist's first thought that Jerusalem is righteous (cp. i. 3), which created his astonishment and distress (*vv*. 5, 6) at the approach of disaster (*v*. 1 f.), is corrected by God's laying bare the secret sins of the people (*vv*. 8 ff.). Perhaps the thought has been obscured by the loss of more than half a distich. According to the punctuation and accentuation of the MSS. of 𝔊, we should render: 'And I said to those that establish,' &c. 𝔖 as above.

8. **in the full light of day.** ii. 13 n.

10. **They wrought confusion.** Cp. ii. 15 n.

12. **the sanctuary.** i. 8 n.

as though there was no avenger. 𝔊 lit. 'there not being an inheritor delivering'. 𝔖 'as if there were none to inherit and deliver'. 𝔐 probably as above. The apparent dominance of the 3 : 2 rhythm favours Ryle and James' conjecture that 𝔐 read ואין גאל.

13. **altar.** 𝔖 'temple'.

13 *b*. Having come in contact with women at a time when they are ritually unclean, and thereby themselves contracted uncleanness, they do not wait to undergo the necessary purification, but eat the sacrificial flesh as though it were not sacred, but mere common flesh that could be eaten whether one was clean or unclean. See Lev. xii. 1–8, xv. 19–33 ; Ezek. xviii. 6 ; Lev. xv. 31 ; Deut. xii. 15.

(14) Therefore God mingled for them a spirit of wandering;
And gave them to drink a cup of undiluted wine, that they might become drunken.
(15) He brought him that is from the end of the earth, that smiteth mightily;
17 He decreed (?) war against Jerusalem, and against her land.
(16) The princes of the land went to meet him with joy: they said unto him:
Blessed be thy way! Come ye, enter ye in with peace.
(17) They made the rough ways even, before his entering in;
They opened the gates to Jerusalem, they crowned its walls.

(18) As a father (entereth) the house of his sons, (so) he entered (Jerusalem) in peace;
He established his feet (there) in great safety.
(19) He captured her fortresses and the wall of Jerusalem;
22 For God Himself led him in safety, while they wandered.
(20) He destroyed their princes and every one wise in counsel;
He poured out the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, like the water of uncleanness.
(21) He led away their sons and daughters, whom they had begotten in defilement.

(22) They did according to their uncleanness, even as their fathers (had done):
26 They defiled Jerusalem and the things that had been hallowed to the name of God.
(23) (But) God hath shown Himself righteous in His judgements upon the nations of the earth;
28 And the pious (servants) of God are like innocent lambs in their midst.
(24) Worthy to be praised is the Lord that judgeth the whole earth in His righteousness.

(25) Behold, now, O God, Thou hast shown us Thy judgement in Thy righteousness;
31 Our eyes have seen Thy judgements, O God.
(26) We have justified Thy name that is honoured for ever;
32 For Thou art the God of righteousness, judging Israel with chastening.

(27) Turn, O God, Thy mercy upon us, and have pity upon us;
(28) Gather together the dispersed of Israel, with mercy and goodness;
35 For Thy faithfulness is with us.
(29) And (though) we have stiffened our neck, yet Thou art our chastener;
(30) Overlook us not, O our God, lest the nations swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver.

(31) But Thou art our God from the beginning,
And upon Thee is our hope (set), O Lord;

15. God, by way of punishment, deprived the people of all sense and capability. Cp. Isa. xix. 14.
16. Cp. Isa. xli. 25, xlvi. 11; Jer. vi. 23; Isa. xiv. 19.
17. **decreed.** 𝔎, perhaps, 'he prepared' (יכין); 𝔊 𝔖 = ירין. See Ryle and James.
and against. So 𝔖; 𝔊 omits 'against'.
18 ff. Cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 (Pompey on his way from Damascus met by ambassadors of Aristobulus, bearing a rich present). Others have compared *Ant.* xii. 5. 3 (Antiochus Epiphanes captures Jerusalem without fighting, his party within the city opening the gates to him).
18. **blessed,** lit. 'desired'; Jer. xx. 14, 𝔎 and 𝔊.
19. The rough tracks of Judah are made easy before Jewish territory is entered by the great foreigner; so, too, 'the gates to (ἐπί) Jerusalem', i. e. the passes, &c., commanding the approaches to the capital, rather than the city gates of Jerusalem, are flung open to give him an unimpeded approach. This may be a poetical account of the circumstances described by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3. 4: Pompey came to Coreae, which is the first place in Judaea (ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας), on the journey from the north to Jerusalem; subsequently Aristobulus complied with Pompey's demand that the fortresses (on the way to Jerusalem) should be delivered up to him.
his entering in. So R J L 𝔖; H 'their entering in'.
21. **her,** i. e. Jerusalem's. This may have been a mere anticipative suffix in 𝔎 (cp. 𝔖), in which case substitute 'the' in English. Or the line may have suffered some corruption.
22. **while they wandered** incapable of planning or achieving anything for their safety; cp. *v.* 15. The allusion in *v.* 21 seems to be to Pompey's forcible occupation of the Temple (cp. ii. 1); the 'wandering' may include a reference to the divided counsels of the Jews. The party opposed to Aristobulus admitted Pompey to the city and the king's palace, but the party of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in the Temple, from which they had to be expelled by force (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2).
23. After the capture of the Temple Pompey executed the ringleaders (τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου). Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4.
23 *b*. Twelve thousand Jews fell during the assault on and capture of the city (*ib.*), many, however, not at the hands of the Romans, but of their fellow countrymen (Jos. *B. I.* i. 7. 5).
water of uncleanness. Cp. Num. xix.
24. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4. 5) alludes in particular to the sons and daughters of Aristobulus being taken captive to Rome.
30. **Behold, now.** So probably 𝔎; see 2 Sam. vii. 2, 𝔎 and 𝔊.
Our: R J L C 𝔖; H 'their'.

38 (32) And we will not depart from Thee,
For good are Thy judgements upon us.
39 (33) Ours and our children's be Thy good pleasure for ever:
O Lord our Saviour, we shall never more be moved.
40 (34) The Lord is worthy to be praised for His judgements with the mouth of His pious ones;
And blessed be Israel of the Lord for ever.

IX. *Of Solomon. For rebuke.*

9 1 When Israel was led away captive into a strange land,
When they fell away from the Lord who redeemed them,
2 They were cast away from the inheritance, which the Lord had given them.
(2) Among every nation (were) the dispersed of Israel according to the word of God,
3 That Thou mightest be justified, O God, in Thy righteousness by reason of our transgressions:
4 For Thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth.
5 (3) For from Thy knowledge none that doeth unjustly **is** hidden,
6 And the righteous deeds of Thy pious ones (are) before Thee, O Lord;
Where, then, **can** a man hide himself from Thy knowledge, O God?
7 (4) Our works are subject to our own choice and power
To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
8 And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.
9 (5) He that doeth righteousness layeth up life for himself with the Lord;
And he that doeth wrongly forfeits his life to destruction;
10 For the judgements of the Lord are (given) in righteousness to (every) man and (his) house.
11 (6) Unto whom **art** Thou good, O God, except to them that call upon the Lord?
12 He cleanse**th from** sins a soul when it maketh confession, when it maketh acknowledgement;
13 For shame is upon us and upon our faces on account of all these things.
14 (7) And to whom **doth** He forgive sins, except to them that have sinned?
15 Thou bless**est** the righteous, and dost not reprove them for the sins that they have committed;
And Thy goodness is upon them that sin, when they repent.
16 (8) And, now, Thou art our God, and we the people whom Thou hast loved:
Behold and show pity, O God of Israel, for we are Thine;
And remove not Thy mercy from us, lest they assail us.
17 (9) For Thou didst choose the seed of Abraham before all the nations,

IX. 1. **Israel.** J 'Jerusalem'.
2. **the Lord.** 𝔖 'God'.
Among every nation. Taken by Ryle and James with 'they were cast away' in the previous line. Cp. Deut. iv. 27.
the dispersed. 𝔊 'the dispersion'; cp. viii. 34.
5. **is.** 𝔊 'shall be'. The tenses of *vv.* 4–6 must be the same. God is a just judge because He knows and takes account of all.
6. **(are) before Thee.** A synonym for 'Thou knowest'. Cp. Ps. li. 5 (3).
can. 𝔊 'shall'.
7. **subject to our own choice and power,** lit. 'in the choice and power of our soul'. Ryle and James (p. 96) discuss at length an alternative rendering and interpretation: Our deeds are by the choice (of God), and (at the same time) we have power to do rightly or wrongly; but apparently the rhythmical structure of the original would not have admitted this alternative.
8. God impartially judges the way in which men exercise their free-will (*v.* 7), and by His law of life (*v.* 9) rewards them accordingly.
10. **(every), (his).** These words are expressed in 𝔖, but not in 𝔊.
11, 12. The exact line of thought and some of the details are uncertain. God is kind only to those who call upon Him; to those who call upon Him in prayer for forgiveness He shows His kindness (cp. Ps. li. 3 f. (1 f.)) by forgiving their sins; those who here speak may rely on forgiveness, for the shame of which they speak is a form of confession (so Kit., but ?).
11. **art Thou** (𝔊 'wilt Thou be') **good, O God.** 𝔖 'is God good' (ܛܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ). Originally, it is probable, *vv.* 10–15 were either in their entirety addressed to God, or a statement about Him. Von Gebhardt conjecturally restores the 2nd person in *vv.* 12 and 14.
12. **cleanseth.** 𝔊 'will cleanse'.
from sins. Cp. x. 1; 𝔊 'in sins'; perhaps in consequence of reading a Hebr. מ as ב (a frequent error). 𝔖 'the sins of'.
when it maketh acknowledgement. 𝔖 omit; perhaps a doublet in 𝔊.
14. **doth.** 𝔊 'will'.
15. **reprove.** So 𝔖 certainly, and apparently the εὐθυνεῖς of 𝔊 must be interpreted similarly. See Ryle and James.
16. **they.** 𝔖 'the peoples'.

And didst set Thy name upon us, O Lord,
18 And Thou wilt not **reject** (us) for ever.
Thou madest a covenant with our fathers concerning us;
(10) And we hope in Thee, when our soul turneth (unto Thee).
The mercy of the Lord be upon the house of Israel for ever and ever.

X. *A Hymn. Of Solomon.*

1 Happy is the man whom the Lord remembereth with reproving,
And whom He restraineth from the way of evil with strokes,
That he may be cleansed from sin, that it may not be multiplied.
2 He that maketh ready his back for strokes shall be cleansed,
For the Lord is good to them that endure chastening.
3 For He make**th** straight the ways of the righteous,
And **doth** not pervert (them) by His chastening.
4 And the mercy of the Lord (is) upon them that love Him in truth,
(4) And the Lord remember**eth** His servants in mercy.
5 For the testimony (is) in the law of the eternal covenant,
The testimony of the Lord (is) on the ways of men in (His) visitation.
(5) Just and **kind** is our Lord in His judgements for ever,
And Israel shall praise the name of the Lord in gladness.
(6) And the pious shall give thanks in the assembly of the people;
And on the poor shall God have mercy in the gladness (?) of Israel;
(7) For good and merciful is God for ever,
And the assemblies of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord.
The salvation of the Lord be upon the house of Israel unto everlasting gladness!

XI. *Of Solomon. Unto expectation.*

1 Blow ye in Zion on the trumpet to summon (the) saints,
2 Cause ye to be heard in Jerusalem the voice of him that bringeth good tidings;
For God hath had pity on Israel in visiting them.
(2) Stand on the height, O Jerusalem, and behold thy children,
From the East and the West, gathered together by the Lord;

18. **Thou wilt not reject.** So, by conjecture, von Gebhardt; cp. vii. 8. Ryle and James, by conjecture, 'Thou wilt abide (among us) for ever.' 𝔊 'Thou wilt not cease'.

X. TITLE. **A Hymn** J L C H; 'In hymns' R.

1. **whom He restraineth.** So 𝔖, and so, perhaps, 𝔓, though 𝔖 may be merely a free rendering of ἐκωλύθη, which Fritzsche tentatively suggested was the original text of 𝔊; all codices of 𝔊 read ἐκυκλώθη, which Ryle and James render, on the authority of Exod. xiii. 18, Deut. xxxii. 12. 𝔊 'and he is fenced about'.

That he may be cleansed. 𝔓, perhaps, 'and whom He cleanseth'; cp. ix. 12.

3. 𝔖 'For the way of the righteous is straight, and His chastening doth not pervert it'.

maketh. 𝔊 'will make'.

doth not pervert. 𝔊 'will not pervert'.

4. **remembereth.** 𝔊 'will remember'.

5. The witness to God's mercy is to be found written in the Law, and constantly in His visitations of men in their daily lives (or, ways); such may be the meaning of the verse.

6. **kind.** 𝔊 ὅσιος; but this probably rendered חסיד, as in Ps. cxlv. (cxliv.) 17. 𝔖 'upright'.

our Lord. 𝔖 'our God'.

in His judgements. 𝔖 'in all His judgements'.

for ever. 𝔖 omits.

the Lord. J + 'for ever'.

7. **God.** 𝔖 'the Lord'.

the gladness (?) of Israel. A term for the Messianic age? Cp. Ryle and James. Or does 'gladness' conceal some term more parallel to 'assembly' in the previous line? and was 'the poor' originally the subject, and 'God' the object of a verb concealed by ἐλεήσει? Kit. renders the line, 'Because God has pity on the poor, to the joy of Israel.'

8. **The salvation of the Lord be upon,** or, rather, in view of the position of τοῦ κυρίου, 'Unto the Lord belongeth the salvation (to be wrought for).'

XI. For the relation of this Psalm to Baruch iv. 36–v. 9, and of both passages to Isa. xl–lxvi, see Ryle and James, pp. lxxii ff.; but also above, p. 628.

1. Based on Joel ii. 1. The exact form of 𝔓 here cannot be determined; *possibly* the last half of the line ran, 'the holy trumpet of Jubilee' (Ryle and James).

2. **Cause ye to be heard.** 𝔊 𝔖 'proclaim'.

4 (3) From the North they come in the gladness of their God,
From the isles afar off God hath gathered them.
5 (4) High mountains hath He abased into a plain for them;
6 The hills fled at their entrance.
(5) The woods gave them shelter as they passed by;
7 Every sweet-smelling tree God caused to spring up for them,
(6) That Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God.
8 (7) Put on, O Jerusalem, thy glorious garments;
Make ready thy holy robe;
For God hath spoken good concerning Israel, for ever and ever.
9 (8) Let the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem;
Let the Lord raise up Israel by His glorious name.
(9) The mercy of the Lord be upon Israel for ever and ever.

XII. *Of Solomon. Against the tongue of transgressors.*

12 1 O Lord, deliver my soul from (the) lawless and wicked man,
From the tongue that is lawless and slanderous, and speaketh lies and deceit.
2 Manifoldly twisted (?) are the words of the tongue of the wicked man,
Even as . . . a fire that burneth up . . .
3 . . . to fill houses with a lying tongue,
To cut down the trees of gladness . . .
4 To involve households in warfare by means of slanderous lips.
(4) May God remove far from the innocent the lips of transgressors by (bringing them to) want
And may the bones of slanderers be scattered (far) away from them that fear the Lord!
5 In flaming fire perish the slanderous tongue (far) away from the pious!
6 (5) May the Lord preserve the quiet soul that hateth the unrighteous;
And may the Lord establish the man that followeth peace at home.
7 (6) The salvation of the Lord be upon Israel His servant for ever;

6. **The woods.** 𝔖 'the cedar'.

XII. TITLE. **Against:** 𝔊 ἐν. Perchance we have here another case of the Gk. ἐν representing an original מ, misread ב; in that case the title of this psalm was doubtless taken from the opening words of the second line.

2. Text and meaning of 𝔊 are uncertain and obscure, and it is impossible to determine the original form of 𝔍.

Manifoldly twisted (?), lit. 'in manifoldness (cf. iv. 3) of turning', or 'twisting'. So R J (ἐν ποικιλίᾳ στροφῆς) and virtually L C (ἐν π. τροφῆς). H ἐν ποιήσει διαστροφῆς ('for the accomplishment of frowardness') is obviously a corruption of this.

Even as . . . a fire. In so far at least as the words omitted in the translation above are concerned, it is very questionable whether any of the readings or conjectures preserve or recover the sense of the original. The text of R J L C, which is substantially supported by 𝔖, reads, ὥσπερ ἐν λαῷ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλλονὴν αὐτοῦ. This may be literally rendered, 'Even as among a people a fire that burneth up its beauty.' H reads ὥσπερ ἐν ἅλῳ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλάμην αὐτοῦ, 'Even as on a threshing-floor a fire that burneth up its stubble.' See, further, von Gebhardt's discussion and suggestions, pp. 78 ff. If the 'twisting' of *v.* 2 *a* can be relied on, the point of the comparison should be that the guileful speech of the wicked is as full of twists and incalculable turns (cf. Isa. ix. 17 (18), with n. in *Int. Crit. Comm.*) as the volume of smoke with which fire ascends when it is blown about by the wind.

3. This verse also must have suffered from corruption of the Greek text or of the Hebrew text, or mistranslation, or both; but, in general, cf. iv. 11–15. The verbs in the three lines are ambiguous in 𝔊; apart from the accentuation they may be either optatives or infinitives; the position of the verb in the first line rather suggests that in 𝔍 they were infinitives. In that case the opening clause of the verse should lead up to an infinitive; in the original text these may have stood something like 'His (or, 'the transgressor's') delight is', or 'His heart is set'. 𝔊, literally rendered, is, 'His dwelling-place' or 'sojourning' (is, &c.), which yields no sense. It is a clever suggestion that ἡ παροικία αὐτοῦ is an unfortunate rendering, in itself perfectly possible, but in this passage impossible, of מגורו; yet it is questionable whether 'His terror (consists in filling)', &c., would be very naturally expressed in 𝔍 by מגורו. Ryle and James connect the first clause of *v.* 3 with *v.* 2, and render the last part of *v.* 2, 'Even as fire in a threshing-floor that burneth up the straw thereof, (so is) his sojourning (among men) that he may set fire to houses,' &c.; but this rests on the improbable text of H in *v.* 2, and implies an improbable rhythmical structure of 𝔍.

to fill. So 𝔊 𝔖. Hilgenfeld al., by conjecture, 'to set fire to'.

the trees of gladness. Figurative for the saints? Cf. xiv. 2. The clause omitted above is very obscure; the entire line may be literally rendered, 'to cut off the trees of gladness which setteth on fire transgressors' (R L C), or 'the trees of wicked inflammatory joy' (J H). 𝔖 renders, 'For He hath cut down the trees of His delight with the flame of the transgressor'. By conjectural emendation of 𝔊 Ryle and James obtain for the last clause (omitted in the translation above), 'with the flame of (his) wicked tongue'.

4. **households.** 𝔊 𝔖 'lawless households'; but the position of the adjective differs in different MSS., and it is probably a dittograph from the previous line. If the adjective belongs to the original text the meaning is that 'the slanderer will not scruple to set those of his own party by the ears'.

And let the sinners perish together at the presence of the Lord;
But let the Lord's pious ones inherit the promises of the Lord.

XIII. *Of Solomon. A Psalm. Comfort for the righteous.*

1 The right hand of the Lord hath covered me;
The right hand of the Lord hath spared us.
2 The arm of the Lord hath saved us from the sword that passed through,
From famine and the death of sinners.
3 Noisome beasts ran upon them:
With their teeth they tore their flesh,
And with their molars crushed their bones.
(4) But from all these things the Lord delivered us.
(5) The **righteous** was troubled on account of his errors,
Lest he should be taken away along with the sinners;
(6) For terrible is the overthrow of the sinner;
But not one of all these things touch**eth** the righteous.
(7) For not alike are the chastening of the righteous (for sins done) in ignorance,
And the overthrow of the sinners.
(8) Secretly (?) is the righteous chastened,
Lest the sinner rejoice over the righteous.
(9) For He correct**eth** the righteous as a beloved son,
And his chastisement is as that of a firstborn.
(10) For the Lord spareth His pious ones,
And blotteth out their errors by His chastening.
(11) For the life of the righteous shall be for ever;
10 But sinners shall be taken away into destruction,
And their memorial shall be found no more.
(12) But upon the pious is the mercy of the Lord,
And upon them that fear Him His mercy.

XIV. *A Hymn. Of Solomon.*

1 Faithful is the Lord to them that love Him in truth,
To them that endure His chastening,
(2) To them that walk in the righteousness of His commandments,
In the law which He commanded us that we might live.
(5) The pious of the Lord shall live by it for ever;
The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His pious ones.
(4) Their planting is rooted for ever;
They shall not be plucked up all the days of heaven:
(5) For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel.

XIII. 1. **me.** 𝔖 'us'.
2. **us.** 𝔖 'me'.
that passed through: *sc.* the land. Cp. Ezek. xiv. 17, Lev. xxvi. 6.
the death of sinners. From premature (Ps. lv. 24 (23) or violent death, or death beyond which lies no eternal life (cf. ix), i. e. from such deaths as sinners die. Cp. 'the death of the righteous', Num. xxiii. 10. Or, possibly, 𝔊 is due to a wrong division of 𝔐, which may have run, 'from famine and pestilence (see vii. 4 n.); as for sinners, noisome beasts', &c. In that case the passage refers to the four plagues of Ezek. xiv. 21.
4. **The righteous.** A conjectural substitute, which the context demands (Wellh., von Gebh., Kit.) for 'the impious', which is the reading of all MSS. of 𝔊 and 𝔖. For a defence of the text of 𝔊 see Ryle and James.
errors. Cf. *v.* 9; iii. 8; Ps. xix. 13 (12).
5. **toucheth.** 𝔊 'shall touch'.
7. **Secretly,** or 'Sparingly'. The meaning is uncertain; see Ryle and James.
8. **correcteth.** 𝔊 'will correct'. God corrects the righteous as a father corrects his beloved and first-born son.
9. The tenses in 𝔊 are future.
11. **upon them . . . His mercy.** 𝔖 'He will cherish'.

XIV. 1 *d.* **which** J L C; 'as' H; omit R. Cp. 𝔖 'He has given us the law for our life'.
that we might live, lit. 'unto our life'.
2. **by it,** viz. the law; or, 'in Him'.
3. **all the days of heaven.** A synonym for 'for ever'. Cp. Ps. lxxxix. 30, Job xiv. 12.

4 (6) But not so are the sinners and transgressors,
Who love (the brief) day (spent) in companionship with their sin;
(7) Their delight is in fleeting corruption,
5 And they remember not God.
(8) For the ways of men are known before Him at all times,
And He knoweth the secrets of the heart before they come to pass.
6 (9) Therefore their inheritance is Sheol and darkness and destruction,
And they shall not be found in the day when the righteous obtain mercy;
7 10) But the pious of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness.

XV. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. With a Song.*

15 1 When I was in distress I called upon the name of the Lord,
I hoped for the help of the God of Jacob and was saved;
2 For the hope and refuge of the poor art Thou, O God.
3 (2) For who, O God, is strong except to give thanks unto Thee in truth?
4 And wherein is a man powerful except in giving thanks to Thy name?
5 (3) A new psalm with song in gladness of heart,
The fruit of the lips with the well-tuned instrument of the tongue,
The firstfruits of the lips from a pious and righteous heart—
6 (4) He that offereth these things shall never be shaken by evil;
The flame of fire and the wrath against the unrighteous shall not touch him,
7 (5) When it goeth forth from the face of the Lord against sinners,
To destroy all the substance of sinners,
8 (6) For the mark of God is upon the righteous that they may be saved.
(7) Famine and sword and **pestilence** (shall be) far from the righteous,
9 For they shall flee away from the pious as men pursued in **war**;
(8) But they shall pursue sinners and overtake (them),
And they that do lawlessness shall not escape the judgement of God;
(9) As by enemies experienced (in war) shall they be overtaken,
10 For the mark of destruction is upon their forehead.
11 (10) And the inheritance of sinners is destruction and darkness,
And their iniquities shall pursue them unto Sheol beneath.
12 (11) Their inheritance shall not be found of their children,
13 For sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners.
(12) And sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgement,
14 When God visiteth the earth with His judgement.
15 (13) But they that fear the Lord shall find mercy therein,
And shall live by the compassion of their God;
But sinners shall perish for ever.

XVI. *A Hymn. Of Solomon. For Help to the Pious.*

16 1 When my soul slumbered (being afar) from the Lord, I had all but slipped down **to the pit,**
When (I was) far from God, 2 my soul had been wellnigh poured out unto death,

4. **fleeting,** lit. 'littleness of'.

XV. TITLE. **With a Song.** Cp. *v.* 3, and see xii, title.
1 *b.* 𝔖 'And for my help I called to the God of Jacob'.
5. **A new psalm.** So J R L 𝔖; H 'a psalm and praise'. Cp. iii. 1 n.
6. **offereth,** lit. 'doeth'.
these things. Resumptive of *v.* 5.
8. **pestilence.** 𝔊 'death'; see vii. 4 note.
9 *a.* **they.** The plagues of *v.* 8 *b*; and so in *v.* 9 *b*.
as men pursued in war. Such (cp. 9 *d*) was probably the meaning of the original. The actual readings of 𝔊 are διωκόμενοι (J; -ου R L C H) ἀπὸ λιμοῦ (R J: λιμοῦ L C H); but they yield no tolerable sense. For different forms of the conjecture here adopted see Ryle and James and von Gebhardt. 𝔖, curiously, 'as death flees from life.'
9 *b.* **they,** i.e. the plagues mentioned in *v.* 8 *b*; so R 𝔖; but in J L C H 'it', anticipating the summarizing singular sense of the next line.
13. **sins.** 𝔖 'their sins'.
14. H + 'to recompense sinners unto everlasting'; cp. ii. 38.
15 *c.* H omits.

XVI. TITLE. **to the Pious.** H omit.
1–3. The text is not improbably over-full, and the punctuation is uncertain.
to the pit. The translation rests on the supposition that (1) καταφθορᾷ J C H 𝔖 was the original text of 𝔊;

(I had been) nigh unto the gates of Sheol with the sinner, 3 when my soul departed from the Lord
God of Israel—
Had not the Lord helped me with His everlasting mercy.

4 He pricked me, as a horse is pricked, that I might **serve** Him,
My saviour and helper at all times saved me.
5 I will give thanks unto Thee, O God, for Thou hast helped me to (my) salvation;
And hast not counted me with sinners to (my) destruction.
6 Remove not Thy mercy from me, O God,
Nor Thy memorial from my heart until I die.
7 Rule me, O God, (keeping me back) from wicked sin,
And from every wicked woman that causeth the simple to stumble.
8 And let not the beauty of a lawless woman beguile me,
Nor **any one** that is subject to (?) unprofitable sin.

9 Establish the works of my hands **before** Thee,
And preserve my goings in the remembrance of Thee.
10 Protect my tongue and my lips with words of truth;
Anger and unreasoning wrath put far from me.
11 Murmuring, and impatience in affliction, remove far from me,
When, if I sin, Thou chastenest me that I may return (unto Thee).
12 But with goodwill and cheerfulness support my soul;
When Thou strengthenest my soul, what is given (to me) will be sufficient for me.
13 For if *Thou* givest not strength,
Who can endure chastisement with poverty?
14 When a man is rebuked by means of his corruption,
Thy testing (of him) is in his flesh and in the affliction of poverty.
15 If the righteous endureth in all these (trials), he shall receive mercy from the Lord.

XVII. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. With Song. Of the King.*

7 1 O Lord, Thou art our King for ever and ever,
For in Thee, O God, **doth** our soul glory.
2 **How long are the days** of man's life upon the earth?
As are his days, so is **the** hope (set) upon him.
3 But *we* hope in God, our deliverer;

(2) that ὕπνου is due to a misplaced gloss or a corrupt dittograph in 𝔓 (בשנת שחת for בשחת); and (3) that καταφθορᾷ, as in Ps. xlix. 9, and as more frequently διαφθορά, was a misrendering of שחת, 'pit'. The actual readings of the MSS. are 'in corruption of sleep' (J C H), (in) 'sleep of corruption' (𝔖, which perchance represents the order of the two words in the original text of 𝔊), and 'in heaviness (καταφορᾷ) of sleep' (R L).

When (I was) far, τῷ μακράν. 𝔊 lacks the ἐν and the pronoun which should normally be present, if the sense implied by the translation was intended. 𝔖 ܒܪܚܩ; but this is inconclusive as to the reading of 𝔊. Von Gebhardt for ὕπνου τῷ conjectures ὑπνοῦτῶ = ὑπνούντων; then render '(sunk) in the heaviness of them that sleep afar from God'.

3. **Lord God.** 𝔖 om. 'Lord'.

4. **as a horse is pricked.** Lit. 'like the goad of a horse'; ὡς κέντρον ἵππου, perhaps in 𝔓 simply כְּדָרְבָן 'as with a goad'.

that I might serve Him. 𝔊 ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν αὐτοῦ, which Ryle and James render 'that I might watch unto him'. 𝔓 perhaps לעבדו; cp. iii. 2 note.

8. **Nor any one.** 𝔊 'nor of any thing' (or 'of any one'). The translation 'subject to' presupposes a very questionable construction in 𝔊. Ryle and James conjecture πᾶν τὸ συγκείμενον for παντὸς ὑποκειμένου, and render 'Nor aught that consisteth in sinful vanity'. 𝔖 'Nor any sin that is', which seems to be a paraphrase of 𝔊.

9. **before Thee.** 𝔖 = ἐνώπιον σου, which is probably the original whence the readings ἐν τωπω σου (J) and ἐν τόπῳ σου (all other MSS. of 𝔊) arose. Renderings of conjectural emendations that have been suggested are, 'in thy fear', 'in thy word'.

14. The sense is obscure. 'A man'; 𝔊 'a soul'. 'Corruption'; cp. xiv. 4.

15. Or, 'If the righteous endureth, in the midst of these trials he shall receive,' &c.

XVII. TITLE. Cp. xv. 1.

1. **and ever, For in Thee . . . doth.** Or, perhaps, reading καὶ ἔτι for καὶ ἔτι ὅτι, 'And yet (cp. Ps. xlii. 6, 11) in Thee . . . shall.'

2. **How long are the days.** 𝔊 'and what is the time'.

the hope. 𝔊 'his hope'. Transitory as is man's life, so transitory is the hope which one man places in another; but (*v.* 3) the hope placed in God is eternal.

3. Mercy for Israel; judgement for the nations.

hope. So J; al. 'will hope'.

For the might of our God is for ever with mercy,
4 And the kingdom of our God is for ever over the nations in judgement.

5 (4) Thou, O Lord, didst choose David (to be) king over Israel,
And swaredst to him touching his seed that never should his kingdom fail before Thee.
6 (5) But, for our sins, sinners rose up against us;
They assailed us and thrust us out;
What Thou hadst not promised to **them**, they took away (from us) with violence.
7 They in no wise glorified Thy honourable name;
(6) They set a (worldly) monarchy in place of (that which was) their excellency;
8 They laid waste the throne of David in tumultuous arrogance.

(7) But Thou, O God, **didst** cast them down, and remove their seed from the earth,
9 In that there rose up against them a man that was alien to our race.
10 (8) According to their sins **didst** Thou recompense them, O God;
So that it befell them according to their deeds.
11 (9) God showed them no pity;
He sought out their seed and let not one of them go free.
12 (10) Faithful is the Lord in all His judgements
Which He doeth upon the earth.

13 (11) The lawless one laid waste our land so that none inhabited it,
They destroyed young and old and their children together.
14 (12) In **the heat of His anger** He sent them away even unto the west,
And (He exposed) the rulers of the land unsparingly to derision.
15 (13) Being an alien the enemy acted proudly,
And his heart was alien from our God.
16 (14) And all . . . Jerusalem,
As also the nations . . .

6. **sinners.** Jews, not foreigners (cp. *v.* 9). The Hasmonaeans are probably intended; the first pers. plur. then refers to the Pharisees, or (Ryle and James) the priests. Frankenberg explains the verse of the Babylonian assault on Jerusalem, &c., treating 'us' as equivalent to 'our fathers'.

What . . . to them. 𝔊 'to whom'. 𝔓 (אשר . . . להם) would admit of either rendering. The allusion appears to be to the assumption of the royal dignity by the non-Davidic Aristobulus I and later Hasmonaeans, and of the high-priestly dignity by these same persons, though they did not belong to the high-priestly lines.

7. **in no wise glorified.** Lit. 'they glorified not with (ἐν) glory'; for the construction representing probably the Hebrew infin. abs., cp. i. 8. In spite of the punctuation of the Greek MSS., 'in glory' is better taken with *v.* 7 *a* (so clearly 𝔖) than with *v.* 7 *b*.

7 *b*. They preferred to use the title, and enjoy the position, of kings, than to recognize the sovereignty of God which was the true 'excellency' of the Jews. But this meaning is by no means certain; assuming that ἀντί may = ב or כן, others render 'they set up a monarchy', i. e. made themselves kings, 'in their pride.'

8 *b*–12. In *vv.* 8 *b*, 10 *a*, 11 *a*, the verbs in Greek are in the future tense; they represent Hebrew imperfects referring to the past.

8. **in tumultuous arrogance.** So H and perhaps 𝔓. R J L (cp. 𝔖) 'in pride of price', which seems senseless.

8 *b*. **from the earth**, or, ארץ being ambiguous, 'from the land' (cp. *v.* 30), a specific allusion to Pompey's carrying captive to Rome Aristobulus and his children (see *v.* 14, note).

9. **a man that was alien.** Pompey.

10. **So that.** 𝔓? 'And'.

11. Obviously through dittography, there stand in J L H at the beginning of this verse, as well as at the end of *v.* 10, the words 'according to their deeds'. In 𝔖 R the words are absent from *v.* 11.

The verbs throughout the verse are in 𝔖 2nd pers. sing. imperative (or imperfect with imperative force). In H the negative in *v.* 11 *a* has been lost.

13. **The lawless one.** So R J L 𝔖; H 'the tempest'. The sing. (ct. *v.* 20) throughout *vv.* 13–16 (except in 13 *b*) is used collectively of the enemy (cp. *v.* 15) or specifically of their leader (Pompey). Whether the change to the plur. (of the enemies distributively) in *v.* 13 *b* (𝔖 and all MSS. of 𝔊) is original may be doubted.

14. **the heat of His anger.** 𝔊 'the wrath of His beauty'; 𝔖 'the beauty of His wrath'. An original אפו, or (Ryle and James) אפיו, was probably misread יפיו. The pronouns probably refer to God.

unto the west. Pompey carried Aristobulus and his children captive to Rome (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 5, 5. 4, 6. 1; *B.I.* i. 7. 7, 8. 6).

15. **Being an alien,** ἐν ἀλλοτριότητι perhaps = בְּנֻכְרִי, which might be an error for כנכרי 'like an alien'.

acted proudly. Cp. Ps. xxxi. 24 (23).

And his heart, or, rather, 'seeing that his heart', if, as Ryle and James suggest, *v.* 15 *b* is not a simple parallel to 15 *a*, but an explanation that proud doing was due to the excusable ignorance (in a foreigner) of the true God.

16. Very uncertain. According to the text of 𝔊 the verse continues the description of what the enemy did (ἐποίησεν) in Jerusalem: 'all things whatsoever he did in Jerusalem, (he did) as also the nations (do).' According to 𝔖 it rather opens the description continued in *v.* 17 of the evil conduct of the Jews: 'And every thing did Jerusalem, as also the peoples do

5) And the children of the covenant in the midst of the mingled peoples . . .
There was not among them one that wrought in the midst of Jerusalem mercy and truth.
6) They that loved the synagogues of the pious fled from them,
As sparrows **that fly** from their nest.
7) They wandered in deserts that their lives might be saved from harm,
And precious in the eyes of them that lived abroad was any that escaped alive from them.
8) Over the whole earth were they scattered by lawless (men).
9) For the heavens withheld the rain from dropping upon the earth,
Springs were stopped (that sprang) perennial(ly) out of the deeps, (that ran down) from lofty mountains.
For there was none among them that wrought righteousness and justice;
0) From the chief of them **to the least (of them) all** were sinful;
22 The king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful.

1) Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David,
At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant.
2) And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers,
25 And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample (her) down to destruction.
3) Wisely, righteously 26 he shall thrust out sinners from (the) inheritance,
He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel.
4) With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance,
27 He shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth;
5) At his rebuke nations shall flee before him,
And he shall reprove sinners for the thoughts of their heart.

6) And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness,
And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God.
7) And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst,
Nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness,
30 For he shall know them, that they are all sons of their God.

in their cities to their gods.' Literally rendered the text of J L H runs, 'And all things whatsoever he did in Jerusalem, as also the nations in the cities to their gods'; from this 𝔖 seems to be derived through haplography of ἐν (ἐποίησεν for ἐποίησεν ἐν). The alternative that 𝔖 represents the original text of 𝔊 and that J L H is due to dittography of ἐν might be considered, if it was not probable that the τοῖς θεοῖς of J L H 𝔖 was a mere substitute for the unintelligible, but probably earlier, reading of R—τοὺς θεούς. Similarly, 'their cities' (𝔖) is probably a mere amplification of 'the cities' (𝔊). For ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς θεούς von Gebhardt conjectures as the original reading of 𝔊 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦ σθένους, understanding 'in the cities of their might' to mean in the other cities besides Jerusalem which they had conquered. But this, if it were in other respects more acceptable, would still leave *v.* 16 *b* suspiciously elliptical. This ellipsis, and the probability that the reading 'the cities' (𝔊) is prior to 'their cities' (𝔖), and τοὺς θεούς to τοῖς θεοῖς, deprives Frankenberg's argument that the allusion is not to Pompey but to Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 44 ff., 54 ff.; 2 Macc. vi. 102) of much of its plausibility. What may have been meant, or alluded to, by 𝔍 remains very uncertain.

17 *a*. **the children of the covenant**, i.e. the Jews (cp. Ezek. xxx. 5, Acts iii. 25). 'The mingled peoples,' apparently here the Gentiles; for ערב implied by συμμίκτων see Neh. xiii. 3, Jer. xxv. 20, l. 37, Ezek. xxx. 5. What was meant by ἐπεκρατοῦσαν αὐτῶν (not translated above), or the Hebrew underlying it, is uncertain; is it that the Jews 'surpassed' (חזקו מ) the heathen in wickedness (cp. i. 8), or 'attached themselves (החזיקו ב) to them'? 𝔊 would most naturally mean 'ruled them' (cp. xvi. 7), or 'gained the mastery over them'.

18. **that fly.** 𝔊 'fled'.

19. To the sympathetic eyes of the Jews of the Dispersion, who are here termed παροικία as temporary residents (abroad), it seemed a rare thing for one of *ḥasidim* to escape alive from the faithless and merciless Jews of Jerusalem.

21. **For.** If the conjunction is correct—we might rather expect 'therefore' (𝔖)—the argument implied rather than expressed is: The disloyal sons of the covenant by their sins brought about a drought (cp. ii. 10), and this in turn caused the pious to wander far and wide.

21 *b*. Probably enough, the exact form of the original is not preserved here.

21 *d*. **to the least of them.** So 𝔖; 𝔊 'and of the least people' (ועד misread ועם).

all were sinful. 𝔊 'in every sin' (הכל חטא (cp. Ps. xiv. 3) misread בכל חטא ?).

23. **seest.** So R J L 𝔖; 'knowest', H V. Von Gebhardt conjectures 'chosest'.

25. **And that he may purge.** So 𝔖; cp. *v.* 33. 𝔊 'purge', as though addressed to God.

trample (her) down. Cp. ii. 2.

Wisely, righteously. According to the punctuation of J these words should go with *v.* 25. 𝔖 omits them.

26, 27. In 𝔊 the verbs are either certainly infinitive (*v.* 27 *b*) or ambiguous, i.e. optative or infinitive (according to the accentuation). It is possible that in 𝔍 these verses were entirely dependent on *v.* 24: 'Gird him . . . that he may thrust out . . . destroy . . . break in pieces,' &c. More probably the tenses of 𝔍 were, as in *vv.* 29 ff. (cp. 𝔊), imperfects intended in a simple indicative future sense. 𝔖 continues the subordination of the tenses into *v.* 28, though, on the other hand, 'shall flee', clearly infinitive in 𝔊, is clearly imperfect in 𝔖.

28. **whom he shall lead in.** 𝔖 'who shall make their boast of'.

30. **their.** 𝔖 om. In J L H αὐτῶν precedes, in R it follows εἰσιν.

(28) And he shall divide them according to their tribes upon the land,
31 And neither sojourner nor alien shall sojourn with them any more.
(29) He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. *Selah.*

32 (30) And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him under his yoke;
And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of (?) all the earth;
33 And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as of old:
34 (31) So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
35 And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her.
(32) And he (shall be) a righteous king, taught of God, over them,
36 And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst,
For all shall be holy and their king the anointed **of** the Lord.
37 (33) For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow,
Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war,
Nor shall he gather confidence from (?) a multitude (?) for the day of battle.
38 (34) The Lord Himself is his king, the hope of him that is mighty through (his) hope in God.

⟨ ⟩ All nations (shall be) in fear before him,
39 (35) For he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever.
40 He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness,
41 (36) And he himself (will be) pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people.
He will rebuke rulers, and remove sinners by the might of his word;
42 (37) And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not **stumble**;
For God **will make** him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit,
And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness.
43 (38) And the blessing of the Lord (will be) with him: **he will be strong** and **stumble** not;
44 (39) His hope (will be) in the Lord: who then can prevail against him?
(40) (He will be) mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God,
45 (He will be) shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously,
And will suffer none among them to **stumble** in their pasture.
46 (41) He will lead them all aright,
And there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed.

32 *b*. **in a place to be seen of.** So Ryle and James render *ἐν ἐπισήμῳ* (cp. ii. 6 n.), seeing in the lines an allusion to the miraculously exalted and consequently conspicuous Zion of the Messianic age (Isa. ii. 2). Kit. here, as in ii. 6, takes *ἐν ἐπι.* to be a rendering of נֹכַח לְ, and renders 'openly before'. In 𝔖 *v.* 32 *b* reads 'and they (i.e. the nations) shall praise (= glorify) the Lord openly in all the earth'.

34, 35 *a*. Very probably the original form of this tristich (originally a distich?) is not correctly preserved. 'His glory', i. e. the glory of the Messianic king; 'her sons', i. e. the exiled inhabitants of Jerusalem.

34. **So that nations shall come.** So R H 𝔖; J L 'Come, ye nations'; 𝔓? 'nations shall come'.
fainted. 𝔖 'been scattered from her'.

35. Perhaps 𝔓 read simply, 'And he (shall be) a righteous king taught of God', אלהים being dittographed and then read incorrectly אליהם = עליהם, 'over them.'

36. **the anointed of the Lord** (cp. xviii. 6). 𝔖𝔊 'the anointed, the Lord' (= Christ the Lord, Luke ii. 11). 𝔊 *Χριστὸς κύριος* = 𝔓 משיח יהוה (or משיח אדון), the normal rendering of which would be *Χριστὸς κυρίου*; for the X. *κύριος* of 𝔊 (𝔖) see Lam. iv. 20.

37 *c*. Obscure. 𝔖 employs the same verbal phrase here as in 37 *a*; if by accident 𝔖 so far returns to the original, it is difficult to account for the variation in 𝔊. Further, if *πολλοῖς* is the objective of the verbal phrase, we might expect it to be preceded by a preposition, and if instrumental by *ἐν*. Ryle and James conjecture *πλοίοις* for *πολλοῖς*, and render 'nor by ships shall he gather confidence', &c.

38 *a*. Doubtless this line, together perhaps with *v.* 37 *c* in an earlier uncorrupted form, contained the antithesis to *vv.* 37 *a*, *b*: Not in weapons and material resources, but in God does he put his trust. Whether the strangely expressed Greek text at all closely reproduces the original, or whether the Lord was here described as the king's King, must remain very doubtful.

38 *b*. The words *καὶ ἐλεήσει*, left untranslated above, are probably due to some corruption, whether in 𝔓 or 𝔊. 'He shall have mercy upon all the nations (that come) before him in fear' (Ryle and James) is a bad introduction to *v.* 39. *καὶ ἐλεήσει . . . ἐν φόβῳ* may represent some such phrase as 'he shall set trembling'; or *καὶ ἐλεήσει* may belong to the preceding corrupt line, and *ἐν φόβῳ* = יראו.

39. Cp. Isa. xi. 4. Note also the influence of Isa. xi. 3 f. on the following lines.

41. **He will rebuke . . . and remove.** 𝔊 'that he may', &c.

42. **stumble**, or 'totter'. Cp. e. g. Ps. ix. 3, or Ps. xxvi. (xxv.) 1. 𝔊 'be weak' (*ἀσθενήσει* = יכשל); so *vv.* 43, 45.
will make. 𝔊 'made'.

42 *b*, *c*. **by means of**, or 'in'.

43. **he will be strong.** 𝔊 *ἐν ἰσχύι*, 'in strength' (= בעז erroneously read for יעז).

46. **aright.** Lit. 'in equalness'; so R J L marg.; 'in holiness', L (text) H.

(42) This (will be) the majesty of the king of Israel **whom** God **knoweth**;
He will raise him up over the house of Israel to correct him.
(43) His words (shall be) more refined than costly gold, the choicest;
In the assemblies he will judge the peoples, the tribes of the sanctified.
49 His words (shall be) like the words of the holy ones in the midst of sanctified peoples.
50 Blessed be they that shall be in those days,
In that they shall see the good fortune of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes.
51 May the Lord hasten His mercy upon Israel!
May He deliver us from the uncleanness of unholy enemies!

The Lord Himself is our king for ever and ever.

XVIII. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Again of the Anointed of the Lord.*

18 1 Lord, Thy mercy is over the works of Thy hands for ever;
Thy goodness is over Israel with a rich gift.
2 Thine eyes look upon them, **so that** none of them suffers want;
3 Thine ears listen to the hopeful prayer of the poor.
(3) Thy judgements (are executed) upon the whole earth in mercy;
4 And Thy love (is) toward the seed of Abraham, the children of Israel.
(4) Thy chastisement is upon us as (upon) a first-born, only-begotten son,
5 To turn back the obedient soul from folly (that is wrought) in ignorance.
6 (5) May God cleanse Israel against the day of mercy and blessing,
Against the day of choice when He bringeth back His anointed.

7 (6) Blessed shall they be that shall be in those days,
In that they shall see the goodness of the Lord which He shall perform for the generation that is to come,
8 (7) Under the rod of chastening of the Lord's anointed in the fear of his God,
In **the spirit of wisdom** and righteousness and strength;
9 (8) That he may direct (every) man in the works of righteousness by the fear of God,
That he may establish them all before the Lord,
10 (9) A good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy. *Selah.*

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11 (10) Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest.

47. **whom.** 𝔊 'which', wrongly referring the relative (אשר) to 'majesty' and not to 'king'.
knoweth. 𝔊 'knew'.
He will. 𝔊 'to'.
48. **costly gold, the choicest.** 𝔓 probably read 'fine gold' simply.
In the assemblies. Ἐν συναγωγαῖς, possibly an error (בְּעֵדוֹת for בְּעֵדוּת) for 'by means of the Testimony', i.e. the Law.
49. **the holy ones.** The angels; cp. Ps. lxxxix. 6, Job v. 1.
50. Cp. xviii. 6. 'The good fortune of Israel,' cp. Ps. cxxviii. 5. Instead of 'Israel' J reads 'Jerusalem'.
51. **May He deliver.** 𝔊 'He will deliver'; but in 𝔓 the tenses in the parallel lines doubtless had the same force.

XVIII. TITLE. **Again of.** So R J; L H read 'upon'.
2. **upon them,** i.e. 'the works of Thy hands'.
so that . . . suffers. 𝔊 'and . . . will suffer'.
suffers want, or 'is lacking'.
the hopeful prayer of the poor, or 'the prayer of the poor who hopeth (in Thee)'.
6. **the day of mercy and** (lit. 'in') **blessing** is the day when God shows mercy to and blesses Israel; it is also the day of His choosing or determining upon the appearance of the Messiah (cp. xvii. 23). The term ἄναξις here used, if we might press the force of the Greek, would imply a 'bringing again' or 'bringing up' of a pre-existing Messiah (cp. Ryle and James); yet it must remain very doubtful whether the original really expressed this idea here.
8. Loose and awkward; but apparently the meaning is the generation that is to come and will live under the discipline (cp. vii. 8) of the Messiah. We., assuming that ὑπό is a rendering of a misunderstood תחת which should have been rendered ἀντί, understands the line to mean 'Instead of the rod of chastening (there shall be) the Lord's Anointed'.
the spirit of wisdom and. 𝔊 'wisdom of spirit and of'.
11–14. A marked change of subject, and perhaps originally a distinct Psalm (Ryle and James). The abruptness of the conclusion, the incompleteness of the treatment, and the absence of any doxology suggest that the conclusion of the Psalm has been lost.

12 (It is He) who hath established in (their) courses the lights (of heaven) for determining seasons from year to year,
And they have not turned aside from the way which He appointed them.
13 (11) In the fear of God (they pursue) their path every day,
From the day God created them and for evermore.
14 (12) And they have erred not since the day He created them.
Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their path,
Unless God commanded them (so to do) by the command of His servants.

12. **for determining seasons,** &c. Lit. 'for times of hours from days to days'.
14. **by the command of His servants.** Cp. Jer. x. 12–14, Isa. xxxviii. 1–10.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is couched in the form of a discourse or treatise, taking for its subject the power of ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός, the Inspired Reason, to control the passions. It has been suggested by Freudenthal that the work may be a specimen of synagogue preaching, and Ewald appears to agree with him in this, but other commentators reply that in the Diaspora the regular synagogue practice was always to take a passage from the Bible as a text for the sermon. Now Fourth Maccabees has no text, and the rules of Jewish services are seldom departed from, so it is probable that this work was given as a lecture rather than a sermon. But the best authorities doubt whether we know enough about Judaeo-Hellenistic practice nearly two thousand years ago to justify a positive conclusion about the matter. At all events the author of this work, be it lecture or sermon, is unquestionably an orthodox Jew, and his object is to fire the hearts of his co-religionists with such an enthusiastic devotion to their faith that they will be ready to face the last extremity of suffering in its behalf. A student of Greek philosophy himself, speaking to people who were evidently familiar with its terminology, he enlists the Stoic virtues in the cause of Jewish orthodoxy. Adopting the Stoic definition of the four cardinal virtues, judgement and justice, and courage and temperance, he insists that these are best attained by men being born and brought up under the Law of Moses. He leaves on one side the discussion of the methods by which Greek philosophy proposed to attain virtue. He has naturally no inspired anticipation of the Christian doctrine of God's grace whereby sinners may be led into the way of truth ; for we shall find reason to think that he wrote before any such thing as a Christian document had even come into existence. But he not only adopts the Stoic virtues, he also takes the Stoic view of sin, that to offend in one point is to be guilty of all, when he makes his protomartyr, Eleazar, say, 'Think it not then a small sin for us to eat the unclean thing ; for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally heinous.' Yet his acceptance of the Stoic position is not indiscriminating, as, although he uses their philosophical definition of the virtues, he refrains from specifically adopting their classification of the primary passions under the four heads of delight, grief, pain, and fear. The Stoics held that the passions were not grounded in nature but were due to wrong thinking, and could and should be extirpated. The author, on the contrary, holds that the passions were implanted in man by God and are not to be extirpated but controlled. 'Reason', he says, 'is not the extirpator of the passions, but their antagonist.' And this power of Reason he illustrates, not, as his Stoic friends would have done, from Greek sources, but from the Jews' own Bible story, from the lives of Joseph and Jacob, of Moses and David. Then he passes to the subject of the terrible tyrant of Syria, Antiochus, whom some styled Epiphanes, The Brilliant, and some Epimanes, The Madman, and describes his odious oppressions: and so comes presently to the martyrs, Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren, and the Mother. He relates their defiance of the tyrant and enlarges on their sufferings with an even greater wealth of dreadful detail than the writer of Second Maccabees, whether the additions are due to his own invention or are drawn from a common original, the lost work of Jason of Cyrene. He recounts insistently the martyrs' triumphant victory over their sufferings, won by the aid of their Reason, their unconquerable fidelity to the Law of Moses, and their assured hope of a blessed immortality in the company of the patriarchs. That immortality is their reward in heaven, while they enjoy on earth the honour of being held the saviours of their country, which noble title he would inscribe as their epitaph. His impassioned eulogy is intended to rouse the patriotic and religious feelings of his audience to the highest pitch and harden them to the point of following so glorious an example. If I were asked to suggest the most probable reason why this book was written I should incline to the opinion that it was in consequence of the deification of the Roman Emperors. It is true that that deification (which involved nothing particularly startling to the pagan world) was not taken very seriously by Augustus and Tiberius, and in consequence did not become a really crucial question with the Jews until the accession of Caligula, whom we might well call the Second Brilliant Madman. Mad he was and did verily take himself for a god and demand to be

worshipped as such, and then all the horrors of the persecution of Epiphanes were repeated in Egypt on the bodies of the wretched Jews, the defiling and torture of their persons, the plunder of their holy things, and the erection of statues of the deified Emperor in their desecrated Synagogues. But though this persecution did not take place till A. D. 38–39, the future instrument through which Caligula's madness was to work, namely the base passions of the dregs of the Egyptian, and especially the Alexandrian, populace, had become plainly visible long before. Every far-sighted man, such as the author of this book must have been, could not but recognize, even during the more clement days of Augustus and Tiberius, that as soon as ever Jews were required to offer public sacrifice at the imperial altars an impossible test would be imposed. Every true Jew knew that he must refuse, and it was not hard to foresee what would happen then, when once the passions of the vilest mob in the world were let loose. To meet and endure the coming persecution the sons of Israel would need all their courage, and how better could the Jewish-Hellenic philosopher steel the hearts of his brethren than by holding up to them the self-abnegating virtues of Stoicism and the sublime heroism of the Maccabean martyrs?

§ 2. Title.

The oldest form of title is simply Μακκαβαίων δ', under which it is found in three of the great uncial MSS., the Alexandrinus, the Sinaiticus, and the Venetus. But the book having been attributed to the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, it also appears among his works with a title derived from the subject-matter, περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, On the Supremacy of Reason, and it is thus cited by Eusebius and Jerome. Another form of this title is περὶ σώφρονος λόγου, which appears in some editions of Josephus; and the former of the two is generally rendered in the Latin versions by *de imperatrice ratione*, or else by *de dominatu* or *de imperio rationis*. Lastly, there is a third form of title, Ἰωσίππου εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους βιβλίον, or εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους λόγος.

§§ 3–4. The MSS. and the Ancient Versions.

The book is found, as already mentioned, in three great uncials, A, ℵ, and V, but is unfortunately absent from the Codex Vaticanus. It was early translated into Syriac, and in 1895 Dr. Barnes brought out through the Cambridge Press a Syriac text prepared by the late Professor R. L. Bensly from a collation of nine MSS., of which he gives a description. The Syriac version was faithful enough to be of value for textual criticism, and Bensly found that as a rule it supports ℵ rather than A. Dr. Barnes, who edited Bensly's notes, gives a list of some two hundred passages where the readings in the Syriac and the Greek MSS. are compared. As regards other ancient versions, 'Nothing is known', says Dr. Torrey, writing in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 'of any old Latin version of Fourth Maccabees, or even of the sources used by Erasmus in making his Latin "paraphrase" which differs so widely from the Greek text.' The book is not in the Vulgate, and accordingly is absent from the Apocrypha of the Roman Bible and from our own.

§ 5. Date.

The date of the original text is uncertain, but the author could never have spoken as he does of the Temple service had he been writing after the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. Also, if the date of the book had been as late as the close of the first century A. D., its orthodox Judaism would probably have interfered with its acceptance among Christians, an acceptance which nevertheless it obtained. And if it was addressed, as it probably was, to an Alexandrian audience we must look at least thirty years further back than A. D. 70, for the author could not have spoken as he does to Alexandrian Jews after the occurrence of the Caligulan persecution, which took place in A. D. 38–39. This last date then becomes the inferior limit. Perhaps the superior limit may be taken as 63 B. C., when the High Priesthood passed from the Hasmonean House. For the author is at pains to explain that in the days of King Seleucus IV (175 B. C.) the High Priest, Onias, held that office for life, a tenure which ceased after the fall of the Hasmonean dynasty (Grimm). The date then probably falls between B.C. 63 and A.D. 38 or, roughly speaking, within two generations before or one generation after the Christian era.

§ 6. Integrity.

The book is of the nature of a sermon, whether actually delivered in a synagogue or not, and as a moral discourse it is thoroughly homogeneous. It opens with the philosophical discussion of the supremacy of Reason, and then illustrates the subject with a series of examples drawn from the constancy of the nine martyrs under their tortures. The point sought to be proved is repeated with an insistence that becomes rather tedious to modern ears, a matter in which, perhaps, we are less

tolerant than the ancients. The details, too, of the successive tortures are elaborated in a way that shocks modern taste. We must consider, however, that very few among us to-day have either seen torture inflicted with our own eyes or dreaded to feel it in our own persons. We only know of it by reading of such horrors in other parts of the globe or in the history of the past. The author of Fourth Maccabees was addressing an audience to whom the sight of tortured men was as much a matter of course as the butcher's shambles to us, and accordingly his treatment of this part of the subject is quite in keeping with his time and place. Though a Jew, and a highly orthodox Jew, he is completely master of the Greek language, which he writes with ease; his vocabulary is large, and he handles the idioms with variety and flexibility; his style is so ornate and copious that I am tempted to call it over-decorated. There is no sign of the Midrash method of treatment in his work, no reciting of scattered texts with disconnected expositions attached thereto. He keeps his main point before him, in good Greek form, illustrating it freely and well not only from the story of the martyrs but also from the heroes of old. The nearest he comes to writing in a Hebrew style is at the end, where he puts into the mouth of the Mother what may be described as a roll-call of Old Testament worthies. But as a Jew speaking to Jews nothing could be more natural or more effective than this Hebraic finale. Accordingly I see no reason why we should look in this last chapter for traces of another hand, though certain commentators have thought that the book originally ended at xviii. 2 with the words 'O Israelites, children born of the seed of Abraham, obey this Law, and be righteous in all ways, recognizing that Inspired Reason is lord over the passions'. It is true that this close makes a neat Euclidean Q.E.D. to the demonstration of his proposition as enunciated at the beginning, namely that the Inspired Reason is supreme ruler over the passions. But considered as a peroration, from the rhetorical point of view, it is nothing less than an absolute bathos after the striking passage just before where he gives the epitaph that he would like to write for the martyrs. The main argument for the conjectural placing of the original conclusion at this point is that the Mother's account of her early life, which occupies fourteen verses immediately after it, is of the nature of a digression. So it is, but the reason is not far to seek. The author, through the main part of the book, has dealt chiefly with men and the manly virtues, courage in particular. He gives the heroine of his story, the Mother, due praise for this virtue, but he also desires to insert in his work a fit encomium on the domestic virtues which as a Jew he considers to be most important for the women of his race. Courage he has already praised; now he lays stress on the woman's more commonplace duty of stopping at home and attending to the house, of her father first and later of her husband. Above all, she must be very careful to run no risk of contamination by any deceiver, be he man or be he devil, inside or outside the house. So he makes the Mother say with pride in this last chapter, 'I kept guard over the rib that was builded into Eve.' Like Eve she was to be a helpmeet for man, but she was not, like Eve, to dally with the false beguiling serpent. Clearly the writer was determined to get in his point about female virtue, and he does it. Of course it is a digression even here, but if we look back to where he has the Mother in the front of the scene during the previous chapters there is no place where these verses would not have been ten times more out of keeping. He had far too much literary skill to spoil his effect by putting the passage in the wrong place, and he reserved this piece about her early days till he could use it as a relief to the tension of the tortures, and so lead up to the final roll-call of the heroes. He throws a true and honourable light on the religious influence of the Jewess in her home when he depicts her as recalling to her sons' minds the words of their dead father and his manner of holding up the great men of old to their admiration. His setting of the passage in her mouth is far more effective than if the author himself called the roll in his own person. For myself I am inclined to distrust those confident critics who on the evidence of style say dogmatically 'the author wrote this, the author did not write that'. Even the great Bentley himself, a critic whose shield (were he alive) few knights of the pen would dare to touch by way of challenge, succeeded in persuading himself that Milton never closed the last book of *Paradise Lost* with such a distich as:

> 'They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
> Through Eden took their solitary way.'

No, these lines had been corrupted by the 'editor' whom Bentley's own imagination invented to account for the faults he discovered in Milton. And this is what he offered as a substitute:

> 'Then, hand in hand, with social steps their way
> Through Eden took with heavenly comfort cheer'd.'

Where Bentley could so stumble which of us shall stand upright? The style of Fourth Maccabees shows no more variation than naturally follows on the changes from one branch of the subject to another. All through the author writes the vigorous, free, idiomatic Greek of one to whom it was a native language, so that we might say of him, as of the Jew whom Aristotle is represented as meeting in Asia, that he was Ἑλληνικὸς οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. He likes to coin

new words of the right Greek stamp. For instance, in the first sentence of his treatise he states that the question he will discuss is whether Inspired Reason is really *αὐτοδέσποτος τῶν παθῶν*, autocratic over the passions, where the word *αὐτοδέσποτος* is apparently a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* of his own minting. Later on he uses in the same sense the much commoner word *αὐτοκράτωρ*, and we can even find his very phrase *αὐτοκράτωρ λογισμός* in Thucydides, though the historian uses it in quite another sense, to mean 'an arbitrary decision'. The author of Fourth Maccabees chooses *αὐτοδέσποτος* not in order to avoid confusion with Thucydides' phrase but to strike the key-note of originality and intensity: he would have you note from the outset that he is an undoubted autocrat of language. So Ruskin in the first sentence of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* uses the rare Miltonic 'resplendence' where another man would have chosen some more ordinary term. But Ruskin meant his work to be resplendent, and strikes the note of brilliancy at once. Not a few more of these vigorous compounds does the author coin: *ἐθνόπληθος* = 'the nation-mass', *ἑπταμήτωρ* = 'the mother of seven children', *κοσμοπληθής* = 'world-whelming', *κοσμοφορῶν* = 'world-freighted', *μαλακυψυχεῖν* = 'to be weak-spirited', *παθοκρατεῖσθαι* = 'to be mastered by the passions'. These words are neither obscure nor far-fetched; their meaning is obvious enough, but they are fresh. We have but to turn over a few pages of Carlyle's *French Revolution* at haphazard to find parallels; Danton is 'the Minister of Moloch-Justice', the while 'France is dancing its desert-waltz'; 'Louis Capet was only called Inviolable by a figure of rhetoric; but at bottom was perfectly violable, triable'; or again, when the King's sentence is being settled, constitution-monger Sieyes votes '*La mort sans phrase*, Death without phrases, and fares onward and downward. Most spectral, pandemonial'. A good word 'pandemonial' (which I have not found in Dr. Murray's dictionary) for horrors whether of the French Revolution or of torture under the Brilliant Madman. Some of the author's new coinage passed into circulation; he speaks of Eleazar's Reason as a pilot, *πηδαλιουχῶν*, 'rudder-handling' or 'rudder-ruling' the ship of godliness, where the common expression would have been *οἰακίζων*, 'steering'; and we find this new word of his, *πηδαλιουχεῖν*, used by later writers, not of handling the helm of a real ship, but in the very same metaphorical sense we have here. We may note the author's love of double-barrelled prepositional compounds, as where he speaks of parents as *ἐναποσφραγίζοντες*, stamping their seal on the child; and of prepositions used intensively in composition, as in *ἐπιρρωγολογούμενος*, another of his coinages, to express the skinflint's extra-gleaning of his grapes. Indeed his love of the ornate is such that he will invent a three-barrelled prepositional compound, if the fancy strikes him; as when, in the case of the torture of the first of the seven brethren, in order to describe the horrid ingenuity of the torturers, he says, *τὸν τροχὸν προσεπικατέτεινον*, 'they extra-overstrained against him the wheel', or as the Syriac version has it, 'they made the wheel more cruel by artifice against him.' I find no cause to suspect that this book is not the work of a single hand.

§ 7. Authorship.

The authorship of Fourth Maccabees must be considered doubtful. It was attributed to Flavius Josephus by Eusebius, the learned bishop of Caesarea, who lived more than two centuries later than Josephus, or between A.D. 270 and 340. The words of Eusebius are (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 10, see page 76 in E. Burton's Oxford Ed., 1856): *πεπόνηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπούδασμα τῷ ἀνδρὶ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὅ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐνέγραψαν, τῷ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὕτω καλουμένοις Μακκαβαϊκοῖς συγγράμμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισαμένων Ἑβραίων περιέχειν.* 'The man (Josephus) has also produced another work of a lofty character on the Supremacy of Reason, to which some have given the title of Maccabean, because it includes the struggles of the Hebrews who in the books known as Maccabean strove valiantly for the sake of righteousness before God.' Jerome, writing in A.D. 492, follows Eusebius in naming Josephus as the author, and in consequence of this attribution, which was generally accepted in ancient times, we find the book frequently printed among Josephus's works. Internal evidence, however, points strongly the other way. For example, the statement made in Fourth Maccabees xvii. 24, that Antiochus publicly held up the example of the martyrs to his men to inspire them with courage, 'so that he conquered all his enemies and laid waste their cities,' is a singular one to have been made by Josephus, who himself has chronicled the notorious failure of Antiochus before Elymais and discusses the question whether that failure was not the immediate cause of his death. Again, Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4) correctly states that Antiochus Epiphanes was the brother of Seleucus IV. But in Fourth Maccabees iv. 15 the writer makes the blunder of calling him his son. Also the writer says in Fourth Maccabees xiv. 7, 'we now shudder when we hear of the sufferings of those youths,' thus presupposing that his hearers enjoy peace and safety. Such words would be hardly natural in the mouth of Josephus, who was actually present at the fall of Jerusalem and wrote the history of the fatal Jewish War. It is also worth noting that Josephus in his historical works uses the Greek equivalents of Biblical names,

whereas the author of Fourth Maccabees uses the Hebrew indeclinable forms except in the cases of Ἱεροσόλυμα and Ἐλεάζαρος. Indeed the whole form and style of Fourth Maccabees are so unlike any of Josephus's other works that, if he did write it, he must have done so when very young, and then have completely changed his style later. He would seem to have changed his views also, for the ideal purpose of Fourth Maccabees is to glorify the heroes who sacrifice everything for the sake of religion. But the personal ideals of Josephus were of a very different nature, for we learn from his own pen that his heroism took quite another shape. After fighting against Rome on behalf of his country till victory declared for Rome, he then surrendered and fought against his brethren; he took the Roman name of Flavius in compliment to the Flavian Caesar, and married a Gentile wife, contrary to Moses' Law, to oblige Vespasian. As every single one of these acts would have been anathema to the author of Fourth Maccabees, we may fairly conclude that the writer was not Flavius Josephus. It has indeed been suggested, by Ewald among others, that the ascription may have arisen from the author's actual name having been Josephus, and that he thus became confused later on with the more famous historian, which of course is possible but does seem somewhat futile. Whatever his name was, it is more likely that he lived in Alexandria than in Palestine. The implication, noticed above, that he and his hearers are living in the enjoyment of peace and safety suits Jerusalem less well than Alexandria, at least for any period prior to the Caligulan persecution. And not only is the writer's style but his sentiment more Alexandrian than Palestinian. He shows indeed a proper orthodox horror of the Hellenizing Jason's action in setting up a gymnasium on the Holy Mount, but so far from condemning the Greek games in themselves, he does not shrink from comparing the struggle between the martyrs and the tyrant to an athletic contest. Indeed, he elaborates the likeness; the competitors are Antiochus and the martyrs; the spectators are the whole world; and the prize of victory is immortality. He shows a similar tolerance towards Greek art, when he suggests that 'if it were allowable for us' the art of painting would best bring before the mind the idea of the martyrdoms. Surely some Niobe or Medea or other heroine of Greek tragedy was familiar to the sight of his hearers and of himself when he said this; and when he added 'as might some artist' (if that be the correct reading) he was alluding to some painter whom they all knew. In cosmopolitan Alexandria such an allusion could hardly hurt his reputation for orthodoxy, but it would have been a hazardous thing to publish such a phrase in Jerusalem, where the very sight of Pilate's eagles raised a fury that was only quenched in blood. Moreover, the main object of his discourse, which is to show how Greek philosophy can help an orthodox Jew to keep the Law, is one more likely to be addressed to Jews living in the great Greek city of Alexandria than to those at the sacred centre of Judaism itself. The general conclusion is that the author was not Flavius Josephus, and that there is evidence to show that he was a Jew, living in Egypt, most probably in Alexandria, within a few years of the Christian era.

§ 8. Influence.

The direct influence of this book on Jewish literature does not seem to have been great; there is, however, a mediaeval work, written in Biblical Hebrew, by Joseph ben Gorion, commonly known as Yosippon, which shows traces of Fourth Maccabees. Yosippon's work is a history of his people from the destruction of Babylon to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. He is sometimes called the 'Hebrew' Josephus to distinguish him from his namesake, the well-known historian of the Antiquities and the Jewish War, who wrote in Greek. Yosippon, indeed, in the text of his book now current, claims to be the great historian himself, but this is certainly false. It is now generally held that his writings have absolutely no historical value, and that, so far from being the real Flavius Josephus, he was a Jew of Southern Italy who lived as late as the ninth or tenth century. But his work became exceedingly popular among the Jews of the Middle Ages and it was translated into many languages and widely circulated. One modern authority, Trieber, would assign him a date as early as the fourth century, and thinks he had the original work of Jason of Cyrene before him, but this question is still debated. At any rate Yosippon recounts the story of the martyrdoms much as we have it in Fourth Maccabees, but with additions and variations of his own. The first martyr, Eleazar, is represented as having formerly been the guest of Ptolemy in Egypt, where he acted as one of the LXX, and as having won at Jerusalem the favour of Philippus, by which name is intended the general to whom Antiochus entrusted the business of persecuting the Jews. This Philip takes Eleazar apart and begs him to eat, before all the people, some of the meat of a Jewish sacrifice, but to do so in such a way that he may be supposed to be eating meat sacrificed to the king's image. For the rest of the story of Eleazar the author does little more than expand Maccabees. He then brings the Mother, whom he calls Hannah, with her seven sons, before Antiochus himself, 'who had not gone far from Jerusalem'; and their several martyrdoms follow. I note a few points differing from Maccabees. While the first martyr is suffering the others quote the Song of Moses, 'The Lord will judge his people and have mercy on his servants,' &c. The fifth brother tells the king that it is vain

for him to hope to establish the worship of his own image by their torture. The Mother makes a long speech to the youngest son, who promises her that 'he will keep the Law which Moses our teacher, may he rest in peace! gave to the Holy People of Israel'. And the boy calls Antiochus an insane dotard of seventy, and tells him 'it had been better for thee never to have been born from the impure womb of the foolish mother who bore thee, thou fatuous fool that hast brought woe upon thyself'. There is no mention either of the seventh son or the Mother casting themselves into the fire; but Hannah begins her dying speech, 'My heart has rejoiced in the Lord and my horn is exalted in my God.' After the martyrdoms Antiochus goes off to Macedonia (?) and the Maccabean rising follows. As we might expect, the Stoic philosophy of Fourth Maccabees finds no place here.

Neither can I discover any trace of this Stoicism surviving in the Chanukah services which to this day commemorate the Maccabean purification. If one may imitate St. Paul's simile of the wild olive tree, Stoicism was a graft that throve but ill when set in the stem of the 'good' olive of Judaism. The Chanukah festival lasts for eight days, beginning on the famous twenty-fifth of Chisleu (December), when it was instituted by Judas Maccabaeus, his brothers, and the elders, to be celebrated annually in memory of the dedication of the restored altar on the occasion of the purification of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem. The popular name, according to Josephus (the true Josephus, not Yosippon), was φῶτα, 'Lights', because it was and is still celebrated by a grand general illumination. The eight-day continuance of it is said to come from the story that the priests found one single cruse of holy oil that had remained unpolluted all through the desecration under Antiochus, and by a miracle this was made to last for eight days until the priests could prepare new oil for the lamps of the holy candlestick.

In later times the Pharisaic party haggled over the legitimacy of the claims of the family of Mattathias to the hereditary High-priesthood which was assumed by the Maccabees in 153 B.C. Strict Jews held that the Maccabeans, though they had proved themselves national heroes, were in a sense irregular as occupants of the sacred office. As an explanation of this it is stated by Morris J. Raphall, Rabbi-preacher of the Greene Street synagogue, New York, who published in 1854 a *Post-Biblical History of the Jews*, that the Chasidim condemned Judas Maccabaeus because he allied himself with the Parthians and sent an embassy to Rome. He quotes from a Midrash Chanukah, which he describes as an ancient Codex in the City Library of Leipzig, these words as personally directed against Judas by the leader of the Chasidim: 'Cursed be the man who placeth his dependence on flesh while from the Lord his heart departeth.' But Rabbi Raphall thinks that Mattathias was probably regarded as High-Priest, or Cohen-Gadol, by his own followers, and describes him as a priest of the order of Joarib, the first of the twenty-four appointed by David by lot, and descended from the elder branch of the family of Aaron. The father of Mattathias was Johanan, and his father Asmoneus. In the service for Chanukah, in the official Jewish prayer-book, there is a special prayer set out in the morning service for the day which runs thus: 'In the days of the Hasmonean, Mattathias, son of Johanan the High-Priest, and his sons, when the iniquitous power of Greece rose up against thy people Israel, to make them forgetful of thy Law and to force them to transgress the statutes of thy will, then didst thou in thine abundant mercy rise up for them in the time of their trouble . . . and for thy people Israel thou didst work a great deliverance and redemption as at this day. And thereupon thy children came into the oracle of thy house, cleansed thy temple, purified thy Sanctuary, kindled light in thy holy courts, and appointed these eight days of Chanukah in order to give thanks and praises unto thy great name.' But I can find nothing that specially recalls Fourth Maccabees in the whole service.

If the Jews themselves have somewhat neglected the book, the Christian Fathers have not done so. The Maccabeans are lauded by the Western as well as by the Eastern Church; they are commemorated in panegyrics by St. Augustine and Leo the Great, and they find a place in the calendars of Carthage as well as in those of the Syrians and Arabians. But the Eastern Church naturally glorified them first, and I can find no better specimen of the influence of Fourth Maccabees on Christian literature than the oration of Gregory Nazianzen on the Martyrs. 'What of the Maccabeans?' he begins, 'for to-day (Aug. 1) is their anniversary; though by many they be not honoured because their ἄθλησις, their "contest", was not after Christ, yet are they worthy to be honoured by all, in that their endurance was in behalf of the Law of their fathers. And what would men who were martyred before Christ's passion have achieved if they had been persecuted after Christ and had His death on our behalf to imitate? For would not they who without His great example showed such virtue have appeared nobler still in hazarding themselves after that example? Mystical and ineffable is the saying, and one very persuasive to me and to all that love God, that none of those who were made perfect[1] before Christ reached that point outside of the Christian

[1] Compare Heb. xi. 40.

faith.' We are reminded of that noble benediction 'abi in pacem anima naturaliter Christiana'. It has been finely said that if Judaism as a religion had perished under Antiochus, the seed-bed of Christianity would have been lacking; and thus the blood of the Maccabean martyrs, who saved Judaism, ultimately became the seed of the Church. Therefore as not only Christendom but also Islam derive their monotheism from a Jewish source, it may well be that the world to-day owes the very existence of monotheism both in the East and in the West to the Maccabees.

This then is the key-note of Gregory's paean in their honour, delivered in the latter half of the fourth century, and he strikes the note again further on where he repeats that 'the Maccabeans are not to be despised because they were before the Cross, but they are to be praised and held in honour for having lived according to the Cross'. His oration is really a paraphrase of Fourth Maccabees, to which he clearly alludes in the following sentence: 'For who they were and whence, these men, and from what fount of education and training they advanced to such a pitch of virtue and glory that they are honoured by these yearly feasts and celebrations, and beyond these visible things have enshrined themselves in the hearts of all men, all this those who love labour and learning will find made clear in the book, which philosophizes about the Reason being supreme over the passions and holding the balance between two, that is to say, between virtue and vice.' A great sentence in more senses than one. Gregory, then, describes Eleazar as the first-fruits of those who suffered before Christ, as Stephen was the first-fruits of those after him. He takes not a few phrases straight from Eleazar's mouth, as where the martyr prays that he and his fellow martyrs may be accepted as a purification for the whole people; but when Gregory makes Eleazar speak of the youths as his sons, he clearly must do so in a spiritual sense, for in Fourth Maccabees it is very distinctly stated that Eleazar was not their father, and what they owed him was not their birth but their teaching; and Gregory knows his original perfectly. Gregory, however, likes playing such variations on his theme. Thus he makes the youths boldly demand the torture for themselves, their only fear being lest any should be denied the crown of martyrdom; but when he comes to describe the sufferings of the Mother, the Christian introduces a touch unknown to the Jewish writer. Like him he dwells at length on her agony over her sons' agonies, but the Christian recognizes there a true foretype of the Mother of Sorrows at the crucifixion of Christ, and he gives her the palm for courage and devotion. Like the author of Fourth Maccabees he delights in his own eloquence. If, as some think, two chapters of Second Maccabees have been expanded into the Fourth, Gregory in his turn now expands the Fourth by introducing numerous variations of his own, as where he makes the youths whet one another's spirits, *ὡς συῶν ὀδόντες ἀλλήλους θήξαντες*, 'like boar's tusks whetting each other.' He takes the Maccabean author's simile of the mother-bird fluttering round her young ones, threatened by the snake, and applying it more directly to the Mother represents her as gathering up their broken bodies and—a curious touch this—adoring their relics; *προσεκύνει τὰ λείψανα* he says; unless indeed we simply render *προσεκύνει* 'she kissed them'. He fills her mouth with phrases clearly befitting the Mother of God. 'Yet a little while,' she proclaims, 'and blessed shall I be among women.' When she has done speaking he makes her run to the pyre as to her bride-bed, *ὡς ἐπὶ νυμφῶνα τὴν πυρκαϊὰν δραμοῦσα*, not waiting for her executioners 'in order that no impure person should touch her pure and honourable body'. Gregory makes the tyrant rejoice within himself that she had not borne more sons, for then he must have come off even more defeated and worse disgraced. Antiochus plays the part of the devil in this drama, and the fate of the Hebrew race is *ὡς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ*, on a razor's edge, and the martyrs are the conquerors. 'So,' says Gregory to his flock, 'imitate these noble sufferers and do battle bravely with our daily Antiochus,' *πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν Ἀντίοχον γενναίως ἀνδριζόμενοι*; and so dismisses them with his blessing in the name of Christ, 'to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.'

Commenting on this oration, Nicetas declares that Gregory opens by maintaining that the Maccabeans were truly pre-Christian martyrs 'because some averred that these martyrs suffered not for Christ but in defence of the Law and of abstinence from swine's flesh', and quotes other Fathers in defence of Gregory's position. Further on there is a highly exalted passage where Gregory makes the youths say to Antiochus, 'Our country is the heavenly Jerusalem which no Antiochus can besiege, and our kinship is the spirit with which we are inspired by having been born unto virtue.' Gregory's word for 'the spirit with which we are inspired' is *ἔμπνευσις*, and Nicetas finely illustrates this from the passage in Genesis where God breathes into man's nostrils the breath of life.

In a strain of equal exaltation Gregory's great contemporary, Chrysostom, the golden-mouthed, begins his panegyric on the Holy Maccabeans and their Mother. 'How bright and joyous is our city, and sunnier this day than all the year! Not that to-day the sun pours his beams more splendid than of wont upon the earth, but that the light of the holy martyrs flashes brighter than lightning over all our city.' He follows the author of Fourth Maccabees in choosing to compare the martyrs' struggle to the athletic contests of the games, and the martyr's crown to that of the victor

in the contest. He appeals to Christ in the character of one who 'produces the games', as the phrase went. τί ποτε τοῦτο ἄρα, δέσποτα; 'What in the world is this, Master? Bringest thou feeble age into the contests on the arena? Who ever heard of a woman being entered for a contest at such an age? None ever heard of it.' And Christ answers that it is not bodily strength on which they rely, but that He lends His strength to His athletes. Further on Chrysostom sets forth eloquently the force of maternal devotion, quite in the vein of Fourth Maccabees but with instances of his own. 'Often,' he says, 'a mother seeing her child burning with fever—πάντα ἂν ἕλοιτο παθεῖν—would choose to take all the pain to herself so as to transfer the fire of the distemper from the child's body to hers.' It is interesting to observe how Chrysostom can always find something new to say. Fourth Maccabees has a beautiful simile of birds defending their young. He alters it by introducing the idea of their love of offspring being turned into a snare for themselves. 'Many wild animals hard to catch are thus taken, when, disregarding their own safety in their affection for their young, they fall into the hands of the hunters.' He is very ingenious in these variations, and doubtless intended them to remind those among his hearers who, in Gregory's words, loved labour and learning, of a book so well worth knowing, and he contrives to freshen their interest by novel applications. Finally, in his stirring close he, like Gregory, lends his powerful support to the claim that these were true martyrs before Christ. 'Who is there, man or woman, old or young, who would not contend for the martyr's crown, when a woman did so—πρὸ τῆς χάριτος ἀγωνισαμένη—contending before the days of grace?' And, lastly, we find him using a phrase that seems to me a probable allusion to Fourth Maccabees xvii. 7, where the author suggests the art of painting as well fitted to commemorate the martyrdoms. 'You should all,' says Chrysostom to his hearers, 'engrave their contests and their struggles on your hearts as it were on a tablet,' τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπογράψαντες. This may primarily refer to St. Paul's 'not on tables of stone but on fleshly tables of the heart', but it also seems distinctly to point to the conjectural reading ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος in the passage in Maccabees. In this connexion we have to consider that the early Church by no means favoured the representation of the agonies of martyrdom by the graphic arts. On the contrary, the Church then desired to see the martyrs depicted only as blessed and glorified. The physical details of their cruel sufferings were not a popular subject until the Dark Ages, and it is quite possible that Chrysostom may be deprecating here the outward representation of such sufferings when he tells his hearers to engrave them on their hearts.

There is yet another speech of his, lauding the Maccabean martyrs, in which he selects the last and youngest of the sons for his special panegyric. Here, too, he introduces quaint touches of his own, as that the tyrant was looking at the braziers, but the youth was looking at the hell into which the tyrant was going to cast himself. Also that the youth leapt into the braziers 'as they had been fountains of cool waters, reckoning them a divine font and baptism'. Then the preacher once more lauds the Mother, recounting her many sorrows, and borrowing from Fourth Maccabees the comparison of her to the Three Children in the burning fiery furnace, which he embellishes thus: 'The fuel of their furnace was naphtha and pitch, tow and brushwood; the fuel of hers was nature and birth-pangs and maternal love and the sweet voice of her children.' The words φύσις καὶ ὠδῖνες καὶ φιλοστοργία καὶ παίδων συμφωνία seem to flow from his mouth as fresh as if he had just prepared himself by reading over the story. He borrows direct the simile of the brave Eleazar, like a beetling sea-cliff standing fast against the tempest of the passions, and applies it to the Mother, who, like a sea-cliff taking the assaults of the waves, remains unmoved while they spend themselves in spume. And lastly, 'She saw in the flames not a form of torment but a nuptial torch, γαμήλιον λαμπάδα,' a fancy which he shares with Gregory.

There is yet a third discourse on the subject by Chrysostom, but space forbids me to enlarge further. The orations are all well worth looking at. They may be found in T. B. Prunaeus's *Gregory Nazianzen*, Paris, 1609, page 397, and in Fronto Ducaeus's *John Chrysostom*, Paris, 1609, pages 581 and 622 ff., as well as in later editions.

To come down to more modern times, I can find nothing so interesting as the book of Erasmus on the Maccabean martyrs. He felt a personal interest in the matter, for in the early sixteenth century which saw the beginnings of the Reformation a man who had the courage of his opinions had also a right good chance of martyrdom. It was in 1517 that Luther nailed his denunciation of Indulgences to the doors of the church at Wittenberg, and in that same year Erasmus seems to have compiled his little work for the benefit of his friend Elias Marcaeus, 'moderator of the most honourable college of the Maccabeans' at Cologne. Martyrdom was a thing of which the great leader of the humanists had a very real dread. 'We have not all strength for martyrdom, and I fear if trouble comes I shall do like Peter,' he wrote in 1521, and he had reason to quake when his works were actually submitted to the Spanish Inquisition six years later. Martyrdoms have a cruel interest for a man who dreads the torture, and it is no wonder that he made a book for his friends at Cologne

out of all that antiquity had said about their martyr-saints. The earliest edition of his work that I can hear of was printed by E. Cervicornus at Cologne, Feb. 1, 1524, fol., with the title—'Opera Iosephi interprete Ruffino presbytero. De insigni machabaeorum martyrio, castigatus ab Erasmo: nunquam ante praedictis additus,' &c., &c. The book was several times reprinted in the sixteenth century, e.g. at Basle, 1524, 1534, and 1540, and the Bodleian has a copy of another edition from the Cologne press, which is undated but was probably printed in 1534 or later, and has the title really preferred by Erasmus, 'περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, de imperatrice ratione.' In his prefatory letter Erasmus says that he has worked from a Latin text, not having a Greek MS. at hand (the Greek text appears not to have been printed till 1526); and that, conjecturing the Greek original from the Latin, he has changed some things, but not very much. He shows his literary art in the way in which he compliments both the college and the city of Cologne, alluding elegantly to the eleven thousand virgins martyred there, and so proceeds to his translation. After the translation he gives selections from antiquity, including the following from Jerome: 'The seven Maccabean brothers were born of one mother, by name Maccabea; they kept the Law of their own tradition; they did not eat the flesh of swine. For this cause they by the most cruel king Antiochus were crowned with the glory of martyrdom, in Antioch, together with their pious mother, and there they remain buried with great veneration.'

'So far St. Jerome,' says Erasmus; 'but', he continues, 'it is certain that the relics of these Maccabean brothers were by the blessed Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, brought to Byzantium, and thence by the president Eustorgius to Mediolanum (Milan), and lastly by the act of Reginold bishop of Cologne transferred from Mediolanum to Cologne in the year 1164, where now they are held in great veneration in the college of the glorious name of the Maccabeans themselves.' Their removal to Cologne in 1164 was celebrated by a special feast, 'which', observes Erasmus, 'is now marked off by our very reverend father and lord in Christ, Hermann de Hassia, archbishop of Cologne, in the year 1506, as having been transferred to the feast of St. Cuthbert, archbishop and confessor.' However, to return to his translation of Fourth Maccabees, or rather to his paraphrase, for such it is. He completely rewrites the argument about Reason and the passions, nor do I find any allusion to the Stoic classification of the passions, though he agrees with the author of Fourth Maccabees that Reason does not extirpate passion but checks it, and he quotes the cases there cited of Joseph, Moses, Jacob, and David. In David's case he has a curious variant. David would not quench his thirst with the water which ran by his tent because he had sworn not to drink till the enemy's camp was taken, thinking thus to stimulate the valour of his troops. When we come to the Hellenizing campaign of Antiochus and the tyrant's persecutions, Erasmus follows his author more closely, but I note various changes. Jason builds baths, not a gymnasium, near the temple. The women who circumcise their sons fling themselves off the rocks voluntarily, 'quippe quae vitantes longiora tormenta celerem halitum ingestae mortis optarent.' When Antiochus counsels Eleazar to eat the swine's flesh, he says, 'It is a mark of superstition and cowardice to make a law for oneself and call one's choice Reason'; and Eleazar replies, 'Our law condemns your philosophy, wherein the less a man understands the more he thinks he understands.' Erasmus was thinking of some theologians more distinguished for bigotry than learning when he wrote these words. Nor is he at any pains to keep a Jewish atmosphere: on the contrary, he puts into the mouth of Eleazar, when he is asking God to accept him as an atonement, such a characteristically Christian phrase as 'Receive me for them all, and give them all to me'.

The martyrdom of Eleazar appears to take place in Jerusalem, but the seven brethren and the Mother are brought to Antioch, 'atrociter de eorum castello Sufandro.' The Mother is called Solomona. The eldest son is Maccabeus, the others are Aber, Machir, Judas, Achas, Areth, Jacob. Erasmus describes their tortures at length, and the curious may compare his long Latin list of devilish engines with the Greek. When he comes to xii. 7 he transfers thither the speech of the Mother which the author had reserved for a later place, and in the same connexion he largely expands both the tortures and the speeches of the seventh son. Finally he describes the Mother as herself being stripped, scourged, and grievously tormented by Antiochus, until at last she is brought to the brazier, 'ac oratione protensis surrectisque manibus pro gravidis matribus fusa coelibem effudit spiritum'. There he introduces a very mediaeval touch, as also when he shows Antiochus terror-stricken at the very moment of her death by a flash of lightning. Again, later on, he makes the tyrant become so impressed by the martyrs' courage that he enlists whole legions of Hebrew soldiers in his service and wins battles with them. Yet death is not to be staved off; for he shows the king at last dying miserably of a disgusting disease, as told in the Second but not in the Fourth Book of Maccabees.

It will be seen that Erasmus gave himself a perfectly free hand. A century and a half later Combefin fell upon him with severity for it. The French scholar calls him such unkind names as

'ineptus Paraphrastes (veriusque temerator) Erasmus'. He says that Erasmus put the kingdom of heaven for *τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἆθλα*, and eternal fire for eternal death,—'est hoc *παραχαράττειν* non *παραφράζειν*,' 'this is to adulterate a monument of antiquity. If a monk had taken such liberties with the work of Josephus and the words of the Maccabees, how the man would have laughed at him.' Then he ridicules Erasmus for giving to the martyrs names drawn either from some apocryphal writings or invented out of his own head. And again Combefin calls an expression of the Paraphrastes 'inanis mihi verborum pompa et phalerae', and casts scorn upon him for expending so many rhetorical exaggerations over the tortured Mother, to which the critic would prefer the simplicity of the Greek account. I do not know if it was *odium theologicum* or *odium scholasticum* which prompted this assault, but if Erasmus could have awaked from his long century's sleep we might have had a literary quarrel, the echoes of which would be ringing yet in our ears. The French scholar would have had a backer on this side of the Channel in Dr. Wm. Cave of Oxford, who wrote that he would like to know why Erasmus put a quantity of stuff into his work of which there is no trace in the Greek. 'Others may solve the question,' says Cave, 'Quin id pro ingenii sui pruritu fecerit Erasmus dubitari nequit.'

But if one could picture such a ghostly battle of the books as taking place, I am not sure that Erasmus might not find on his side the shade of another Oxford scholar, John Lloyd, who translated Fourth Maccabees just two years after the defeat of the Great Armada, and decidedly did not love Rome. He does indeed criticize Erasmus's work, though he avoids, intentionally it may be, the mention of his name, but he keeps the vials of his wrath for certain Roman theologians, who endeavoured to make out that Fourth Maccabees was to be received as canonical, on evidence which they claimed to be that of Josephus, and cited Gregory in support of their thesis. Whom our Lloyd laughs to scorn, winding up with 'O dignos Romana meretrice mangones!'

Tantaene animis scholasticis irae?

Lloyd's text, based on the Strassburg edition of 1526, like those of Hudson and all the other printed texts I have seen (except Swete's), has the reading *ὥσπερ ἐπί τινος πίνακος* in xvii. 7 where the MSS. give *ὥσπερ τινός* or *ὡς ἐπί τινος*, and this conjectural emendation of *πίνακος* is reproduced in the Latin of Erasmus and others. The conjecture, though unsupported, is natural enough, as the author of Fourth Maccabees undoubtedly is referring here to a picture. Erasmus, however, tacks on to it quite a new idea, and turns this suggested figure of the martyred Mother from an ideal work of art into a sort of charm or amulet: 'if a sculptor were to put this piteous figure on a tomb or set it up on a house, he would be free from every dreadful plague and would surely enjoy eternal bliss.' The idea of the picture appears to have commended itself to the printer of a later edition of the book, for the Bodleian copy has fourteen rude woodcuts of the martyrdoms where no dreadful detail is spared. In their crude horror they remind one of the grim ghastliness of the Macabre pictures, so popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whose very name shows how the word Maccabean ultimately came to indicate death in its most detested forms. And this survives to-day in the argot of Paris, where the body of a murdered victim is still mockingly termed a 'macabé'.

§ 9. Theology.

When Paul was brought before the Jewish Council at Jerusalem, in order to divide his opponents he exclaimed: 'I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.' And we read that the two parties in the Council proceeded to fall out on the instant, 'for the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both.' This account exhibits very clearly the strongly contrasted beliefs of the two great parties among the Jews, as they existed (or were believed to exist) in Palestine about the middle of the first century A. D. In Alexandria, however, there was a third form of belief, approaching that of the Pharisees indeed, but with a difference; and this third form is the standpoint of the author of Fourth Maccabees. Briefly stated it is this. At death men meet with the reward or punishment due for their deeds. The righteous are received into bliss (see x. 15; xiii. 17; xvii. 4, 18; xviii. 23). The wicked are punished with eternal torture (see ix. 8, 32; x. 11, 15; xii. 19; xiii. 15; xviii. 5, 22. Apparently there is no resurrection of the body. Also, like the Pharisees, the author believes in angels (see iv. 10, and perhaps vii. 11), and in devils (see xviii. 8). For Jewish views of immortality see Oesterley and Box, *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, p. 224, and R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, *Hebrew*, &c., *passim*. How the Alexandrian school came to adopt the doctrine of the immortality of the soul but not of the resurrection of the body is too large a subject to enter upon here, but it is usually attributed to their having come under the influence of the philosophy of Plato and the neo-Pythagoreans. That the author was saturated with Greek philosophy is proved by his systematic adoption of its terminology, including the fourfold classi-

fication of the cardinal virtues which the Stoics copied from Plato. In his general thesis on the Supremacy of Reason, he follows exactly the Platonic classification of φρόνησις, judgement or self-control, ἀνδρεία, courage, δικαιοσύνη, justice, and σωφροσύνη, temperance. But when he comes to tell of the martyr facing the tortures he adds something new. 'You scoff at our philosophy,' says Eleazar to the king, 'but the Law teaches us temperance, and courage, and justice,'—so far the author goes with Plato ; then comes the new word—'and εὐσέβεια, righteousness, so that with due reverence we worship only the God who is.' This is the key-note of his whole book. The Stoic ideal is right, and the Stoic path to it may be well enough, but the driving force is to be sought elsewhere, namely in the Law of Moses. It is the same thought that he puts into the mouth of the first to suffer of the seven Brethren. 'Through all the torments I will show you . . . that the Sons of the Hebrews alone are unconquerable,' the secret of the youth's courage being that he has been trained in the Law of Moses. Similarly Philo, who accepted the Platonic idea of the soul as a divine emanation, chose the Stoic ethics for the groundwork of his system, and made Greek philosophy 'a means of defending and justifying Jewish religious truths. These he regarded as fixed and determinate, and philosophy was merely an aid to truth and a means of arriving at it' (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. Philo). No better description could be given of the position of the author of Fourth Maccabees. But the position was one that the Pharisaic party, which was ultimately successful, could never bring themselves to accept, and the school of Philo and of our author, after exerting considerable authority for a time, died away in the end.

Of direct Christian influence on the book there is naturally no trace, but I. Abrahams, writing in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, thinks that as it stands there may possibly be some Christian interpolation in such passages as vii. 14, xiii. 17, and xvi. 25, which declare that the patriarchs are not dead, but live unto God. In the second of these, where we read, 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall receive us,' Swete's text omits the phrase εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτῶν, which is not in the uncials and appears only in MSS. of secondary importance; these particular words may perhaps be a later insertion made by some one familiar with the New Testament who wished to allude to Luke xvi. 23, but it is difficult to see why the general statement that the Jewish patriarchs live with God should be due to a Christian hand. Christian phraseology, however, does certainly find a remarkable echo, or rather anticipation, in the prayer of Eleazar, vi. 28, 'Be merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.' This idea is repeated in xvii. 21, 22, where the author says that the martyrs 'became a ransom for our nation's sin; and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated'. The phrases fall with a familiar sound on our ears, but nevertheless the idea of an atonement is not more distinctively Christian than it is Jewish. The whole Jewish system of sacrifices was based on the idea of the death of an animal being substituted for that of a man as an atonement for sin. Under the ancient law the scape-goat upon whom the lot for the Lord fell, in the service for the Day of Atonement, was sacrificed, and his blood was taken within the Holy Place, while the one for Azazel was turned out in the wilderness. The substitution of the goat for the people in the greatest ceremony of the year was thoroughly typical of the sacrificial principle. In later times the idea of the propitiatory sacrifice was extended from earth to heaven. In the Testament of Levi (*circa* 107 B.C.) we have 'In [the sixth heaven] are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of the righteous; offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering'. Charles's note on this (*Test. Twelve Patr. Levi*, iii. 5) gives the explanation that since the earthly altar and tabernacle of Exodus and Numbers were made after heavenly patterns the idea of a sacrificial service in heaven must long have been familiar to Jews. Michael 'the merciful and longsuffering' is one of these archangels who pray and offer sacrifice for Israel. So we see that there is nothing specifically Christian in the suggestion of the sufferings of the righteous making atonement for the people.

To go back to ancient times, the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (though not an atonement) is by no means the only instance in the history of Judaism showing that the idea that a human being might be accepted as a sacrifice was quite conceivable. Did not Moses thus offer himself (Exod. xxxii. 32) when he found the people worshipping the golden calf, and prayed to the Lord, 'Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin —; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book'? David also, when Israel was smitten because of his having numbered the people, cried to the Lord, 'It is I that have sinned and done evil indeed; but as for these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, O Lord God, be upon me and on my father's house; but not on thy people that they should be plagued' (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 17). Indeed the whole Jewish theory of national religion was based on redemption by substitution. The first-born son of every family was due to Yahveh and had to be redeemed, just as every first-born of any unclean animal, such as an ass, had to be

redeemed by the substitution of a calf or a lamb. The author recurs again as he approaches his peroration to this thought of the martyrs' deaths being an atonement, in xvii. 21–22, where he says, 'they having as it were become a ransom for our nation's sin (apostasy); and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated.' As for the pagan world, we find the idea everywhere: to take a single instance, I may quote the self-sacrifice of Curtius's leap into the chasm to appease the gods of Rome. In the New Testament, of course, we have numerous parallels; to take one only, we read in Hebrews ix. 28, 'So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.'

It is not only in the idea of atonement that we find thoughts familiar to Christians suggested in Fourth Maccabees. The word 'faith' also occurs, in a distinctively religious sense. For example, in xvi. 22 the Mother, after having spoken of Abraham and Isaac and Daniel and the Three Children, says to her sons, 'And ye also, having the same faith unto God, be not troubled.' Here πίστις must mean religious faith, and in the very next verse the Mother speaks of the young men as 'knowing religion'. In xv. 24 the author speaks of the Mother's own faith: 'she willingly surrendered them through faith in God'; and again in xvii. 2 he describes her as giving 'an example of the nobleness of faith'. In this religious sense πίστις belongs not to Stoic, nor even to Greek thought, but to that devotional side of the Hebrew mind which was to be more fully expressed in Christianity. Here, however, as Maldwyn Hughes says (*Ethics of Jewish Apocr. Lit.* p. 112), 'It is rather trust in an external Providence than an inner dependence arising from an inward relationship. Faith is not a renewing and life-giving power, but confidence in the providential order.'

On the ethical question the author of Fourth Maccabees relies absolutely on the Mosaic Law. The Inspired Reason, i. e. the Reason guided by the Law, is autocratic over the passions, while depending on the Law for knowledge as to what to do and what to avoid. The author does not want the passions extirpated; he upholds the Stoic virtues, though not the Stoic ἀπαθεία; but he wants the passions to be brought under rigid control, and he shows how this has been and can be done by many examples from the Old Testament, giving as instances Joseph, David, and the rest. He does accept the Stoic doctrine about sin, that all sins are alike in being breaches of the law, when he makes Eleazar say (v. 20), 'for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally heinous; for in either case equally the Law is despised.' He never doubts that the Law is supreme (v. 16): 'We, O Antiochus, having accepted the Divine Law as the Law of our country, do not believe that any stronger necessity is laid upon us than that of our obedience to the Law.' He is a Jew to the core, and his conclusion is peremptory; for him the Law is the last word.

I will close this section with another quotation from Maldwyn Hughes (*op. cit.*, p. 111): 'The great purpose of the book is to stimulate faithfulness to the Law, and to show that the Greek ideal of virtue can be realized only by Judaism. The writer's heroes are not the Maccabean patriots, to whom he makes no reference, but the martyrs of Maccabean times. His silence as to the former is a significant hint that he did not sympathize with the political ideals which expressed themselves in active resistance to the Gentile powers, but that he preferred the Quietistic method of vindicating the Law, by absolute and unswerving faithfulness to it, at whatever pain and cost. The emergence of political ideals had resulted in the secularization of Judaism.'

§ 10. Bibliography.

So far as I can learn the text of Fourth Maccabees was first printed in 1526 in the Greek Bible published at Strassburg by Vuolphius (Wolfgang) Cephalaeus, of which there is a good copy in the Bodleian Library. In this edition it appears as Ἰωσίππου εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους βιβλίον. Professor Torrey, whose bibliographical account of the book in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* is the fullest I have seen and to whom I am indebted for some of the following information, quotes Freudenthal's statement that this text was based on a very poor MS. Once it was in type, however, it found general acceptance and was frequently reprinted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not only in Greek Bibles but also in various editions of Josephus; of the latter we may name the Basle text of 1544, and that of John Lloyd (Luidus), Oxford, 1590. Lloyd says that he collated the Strassburg text with an ancient MS. at New College. This text was also used for the Greek Bible printed at Frankfort in 1597, with the same title of the Book of Josippus on the Maccabees, and it was likewise used by Hudson, Oxford, 1720, and by others who followed him, e.g. Dindorf, 1845–7, and Bekker, 1856, the latter work being a decided advance on its precursors. In 1709, however, a different text, based on the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum and edited by J. E. Grabe, was printed at Oxford, and after his death it was printed there again in 1719. It was also used by Apel, *Apocr. V. T.*, 1837. Still later another text, based on Codex A, was edited by F. Field, Oxford, 1859, in beautiful type. Dr. Field, who was of Trinity College, Cambridge, a Tyrrhitt's Hebrew scholar, and one of the O.T. Revisers, pillories the anonymous editor of a certain text which appeared at Oxford in 1817. The culprit had thought to get a neat transcript of the original MS. by rejecting every small-type reading in Grabe and putting back the marginal one. Whereby he not only restored many obvious errors in the Codex, but also repeated, in his ignorance, whatever misprints occurred in Grabe's text; these numbered six in the first chapter alone, 'cetera per totum libellum innumera!" says Dr. Field with crushing severity. Since then the book has appeared in Bagster's *Apocrypha, Greek and English*, 1882, and in

Fritzsche's *Libri Apocr. V. T.*, in which the commentary is excellent but the text differs considerably from that in Swete's *LXX*, Cambridge, 1894–9, which gives Codex A with variants of ℵ and V. The present translation is made from Swete's text, the cases where different readings are used being noted at the foot of the page. There is a florid paraphrase in English by that prolific seventeenth-century writer Sir Roger L'Estrange, and there are modern English translations in Cotton, *Five Books of the Maccabees*, 1832, in Bagster's *Apocrypha* already mentioned, and in Churton's *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, 1884. The ancient Syriac version of which I have spoken was published in 1895 by the Cambridge Press from the text of R. L. Bensly; and there is a modern Hebrew translation in Fraenkel, *Kethubim acharonim, sive Hagiographa posteriora*, Leipzig, 1830. Of Latin translations there are several. Erasmus made a very free paraphrase, as already described in § 8, in the early sixteenth century, which was reprinted by Peter de la Rouiére at Geneva in 1611 with the Greek text. The Bodleian Library has two copies of this edition, in one of which there is a marginal collation of the New College MS. of Fourth Maccabees. This copy is catalogued *C. 9. 5. Art.*, and has opposite the title a marginal note written ''Ἰωσήπου περὶ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ. MS. in Collegio Novo', while the printed title has 'a Des. Erasmo Rot. in sermonem Latinum παραφραστικῶς translatus'. Lloyd in 1590 brought out at Oxford an edition of the Greek text (in wretched print alas!) collated with the New College MS. and accompanied by a Latin version that seems to be well done; this last may be said also of the Latin version by Fr. Combefin, Paris, 1672, whose work is praised by W. Cave in his *Scriptores Eccl.*, Oxford, 1688–1740, where he attacks Erasmus so severely. The best German translation is that of Deissmann in Kautzsch's *Apocr. u. Pseudepigr.*, Leipzig, 1899, and there are good German commentaries by Grimm, *Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, 1857, by Freudenthal, *Die Fl. Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft*, 1869, by Fritzsche in *Libri apocr. V. T.*, 1871, and by Deissmann (in Kautzsch) as mentioned above. The two last named have been those chiefly used in preparing the present translation. Other German works that may be consulted, according to Professor Torrey, are Zöckler's *Apocryphen*, 396–402; Gfrörer, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie*, 2. 172–200 (1831); Dähne, *Die jüdisch-alexandrinische Religionsphilosophie*, 2. 190–9 (1834); Ewald, *GVI* (3), 4, 632 ff.; Grätz, *MGWJ* (1877), pp. 454 ff.; Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (3), 3. 2 (1881), pp. 275–7. Also in English translations we have Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, iii. 244 ff., and Ewald's *History of Israel*, 5. 484 ff. For the ethical and theological side of the book I know nothing so good as Maldwyn Hughes, *Ethics of Jewish Apocr. Lit.* (date not given). Last but not least I would name Edwyn Bevan's *House of Seleucus*, 1902, as giving the best account of Antiochus Epiphanes and his attempts forcibly to Hellenize the Jews, and the reader may wisely consult his *Jerusalem under the High Priests*.

Appended is a comparison of the historical statements of 2 and 4 Macc. abridged from Bensly.

2 Macc. iii. 1—vii. 41.	4 Macc. iii. 20—xvii. 1.
1. Deep peace. iii. 1.	1. Do. iii. 20.
2. Seleucus, king of Asia, acts as patron of the Temple. iii. 3.	2. Do. iii. 20.
3. Simon at variance with Onias. iii. 4.	3. Do. iv. 1.
4. Tells Apollonius of the Temple treasures. iii. 6.	4. Do. iv. 3.
5. *Heliodorus* enters the Temple. iii. 14.	5. *Apollonius*, do. iv. 8.
6. Under the new king Antiochus, Jason buys the priesthood. iv. 7.	6. Do. iv. 17.
7. Jason builds a gymnasium. iv. 12.	7. Do. iv. 20.
8. Menelaus outbids Jason. iv. 24.	8. Not mentioned.
9. On report of Antiochus's death in Egypt Jason surprises Jerusalem. v. 5.	9. On report of Antiochus's death in Egypt the Jews rejoice. iv. 22.
10. Antiochus storms Jerusalem and massacres. v. 11.	10. Antiochus returns and lays the Jews waste. iv. 23.
11. King sends an Athenian to change the Jewish customs. vi. 1.	11. King decrees death to those who follow their fathers' religion. iv. 23.
12. Philip the Phrygian persecutes in Jerusalem. v. 22.	12. Antiochus himself orders the Hebrews to be brought before him. v. 2.
13. Eleazar, a scribe of ninety, is beaten to death. vi. 23–31.	13. Eleazar, priest and lawyer, an old man, is beaten and tortured to death with hot irons after a speech addressed to *Antiochus*. v. 16–vi. 30.
14–19. The brothers are variously tortured. vii.	14–19. Do. do. (different order). viii to xiv.
20. *Antiochus* touched with compassion for Brother VII promises him riches and friendship in exchange for obedience. vii. 24.	20. Do. xii. 2–6.
21. The Mother implores Brother VII to have compassion on her pains and care as a mother and to resist. vii. 27–29.	21. The Mother advises VII in Hebrew in words *not given at once*. xii. 7.
22. The Mother died last. vii. 41.	22. The Mother, certain guards say, flung herself into the frying-pan. xvii. 1.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

1 1 Philosophical in the highest degree is the question I propose to discuss, namely whether the Inspired Reason is supreme ruler over the passions; and to the philosophy *of it* I would seriously

I. 1. **Inspired Reason.** Philosophy is the power-house of the soul. It covers the motive-power by which our higher nature rules or tries to rule our worse self. Man's first want is meat and drink, and how to supply the want his first problem. The physical side of the problem solves itself; he either finds food, or he starves. But there is also a spiritual side to the problem, and to it Philosophy contains the answer—or answers. Will a man starve rather than sin, sin by stealing food from his brother man, or even by killing and eating him? The hungry wolf solves it one way; he will verily eat his brother wolf. But man, as soon as he rises above the wolf level, and developing a conscience becomes man, finds himself faced with this most serious problem. It may seem remote to us now living in comfort and protected by the police; but it is still quite close up with every exploring expedition, polar or tropical, that takes its chances in the unknown. Will the individual man, when tempted, yield to temptation or resist it? From the time of the flint-weaponed hunters down to the present day the question has been answered—both in the way of the man with a conscience, the higher man, and the way of the man with the heart of a wolf, the lower man. But what is the power that enables the higher type to abstain not only from cannibalism but also, as life grows more complex, from all kinds of wrong? The answer to that question is duty, the one short word that has a hundred names in a hundred lands. Where a man feels the call of duty and can also trust that his fellows feel it, religion, the essence of religion at any rate, the binding of soul to soul, exists, and there in truth is the beginning of human society. Where the call of duty is not felt, life becomes inhuman; we revert to the conditions of the wolf-pack. Fourth Maccabees is the attempt of an orthodox Jew, one well skilled in Greek philosophy, to show how men may rise above the wolf-pack level and be true to their duty even under the last extremity of torture. For even though a man may recognize his duty, yet through weakness of will he may fail to respond. The driving power, that which out of weakness makes him strong to respond, is the mainspring of the higher life, and that is why philosophy, which covers all man's attempts to find and to explain the source of the driving power, may be called the power-house of the soul.

The name which the author of the book here takes to express the working action of duty in the human mind is λογισμός. In its ordinary acceptation λογισμός was the word used for common arithmetic, but here it stands for the human reason, or rather the rational will, which according to Epicurus disposes of all the greatest and most important matters of life (Diog. Laert. 10. 44), and here may be suitably expressed as the personified Reason with a capital R. It was a conveniently definite term for the author of Fourth Maccabees to adopt, seeing that λόγος both in Greek and in Jewish philosophy had been already consecrated to a different use. Λόγος was the Word. According to Lactantius (*de Vera. Sap.* c. 9) 'Zeno rerum naturae dispositorem atque artificem universitatis λόγον praedicat, quem et fatum et necessitatem rerum et deum et animum Iovis nuncupat'. So in Ps. xxxiii. 6 we have 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made'. In hundreds of passages Jew and Greek alike declare the power of the Word, the λόγος, the 'memra'. To come down from the Psalmist and Zeno to the first century A. D., in Alexandria, the probable date and place of origin of Fourth Maccabees, we find the Jewish philosopher Philo actually taking over from the Stoics the doctrine that the λόγος is the power of God or the active Divine intelligence in general. With such powerful associations clinging to λόγος it was natural for the author to choose λογισμός for Reason, and the more so that the Stoics had already used it in that sense. There is extant an interesting little dialogue of Cleanthes, given by Pearson, *Fragm. Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 306, in which the two speakers are Λογισμός and Θυμός.

Λογισμός. τί ποτ' ἐσθ' ὅτι βούλει, θυμέ; τοῦτό μοι φράσον.
Θυμός. ἔχειν, λογισμέ, πᾶν ὃ βούλομαι ποιεῖν.
Λογισμός. ναὶ βασιλικόν γε· πλὴν ὅμως εἶπον πάλιν.
Θυμός. ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμῶ ταῦθ' ὅπως γενήσεται.
Reason. What on earth do you want, my good animal? Tell me that.
Animal Nature. I want, O Reason, to be able to do everything I want.
Reason. A royal appetite indeed; but would you say that again.
Animal Nature. I want whatever I desire to come to pass.

The contrast between our higher and our lower self could hardly be better put.

It has happened to some young men entering the study of philosophy to feel a sudden qualm lest they were being made fools of by a set of bookworms calling themselves philosophers, weaklings constitutionally unable to enter into the feelings of a healthy natural man. Such may take comfort in the recollection that the writer of this little dialogue, Cleanthes, who after Zeno was the great prophet of the Stoics, in his unconverted days had been a pugilist, and that no man ever stood up in the ring but had a working knowledge of our animal nature and the need of keeping one's head in spite of its promptings. But though the Stoic ex-pugilist well knew the need for the λογισμός to dominate the θυμός we must remember that the λογισμός of Fourth Maccabees is not precisely the same thing as the Reason of Greek philosophy, Epicurean or Stoic. For the λογισμός of the Jewish writer is qualified by the adjective εὐσεβής, a word which in the mouth of a Hellenistic Jew signifies a strict adherence to the Law of Moses, that is to say the Law of God. εὐσεβής, in short, was the technical word used in the Diaspora to describe the Chasidim, the 'pious' or 'godly' party among the Jews, rigorous precisians whose pride it was to follow the Law in all things. With us 'orthodox' has something of the same implication, though it applies in our own days to faith rather than to works. The 'Saints' of Cromwell 'doing the work of the Lord faithfully' perhaps come nearer the idea; and indeed their inspiration was largely drawn from the Old Testament. Thus the word εὐσεβής means directly inspired by God as He

2 entreat your earnest attention. For not only is the subject generally necessary as a branch of
3 knowledge, but it includes the praise of the greatest of virtues, whereby I mean self-control. That
4 is to say, if Reason is proved to control the passions adverse to temperance, gluttony and lust, it is also clearly shown to be lord over the passions, like malevolence, opposed to justice, and over those opposed to manliness, namely rage and pain and fear.

5 But, some may ask, if the Reason is master of the passions, why does it not control forgetfulness
6 and ignorance? their object being to cast ridicule. The answer is that Reason is not master over defects inhering in the mind itself, but over the passions *or moral defects* that are adverse to justice and manliness and temperance and judgement; and its action in their case is not to extirpate the passions, but to enable us to resist them successfully.

7 I could bring before you many examples, drawn from various sources, where Reason has proved
8 itself master over the passions, but the best instance by far that I can give is the noble conduct of
9 those who died for the sake of virtue, Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren and the Mother. For these all by their contempt of pains, yea, even unto death, proved that Reason rises superior to the
10 passions. I might enlarge here in praise of their virtues, they, the men with the Mother, dying on this day we celebrate for the love of moral beauty and goodness, but rather would I felicitate them
11 on the honours they have attained. For the admiration felt for their courage and endurance, not only by the world at large but by their very executioners, made them the authors of the downfall of the tyranny under which our nation lay, they defeating the tyrant by their endurance, so that
12 through them was their country purified. But I shall presently take opportunity to discuss this, after we have begun with the general theory, as I am in the habit of doing, and I will then proceed to their story, giving glory to the all-wise God.

13 14 Our enquiry, then, is whether the Reason is supreme master over the passions. But we must define just what the Reason is and what passion is, and how many forms of passion there are, and
15 whether the Reason is supreme over all of them. Reason I take to be the mind preferring with

is revealed to the soul of the 'righteous man' in the Book of Moses, and I therefore translate εὐσεβὴς λογισμός by 'The Inspired Reason', that is to say the Reason or Rational Will obeying the guidance of the Law. When so guided, the λογισμός becomes our higher self, and includes not only reason, but the moral sense and that noblest form of courage which consists in perfect self-sacrifice for the sake of our ideal. With regard to εὐσεβής I have only used 'Inspired' for it when thus connected with λογισμός. Elsewhere it is generally represented by 'righteous', which must be taken in the meaning it usually bears in the Old Testament of 'following the Law' in the Jewish sense. Similarly εὐσέβεια is either 'righteousness' or 'religion', according to the context, with the same definitely limited connotation of orthodox Judaism.

2. **the ... virtues.** The author takes his classification of the four cardinal virtues from the Stoics, who got them from Plato. The four are φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, and the greatest of these is φρόνησις, a puzzling word to render adequately. Diogenes Laertius tells us that Apollophanes held φρόνησις to include the whole of virtue, and Plutarch says (*Sto. Rep.* vii. 2) that Zeno defined the cardinal virtues as follows: φρόνησις, he held, as a general term included the other three; in things demanding endurance or vigorous action, it was courage; in things demanding fairness, it was justice; in things demanding a choice, it was temperance. It is not easy to find English words that will correspond exactly to these terms, though courage and justice may pass, and so indeed may temperance, even if the idea it brings to our minds is somewhat limited by its modern use for abstinence from alcohol. But φρόνησις, which can sometimes be expressed by self-control, covers more than that. It is prudence, but that hardly expresses the active side of it enough; it is wisdom, but more in its practical than in its intellectual aspect; it is glorified common sense, but that, though expressive, hardly suggests a sufficiently lofty ideal. Judgement is nearer to it, judgement in the sense in which we have it in the collect where we ask to be given 'a right judgement in all things'. But the selected word for φρόνησις must be varied to suit the context.

3. **the passions,** πάθη. The word includes the emotions and affections as well as what we call the lower self. For the Stoic philosophers' division of the πάθη see i. 20.

5. **ignorance.** Zeno, according to Stobaeus, classed some vices as ἄγνοιαι, and there was a Stoic dogma, πάντα ἀγνοεῖ ὁ φαῦλος. The Stoics used the terms σπουδαῖος and φαῦλος to distinguish between two classes, the initiated and the uninitiated in philosophy; much as we might talk of saints and sinners, converted and unconverted, 'elect' and 'worldly'. I doubt, however, if the Stoic ἄγνοιαι were quite what is meant by ἄγνοια here. Deissmann thinks that this and the following verse have been bodily transposed here from ii. 24, iii. 1, where their connexion is clearer. But the mere fact that the sentences are repeated in almost the same words need hardly trouble us: the author of Fourth Maccabees does not mind repeating himself, as will be abundantly evident before the reader reaches the end of the book; and the author does get a sort of antithesis between the two passages. Here he shows us sceptics laughing at Stoicism (compare 'Coxcombs vanquish Berkeley by a grin'), but in iii. 1 it is he who laughs at the sceptics.

10. **this day we celebrate,** τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν. Apparently the Chanukah festival, for which see § 7 *ad finem*. Even if this treatise is not a synagogue sermon (see § 1) it may very well have been given as a lecture on the anniversary of the martyrs. The words ὅπερ εἴωθα ποιεῖν, two verses lower down, clearly imply that the author is speaking to an audience that he had often addressed before.

11. **their country purified.** The spirit roused by the martyrs led to the rising headed by Judas Maccabaeus and his brethren, and so was the effectual cause of the Temple being purified and its service re-established. καθαρισθῆναι refers not only to the cleansing of the Jews from the national sin of apostasy, but to the cleansing of the Temple itself after Zeus Olympius had been worshipped there and swine offered upon the altar.

12. **giving glory,** δόξαν διδούς. Perhaps the one Hebraism in the whole book.

16 clear deliberation the life of wisdom. Wisdom I take to be the knowledge of things, divine and
17 human, and of their causes. This I take to be the culture acquired under the Law, through which
we learn with due reverence the things of God and for our worldly profit the things of man.
18 Now wisdom is manifested under the forms of judgement and justice, and courage, and temper-
19 ance. But judgement *or self-control* is the one that dominates them all, for through it, in truth,
20 Reason asserts its authority over the passions. But of the passions there are two comprehensive
sources, namely, pleasure and pain, and either belongs essentially also to the soul as well as to the
21 body. And with respect both to pleasure and pain there are many cases where the passions have
22, 23 certain sequences. Thus while desire goes before pleasure, satisfaction follows after, and while fear
24 goes before pain, after pain comes sorrow. Anger, again, if a man will retrace the course of his
25 feelings, is a passion in which are blended both pleasure and pain. Under pleasure, also, comes
26 that moral debasement which exhibits the widest variety of the passions. It manifests itself in
27 the soul as ostentation, and covetousness, and vain-glory, and contentiousness, and backbiting.
and in the body as eating of strange meat, and gluttony, and gormandizing in secret.
28 Now pleasure and pain being as it were two trees, growing from body and soul, many offshoots of
29 these passions sprout up; and each man's Reason as master-gardener, weeding and pruning and
binding up, and turning on the water and directing it hither and thither, brings the thicket of
30 dispositions and passions under domestication. For while Reason is the guide of the virtues it is
master of the passions.

Observe, now, in the first place, that Reason becomes supreme over the passions in virtue of the
31, 32 inhibitory action of temperance. Temperance, I take it, is the repression of the desires; but of the
33 desires some are mental and some physical, and both kinds are clearly controlled by Reason; when
we are tempted towards forbidden meats, how do we come to relinquish the pleasures to be derived
from them? Is it not that Reason has power to repress the appetites? In my opinion it is so.
34 Accordingly when we feel a desire to eat water-animals and birds and beasts and meats of every
35 description forbidden to us under the Law, we abstain through the predominance of Reason. For
the propensions of our appetites are checked and inhibited by the temperate mind, and all the
movements of the body obey the bridle of Reason.

15. *ορθου λογου* ℵ V *σοφιας βιον* ℵ *σοφον βιον* V 35. *φιμουται* ℵ V

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15. **clear deliberation.** *Ὀρθὸς λόγος*, which here I render by 'clear deliberation', is a regular philosophic term. Stobaeus (*Ecl.* ii. 192) gives as the Stoic dogma the statement that *ὁ νόμος* was *σπουδαῖος*, i. e. on the side of the 'elect', seeing that it is *λόγος ὀρθός*, 'right reason', enjoining what should be done and forbidding what should not be done; but here the Jew parts company. For him *νόμος* means neither the man-made law of any Greek state, nor the *κοινὸς νόμος*, the Universal Law of the philosophers; but the Law of Moses which is the Law of his God. The Jewish moralist may rejoice in the acute intellectual analysis of the Greek mind; but no Greek standard of religious duty for him! He will traffic willingly with the Greek for intellectual wares, but when it comes to the moral sense he will pray in another temple.

16. **the knowledge of things.** Plutarch in *Plac. Phil.* i. 1 has this, *οἱ μὲν οὖν Στωικοὶ ἔφασαν τὴν μὲν σοφίαν εἶναι θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστήμην*, the exact phrase we have here with the exception of *γνῶσις* for *ἐπιστήμη*.

20. **the passions.** With this analysis of the *πάθη* compare Stobaeus, *Eth.* ii. [166], where he explains the Stoic position:—*πρῶτα δ' εἶναι τῷ γένει ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα, ἐπιθυμίαν φόβον λύπην ἡδονήν. ἐπιθυμίαν μὲν οὖν καὶ φόβον προηγεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον κακόν. ἐπιγίγνεσθαι δὲ τούτοις ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην, ἡδονὴν μὲν ὅταν τυγχάνωμεν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἢ ἐκφύγωμεν ἃ ἐφοβούμεθα, λύπην δὲ ὅταν ἀποτυγχάνωμεν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἢ περιπέσωμεν οἷς ἐφοβούμεθα.* Similarly Diogenes Laertius says (vii. 110) *τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν.*

With regard to *ἀκολουθίαι* compare this passage from Huxley, which will be found in the peroration of his work on Hume and Berkeley, *Collected Essays*, vi. 318: 'Our sensations, our pleasures, our pains, and the relations of these, make up the sum total of the elements of positive unquestionable knowledge. We call a large section of these and their relations matter and motion; the rest we term mind and thinking; and experience shows that there is a certain constant order of succession between some of the former and some of the latter.' The words underlined exactly express *ἀκολουθίαι*. Our author makes the *πάθη* cover the whole range of the emotions and affections, and includes under this head our weaknesses and moral defects generally. Among us the word passion generally has a more limited connotation. Grimm says that the Stoic view was that the *πάθη* are bad in themselves and belong to the *λόγος πονηρός*, but that the author of Fourth Maccabees holds that the *πάθη* are part of human nature implanted by the Creator, and as such require to be controlled but not extirpated.

27. **gormandizing.** Compare with this Job xxxi. 17 *εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν ψωμόν μου ἔφαγον μόνος καὶ οὐχὶ ὀρφανῷ μετέδωκα.* Aristophanes in the *Wasps*, 923, has the comic superlative *μονοφαγίστατος*—'the very greedydoggest chap of all.'

By the transposition of *μ* and *ν* the scribe in some MSS. has made the word into *νομόφαγος*, which should mean an eater of laws (swallower of formulae!) if it means anything—a nonsensical error which was corrected by Grabe only to be foolishly restored to the text of the 1817 edition by a certain careless man whom Dr. Field holds up to scorn.

29. **turning on the water.** *ἐπάρδων* is leading the water on from the *acequia madre* or main irrigating ditch; the work is well described in the *First Georgic*, 108 'Ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam Elicit', &c. *μεταχέων* is turning the water from one water-furrow to another so as to irrigate the separate squares or plots. I can find no authority for the meaning 'transplanting' which has been given to it, though it makes good enough sense.

1 And what is there to be surprised at if the natural desire of the soul to enjoy the fruition of beauty
2 is quenched? This, certainly, is why we praise the virtuous Joseph, because by his Reason, with a
3 mental effort, he checked the carnal impulse. For he, a young man at the age when physical desire
4 is strong, by his Reason quenched the impulse of his passions. And Reason is proved to subdue the
5 impulse not only of sexual desire, but of all sorts of covetings. For the Law says, 'Thou shalt not
6 covet thy neighbour's wife, nor anything that is thy neighbour's.' Verily, when the Law orders us not to covet, it should, I think, confirm strongly the argument that the Reason is capable of controlling covetous desires, even as it does the passions that militate against justice.

7 How else can a man, naturally gormandizing and greedy and drunken, be taught to change his
8 nature, if the Reason be not manifestly the master of the passions? Certainly, as soon as a man orders his life according to the Law, if he is miserly he acts contrary to his nature, and lends money
9 to the needy without interest, and at the seventh-year periods cancels the debt. And if he is parsimonious, he is overruled by the Law through the action of Reason, and refrains from gleaning his stubbles or picking the last grapes from his vineyards.

And with regard to all the rest we can recognize that Reason is in the position of master over
10 the passions *or affections*. For the Law ranks above affection for parents, so that a man may not
11 for their sakes surrender his virtue, and it overrides love for a wife, so that if she transgress a man
12 should rebuke her, and it governs love for children, so that if they are naughty a man should punish them, and it controls the claims of friendship, so that a man should reprove his friends if they do
13 evil. And do not think it a paradoxical thing when Reason through the Law is able to overcome
14 even hatred, so that a man refrains from cutting down the enemy's orchards, and protects the property of the enemy from the spoilers, and gathers up their goods that have been scattered.

15 And the rule of Reason is likewise proved to extend through the more aggressive passions *or*
16 *vices*, ambition, vanity, ostentation, pride, and backbiting. For the temperate mind repels all these
17 debased passions, even as it does anger, for it conquers even this. Yea, Moses when he was angered against Dathan and Abiram did not give free course to his wrath, but governed his anger by his
18 Reason. For the temperate mind is able, as I said, to win the victory over the passions, modifying
19 some, while crushing others absolutely. Why else did our wise father Jacob blame the houses of Simeon and Levi for their unreasoning slaughter of the tribe of the Shechemites, saying, 'Ac-
20 cursed be their anger!' For had not Reason possessed the power to restrain their anger he would
21 not have spoken thus. For in the day when God created man, he implanted in him his passions
22 and inclinations, and also, at the very same time, set the mind on a throne amidst the senses to be
23 his sacred guide in all things; and to the mind he gave the Law, by the which if a man order himself, he shall reign over a kingdom that is temperate, and just, and virtuous, and brave.

24 Well then, some one may ask, if Reason is master of the passions why is it not master of forget-
3 1 fulness and ignorance? But the argument is supremely ridiculous. For Reason is not shown to be
2 master over passions *or defects* in itself, but over those of the body. For example, none of you is able to extirpate our natural desire, but the Reason can enable him to escape being made a slave by
3 desire. None of you is able to extirpate anger from the soul, but it is possible for the Reason to
4 come to his aid against anger. None of you can extirpate a malevolent disposition, but Reason can
5 be his powerful ally against being swayed by malevolence. Reason is not the extirpator of the passions, but their antagonist.

II. 8. ενστασων ℵ V III. 3. +τον λογισμον ℵ V

II. 8. **at the seventh-year periods.** The reading *ἐντάσσων*, which is that of A, and accordingly is retained by Swete, is supported by the Syriac version, which Bensly renders as follows: 'So he reckoneth by the weeks and forgiveth part of that which is due to him.' But there is no MS. authority in the Greek for the insertion of the words '*part of*', without which *ἐντάσσων* yields very poor sense. And even if we admit 'part of', how can reckoning by the weeks be supposed to reduce the debt? The Strassburg Bible of 1526 has the more intelligible reading *ἐνστασῶν*, which must mean the seventh-year period of release. This reading is followed by Lloyd (1590) and many others. Lloyd translated the passage thus: 'Cum primum igitur quis (? quisquis) ad Legis praescriptum vivit, si avaro fuerit ac sordido ingenio, suis vim adhibere moribus cogitur, ut tenuioribus sine foenore mutuet; atque imminentibus iam septimanis mutuum amittat.' And Lloyd is followed by Hudson (1720), who also reads *ἐνστασῶν* and translates 'ut imminentibus iam septimanis mutuum amittat'. The version of Deissmann, who likewise reads *ἐνστασῶν*, runs, 'He lends to the needy without interest, although (in the future) when the seventh year comes he even loses the capital he has lent.' This reading *ἐνστασῶν* is also supported by the fact that it does certainly correspond very closely with the Law as stated in Deut. xv. 9: Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought.'

22. **his sacred guide.** As an instance of the Stoic terminology of this book I give the following passage from A. C. Pearson's *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 142, where he quotes from *Nemes. de Nat. Hom.*, p. 96 *Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Στωικὸς ὀκταμερῆ φησιν εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, διαιρῶν αὐτὴν εἴς τε τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ εἰς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ εἰς τὸ φωνητικὸν καὶ τὸ σπερματικόν.* And Diog. Laert. vii. 52 has this: *αἴσθησις δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικοὺς τό τ' ἀφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διῆκον . . . καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια κατασκευή.*

6, 7 The case of the thirst of King David may serve at least to make this clearer. For when David had fought the live-long day against the Philistines, and by the help of our country's warriors had
8 slain many of them, he came at eventide, all fordone with sweat and toil, to the royal tent, around
9 which was encamped the whole army of our ancestors. So all the host fell to their evening meal;
10 but the king, being consumed with an intense thirst, though he had abundance of water, was
11 unable to slake it. Instead, an irrational desire for the water that was in the possession of the
12 enemy with growing intensity burned him up and unmanned and consumed him. Then when his body-guard murmured against the craving of the king, two youths, mighty warriors, ashamed that their king should lack his desire, put on all their armour, and took a water-vessel, and scaled the
13 enemy's ramparts; and stealing undetected past the guards at the gate, they searched through
14 all the enemy's camp. And they bravely found the spring, and drew from it a draught for the
15 king. But David, though still burning with the thirst, considered that such a draught, reckoned
16 as equivalent to blood, was a grievous danger to his soul. Therefore, opposing his Reason to his
17 desire, he poured out the water as an offering to God. For the temperate mind is able to conquer
18 the dictates of the passions, and to quench the fires of desire, and to wrestle victoriously with the pangs of our bodies though they be exceeding strong, and by the moral beauty and goodness
19 of Reason to defy with scorn all the domination of the passions. And now the occasion calls us to set forth the story of the self-controlled Reason.

20 At a time when our fathers enjoyed great peace through the due observance of the Law, and were in happy case, so that Seleucus Nicanor, the king of Asia, sanctioned the tax for the temple-service,
21 and recognized our polity, precisely then, certain men, acting factiously against the general concord,
4 1 involved us in many and various calamities. Onias, a man of the highest character, being then high priest and having the office for his life, a certain Simon raised a faction against him, but since despite every kind of slander he failed to injure him on account of the people, he fled abroad with intent to betray his country.

2, 3 So he came to Apollonius, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia and Cilicia, and said, 'Being loyal to the king, I am here to inform you that in the treasuries of Jerusalem are stored many thousands of private deposits, not belonging to the temple account, and rightfully the property of King Seleucus.'

4 Apollonius, having made inquiry into the details of the matter, praised Simon for his loyal service to the king, and hastening to the court of Seleucus, disclosed to him the valuable treasure;
5 then, after receiving authority to deal with the matter, he promptly marched into our country,
6 accompanied by the accursed Simon and a very powerful army, and announced that he was there
7 by the king's command to take possession of the private deposits in the treasury. Our people were deeply angered by this announcement, and protested strongly, considering it an outrageous thing for those who had entrusted their deposits to the temple treasury to be robbed of them, and
8 they threw all possible obstacles in his way. Apollonius, however, with threats, made his way into
9 the temple. Then the priests in the temple and the women and children besought God to come to
10 the rescue of his Holy Place that was being violated; and when Apollonius with his armed host marched in to seize the moneys, there appeared from heaven angels, riding upon horses, with lightning

14. εγεμισαν is supported by the Syriac 18. τη καλοκαγαθια ℵ V IV. 8. απειλων ℵ 9. του ιερου ℵ V

12. **two youths.** The author's story of David's thirst and the water that he poured out like blood upon the ground differs materially from that told in 2 Sam. xxiii. 16 ff. and 1 Chron. xi. 11. Here the feat is performed by two young soldiers who scour the whole Philistine camp (which lies in a place whose name is not given) in order to find the spring. In the O.T. the heroes are three chiefs of David's mighty men, apparently Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah, though there is some uncertainty about the names. The action takes place at Bethlehem and the well is close to the gate, neither have they any special difficulty in finding it. The author does not use, perhaps he even avoids, the actual phraseology of the LXX, except only that in reference to David's action he employs the words ἐπιθυμία and ἔσπεισεν. Either his Bible differed materially from ours, or else he allowed himself considerable latitude in handling the incident. The latter seems probable, and this should be borne in mind when considering the various points on which he differs from the writer of 2 Maccabees.

20. **Seleucus Nicanor.** τὸν Νικάνορα. Perhaps we should here read with V τὸν Νικάνορος, 'the descendant of Nicanor', he being the one of Alexander's generals who founded the Seleucid dynasty. The king who is here meant was his sixth successor, Seleucus IV (Philopator), son of Antiochus III (the Great), and elder brother of his own successor Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). He reigned first as associated with his father and shared his defeat by Rome, and after 187 B.C. he reigned as sole king till he was murdered by Heliodorus in 176–5. Seleucus IV wasted little money in wars and left a full treasury. The words χρήματα κτλ. may mean that he assigned part of the state revenues to the Temple service, or that he sanctioned the exaction of the regular Temple tax, the annual half-shekel which the Jews, not in Palestine only but in all parts, were expected to pay to the priests. The authority for this tax was derived from Moses' Law, Exod. xxx. 12, 2 Chron. xxiv. 6. After the Captivity it was reduced to a third, in consequence of the rise in values and the poverty of the people; but it was raised again to half a shekel by Simon the Maccabee. The expression τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδέχεσθαι indicates that the king recognized the Jewish form of government which prevailed after the Return, that is to say, a theocracy under which the high-priest was also the chief ruler of the state.

11 flashing from their arms, and cast great fear and trembling upon them. And Apollonius fell down
half-dead in the Court of the Gentiles, and stretched out his hands to heaven, and with tears he
entreated the Hebrews that they would make intercession for him and stay the wrath of the heavenly
12 host. For he said that he had sinned and was worthy even of death, and that if he were given his
13 life he would laud to all men the blessedness of the Holy Place. Moved by these words, Onias, the
high-priest, although most scrupulous in other cases, made intercession for him lest King Seleucus
should possibly think that Apollonius had been overthrown by a human device and not by divine
14 justice. Apollonius, accordingly, after his astonishing deliverance departed to report to the king the
15 things that had befallen him. But Seleucus dying, his successor on the throne was his son Antiochus
16 Epiphanes, an overweening terrible man; who dismissed Onias from his sacred office, and made his
17 brother Jason high-priest instead, the condition being that in return for the appointment Jason should
18 pay him three thousand six hundred and sixty talents yearly. So he appointed Jason high-priest and
19 made him chief ruler over the people. And he (*Jason*) introduced to our people a new way of life
20 and a new constitution in utter defiance of the Law; so that not only did he lay out a gymnasium
21 on the Mount of our fathers, but he actually abolished the service of the temple. Wherefore the
22 divine justice was kindled to anger and brought Antiochus himself as an enemy against us. For
when he was carrying on war with Ptolemy in Egypt and heard that the people of Jerusalem had
23 rejoiced exceedingly over a report of his death, he immediately marched back against them. And
when he had plundered *the city* he made a decree denouncing the penalty of death upon any who
24 should be seen to live after the Law of our fathers. But he found all his decrees of no avail to
break down the constancy of our people to the Law, and he beheld all his threats and penalties
25 utterly despised, so that even women for circumcising their sons, though they knew beforehand
26 what would be their fate, were flung, together with their offspring, headlong from the rocks. When
therefore his decrees continued to be contemned by the mass of the people, he personally tried to
force by tortures each man separately to eat unclean meats and thus abjure the Jewish religion.

5 1 Accordingly, the tyrant Antiochus, accompanied by his councillors, sat in judgement on a certain
2 high place with his troops drawn up around him in full armour, and he ordered his guards to drag

19. εξεδιητησεν ℵ V Syr. 21. επολεμωσεν 24. ευνομιαν ℵ V Syr.

IV. 13. **most scrupulous.** I have followed Grimm's rendering, but it here may be noted that εὐλάβεια, caution, is the regular philosophical term for the useful side of the passion which in excess becomes fear. If we take it in the latter sense, ἄλλως εὐλαβηθείς would mean that Onias was so much alarmed as to the possible effect on King Seleucus that on this occasion he swallowed his repugnance and offered the prayer. In 2 Macc., where the story is told at much greater length, and where the offender is called Heliodorus not Apollonius, Onias not only prays but also offers sacrifice 'as an atonement for the man'. Poor Onias seems to have been a lover of peace, nevertheless he was, after his retirement, murdered at Antioch by Menelaus, the usurping high-priest who outbid and ousted Jason.

15. **his son,** υἱός. An extraordinary mistake for brother, but the MSS. leave no doubt that the author made it. Antiochus Epiphanes was a curious mixture. Like the rest of the Seleucid House he was of mixed Persian and Macedonian blood, and his education, half Greek, half Roman, was no less mixed, for he spent his childhood at the Graeco-Syrian court, and his boyhood at Rome, where he became a hostage for his father on his defeat. Released after his father's death, he played as a young man at being a citizen and an elected official of Athens, keeping his eye all the time on the Syrian throne. Then came the murder of his brother Seleucus by Heliodorus, and Antiochus presently made his bid for the kingdom and won. Thenceforth he reigned with a sort of insane energy, acting as the militant missionary of Hellenism in the East, and backing up his mission with wayward freakishness. While planting gorgeous new temples and new Antiochs everywhere, he took advantage of his audacious title of Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής, the Manifest God, to assert his right to plunder remorselessly the already existing temples in order that their treasures might support his extravagances. His looting of the Temple at Jerusalem was but one instance out of many, and it was the failure of his attempt on the shrine of Ishtar at Elymais that brought about his doom.

22. **war with Ptolemy.** Antiochus made several campaigns against Ptolemy and succeeded in conquering the whole of Egypt with the single exception of Alexandria, to which he actually laid siege. But he had reckoned without Rome, who disapproved of his ambitions, and having finished the Macedonian war had got her hands free at last. Antiochus was watching the siege when he saw a small party of Romans who had just landed approaching him. He recognized their leader, a consular, Pompilius Laenas, whom he had known as a boy in Rome, and held out his hand in greeting. Pompilius took no notice of the offered hand, but presented a note from the senate desiring Antiochus to quit Egypt. The Syrian king looked at it, and said lightly, 'I will consider it with my friends.' Pompilius held in his hand a vine-stick, a thing as characteristic of a Roman officer as the sjambok was of a Boer commander. He drew a circle in the sand with it round the king. 'Consider there,' he said. Antiochus paused, hesitated, and then, still inside the circle, said, 'The senate shall be obeyed.' His hand was instantly grasped by Pompilius, and they were the best of friends. Having accepted the situation Antiochus withdrew his armies from Egypt, but being enraged with the Jews, as related in the text, he relieved his feelings by the sack of Jerusalem and the persecution of the Jews.

V. 1. **a certain high place.** Tradition varies as to the scene of the martyrdoms. In Maccabees there is nothing to indicate that they took place anywhere except at Jerusalem. The early Church, however, held the place to have been Antioch, and a basilica was erected there in the martyrs' honour. For the transfer of the relics from Antioch to Milan and Cologne, see § 8. The relics are said now to be in Rome.

there every single man of the Hebrews and compel them to eat swine's flesh and things offered to
3 idols; but if any should refuse to defile themselves with the unclean things, they were to be tortured
4 and put to death. And when many had been taken by force, one man first from among the company was brought before Antiochus, a Hebrew whose name was Eleazar, a priest by birth, trained in knowledge of the law, a man advanced in years and well known to many of the tyrant's court for his philosophy.

5 And Antiochus, looking on him, said:

6 'Before I allow the tortures to begin for you, O venerable man, I would give you this counsel, that you should eat of the flesh of the swine and save your life; for I respect your age and your grey hairs, although to have worn them so long a time, and still to cling to the Jewish religion, makes me
7 think you no philosopher. For most excellent is the meat of this animal which Nature has graciously
8 bestowed upon us, and why should you abominate it? Truly it is folly not to enjoy innocent
9 pleasures, and it is wrong to reject Nature's favours. But it will be still greater folly, I think, on your part if with idle vapouring about truth you shall proceed to defy even me to your own punish-
10, 11 ment. Will you not awake from your preposterous philosophy? Will you not fling aside the nonsense of your calculations and, adopting another frame of mind befitting your mature years, learn the
12 true philosophy of expediency, and bow to my charitable counsel, and have pity on your own
13 venerable age? For consider this, too, that even if there be some Power whose eye is upon this religion of yours, he will always pardon you for a transgression done under compulsion.'

14 Thus urged by the tyrant to the unlawful eating of unclean meat, Eleazar asked permission to
15 speak; and receiving it, he began his speech before the court as follows:

16 'We, O Antiochus, having accepted the Divine Law as the Law of our country, do not believe any stronger necessity is laid upon us than that of our obedience to the Law.

17, 18 'Therefore we do surely deem it right not in any way whatsoever to transgress the Law. And yet, were our Law, as you suggest, not truly divine, while we vainly believed it to be divine, not even so
19 would it be right for us to destroy our reputation for piety. Think it not, then, a small sin for us
20 to eat the unclean thing, for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally
21, 22 heinous; for in either case equally the Law is despised. And you scoff at our philosophy, as
23 if under it we were living in a manner contrary to reason. Not so, for the Law teaches us self-control, so that we are masters of all our pleasures and desires and are thoroughly trained in manli-
24 ness so as to endure all pain with readiness; and it teaches justice, so that with all our *various* dispositions we act fairly, and it teaches righteousness, so that with due reverence we worship only the
25 God who is. Therefore do we eat no unclean meat; for believing our Law to be given by God, we know

V. 4. φιλοσοφιαν V 11. των λογισμων ℵ 24. εκδιδασκει ℵ

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4. **advanced in years.** According to 2 Macc. he was ninety. Prof. Kraus in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* has this interesting note on him: 'Cardinal Rampolla's investigations have proved the historical character of the account despite the fact that while the seven martyrs are mentioned in rabbinical legend, Eleazar seems to be unknown to the Rabbis (*Martyre et Sépulture des Macchabées*, Bruges, 1900). Grätz had already declared it to be substantially true (*Geschichte*, 2nd ed., ii. 317). Hertzfeld's supposition (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 75) that Eleazar is identical with Eleazar ben Harsom is untenable.'

5. **And Antiochus . . . said.** The author adopts the usual ancient practice of making up speeches for his characters, a practice too common to call for comment. In some cases the speeches must have been invented from beginning to end; in others they doubtless contain actual phrases worked into their text which had been used by the speaker in whose mouth they are put. Such interweavings of truth and fiction are well known as occurring, to take the most obvious case, in Shakespeare's historical plays; and, to come down to our own day, I have seen in America a popular biography of so great a man as Abraham Lincoln which purported to report verbatim long conversations of his, suitable indeed to the circumstances but unquestionably invented. It is hard to be sure that even the shortest phrase is truly recorded in history. I think I have seen four or five different accounts both in Greek and Latin of the scene outside Alexandria between Antiochus and Pompilius Laenas (see on iv. 22, note), where scarcely a dozen words were spoken between the two men, but I cannot remember that any two of the reports can be said to coincide, or even to approach it. So at Waterloo; what was the word that Cambronne used? or did the Duke ever say, 'Up, guards, and at them,' or anything of the sort? We must make the best of our history as we have it.

20. **equally heinous.** This is a well-known doctrine of the Stoics. Stobaeus (*Eth.* ii. 218) says *ἴσα τε πάντα λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, οὐκ ἔτι δ' ὅμοια.* And he goes on to explain how a lie is always a lie *καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον οὐκ ἔστι, πᾶσαν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν κατὰ διάψευσιν πράττεσθαι.* Horace in the *Satires* makes fun of the idea (I. iii. 115):

> 'It never can be an equivalent crime
> To crib the cheap cabbage and plunder the shrine.'

Zeno himself is quoted as the original authority for it by Diog. Laert. vii. 120 *ἀρέσκει τε αὐτοῖς ἴσα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καθά φησι Ζήνων.* With these pronouncements of the Stoics we may compare James ii. 10: 'For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.' St. James was the most Jewish of the apostles, and the idea which to us seems so strained was not less familiar to the Jew than to the Greek.

26 also that the Creator of the world, as a Lawgiver, feels for us according to our nature. He has commanded us to eat the things that will be convenient for our souls, and he has forbidden us to
27 eat meats that would be the contrary. But it is the act of a tyrant that you should compel us not only to transgress the Law, but should also make us eat in such manner that you may mock at this
29 defilement so utterly abominable to us. But you shall not mock at me thus, neither will I break the
30 sacred oaths of my ancestors to keep the Law, not even though you tear out mine eyes and burn out
31 mine entrails. I am not so unmanned by old age but that when righteousness is at stake the strength
33 of youth returns to my Reason. So twist hard your racks and blow your furnace hotter. I do not so
34 pity mine old age as to break the Law of my fathers in mine own person. I will not belie thee, O Law
35 that wast my teacher; I will not desert thee, O beloved self-control; I will not put thee to shame, O wisdom-loving Reason, nor will I deny ye, O venerated priesthood and knowledge of the Law.
36 Neither shalt thou sully the pure mouth of mine old age and my lifelong constancy to the Law.
38 Clean shall my fathers receive me, unafraid of thy torments even to the death. For thou indeed mayest be tyrant over unrighteous men, but thou shalt not lord it over my resolution in the matter of righteousness either by thy words or through thy deeds.'

6 1 But when Eleazar replied thus eloquently to the exhortations of the tyrant, the guards around
2 him dragged him roughly to the torturing place. And first they unclothed the old man, who was
3 adorned with the beauty of holiness. Then binding his arms on either side they scourged him,
5 a herald standing and shouting out over against him, 'Obey the orders of the king!' But the great-souled and noble man, an Eleazar in very truth, was no more moved in his mind than if he
6 were being tormented in a dream; yea, the old man keeping his eyes steadfastly raised to heaven suffered his flesh to be torn by the scourges till he was bathed in blood and his sides became a mass
7 of wounds; and even when he fell to the ground because his body could no longer support the
8 pain he still kept his Reason erect and inflexible. With his foot then one of the cruel guards as
9 he fell kicked him savagely in the side to make him get up. But he endured the anguish, and
10 despised the compulsion, and bore up under the torments, and like a brave athlete taking punishment,
11 the old man outwore his tormentors. The sweat stood on his brow, and he drew his breath in hard
12 gasps, till his nobility of soul extorted the admiration of his tormentors themselves. Hereupon,
13 partly in pity for his old age, partly in sympathy for their friend, partly in admiration of his courage,
14 some of the courtiers of the king went up to him and said: 'Why, O Eleazar, dost thou madly
15 destroy thyself in this misery? We will bring to thee of the seethed meats, but do thou feign only to partake of the swine's flesh, and so save thyself.'

1 17 And Eleazar, as if their counsel did but add to his tortures, cried loudly: 'No. May we sons of Abraham never have so evil a thought as with faint heart to counterfeit a part unseemly to us.

11. ευψυχια ℵ

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26. **according to our nature.** The Rabbis explained these commands to abstain from unclean food in the following way: 'These commands were given with the highest of all objects—for the sake of the purity which obedience to them imparts to the moral life.' And again: 'The ideal Jew does not say, "I have no desire to eat swine's flesh, no desire to indulge in any sensual cravings; I desire, but I will conquer the desire for the sake of my Father which is in Heaven"' (Oesterley and Box, *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, p. 412). Of course anthropologists explain such matters as taboos, probably based on a primitive totemism.

38. **through thy deeds.** Before we begin the dreadful story of the martyrdoms I would like to recall the words of Heine, the emancipated Jew, who from his mattress-grave tilted against Destiny with a sardonic humour that often mocked both himself and his race. 'If suffering ennobles,' he says, 'then has Israel attained the highest rank.' And if the Jewish refusal to eat swine's flesh seems a trivial cause for which to endure death in torments, let me also quote here these words of a yet more recent writer: 'There is no idea so ridiculous and outlandish but that some one has gone to the stake for it. Thousands have died for the Crescent as for the Cross, for the Synagogue as for the Church, for heresy as for orthodoxy, for undistinguishable shades of opinion about beliefs which were wholly false, for tyranny as for liberty, for anarchy as for order—faithful unto death for the truth that was no truth, doing loyal service to detestable masters, wasting heroism in the service of poltroons. Yet by such have the great human virtues of constancy and loyalty been established; and if not martyrs for the truth, they are witnesses to the best in man—his fantastic chivalry and contempt for death, when once an idea has laid hold of his imagination.'

VI. 5. **Eleazar.** This name means 'God help'. As to his defiance of torture let me quote the following passage from Pearson's *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 214: 'The Indian philosophers are said to have used these words to Alexander: *σώματα μὲν μετάξεις ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ψυχὰς δ' ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βουλόμεθα. πῦρ ἀνθρώποις μέγιστον κολαστήριον, τούτου ἡμεῖς καταφρονοῦμεν.* Similarly Philo, in telling the same story (*Quod omnis probus sit liber*, p. 879), has this: *πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζῶσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθορὰν ἐργάζεται, τούτου ὑπεράνω ἡμεῖς γινόμεθα, ζῶντες καιόμεθα.* Other historians attest the custom of burning themselves alive, which is said to have been practised by the Brahmans. Strabo, xv. 1. 65, says *αἴσχιστον δ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι νόσον σωματικήν· τὸν δ' ὑπονοήσαντα καθ' αὑτοῦ τοῦτο ἐξάγειν καθίσαντα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ὑφάψαι κελεύειν, ἀκίνητον δὲ καίεσθαι.'*

15. **We will bring.** In 2 Macc. vi. 21 they beseech him 'to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king'.

18 Contrary to Reason, indeed, were it for us, after living unto the truth till old age, and guarding in
19 lawful guise the repute of so living, now to change and become in our own persons a pattern to
20 the young of impiety, to the end that we should encourage them to eat unclean meat. Shame were
21 it if we should live on a little longer, during that little being mocked of all men for cowardice, and
22 while despised by the tyrant as unmanly should fail to defend the Divine Law unto the death. There-
23 fore, O sons of Abraham, do ye die nobly for righteousness' sake; but as for you, O minions of the tyrant, why pause ye in your work?'

24 So they, seeing him thus triumphant over the tortures and unmoved even by the pity of his
25 executioners, dragged him to the fire. There they cast him on it, burning him with cruelly cunning
26 devices, and they poured broth of evil odour into his nostrils. But when the fire already reached
27 to his bones and he was about to give up the ghost, he lifted up his eyes to God and said, 'Thou,
28 O God, knowest that though I might save myself I am dying by fiery torments for thy Law. Be
29 merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.'

30 And with these words the holy man nobly yielded up his spirit under the torture, and for the sake of the Law held out by his Reason even against the torments unto death.

31, 32 Beyond question, then, the Inspired Reason is master over the passions; for if his passions *or sufferings* had prevailed over his Reason we should have credited them with this evidence of their
33 superior power. But now his Reason having conquered his passions, we properly attribute to it
34 the power of commanding them. And it is right that we should admit that the mastery lies with
35 Reason, in cases at least where it conquers pains that come from outside ourselves; for it were ridiculous *to deny it*. And my proof covers not only the superiority of Reason to pains, but its superiority to pleasures also; neither does it surrender to them.

7 1 For the Reason of our father Eleazar, like a fine steersman steering the ship of sanctity on the
2 sea of the passions, though buffeted by the threats of the tyrant and swept by the swelling waves
3 of the tortures, never shifted for one moment the helm of sanctity until he sailed into the haven of
4 victory over death. No city besieged with many and cunning engines ever defended itself so well as did that holy man when his sacred soul was attacked with scourge and rack and flame, and he moved them who were laying siege *to his soul* through his Reason that was the shield of sanctity.
5 For our father Eleazar, setting his mind firm as a beetling sea-cliff, broke the mad onset of the
6 surges of the passions. O priest worthy of thy priesthood, thou didst not defile thy holy teeth,
7 nor didst thou befoul with unclean meat thy belly that had room only for piety and purity. O
8 confessor of the Law and philosopher of the Divine life! Such should those be whose office is to serve the Law and defend it with their own blood and honourable sweat in the face of sufferings to
9 the death. Thou, O father, didst fortify our fidelity to the Law through thy steadfastness unto glory; and having spoken in honour of holiness thou didst not belie thy speech, and didst confirm
10 the words of divine philosophy by thy deeds, O aged man that wast more forceful than the tortures, O reverend elder that wast tenser-strung than the flame, thou great king over the passions, Eleazar.
11 For as our father Aaron, armed with the censer, ran through the massed congregation against the
12 fiery angel and overcame him, so the son of Aaron, Eleazar, being consumed by the melting heat of
13 the fire, remained unshaken in his Reason. And yet most wonderful of all, he, being an old man, with the sinews of his body unstrung and his muscles relaxed and his nerves weakened, grew a young
14 man again in the spirit of his Reason and with Isaac-like Reason turned the hydra-headed torture
15 to impotence. O blessed age, O reverend grey head, O life faithful to the Law and perfected by the seal of death!

16 Assuredly, then, if an old man despised the torments unto death for righteousness' sake it must
17 be admitted that the Inspired Reason is able to guide the passions. But some perhaps may answer that not all men are masters of the passions because not all men have their Reason enlightened.

18. επ' αυτω ℵ 24. μεταβαλλομενον ℵ VII. 13. τονων ℵ Syr

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20. **a little longer.** There is a curiously close correspondence between these words and the counsel attributed by Stobaeus to Eusebius: 'We ought not therefore for the sake of brief, uncertain, and transitory pleasure to choose great evils which endure for all time, and, in a life which is of the briefest, injure the after-life which is immensely long, nor yet, fearing a short pain, should we loose hold on great blessings which endure for all time and on the happiness of the immensely long life which comes after this world.' *Ethica* ii. 420.

29. **to ransom their souls.** These remarkable words on the martyr's death being taken as an atonement for the whole people are discussed in § 9.

35. **for it were ridiculous,** *ἐπεὶ καὶ γελοῖον.* Bensly translates the Syriac thus: 'It is therefore ridiculous that a man should say, Reason does not rule, where we have shown that it overcame not only passions (sufferings) but also threats.' Lloyd, whose reading is the same as that in our text, translates 'nisi ridiculi esse velimus'. *οἱ ἔξωθεν ἀλγηδόνες* are the physical tortures as distinguished from *οἱ ἔνδοθεν πόνοι* of xv. 29 and xviii. 2.

18 But as many as with their whole heart make righteousness their first thought, these alone are able
19 to master the weakness of the flesh, believing that unto God they die not, as our patriarchs, Abra-
20 ham and Isaac and Jacob, died not, but that they live unto God. Therefore there is nothing contradictory in certain persons appearing to be slaves to passion in consequence of the weakness of
21 their Reason. For who is there that being a philosopher following righteously the whole rule of
22 philosophy, and having put his trust in God, and knowing that it is a blessed thing to endure all
23 hardness for the sake of virtue, would not conquer his passions for the sake of righteousness? For the wise and self-controlled man alone is the brave ruler of the passions. Yea, by this means even young boys, being philosophers by virtue of the Reason which is according to righteousness, have triumphed over yet more grievous tortures.

8 1 For when the tyrant found himself notably defeated in his first attempt, and impotent to compel
2 an old man to eat unclean meat, then truly in violent rage he ordered the guards to bring others of the young men of the Hebrews, and if they would eat unclean meat to release them after eating it,
3 but if they refused, to torture them yet more savagely. And under these orders of the tyrant seven brethren together with their aged mother were brought prisoners before him, all handsome,
4 and modest, and well-born, and generally attractive. And when the tyrant saw them there, standing as if they were a festal choir with their mother in the midst, he took notice of them, and struck by their noble and distinguished bearing he smiled at them, and calling them nearer said:

5 'O young men, I wish well to each one of you, and admire your beauty, and honour highly so large a band of brothers; so not only do I advise you not to persist in the madness of that old
6 man who has already suffered, but I even entreat of you to yield to me and become partakers in my friendship. For, as I am able to punish those who disobey my orders, so am I able to
7 advance those who do obey me. Be assured then that you shall be given positions of importance
8 and authority in my service if you will reject the ancestral law of your polity. Share in the
9 Hellenic life, and walk in a new way, and take some pleasure in your youth; for if you drive me to anger with your disobedience you will compel me to resort to terrible penalties and put
10 every single one of you to death by torture. Have pity then on yourselves, whom even I, your
11 opponent, pity for your youth and your beauty. Will you not consider with yourselves this thing, that if you disobey me there is nothing before you but death in torments?'

12 With these words he ordered the instruments of torture to be brought forward in order to per-
13 suade them by fear to eat unclean meat. But when the guards had produced wheels, and joint-dislocators, and racks, and bone-crushers, and catapults, and chaldrons, and braziers, and thumb-
14 screws, and iron claws, and wedges, and branding irons, the tyrant spoke again and said, 'You
15 had better feel fear, my lads, and the Justice you worship will pardon your unwilling transgression'.

But they, hearing his persuasions, and seeing his dreadful engines, not only showed no fear but actually arrayed their philosophy in opposition to the tyrant, and by their right Reason did abase his tyranny.

16 And yet consider; supposing some amongst them to have been faint-hearted and cowardly, what sort of language would they have used? would it not have been to this effect?

17 'Alas! miserable creatures that we are and foolish above measure! When the king invites us
18 and appeals to us on terms of kind treatment shall we not obey him? Why do we encourage our-
19 selves with vain desires and dare a disobedience that is to cost us our lives? Shall we not, O men my brothers, fear the dread instruments and weigh well his threats of the tortures, and abandon these
20 empty vaunts and this fatal bragging? Let us take pity on our own youth and have compassion on
21 2 our mother's age; and let us lay to heart that if we disobey we shall die. And even the divine
3 justice will have mercy on us, if compelled by necessity we yield to the king in fear. Why should
24 we cast away from us this dear life and rob ourselves of this sweet world? Let us not strive against

VII. 19. **they live unto God.** These words on immortality are repeated in xvi. 25. The closest parallel is Mark xii. 26: 'And as touching the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living.'

See also § 9.

VIII. 13. **wheels,** &c. Erasmus gives the horrid list in Latin thus: 'Exhibentur itaque rotae, radii, ungulae, rotabula, catapultae, lebetes, catastae, frixoria, digitaria, pugillaria, manus ferreae, subulae, succensoria, ollae aeneae, sartago. Haec enim illis nomina esse reperimus. Succensorium ad excitandam flammam quoddam tenue esse ferri telum accepimus. Exhibentur id genus reliqua nimis profecto abhorrenda, quae sigillatim enarrantem dies sit defecturus.' Lloyd's list is 'rotae, eculeus, fidiculae, unci, catapultae, lebetes, sartagines, digitalia, manicae ferreae, cunei, et folles'. For myself I agree with the poet that artists in torture should be hoist with their own petard.

'. . . neque enim lex aequior ulla est
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.'

25 necessity nor with vain confidence invite our torture. Even the Law itself does not willingly con-
26 demn us to death, we being in terror of the instruments of torture. Why does such contentiousness
inflame us and a fatal obstinacy find favour with us, when we might have a peaceful life by obeying
27 the king?' But no such words escaped these young men at the prospect of the torture, nor did
28 such thoughts enter into their minds. For they were despisers of the passions and masters over pain.
29 And thus no sooner did the tyrant conclude his urging of them to eat unclean meat than all with
one voice together, and as with one soul, said to him:

9 1 'Why dost thou delay, O tyrant? We are ready to die rather than transgress the command-
2 ments of our fathers. For we should be putting our ancestors also to shame, if we did not walk in
3 obedience to the Law and take Moses as our counsellor. O tyrant that counsellest us to transgress
4 the Law, do not, hating us, pity us beyond ourselves. For we esteem thy mercy, giving us our life
5 in return for a breach of the Law, a thing harder to bear than death itself. Thou wouldst terrify us
with thy threats of death under torture, as if a little while ago thou hadst learned nothing from
6 Eleazar. But if the old men of the Hebrews endured the tortures for righteousness' sake, yea, until
they died, more befittingly will we young men die despising the torments of thy compulsion, over
7 which he our aged teacher also triumphed. Make trial therefore, O tyrant. And if thou takest our
8 lives for the sake of righteousness, think not that thou hurtest us with thy tortures. For we through
9 this our evil entreatment and our endurance of it shall win the prize of virtue; but thou for our
cruel murder shalt suffer at the hands of divine justice sufficient torment by fire for ever.'

10 These words of the youths redoubled the wrath of the tyrant, not at their disobedience only but
11 at what he considered their ingratitude. So by his orders the scourgers brought forward the eldest
of them and stripped him of his garment and bound his hands and arms on either side with thongs.
12 But when they had scourged him till they were weary, and gained nothing thereby, they cast him
13, 14 upon the wheel. And on it the noble youth was racked till his bones were out of joint. And as
joint after joint gave way, he denounced *the tyrant* in these words:

15 'O thou most abominable tyrant, thou enemy of the justice of heaven and bloody-minded, thou dost
torment me in this fashion not for manslaying nor for impiety but for defending the Law of God.'

16 And when the guards said to him, 'Consent to eat, that so you may be released from your
17 tortures,' he said to them, 'Your method, O miserable minions, is not strong enough to lead captive
18 my Reason. Cut off my limbs, and burn my flesh, and twist my joints; through all the torments I
19 will show you that in behalf of virtue the sons of the Hebrews alone are unconquerable.' As he thus
spake they set hot coals upon him besides, and intensifying the torture strained him yet tighter on
20 the wheel. And all the wheel was besmeared with his blood, and the heaped coals were quenched
by the humours of his body dropping down, and the *rent* flesh ran round the axles of the machine.
21 And with his bodily frame already in dissolution this great-souled youth, like a true son of Abraham,
22 groaned not at all; but as if he were suffering a change by fire to incorruption, he nobly endured
23 the torment, saying, 'Follow my example, O brothers. Do not for ever desert me, and forswear

IX. 2. Μωϋσει ℵ Syr. 19. λεγοντι ℵ

IX. 9. **torment by fire for ever.** For the eschatology of this passage see § 9. There is here no trace of the spirit of the Crucified: 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'

18. **alone are unconquerable.** Some commentators think that the words put into the mouths of the martyrs are unreal and impossible. Dramatic inventions they doubtless are, like most other speeches that have come down to us from antiquity, but for a commentator to reject them *a priori* as impossible is to assume to himself the power to plumb the depths of human nature. That is an assumption that does not commend itself to one who has heard with his own ears the strange things even a ruffian can say with the hangman's rope round his neck. And when it comes to martyrdom for a principle, we have good evidence that men dying for what they hold truth can play the man in the tenth or twentieth century as well as in the first. Did not Latimer, here in Oxford three and a half centuries ago, say at the stake, 'Play the man, Master Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out'? And did not Cranmer—Cranmer who so feared the fire—thrust the hand which had signed his recantation into the flames that it might be burned first? The nature of man is strangely compounded, and it is best not to dogmatize too rashly about what it can or cannot rise to.

19. **tighter on the wheel.** Bensly translates the Syriac here: 'They made the wheel more cruel by artifice against him.' Erasmus translates: 'Haec eo loquente praeparatur incendium, et ut erat affixus rotae, igni in catasta obiicitur, atque ita tendentibus corpus radiis et contrahentibus flammis, costis deinde patentibus lateribus vitalia rumpuntur.' In this he adds to the original narrative certain explanatory details as to the exact workings of the torment; probably some fifteenth-century expert in torture told him all about how it was done, if indeed he had not seen it for himself. But it is better not to go more closely into the horrors of torture. The writer happened once to be in company with some frontiersmen who were pursuing a white renegade, said to be guilty of having betrayed the whites to the Indians. He learned that if they caught the renegade they proposed to burn him alive, and they treated with some scorn the suggestion that death was penalty enough, as they grimly jested over the various particulars of what they intended for him. The wretch was not caught, but it is as true to-day as ever it was that the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.

24 not our brotherhood in nobility of soul. War a holy and honourable warfare on behalf of righteous-
ness, through which may the just Providence that watched over our fathers become merciful unto his
25 people and take vengeance on the accursed tyrant.' And with these words the holy youth yielded
up the ghost.

26 But while all were wondering at his constancy of soul, the guards brought forward the second
in age of the sons, and grappling him with sharp-clawed hands of iron they fastened him to the
27 engines and the catapult. But when they heard his noble resolve in answer to their question, 'Would
28 he eat rather than be tortured?' these panther-like beasts tore at his sinews with claws of iron, and
rent away all the flesh from his cheeks, and tore off the skin from his head. But he steadfastly
29 enduring this agony said, 'How sweet is every form of death for the sake of the righteousness of
30 our fathers!' And to the tyrant he said, 'O most ruthless of tyrants, doth not it seem to thee that
at this moment thou thyself sufferest tortures worse than mine in seeing thy tyranny's arrogant
31 intention overcome by my endurance for righteousness' sake? For I am supported under pain
32 by the joys that come through virtue, whereas thou art in torment whilst glorying in thy impiety;
neither shalt thou escape, O most abominable tyrant, the penalties of the divine wrath.'

1 And when he had bravely met his glorious death, the third son was brought forward and was
2 earnestly entreated by many to taste and so to save himself. But he answered in a loud voice,
'Are ye ignorant that the same father begat me and my brothers that are dead, and the same
3 mother gave us birth, and in the same doctrines was I brought up? I do not forswear the noble
4 bond of brotherhood. Therefore if ye have any engine of torment, apply it to this body of mine; for
5 my soul ye cannot reach, not if ye would.' But they were greatly angered at the bold speech of the
6 man, and they dislocated his hands and his feet with their dislocating engines, and wrenched his
limbs out of their sockets, and unstrung them; and they twisted round his fingers, and his arms,
7 and his legs, and his elbow-joints. And in no wise being able to strangle *his spirit* they stripped off
his skin, taking the points of the fingers with it, and tore in Scythian fashion the scalp from his head,
8 and straightway brought him to the wheel. And on this they twisted his spine till he saw his own
9 flesh hanging in strips and great gouts of blood pouring down from his entrails. And at the point
10 of death he said, 'We, O most abominable tyrant, suffer thus for our upbringing and our virtue that
12 are of God; but thou for thy impiety and thy cruelty shalt endure torments without end.' And
13 when this man had died worthily of his brothers, they brought up the fourth, and said to him, 'Be
not thou also mad with the same madness as thy brethren, but obey the king and save thyself.'
15 But he said unto them, 'For me ye have no fire so exceeding hot as to make me a coward. By the
blessed death of my brethren, by the eternal doom of the tyrant, and by the glorious life of the
16 righteous, I will not deny my noble brotherhood. Invent tortures, O tyrant, in order that thou
17 mayest learn thereby that I am brother of those who have been already tortured.' When he heard
this the bloodthirsty, murderous, and utterly abominable Antiochus bade them cut out his tongue.
18 But he said, 'Even if thou dost remove my organ of speech, God is a hearer also of the speechless.
20 Lo, I put out my tongue ready: cut it out, for thou shalt not thereby silence my Reason. Gladly
21 do we give our bodily members to be mutilated for the cause of God. But God will speedily pursue
after thee; for thou cuttest out the tongue that sang songs of praise unto him.'

1 But when this man also was put to a death of agony with the tortures, the fifth sprang forward
3 saying, 'I shrink not, O tyrant, from demanding the torture for virtue's sake. Yea, of myself I come
forward, in order that, slaying me also, thou mayest by yet more misdeeds increase the penalty thou
4 owest to the justice of Heaven. O enemy of virtue and enemy of man, for what crime dost thou
5 destroy us in this way? Doth it seem evil to thee that we worship the Creator of all and live
7 according to his virtuous Law? But these things are worthy of honours not of tortures, if thou
8 didst understand human aspirations and hadst hope of salvation before God. Lo, now thou art
9 God's enemy and makest war on those that worship God.' As he spake thus the guards bound
10 him and brought him before the catapult; and they tied him thereto on his knees, and, fastening
them there with iron cramps, they wrenched his loins over the rolling 'wedge' so that he was
11 completely curled back like a scorpion and every joint was disjointed. And thus in grievous strait
12 for breath and anguish of body he exclaimed, 'Glorious, O tyrant, glorious against thy will are

XI. 7. ανθρωπου ποθων

XI. 3. **increase the penalty.** Erasmus paraphrases thus: 'Reum te gehennae effusus quattuor innocentum sanguis effecit, me quinto gradatim numerus ipse ampliandus est, ut tibi tandem poenae ex multitudine peremptorum accrescant.'

7. **if thou didst understand.** εἴπερ ᾔσθάνου ἀνθρώπου πόθῶν. Lloyd's text omits 7 and 8 entirely, following the Strassburg Bible. What Erasmus had before him is hard to guess: what he prints is '. . . honor nobis est et salus non poena: mirificum accipiemus a deo beneficium, si in nulla nobis laterum parte parcatur'.

the boons that thou bestowest on me, enabling me to show my fidelity to the Law through yet more honourable tortures.

13 And when this man also was dead, the sixth was brought, a mere boy, who in answer to the
14 tyrant's inquiry whether he was willing to eat and be released, said: 'I am not so old in years as
15 my brethren, but I am as old in mind. For we were born and reared for the same purpose and are
16 equally bound also to die for the same cause; so if thou chooseth to torture us for not eating unclean meat, torture.'

17, 18 As he spake these words they brought him to the wheel, and with care they stretched him out and
19 dislocated the bones of his back and set fire under him. And they made sharp skewers red-hot
20 and ran them into his back, and piercing through his sides they burned away his entrails also. But he in the midst of his tortures exclaimed, 'O contest worthy of saints, wherein so many of us brethren, in the cause of righteousness, have been entered for a competition in torments, and have not been
21, 22 conquered! For the righteous understanding, O tyrant, is unconquerable. In the armour of virtue
23 I go to join my brothers in death, and to add in myself one strong avenger more to punish thee, O
24 deviser of the tortures and enemy of the truly righteous. We six youths have overthrown thy tyranny.
25 For is not thine impotence to alter our Reason or force us to eat unclean meat an overthrow for thee?
26, 27 Thy fire is cool for us, thy engines of torture torment not, and thy violence is impotent. For the guards have been officers for us, not of a tyrant, but of the Divine Law; and therefore have we our Reason yet unconquered.'

12 1 And when this one also died a blessed death, being cast into the cauldron, the seventh son, the
2 youngest of them all, came forward. But the tyrant, although fiercely exasperated by his brethren, felt pity for the boy, and seeing him there already bound he had him brought near, and sought to
3 persuade him, saying, 'Thou seest the end of the folly of thy brethren; for through their dis-
4 obedience they have been racked to death. Thou, too, if thou dost not obey, wilt thyself also be
5 miserably tortured and put to death before thy time; but if thou dost obey thou shalt be my friend,
6 and thou shalt be advanced to high office in the business of the kingdom.' And while thus appealing to him he sent for the boy's mother, in order that in her sorrow for the loss of so many sons she
7 might urge the survivor to obey and be saved. But the mother, speaking in the Hebrew tongue, as
8 I shall tell later on, encouraged the boy, and he said *to the guards*, 'Loose me, that I may speak to
9 the king and to all his friends with him.' And they, rejoicing at the boy's request, made haste to
10, 11 loose him. And running up to the red-hot brazier, 'O impious tyrant,' he cried, 'and most ungodly of all sinners, art thou not ashamed to take thy blessings and thy kingship at the hands of God,
12 and to slay his servants and torture the followers of righteousness? For which things the divine justice delivers thee unto a more rapid and an eternal fire and torments which shall not leave hold
13 on thee to all eternity. Art thou not ashamed, being a man, O wretch with the heart of a wild beast, to take men of like feelings with thyself, made from the same elements, and tear out their
14 tongues, and scourge and torture them in this manner? But while they have fulfilled their righteous-
15 ness towards God in their noble deaths, thou shalt miserably cry "Woe is me!" for thy unjust slaying of
16, 17 the champions of virtue.' And then standing on the brink of death he said, 'I am no renegade to
18 the witness borne by my brethren. And I call upon the God of my fathers to be merciful unto my
19, 20 nation. And thee will he punish both in this present life and after that thou art dead.' And with this prayer he cast himself into the red-hot brazier, and so gave up the ghost.

13 1 If therefore the seven brethren despised the tortures even to the death, it is universally proved
2 that the Inspired Reason is supreme lord over the passions. For if they had yielded to their passions *or sufferings* and eaten unclean meat, we should have said that they had been conquered thereby.
3 But in this case it was not so; on the contrary by their Reason, which was commended in the sight
4 of God, they rose superior to their passions. And it is impossible to deny the supremacy of the
5 mind; for they won the victory over their passions and their pains. How can we do otherwise than admit right Reason's mastery over passion with these men who shrank not before the agonies of

18. επιμελως 19. αυτου και ℵ 20. αγωνος ℵ Syr. XII. 6. εαυτην ελεησασα . . . . . επι την σωτηριον ευπειθειαν ℵ Syr. XIII. 2. ει ℵ αν ℵ

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19. **sharp skewers.** Erasmus has 'Subulis etiam ferire pendentis latera ad viscera iubet, ut per eas (quae his ductae erant in longum tramitem) rimas ad intimas fibras flamma perveniret'.

XII. 7. **speaking in the Hebrew tongue.** Erasmus chooses to insert her speech at this point instead of keeping it back as the author had done. He also adds, borrowing from I know not where, or else inventing, a long torture scene with the seventh son; and in the son's speech he introduces (apparently after verse 12) 'Sit enim inter te et reliquos discretio potestatis. Numquid alterius tu operis, tuve alterius naturae homo es? · Una nascendi et moriendi omnibus ratio est. Quisquis hominem interficit, interfici se posse confirmat. Tu effigiem tuam laceras, tu in torquendo nihil proficis.'

6 burning? For even as towers on harbour-moles repulse the assaults of the waves and offer a calm
7 entrance to those entering the haven, so the seven-towered right Reason of the youths defended the
8 haven of righteousness and repulsed the tempestuousness of the passions. They formed a holy choir
9 of righteousness as they cheered one another on, saying: 'Let us die like brothers, O brethren, for
the Law. Let us imitate the Three Children at the Assyrian court who despised this same ordeal of
11 the furnace. Let us not turn cravens before the proof of righteousness.' And one said, 'Brother, be
12 of good cheer,' and another, 'Bear it out nobly'; and another, recalling the past, 'Remember of what
stock ye are, and at whose fatherly hand Isaac for righteousness' sake yielded himself to be a sacri-
13 fice.' And each and all of them together, looking at each other brightly and very boldly, said, 'With
a whole heart will we consecrate ourselves unto God who gave us our souls, and let us lend our bodies
15 to the keeping of the Law. Let us not fear him who thinketh he kills; for a great struggle and
16 peril of the soul awaits in eternal torment those who transgress the ordinance of God. Let us then
17 arm ourselves with divine Reason's mastery of the passions. After this our passion, Abraham, Isaac,
and Jacob shall receive us, and all our forefathers shall praise us.'

18 And to each separate one of the brothers, as they were dragged off, those whose turn was yet to
come said, 'Do not disgrace us, brother, nor be false to our brethren already dead.'

19 You are not ignorant of the love of brethren, whereof the divine and all-wise Providence has given
an inheritance to those who are begotten though their fathers, implanting it in them even through
20 the mother's womb; wherein brethren do dwell the like period, and take their form during the same
21 time, and are nourished from the same blood, and are quickened with the same soul, and are brought
into the world after the same space, and they draw milk from the same founts, whereby their frater-
22 nal souls are nursed together in arms at the breast; and they are knit yet closer through a common
nurture and daily companionship and other education, and through our discipline under the Law
of God.

23 The feeling of brotherly love being thus naturally strong, the seven brethren had their mutual
24 concord made yet stronger. For trained in the same Law, and disciplined in the same virtues, and
25 brought up together in the upright life, they loved one another the more abundantly. Their
26 common zeal for moral beauty and goodness heightened their mutual concord, for in conjunction
with their piety it rendered their brotherly love more fervent.

27 But though nature, companionship, and their virtuous disposition increased the ardour of their
brotherly love, nevertheless the surviving sons through their religion supported the sight of their
1 1 brethren, who were on the rack, being tortured to death; nay more, they even encouraged them to
face the agony, so as not only to despise their own tortures, but also to conquer their passion of
2 brotherly affection for their brethren. O Reasoning minds, more kingly than kings, than freemen
3 more free, of the harmony of the seven brethren, holy and well attuned to the keynote of piety!
5 None of the seven youths turned coward, none shrunk in the face of death, but all hastened to
6 the death by torture as if running the road to immortality. For as hands and feet move in har-
mony with the promptings of the soul, so those holy youths, as if prompted by the immortal soul
7 of religion, went in harmony to death for its sake. O all-holy sevenfold companionship of brethren
8 in harmony! For as the seven days of the creation of the world do enring religion, so did the youths

9. Ασσυριας (ασ superscrip.). 12. καταμνησθεις ℵ V Syr. 19. αδελφοτητος ℵ 24. εαυτους ηγαπων ℵ V Syr.
XIV. 2. βασιλεων ℵ V 3. εναρμοστου ℵ

XIV. 2. **more kingly than kings,** βασιλέων βασιλικώτεροι. The Stoics held that the wise man alone was a king: μόνον εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα καὶ βασιλικόν (Stob. *Eth.* ii. [222] of Heeren's ed.). Also we have in Diog. Laert. vii. 122 οὐ μόνον δ' ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθύνου.

8. **the seven days of the creation,** οὕτως περὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα χορεύοντες κτλ. Erasmus paraphrases thus: 'Quos (credo) propterea in eo numero esse voluit in quo mundum ipse construxit, ut septem fratres septem dierum, quibus perfecta sunt omnia, aemuli redderentur.' The general sense of the passage in the Greek is clear enough, though a word for word translation does not yield very intelligible English, and Deissman accordingly transposes ἑβδομάδα and εὐσέβειαν, and renders it 'For as the seven days of creation around the (sacred) number seven, so circled the youths in chorus round piety'. Grimm describes the passage as a forced comparison in the style of the Alexandrian mystics; the seven days of the week were meant by God to recall to His people's minds the sacred seven days of creation; and the figure seven being thus a means of grace, this sacred number stands in the text as a visible expression of the piety which was the centre of these young men's lives. Doubtless the above explains well the Jewish feeling of reverence for the mystical nature of seven. This feeling of reverence was, however, common to other ancient peoples besides the Jews, and most students of early man now incline to the belief that the sacred number seven derived its mystic significance from astrology. Astrology, indeed, was forbidden to the Jews, but that need not prevent their having assimilated ideas to which it had given birth elsewhere. When first men began to observe the stars attentively, it presently appeared that in the heavens, visible to the naked eye, there were certain bodies that were always changing their position among the fixed stars; and ultimately men succeeded in tracing out, more or less correctly, their motions and calculating their periodic times. These times ran from the Moon's one month to the thirty years of Saturn, and

choir-like enring their sevenfold companionship, and made the terror of the tortures of no account.
9 We now shudder when we hear of the suffering of those youths; but they, not only seeing it with
their eyes, nor merely hearing the spoken, imminent threat, but actually feeling the pang, endured
10 it through; and that in the torture by fire, than which what greater agony can be found? For
sharp and stringent is the power of fire, and swiftly did it bring their bodies to dissolution.
11 And think it not wonderful if with those men Reason triumphed over the tortures, when even
12 a woman's soul despised a yet greater diversity of pains; for the mother of the seven youths
endured the torments inflicted on each several one of her children.
13 But consider how manifold are the yearnings of a mother's heart, so that her feeling for her
14 offspring becomes the centre of her whole world; and indeed, here, even the irrational animals have
15 for their young an affection and love similar to men's. For example, among the birds, the tame
16 ones sheltering under our roofs defend their nestlings; and those that nest upon the mountain
tops, and in the rock clefts, and in the holes of trees, and in the branches, and hatch their young
17 there, do also drive away the intruder. And then, if they be unable to drive him away, they flutter
around the nestlings in a passion of love, calling to them in their own speech, and they give suc-
18 cour to their young ones in whatever fashion they can. And what need have we of examples of the
19 love of offspring among irrational animals, when even the bees, about the season of the making
of the comb, fend off intruders, and stab with their sting, as with a sword, those who approach their
20 brood, and do battle against them even to the death? But she, the mother of those young men,
with a soul like Abraham, was not moved from her purpose by her affection for her children.

15 1 O Reason of the sons, lord over the passions! O religion, that wast dearer to the mother than
2 her children! The mother, having two choices before her, religion and the present saving alive of
3 her seven sons according to the tyrant's promise, loved rather religion, which saveth unto eternal
4 life according to God. O how may I express the passionate love of parents for children? We stamp
a marvellous likeness of our soul and of our shape on the tender nature of the child, and most of all
5 through the mother's sympathy with her children being deeper than the father's. For women are
softer of soul *than men*, and the more children they bear the more do they abound in love for them.
6 But, of all mothers, she of the seven sons abounded in love beyond the rest, seeing that, having in
7 seven child-bearings felt maternal tenderness for the fruit of her womb, and having been constrained
8 because of the many pangs in which she bore each to a close affection, she nevertheless through the
9 fear of God rejected the present safety of her children. Ay, and more than that, through the moral
beauty and goodness of her sons and their obedience to the Law, her maternal love for them was
10 made stronger. For they were just, and temperate, and brave, and great-souled, and lovers of each
other and of their mother in such manner that they obeyed her in the keeping of the Law even unto

XV. 4. (;) after παθη εναποσφραγιζομεν ℵ* το των πατερων V 7. ηναγκασμενη ℵ V

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their proper motions were seen to be confined within the broad belt of the heavens known to us as the Zodiac. Seven was found to be the number of these πλάνητες or Wanderers, who did indeed appear to go like the fixed stars round the earth from east to west once in every twenty-four hours, but, as was well known to Chaldaean, Egyptian, and Greek star-gazers, had likewise another exceedingly complicated set of movements peculiar to themselves. The direction of these movements was retrograde or from west to east: ἀπὸ γὰρ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς ἀντιφέρεσθαι says Plutarch (*Plac. Phil.* ii. 16), describing the astronomical knowledge possessed by Alcmaeon and the mathematicians. And the early star-gazers, who by painful labour had obtained this difficult knowledge, took these movements of the mysterious Seven, their journeyings and their standings still, their oppositions and their conjunctions, to be the visible hand of Fate writing the scroll of man's destiny upon the sky. Thus the sacred Seven, the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, to whom in the course of time were assigned the different hours of the day and after whom were named the days of the week, came to be honoured as the lords of heaven and earth, and the very number of them, seven, was nothing less than a power to conjure with.

9. **We now shudder.** An important inference can be drawn from this phrase. It is true that νῦν may mean no more than that the discourse is being delivered on the anniversary of the martyrs. But it has also been taken to indicate something further, namely, that the audience shudder at the past as contrasted with the present state of things in which they find themselves. If this be so, it certainly points to a time when the Jews in Alexandria had little or no personal experience of persecution, and necessarily indicates for the discourse a date previous to the awful persecution under Caligula in A.D. 38. See § 5.

XV. 4. **a marvellous likeness,** ψυχῆς τε καὶ μορφῆς ὁμοιότητα. There is a whole literature, ancient as well as modern, on heredity and the mysterious relation of parent to child in mind as well as body. I will only quote here a fragment of Cleanthes from Nemesius, *Nat. Hom.*, p. 32 (see Pearson, *Fragm. Cleanthes*, 36) Ὁ Κλεάνθης τοιόνδε πλέκει συλλογισμόν· οὐ μόνον φησὶν ὅμοιοι τοῖς γονεῦσι γινόμεθα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν, τοῖς πάθεσι, τοῖς ἤθεσι, ταῖς διαθέσεσι: and also this from Plut. *Plac. Phil.* lib. 5, cap. 11 οἱ Στωικοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὅλου καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φέρεσθαι τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀναπλάττεσθαι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γενῶν τοὺς τύπους καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, ὡσπερανεὶ ζωγράφον ἀπὸ ὁμοίων χρωμάτων εἰκόνα τοῦ βλεπομένου. And yet one more from cap. 12, where he makes the curious statement that certain women have admired statues so passionately as to produce children like them: πολλάκις γὰρ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἠράσθησαν γυναῖκες, καὶ ὅμοια τούτοις ἀπέτεκον. οἱ Στωικοί, συμπαθείᾳ τῆς διανοίας, κατὰ ῥευμάτων εἰσκρίσεις καὶ ἀκτίνων, οὐκ εἰδώλων, γίνεσθαι τὰς ἀλλήλων ὁμοιότητας.

11 death. But nevertheless, though she had so many temptations to yield to her maternal
instincts, in no single instance did the dreadful variety of tortures have power to alter her Reason;
13 but the mother urged each son separately, and all together, to die for their religion. O holy nature,
and parental love, and yearning of parents for offspring, and wages of nursing, and unconquerable
14 affection of mothers! The mother, seeing them one by one racked and burned, remained unshaken
15 in soul for religion's sake. She saw the flesh of her sons being consumed in the fire, and the
extremities of their hands and feet scattered on the ground, and the flesh-coverings, torn off from
16 their heads right to their cheeks, strewn about like masks. O mother, who now knew sharper
17 pangs than the pangs of labour! O woman, alone among women, the fruit of whose womb was
18 perfect religion! Thy firstborn, giving up the ghost, did not alter thy resolution, nor thy second,
19 looking with eyes of pity on thee under his tortures, nor thy third, breathing out his spirit. Neither
didst thou weep when thou beheldest the eyes of each amid the torments looking boldly on the same
20 anguish, and sawest in their *quivering* nostrils the signs of approaching death. When thou sawest
the flesh of one son being severed after the flesh of another, and hand after hand being cut off, and
head after head being flayed, and corpse cast upon corpse, and the place crowded with spectators
21 on account of the tortures of thy children, thou sheddest not a tear. Not the melodies of the sirens
nor the songs of swans with sweet sound do so charm the hearers' ears, as sounded the voices of the
22 sons, speaking to the mother from amid the torments. How many and how great were the tortures
with which the mother was tormented while her sons were being tortured with torments of rack and
23 fire! But Inspired Reason lent her heart a man's strength under her passion of suffering, and
exalted her to make no account of the present yearnings of mother-love.

24 And although she saw the destruction of her seven children and the many and varied forms of
25 their torments, the noble mother willingly surrendered them through faith in God. For she beheld
in her own mind, even as it had been cunning advocates in a council-chamber, nature, and parenthood,
26 and mother-love, and her children on the rack, and it was as if she, the mother, having the choice
27 between two votes in the case of her children, one for their death and one to save them alive, thereupon
28 regarded not the saving of her seven sons for a little time, but, as a true daughter of Abraham, called
29 to mind his God-fearing courage. O mother of the race, vindicator of our Law, defender of our religion,
30 and winner of the prize in the struggle within thyself! O woman, nobler to resist than men, and braver
31 than warriors to endure! For as the Ark of Noah, with the *whole living* world for her burden in
32 the world-whelming Deluge, did withstand the mighty surges, so thou, the keeper of the Law, beaten
upon every side by the surging waves of the passions, and strained as with strong blasts by the
tortures of thy sons, didst nobly weather the storms that assailed thee for religion's sake.

XVI 1 Thus then, if one both a woman and advanced in years, and the mother of seven sons, endured
the sight of her children being tortured to death, the Inspired Reason must confessedly be supreme
2 ruler over the passions. I have proved, accordingly, that not only have men triumphed over their
3 sufferings, but that a woman also has despised the most dreadful tortures. And not so fierce were
the lions around Daniel, not so hot was the burning fiery furnace of Mishael, as burned in her the
4 instinct of motherhood at the sight of her seven sons being tortured. But by her religion-guided
5 Reason the mother quenched her passions, many and strong as they were. For there is this also to

11. +βασανοι 13. γενεσει V: γενεσις Syr. 18. εις]+σε ℵ V 21. ως ℵ V Syr. 32. υπερ ℵ V Syr.
XVI. 3. εκεινην ορωσαν ℵ V Syr. ουτως ποικιλως ℵ V Syr.

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13. **wages of nursing.** Deissmann would read γένεσις φιλόστοργε καὶ τροφέ, and objects to Grimm who upholds τροφεῖα. The MS. authority for γένεσις is weak, but V reads γενέσει; and γένεσις, according to Bensly, has the support of the Syriac, and it makes good sense with or without Deissmann's emendation of τροφέ. The Strassburg text has ὦ φύσις ἱερὰ καὶ φίλτρα γονέων, καὶ σύνεσις φιλόστοργε, καὶ τροφεῖα, καὶ μητέρων ἀδάμαστα πάθη, which Lloyd keeps, rendering, 'O sanctissimam naturam, amorisque parentum illecebras; et intelligentiam indulgentissimam, et nutricia, matrumque motus indomitos.' The marginal collation in the Bodleian copy of the Geneva edition of 1611 has the curious variation γοναὶ φιλόστοργοι καὶ τροφεῖαι. I have attempted to render γένεσις φιλόστοργε, καὶ τροφεῖα.

20. **the place crowded.** The text here is very corrupt: χωριον (A) gives good sense and has the support of V, but there is another reading χοριον (ℵ*) or χοριδιον (ℵ^c.a) which appears as χορεῖον, a dancing-place, in the Strassburg LXX; χορεῖον would undoubtedly be quite in the author's rhetorical style, as it would artfully recall his comparison in viii. 4 of the band of youths to a χορός or festal choir with the mother in their midst, and also allude to χορεύοντες above in xiv. 8. The Syriac has the strange rendering, 'when she saw the servants of the tyrant falling like a storm upon her sons,' which does not seem reconcilable with any Greek text known to us.

29. **the struggle within thyself.** These are the οἱ ἔνδοθεν πόνοι as distinguished in xviii. 2 from οἱ ἔξωθεν πόνοι, the physical tortures. We may note again in ἀθλοφόρε how the author recurs to the comparison with the Greek games.

31. **her burden in the world-whelming Deluge.** κοσμοπληθής and κοσμοφορεῖν are vigorous compounds coined by the author, and good specimens of their sort, just as the whole passage is typical of his rhetoric. The three alliterative quadrisyllables, rolling in like waves one after the other, aim at something like the Homeric πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης. I have attempted a slight imitation of his effect with 'world-whelming' and 'whole living world'.

consider, that had the woman been weak of spirit, despite her motherhood, she might have wept
6 over them, and perchance spoken thus: 'Ah, thrice wretched me, and more than thrice wretched!
7 Seven children have I borne and am left childless! In vain was I seven times with child, and to no
profit was my ten months' burden seven times borne, and fruitless have been my nursings, and
8 sorrowful my sucklings. In vain for you, O my sons, did I endure the many pangs of labour, and
9 the more difficult cares of your upbringing. Alas, for my sons, that some were yet unwed, and those
that were wedded had begotten no children; I shall never see children of yours, nor shall I be called
10 by the name of grandparent. Ah me, that had many beautiful children, and am a widow and
11 desolate in my woe! Neither will there be any son to bury me when I am dead!'
12 But the holy and God-fearing mother wailed not with this lamentation over any one of them, neither
13 besought she any to escape death, nor lamented over them as dying men; but, as though she had a
soul of adamant and were bringing forth the number of her sons, for a second time, into immortal life,
14 she besought rather and entreated of them that they should die for religion's sake. O mother, warrior
of God in the cause of religion, old and a woman, thou didst both defeat the tyrant by thy endurance,
15 and wast found stronger than a man, in deeds as well as words. For verily when thou wast put in
bonds with thy sons, thou stoodest there seeing Eleazar being tortured, and thou spakest to thy
16 sons in the Hebrew tongue: 'My sons, noble is the fight; and do ye, being called thereto to bear
17 witness for our nation, fight therein zealously on behalf of the Law of our fathers. For it would be
shameful if, while this aged man endured the agony for religion's sake, you that are young men shrank
18 before the pain. Remember that for the sake of God ye have come into the world, and have enjoyed
19, 20 life, and that therefore ye owe it to God to endure all pain for his sake; for whom also our father
Abraham made haste to sacrifice his son Isaac, the ancestor of our nation; and Isaac, seeing his
21 father's hand lifting the knife against him, did not shrink. And Daniel, the just man, was cast to
the lions, and Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael were flung into the furnace of fire, and they endured
22, 23 for God's sake. And ye also, having the same faith unto God, be not troubled; for it were against
Reason that ye, knowing righteousness, should not withstand the pains.'
24 With these words the mother of the seven encouraged every single one of her sons to die rather
25 than transgress the ordinance of God; they themselves also knowing well that men dying for God
live unto God, as live Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the patriarchs.
17 1 Some of the guards declared that when she also was about to be seized and put to death, she
2 cast herself on the pyre in order that no man might touch her body. O mother, that together

20. ορων ο Ισαακ Syr. 24. αποθανειν ℵ Syr. 25. ειδοτες ℵ V XVII. 1. τις ℵ V Syr.

XVI. 14. **old and a woman.** The Syriac has 'who didst go a warfare in old age'.

20. **ancestor of our nation.** ἐθνοπάτωρ is another of the author's coinages like ἐθνόπληθος in vii. 11. He has an affection for the word ἔθνος, much as some English writers like to speak of 'our people', by way of heightening the sense of union between author and reader as belonging to a nation set apart for great ends.

25. **knowing well.** I have accepted the reading of ℵ, εἰδότες, but it really seems to me that I have translated εἰδότας, which Grimm adopts apparently without MS. authority. In this I rely upon Deissmann, whose note I translate verbatim: 'Read with Sin. Ven. εἰδότες. Freudenthal, S. 123 f., is unjust in his complaints of the "ungrammatical sequence". For this formal and rigid εἰδότες is found elsewhere: 2 Cor. i. 7, Rom. xiii. 11. Egyptian report of the Berlin Museum No. 246, Z. 11 f. Private letter, Fayoum, 2–3 century A.D.: ἢ οὐκ ἰδότες (*sic*) ὅτι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐντυγχάνω (*sic*) τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. The nominative plural of a participle in other instances readily becomes an anacolouthon.'

XVII. 1. **she cast herself,** ἑαυτὴν ἔρριψεν κατὰ τῆς πυρᾶς. It is curious in what a sidelong fashion the author does but hint at the suicide of the woman. The writer of Second Maccabees never alludes to it at all, though he can hardly have considered it wrong, for the act is nowhere forbidden in the Old Testament and he himself celebrates (xv. 42) the self-inflicted death of Razis, who 'fell upon his sword, choosing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth'. It is well known that the Stoics habitually advocated suicide, ἐξαγωγή, when life became a burden, but the author of Fourth Maccabees makes no allusion to this, neither does he quote the various Old Testament instances of it. There is, indeed, only one case in the O.T. that can really be considered analogous to the Mother's, for Samson's deed in pulling down the house on himself and his enemies must be classed as an act of war, and was no more suicide than the self-devotion of Arnold von Winkelried embracing the spears at Sempach, or of Salkeld and Burgess blowing in the Cashmere Gate at Delhi. There is, however, an exact parallel in the case of Saul, when he killed himself (or had himself killed) 'lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through, and abuse me'. Erasmus does not mention the mother's suicide, unless indeed 'ultro' is intended to suggest it, but (as already mentioned in § 8) he pictures the woman as being in the first instance most horribly tortured by Antiochus, and then, 'being brought to the fire-vomiting brazier,' she of her own accord (*ultro*) joins her sons who had been already burnt, in their pains, 'ac oratione protensis surrectisque manibus pro gravidis matribus fusa coelibem effudit spiritum'; where *coelibem* is quite un-Jewish and mediaeval. As to the morality of such an act opinions differ and will differ to the end of time. During the Indian Mutiny, near sixty years ago, a bishop of the Irish Church gave it as his opinion that it was morally justifiable for white women there to choose death before outrage, and those who know anything of savage warfare, be it in India, or Africa, or America, or even in Europe (for we still have savages in Europe), will agree with him. As to such a deed being cowardly, I can only

with thy seven sons didst break the tyrant's force, and bring to nought his evil devices, and
3 gavest an example of the nobleness of faith. Thou wert nobly set as a roof upon thy sons as pillars,
4 and the earthquake of the torments shook thee not at all. Rejoice therefore, pure-souled mother,
5 having the hope of thy endurance certain at the hand of God. Not so majestic stands the moon amid
the stars in heaven as thou, having lit the path of thy seven starlike sons unto righteousness, standest
6 in honour with God; and thou art set in heaven with them. For thy child-bearing was from the
7 son of Abraham. And had it been lawful for us to paint, as might some *artist*, the tale of thy
piety, would not the spectators have shuddered at the mother of seven sons suffering for righteous-
8 ness' sake multitudinous tortures even unto death? And indeed it were fitting to inscribe these
words over their resting-place, speaking for a memorial to future generations of our people:

9 HERE LIE AN AGED PRIEST
AND A WOMAN FULL OF YEARS
AND HER SEVEN SONS
THROUGH THE VIOLENCE OF A TYRANT
DESIRING TO DESTROY THE HEBREW NATION.
10 THEY VINDICATED THE RIGHTS OF OUR PEOPLE
LOOKING UNTO GOD AND ENDURING
THE TORMENTS EVEN UNTO DEATH.

12 For truly it was a holy war which was fought by them. For on that day virtue, proving them
13 through endurance, set before them the prize of victory in incorruption in everlasting life. But the
first in the fight was Eleazar, and the mother of the seven sons played her part, and the brethren
14 fought. The tyrant was their adversary and the world and the life of man were the spectators.
16 And righteousness won the victory, and gave the crown to her athletes. Who but wondered at the
17 athletes of the true Law? Who were not amazed at them? The tyrant himself and his whole
18 council admired their endurance, whereby they now do both stand beside the throne of God and
19 live the blessed age. For Moses says, 'All also who have sanctified themselves are under thy
20 hands.' And these men, therefore, having sanctified themselves for God's sake, not only have
received this honour, but also *the honour* that through them the enemy had no more power
22 over our people, and the tyrant suffered punishment, and our country was purified, they having
as it were become a ransom for our nation's sin; and through the blood of these righteous men
and the propitiation of their death, the divine Providence delivered Israel that before was evil
23 entreated. For when the tyrant Antiochus saw the heroism of their virtue, and their endurance
24 under the tortures, he publicly held up their endurance to his soldiers as an example; and he thus

3. στυλους ℵ V 4. βεβαιαν ℵ V 7. ως επι τινος ℵ* V Syr. ευσεβιας σου ιστοριαν ℵ V

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say that a few years ago, when the Red Indian tortures still awaited captives, many frontiersmen, men whom it would hardly have been safe to call cowards, made no secret that they intended to keep their last bullet (if need be) for themselves. As to whether a woman could harden her heart to the act, let me borrow the words of the author of this book, πολλαχόθεν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν ἔχοιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, and say that many a woman in every age and every land has chosen death rather than that polluted hands should touch her body.

7. **some artist,** ὡς ἐπί τινος. The conjecture πίνακος is highly plausible, but lacks MS. authority; and if we may take ἐπί as 'after', i.e. 'in the style of', πίνακος is not really needed, for the word ζωγραφῆσαι itself must imply an artist to paint the picture. In § 8 I have discussed the very striking allusion to this passage in Chrysostom's τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπογράψαντες, and also the curious turn given to it by Erasmus when he suggests that the figure of the martyr might be made into an amulet. The latter quite excels himself in his paraphrase of the first part of the passage: 'Si possit in picturam aliquam manus humana describere et victorum omnium poenarum genus in posteros ceris, ut gestum constitit, explicare, sine lachrymis nemo transiret, omnis utique multitudo confluereret, suffragarentur plurimi, et multa videretur donasse qui in gloriam summi dei stratagemata depinxisset.'

8. **for a memorial.** τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς μνείαν λεγόμενα. The author may well have been thinking of the great monument of polished white stone, rising above a cloister with monolithic columns of the same, which Simon Maccabeus set up in memory of his parents and his brethren at Modin near Joppa. Neither Josephus in his *Antiquities* nor the author of 1 Macc. speaks of any inscription on the monument, though the latter mentions the armour of the heroes being set on the pillars, 'and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea.' But some fitting inscription there must have been of a tenor not unlike that proposed here. Of course to employ sculpture to represent Jewish heroes and martyrs was out of the question, but our author in the verses which follow uses the imagery of the Greek games, making the tyrant and the martyrs, as it were, competitors, in a way to give the idea of a frieze—may one say?—like that of a Greek temple, commemorating their exploits.

19. **under thy hands.** πάντες οἱ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς σου. This is taken word for word from Deut. xxxiii. 3.

22. **having as it were become a ransom.** ὥσπερ ἀντίψυχον γεγονότας. The idea of the deaths of the martyrs becoming a ransom for the sin of Israel has been noticed in § 9, and the deliverance of Israel through them in the note on i. 11.

24. **as an example.** One would like further evidence before giving credence to the story that Antiochus publicly

inspired his men with a sense of honour and heroism on the field of battle and in *the labours of* besieging, so that he plundered and overthrew all his enemies.

18 1 O Israelites, children born of the seed of Abraham, obey this Law, and be righteous in all ways,
2 recognizing that Inspired Reason is lord over the passions, and over pains, not only from within,
3 but from without ourselves; by which means those men, delivering up their bodies to the torture for righteousness' sake, not only won the admiration of mankind, but were deemed worthy of
4 a divine inheritance. And through them the nation obtained peace and restoring the observance of the Law in our country hath captured the city from the enemy.

5 And vengeance hath pursued the tyrant Antiochus upon earth, and in death he suffers punishment. For when he failed utterly to constrain the people of Jerusalem to live like Gentiles and abandon the customs of our fathers, he thereupon left Jerusalem and marched away against the Persians.

6 Now these are the words that the mother of the seven sons, the righteous woman, spake to her
7 children: 'I was a pure maiden, and I strayed not from my father's house, and I kept guard over
8 the rib that was builded *into Eve*. No seducer of the desert, no deceiver in the field, corrupted me;
9 nor did the false, beguiling Serpent sully the purity of my maidenhood; I lived with my husband all the days of my youth; but when these *my sons* were grown up, their father died. Happy was
10 he; for he lived a life blessed with children, and he never knew the pain of their loss. Who,
11 while he was yet with us, taught you the Law and the prophets. He read to us of Abel who was slain by Cain, and of Isaac who was offered as a burnt-offering, and of Joseph in the prison.
12 And he spake to us of Phineas, the zealous priest, and he taught you *the song of* Ananias, Azarias,
13 and Mishael in the fire. And he glorified also Daniel in the den of lions, and blessed him; and
14 he called to your minds the saying of Isaiah, "Yea even though thou pass through the fire, the

XVIII. 5. εθων V Syr. 9. επιζησας ℵ c.a V

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extolled them to his troops. The text here is practically the same as that of the Strasburg LXX, and also as that of Lloyd, but Erasmus, followed by Lloyd, takes the latter part of the sentence in a way that is hard to reconcile with the original: 'videns namque Antiochus magnitudinem fidei mortisque contemptum peditum sibi legiones ex Hebraeorum numero congregat, per quas hostem perculit, et laudis plurimum cepit.' If this be so the Syrian king would have understood William III's feeling, when he met in battle the brave exiles whom the penal laws had driven from Ireland, and cried, 'Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such soldiers.' But history knows nothing of these Hebrew legions, and Antiochus, like William, had to do without the soldiers whose religion he could not shake.

all his enemies. *καὶ ἐκπορθήσας ἐνίκησεν πάντας τοὺς πολεμίους.* This is one way of drawing a moral from history. Whether Antiochus fired his soldiers by the martyrs' example or not, he did certainly after leaving Jerusalem conquer Armenia and no small part of Persia. And as it would rather spoil the moral to say that in the full tide of success he failed miserably in an attack on an obscure Persian temple and died almost immediately after, the fatal ending is quietly dropped just for the moment. But of course the audience knew perfectly well the story of Antiochus' death, so the author covers himself by deftly alluding to it five verses later, where he says that vengeance pursued the tyrant upon earth, and in death he suffers punishment still. It is a neat rhetorical turn.

XVIII. 2. **from within.** *οἱ ἔνδοθεν πόνοι* are mental sufferings, *οἱ ἔξωθεν πόνοι* are physical: see on xv. 29 and vi. 35.

4. **restoring the observance,** *ἀνανεωσάμενος.* If we keep this reading we must take it that some masculine word like Israel equivalent to *τὸ ἔθνος* is the subject understood. The alternative is to read the plural forms given in ℵ and V both for the participle and the verb, and make the subject simply 'they', or even 'the Maccabees' understood. Historically the statement is correct; for the Maccabees truly did recapture Jerusalem and restore the Law and win Jewish independence.

7. **I strayed not,** *οὐχ ὑπερέβην πατρικὸν οἶκον.* Erasmus translates word for word, 'domum patriam non reliqui'. This home-keeping habit was of course a virtue highly extolled in a Jewess, and certainly the race seems to have found a certain profit in the strictness with which it has been practised.

the rib that was builded, *τὴν ᾠκοδομημένην πλευράν.* In the translation I have added *into Eve* to make the sense clear. Grimm at one time held the idea that the phrase might mean 'the woman's side of the house', but he gave it up. The allusion to the Garden of Eden and the creation of Eve is infinitely more in keeping with Jewish style and taste. The actual words in Genesis are *καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ.* The moral of the passage is that a woman gets her body, as it were, direct from God, and should therefore keep it worthy of Him.

8. **No seducer of the desert,** *λυμεὼν τῆς ἐρημίας φθορεὺς ἐν πεδίῳ.* This is a curious instance of the Jewish belief that evil spirits haunted the waste, to which we have references in the New Testament. It seems hardly credible to us, but the Jews did actually believe that out in the desert there were demons who would lie in wait for women and lead them astray. The Australian Arunta similarly hold that certain rocky places in their deserts are the habitation of wanton spirits, and that women venturing near them may become mothers, apparently without knowing it. And for the Jew the Prince of the demons was Satan, the *λυμεὼν ἀπάτης ὄφις* who had started his campaign against mankind by corrupting Eve. The authors of *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, already quoted, say, 'Jewish traditions vary, however, as to the reason of Satan's tempting Eve; in several passages it is stated that Satan's lust towards her brought about her fall; see *Bereshith rabbah*, c. 18, 19; *Sanhedrin* 59[b]; *Sotah* 9[b]; *Yebamoth* 103[b]; *Abodah zarah* 22[b].' Philo has some curious remarks about the woman and the serpent in *Sacr. Leg. All.* iii. 20, 21. He calls *ἡδονή* snakelike, and declares that *ἡ ἡδονὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐστι μοχθηρά.*

9. **these my sons.** It looks as though some phrase such as 'and bore him seven sons' were omitted between 8 and 9. It is therefore necessary to insert '*my sons*' in 9 to explain *τούτων.*

5 flame shall not hurt thee." He sang to us the words of David the psalmist, "Many are the afflictions
6 of the just." He quoted to us the proverb of Solomon, "He is a tree of life to all them that do his
7, 8 will." He confirmed the words of Ezekiel, "Shall these dry bones live?" For he forgat not the
9 song that Moses taught, which teaches, "I will slay and I will make alive. This is your life and the
blessedness of your days."'

0 Ah, cruel was the day, and yet not cruel, when the cruel tyrant of the Greeks set the fire blazing
for his barbarous braziers, and with his passions boiling brought to the catapult and back again to his
1 tortures the seven sons of the daughter of Abraham, and blinded the eyeballs of their eyes, and cut
2 out their tongues, and slew them with many kinds of torment. For which cause the judgement of
3 God pursued, and shall pursue, the accursed wretch. But the sons of Abraham, with their victorious
mother, are gathered together unto the place of their ancestors, having received pure and immortal
4 souls from God, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

21. επηρωσεν ℵ[1]

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23. **having received,** &c. These words point to an original difference between good and bad souls before their incorporation in the body. Cp. Wisd. viii. 19.

PIRKĒ ABOTH

SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

THE treatise called 'Pirkē Aboth', or 'Sayings of the Fathers', is a collection of maxims, mostly ethical and religious, uttered by Jewish teachers within a period extending from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. 'Pirkē Aboth' is not its original title, neither is 'Sayings of the Fathers' a correct rendering of that title; but the former is very ancient, and the latter is so far sanctioned by custom that it would be inconvenient to correct it to 'Chapters of Fathers', though that is what it ought to be. The book was not the production of one author. It was one of the sixty-three treatises of the Mishnah, the great *corpus juris* in which the Tradition of the Elders was reduced to order. The compiler or editor of the Mishnah was Rabbi Judah the Holy, commonly called 'Rabbi', who died A.D. 219; and to that extent he may be regarded as the author of the Pirkē Aboth. But this treatise, like the Mishnah itself, is mainly composed of material older than the time of 'Rabbi'; and both give clear evidence of later additions. From this it will be seen that Pirkē Aboth can hardly be treated as a book in the ordinary sense of the word, and that no definite date can be given for its composition or even for its completion. While still a portion of the Tradition of the Elders, it differs in character and form from the main body of the Tradition, and is thus capable of separate treatment and study. As a collection of moral and religious sayings it was included in the liturgy of the synagogue at least as early as the eleventh century; and many commentaries upon it were written in and after the Middle Ages. Since the invention of printing, it has been published in innumerable editions, mostly Hebrew, but recently in other languages.

The contents of the book are not arranged in any obvious order, and it is evidently made up of several collections differing in aim and method. Chronological sequence is observed in ch. i, and to some extent in ch. ii. It is wholly disregarded in the remaining chapters. The maxims in ch. i–iv are the utterance of named teachers, while those in ch. v are mostly anonymous. Ch. vi is no part of the original book, and only attempts to catch the manner of it. But in all six chapters there is no attempt at a completely representative list of names. Sixty-five teachers are named, out of the hundreds who belonged to the period of the Mishnah; and while it was not to be expected that all these should be included, it is hard to account for some of the omissions. It is remarkable that Gamaliel II, one of the most important of all, is not mentioned, though all the line of Hillel, with that one exception, is represented, down to the beginning of the third century. So, too, in regard to the substance of the maxims, while these touch upon some of the main heads of Rabbinical theology and ethics, they by no means cover the whole field; and in what they do give there is no appearance of systematic arrangement. The whole collection, indeed, might well have been taken from the editor's note-book. But, while thus 'formless', it is by no means 'void'; and the reader who will persevere will find much that is valuable and instructive for the right understanding of the religion and ethics of the Pharisees; much, also, which, without being either very profound or very sublime, is yet well and wisely said.

For the explanation of the origin and nature of the book, several things need to be said which cannot well be given under the separate heads of title, date, integrity of composition, and authorship. In place of these sections there will here be given—

§ 2. Historical and Critical Account of Pirkē Aboth.

1. *Origin and growth of the Mishnah as a whole.* The characteristic feature of the reformation of Ezra in the fifth century B.C. was the stress laid upon the idea of Torah as the complete divine revelation given to Israel. 'Torah' should never be translated 'Law'; it is much more than Law. The written record, the Pentateuch, contained divine instruction in other forms besides that of precept. The interpretation of the Pentateuch was the unfolding of

the contents of revelation in every direction, not in that of practical conduct alone. The truth thus rendered explicit through valid interpretation was part of the contents of the original revelation; hence the written word and the unwritten interpretation were each Torah, and together made up the whole Torah. What was sought in the divine revelation was either truth to be known or directions for conduct to be obeyed. In order to carry out the fundamental command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' &c., it was needful that the Jew should know exactly what the divine will was on every occasion of choice. Therefore one main line on which the idea of Torah was developed was that of a Rule of right conduct. This was obtained first of all from the written word, and thence extended by successive definitions and the application of recognized methods of interpretation. The results of this process were carefully handed on from one teacher to another, being regarded as ascertained portions of Torah, no longer to be disputed and of binding authority. The body of judicial interpretations thus accumulated is the Tradition of the Elders; and the name given to the Rule of right conduct embodied in the tradition is Halachah. The tradition probably began with Ezra, but no names are preserved of the earliest teachers. In the centuries after his time, the mass of halachah increased in amount and complexity, since in each generation the more eminent teachers made their own contributions to it. The teachers whose names are given in the Pirkē Aboth are those who were chiefly instrumental in developing the Tradition on the line of halachah. R. Akiba (see notes) made the first attempt to classify the unwieldy mass of halachah, but left the work unfinished. His pupil, R. Meir, carried it further; but it was left to R. Judah (Rabbi) to undertake and accomplish the orderly arrangement of the whole, in the Mishnah. In form, the Mishnah is a series of definitions of halachah upon various subjects, extending over the whole range of practical life, regarded from the point of view of the Pharisee. In addition to the definitions of halachah, the Mishnah contains many rejected opinions, together with the reasons for rejecting them; also the names of the teachers on whose authority the tradition rested, as well as occasional historical and biographical notes. It is divided into six orders (*sedarim*) and sixty-three treatises or books (*massichtoth*). Each treatise is divided into chapters (*perakim*), and each chapter into paragraphs (each called a *halachah* or a *mishnah*). One of these treatises, in the fourth order, is that now known as Pirkē Aboth. In the editions of the Mishnah and the Talmud it is always called 'Aboth'.

2. *The treatise Aboth.* While the rest of the Mishnah consists mainly of halachah, Aboth contains no halachah at all; and the only reason for its inclusion in the Mishnah would seem to be the fact that its list of 'Fathers' is made up of those teachers who mainly produced the Mishnah. But why it was placed where it now stands, in the main division dealing with 'Injuries', has not been satisfactorily explained. That it was incorporated in the Mishnah, and was not left an isolated book as might well be supposed, is shown by the fact that in the Gemara (the later comment on the Mishnah, in the third to the fifth centuries) there are at least seventeen references to passages in Aboth, introduced by one or other of the formulae regularly used in quoting from the Mishnah. Several of these references are on the authority of R. Johanan, who had been a pupil of 'Rabbi' and must have known the Mishnah as Rabbi left it. But it was incorporated in the Mishnah, as an extraneous element, not forming part of the halachic tradition. The motive for the collection of the contents of Aboth was originally the desire to indicate the links in the chain of tradition from the time of Moses to the time of the compiler, whoever he was. This earliest nucleus of Aboth is contained in ch. i, and, as I believe, ends there. It will be seen from the notes that the last teacher mentioned in ch. i died in the war of A.D. 68–70, a date which is one of the fixed points of Rabbinical chronology. Who it was that drew up this list of 'Fathers' there is no evidence to show; it might well have been R. Zadok (iv. 7), an old man who just survived the fall of Jerusalem. But it is clear that the title 'Fathers' belongs to this earliest list, and, strictly speaking, only to that. The ancient, not the contemporary, teachers were the Fathers of Israel. In ch. ii is found another list, probably suggested by, but not continuous with, the earlier one. It deals mainly with R. Johanan b. Zaccai, his teacher, and his chief pupils; in other words, with the men who re-established the tradition after the war. A connexion with the older series is made by the statement that R. Johanan b. Zaccai 'received from' Hillel. But there is no further attempt to carry on the successive stages of the tradition. The mention in ii. 1, 2 of Rabbi and his son is clearly a later addition, and the same may perhaps be the case with R. Tarphon ii. 19, 20. Chapters iii and iv (which are continuous) abandon chronology altogether, and seem to be due to a desire to enrich the former collections of ancient wisdom with specimens from later times. Ch. v in its turn abandons the form of personal reference, and consists mainly of a series of groups based on numbers. All these different elements are clearly distinguishable; but it is impossible to allot them to their respective authors. I can only suggest that Rabbi found ch. i and ii already in existence, possibly also iii and iv (if he did not compile them himself), and that he added ch. v as a conclusion to the whole collection. Ch. vi was

not added till long after. The Mishnah, as left by Rabbi, contained then the treatise Aboth substantially complete; but interpolations were made in the one as in the other. Those in Aboth will be pointed out in the notes. The Mishnah became the subject of study in the Rabbinical schools both of Palestine and Babylonia, and the resulting commentary is called the Gemara. The Mishnah and the Gemara together form the Talmud, and there are thus two Talmuds, known respectively as the Jerusalem and the Babylonian. But there is no Gemara on Aboth, since it did not deal with halachah. At some period, probably after the closing of the Talmud, there was compiled a sort of expansion of Aboth, the work known as the Aboth of R. Nathan, though he was certainly not the compiler of the whole of it (see the preface in Schechter's edition of the *ARN*, 1887). The older Aboth was not displaced by the later expansion; it gradually came to be used as a book of edification for Sabbath reading by students in the colleges. The earliest trace of such use is in the college at Sura, towards the middle of the ninth century. At some later period, but before the end of the eleventh century, its use was extended from the colleges to the synagogues, and it was appointed to be read in the service on certain Sabbaths. Already in the college at Sura, the sixth chapter had been added to Aboth; and, if the reading was intended to last over six Sabbaths (as is the case in many Jewish communities), here would be the reason for compiling an additional chapter to the original five. Since the eleventh century, Aboth has been included in all the Jewish liturgies, though the days on which it is to be read vary in different localities. The most usual practice is to read it on the six Sabbath afternoons after Passover.

§ 3. The Manuscripts.

These are either of the whole Talmud, or of the Mishnah, or of Aboth separately. The Munich MS. of the Babylonian Talmud, written in 1369, and collated by Rabbinowicz for his *variae lectiones*, contains Aboth; but it has never been published, and the great work of Rabbinowicz was left unfinished at his death, the collation of Aboth being amongst the unprinted remainder. The most important Mishnah MS. is that in the Cambridge University Library (Add. 470. 1), fully described in Taylor's edition of Aboth (Appendix, 1900). In that Appendix, Taylor gives a classified list of 170 MSS. of Aboth contained in the libraries of London (B. Museum), Oxford (Bodleian), Cambridge, Paris, Hamburg, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Parma. The reader is referred to Taylor's list, also to the section on MSS. in Strack's article 'Thalmud' in Hauck's *Encyklopädie*. The present translation and notes have been made (so far as manuscript authority is concerned) with the help of Taylor's critical material; it may be sufficient therefore to describe briefly the chief MSS. used by him. For convenience of printing, ordinary capitals have been substituted for his Old English letters.

A. The Cambridge MS. mentioned above, containing the whole Mishnah according to the Palestinian recension, date fourteenth century. It has been published in full by W. H. Lowe, 1883. Taylor uses this as the basis of his translation. Aboth contains only five chapters.

B. Cambridge, St. John's College, K. 7. A copy (1517) of the commentary on Aboth (six chapters) by R. Isaac Israeli (1368), which was based upon an older commentary by R. Israel of Toledo (twelfth–thirteenth centuries).

C. Cambridge University, Add. 667, date 1220. Contains an unpointed text of Aboth (six chapters), also a commentary upon it.

D. Br. Museum, Add. 27200–1, date not later than 1242. Contains an unpointed text of Aboth, together with commentary. Six chapters are given; but it is expressly stated that Aboth ends with v. 23.

S. London, Jews' College, date about 1610. Contains pointed text of Aboth, six chapters, with a grammatical commentary.

§ 4. Influence of Aboth on Later Literature.

Very little can be said under this head, although Pirkē Aboth has been more widely read amongst Jews than almost any other book. Its influence upon life and character has been very great, because it has kept before the minds of its readers a certain type of piety. But it does so only by expressing the ethical, and to some extent the religious, ideas common to the whole of the literature coeval with the Talmud. It strikes out no new line, presents no new thought whose influence might be traced in later writings. The object of its compilation was to collect the treasures of ancient wisdom, not to invite a search for the new. There was progressive thought in Talmudic and mediaeval Judaism; but it received no stimulus from Pirkē Aboth. When Maimonides wrote his commentary on Aboth, he got his ethics mainly from Aristotle and interpreted the Jewish wisdom in terms of the Greek. Aboth served him as a basis for his exposition, not as the source of his ideas. The same is more or less true of all the many commentaries on Aboth; the object of them is to unfold the meaning of an ancient manual of piety, according to the moral judgement of the

interpreter, and not to go beyond it. The value of Aboth consisted largely in its presentation of the past, its reflection of the wisdom and piety which had stood the test of long experience, and was consecrated by the memory of revered sages and saints of the olden time. As a factor in training character it has played a great part in Jewish history; but as a source of new developments in literature, what influence it may have had is merged in that of the Talmud and the Midrash as a whole.

Outside the domain of Jewish literature and life Aboth has had practically no effect at all. It was known only to scholars, and by them used for the illustration of Jewish thought; it did not, so far as I know, lead to any fresh literary creation by non-Jewish writers.

§ 5. Theology of Aboth.

As will have appeared already, the main character of the book is ethical rather than theological. A theology is certainly implied in it, but it is the theology which underlies the whole of Rabbinical Judaism, and is in no way peculiar to Aboth. A full account of this theology would be out of place in an introduction to a book which is not specially theological, and would moreover occupy far more space than could be given to it. All that will here be attempted is to remark on those features of Aboth which may be regarded as theological. The distinction here drawn between ethical and theological would be hardly felt by those for whom Aboth was intended or by whom it was compiled. To be virtuous was to do the will of God; and the way to become virtuous was to learn what He had revealed and to take it to heart. A Talmudic Rabbi would not deny that there were virtuous Gentiles; but for those to whom the Torah, the complete divine revelation, had been given, there could be no moral excellence apart from Torah. The sanction of ethics was the revealed will of God; and there was no moral worth in obeying the precepts, in doing the things prescribed, unless there were the conscious intention of serving God in so doing. Hence, for all that the maxims in Aboth are in form mostly ethical, they are in substance religious, and, to the Jew, inseparable from religion. The character formed in accordance with them is the character of the *ḥasid*, the saint, the type of what the Jew ought to be as one of the children of God. To bear this in mind is constantly necessary in reading Aboth, else the non-Jewish reader will be likely to be little impressed by a series of moral counsels which do not appear to be very profound or very interesting. Behind them all (or nearly all) is, for the Jew, the thought of his personal relation to God, to whose perfect service those counsels are the guides. In this sense, the whole of Aboth is religious, though not specifically theological.

Of theology proper, the chief concept in Aboth is Torah, as it is the chief concept in all Rabbinical theology. What Torah means has been to some extent explained in § 2. A large proportion of the maxims in Aboth refer to the study of Torah; and by that is to be understood not merely the reading of the Pentateuch but the study of the divine thought, revealed implicitly in the written word (directly in the Pentateuch, indirectly in the rest of Scripture), and rendered explicit in the oral interpretation. Torah virtually means the whole of divine truth, so far as it was accessible to human minds. The characteristic terms of Talmudic Judaism are those of teaching and learning; the names Talmud, Mishnah, Midrash express the giving or receiving of knowledge, the thing known being Torah. Hence the keynote of Rabbinism is wisdom, and its saints are its sages; and here is to be found the clue to the remarkable difference in tone and character between the Talmudic literature and the N. Testament.

When the real significance of Torah is understood, it will not seem surprising that in Aboth there is no very frequent mention of God. Wherever Torah is referred to God is implied. He is not actually named by the use of the word 'God' all through the book, except in Scriptural citations. The term most often used is 'Makom', lit. 'place', as we should say 'the All-present'.[1] But it must not be inferred from this that the Talmudic idea of God was of a remote and abstract being. This was not so; although the evidence for denying this frequent misrepresentation cannot be given here. God is once referred to, in the concluding verse of the original book, v. 23, as 'thy Father which is in heaven', a term which is quite as characteristic of Talmudic religion as 'Makom', and which belongs of right to Judaism no less than to Christianity.

In regard to God's dealings with man, His foreknowledge is asserted, but most stress is laid upon His justice which shows itself in retribution; reward and punishment are apportioned for good deeds and bad respectively, and, though sometimes described in figures of speech commercial rather than religious, reward and punishment signify the divine approval and disapproval not limited to particular forms of expression. God must be served not for the sake of the reward, but for His own sake; 'for the sake of Heaven' is only another way of saying 'for the sake of God'. The love of God to man

[1] Other terms are 'Holy One, blessed be He', 'Heaven', 'Shechinah', 'King of the kings of the kings'.

is also mentioned, and is not confined to Israel (iii. 19). God hears prayer; and prayer is not to be restricted to fixed forms, but is to be the spontaneous utterance of the soul to Him. It may be inferred, though it is not expressly said, that as man was made in the image of God, the characteristics of the saint (see especially vi. 6) are likewise (so far as they are applicable) attributes of God.

There is no theological doctrine which is taught in Aboth and not found elsewhere; while there is much that is found elsewhere and only unmentioned in Aboth because there was no occasion for it. The object of the compiler was not to produce a handbook of theology, but to illustrate from famous examples the character of the saint. For Rabbinical theology as a whole the reader is referred to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and is warned that Weber's *System of Synagogue Theology* is a most unsafe guide, as it presents the results of great learning from a standpoint entirely mistaken and by a method fundamentally wrong.[1] (See the present writer's *Pharisaism*, pp. 235–7.)

§ 6. Bibliography.

There is no need to distinguish here between editions of the text and editions of the book; and the critical problems presented by the text are of comparatively small importance, relating only to various readings and interpolations. There is nothing in the criticism of Aboth comparable to the problems presented by the Hexateuch, or Isaiah, or the Synoptic Gospels.

Apart from the editions of the Mishnah and of the whole Talmud, there is, so far as I know, no *editio princeps* of Aboth. The separate text appeared first in the prayer-books, or less probably in the commentaries. It was never, till quite recently, printed as a book on its own account. The text in Hebrew, for private edification, has been published in many editions, but without any pretence of textual criticism.

Of critical editions, prepared with all the resources of modern scholarship, there are only two. The first is that by C. Taylor (reprinted as second edition with appendix, in two volumes, 1900). This gives text, translation, critical and general notes, and a full critical apparatus. It is quite indispensable to the student of Aboth, though the notes are somewhat overloaded and not always strictly relevant. The chief omission is an account of the origin and history of the book, a few lines in the preface being all that is given to that branch of the subject. With that exception, Taylor's edition leaves little to be said by any future editor of the text. The other critical edition is that by Strack, published in 1882. It is much shorter than that of Taylor, the notes being mainly grammatical and literary. But, so far as it goes, the work could hardly be improved; the scholarship and minute accuracy for which Strack is so well known appear on every page. The introduction, though short, includes almost everything that is necessary, except an account of the MSS. Strack does not say what text he has used, nor what is the authority for the various readings which he rejects. For further details upon editions of Aboth, see the article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and Strack's Introduction just mentioned.

Supplementary Notes.

In the following translation I have used the text as given in Taylor, in Strack, in the Wilna edition of the Talmud Babli (1880–1884), and in the Amsterdam edition of the Mishnah, 1675 (a copy that belonged to R. Moses of Rothenburg). I have not followed any one of them exclusively. I have also got useful help from the edition, with commentary, called 'Minḥah ḥadashah', 1722 (written by Michael Moravczyk and published in 1576). I have throughout consulted the commentaries of Rashi, R. Obadiah of Sforno (Bartenora), Maimonides, and Jom-tob-Heller. I have followed the usual division of chapters; but, as there is no recognized division of paragraphs, I have used my own judgement in dividing them.

[1] The student, however, should bear in mind that Rabbinic Pharisaism after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. differs largely from Pharisaism before that date. See the Introduction to this Vol.—Gen. Editor.

PIRKĒ ABOTH

SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS

1 Moses received Torah from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgement; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence for the Torah.

2 Simeon the Just was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say: On three things the world standeth: on the Torah, and on the Service, and on the doing of kindnesses.

3 Antigonos of Socho received from Simeon the Just. He used to say: Be not like slaves who serve the master with a view to receiving a present; but be like slaves who serve the master not with a view to receiving a present: and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.

4 Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem received from them. Jose b. Joezer of Zeredah said: Let thy house be a house of meeting for the Wise, and bedust thyself with the dust of their feet, and drink with thirst their words.

I. 1. **Torah.** A technical term not identical with 'Law'. *Torah* (= teaching) denotes the revelation which God gave to Israel by Moses, supposed to be complete and final. The Pentateuch is the written record of that teaching; hence the name Torah is often applied to the Pentateuch. But Torah included also the unwritten tradition whereby the implicit contents of the revelation were made explicit by successive interpretations. No English word is equivalent to Torah, which is therefore retained untranslated in the text and the notes.

the Elders. Probably the 'able men' chosen by Moses to assist him (Exod. xviii. 25), and regarded as a permanent body.

Great Synagogue. In the rabbinical tradition a council founded by Ezra which lasted for many years. The scanty references to it indicate the assembly mentioned in Neh. ix, x. No such permanent council can be shown to have existed; but the tradition is not wholly worthless. The term 'Great Synagogue' may be taken to denote the early Scribes (Sopherim), who developed the religion of Torah on the lines and in the spirit of Ezra, for several generations after his time. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 18–22.

They said, i.e. the men of the Great Synagogue said. Tradition represented as decrees of a council what were probably only the rules agreed on by the Scribes for their own guidance. The three sayings are certainly very ancient. It was the duty of the Scribes to judge, also to teach Torah.

a fence for the Torah, סיג לתורה. This does not mean that the Torah was to be made into a stiff hedge, but refers merely to precautions by which a man might be guarded from transgression before it was too late.

2. **Simeon the Just,** or the Righteous. It is impossible to be sure who is meant, whether Simeon, grandson of Jaddua, who was High Priest from 310 to 291 B.C. (or 300–270), or his grandson, who was High Priest from 219 to 199. Josephus mentions both (*Ant.* xii. 2. 5 and 4. 10), but he only applies the epithet 'the Just' to the older man. The Simon of Sirach i is probably the younger, and he is not there called 'the Just'. The rabbinical references confuse the two, and possibly allude to other men also.

the world standeth. Meaning that the three things are the fundamentals of human (or perhaps national) life.

Torah. See above.

the Service, העבודה. The Temple service. The three things represent revelation, worship, and sympathy, i. e. God's word to man, man's response to God, and man's love to his fellow men.

3. **Antigonos of Socho.** Note the Greek name. His date, being dependent on that of Simeon the Just, is uncertain. Later tradition said that he had two disciples, one of whom, Zadok, became the founder of the Sadducees.

a present. The Hebr. word פרס represents the Gk. *φόρος*, and is distinguished from 'reward', שכר, that which the servant has a right to expect.

fear of Heaven, i.e. the fear of God. Heaven, for God, a frequent substitute in Jewish speech; the most familiar instance is 'kingdom of heaven' = kingdom of God. The two dicta of Antigonos are unconnected with each other.

4. From here to *v.* 12, the successive teachers are arranged in pairs. They are so grouped elsewhere in the Talmud, and are called Zūgōth (Pairs). They are represented in tradition as having been, in each case, the president and vice-president of the Sanhedrin, the great council of the state. This is incorrect, as Kuenen has conclusively shown (see his essay 'Over de samenstelling van het Sanhedrin'). If, however, there were some assembly of Scribes, as suggested above, *v.* 1, then the Zūgōth may have been presidents and vice-presidents of that body.

Jose b. Joezer was probably among the sixty who were killed by Alcimus (1 Macc. vii. 16), 162 B.C. Alcimus is said to have been his nephew.

from them, מהם. The MSS. and printed texts are divided between this reading and an alternative 'from him' ממנו. For the former ABCD, for the latter S. Taylor, Baer, and Strack adopt the former. The latter is perhaps due to a desire to obviate the difficulty of the reading 'from them', since only Antigonos is mentioned in the preceding verse. The reading 'from them' implies that a name or names are missing between Antigonos and the first Pair. This favours the authenticity of the list; if it had been fictitious, names would have been supplied.

the Wise. The recognized teachers, whether the early Scribes or the later Rabbis.

bedust thyself. The disciple should sit at the feet of his teacher; cp. Acts xxii. 3.

5 Jose b. Joḥanan of Jerusalem said: Let thy house be opened wide; and let poor folk be thy household; and talk not much with the wife.

5 *a* [He said it concerning his own wife; much more concerning the wife of his associate. Hence the Wise have said: So long as a man talks much with the wife he causes evil to himself, and desists from words of Torah, and his end is that he inherits Gehenna.]

6 Joshua b. Peraḥiah and Nittai the Arbelite received from them. Joshua b. Peraḥiah said: Make to thyself a teacher; and get thee an associate; and judge every man with a leaning to *his* merit.

7 Nittai the Arbelite said: Keep far from an evil neighbour, and consort not with the wicked, and be not heedless of retribution.

8 Judah b. Tabbai and Simeon b. Shetaḥ received from them. Judah b. Tabbai said: Make not thyself as those that prepare the judges; and when the suitors are standing before thee let them be in thine eyes as wicked men; and when they have been dismissed from before thee let them be in thine eyes as just *men* who have received their sentence.

9 Simeon b. Shetaḥ said: Do much in examining the witnesses; and be careful in thy words; perchance by means of them they may learn to lie.

10 Shemaiah and Abtalion received from them. Shemaiah said: Love work, and hate mastery, and make not thyself known to the government.

5. **the wife**, or 'woman' in general; cp. John iv. 27. But the former is more likely, because the whole verse refers to the one household; also in the following verse, which interprets this saying, the meaning is clearly 'wife'.

5 *a*. This verse is a later comment on the preceding, though it is included in all the MSS. Ch. i is the oldest part of the treatise (v. Introduction); this verse may have been added by the compiler.

He said it. The Hebr. is אמרו, which, being unpointed, may be translated 'he said it', or 'they said'. The former suits the context, while the latter can only be made intelligible by supplying 'the Wise' from the next clause. Taylor and Strack render 'they said', and do not notice the alternative. Schoettgen has 'he said it', *dixit*. The meaning of the prohibition to talk with the wife is variously explained: (*a*) it distracts the man's attention from words of Torah; (*b*) she may put him to shame by gossiping of what he says to her; (*c*) it may lead to his talking with other women, thence to suspicion, thence to sin.

inherits, יורש. So most MSS. S has יורד 'descends into'. 'Inherit' is frequently used of Paradise, the bliss after death; v. *infra*, *v.* 22, 'Garden of Eden', and cp. Matt. xxv. 34, 41.

Gehenna, Γέεννα, the abode of the wicked after death.

6. The second Pair, v. *supra*, i. 4. Their approximate date is 110 B.C. J. b. Peraḥiah, according to one set of traditions in the Talmud, was the teacher of Jesus.

Nittai the Arbelite. From Arbela (mod. Irbid) in Galilee, a few miles west-north-west of Tiberias. Nittai is the usual reading, and is a contracted form of Nethaniah. A reads Mattai, here and Ḥag. ii. 2, the only other place where this teacher is mentioned; the difference is only between נתאי and מתאי.

associate, *ḥaber*, חבר, the name applied to members of a society, *ḥabūrah*, pledged to strict observance of the rules of 'clean' and 'unclean', &c. The term is possibly derived from Ps. cxix. 63, and was used by Pharisees to designate each other.

leaning to his merit, לכף זכות. Metaphor of a balance with two pans, one to hold the merit, the other the demerit. That which holds the merit is to be helped to descend. The maxim simply means 'believe the best of every man'.

7. **evil neighbour.** Probably general.

heedless, perhaps 'hopeless'. It has been suggested (*J. Enc.* s. v. Nittai) that this third saying was uttered in reference to the persecution of the Pharisees by John Hyrcanus after he had gone over to the Sadducees (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6), and that it was meant to encourage the Pharisees to hope that Hyrcanus would yet be punished for his apostasy. This is possible; but the commentators interpret the saying of retribution in general.

8. The third Pair. **S. b. Shetaḥ**, brother-in-law of King Jannaeus (126–76 B.C.), whom he survived. He was successful in restoring the influence of the Pharisees which had been lost under Hyrcanus (see above). In the tradition, though **J. b. Tabbai** is here placed first, S. b. Sh. is by far the more important. (See *Rev. d. Études Juives*, 1912, pp. 216–32.)

prepare the judges, עורכי הדיינין, i. e. influence them before the trial. As the maxim is addressed to judges the meaning seems to be 'do not listen to those who prepare the judges', in any case 'be impartial'. This clause is repeated below, iv. 7. [If we read הדינין we have an excellent sense: 'Make not thyself like those who prepare the suits,' i. e. do not play the part of a counsel but of a judge.—Gen. Editor.]

wicked: not, however, guilty (Taylor). The judge must not assume that the accused has done what he is accused of, but must merely show no favour to either party; he must not say 'this man is respectable' (Rashi).

just: as they have received the sentence, there is no further ground of imputing evil to them; they have satisfied the law.

9. Again addressed to judges. **careful in thy words,** זהיר בדבריך: the judge is not to indicate what his own opinion is, lest the witnesses should adapt their evidence to his views and swear falsely for the sake of a verdict in their favour.

10. The fourth Pair. **Shemaiah** and **Abtalion** are probably the Σαμέας and Πολλίων of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 1. 1). Both are said to have been proselytes of heathen origin; but Grätz (*G. d. Jud.* iii. 481) disproves this, and suggests that they were Alexandrian Jews. Date, 60 B.C., *circa*. Shemaiah is the more prominent figure; but it is said by Josephus that he was a disciple of Abtalion.

mastery, רבנות, the word used in later literature to describe the status of a Rabbi. It cannot have that meaning here, for Shemaiah himself was a Rabbi, and magnified his office. The Talmud (b. Sotah. 13[b]) says that 'Joseph died before his brethren because he behaved with *rabbanuth*', i. e. he domineered over them. Shemaiah warns against arrogance.

11 Abtalion said: Ye Wise, be careful in your words; lest ye become guilty with the guilt *that involves* exile, and be exiled to a place of evil waters, and the disciples that come after you drink and die, and the Name of Heaven be found profaned.

12 Hillel and Shammai received from them. Hillel said: Be of the disciples of Aaron, one that loves peace, that pursues peace, that loves mankind and brings them nigh to Torah.

13 He used to say: *Whoso* makes great his name destroys his name; whoso adds not makes to cease; and he who will not learn is guilty *so as to deserve* killing. And whoso serves himself with the crown passes away.

14 He used to say: If I am not for myself, who is for me? And when I am for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?

15 Shammai said: Make thy Torah a fixed *duty*; say little and do much; and receive every man with the look of a cheerful face.

16 Rabban Gamaliel said: Make to thyself a teacher; and remove thyself from what is doubtful; and do not often tithe by *mental* valuation.

government, רשות. The authorities (so ii. 3 below). It is dangerous to become known to the authorities, or it is corrupting. Probably here the latter is meant; as Shemaiah was very well known to the authorities.

11. **Wise.** The teachers, Rabbis; see above, i. 4. To expound Torah wrongly is to promote the transgression of its precepts. If, as the divine retribution for doing so, a teacher is exiled to a place of **evil waters,** i. e. a place where there is no sound teaching of Torah, he may perpetuate his error, so that those who **come after,** i. e. learn from him, may **drink,** i. e. receive his teaching, and **die,** i. e. fall into sin for which death is the divine punishment. In that case, it will **be found,** i. e. it will result, that the name of God has been **profaned.**

12. **Hillel** and **Shammai,** the fifth and last Pair (date 30 B. C. and after). Hillel is said to have lived 120 years, but this is only a way of comparing him with Moses. The same is said of R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai. The disciples of H. and S. were divided in opinion upon many questions, and their controversies lasted for nearly a century. It was perhaps owing to this that no further Pairs are mentioned. The authorized tradition was that of the school of H.; and, with the one exception of R. Joḥ. b. Zaccai, descendants of H. successively held the leading position (later, with the title of 'Nasi', 'prince') down to A. D. 415. Seven sayings of H. are given in this book, i. 12–14, ii. 5–8. The originals are part in Hebrew, part in Aramaic.

disciples of Aaron. The association of Aaron with peace is frequent in the Rabinical literature, and is possibly due to H. himself.

mankind, בריות, lit. 'creatures', but the commentators agree that it refers to the human race as a whole; and thus it often denotes the Gentiles as distinguished from the Jews. Taylor compares Mark xvi. 15 and Rom. viii. 19. The sense is probably the same; but in these and similar passages κτίσις is in the singular (R. V. 'creation').

brings . . . nigh to Torah, מקרבן לתורה. As the Torah was the divine revelation, the 'creatures', i. e. all mankind, should be invited to come and share in it. This is the motive of 'compass sea and land to make one proselyte', Matt. xxiii. 15.

13. The original is in Aramaic. **name,** reputation. For the sense of the maxim cp. 'vaulting ambition doth o'erleap itself' (Shaks.).

adds not, i. e. to what he learns from his teacher; he must contribute something from his own intelligence.

makes to cease. The reading varies between the trans. and the intrans. יסף and יסוף. In the first case the learner loses what he has learned; in the second he comes to an end, is good for nothing.

guilty . . . killing, קטלא חיב. For the form of the phrase cp. (A. V.) Matt. xxvi. 66. 'Guilty of death' gives the wrong sense in English; but it exactly represents the Hebrew, of which ἔνοχος θανάτου is the rendering in the Gospel. To refuse to learn Torah at all is to despise the divine revelation, and is, as it were, spiritual suicide. One who does so 'deserves death', but is not 'guilty of killing' himself.

serves himself, makes his own profit out of.

crown: any position of authority or privilege, here his knowledge of Torah. The teacher of Torah must not be paid for teaching. The Rabbis either worked for their living or had private means. See below, iv. 7, where this maxim is paraphrased by R. Zadok, and Hillel's own words added, perhaps by the editor.

14. Original in Hebrew. The general sense is of self-reliance and readiness. The contrast between 'now' and 'when?' refers either to 'this world' and 'the world to come', or else merely to the present and some future time. The opportunity may never come again.

15. **Shammai** (see above, *v.* 12) was much less prominent in the tradition. He had the character of being harsh and severe, as contrasted with Hillel.

fixed, קבע: 'duty' is added to complete the sense. Torah is to be the foundation of all, the one essential in life, and the study of it is to take precedence over everything else. Another interpretation is that fixed times are to be kept for the study of Torah lest it be omitted. Another is, that Torah (precept) is to be applied uniformly, not in favour of one and against another, but equally to both.

16. **Rabban Gamaliel.** In Hebrew גמליאל. Grandson of Hillel; this is the teacher of Paul, and the Gamaliel of Acts v. 34. Rabban is a title, first used in his case, to denote the head of the house of Hillel. According to the Rabbinical view, this carried with it the presidency of the Sanhedrin; but the passage in Acts shows that Gamaliel did not hold that position. After the fall of Jerusalem, when the Sanhedrin ceased to be the great council under the presidency of the High Priest, and became merely the assembly of the Rabbis, the chief of the house of Hillel was its president; except that for some years, A. D. 70–80, R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai held the office. The title Rabban is not indicated in the passage in Acts; but if it were the retrospective compliment of a later age, it would almost certainly have been given also to Hillel. Perhaps it is the expression of the fact that Gamaliel was 'held in honour of all the people'.

remove . . . doubtful, הסתלק מן הספק. Taylor renders 'Be quit of doubt', but does not explain the saying. The commentators connect it with the previous saying, and take it to mean, 'In doubtful cases consult some one else,

17 Simeon his son said: All my days I have grown up among the Wise, and I have not found anything better than silence; and not study is the chief thing but action; and whoso makes many words occasions sin.

18 Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: On three things the world stands: on judgement, on truth, and on peace. [As it is said: 'Truth and judgement of peace judge ye in your gates.'] Zech. i.

2 1 Rabbi said: What is that right way which a man should choose for himself? Whatever is an honour to him that does it and an honour to him *in the sight of* men. And be careful over a light precept as over a weighty, for thou knowest not the giving of the rewards of the precepts. And reckon the loss *involved in a* precept against its reward, and the reward of a sin against its loss. And

and do not depend on your own judgement alone'; the reference is to the functions of a judge, and not to the difficulties of a searcher after truth. The third saying is mere practical advice not to rely on guesswork in estimating the amount to be separated (from corn, &c.) as tithe.

17. **Simeon his son.** This would be the son of the preceding, and is so understood by nearly all the commentators. But a much more probable explanation is that *vv.* 16, 17 have been transposed, and that the Simeon of *v.* 17 is the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel. In favour of this view is the fact that this Simeon is not called Rabban, as he would have been if he had succeeded Gamaliel. Also, that Simeon the son of Hillel was so unimportant that he is only once mentioned in the Talmud; this is in keeping with the saying mentioned in *v.* 17, which is the utterance of a shy, retiring man. Also, in *v.* 18, there is Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, i. e. the man to whom *v.* 17 is commonly supposed to refer, viz. the Simeon who was one of the leading men during the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *Wars*, iv. 3. 9). The commentators, however, having already assigned *v.* 17 to him, are obliged to assign *v.* 18 to a younger S. b. Gamaliel, in the middle of the second century, who is here quite out of place. The identification I propose makes the arrangement simple and natural; it brings the line of Hillel down to the year of the siege and stops there, in accordance with the remark in the Talmud (b. Shabb. 15[a]) that the order of succession was: Hillel, Simeon, Gamaliel, Simeon; of whom it is said that the four held office for a hundred years prior to the destruction of the Temple. The whole line of descent for the period included in this book is as follows: Hillel, Simeon I, Gamaliel I, Simeon II, Gamaliel II, Simeon III, Judah the Prince, Gamaliel III, each being son of his predecessor. For the bearing of this conjecture on the compilation of the book, see the Introduction. The saying recited in *v.* 17 scarcely needs explanation; it is in keeping with the character of a man who had no head for study, and found it safest to remain silent. It was natural that he should lay more stress on the practice than on the theory of Torah. On the danger of much speaking cp. iii. 17 below, 'Silence is a fence for wisdom.'

18. For the identification of this teacher, see preceding note. This is the Simeon of the siege, in the course of or soon after which he was apparently killed. His maxim is a variant on *v.* 2 above, where three fundamentals are laid down in a saying ascribed to Simeon the Just. The text, Zech. viii. 16, cited in support of the maxim, is probably an editorial addition. The citations of Scripture become more frequent in the later parts of the book, but it is seldom possible to be sure whether any of them were included in the original text.

II. 1. For the division of chapters in this book see the Introduction.

Rabbi. This is R. Judah the Prince (Nasi), son of Simeon III, see above on i. 17; also called Judah the Holy (ha-ḳadosh). The title Rabbi was given to every accredited teacher in Palestine, but always with the addition of his own name, thus—Rabbi Zadok. In the case of Judah the Holy, the name was omitted and the title alone given, as if to indicate that he was *the* Rabbi *par excellence.* Rabbi died A.D. 219. He is said to have been born A.D. 135, but this is probably too early. He was the last and chief compiler of the Mishnah, though additions were made to it after his time. This is evident from the mention of him in this verse, and still more from *v.* 2. See the Introduction.

way, path, or course, used as in English of the manner of life, course of action. The 'way of the earth', דרך ארץ, means general intercourse with one's fellow men. It was the aim of the Rabbis to deduce from Torah directions for the practical service of God in daily life, guidance in the right 'way'; and the rules which they formulated were called (singly and collectively) 'halachah', הלכה, i. e. 'going', in other words 'rule of right conduct'. The Mishnah is, mainly, a collection of 'halachah', and the Gemara the commentary on it. Mishnah and Gemara together make up the Talmud. For the use of the term 'way', in its ethical meaning, cp. Acts xviii. 26; xix. 9, 23; xxiv. 14; also the title of the early Jewish treatise, adapted to Christian use, 'The Two Ways.'

a man, האדם, not especially a Jew.

him that does it. The almost universal reading is לעשה, which is pointed either לְעֹשֶׂה or לְעֹשָׂה. I do not venture to depart from this in the translation. But עשה is not the verb which would naturally be used in reference to דרך 'way'; and, further, some commentators have felt that the maxim of Rabbi requires a different antithesis. R. Israel of Toledo (twelfth to thirteenth century) suggests that לעשה ought to be read לְעֹשֵׂהָ (or, more simply, לְעֹשֵׂהוּ, as the first letter of the next word is ו), and translated 'to his Maker'. The maxim would then mean that a man's actions should be honourable in the sight of God, as well as in the sight of men. This is certainly a brilliant conjecture, but there is no manuscript authority for it. According to the usual reading, the meaning is merely that a man should do what is a credit to himself and meets with the approval of his fellow men.

light . . . weighty, חמורה . . . קלה, i. e. in appearance. In theory, all precepts of the Torah were of equal obligation, because all were expressions of the divine will.

rewards, שכר. The Rabbis meant by 'reward' the sign (whatever form it might take) of God's approval of what was done in obedience to His will; they did not mean a payment for service rendered, a claim for which could be set up against God. The precepts were to be obeyed 'with a perfect heart', not for the sake of the reward. (See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 267–76.) The saying of Rabbi is commented on in this sense (though he is not named) in Midrash Rabbah, *Deut.*, p. 112[a], a fine passage too long to quote.

loss . . . reward, הפסד מצוה . . . שכרה. Whatever sacrifice a duty entails there is the divine approval for it,

keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin; know what is above thee, an eye that sees and an ear that hears, and all thy deeds written in a book.

2 Rabban Gamaliel the son of Rabbi Judah the Prince said: Comely is study of Torah with worldly occupation, for toil in both makes sin forgotten. And all Torah without work ends in failure and brings *with it* sin. And let all who labour with the congregation labour with them for the Name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers upholds them, and their righteousness standeth for ever. And ye—I confer upon you, *saith God*, [plenteous] reward, as if ye had wrought.

3 Be careful with the government, for they do not come near to a man except for their own need; and they appear like friends in the hour of their advantage, and they stand not by a man in the hour of his need.

4 He used to say: Make His will as thy will that He may make thy will as His will; efface thy will before His will that He may efface the will of others before thy will.

5 Hillel said: Separate thyself not from the congregation, and be not sure of thyself till the day of thy death; and judge not thine associate until thou comest to his place. And say not *of* a word which cannot be understood that it will be understood in the end. And say not 'when I am at leisure I will study'; perchance thou wilt not be at leisure.

6 He used to say: A rude man fears not sin; and no vulgar person is pious; and the shy man does

and whatever be the advantage or profit gained by sin, there is the divine disapproval, retribution, behind it. Cp. Matt. xvi. 26.

three things. It is not quite clear what the 'three things' are, as 'know what is above thee' may be reckoned as one of them. But probably this is only a variation on 'consider', and the three things are the seeing eye, the listening ear, and the book of record. C reads 'know that above thee *are*', &c. For the book of record cp. Rev. xx. 12.

2. **Rabban Gamaliel.** This is Gamaliel III, son of Rabbi. His date may be put at A.D. 250; hardly anything is known of him. The heads of the house of Hillel continued to hold the position of Nasi, and were the representatives of their people in dealing with the Roman government; but they ceased to take the lead in the teaching of Torah in the Rabbinical schools. Of this Gamaliel's contemporaries, the chief teachers were R. Joḥanan in Palestine and Rab in Babylonia.

worldly occupation, דרך ארץ. See above, note on *v.* 1, on 'way of the earth'; Rabbinical opinion was divided on the amount of דרך ארץ to be allowed in conjunction with Torah; see below, iii. 20, vi. 7.

failure . . . sin, עון . . . בטלה. The consequences, not of Torah, but of Torah without practice; cp. Jas. ii. 26, iv. 17.

congregation, צבור. The community of Israel as a whole, or any local community; the reference is to synagogue officials, and more particularly to the 'parnas' or steward who dispensed the charity and administered the funds of the congregation. The steward must do his work as a service of God, and not take credit to himself for what he does. The congregation do their charity through him, but the 'righteousness' is theirs, not his. The merit of their fathers upholds them, not the merit of the steward. But, if the steward acts thus piously and disinterestedly, there is reward, divine approval, for him also. God reckons it to him as if he had done from himself what the congregation have done through his agency.

saith God, or, the Scripture, not in the text but implied in the singular of the verb מעלה. A has the plural מעלין 'they confer', 'they' being the angels, the 'family above', as they are called in the Rabbinical literature. The phrase is often used as equivalent to Providence. There is no thought of beings independent of God. ABC omit **plenteous.**

3. This is apparently said by the same R. Gamaliel III as the preceding. It is not clear to whom the advice is addressed. Gamaliel himself, as Nasi, was the official representative of the Jews to the Roman authorities; but the synagogue stewards may have been brought into contact with government officials. But it is possible that the saying, being anonymous, does not belong to Gamaliel at all, and may be addressed to others than the stewards of the preceding verse. The saying is based on bitter experience of the ways of the Roman government, but expresses a cynical opinion about all governments, that they only act from self-interest.

4. **He.** The speaker of the preceding verse, presumably Gamaliel III.

His will, i.e. God's will. The thought is clear, but falls short of the unconditional submission of 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt. Thy will be done.' There is no exact parallel to that saying of Jesus in the Rabbinical literature.

5. **Hillel.** See above, i. 12. There was a much later Hillel, but there is no ground for supposing that the speaker here is any but the early and famous Hillel. For the want of chronological order in the book see the Introduction.

Separate . . . congregation. Probably intended as a warning against taking up strange and heretical opinions and practices. The saying is ascribed to R. Zadok, see below, iv. 7, but perhaps only because he there repeats another saying of Hillel.

say not . . . understood. The reading varies between אפשר 'can be', and אי אפשר 'cannot be'. Also some commentators supply על 'of', to make sense. Two interpretations are possible: (*a*) the teacher shall not teach what cannot be understood and excuse himself by saying that it will be understood in time, after reflection by the learner; he ought to express his meaning clearly at the first; (*b*) the learner ought not to say 'of' anything which is taught and which seems to him unintelligible, that he will learn what it means later on; he ought to apply himself to it at once till he masters it. The difference between 'can be' and 'cannot be' understood is in appearance, not in reality. The interpretation (*b*) is that of Rashi (or the commentary ascribed to him). It is confirmed by the final clause, 'say not when I am at leisure,' &c.

6. **rude,** בור, 'empty of everything, even the knowledge of business' (Bartenora). He has no Torah to keep him from sin.

vulgar, in the sense of 'one of the common herd'. Hebr. עם הארץ, a famous term much discussed. It denotes all who for whatever reason did not seek to conform their lives and actions to the Torah. Cp. John vii. 49.

shy, בישן. One who is afraid to ask his teacher to explain what he does not understand.

not learn nor the passionate teach, nor he that hath much business become wise. And in a place where there are no men strive to be a man.

7 Moreover, he saw a skull which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it: Because thou drownedst they drowned thee; and at the last they who drowned thee shall be drowned.

8 He used to say: More flesh more worms; more wealth more care; more maidservants more lewdness; more menservants more thieving; more women more witchcraft; more Torah more life; more classroom more wisdom; more counsel more discernment; more righteousness more peace. Whoso has gained a good name has gained *it* for himself; who has gained for himself words of Torah has gained for himself the life of the world to come.

9 Rabban Joḥanan b. Zaccai received from Hillel and from Shammai. He used to say: If thou hast practised much Torah, take not credit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created.

10 Five disciples there were to Rabban Joḥanan b. Zaccai, and these are they: Rabbi Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, Rabbi Joshua b. Ḥananiah, Rabbi Jose the priest, Rabbi Simeon b. Nathaniel, and Rabbi Eleazar b. Arach. He used to sum up their praise—Eliezer b. Hyrcanus is a plastered cistern which loseth not a drop; Joshua b. Ḥananiah, happy is she who bore him; Jose the priest is pious; Simeon b. Nathaniel feareth sin; Eleazar b. Arach is a full-flowing spring.

11 He used to say: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in the other scale, he would weigh down them all. Abba Saul said, in his name: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus with them, and Eleazar b. Arach in the other scale, he would weigh them all down.

12 He said to them: Go and see what is that good way to which a man should cleave. R. Eliezer said: A good eye. R. Joshua said: A good associate. R. Jose said: A good neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that regards the result of an action. R. Eleazar said: A good heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words, for your words are included in his.

13 He said to them: Go and see what is that evil way from which a man should keep himself.

passionate, קפדן. The teacher who loses his temper when his pupils do ask him questions.
become wise. Cp. Sirach xxxviii. 24.

7. An epigram of retribution. The original is in Aramaic.

8. A series of epigrams. For the sake of brevity the original מרבה 'one that increases' is rendered by 'more'. There is more of cynicism in these sayings than of the gentle and lovable nature for which Hillel was traditionally famous.

9. **Rabban Joḥanan b. Zaccai.** One of the disciples of Hillel; he died about A.D. 80, and is said to have been 120 years old; probably he was born about the beginning of our era. He saved Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, by gathering the surviving Rabbis in Jabneh, and re-establishing the broken fabric of the study of Torah. The surviving heir of the House of Hillel, Gamaliel II, son of Simeon II (see above, i. 17, 18), was probably too young to take the lead. He succeeded to the presidency on the death (or retirement?) of R. Joḥanan. Note that the title 'Rabban' is given to Joḥanan; also that he is said to have 'received from' Hillel, the same phrase as that used in the earlier verses of ch. i. This is the last occasion on which the phrase is used in the book.

practised, עשית. So ABCD, supported by Abarbanel and many commentators. The printed editions have 'learned', למדת, possibly influenced by a similar phrase in ii. 20. Since the verb עשה does not go well with 'Torah', some MSS. read טובה 'good', instead of תורה, with the meaning 'done much good'; but the authority for this is very slight. It may have been suggested by טובה after אל תחזק.

10. The five disciples of R. Joḥanan. All are known in the Rabbinical tradition, but the first two far outshone the others. R. Eliezer died shortly before A.D. 116, and was then an old man. R. Joshua had been a singer in the Temple. He was living in A.D. 130, for he met the emperor Hadrian in Alexandria; but he was dead before the rebellion of Bar Cócheba broke out in A.D. 135. Of the other three Rabbis, no chronological details can be given. ACD omit 'Rabbi' before their names when their master refers to them; the printed texts add it. Note the reference to the mother of R. Joshua; tradition says that she used to bring him in his cradle to the Synagogue that he might thus early be accustomed to hear words of Torah (Jer. Jeb. 3*a*). This is reported by Dosa b. Harchinas (see below, iii. 14), who knew him as a child.

11. **He,** i.e. R. Joḥanan. The two clauses contradict each other. R. Eliezer and R. Eleazar b. Arak cannot both have been supreme. The remark of Abba Saul (a contemporary) seems intended to replace a misquoted opinion of R. Joḥanan by a correct version. This is confirmed by R. Joḥanan's approval of R. Eleazar in *vv.* 12, 13.

12. **He.** Again R. Joḥanan.
Go and see. Merely an opening formula, 'Come now.'
good way. See above on ii. 1. The answers give not a 'way' but the clue to finding the way.
good eye. Cp. Matt. vi. 22, 23. In general it means an unselfish disposition.
associate. See above on i. 6.
neighbour. See above, i. 7.
result of an action. The meaning is that the 'good way' is found by learning from experience.
good heart, as being the source of all feeling and all action. This is the ground why R. Joḥanan approved R. Eleazar's answer before all the rest.

13. The negatives to the preceding answers. R. Simeon, however, varies the form of his reply. The man who borrows and does not pay is one who acts without considering the consequences. The clause, 'He that borrows from man,' &c., although it is included in the MSS., is probably a later gloss, because it is out of keeping with the brevity of all the other replies. The proof-text shows that the author of the gloss interpreted R. S.'s saying of literal borrowing.

R. Eliezer said: An evil eye. R. Joshua said: An evil associate. R. Jose said: An evil neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that borrows and does not pay. [He that borrows from man is as he that borrows from God, blessed be He; as it is said, 'The wicked borroweth and payeth not, but the righteous showeth favour and giveth.'] R. Eleazar said: An evil heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words; for your words are included in his. Ps. xxxvi.

14 They said *each* three things. R. Eliezer said: Let the honour of thine associate be dear to thee as thine own. And be not easily wroth; and repent one day before thy death. And warm thyself at the fire of the Wise, and be careful of their glowing coal lest thou be singed. For their bite is the bite of a jackal, and their sting the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss the hiss of a serpent, and all their words like coals of fire.

15 R. Joshua said: An evil eye and the evil principle and hatred of mankind drive a man out of the world.

16 R. Jose said: Let the wealth of thy associate be dear to thee as thine own. And set thyself to learn Torah, for it is not a legacy to thee. And let all thy actions be to the Name of Heaven.

17 R. Simeon said: Be careful in reading the 'Shema' and in prayer. And when thou prayest make not thy prayer a fixed form, but [mercies and] entreaties before God. [As it is said: 'For he is gracious and merciful, longsuffering and full of compassion, and repenteth him of the evil.'] And be not wicked in thine own sight. Joel ii. 1

18 R. Eleazar said: Be alert to learn Torah, [and know] what thou shalt answer to an Epicurean;

14. **They.** The five Rabbis of the preceding verses.

three things. It will be noticed that most of the teachers in i, ii are credited with a group of three sayings; this arrangement is not maintained in the case of later teachers. The three sayings of R. Eliezer are variously distinguished, according as the remark about 'the fire of the Wise', &c., is included or excluded. Maimonides excludes it, and this seems right, although a connexion can be made out between the other three clauses so as to group two of them as one. R. Eliezer was excommunicated in his old age by his colleagues; and the caustic criticism of the Wise probably expresses his sentiments upon the subject. It may well have been remembered as an epigram, but hardly as an expression of habitual wisdom.

honour, good name, credit. For a variant of the saying see below, iv. 15.

repent . . . death. R. Eliezer explained his meaning thus:—Repent every day, since thou knowest not the day of thy death (b. Shabb. 153[a]).

fire of the Wise, as being dangerous to play with. The vivid similes which follow are easily intelligible under the circumstances of R. Eliezer's closing years, and need no comment.

15. **evil eye.** See on *v.* 12, above.

evil principle, יצר הרע. According to the Rabbinical psychology, there were in every man two opposing principles or impulses, one towards good, the other towards evil. The evil principle corresponds to the σάρξ of Paul.

mankind. See above on i. 12. In place of בריות C reads חנם 'without cause', possibly influenced by a similar phrase in b. Joma 9[b]. Cp. Matt. v. 22, where, however, εἰκῇ is omitted in R. V.

drive . . . out of the world, מוציאין . . . מן העולם. Taylor compares 1 John iii. 15; but the exclusion referred to in R. Joshua's saying is exclusion from this world, not from that to come. The meaning is that the selfish man is solitary; he cuts himself off from all human fellowship.

16. **wealth.** For the form of the saying cp. ii. 14, and note the contrast.

legacy, ירשה. Torah has to be learned, acquired, by a man's own effort, even though God gave Torah to Israel as a permanent possession.

to the name of Heaven, for the sake of. Cp. Col. iii. 17.

17. **'Shema'.** The first word of Deut. vi. 4, 'Hear, O Israel,' &c. The term 'Shema' denotes the first of a group of three texts, Deut. vi. 4–9, xi. 13–21, Num. xv. 37–41, which may be called the heart of the Jewish liturgy. The Shema had to be recited in the morning and evening of every day. Cp. Mark xii. 29.

fixed form, קבע. If this refers to the public prayers, the meaning is that the spiritual intention of prayer is to be kept in mind during the recital of prescribed formulae. If it refers to private prayer, then the meaning is that this should not be a matter of prescribed formulae at all, but the spontaneous utterance of the soul. (See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 305–6.)

[**mercies**]. ABCD omit. It was perhaps suggested by the proof-text, which itself was probably an editorial addition.

God. The word used here is מקום 'place', a frequent designation of the Deity. It might be paraphrased in English by 'the Omnipresent'; but it is often used of God without special reference to that one attribute.

wicked . . . sight, רשע בפני עצמך. The meaning is doubtful. I translate according to the interpretation of Maimonides. Taylor translates 'wicked against thyself'; Geiger (quoted by Strack), 'wicked when thou art by thyself.' The difficulty, however, is to understand why such counsel should be needed. Bartenora quotes an interpretation which he had heard, 'wicked in standing by thyself,' i. e. in severing thyself from the congregation (see above on ii. 5). If this had been the meaning, a repetition of Hillel's saying would have been simpler. I suggest that the meaning is: 'Though others call thee wicked, no matter so long as thine own conscience reproach thee not.'

18. [**and know**]. ACD omit. BS contain it, and S expressly defends the reading. It has probably crept in from the beginning of the following clause; possibly תורה was also added to supply an object for ללמוד, and the original clause may have run: 'to learn what to answer,' &c., ללמוד מה שתשיב.

Epicurean, i. e. אֶפִּיקוּרוֹס, a free-thinker, from פקר, but with a play on the name of the philosopher. An Epicurean might be of any nation, but it is said that a Jewish Epicurean is more dangerous than a Gentile one (see b. Sanh. 38[a], where R. Joḥanan, third century, comments on this saying of R. Eleazar).

and know before whom thou toilest, and who is master of thy work, [who will pay the hire of thy labour].

19 R. Tarphon said: The day is short and the work is great, and the labourers are slow, and the hire is much, and the master of the house is urgent.

20 He used to say: It is not incumbent on thee to finish the work, and thou art not free to desist from it. If thou hast learned much Torah, they will give thee much hire; and the master of thy work is faithful who will pay thee the hire of thy labour; and know that the giving of the reward of the righteous is for the time to come.

3 1 Akabia b. Mahalalel said: Keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin;—know whence thou comest, and whither thou goest, and before whom thou art to give strict account. *Know* whence thou comest,—from a fetid drop; and whither thou goest,—to the place of dust, worm, and maggot; and before whom thou art to give strict account,—before the King of the kings of the kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

2 R. Ḥanina, the deputy of the priests, said: Pray for the peace of the kingdom; for except for the fear of that we should have swallowed up each his neighbour alive.

3 R. Ḥanina b. Teradion said: When two sit and there are not between them words of Torah, lo, this is 'the seat of the scornful', as it is said: 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful'. But when P. two sit and there are between them words of Torah, the Shechinah rests between them, as it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another, [and the Lord hearkened and heard, and M. a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon His name'].

who will pay. The phrase is repeated in the next verse, and may be an interpolation here. A omits it; BS contain it.

19. **R. Tarphon** had been a priest in the Temple; probably put to death A. D. 117. He is not to be identified with the Τρύφων of Justin Martyr; the latter probably used his name and perhaps knew it as that of a bitter opponent of Christianity. If the two ever met, which is not likely, Justin would be only a boy. There is no resemblance, except in name, between Justin's Tryphon and the real Tarphon. The latter form of the name is the usual one in the Rabbinical literature. The form תריפון is found, Jer. Bikk. iii. 1; but the person so named was not the same as the subject of this note. His two sayings turn on the same comparison of life to work in a field, cp. Matt. ix. 37, 38; John ix. 4.

20. **learned.** See above, *v.* 9; 'learned' is the right reading here.

time to come. Usually, but not always, עתיד לבוא refers to the future life. It does so here.

III. 1. **Akabia b. Mahalalel.** As to his date opinions differ; some scholars place him near the time of Hillel and Shammai (see on i. 12), others bring him down to the beginning of the second century. Strack holds him to have been a contemporary of Gamaliel I. I believe this to be the most probable date. Observe that he is not called 'Rabbi'. He was excommunicated by his colleagues, and died while under the ban. The first clause of his saying is identical with that of Rabbi, ii. 1.

strict account, lit. 'judgement and reckoning'; but 'judgement', in English, is what is done upon the accused, not pleaded by him.

place of dust. A omits.

worm, and maggot. Cp. Job xxv. 6. English does not supply a synonym for 'worm'.

King . . . kings. An extension of the usual phrase, in order to exalt the majesty of God.

the Holy One, blessed be He. One of the most frequent modes of referring to God in the Rabbinical literature.

2. **R. Ḥanina, the deputy of the priests.** As his title shows, he had served in the Temple; but his date cannot be further defined. He does not appear to have survived the destruction of Jerusalem. Testimony of his was cited in the Assembly at Jabneh (end of the first century A. D.), but apparently only as tradition (Edu. ii. 1–3). The name is often written Ḥananiah.

peace of the kingdom, literally, of the political, not the spiritual kingdom. It seems natural to connect Ḥ.'s saying with the rising hostility against the Romans, which broke out in the war of A.D. 68. If so, it would be a warning to his countrymen against rebellion. But, in any case, it is quite different in character from the rest of the maxims in the book.

we . . . swallowed. So ABC, בלענו; ES 'they . . . swallowed', בלעו. Founded on Ps. cxxiv. 3. The factions which split up the nation were, according to Ḥ., only prevented from destroying each other by the fear of Rome. If the reading בלענו be adopted, Ḥ. regarded himself as a participant; if the alternative reading, as an onlooker. The maxim goes to show that Ḥ. did not witness the outbreak of the war, since that would have confuted his assertion.

3. **R. Ḥanina b. Teradion.** Date, end of first century and beginning of second; executed A.D. 135. His daughter, Beruria, was the wife of R. Meir. The name Teradion is Greek, but what it represents is uncertain. Krauss suggests Theodorion. R. Ḥanina taught in Sichnin.

Torah. See on i. 1.

'seat of the scornful'. Reference to Ps. i. 1. The relevancy of the quotation only appears when *v.* 2 is added: 'But his delight is in the Torah of the Lord,' &c. Talmudic citations of Scripture are very often confined to the opening words of a text, the rest being left to be supplied by the reader from memory. So, in the second proof-text applied by Ḥanina, probably only the words, 'Then they . . . one another,' were originally written in the text of the book, the remainder being added later.

Shechinah, lit. 'dwelling' (not the place but the act of dwelling), one of the many modes of reference to God. The word is not found in the O. T., but is clearly based on the thought expressed, e. g. in Num. xxxv. 34. Cp. Matt.

4 [I find here only two. Whence *it is proved* that when even one sits and is occupied with Torah the Holy One, blessed be He, fixes for him a reward? As it is said: 'Let him sit alone and be silent, for he hath taken it upon him.'] Lam. iii. 28

5 R. Simeon said: Three who have eaten at one table and have not said over it words of Torah, lo, they are as if they had eaten sacrifices of the dead, as it is said: 'For all tables are full of vomit *and* filthiness without God.' Isa. xxviii. 8 But three who have eaten at one table and have said over it words of Torah *are* as if they had eaten from the table of God, blessed be He, as it is said: 'And he said to me, This is the table that is before the Lord.' Ezek. xli. 22

6 R. Ḥanina b. Ḥachinai said: He who wakes in the night, and he who walks alone by the way and turns his heart to idle thoughts, lo, he makes himself guilty against his soul.

7 R. Neḥunia b. ha-Kanah said: Every one who receives upon him the yoke of Torah, they remove from him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation. And every one who breaks off from him the yoke of Torah, they lay upon him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation.

8 R. Ḥalaphta [b. Dosa] of Chephar Ḥanania said: When ten sit and are occupied with Torah, the Shechinah is among them, as it is said: 'God stands in the congregation of God.' Ps. lxxxii. 1 [And whence *is it proved for* even five? As it is said: 'He hath founded His troop upon the earth.'] Amos ix. 6 And

xviii. 20, and Rev. xxi. 3. In the latter passage the Greek is: Ἰδού, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει κτλ. σκηνή looks very much like an allusion to 'Shechinah'.

4. This clause is certainly not due to R. Ḥanina. It is found, substantially, in BCDS. A omits 'I find . . . even'. But the formula 'I find . . . Whence . . .?' shows that the passage is later than the Mishnah. It represents an addition made in the Amoraic period, third to fifth century. Thus it is found in many MSS., but with variations; and some mediaeval commentators are doubtful about it. See Taylor's critical note. Probably there is some confusion with iii. 7 (last clause). R. Ḥanina had spoken of the Shechinah resting between two who study Torah. The addition does not refer to the Shechinah, but to the fixing of a reward for studying Torah. The proof-text, Lam. iii. 28, is only relevant if 'hath taken' be interpreted 'hath received (reward)'.

5. **R. Simeon.** This is the famous R. Simeon b. Joḥai; approximate date A. D. 100–170. He was a disciple of R. Akiba; he escaped the persecution of A. D. 135, and lay hid for thirteen years. Afterwards he taught in Galilee, and amongst his disciples was the future 'Rabbi', ii. 1.

sacrifices of the dead. This is explained by Bartenora as equivalent to idolatry, on the ground of Ps. cvi. 28.

without God, lit. without place, בלי מקום. Whatever may be the meaning in the passage Isa. xxviii. 8 (or the true reading of the text), R. Simeon makes a play upon the word מקום, by taking it as one of the frequent designations of God. See on ii. 17, where it occurs in a saying by this same Simeon.

table of God. The word is again מקום. The combination המקום ברוך הוא is unusual. CS omit ב״ה.

6. **R. Ḥanina b. Ḥachinai,** contemporary of Simeon b. Joḥai, but somewhat older. He was a disciple of R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah (ii. 10), as well as of R. Akiba. He lived in Sidon, and thus escaped the persecution in A. D. 135.

turns . . . thoughts, ומפנה. So ABS; והמפנה CD. The difference in meaning is considerable. According to the first reading, a man endangers his soul if he gives way to idle thoughts either on waking in the night or when walking by himself. According to the second reading, a man endangers his soul when he either (*a*) wakes in the night, or (*b*) walks by himself, or (*c*) gives way to idle thoughts. The latter interpretation may have been due to a desire to find a threefold division in H.'s maxim, as in so many of the other sayings. Bartenora, who adopts the second interpretation, explains that waking in the night is dangerous because of demons, and solitary walking because of robbers. The first interpretation commends itself as superior, and has good manuscript authority.

guilty . . . soul, מתחייב בנפשו. Hardly more than 'does a wrong to himself'. There is no thought of being eternally lost.

7. **R. Neḥunia b. ha-Kanah.** Contemporary with R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai, but not among his disciples. He lived to a great age. His life covers the greater part of the first century A.D., and probably extended into the second. The epithet ha-Kanah (or Kana) is the same as that which is rendered Ζηλωτής, Luke vi. 15, and disguised as Καναναῖος, Matt. x. 4. N.'s father had been of the party of the Zealots.

yoke of Torah, עֹל תורה. This does not imply that the service of God according to Torah was a burden. The yoke is the symbol of obedience; and 'to take the yoke upon' oneself means to devote oneself to the service of the authority whose yoke it is. Cp. Matt. xi. 30, where the meaning of the symbol is exactly the same.

they, the *familia caelestis*; see on ii. 2, end.

kingdom, the actual political kingdom. Its 'yoke' took the form of taxes. The meaning is that devotion to Torah frees a man from oppression and care by setting his mind on things above; while if he despises Torah he feels all the weight of political oppression and the struggle for existence.

8. **R. Ḥalaphta [b. Dosa]:** second half of second century, disciple of R. Meir. Possibly the son of R. Jose b. Ḥalaphta, the R. Jose of the Mishnah (see below, iv. 8), who had a son of this name. The name **Dosa** is omitted in the printed texts, and has no important manuscript support. It might easily be confused with 'Jose'. Ḥ.'s saying is a series of Scripture proofs of the presence of the Shechinah. See above, *v.* 3.

ten is the usual number requisite for the worship of a congregation. Ḥ. assumes this number, as an axiom, and seeks to prove the conclusion for a series of smaller numbers. The clause relating to **five** is probably a late addition. The MSS. and commentaries show much uncertainty about it. AB connect the number five with the proof-text of the number three; BCS allot the proof-texts as in the translation. If the 'five' clause were not in the original series, it would be natural for some later hand to supply it. The proofs from the texts quoted are as follows: For five, אגדה (translated 'troop') is lit. a handful, and the hand has five fingers; for three, the **gods** are taken to mean judges, and the smallest tribunal consisted of three judges; for two, because one man talks to another man; for one, because it is said 'to thee', not 'to you'.

whence even three? As it is said: 'He judgeth among gods.' And whence even two? As it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another.' And whence even one? As it is said: 'In every place where I record My name I will come to thee and will bless thee.'

9 R. Eleazar b. Judah of Bartotha said: Give Him of what is His, for thou and thine are His. And thus *the Scripture* saith, in *the place concerning* David, 'For all things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee.'

10 R. Jacob said: He who walks by the way and *studies* and breaks off his study and says, 'How beautiful is that tree,' and 'how beautiful is that fallow', the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul.

11 R. Dosthai b. Jannai, in the name of R. Meir, said: A disciple of the Wise who sits and studies and forgets a word of his study, the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul; as it is said: 'Only take heed to thyself and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen.' It may be that his study has been hard to him. Learn to say, 'Lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life.' Lo! he makes not himself guilty until he sits and turns them away from his heart.

12 R. Ḥanina b. Dosa said: Every one whose fear of sin precedes his wisdom, his wisdom endures; and every one whose wisdom precedes his fear of sin, his wisdom does not endure.

13 He used to say: Every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, his wisdom endures. And every one whose wisdom is more than his deeds, his wisdom does not endure.

14 He used to say: Every one with whom the spirit of mankind is pleased, the Spirit of God is pleased with him. And every one with whom the spirit of mankind is not pleased, the Spirit of God is not pleased with him.

9. **R. Eleazar b. Judah of Bartotha.** A contemporary of Akiba, end of first and beginning of second century. Some MSS. omit 'b. Judah'. The name of his place of abode is variously given, and its situation unknown, except that it was probably in Upper Galilee.

Give Him, i. e. God. Eleazar was famous for his charitable gifts.

in . . . David, בדוד. For the form of the phrase cp. Mark xii. 26.

10. **R. Jacob** (see also iv. 21, 22 below). Probably the same as R. Jacob b. Korshai, latter half of the second century, contemporary of Simeon III, b. Gamaliel II, and teacher of Judah I, 'Rabbi'. He was a grandson, on the mother's side, of Elisha b. Abuiah (see iv. 25 below). The name of R. Simeon, or R. Akiba, is sometimes given in place of R. Jacob in this passage, but with slight authority.

study. His mind is to be fixed on Torah.

How beautiful . . . tree. A repeats this exclamation.

Scripture reckons. No proof-text is given. The commentators have been rather troubled by J.'s maxim. The Mishnah itself provides a formula of praise, to be said on beholding beautiful or wonderful objects of nature (Ber. ix. 3). The Scripture proof intended may have been the text quoted in *v.* 11, Deut. iv. 9. The reading מעלה ('reckons') is supported by all the MSS.; otherwise מעלין ('they reckon') would make the meaning somewhat less objectionable.

11. **R. Dosthai b. Jannai:** end of the second century, contemporary of 'Rabbi'. The name Dosthai (=Δοσίθεος) was borne by several teachers, and represents either Mattaniah or Nathaniel. Why a Greek form should have been preferred is not clear.

forgets. It should be borne in mind that the teaching in the Rabbinical schools was oral and transmitted from memory. The Mishnah, even if written down by 'Rabbi', was a *corpus* of decisions whose accuracy of form depended on memory alone. To forget was a loss to the learner and possibly a loss to posterity.

Scripture reckons. Here the proof-text is given (see on preceding verse).

guilty . . . soul (see on *v.* 6 above). The idea is that since Torah is the means of spiritual life, to forget what it imparts is an injury to the soul. R. Dosthai seems to have uttered his maxim for the sake of putting in a plea on behalf of the man who only forgets because his task is hard. The first clause may be a general maxim already accepted, which D. wishes to qualify. He contends that only wilful neglect to remember, or even positive rejection, incurs the censure of Scripture.

12. **R. Ḥanina b. Dosa**; date, first century A. D.; disciple of R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai. Chiefly famous as a saint and miracle-worker.

precedes, קודמת, either in order of time or in order of importance. Fear of sin is the supreme object to be aimed at. If wisdom is sought for the sake of becoming a fearer of sin, then wisdom is of enduring worth; otherwise not. Taylor conjectures that the negative clause in this verse, and also those in *vv.* 13, 14, are later interpolations. But there is no manuscript support for this conjecture. Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, § 22, has the negative clauses of *vv.* 12, 13.

13. **He.** R. Ḥanina b. Dosa.

deeds. Not especially good deeds, but the practical application of Torah.

14. **He.** R. Ḥanina b. Dosa.

spirit of mankind . . . pleased, רוח הבריות נוחה. This is literal, but too concrete; all that is meant is a general opinion held by men, upon any subject or in regard of any person. When it is said that Jesus 'grew in favour with God and men', Luke ii. 52, the phrase expresses what is meant in 'the spirit of mankind . . . of God is pleased'. The truth of Ḥ.'s maxim, as a fact of experience, is open to question; and it appears to make human favour the criterion and condition of divine approval. Ḥ. was a mystic, and probably he is teaching here the doctrine of a correspondence between the things in heaven and the things on earth.

5 R. Dosa b. Harchinas said: Morning sleep, and midday wine, and children's talk, and sitting in the meeting-houses of the vulgar, drive a man out from the world.

6 R. Eleazar, the Modiite, said: He who profanes holy things and despises the set feasts [and shames his associate in public], and makes void the covenant of Abraham our father, and discloses meanings in the Torah which are not according to the Rule, yea, even if he have [Torah and] good works, he has no portion in the world to come.

7 R. Ishmael said: Be light-minded and yielding to forced service, and receive every man with gladness.

8 R. Akiba said: Laughter and light-mindedness accustom a man to shame. Tradition is a fence for Torah. Vows are a fence for separation. A fence for wisdom is silence.

9 He used to say: Beloved is man in that he was created in the image *of God*. [Greater love *was*

15. **R. Dosa b. Harchinas**: born about A. D. 10, died not later than A. D. 90. A teacher of R. Johanan b. Zaccai. There was another D. b. H. in the middle of the second century, perhaps grandson of the earlier. The name Harchinas (הרכינס) must not be confused with Hyrcanus (הורקנוס).

Morning . . . wine. D. was a rich man, and knew the temptations of idle luxury.

children, הילדים. Perhaps, rather 'youths', who should be silent in presence of their elders.

meeting-houses, בתי כנסיות, synagogues.

vulgar. The class known as *am-ha-aretz*; see above, on ii. 6. D.'s objection is probably that in these synagogues Torah was not properly taught or duly observed.

drive . . . world. See above, on ii. 15. It is not likely that D., or any other strict Pharisee, would attend a synagogue of the *am-ha-aretz*; the saying is a general condemnation of them.

16. **R. Eleazar, the Modiite**, i. e. of Modiin, where he lived; the former home of the Maccabees. R. Eleazar was a chief supporter of Bar Cocheba in the rebellion which ended A. D. 135. Bar Cocheba is said to have been his nephew, also to have killed him in a fit of anger. R. E. was a disciple of Tarphon. His dates may be given A. D. 50–A. D. 135.

E.'s maxim is directed against sectaries and false brethren. The formula against the Minim, i. e. Jewish Christians, had been ordained at Jabneh, under Gamaliel II, about A. D. 80. See my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 126–136. The Minim were open to all the charges in E.'s list, except that of effacing the covenant of Abraham. The MSS. vary the order in which the several charges are given. A omits 'and shames his associate in public', also 'which are not according to rule', שלא כהלכה, also 'Torah' before 'good works.' The latter omission is supported by BD. The most important of these omissions is the second, because it affects the sense of what is left in. מגלה פנים בתורת means, as Taylor says, 'to act impudently against the Torah.' But that in itself needs explanation. The phrase occurs in Jer. Peah i. 1, where it is explained as the act of one who denies that the Torah is from heaven. מגלה פנים בתורה שלא כהלכה means to reveal meanings in the Torah which are not authorized, to interpret Torah in ways not sanctioned by approved teachers. This is a definite charge, especially applicable to sectaries. שלא כהלכה is, no doubt, a gloss, but one added to bring out the right meaning, and to guard against the other and more vague interpretation.

the Rule, *halachah*. See above, on ii. 1. The addition of 'Torah' before 'good works' is, perhaps, due to the frequent mention of these in conjunction elsewhere. But a man who acts in the ways described by R. Eleazar would not naturally be credited with having 'Torah'.

portion . . . world to come. His fate would be to go down to Gehenna, and be destroyed there. On Gehenna, see above, i. 5 *a*.

17. **R. Ishmael.** This is R. Ishmael b. Elisha, a disciple of R. Joshua and contemporary of R. Akiba: born about A. D. 60; usually said to have been executed A. D. 135, but there is evidence that he lived some years longer.

light-minded, in the good sense, 'cheerful.' The meaning is, however, uncertain. The Hebr. is קל ראש, and by many this is interpreted as 'courteous to a superior'. This would require קל לראש (so CS); and while the ל may easily have slipped out, ראש is not the usual word for a superior. D has הקל ראשך, but interprets it of a man who is pliant before ראש העיר, thus seeking to combine the two meanings of ראש. The phrase קלות ראש occurs in the next verse, a fact which tends to show that the meaning here is somewhat the same.

forced service, תשחורת, a rare word whose meaning is uncertain. It is variously translated 'youth', 'age', and 'forced service'. It occurs Eccles. xi. 10, where the R. V. has 'prime of life'. The meaning 'forced service' is well supported, and has the authority of Levy, *NHW*, s. v. See Taylor's note; he translates 'impressment'. For the last clause, cp. the saying of Shammai, i. 15.

18. **R. Akiba**: b. about A. D. 50; executed in or after A. D. 135. The chief supporter of Bar Cocheba in his rebellion, and the most famous teacher of his time.

light-mindedness. In the bad sense, 'frivolity'; see note on *v.* 17.

Tradition, מסורת, the παράδοσις (τῶν πρεσβυτέρων), Mark vii. 3. The principle of tradition was the giving of adequate sanction to what was taught. The 'Torah' was the divine revelation (see on i. 1), and tradition was a **fence** for it, by defending it from wrong interpretation.

separation, פרישות. The Pharisees gained their name from their פרישות into societies, חבורות, pledged to the observance of rules of 'clean' and 'unclean', &c. The Talmud is the detailed exposition of the Pharisaic conception of religion. See my *Pharisaism*, p. 107. The last clause explains itself. Cp. i. 17 above.

19. **He.** Again R. Akiba. The clause in brackets, 'Greater . . . image,' omitted by A, is found in BCDS. It seems to be required both to give point to the saying, and also by analogy with the similar sayings which immediately follow. Its omission, however, may be justified by the consideration that the proof-text merely states that man was made in the image of God, not that man was made aware of the fact. This additional knowledge is the additional

it that it was known to him that he was made in the image.] As it is said: 'In the image of God G
he made man.'

Beloved are Israel, that they are called sons of God. Greater love *was it that it was* known to them that they were called sons of God. As it is said: 'Sons are ye to the Lord your God.' D

Beloved are Israel, in that to them was given the precious instrument wherewith the world was created. Greater love *was it that it was* known to them that there was given to them the precious instrument wherewith the world was created, as it is said: 'For a good doctrine I have given you; P
forsake not my Torah.' All is foreseen, and free-will is given, and the world is judged by goodness, and all is according to the amount of work.

20 He used to say: All is given on pledge, and the net is spread over all the living; and the shop is open and the shopman gives credit, and the account-book is open and the hand writes, and every one who will borrow comes and borrows, and the collectors go round continually every day, and exact payment from man whether with his knowledge or without it; and they have whereon to lean, and the judgement is a judgement of truth; and everything is prepared for the banquet.

21 R. Eleazar b. Azariah said: If there is no Torah there is no worldly occupation; if there is no worldly occupation there is no Torah. If there is no wisdom there is no fear; if there is no fear there is no wisdom. If there is no knowledge there is no discernment; if there is no discernment there is no knowledge. If there is no meal there is no Torah; if there is no Torah there is no meal.

22 He used to say: Every one whose wisdom is greater than his deeds, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are many and its roots few; and the wind comes and roots it up and turns it over on its face. [As it is said: 'For he shall be like a tamarisk in the desert, and he shall not see when Jc xv
good cometh, but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land undwelt in.'] But every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are few and its roots many, which, if all the winds that are in the world come and blow upon it, they move it not from its place; [as it is said: 'For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and ib.

blessing, the 'greater love' of the two following clauses. In clause 2 God is מקום, see on ii. 17 above. The proof text is a declaration to Israel of their sonship to God.

wherewith . . . created. The 'precious instrument' is the 'Torah'; not the written record or the oral interpretation of it, but the divine thought enshrined in it. This is shown by the proof-text.

All is foreseen, הכל צפוי. Lit. 'seen'; but 'all' includes future things and actions as well as present and past ones.

free-will, הרשות. Lit. 'authority', which is explained to mean man's responsibility for his own actions. The Talmudic Rabbis attempted no solution of the philosophical problem; they were content to affirm the two truths and left the reconciliation of them a divine mystery.

judged by goodness. Either by one who is good, viz. God, or according to the goodness found in it. The former is probably meant, because the latter would be hardly more than a variant of the following clause.

amount of work. So BDS. A omits 'amount', רוב. But CD have 'not according to the amount', and B knows of this reading. The difference is that between quality and quantity of human action. The former meaning is preferable, but the reading 'amount' is the better supported; and the omission of the word in A, and the addition of 'not' in CD, may be due to the desire to modify the sense.

20. **He.** Again R. Akiba. The whole passage is a rather undignified metaphor to illustrate God's dealings with man. The reader should be careful not to assume that the Jews were, or are, required to believe this or any other fanciful exposition of doctrine as an article of faith. The thought conveyed in the passage is mainly that of retribution, which follows surely, if slowly, on human actions.

pledge. A man's act binds him to accept its consequences.

net. No one can act apart from or outside the range of God's knowledge and control.

account-book, פנקס, *πίνακ*. Cp. ii. 1 above.

borrow, in freedom of action, what he will have to repay in consequences.

collectors, trials and chastisements which God sends upon him. Man does not always know why they are sent.

they . . . to lean. 'They' probably refers to the 'collectors'; their warrant is the account written in the book.

prepared . . . banquet, מתקן לסעודה. The metaphor does not really change. The 'banquet' is the symbol of the world to come, cp. Rev. xix. 9; and the idea is that the debtor, having paid his debt and submitted to just judgement, is welcomed into Paradise.

21. **R. Eleazar b. Azariah:** b. about A. D. 50, d. after A. D. 116, and before A. D. 135. One of the chief men of the Assembly in Jabneh; when Gamaliel II was deposed from the presidency, R. Eleazar was elected in his place, and was still associated with Gamaliel in that office on the latter's restoration. The MSS. differ in the order of the series of contrasted terms, but not in the substance of them. The terms, so far as they need explanation, have mostly been dealt with in previous notes.

no meal . . . no Torah, i. e. if a man have nothing to eat he cannot learn Torah; and *vice versa*, if he have no Torah, his food is worthless. If he have not heavenly things, what profit in earthly things?

22. **He.** R. Eleazar b. Azariah.

wisdom . . . deeds. For the thought, cp. *vv.* 12, 13 above.

to what is he like? למה הוא דומה The regular formula for introducing a comparison or parable. Cp. Luke xiii. 18. The proof-text may be a later insertion, though it is found in the MSS. Proof-texts in this book are always open to suspicion, because they impair the conciseness of the sayings which they illustrate. The figure of the tree may be suggested by Ps. i. 3, though the word for 'tree' is not the same.

that sendeth out its roots by the river, and shall not fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green; and in the year of drought he shall not be anxious, neither shall cease from yielding fruit']. 23 R. Eleazar Ḥisma said: Offerings of birds and purifications, these are the main Rules. Astronomy and geometry are mere fringes to wisdom.

1 Ben Zoma said: Who is wise? He who learns from every man; as it is said: 'From all my teachers I get understanding, for thy testimonies are my conversation.' Ps. cxix. 99

Who is mighty? He who controlleth his *evil* disposition; as it is said: 'Better is the long-suffering than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.' Prov. xvi. 32

Who is rich? He that rejoiceth in his portion; as it is said: 'When thou eatest of the labour of thy hands, happy art thou and it shall be well with thee.' 'Happy art thou' in this world, and 'it shall be well with thee' in the world to come. Ps. cxxviii. 2

Who is honoured? He who honoureth mankind; as it is said: 'For them that honour Me I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed.' 1 Sam. ii. 30

2 Ben Azai said: Be swift towards a light precept [as towards a weighty one] and flee from sin; for precept leads to precept and sin leads to sin. For the reward of a precept is a precept, and the reward of a sin is a sin.

3 He used to say: Despise not any man, and be not captious at any thing; for you find no man that has not his hour, and no thing that has not its place.

4 R. Levitas of Jabneh said: Be exceedingly humble, for the hope of man is *only* the worm.

5 R. Joḥanan b. Berokah said: 'Every one who profanes the Name of Heaven in secret, they exact

23. **R. Eleazar Ḥisma.** Date, about the end of the first century and the beginning of the second. He was a disciple of R. Joshua (see on ii. 10 above). He was a great mathematician, and was said to have been able to calculate the number of drops in the sea.

Offerings of birds, קינים. Lit. 'nests', i. e. the offerings brought in accordance with Lev. v. 1–10. Cp. Luke ii. 24.

purifications, פתחי נדה. This relates to the periods of women.

Rules, *halachōth.* See on ii. 1 above.

Astronomy, תקופות. Lit. 'turnings', meaning the four points in the ecliptic which divide the seasons.

geometry, גמטריאות. The word is commonly used of a method of interpretation by giving to the letters of a word their numerical value. But here, considering the mathematical reputation of the speaker, it may be rendered 'geometry'. R. El. means that his mathematics are only pastime in comparison with the study of *halachah.* Even minor portions of the latter are worth more than whole sciences.

fringes. The word is פרפראות, which represents περιφορά or περιφέρεια. The comparison is to dishes carried round after the main meal is finished. Taylor is not afraid to translate by 'after-courses'. I have rendered by 'fringes' so as to keep the thought though not the literal form of it, and also to suggest (in keeping with the derivation from περιφέρεια, 'circumference') that the sciences stand around at a distance while *halachah* is at the centre. R. El. perhaps wished to excuse his favourite studies in the eyes of his less scientific brethren.

IV. 1. **Ben Zoma** (Simeon b. Z.). Note that he is not called Rabbi. He was a disciple and associate of R. Akiba, but was not ordained. His date may be given as the end of the first century. He is one of the four who were said to have entered Paradise, i. e. studied theosophy. He died young.

From . . . teachers. In the Ps. 'more than . . . teachers'; the second clause of the proof-text is not needed.

evil disposition. See on ii. 15 above; the word 'spirit' in the proof-text represents a different Hebrew word. The clause explaining the reference to this world and the world to come has the appearance of a later comment on B. Z.'s maxim. In the parallel passage in Aboth di Rabbi Nathan (Schechter), A, § 23, omits it; B, p. 36ᵇ, has it.

honoured. The proof-text does not establish B. Z.'s point. The meaning may be that he who honours mankind is really honouring God who made them, and *vice versa.* Cp. iv. 8 below.

mankind. Lit. 'creatures'; see on i. 12 above.

2. **Ben Azai** (Simeon b. A.). Like Ben Zoma not called Rabbi, and for the same reason. What is said above of the one applies to the other. The two are said to have been judges in Jabneh. Azai = Azariah.

as . . . weighty one. Omitted in all the chief MSS., probably inserted from ii. 1; see note on that verse for the distinction between 'light' and 'weighty' precepts.

reward . . . precept. In the Rabbinical view, a precept (*mitzvah*) was simply an opportunity offered of doing the will of God; there could be no greater reward than a further opportunity. A *mitzvah* was never regarded as a burden. On 'reward' see on ii. 1 above.

reward . . . sin. The just retribution for sin is a further temptation. This is one of the great sayings of the book.

3. **He.** Again B. Azai.

captious, מפליג. Lit. 'a causer of division', especially in argument.

you find. Lit. 'there is not to thee'. For the thought cp. Eccles. iii. 1–8.

4. **R. Levitas of Jabneh.** Probably a contemporary of B. Azai. He is not mentioned elsewhere in the Talmud. The name represents the Greek Λευίτης.

His maxim is given by BCDS. By an error A omits it and also the name of the next teacher, thus ascribing the saying of the latter to R. Levitas.

hope . . . worm. Cp. iii. 1 above; and, for the phrase, Job xi. 20.

5. **R. Joḥanan b. Berokah.** A disciple of R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah, ii. 10, and companion of R. Eleazar Ḥisma, iii. 23; date, about the end of the first century and beginning of the second.

profanes . . . Heaven. To profane the Name is to be guilty of 'actions which, if they become known, bring shame on the Jew and his religion' (Levy, *NHW*, s. v. חלול). **Heaven,** i. e. God.

in secret . . . openly. Cp. Eccles. xii. 14.

punishment of him openly; the ignorant and the wilful are alike *sinners* in *regard to* the profaning of the Name.

6 R. Ishmael his son said: He who learns with a view to teaching, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach; he who learns with a view to doing, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach and to do.

7 R. Zadok said: [Separate not thyself from the congregation, and be not as they who prepare the judges]. Make not them a crown wherewith to magnify thyself, nor a dish to eat from. And thus Hillel used to say: He who serves himself with the crown passes away. Behold, [thou hast learned,] 'Every one that makes a profit from words of Torah removes his life from the world.'

8 R. Jose said: Every one who honours the Torah is himself honoured of men. And every one who dishonours the Torah is himself dishonoured of men.

9 R. Ishmael *his son* said: He who withdraws from judgement gets rid of enmity, theft and perjury; and he who is haughty in his teaching is foolish, wicked and arrogant.

10 He used to say: Judge not alone; for there is none save One that judgeth alone. And say not *to thy colleagues*, Receive my opinion; for they are entitled and thou art not.

11 R. Jonathan said: Every one who fulfils the Torah when poor will in the end fulfil it when rich; and every one who makes it vain when rich will in the end make it vain when poor.

ignorant . . . wilful. The meaning is that the guilt of profaning the Name is so great that no account is taken of whether it was done in ignorance or intentionally; both are punished alike.

6. **R. Ishmael his son.** Date, middle and end of second century; he is not to be confused with the R. Ishmael of iii. 17, nor with the R. Ishmael of *v.* 9, below.

learns, i. e. Torah.

they, the *familia caelestis*; see on ii. 2 above; here, in the meaning of 'Providence'.

7. **R. Zadok**: date, first century; contemporary of R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai, and possibly, like him, disciple of Hillel; he was at Jabneh with R. Joḥ. b. Z. after the fall of Jerusalem. There was another R. Zadok, grandson of the foregoing, and a third later still.

[**Separate . . . congregation,** &c.] Does not belong to this context. See on ii. 5 above.

[**prepare . . . judges**]. Also out of place here. See the maxim of Judah b. Tabbai, i. 8 above. R. Zadok's own saying has a close likeness to that of Hillel in i. 13.

Make . . . them. So ABCDS. Strack and Baer read 'make . . . it'. The reference is to 'words of Torah' or 'Torah'. But the first words of the maxim are evidently lost, and the two interpolations mentioned above are perhaps attempts to fill the gap.

dish . . . eat from. ACD have 'an axe to eat with (or from)'; BS 'an axe to cut with'. In order to keep the better reading 'eat with', and because an axe is not commonly used for that purpose, I render קרדום 'dish'. The meaning is clear. The teacher must not make a profit out of the teaching of Torah.

thus Hillel. May be an editorial note. For a possible interpretation, if it belongs to R. Zadok himself, see Introduction, § 2. 2.

Every . . . makes profit. Lit. 'eats advantages'. The MSS. nearly all have הנאות 'profits' (noun, not verb). This makes no sense, without a verb. S has כל האוכל ה׳, ACD הא כל ה׳, B והאכל ה׳, corrected to והאוכל. This gives the clue to the other readings. האכל was by error divided into הא כל, the verb was lost and had to be supplied as in S, or by reading נחנה in place of הנאות. After the interjection הא (as it was taken to be), some MSS. and printed texts insert למדת 'thou hast learned'.

removes . . . world. Cp. ii. 15 above. R. Joshua may have founded his maxim on that of R. Zadok, whom he must often have heard.

8. **R. Jose** (b. Ḥalaphta): born about A.D. 110, died about A.D. 180; a disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the 'Terror' A.D. 135. Rabbi was one of his disciples.

honours . . . Torah. Cp. on iv. 1 above. The commentators explain that to 'honour Torah' is to honour everything connected with it, down to the letters in which it is written.

himself. Lit. 'his body', גופו.

men. Lit. 'creatures', as explained before.

9. **R. Ishmael his son** (so BD, om. A. C has R. Simeon). Son of the preceding, and presumably brother of iii. 8; date, end of second century and beginning of third.

withdraws . . . judgement. Excuses himself from acting as a judge.

fear, theft and perjury. Because, if he judges, he displeases the losing party; he may decide wrongly as to the ownership of property, and he may lead the witnesses to commit perjury. Cp. i. 9 above.

teaching. Here the decisions he gives as a judge. On humility see above, iv. 4.

10. **He.** Again R. Ishmael b. Jose.

Note that the maxim turns again on the function of a judge.

One . . . judgeth alone, i. e. God. For the form of the phrase cp. Mark x. 18. R. I. only means, however, that a human judge should share the responsibility with others.

entitled. They are in the majority and have a right to enforce their opinion.

11. **R. Jonathan** (so BDS, Joḥanan A, Nathan C). There is no R. Joḥanan in the Mishnah without some descriptive epithet. 'R. Joḥanan' would mean the R. J. of the Gemara, third century. R. Jonathan was a disciple of R. Ishmael (iii. 17) and contemporary of Ben Azai; middle of second century. There was another R. Jonathan, a disciple of 'Rabbi'.

The meaning of his maxim is that a man who learns Torah when poor gives his mind to it so earnestly that he will not forget or forsake it when he becomes rich; a rich man is tempted to neglect Torah, and if he should become poor would be without the knowledge of it.

2 R. Meir said: Do little in business and be busy with the Torah; and be humble of spirit before all men; and if thou hast been idle *in respect of* the Torah, there will be many idle things in thy way; and if thou hast laboured at the Torah, there will be for Him much reward to give thee.

3 R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: He who does one precept gains for himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression gains for himself one accuser; repentance and good works are as a shield in face of punishment.

14 R. Johanan, the sandal-maker, said: Every assembly which is for the sake of Heaven will in the end be established; and *one* that is not for the sake of Heaven will in the end not be established.

15 R. Eleazar b. Shammua said: Let the honour of thy disciple be dear to thee as the honour of thy associate, and the honour of thy associate as the fear of thy teacher, and the fear of thy teacher as the fear of Heaven.

16 R. Judah said: Be careful in teaching; for error in teaching amounts to sin.

17 R. Simeon said: There are three crowns; the crown of Torah, the crown of priesthood and the crown of royalty; but the crown of a good name mounts above them.

18 R. Nehorai said: Betake thyself to a place of Torah, and say not it shall come after thee; for thine associates will fulfil it through thee. And 'Lean not upon thine own understanding'. Prov. iii. 5

19 R. Jannai said: It is not in our hands *to explain* either the prosperity of the wicked or the chastisements of the righteous.

12. **R. Meir.** The most famous disciple of R. Akiba, one of the six ordained A.D. 135; married the daughter of R. Ḥanina b. Teradion, iii. 3. His origin is unknown, and it is not certain whether 'Meir' was his real name. His work formed the basis of Rabbi's Mishnah.

business, עסק. Any occupation other than study of Torah.

idle things. Trifles that hinder. For the thought cp. iv. 2, the retribution of like for like.

Him. God.

reward. See on ii. 1, and cp. ii. 18.

13. **R. Eliezer b. Jacob.** There were two teachers of this name, the elder a contemporary of R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai, and the younger a disciple of R. Akiba. The younger is probably intended here. Date, middle to end of second century.

precept, *mitzvah*, any one of the precepts of the Torah; the doing of a *mitzvah* was a service of God.

advocate . . . accuser. The two Hebrew words קטגור, פרקליט, represent παράκλητος and κατήγορος.

shield, תריס. Again = a Greek word, θυρεός.

punishment, פורענות, divine retribution. Cp. Dan. iv. 24.

14. **R. Johanan, the sandal-maker.** A disciple of R. Akiba; date, middle to end of second century.

assembly. Society, company, or association of persons, for any purpose. For the thought cp. Acts v. 38, 39, and even Matt. xviii. 19.

15. **R. Eleazar b. Shammua.** So S; ACD omit 'b. Shammua'. Disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the Terror, A.D. 135; one of the teachers of 'Rabbi'; lived to a great age. Date, the greater part of the second century.

honour . . . associate, חבירך. So ABCD; S reads כשלך 'thine own honour'. The latter is probably due to a confusion with the maxim of R. Eliezer (note the similarity of name), ii. 14. In the present passage the reading 'thy associate', besides being better supported, is more suitable to the context.

fear, in the sense of reverence; on the ground that the teacher was the medium by which Torah, the divine revelation, is imparted to the disciple.

16. **R. Judah** (b. Illai). Contemporary of the preceding; a disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the Terror, A.D. 135. Date, most of the second century.

teaching. The MSS. vary between תלמוד and למוד. The sense is the same, for תלמוד had not yet acquired the special meaning of Mishnah *plus* Gemara.

amounts to, עולה, rises to such a height of seriousness that it becomes sin. There is a contrast between 'error' and 'sin' similar to that in iv. 5. The teacher may err through ignorance; but the consequence of his error may be wilful sin on his own part or that of others afterwards.

17. **R. Simeon.** Probably R. Simeon b. Joḥai; see on iii. 5.

crowns. Symbol of supreme excellence.

crown . . . Torah. Cp. Prov. iv. 9.

crown . . . priesthood. Lev. viii. 9, and cp. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

good name. Cp. Prov. xxii. 1, Eccles. vii. 1.

18. **R. Nehorai.** Probably among the disciples of R. Akiba; but hardly anything is known of him. His name Nehorai is said to be merely an epithet applied to him. Some have identified him with R. Meir or with R. Nehemiah. Yet, if so, why a separate name?

Betake thyself, גולה, generally used of exile. The meaning would seem to be, 'if you are forced to leave your native place, go to a place where Torah is to be found.' Cp. i. 10 above.

fulfil . . . thee. By going to such a place he will add his share to the fulfilling of Torah by those who are there already. [Rather render: 'establish thee in the possession of it.' It is the collective not the individual judgement that is to be trusted, as the following words show.—Gen. Editor.]

19. **R. Jannai**; date, beginning and middle of third century; a disciple of 'Rabbi'. His maxim is one of the post-Mishnaic additions, like ii. 2. ABS give the name; CD have 'He used to say', ascribing this verse to the preceding teacher.

in . . . hands, אין בידינו ' ' משלות וגו', it is not for us. The lit. translation would be, 'there is not in our hands *any* of the prosperity of the wicked,' &c.

20 R. Matthia b. Harash said: Be first in greeting every man; and be a tail to lions and not a head to foxes.

21 R. Jacob said: This world is like a porch before the world to come. Make thyself ready in the porch, that thou mayst enter into the banqueting-hall.

22 He used to say: Fairer is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than all the life of the world to come; and fairer is one hour of calmness of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world.

23 R. Simeon b. Eleazar said: Pacify not thy associate in the hour of his anger, and console him not in the hour when his dead is stretched out before him; and question him not in the hour of his vow, and seek not to behold him in the hour of his degradation.

24 Samuel, the small, said: 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad Pr
when he is overthrown, [lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath ib.
from him'].

25 Elisha b. Abuiah said: He who learns when a youth, to what is he like? To ink written on new paper. And he who learns when an old man, to what is he like? To ink written on erased paper.

26 R. Jose b. Judah, of Chephar ha-Babli, said: He who learns from the young, to what is he like? To one that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his winepress. He that learns from the old, to what is he like? To one that eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine.

27 Rabbi said: Look not at the pitcher but at what is in it. There is a new pitcher that is full of old *wine*, and an old pitcher in which there is not even new *wine*.

28 R. Eleazar ha-Kappar said: Jealousy and desire and ambition drive a man out of the world.

29 He used to say: Those that are born are for death, and the dead for making alive, and the living

20. **R. Matthia b. Ḥarash**; date, second century; a disciple of R. Ishmael, iii. 17; settled in Rome, where he spent the rest of his life. The name is sometimes written 'Ḥeresh', after 1 Chron. ix. 15.

tail . . . lions. The meaning is clear; perhaps the maxim is an ironical comment on R. M.'s own situation, head of an exiled community in Rome, instead of 'least among the saints' in Palestine.

21. **R. Jacob.** The same as in iii. 10 above. Date, latter half of second century.

porch. The MSS. vary between פרוזדור and פרוזדור, of which neither reproduces the Greek, *πρόθυρον*.

banqueting-hall, טרקלין, *triclinium*, the world to come; cp. iii. 20.

22. **He.** R. Jacob.

With the general thought of this maxim cp. Luke xv. 7.

23. **R. Simeon b. Eleazar**; date, end of second century; son of R. Eleazar b. Shammua, iv. 15 above; disciple of R. Meir.

Pacify . . . anger. Give him time to cool down.

console . . . not. Cp. *In Memoriam*, vi: 'One writes that other friends remain,' &c.

hour . . . vow. When he has made a vow, do not discuss it with him and so perhaps make him regret it.

degradation. Either brought on himself or by others.

24. **Samuel, the small**; date, first century. He died somewhere about A.D. 80, and is usually said to have died young. I believe, on the contrary, that he died in extreme old age. For the reasons on which this view is based, see my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 127–35. The fact that Samuel is not called Rabbi can be explained on either theory. The epithet 'small' is supposed to indicate his humility.

His maxim is merely a Scripture text without comment. The second half of the proof-text is given by BCDS, but omitted by A.

25. **Elisha b. Abuiah**; date, end of first century and up to the middle of the second, say A.D. 90–160. R. Meir was his friend, though much younger. El. is not called Rabbi, either because he was never ordained or because he fell under the censure of the Rabbis on account of his heretical views. He was one of the four who were said to have entered Paradise; and his theosophy may have been the cause of his going astray. The references to him in Rabbinic literature are numerous and mostly hostile; yet a certain respect is shown towards him as a teacher. He is the most interesting figure in the Talmud and Midrash.

to . . . like? For the phrase cp. iii. 22.

ink . . . paper, דיו . . . . . ניר. The comparison is not with the ink but with the writing. The paper is papyrus.

erased paper, ניר מחוק, palimpsest. The thought needs no explanation.

26. **R. Jose b. Judah, of Chephar ha-Babli**; date, end of second century and beginning of third; son of R. Judah, iv. 16 above; disciple of R. Eleazar b. Shammua; contemporary of Rabbi. Chephar ha-Babli was probably in Galilee. His maxim turns on the same thought as the preceding, with a change of simile.

wine . . . winepress, wine newly made. Nothing turns on the fact that the winepress is his own.

27. **Rabbi.** See on ii. 1 above.

Taylor points out that this maxim serves to correct the preceding one. Not the age of the teacher but the worth of what he teaches is to be regarded. Did Rabbi perhaps regard himself as the 'new pitcher full of old wine', and R. Jose as the old empty pitcher?

28. **R. Eleazar ha-Kappar**; date, end of second century and beginning of third; contemporary of Rabbi.

drive . . . world. See on ii. 15.

29. **He.** R. Eleazar ha-Kappar.

This long utterance seems intended as the close of the book, or of the collection of dicta incorporated in it. Was R. Eleazar perhaps the collector?

for making alive, להחיות, i.e. for God to make them live again.

to be judged; to know and to make known and to be known that He is the maker and He the creator, and He the discerner, and He the Judge, and He the witness, and He the adversary, and He will judge in whose presence there is neither obliquity nor forgetfulness nor respect of persons nor taking a bribe; for all is His; and know that all is according to reckoning. Let not thy nature make thee believe that the grave is a place of refuge. For not of thy will wast thou formed, and not of thy will dost thou live, and not of thy will dost thou die, and not of thy will art thou to give *just* account and reckoning before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

1 By ten Sayings the world was created. And why does *the Scripture* teach this? Could not the world have been created by one Saying? But *it was in order* to exact penalty from the wicked who destroy the world that was created by ten Sayings, and to give good reward to the righteous who establish the world that was created by ten Sayings.

2 Ten generations from Adam to Noah, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the generations provoked Him, until He brought the flood upon them.

3 Ten generations from Noah to Abraham, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the generations provoked Him, until Abraham our father came, and received the reward of them all.

4 Ten trials Abraham our father was tried with, and he bore them all, to make known how great was the love of Abraham our father.

5 Ten wonders were done for our fathers in Egypt, and ten by the sea.

6 [Ten plagues did the Holy One, blessed be He, bring upon the Egyptians in Egypt, and ten by the sea.]

7 Ten trials did our fathers try God with in the wilderness, as it is said: 'And they tempted Me these ten times, and did not hearken to My voice.' Num. xiv. 22

8 Ten wonders were done in the Sanctuary, [for our fathers]. No woman miscarried through the smell of the sacred flesh; and the sacred flesh did not ever stink; and no uncleanness befell the High Priest on the day of Atonement; and no fly was seen in the slaughter-house; and no defect was found in the sheaf, or in the two loaves, or in the shewbread; and rain never quenched the fire; and wind never overcame the pillar of smoke; *the people* stood close together yet had room to bow themselves; no serpent nor scorpion did harm in Jerusalem; and none said to his companion, The place is too narrow for me that I should lodge in Jerusalem.

to know . . . known . . . be known, לידע ולהודיע ולהודע. Men are to know their relation to God, and learn it from others, and impart it to others (so Bartenora).

adversary, בעל דין. In the final judgement, God will be not only judge and witness but the other party in the suit.

reckoning. Cp. the saying of R. Akiba, iii. 20.

nature. The יצר, and probably the י׳ הרע, the evil impulse (see on ii. 15 above); the idea is that a man's lower nature will lead him to think that there is no judgement after death, so that he should need to fear.

grave. Sheol, the underworld.

refuge, a place where the soul can escape from divine justice.

just account . . . reckoning. See on iii. 1, where the whole of the concluding phrase, down to 'blessed be He', occurs. This may indicate that cc. iii–iv formed a separate collection. See Introduction.

V. This chapter is mainly taken up with groups of related things based respectively on the numbers ten, seven, four, and three. A few sayings of teachers are added at the end.

1. First group of ten. **world . . . created.** The ten 'Sayings' are the divine utterances in Gen. i, 'And God said,' &c.

why . . . teach. This is the meaning of the phrase מה תלמוד לומר, which occurs numberless times in the Talmud. The explanation is that of Bacher (*Terminologie*, i, p. 200).

But . . . penalty . . . reward. The meaning is that though God could have created the world by one 'Saying', He chose to protract His creative work, to linger over it, and thereby enhanced its worth; so much the greater is the gu lt of those who destroy it by sin, or the merit of those who maintain it by righteousness.

2. Second group of ten. **Him,** God. For the thought cp. 2 Pet. iii. 5–9.

3. Third group of ten. It would seem that Noah is included amongst those who provoked God. **reward . . . all.** The meaning is not clearly expressed; the sinners did not deserve a reward, and Abraham was not punished for their sins. Probably the meaning is that God put up with the sinners till Abraham, and that he by his righteousness made up for the sins of his ancestors.

4. Fourth group of ten. The ten trials of Abraham are not all scriptural. The list is variously reckoned by different commentators. **love,** i. e. Abraham's love to God, since he 'bore them all' for His sake.

5. Fifth and sixth group of ten.

6. This clause is noted as doubtful in DS. It is evidently intended as a parallel to No. 5. Possibly the sixth group was linked with the fifth, in order to introduce the two sets of plagues.

7. Seventh (ninth) group of ten. A mere deduction from Num. xiv. 22.

8. Eighth group of ten. The separate members being specified.

sacred flesh. The carcases of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice.

uncleanness. As in Deut. xxiii. 10, which would prevent the High Priest from officiating.

sheaf, Lev. xxiii. 10–14. **loaves,** ibid. 17. **shewbread,** Exod. xxv. 30.

wind . . . smoke. It was considered a bad sign if the smoke rising from the great altar was blown aside instead of rising straight up.

place . . . narrow. Josephus says (*B. I.* vi. 9. 3) that on one occasion, just before the war, 2,565,000 persons were present at the Passover sacrifice in Jerusalem. The reader can believe that, if he will.

9 Ten things were created 'between the suns'. And these are they: The mouth of the earth; the mouth of the well; the mouth of the ass *of Balaam*; the bow; and the manna, and the rod *of Moses*; and the shamir-*worm*; and writing; and the writing; and the Tables. Some say, also the evil spirits, and the grave of Moses, and the ram of Abraham our father; and some say also the tongs that are made with tongs.

10 Seven things concerning a rude man, and seven concerning a wise man. A wise man does not speak in the presence of one who is greater than he in wisdom; and he does not break in upon the words of his associate; and he does not hasten to reply; he asks according to the Rule, and answers according to the subject; and he speaks on the first thing first, and on the last last; concerning what he has not heard he says, I have not heard; and he acknowledges the truth. The opposites of these are *found* in the rude man.

11 Seven kinds of punishment come upon the world for seven main transgressions. When some men tithe and some do not tithe, famine from drought comes; some go hungry and some are full. When they have resolved that they will not tithe *at all*, famine from tumult and from drought comes. And *when they have resolved* that they will not offer the cake of dough a famine of extermination comes. Pestilence comes upon the world for the capital crimes mentioned in the Torah which are not within the jurisdiction of the court of justice. Also, for fruits of the seventh year. The sword comes upon the world for suppression of justice and for perversion of justice, and for those that teach in the Torah not according to Rule. The wild beast comes on the world for false swearing, and for profaning of the Name. Exile comes upon the world for false worship, for incest, for bloodshed, and for *not* giving release to the earth.

12 At four seasons pestilence increases; in the fourth *year*, in the seventh, at the end of the seventh, and at the end of the Feast in each year. In the fourth, because of the tithe for the poor in the third; in the seventh, because of the tithe for the poor in the sixth; at the end of the seventh, because of the fruits of the seventh; and at the end of the Feast, because of the robbery of the gifts *assigned* to the poor.

13 Four types of men: He that says, What is mine is mine and what is thine is thine; this is the average type, some say it is the type of Sodom. *He that says*, What is mine is thine and what is thine is mine, is one of the vulgar; *He that says*, What is mine and what is thine are thine, is pious. *He who says*, What is thine and what is mine are mine, is wicked.

14 Four types of character: Easy to provoke and easy to pacify, his gain is cancelled by his loss.

9. Ninth group of ten. The things here mentioned became of special importance in the later history, but they are not specially mentioned in the account of the Creation; since, it was held, God had created nothing more after He 'rested from His labour', the things here mentioned must have been created last of all.

'between the suns,' בין השמשות, i.e. between sunset and sunrise. So all the MSS. C adds 'at nightfall', and DS 'on the eve of Sabbath'.

mouth . . . earth, that swallowed Korah. Num. xvi. 32.

mouth . . . well. Probably that in Num. xxi. 16–18.

mouth . . . ass, i.e. the speaking of Balaam's ass was provided for at the Creation.

bow, the rainbow.

shamir, a worm supposed to have the power of gnawing the hardest substances. Moses and Solomon are said to have made use of it.

writing, the forms of the letters; **the writing,** either the art of combining letters into words, or the writing on the Tables, or the writing instrument, stylus or pen.

tongs . . . tongs. The meaning is, that if the smith uses tongs in order to make tongs, who made the first tongs? Answer, they were made among the last things at the Creation. Presumably meaning that God is the author of all unexplained beginnings.

10. First group of seven. **rude man,** גולם. Lit. *foetus*, the unformed human being.

Rule, *halachah*. See on ii. 1 above.

11. Second group of seven. A deduction from Lev. xxvi. 14–22.

fruits . . . seventh year, Exod. xxiii. 11. So also, **release . . . earth.**

12. First group of four. **seasons,** פרקים. Not in each year, but regularly recurring periods within the cycle of seven years. The idea is that pestilence comes by reason of the sins committed in regard to the tithe for the poor, &c.

the Feast, i.e. of Tabernacles.

robbery . . . poor. After the harvest has been reaped, the gleaning and the corner of the field and any part forgotten were to be left for the poor. Any one who did not so leave them robbed the poor.

13. Second group of four. **types,** מדות. Lit. 'measures', the same word as in 'with what measure ye mete', &c., Matt. vii. 2; here the means by which the character of a man is estimated or measured; 'type' conveys the same meaning through a different metaphor.

Sodom. The reference is to Ezek. xvi. 49.

vulgar, *am-ha-aretz*. See on ii. 6 above. The meaning is that he who does not know the Scripture does not know that he ought only to give and not to receive, Prov. xv. 27. Hence the definition of the pious.

14. Third group of four. **gain . . . loss,** הפסדו בשכרו. The two men described lose by their anger and gain by their being pacified; but the second is of a firmer character than the first, and therefore in his case gain is mentioned before loss, and *vice versa*.

Hard to provoke and hard to pacify, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Hard to provoke and easy to pacify, he is pious. Easy to provoke and hard to pacify, he is wicked.

15 Four types of disciples: Quick to hear and quick to lose, his gain is cancelled by his loss. Slow to learn and slow to lose, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Quick to hear and slow to lose, he is wise. Slow to hear and quick to lose, this is an evil lot.

16 Four types of almsgivers: He who is willing to give but not that others should give, his eye is evil towards what is theirs; *he who is willing* that others should give but does not give himself, his eye is evil towards what is his; *he who is willing* to give and that others should give, is pious; *he who is* not *willing* that he should give or that others should give, is wicked.

17 Four types of them that go to the house of learning: He that goes and does nothing, has the reward of *his* going; he that goes not but does *something*, has the reward of doing; he that goes and does *something*, is pious; he that neither goes nor does *anything*, is wicked.

18 Four types of them that sit before the Wise: A sponge, a funnel, a strainer and a sieve. A sponge, because it sucks up everything; a funnel, because it receives at one end and lets out at the other; a strainer, because it lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs; a sieve, because it lets out the coarse meal and keeps the fine flour.

19 All love which depends on something—if the thing ceases, the love ceases. If it does not depend on something it ceases not for ever. What love is that which depends on something? This is the love of Amnon and Tamar. And that which does not depend on something? This is the love of David and Jonathan.

20 Every controversy which is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established; and that which is not for the name of Heaven will not in the end be established. What controversy is that which is for the name of Heaven? The controversy of Shammai and Hillel. And that which is not for the name of Heaven? This is the controversy of Korah.

21 Every one that makes the many virtuous, sin comes not by his means; and every one that maketh the many to sin, they give him not the opportunity to repent. Moses was virtuous and made the many virtuous, and the virtue of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'He executed the righteousness of the Lord, and His judgements with Israel.' Deut. xxxiii. 21

Jeroboam sinned and made the many to sin, the sin of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'For the sin of Jeroboam who sinned and made Israel to sin.' 1 Kings xiv. 16

22 Every one who has three things is one of the disciples of Abraham our father. And *every one who has* three other things is one of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. *If he has* a good eye, and a lowly soul and a humble spirit, he is of the disciples of Abraham our father. *If he has* an evil eye, and a boastful soul and a haughty spirit, he is of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. What is *the difference* between the disciples of Abraham our father and the disciples of Balaam the wicked? The disciples of Balaam the wicked inherit Gehenna and go down to the pit of destruction, as it is said: 'But Thou, O God, wilt bring them down to the pit of destruction. Men of blood and deceit shall not live out half their days; but I will trust in Thee.' Ps. lv. 24 But the disciples of Abraham our father inherit the Garden of Eden and inherit the world to come; as it is said: 'That I may cause them that love me to inherit substance, and that I may fill their treasuries.' Prov. viii. 21

15. Fourth group of four. Types of students, of course of Torah.

16. Fifth group of four. Almsgivers. **eye . . . evil.** See above on ii. 12.

17. Sixth group of four. Types of students, as in 15, here considered in reference to their going to the School and what they do there.

has . . . reward. Cp. Matt. vi. 2.

does something, practises some of the Torah which he learns.

18. Seventh group of four. Similes of students. The four objects described are explained, and it is clear what ought to be the effect of the sieve; but no commentator has explained what kind of a sieve lets the coarse go through and keeps the fine. The word is rightly rendered 'sieve'.

19. No longer groups but general principles. The contrast between selfish and unselfish love.

20. Controversy justifiable and unjustifiable. **be established,** סופה להתקיים. It will not establish the contentions of both opponents, but it will show that it was right for them to have argued against each other.

Shammai . . . Hillel. See on i. 12. It was said in regard to them, 'The words of each are the words of the living God, but the halachah is according to Hillel' (Erub. 13b).

21. A omits the clause about Jeroboam, probably only by a scribal error.

the many, *οἱ πολλοί.*

sin. Taylor compares Rom. v. 19.

22. **disciples . . . Abraham.** Taken as a model, like Aaron, i. 12 above.

Balaam. Perhaps a covert reverence to Jesus is intended.

blood . . . deceit. This text is elsewhere used to show that Balaam (Jesus?) was about thirty-three years old. (For the Rabbinical comparison of Balaam with Jesus, see my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 64–70.)

[**inherit the Garden of Eden and inherit the world to come.** This is clearly a conflate text. One of these clauses should be excised.—Gen. Editor.]

23 R. Judah b. Tema said: Be bold as a leopard, and light as an eagle, and swift as a gazelle, and strong as a lion to do the will of thy Father which is in heaven.

24 [He used to say: The bold-faced man is for Gehenna, and the shame-faced man is for the Garden of Eden. May it be Thy will, O Lord our God and the God of our fathers, that Thy city may be built speedily in our days; and grant our portion *to be* in Thy Torah.]

25 [Ben Bag-Bag said: Turn it, and turn it again, for the whole is in it, and the whole of thee is in it; and from it swerve not, for there is to thee no greater good than it.]

26 [Ben He-He said: According to the toil is the pay.]

27 [He said: At five years old *one is fit* for the Scripture, at ten years for Mishnah, at thirteen for the commandments, at fifteen for Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for retribution, at thirty for power, at forty for discernment, at fifty for counsel, at sixty for elderhood, at seventy for grey hairs, at eighty for strength, at ninety for decrepitude, and at a hundred he is as if he were Ps c. dead and had passed away and vanished from the world.]

END OF THE TREATISE 'FATHERS'.

THE CHAPTER OF R. MEIR, OR, THE ACQUISITION OF TORAH.

6 1 *The* Wise have taught in the language of the Mishnah; blessed is He that made choice of them and of their Mishnah.

R. Meir said: Every one who is occupied with the Torah for its own sake is worthy *to have* many things; and not only so, but the whole world, all of it, is his equivalent. He is called friend,

23. Note the return to maxims of named teachers.

R. Judah b. Tema; date uncertain; he is once mentioned with R. Meir, middle of second century.

Father . . . in heaven. This term is common in the Rabbinical literature, and is pre-Christian. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 120–4. The use of it here tends to show that this verse was originally the conclusion of the book. D says this expressly. The verses which follow are later additions, and the order of them is variously given.

24. **He.** Probably not R. Judah b. Tema. The author is unknown. Whoever added it did so as a further conclusion to the book, for the second clause is a kind of doxology common in the Jewish liturgy.

25. **Ben Bag-Bag.** This is not a real name, but an epithet formed from the initials of the words 'Ben Ben Ger Bath Gerah'; and one explanation is that his father and mother were each the offspring of converts to Judaism. The vowels are only supplied to enable the word to be sounded. He is supposed to have been a disciple of Hillel.

His maxim refers to Torah, as the full and complete divine revelation.

26. **Ben He-He.** A name formed like the preceding, and possibly the same person is referred to. The maxim is in Aramaic, as are some of those of Hillel.

27. **He.** Sometimes is introduced here the saying of Samuel the small, iv. 24, in order to make him the author of the saying about the ages of man. But this connexion is quite uncertain. The passage is only placed here as having been either added later than the body of the book, or else, as Strack suggests, having been excluded from the book on account of its melancholy conclusion. It is a series of descriptive phrases which need little comment.

twenty . . . retribution. Although he is considered to be old enough at thirteen to be able to obey the precepts (he is called then a *bar-mitzvah*), he is not held fully responsible, and therefore liable to divine punishment for sin, לרדוף, until he is twenty. [Better 'twenty . . . pursuing a calling'.—Gen. Editor.]

VI. It is admitted by all that the sixth chapter formed no part of the treatise incorporated in the Mishnah. See Introduction. It is only given here because, by long custom, it is read with the rest of the book. Nevertheless the material contained, the maxims of particular Rabbis, may be as authentic as what is included in the earlier chapters. It is usually called the 'Chapter of R. Meir', or the 'Acquisition of Torah', the former title being merely a reference to the first teacher mentioned in it. The latter title fairly describes the contents. Taylor, in his edition, merely gives a translation from the text contained in a modern prayer-book; he adds no comment and no critical apparatus. The text here translated is that of Strack's edition.

1. **The Wise,** the Talmudic teachers.

taught, שנו, the special word applied to the authoritative teaching of Torah; the name Mishnah, from the same root, denotes the *corpus* of such teaching, as it was collected and edited by 'Rabbi'. The intention of this sentence, which forms a sort of motto for the chapter, is to connect the chapter with the preceding ones as forming with them virtually a part of the Mishnah.

blessed . . . He, i.e. God.

choice. Implying, as it would seem, some degree of divine guidance in the development of the Mishnah. The Talmud says (B. B. 12[a]) that prophecy was taken from the prophets and given to the Wise, meaning the Rabbis.

R. Meir. See on iv. 12. Date, middle of second century.

occupied . . . Torah. This phrase occurs in R. M.'s maxim, iv. 12, and may have been taken thence to serve as the theme for the present exposition.

worthy to have, זוכה; the corresponding noun is זכות, merit. The term denotes a condition of mind and character such as to meet with the divine approval; it does not imply a claim against God for reward. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 276–80. For the phrase cp. Rev. v. 9, 12.

equivalent, כדי הוא לו, and not more; he is worth the whole world. Strack wrongly, as I think, compares 1 Cor. iii. 21, 'for all are yours.'

beloved, one that loves God and loves mankind, makes glad both God and mankind. And it clothes him with humbleness and fear, and purifies him to become righteous, pious, upright and faithful; keeps him far from sin and brings him to virtue. *Men* enjoy from him counsel and sound knowledge, discernment and might; as it is said: 'Counsel is mine and sound knowledge; I am discernment; I have might.' And it gives him sovereignty and dominion and searching out of justice; and they disclose for him secrets of Torah. And he is made like a spring which ceases not, and like a stream that goes on getting stronger. And he is modest and longsuffering and forgiving of insult. And it makes him great and lifts him above all the things that are done. Prov. viii. 14

2 R. Joshua b. Levi has said: Every day a Bath-Qol goes forth from Mount Horeb and proclaims and says 'Woe to mankind because of *their* insulting of the Torah'; for every one that is not occupied with the Torah is called reprobate; as it is said: 'As a jewel of gold in the snout of a swine, so is a fair woman without sense.' And *Scripture* says: 'And the tables were the work of God, and the writing writing of God, graven on the tables.' Read not 'ḥaruth' (*graven*) but 'ḥeruth' (*freedom*); for none is your freeman, but he who is occupied with the study of Torah. And every one who is occupied in the study of Torah, lo, he exalts himself, as it is said: 'And from Mattanah to Naḥaliel, and from Naḥaliel to Bamoth.' Prov. xi. 22 Exod. xxxii. 16 Num. xxi. 19

3 He who learns from his associate one chapter, one rule, one verse, one saying, even one letter, must show honour to him; for thus we find in the case of David, king of Israel, that he learned

loves God . . . mankind. Observe the unlimited range of the love inspired by the religion of Torah.

makes glad. Cp. Zeph. iii. 17, but with a finer meaning here.

it clothes him. 'It' is Torah, personified. Cp. 1 Pet. v. 5 for humility as a virtue put on, given from above.

purifies, makes him כשר, *kāshēr*, in a fit condition to perform his religious duties. The same word, pronounced 'kosher', is used in Jewish shops to denote food ritually fit for use.

from him, i.e. from the man who is occupied with Torah. The proof-text, Prov. viii. 14, makes Wisdom say 'Counsel is mine', &c. Torah is identified with wisdom; therefore the man who has Torah is enabled to give what is inherent in wisdom.

it gives, i.e. Torah gives.

sovereignty, מלכות, moral not political supremacy.

searching . . . justice. Solomon, the wise king, was able to find out what true justice required, 1 Kings iii. 16–28.

they disclose. 'They' are the *familia caelestis*, the angels.

stream, &c. For the phrase cp. ii. 10; the simile used there is expanded here.

And . . . is. Strack reads הוֶה (participle) for the common reading הֱוֵי, imperative, which, as he says, makes no sense. But הוה is very unusual, and it would be simpler to read הוא 'he (is)'. The structure of the whole passage is very clumsy, with its frequent changes of subject; it may be a cento of phrases from different sources.

things . . . done, meaning that he is not the slave of circumstance but spiritually free.

2. **R. Joshua b. Levi:** date, middle of third century, A.D., a famous haggadist (see note below) and mystic. The Mishnah was closed before his time, and with it the series of Rabbis known as Tannaim. Their successors, who commented on the Mishnah, and whose teaching forms the Gemara, were called Amoraim; R. Joshua was an Amora, and his mention here is one of the indications that this chapter did not form part of the original book.

Bath-Qol. Lit. 'daughter of a voice'. The term denotes a sound interpreted as a voice from heaven, delivering some special message to men. It was said to have been a 'Bath-Qol' which decided on the rivalry between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. See on v. 20 above. In John xii. 28, 29, what is referred to is evidently meant for a 'Bath-Qol'. The Rabbis held that since the extinction of prophecy, the 'Bath-Qol' took the place of the 'word of the Lord' which came to the prophet, but was an inferior mode of inspiration.

Horeb. Not that R. J. believed that God dwelt on Horeb, but merely as a scriptural phrase for the seat of divine authority.

reprobate, נזוף, one who is reproved by God. The word does not occur in the O.T. The proof-text, which seems to be wholly irrelevant, is applied after the methods of haggadah (non-literal interpretation of Scripture for edification). The text says נזם זהב באף חזיר. R. J. takes נזוף and associates it with נזם אף, by mere similarity of letters, and then argues, in effect, that as 'a fair woman without sense' is נזופה, so a man without Torah is נזוף. This is haggadah; and the haggadist did not imply that the words of Scripture really gave that meaning, but that the lesson he wished to teach could be linked on to Scripture in that way.

Read not 'ḥaruth' but 'ḥeruth'. This also is haggadah. For the sake of edification, the text of Scripture might be read otherwise than as written; but this implied no actual criticism of the text, nor any question of 'various readings'. R. J. reads 'ḥeruth' 'freedom', for the sake of making his point about the freeman; but he was quite aware that 'ḥeruth' would make no sense in the original text, Exod. xxxii. 16.

exalts himself. In the previous verse it is Torah which exalts. The proof-text, Num. xxi. 19, is again applied in the manner of haggadah. The place-names are taken according to their literal meaning, Mattanah = gift; Naḥaliel, God leads; Bamoth = heights. Thus Torah was *given*; *God leads* the man who studies it to the *heights*, i.e. exalts him. This exposition is given in the Talmud (Erub. 54[a]) but not in the name of R. J., although he is quoted on the same page.

3. This saying is anonymous. **learns,** i.e. learns Torah.

rule, *halachah*. See on ii. 1 above.

show honour, as to a teacher of Torah, cp. iv. 15 above.

David . . . Ahithophel. The reference is to a story, not found in the O.T., intended to explain how David came to compose the fifteen 'Psalms of degrees'. The story, too long to quote, occurs in Succ. 53[b], Macc. 11[a], and the authority for it is said to be R. Joḥanan (A.D. 199–279). The present passage is thus later than the Gemara.

from Ahithophel only two things, *but* he called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend; as it is said: 'But thou, a man mine equal, my teacher and my familiar friend'. And are not these Ps.
things an argument *a fortiori*? If David, king of Israel, who learned from Ahithophel only two things, called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend, how much more one who learns from his associate one chapter or one rule, or one verse, or one saying, or even one letter, ought to show honour to him: and 'honour' simply means Torah; as it is said: 'The wise shall inherit Pro
honour'; and 'The perfect shall inherit good': and 'good' simply means Torah; as it is said: ib.
'For I have given thee good doctrine, forsake not my Torah.' ib.

4 This is the way of Torah: A morsel with salt thou shalt eat, 'and thou shalt drink water by Eze
measure'; and thou shalt sleep on the ground, and thou shalt live a life of hardship, and thou shalt labour in the Torah. If thou doest thus 'happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee'; Ps.
'happy' in this world, and 'well with thee' in the world to come.

5 Seek not greatness for thyself, neither covet honour. Perform more than thou hast learned. And crave not for the tables of kings; for thy table is greater than their table, and thy crown greater than their crown; and faithful is He, the master of thy work, to pay thee the reward of thy labour.

6 Greater is Torah than priesthood and than sovereignty. For sovereignty is acquired through thirty qualifications, and priesthood by twenty-four; but the Torah is acquired by forty-eight things. And these are they:—'By learning, the listening of the ear, the ordering of the lips, the discernment of the heart, fear, dread, humility, cheerfulness, purity, attendance on the Wise, discussion with associates, argument with disciples, sedateness, Scripture, Mishnah; by little business, little intercourse *with the world*, little sleep, little conversation, little luxury, little merriment; by forbearance, a good heart, faith in the Wise, acceptance of chastisements; *by being* one that knows his place, and rejoices in his portion, and makes a fence for his words, and claims not goodness for himself, that is loved, that loves God, that loves mankind, that loves deeds of charity, that loves uprightness, that loves reproofs, and keeps himself far from honour, and puffs not up his heart with his learning, and delights not in giving decisions, that bears the yoke along with his associate, and judges him with a leaning to merit, and establishes him upon truth, and establishes him upon peace, and settles his heart in his study, that asks and answers, that hears and adds thereto, that learns with a view to teaching, and that learns with a view to action, that makes his teacher wise, that makes sure what he hears, and that repeats a word in the name of him who said it. See, thou hast learned: Every one that says a word in the name of him who said it brings redemption into the world; as it is said: 'And Esther said to the king in the name of Mordecai.' Est

7 Great is Torah, for it gives to them that practise it life in this world and in the world to come; as it is said: 'For they are life to them that find them, and health to all their flesh.' Pr

called . . . master. This is not in the Talmudic story, but merely an inference from Ps. lv. 13, taken as referring to Ahithophel.

a fortiori, קל וחומר, lit. 'light and heavy'. The form of the argument is: 'if *A* is *B*, how much more *C* is *B*?' This is one of the seven rules which Hillel introduced for the interpretation of Scripture.

'honour' . . . means Torah. There is a confusion of thought here, for the disciple is to show honour to his Master because of Torah; he does not show Torah to him.

good doctrine. The same proof-text is quoted in iii. 19 above.

4. Anonymous. **way.** Cp. on ii. 1 above. The proof-text, Ps. cxxviii. 2, is quoted in iv. 1 above, and even there it is probably a later insertion.

5. Anonymous. **Perform . . . learned.** Cp. i. 17, iii. 12 above.

tables of kings, court favour.

thy table, the table at which thou sittest, the table of God, see on iii. 5 above.

thy crown, of Torah. See on iv. 17 above.

faithful . . . labour. Verbatim from ii. 19.

6. Anonymous. **Torah . . . priesthood . . . sovereignty.** Classed together, iv. 17 above.

acquired, נקנית; but a different word is needed. The dignities referred to are not acquired by the things specified, but these are, in the case of kings and priests, privileges enjoyed by the holder of the dignity; in the case of the man of Torah they are characteristic features. The privileges of kings and high-priests are given in the Mishnah, Sanh. ii. The list of forty-eight 'things' shows variations in the style which point to an origin from different sources. Nos. 1–25 are nouns, the remainder verbs describing what the man of Torah does. The total number is fifty, and there seems to be little attempt at orderly sequence in the list. The whole passage may be taken as the summary of the Pharisaic ideal; see my *Pharisaism*, pp. 327–30. Various parallels with phrases in the earlier part of the book occur. Detailed comment is unnecessary, as nearly all the ideas have been mentioned before. After the list is closed, follows a comment upon the last item, 'that says a word in the name of him who said it.' The Rabbis attached great importance to this, the idea being that he who brought to the knowledge of his fellows some new meaning of Torah and rendered explicit part of the divine meaning till then implicit in it, should be held in remembrance for having done so.

See, thou hast learned. The words which follow are a quotation from the Talmud, Chull. 104[b], another proof of the late date of this chapter. The proof-text is less cogent than the reason given above.

7. Anonymous. The life-giving power of Torah. Chiefly a series of Scripture texts.

And *Scripture* says: 'It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones.' And it says: Prov. iii. 8
'She shall be a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy are they that retain her.' ib. iii. 18
And it says: 'For they shall be a chaplet of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy ib. i. 9
neck.' And it says: 'She shall give to thine head a chaplet of grace; a crown of beauty shall she ib. iv. 9
deliver thee.' And it says: 'For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and they shall increase to ib. ix. 11
thee years of life.' And it says: 'Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches ib. iii. 16
and honour.' And it says: 'For length of days, and years of life, and peace shall they add to thee.' ib. iii. 2

8 R. Simeon b. Judah, in the name of R. Simeon b. Joḥai, said: Beauty, strength, riches, honour, wisdom, old age, grey hairs, children, are comely for the righteous and comely for the world; as it is said: 'The hoary head is a crown of glory; it shall be found in the way of righteousness.' Prov. xvi. 31
And it says: 'Children's children are the crown of old men; and the glory of children are their ib. xvii. 6
fathers.' And it says: 'The glory of young men is their strength; and the beauty of old men is ib. xx. 29
the hoary head.' And it says: 'Then the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed; for Isa. xxiv. 23
the Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before His ancients gloriously.'

9 R. Simeon b. Menasia said: These seven attributes, which the Wise have assigned to the righteous, were all exemplified in Rabbi and in his sons.

10 R. Jose b. Kisma has said: Once I was walking by the way and there met me a man, and he greeted me, and I greeted him again. He said to me, Rabbi, whence comest thou? I said to him, I am from a great city of wise men and scribes. He said to me, Rabbi, wilt thou dwell with us in our place, and I will give thee a thousand thousand gold pieces and precious stones and pearls? I said to him, If thou gavest me all the silver and gold and precious stones and pearls which are in the world I would not dwell except in a place of Torah. For thus it is written in the book of Psalms, by the hands of David, king of Israel: 'The Torah of Thy mouth is better unto me than Ps. cxix. 72
thousands of gold and silver.' And not only so, but in the hour of a man's death it is not silver or gold or precious stones or pearls which accompany him, but Torah and good works alone; as it is said: 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee, when thou liest down it shall watch over thee, Prov. vi. 22
and when thou wakest it shall talk with thee.' 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee'—in this world. 'When thou liest down it shall watch over thee'—in the grave. 'When thou wakest it shall talk with thee'—in the world to come. And it says: 'The silver is Mine and the gold is Mine, saith the Lord Hag. ii. 8
of Hosts.'

11 Five possessions hath the Holy One, blessed be He, acquired in His world, and these are they: Torah is one possession; heaven and earth are one possession; Abraham is one possession; Israel is one possession; the house of the sanctuary is one possession. Whence *is this proved concerning* Torah? That which is written: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His Prov. viii. 22
works of old.' Whence *concerning* heaven and earth? That which is written: 'Thus saith the Isa. lxvi. 1
Lord of Hosts, Heaven is My throne and the earth the footstool of My feet: what is this house that ye build for Me, and what is the place of My rest?' And it says: 'How manifold are Thy works, Ps. civ. 24
O Lord! in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of Thy possessions.' Whence *concerning*

8. **R. Simeon b. Judah.** A contemporary, probably older, of Rabbi; date, middle of second century. He was a disciple of R. Simeon b. Joḥai (see iii. 5); his father was probably (R.) Judah of Chephar Ikos, mentioned in connexion with Gamaliel II. This verse is sometimes, wrongly, assigned to R. S. b. Menasia, *v.* 9.

in the name of, משום. The regular formula by which one teacher cites the dictum of another, but it does not necessarily imply that the later had actually heard it from the earlier teacher. The series of graces, together with all the proof-texts except the last, is taken verbatim from Tosephta, Sanh. xi. 8. The relevancy of the text from Isa. xxiv. 23 is not obvious.

9. **R. Ṣimeon b. Menasia.** Also, like the preceding, an older contemporary of Rabbi; date, middle of second century.

His remark, which only gives the personal application of the saying in *v.* 8, is likewise taken from Tosephta, where it follows immediately after the saying of R. Simeon.

10. **R. Jose b. Kisma.** Friend of R. Ḥanina b. Teradion (iii. 3 above); date, end of first century and beginning of second.

has said. Note the change of form. The maxims of the various Sages are what they were in the habit of saying; here we have an anecdote which R. Jose once told.

great city. R. Jose lived in Caesarea Philippi, but that city was not specially remarkable for its 'wise men and scribes'. Jerusalem cannot be meant; for though, after the siege, Jews were not forbidden to live there, it was no longer a place of learning. The seat of authority had been transferred to Jabneh, and in R. Jose's time was at Usha. Possibly this is the city referred to.

gold pieces, דינר, *denarii.*

11. Anonymous. This passage has its sources in the Talmud and the older Midrash. In Siphri 134[a], three 'possessions' are mentioned: Torah, Israel, and the Sanctuary. In Mechilta, Beshallaḥ 9, p. 43[a, b], four are given: Israel, heaven and earth, the Sanctuary, and Torah. In the Talmud, Pes. 87[b], the same four are given. Abraham is thus a later addition; the proof-text does not support his inclusion, because it says that God is the possessor, not of Abraham, but of heaven and earth.

Abraham? That which is written: 'And he blessed him and said, Blessed be Abraham of God Ge x
Most High, possessor of heaven and earth.' Whence *concerning* Israel? That which is written:
'Till Thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over which Thou hast possessed.' And it Ex
says: 'As for the saints that are in the earth, they are the excellent in whom is all my delight.' Ps. i
Whence *concerning* the house of the Sanctuary? That which is written: 'The place, O Lord, Ex
which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have founded.'
And it says: 'And He brought them to the border of His Sanctuary, to this mountain which His Ps. x
12 right hand hath possessed.' All that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in His world, He created
it only for His glory; as it is said: 'Every one that is called by My name, and whom I have Isa li
created for My glory, I have formed him, I have made him.' And it says: 'The Lord shall reign Ex
for ever and ever.'

12. Anonymous. Probably continuous with the preceding, the idea being to supplement the statement that God has five possessions in the world by the declaration that all which it contains is His because He created it. The passage tself is older, being taken verbatim from the Talmud, Joma 38[a], and there it is assigned to a date before A.D. 70. The compiler of this chapter included it as a well-known ancient saying in praise of God, and added it here both to qualify the preceding statement about the possessions, and also to serve as a sort of concluding doxology to the whole book.

The Wilna edition of the Talmud gives, after *v.* 12, a saying ascribed to R. Ḥanania b. Akashia (date unknown) and taken from Macc. 23[b], 'Be pleased, O God, to purify Israel; wherefore increase to them Torah and precepts, as it is said (Isa xlii. 21): "It pleased the Lord, for His righteousness' sake, to magnify the Torah and make it honourable."' Rashi mentions this verse, but says it does not belong to the treatise of the Fathers.

THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

In the story of Aḥiḳar we are probably, as in the parallel case of Tobit, in the region of folk-lore pure and simple. It is a tale of Ingratitude and its Just Judgement, much in the same ethical manner as Tobit is a tale of a Grateful Ghost, and how he made recompense to his benefactor, who had cared for his dead body. We make the acquaintance of the story, first of all, in the supplementary pages of the *Arabian Nights*; we then trace it through the legends of a variety of peoples, with a growing sense of the antiquity of the common nucleus which underlies the traditions, and finally, as an interesting combination of good luck with good learning, the original story turns up in an Aramaic papyrus of the fifth century B.C. among the ruins of Elephantiné; in a language, that is, which had been conjectured as its original, and of an antiquity even greater than had been assigned to it by any of its investigators. The discovery followed from first suspicions to last achievement is itself almost a romance.

Aḥiḳar, who is the hero of the tale, was Grand-Vizier to Sennacherib, King of Assyria; he was a sage, as well as a politician, high in honour, abundant in wealth, and only poor by the curse of childlessness which left him without a son whom he might make the heir of his wealth and his wisdom. Repeated prayers brought him at last an injunction to take his sister's son, Nadan, and bring him up as his own offspring. The story-teller relates the education of the youth, and how, after being deluged with proverbial philosophy, he turned out ill, intrigued against his adopted father, and betrayed him, by forged documents of a treasonable character, to the Government. Aḥiḳar is condemned to death and Nadan steps into his place; but, on the way to execution, the swordsman is reminded by Aḥiḳar of a previous occasion on which he had saved him from a similar danger. A plan is devised by the two friends for the saving of Aḥiḳar's life, a criminal is substituted for him at the place of execution, and Aḥiḳar is hidden away in his own cellarage to wait for the evolution of events. At last political circumstances bring the necessary turn to the wheel of his fortune. The King of Assyria is unable, without his aid, to meet the intrigues and satisfy the demands of the King of Egypt; he sighs over Aḥiḳar dead, and is informed, to his delight, that the sage is really living. Aḥiḳar is brought out of his hiding-place, a very spectacle, with unkempt locks and overgrown nails, and reinstated in his ancient honour. After an interval spent, in the typical folk-lore manner, in satisfying the requirements of the King of Egypt, Aḥiḳar returns to claim the boon of a due revenge on his adopted son, whom he imprisons, beats, and starves, and to whom he talks parables, till the young man dies,—after the manner recorded of another traitor in the Acts of the Apostles.

The story is divided internally into four parts, which need not, all of them, be of equal antiquity. There is (1) the narrative itself: (2) the imbedded proverbial philosophy or, as we may call it, the Teaching of Aḥiḳar: (3) the journey to Egypt, which may be the expansion of a later folklorist and can easily be detached from the main narration; and (4) the similitudes, with which Aḥiḳar completes the education of his nephew; or as we may call them, the Parables of Aḥiḳar.

§ 2. The Antiquity of the Book.

The antiquity of the book is demonstrated by the following considerations:

(*a*) That Democritus, the Greek proverbial philosopher, is alleged by Clement of Alexandria to have incorporated with his writings matter which he had appropriated from the Pillar of Aḥiḳar: if this be the real Democritus, and the monument actually contained the Sayings of Aḥiḳar, the latter must have been extant in the early part of the fifth century B.C.

(*b*) That the story of Aḥiḳar has been made the foundation for the account of the adventures of the Greek Aesop at the Court of Lykeros, King of Babylon.

(*c*) That the Book of Tobit makes definite allusion to the story of Aḥiḳar and Nadan, the deliverance of the former, and the just doom of the latter, in a way that assumes the story to be well known to the author of Tobit and to his readers.

(*d*) That Theophrastus is said to have composed a book called Aḥiḳar, which suggests some account of the hero of our tale.

(*e*) That Strabo enumerates amongst persons who had mantic gifts a man named Ahaikar amongst the people of the Bosporus, where it has been acutely suggested that we should read 'the people of Borsippa'.[1]

(*f*) The names of the leading characters in the story are Assyrian in form, a peculiarity which is often conserved in the very latest versions.

(*g*) Aḥiḳar appears to be included amongst the wise men of the world in a mosaic found at Trèves.

(*h*) And lastly, the story of Aḥiḳar is found in a fragmentary papyrus recently recovered from the ruins of Elephantiné, and without doubt belonging to the fifth century before Christ.

A further confirmation, if confirmation were needed, would lie in the occurrence of definite quotations from the recovered story in other early works. The investigation of such quotations is, however, complicated by the uncertainty as to whether all parts of the Aḥiḳar-tradition are substantially of the same age. If we could assume that they were, then, in view of the great age of the Elephantiné-papyrus and the still greater age of the original from which it is derived, we could at once infer that the Aḥiḳar story was an influencing factor in a number of Biblical Psalms and in certain of the Sapiential books, such as Proverbs and Sirach, as well as in Daniel and in Tobit, in the Book of Jubilees and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. We shall also have a number of significant parallels in the New Testament, in the Gospels, the Acts, the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the second Epistle of Peter. It will, probably, be best to present all these coincidences as parallels in the first instance, and postpone the decision as to whether they are actual quotations until we have further light on the development of the story itself. Over and above these Biblical parallels, we have a number of quotations made by Shahrastani, probably through the medium of Democritus, a series of adaptations of the proverbs of Aḥiḳar by Mohammed, an incorporation of part of the opening sentences in the story of Syntipas, a versification in Old French of one of the Parables of Aḥiḳar, and a number of quotations in early Armenian writers. Few books have so wide an attestation as the story of Aḥiḳar. For convenience we tabulate the above parallels and quotations as follows:—

Democritus.	Matthew.
Tobit.	Luke.
Psalms.	Acts.
Proverbs.	1 Corinthians.
Sirach.	2 Peter.
Daniel.	2 Timothy.
Jubilees.	Koran.
Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs.	Syntipas, and an Old French Parable.

§ 3. Quotations and References.

a. Democritus.

Now that the antiquity of Aḥiḳar is so firmly established, there is very little ground for questioning the references made to him or his teaching by Democritus or other writers depending on Democritus. Here are the principal passages that come under discussion:

Shahrastani, as from Democrates (ed. Cureton, p. 306):

'The tail of a dog gives him meat, his voice gets him blows.'

Cf. Aeth. 2: 'My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog's tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.'

Syr. ii. 38: 'My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, but his mouth gets him blows.'

It is also found in the Copenhagen Arabic in this form:

'The tail of a dog gives him bread to eat, and his mouth gives him a beating with stones to eat.'

In Cod. Syr. S_3 it recurs in this form:

'For the tail of the dog gives him bread, but his mouth gives him blows and stones.'

In the Armenian sayings it has got into the second group in the form:

'(God passes judgement between me and thee). For the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth a cudgel.'

[1] Th. Reinach in *Revue des Études Juives*, xxxviii, pp. 1–13, and Fränkel in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Ahikaros.

In the Aesop story it comes in this form:

'My child . . . be accessible to those whom thou meetest, knowing that even to the dog his tail supplies bread.'

Here then, in every version except the Slavonic, we have the traces of the special proverb. There can be no doubt that it formed part of the primitive collection.

A second example from the same source runs as follows:

'Do not allow any one to tread on your heel to-day, lest he tread on your neck to-morrow.'

This is almost exactly the Syriac proverb (ii. 39):

'My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.'

The proverb is also found in the Armenian, Arabic, and Slavonic versions.

A third example which follows in Shahrastani is as follows:

'Be not over-sweet, lest thou be swallowed down: nor over-bitter, lest thou be spit out.'

The proverb is found in the Slavonic and Armenian versions (c. ii. 8): it is no doubt to be referred to both Democritus and Aḥiḳar.

The next instance from Shahrastani is as follows:

'(Solon) saw a man who stumbled, and said to him: It is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue.'

The proverb is found in the Ethiopic, in the Syriac (ii. 53), and in the Slavonic. In the proverbs of Maximus it is referred to Socrates: for which I propose to read Democrates (= Democritus).

The last, and perhaps the most interesting of the maxims of Democritus, will be found in Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 75:

'For swine delight in mud more than in clean water, and wallow in a drain, according to Democritus.'

The latter half of the sentence is quoted by Plutarch, *De tuenda sanitate* 14, again with reference to Democritus. There seems to be little room for doubt that Democritus is quoting from the same proverb of Aḥiḳar which we find quoted in 2 Peter ii. 22, and which is current in the Syriac (viii. 18), Armenian, and Karshuni versions: e. g. in the Karshuni (viii. 15):

'My son, thou hast been to me like the pig, who went to the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath it saw a filthy hole, and it went down and wallowed in it.'

These examples will show conclusively the correctness of the tradition that Democritus copied from Aḥiḳar, and issued the proverbs of the latter under his own name.

b. The Tobit Parallels.

The parallel passages in the Book of Tobit, and the supposed references to Aḥiḳar, have occupied the leading place in the criticism of the text, partly because it was by their means that the antiquity of Aḥiḳar was, in the first instance, established, and partly because around these parallels the question of relative priority was, in the first instance, debated. Now that the antiquity of Aḥiḳar has been vindicated in an extraordinary manner, we need not hesitate to mark quotations in Tobit, only reserving such cases as may properly be referred to a more recent manipulation of the text of Aḥiḳar.

The following are the principal parallels, as given in the Vatican Codex, with which, however, the Sinaitic text should be carefully compared:

Tob. i. 21 seq.: 'And Esarhaddon[1] his son reigned in his stead, and he appointed Achiachar the son of Anael my brother over all the fisc of this Kingdom, and over all the administration. And Achiachar asked on my behalf, and I came to Nineveh. And Achiachar was Cupbearer and Great Seal, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Esarhaddon appointed him a second time:[2] and he was my cousin.'

Tob. ii. 10: 'And I (Tobit) went to the physicians, and they could not help me. And Achiachar maintained him until the time that he went to Elymais' (where an acute conjecture suggests to read 'his hiding-place' for 'Elymais').

Tob. xi. 17, 18: 'And there was great joy to all the brethren in Nineveh, and Achiachar and Nasbas his cousin (?) came (to the wedding festival).'

[1] It is difficult to say if this is the original form; it looks as if Σαχερδονός were a misplaced genitive, and the original reading 'the son of Esarhaddon', which would mean that Tobit had repeated the blunder of the versions of Aḥiḳar, by making Sennacherib later than Esarhaddon.

[2] Exactly, but unintelligibly, 'Sacherdonos, a son ἐκ δευτέρας', which again looks like an original 'Son of Sacherdon'.

For 'Nasbas' the Sinaitic text has 'Nabad', which can hardly be right, and it makes Achiachar and Nabad to be both of them cousins of Tobit. Perhaps the obscure Nasbas covers the name of Nadan's younger brother.

Tob. xiv. 10: 'My child, consider what Nadab did to Achiachar that brought him up, how from the light he led him to the dark and what recompense he made him: and Achiachar (God) saved, but to the other the just reward was made, and he went down to the dark. Manasses (*read* Aḥiḳar) did alms, and he was saved from the snare of death which he laid for him, but Nadab fell into the snare and perished.'

I have corrected some obvious transcriptional blunders, and made one bold but necessary emendation. For the almsgiving of Aḥiḳar, see also Tob. iv. 10, 'Alms doth deliver from death, and will not suffer thee to come into darkness'. See also Aḥiḳar (viii. 2, viii. 37 Syr.).

Tob. xiv. 15: 'And he heard before his death of the destruction of Nineveh, which Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus took captive;'

where the Sinaitic text expands, and explains that Nineveh was taken captive by Achiakar, the King of Media.

Ahasuerus is a mere blunder for 'Nineveh and *Athur*' in the Aḥiḳar story: the Sinaitic expansions have made the confusion worse confounded. Tobit's history and his geography are out of the reach of justification.

Tob. iv. 17: 'Pour out thy bread on the graves of the righteous and do not give it to sinners:'
with which cf. Aḥiḳar

(Arab. ii. 13): 'O my son, pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.'

(Syr. ii. 10): 'My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.'

[On this question see I. 189–192.—Gen. Editor.]

c. Parallels in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

See p. 291 of this volume.[1]

d. Some Old Testament Parallels.

The parallels with the O.T., especially with the Sapiential books, are constant, and it is not always easy to say certainly on which side antiquity lies. As a general principle the Aḥiḳar sentences are older than their parallels in Sirach. A few places may be noted:

Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 45 Syr.): 'My son, I have carried salt and have removed lead; but I have not seen anything heavier than that a man should pay a debt that he did not borrow,' &c.

Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15: 'What is heavier than lead, and what is the name thereof, but a fool? Sand and salt and a mass of iron are easier to bear than a man without understanding.'

Some traces of a similar proverb will be found in the papyrus:

Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 65 Syr.): 'My son, strive not with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.'

Cf. Sirach iv. 26: 'Do not stand up against a river' (cf. the Syriac version).

Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 2 Syr.): 'My son, if thou hast heard a word let it die in thy heart.'

Cf. Sirach xix. 10 (Syr.).

Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 19 Arab.): 'O my son, be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him.'

Cf. Ps. cxli. 4.

Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 61 Arab.): 'O my son, let the wise man beat thee with a rod: but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve.'

Cf. Ps. xli. 5 (LXX).

Aḥiḳar (c. viii. 38 Arab.; cf. viii. 41 Syr.): 'For he who digs a pit for his brother, falls into it; and he who sets traps shall be caught in them.'

Cf. Ps. cxli. 10.

For coincidences with Daniel we may take:

Aḥiḳar c. i. 3 (Arab.) with Dan. ii. 2, ii. 27, v. 7.
Aḥiḳar c. i. 7 (Arm.) with Dan. v. 16.
Aḥiḳar c. v. 4 (Arab.) with Dan. ii. 11.
Aḥiḳar c. v. 11 with Dan. iv. 33.

[1] In Jub. xxxvii. 23 the words 'When the raven becomes white as the râzâ (i.e. a large white bird), then know that I have loved thee' may be an echo of Syriac A 62 'And the raven become white as snow'.—[Gen. Editor.]

e. Coincidences and Parallels with the New Testament.

Aḥiḳar, c. iv. 14, has the account of Nadan's revelry, after he has got rid of his uncle, and of his beating the menservants and the women-servants, &c. We have to compare carefully Matt. xxiv. 48–51, and Luke xii. 43, 46, and it will be seen that the language of Aḥiḳar has coloured one of our Lord's parables.

Perhaps the same thing is true of the parable of the Prodigal Son; for we have in the Syriac (viii. 34):

'Forgive me this my folly; and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house.'

and in the Armenian (viii. 24):

'Father, I have sinned against thee. Forgive me, and I will be a slave unto thee henceforth and for ever.' Cf. Luke xv. 19.

Nor should we neglect to compare the story of the unfruitful fig-tree in the Gospel with:

Aḥiḳar, c. viii. 35 (Syr.): 'My son, thou hast been to me like the palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river; and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, "Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs." And its lord said unto it, "Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?"'

for which we compare Luke xiii. 6–9.

For Aḥiḳar, c. viii (death of Nadan), cf. the death of Judas in Matt. xxvii. 5, in Acts i. 18, 19, and in the traditions of Papias.

For the rest of the N.T. compare

Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 16 (Syr.): 'My son, it is not proper even to eat with a shameless person.'

with 1 Cor. v. 11;

Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 59 (Syr.): 'Visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the presence of the ruler, and do one's diligence to save him from the lion.'

with 2 Tim. iv. 17;
and Aḥiḳar, c. viii. 18 (Syr.), viii. 15 (Arab.), viii. 24 (Arm.) (the pig that went to the bath), with the 'true proverb' in 2 Peter ii. 22, noting that the proverb in Aḥiḳar can be traced back to him through Democritus.

f. Parallels in the Koran.

The Koran knows Aḥiḳar by the name of Loqman, and makes allusion to him and his gnomic sayings.

The 31st Sura of the Koran is, in fact, named after him, and we may compare:

'O my son . . . be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice, for the most ungrateful of all voices surely is the voice of asses.'

The passage becomes intelligible when we put by the side of it Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 45 (Arm.), ii. 8 (Syr.), ii. 11 (Arab.):

'My son, cast down thy eyes and lower thy voice . . . for if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day.'

§ 4. Materials for the Determination of the Text.

a. The Aramaic Papyrus.

The first and only authority for the original text of Aḥiḳar is the Aramaic papyrus, discovered at Elephantiné by Dr. Rubensohn in the excavations of 1906–1908, and published by Sachau in 1911 as part of his *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantiné.* The MS. is unfortunately imperfect, but it is clear, from comparison with a number of dated documents with which it was found, that it was written somewhere between 420 B.C. and 400 B.C. It is thus the earliest example of either Biblical or Apocryphal literature. The book itself cannot have been composed very much earlier than its copy, and Sachau suggests that it was produced somewhere between 550 and 450 B.C. We should say that the upper limit is more likely, for even if the book were at once popular (as it almost certainly was) it would take time for it to be carried from Mesopotamia to the outlying Jewish colony at the first cataract of the Nile. Suppose we say that it was written about 500 B.C., or a little earlier. It should be somewhat later than the Aramaic inscriptions from Zinjerli, for in these the name of Assyria is still written Asshur, whereas the Aḥiḳar book has Athur. The

Aramaic, then, is the original language: there is no sign of Hebraism anywhere in the book. We are as near to the first form of an ancient book as we are ever likely to be.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the papyrus is so incomplete. There is nothing preserved of the narrative portion after the condemnation of Aḥiḳar, and not very much of what leads up to the condemnation; while the fragments of the proverbs and parables are so difficult to reconstruct, that we are hardly able to read a single unbroken sentence. It appears as if the proverbial philosophy and the parabolic admonitions were mixed up together, and that there was little agreement between what is contained of them in the papyrus and the two collections which are exhibited in our extant versions.

Moreover, as the latter part of the narrative is not extant, which must at least have contained the account of Aḥiḳar's recovery, we cannot be certain whether the Egyptian episode is a part of the missing matter or whether it is the addition of a later folklorist. We can, however, make certain things quite clear.

First of all, the papyrus makes the story fall under Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, his son; and it does not make the mistake which occurs in most of the later versions, of calling Sennacherib the son of Esarhaddon, and putting all the story in his reign. It is nearer to history even if it is not exactly history. We understand, too, what used to be a difficulty, why Tobit, which certainly follows Aḥiḳar, does not make the mistake of inversion with regard to the kings which we find in Aḥiḳar, according to the later versions (though there are suspicions that Tobit has corrected an original mistake).

If, however, the papyrus in certain points discredits the later versions, there are other points in which it accredits even the youngest of them. Thus the Arabic version has the correct Assyrian form, Nabušumiškun, for the executioner of Aḥiḳar; and M. l'Abbé Nau, in his valuable book on Aḥiḳar, has pointed out that one of the youngest copies of the Syriac text is free from the historical blunder over Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. Further, amongst the few proverbial sentences that can be reconstructed from the papyrus fragments there is one which is preserved in the Armenian version, and apparently nowhere else. So that even late versions are not to be despised in the reconstruction of the original legend.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the story has been treated very freely by many generations of transcribers. Even if it should be maintained that there was an original historical nucleus (which seems very unlikely in view of the manner in which the story is told) there can be no doubt that it was handled as a folk-tale from the earliest times. For example, in the opening of the story, Aḥiḳar explains his unsuccessful wedlock with sixty wives, for whom he built sixty castles or palaces. That is genuine folk-lore. When he adopts his sister's son, Nadan, he hands him over to eight wet-nurses that they may bring him up; and the boy grows up like a cedar under their assiduous fostering. If any one doubts whether this is folk-lore or not, he may consult the following openings of Tibetan tales from the collection of von Schiefner and Ralston:

Story of Sudhana Avadana, p. 52.

The boy Sudhana was handed over to eight nurses, two to carry him, two to suckle him, two to cleanse him, and two to play with him. As those eight nurses fed him and brought him up on milk, &c.: . . . he shot up like a lotus in a tank, &c.

An exactly similar story concerning the rearing of Visvantara on p. 257; again, on p. 273, *The Story of the Fulfilled Prophecy*, the same description is given of the rearing of Sūryanemi; and on p. 279, *The Story of the Two Brothers*, the same description will be found for the early years of Kohemankara.

In the same way, whether the Egyptian episodes of the story are a part of the original document or not, they are neither more nor less than folk-lore. For instance, the demand of the Pharaoh that Aḥiḳar should make some ropes out of sand is one of the themes in the Tibetan tale of Mahausadha and Vasakha, which will be found, in the collection from which we have just quoted, on p. 138: 'King Janaka sent a messenger to Pūrna, the head-man of the village Pūrnakatshtshha, with an order to send a rope made of sand one hundred ells long,' &c.

These examples, taken from a single collection of Eastern folk-tales, will be sufficient to show, to any one who is unfamiliar with Eastern story-telling, that the Aḥiḳar legend is not meant to be taken for history. It is an ethical folk-tale, with Ingratitude for its theme of reprehension. To try to turn it into history is to do the original composer a literary injustice. We now turn to the description of the leading versions.

b. The Syriac Version (S).

There are not many copies of this version, and those that do exist are late. The following are the chief texts:

S_1: a single leaf of the twelfth or thirteenth century in the British Museum (Cod. Add. 7200).
S_2: a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, formerly in the possession of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated A. D. 1697 (Univ. Cant. Add. 2020).
S_3: a MS. in the Sachau Collection at Berlin (Cod. Sach. 336), written in 1883. This is the MS. to which M. Nau attaches so great importance, that he has made it the basis of his text. The main thing in its favour is that it has escaped the inversion of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.
S_4, S_5, S_6 are three transcripts in the American Mission Library at Ooroomiah, none of them of any importance.
S_7 is a fragment of the fifteenth century at Berlin (Cod. Sach. 162).
S_8 in the British Museum (sixteenth or seventeenth century) = Cod. Or. 2213, contains the latter part of the story of Aḥiḳar.
S_9 is a MS. in the Chaldean convent which Nau describes as 'Notre-Dame des Semences, à neuf heures au nord de Mossoul', written in 1883.

Of these S_1, S_2, S_3, S_8 are the only ones that require attention.

There is also a translation into modern Syriac (dialect of the Jebel Tûr) in the Berlin MS., Cod. Sach. 339; it is accompanied by an Arabic text, of which it appears to be a direct translation.

c. The Arabic and Karshuni Versions (A and K).

We have the text of Aḥiḳar in Arabic, printed by Salhani in his *Contes Arabes* (Beyrout), and there are also a number of MSS. either in Arabic script, or in Karshuni (Arabic in Syriac characters): of these the principal are:—

K_1: a Cambridge MS. (Cod. Add. 2886) dated 1783.
K_2: a British Museum MS. (Cod. Add. 7209).

The former of these MSS., with the latter as an occasional supplement, is the base of Mrs. Lewis's translation of Aḥiḳar in the Cambridge volume.

K_3: a Gotha MS. (no. 2652), which was employed by Cornill in editing an Arabic counterpart to his Ethiopic text of the Sayings of Aḥiḳar.
K_4: a Vatican MS. from Aleppo, referred to by Assemani.
K_5: the Arabic half of the Berlin MS. (Cod. Sach. 339) described above as containing a modern Syriac version and a Karshuni original.

The Arabic MSS. proper must be fairly numerous. There are examples in Copenhagen and in the Vatican and at Paris.

A_1: Copenhagen (Cod. Arab. 236), written in 1670.
A_2: Vatican (Cod. Arab. 11), from the collection of Pope Innocent XIII, written in 1766.
A_3: Vatican (Cod. Arab. 55).
A_4: Paris (Cod. Arab. 3637), from which Caussin de Perceval made his translation.

d. The Ethiopic Version (Aeth.).

A complete Ethiopic version has not yet been found; but in the *Book of the Wise Philosophers* fifteen maxims of Aḥiḳar are extant, translated from an Arabic original. They were published by Cornill in 1875.

e. The Armenian Version (Arm.).

This version is of peculiar importance. It is at least as early as 450 A.D., and is extant in numerous copies, most of which are unfortunately late. It was also frequently printed in Constantinople in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mr. Conybeare has noted the following MSS.:—

$Arm._1$ in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
$Arm._2$ at Venice, no. 482 in the Library of San Lazaro: fifteenth or sixteenth century.
$Arm._3$ at Paris (Cod. Arm. no. 92), in the National Library: dated A. D. 1619.
$Arm._4$ at Paris (Cod. Supp. 58), seventeenth century.
$Arm._5$ at Paris (Cod. Arm. 131), late seventeenth century.
$Arm._6$ at Paris (Cod. Arm. 69), seventeenth century.
$Arm._7$ at Oxford (Bodl. Can. Or. 131), A. D. 1697.
$Arm._8$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 2048), about A. D. 1600.
$Arm._9$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1633) in A. D. 1604.

Arm.$_{10}$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1995) in A. D. 1605.
Arm.$_{11}$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1986) in A. D. 1623.
Arm.$_{12}$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 51) in A. D. 1642.

As we have said, this version is early, its text inspires confidence. For example, the saying 'Son, rejoice not thou in the number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not thou distressed' is found only in the Armenian and in the newly-found papyrus.

The translation of the Armenian version is made from Mr. Conybeare's Armenian text which is published in *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, Cambridge, 1898, and is based on the above MSS.

f. The Greek Version (Aes.).

All that we at present know of the Greek version is contained in the Greek lives of Aesop, which are modelled upon the story of Aḥiḳar, and which may conveniently be studied in Eberhard's *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, in which the part that corresponds to Aḥiḳar runs from p. 285 to p. 297.

g. The Slavonic Version (Sl.).

This version is made from the lost Greek, and is translated by Jagić in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, pp. 107–126. We have not thought it worth while to give a translation of this version.

It is probable that other versions will come to light before long: in particular we consider it very unlikely that there should be no traces of the story in Latin.

Summary of the Principal Editions, Versions, and Translations of the Text of Ahikar.

1. The original text will be found in Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantiné* (Berlin, 1911), and in Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantiné* (Leipzig, 1911).

2. The Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic versions in *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, edited by Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis (Cambridge, 1898).

3. The Slavonic version translated into German by Jagić, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i, pp. 107–26 (1892). This translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

4. The Ethiopic fragment was published by Cornill in the *Book of the Wise Philosophers*, and Cornill's translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

5. The Arabic version was published by Salhani in *Contes Arabes* (Beyrout) and in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

6. The Arabic version was translated in not a few editions of the *Arabian Nights*, beginning with Chavis et Cazotte (Cabinet des Fées), t. xxxix.

7. A neo-Syriac version, accompanied by an Arabic text, was published by Lidzbarski in 1894 (*Die neuaramäischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibl. zu Berlin*), Weimar. A German translation accompanies this work.

8. English translations of the chief texts are found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*; and the Syriac version was translated by E. J. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1898.

9. A French translation of the Syriac versions is given by M. Nau, *Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahikar* (Paris, 1909).

10. The Greek version, so far as it is involved in the text of Aesop, may be consulted in Eberhard, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*; the principal parts of the parallel story being reproduced in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

11. The Armenian version has often been printed. The first attempt at a critical edition is found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*, accompanied by a translation; the earlier editions have been chronicled for the following dates: 1708, 1731, 1807, 1834, 1850, 1861 (see Nau, p. 15). The book appears to have been very popular in the Armenian community.

Comparative Arrangement of the Sayings of Ahikar in Different Versions.

I. *Proverbs of Ahikar.*

The numbers below refer to the verses in Chapter II.

Syriac. A	Syriac. B	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.	
1	1	1	1		Cf. Arm. c. ii at end.
2	2	2	1 *b*	1 *a*	
3	3	3, 5		1 *c*	
4	4	6		1 *b*	
5	7	9		2	Cf. Syr. A 19, 72.
6				39	
7		10		3	

Syriac. A	Syriac. B	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.
		11 *a*		45 *a*
8	9	11 *b*	4	45 *b*
		11 *c*		
9	10	12	5	4
10		13		7
11	11			5
12	12	14		6
13	13	16	6	9
14	14	17	7	10 *a*

Syriac. A	Syriac. B	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.	
15	15	18		10 *b*	Cf. Arm. 27.
16	16	19 *a*		10 *c*?	
17	18	58		11, 97	
18	19	8		13	
19	7 *a*, 20				Cf. Syr. A 5, 72.
20	21	19 *b*, 58 *b*			
21		21	9	12	
		22	8		
22		23	10	14	
23		24	11	14	
24		25			
25				17	
26		26		18, 78	
27		27		19	
28		28, 29		20, 21	
29		31 *a*		22 *a*	
30				22 *b*	
31		31 *b*		23	
32					
33				41	
34		33		42	
35				85	
36		30		43	
37				44 *a*	Cf. Syr. A 56.
38	5	35 *a*	2	Parab. 26 *c*	Greek 11.
39		35 *b*		47	
40		36		64?	
41		37		65	
42		39		66	Cf. Syr. A 47 and Arm. 15.
43				67	
44				68	
				69 *a*	

Syriac. A	Syriac. B	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.	
45				69 *b*	
46				69 *c*	
47		41		15	Cf. Syr. A 42, Arm. 66.
48		44		51	
49 *a*		46		73 *c*	
49 *b*		7, 47	12	50	
50 *a*		48 *a*			
50 *b*		48 *b*		25	
51		49		52	
52		53			
53		45	13		
54				56	
55	8	54 *b*	3	57	
56				91	
57		56		77	
58					
59				60	
60		58 *a*			
61	22	38, 55		28	
62		59	14	83	
63					
64		20		80 *a*	
65		38, 62		28, 81 *a*	
66	6			81 *b*	
67		60	15	38	
68		63		82	
69		64			
70		65			
71		66			
72					Cf. Syr. A 5, 19.
73		61 *a*			
74				84	
75				26, 27	

II. *Parables of Ahikar.*

The numbers below refer to the verses in Chapter VIII.

Syriac.	Arabic.	Arm.	
1	1	1	
2 *a*	2 *a*	2	
2 *b*	2 *b*	3, 5, 7	Cf. Syr. 23, 30–2.
3	3	8	
4	4	9	
5	6	10	
6	5	18	
7	8	12 *b c*	
8	7, 9		
9		17	
10	10	15	
11	11		
12	12 *a*	12 *d*	
13			
14	12 *b*	11	
15	13		
16			
17	14	19	
18	15	24 *a*	
19		6	
20 *a*	17	14 *a*	
20 *b*	18	14 *c*	
20 *c*	19	14 *b*	

Syriac.	Arabic.	Arm.	
21			
22			
23			Cf. Syr. 2, 30–2.
24	20	12 *a*	
25		13	
26	21	20	
27	22	21	
28			
29	23		
30			
31	26		
32	27	4	
33		22	
34	29	24 *b*	
35	30	25	
36 *a*	32	16	
36 *b*	33	23	
37		26	Cf. Arm. 7.
38	34		
39	35		
40			
41	38	26 *c*, 27	

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

Syriac Version A.
from MS. Syr.$_2$

1 1 Again, by the divine power, I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Aḥiḳar, sage and secretary of Sennacherib the king of Assyria and Nineveh.

In the twentieth year of Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, I, Aḥiḳar, was the king's secretary.

2 And it had been said to me when I was a boy, that no son will be born to thee[1]: and the wealth that I had acquired was too vast to tell. Sixty wives had I wedded: and sixty castles did I build them: and I had no son.

3 Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, built me a great altar, all of wood; and kindled fire upon it, and laid good meat thereon. and thus I spake:

4 'O Lord, my God; when I shall die and leave no son, what will men say of me? they will say that this, then, is Aḥiḳar the just and good and God-serving: he is dead, and has left no son to bury him, no! nor a daughter: and his possessions, as if he were accursed, no man inherits.
5 But I ask of Thee, O God, that I may have a male child; so that when I shall die, he may cast dust on my eyes:'

6 and this voice was heard by me, 'O Aḥiḳar, wise scribe, all that thou hast asked of me I have given thee; but as to my having left thee childless, let it suffice thee: perplex not thyself: but behold! Nadan thy sister's son: he shall be a son unto thee: so that with the growth of his stature thou shalt be able to teach him everything.'

[1] Presumably, this was said by the astrologers.

Syriac Version B.
from MS. Syr.$_3$

. . . And it was said to me, '[There will be no 1
son to thee].' And I had much wealth; I wedded me sixty wives, and built me sixty castles: and from none of these women had I a son.

Then I 3
built me a great altar of incense and vowed a vow, and said,

'O Lord God, give me a male 5
child, that when I shall die he may cast dust on my eyes.'

Thereupon there was heard by me 6
this voice, saying, 'O Aḥiḳar, vex not thyself overmuch; there is no son for thee; but behold Nadan thy sister's son; make him thy son; so that as he grows up, thou mayst be able to 8
teach him everything.' Then when I heard this, I took Nadan my sister's son, and he became my son.

Arabic Version

1 1 In the name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Source of Reason, we hereby begin with the help of the Most High God[1] and His best guidance, to write the story of Haiqâr the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqâr the Sage.

There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, King of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqâr, and he was 2 Vizier of the king Sennacherib. He had a fine fortune and much goods, and he was skilful, wise, a philosopher, [in] knowledge, [in] opinion and [in] government, and he had married sixty women, and had built a castle for each of them. But with it all he had no child by any of these women, 3 who might be his heir. And he was very sad on account of this, and one day he assembled the astrologers and the learned men and the wizards and explained to them his condition and the matter of his barrenness. And they said to him, 'Go, sacrifice to the gods and beseech them that perchance they may provide thee with a boy.' 4 And he did as they told him and offered sacrifices to the idols, and besought them and implored them with request and entreaty. And they answered him not one word. And he went away sorrowful and dejected, departing with a pain at 5 his heart. And he returned, and implored the Most High God, and believed, beseeching Him with a burning in his heart, saying, 'O Most High God, O Creator of the Heavens and of the earth, O Creator of all created things! I beseech Thee to give me a boy, that I may be consoled by him, that he may be present at my death, that he may close my eyes, and that he may bury me.'

Then 6 there came to him a voice saying, 'Inasmuch as thou hast relied first of all on graven images, and hast offered sacrifices to them, for this reason thou shalt remain childless thy life long. But take Nadan thy sister's son, and make him thy child and teach him thy learning and thy good breeding, and at thy death he shall bury thee.'

[1] Literally 'God, may He be exalted!' *passim.*

Armenian Version

1 1 The maxims and wisdom of Khikar, which the children of men learn.

In the times and in the reign of Seneqerim King of Nineveh and of Asorestan, I, Khikar Notary of Seneqerim the King, took[1] sixty wives and builded me sixty palaces. And I, Khikar, was sixty years of age, 2 and I had not a son.

Then I went in to the 3 gods with many offerings; I lit a fire before the gods and cast incense[2] upon it, and presented my offerings and sacrificed victims, kneeled down and prayed, and thus spake in my prayer.

O my lords and gods, Belshim and Shimil and 4 Shamin, ordain and give to me male seed. For lo, Khikar dieth alive. And what say men? That Khikar though alive and wise and clever is dead, and there is no son of his to bury him, nor daughter to bewail him. I have no heir after my death. Not even if a son should spend ten talents in the last day, would he exhaust my riches. But (I ask merely) that he may cast 5 dust with his hands upon me, in order that I may not remain unremembered.

Then there was a voice from the gods and 6 they said:

Khikar, there is not ordained seed for thee. But thou shalt take Nathan[3], thy sister's son, and bring him up as thy son, and he shall pay thee back thy cost of rearing him[4].

[1] Can. thus: 'acquired me slaves and handmaids and many possessions. I builded,' &c.
[2] Add 'of sweet odour' 58 and Edjm.
[3] So the better Arm. MSS. The inferior read 'Nadan'.
[4] So Canon. Others have 'pay thee back thy name'. See note on Arm. text.

Syr. A

7 And when I heard these things, I was grieved again, and said, 'O Lord God! is it that Thou wilt give me as a son Nadan my sister's son, so that when I die, he may throw dust on my eyes?' And no further answer was
8 returned to me. And I obeyed the command and took to me for a son Nadan, my sister's son: and because he was yet young, I furnished him with eight wet-nurses: and I brought up my son on honey, and made him lie on choice carpets,
9 and clothed him in fine linen and purple; and my son grew and shot up like a cedar, and when my son was grown big, I taught him book-lore
10 and wisdom; and when the king came from the place to which he had gone, he called me and said to me, 'O Aḥiḳar, the wise scribe and master of my thoughts, when thou shalt wax old and die, who is there to come after thee and to serve me like thyself?'

11 And I answered and said to him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! I have a son, wise like myself, and book-learned like myself, and educated.'

12 And the king said to me, 'Bring him and let me see him. If he is able to stand before me, I will release thee in peace, and thou shalt spend thy old age in honour, until
13 thou shalt end thy days.' Then I took my son Nadan and set him before the king, and when my lord the king saw him, he said, 'This day shall be a blessed day before God, so that like as Aḥiḳar walked[1] before my father Sarḥadum, and before me also, he shall be rewarded[2] and I will set his son in my gate in his lifetime, and he shall depart his life [in peace].'

14 Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, bowed down before the king and said, 'My lord the king, live for ever! And like as I walked before thy father and before thyself even until now, so do thou also extend thy forbearance to the youthfulness of this my son, that thy grace which was toward me may be found multiplied
15 towards him.' Then when the king heard this, he gave me his right hand, and I, Aḥiḳar, bowed down before the king.

Nor did I cease from the instruction of my son, until I had filled him with instruction as with bread and water. And on this wise was I discoursing to him:

[1] Lit. 'ran'.
[2] Reading ܡܬܩܪܒ.

Syr. B

ARABIC

7 Thereupon he took Nadan his sister's son, who was a little suckling. And he handed him over to eight wet-nurses, that they might suckle him
8 and bring him up. And they brought him up with good food and gentle training and silken
9 clothing, and purple and crimson. And he was seated upon couches of silk. And when Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar, he taught him good manners and writing and science and philosophy.

10 And after many days King Sennacherib looked at Haiqâr and saw that he had grown very old, and moreover he said to him, 'O my honoured friend, the skilful, the trusty, the wise, the governor, my secretary, my vizier, my Chancellor[1] and director; verily thou art grown very old and weighted with years; and thy departure from this world must be near. Tell me who shall have a place in my service
11 after thee.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord, may thy head live for ever! There is Nadan my sister's son, I have made him my child. And I have brought him up and taught him my
12 wisdom and my knowledge.' And the king said to him, 'O Haiqâr! bring him to my presence, that I may see him, and if I find him suitable, put him in thy place; and thou shalt go thy way, to take a rest and to live the remainder of thy
13 life in sweet repose.' Then Haiqâr went and presented Nadan his sister's son. And he did homage and wished him power and honour. And he looked at him and admired him and rejoiced in him and said to Haiqâr: 'Is this thy son, O Haiqâr? I pray that God may preserve him. And as thou hast served me and my father Sarhadum so may this boy of thine serve me and fulfil my undertakings, my needs, and my business, so that I may honour him and make
14 him powerful for thy sake.' And Haiqâr did obeisance to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live, O my lord the king, for ever! I seek from thee that thou mayst be patient with my boy Nadan and forgive his mistakes that he may serve thee as it is fitting.' Then the king swore to him that he would make him the greatest of his favourites, and the most powerful of his friends, and that he should be with him in all
15 honour and respect. And he kissed his hands and bade him farewell. And he took Nadan his sister's son with him and seated him in a parlour and set about teaching him night and day till he had crammed him with wisdom and knowledge more than with bread and water.

[1] Literally 'the sealer of my secrets', *passim*.

ARMENIAN

7 And when I heard this from the gods, I took Nathan my sister's son; one year old was he, and I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck; and like a king's son I decked him out with ornaments.
8 And I gave him to drink milk and honey, and laid him to sleep on my eagles and doves, until
9 he was seven years of age. Then I began to teach him writing and wisdom and the art of knowledge and the answering of dispatches, and the returns of contradictory speeches. And by day and by night I ceased not to instruct him; and I sated him with my teaching, as it were with bread and water.

10 Then saith the king unto me: Khikar, my Notary and wise one, I know that thou art grown old; and after thy death, who is there to discharge ably and wisely the affairs of our kingdom? And I am very grieved at this thought.

11 And I said to him: O King, live for ever. There is my son, who is superior to me and is more clever.

12 And the king says: Bring him unto me, that I may behold him. And when I had brought him and stood him before the king, he beheld him and said: In his days may Khikar be blessed, because in his lifetime he hath led and stood before me his son, and may he himself be at rest.

13 I bowed my head to my lord, and taking Nathan I led him into my dwelling and thus spake in my teaching[1].

[1] Canon adds: 'give ear to my conversation and precept. Write it on thy seal, and forget it not; that the years of thy life may be plentiful, and that in glory and wealth thou mayst reach old age.' No other Arm. source

The Proverbs of Ahikar

Syr. A

2 1 'Hear, O my son Nadan, and come to the understanding of me, and be mindful of my words, as the words of God[1]:

2 My son Nadan, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it to no man; lest it become a hot coal in thy mouth and burn thee, and thou lay a blemish on thy soul, and be angered against God.

3 My son, do not tell all that thou hearest, and do not disclose all that thou seest.

4 My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, and do not seal one that is loosed.

5 My son, lift not up thy eyes and look upon a woman that is bedizened and painted; and do not lust after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all that is in thy hands, thou findest no advantage in her; and thou wilt be guilty of sin against God.

6 My son, commit not adultery with the wife of thy neighbour; lest others should commit adultery with thy wife.

7 My son, be not in a hurry, like the almond-tree whose blossom is the first to appear, but whose fruit is the last to be eaten; but be equal and sensible, like the mulberry-tree whose blossom is the last to appear, but whose fruit is the first to be eaten.

8 My son, cast down thine eyes, and lower thy voice, and look from beneath thine eyelids: for

[1] Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, c. iv, 'Him that speaketh to thee the word of God, thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord'.

Syr. B

And on this wise I was saying to him[1]:

'Hear my teaching, my son Nadan; and come **2** to my understanding, and be mindful of my words, according to the following sayings:' and thereupon Aḥiḳar[2] began to teach Nadan his sister's son, and answered and said to him:

'My son, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in 2 thy heart; and reveal it to no man; lest it should become a hot coal in thy mouth, and burn thee; and thou shalt lay blemish on thy soul, and shalt be hated on earth, and be angered against God[3].

My son, do not tell all that thou seest, and do 3 not disclose all that thou hearest.

My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, 4 and do not seal one which is loosed.

My son, sweeten thy tongue, and make savoury 5 the opening of thy mouth; because the tail of the dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.

My son, the eye of man is a fountain, and is 6 not satisfied with riches until [filled with dust].

⟨My son⟩, lift ⟨not⟩ up thine eyes ⟨and look 7 upon a woman bedizened⟩ and beautified, lust not after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all [that thou hast, advantage][4] in her thou wilt not find; and thou wilt be guilty of sin before God.

My son, stand not in the house of those that 8 are at strife: because from a word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel is stirred up vexation; and from vexedness springs murder[5].

My son, if a house were built by loudness of voice, the ass would build two houses in a single

[1] The account of the earlier years of Nadan's bringing up is omitted; if indeed it existed in the first form of the story.

[2] The text is double; a copy which had the primitive 'I, Aḥiḳar, took my son' having been compounded with one that had 'Thereupon Aḥiḳar'. A comparison with the Tobit-parallels shows that the second clause is a modification of the first.

[3] We expect 'And God shall be angry with thee'.

[4] A slight correction has been made in the Syriac text.

[5] Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 'My child, be not angry, for anger leads to murder,' which is a simpler and more archaic form of the same precept.

The Proverbs of Ahikar

Arabic

Thus he taught him, saying:

2 1 'O my son! hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say.

2 O my son! if thou hearest a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it not to another, lest it become a live coal and burn thy tongue and cause a pain in thy body, and thou gain a reproach, and art shamed before God and man.

3 O my son! if thou hast heard a report, spread it not; and if thou hast seen something, tell it not.

4 O my son! make thy eloquence easy to the listener, and be not hasty to return an answer.

5 O my son! when thou hast heard anything, hide it not.

6 O my son! loose not a sealed knot, nor untie it, and seal not a loosened knot.

7 O my son! covet not outward beauty, for it wanes and passes away, but an honourable remembrance lasts for aye.

8 O my son! let not a silly woman deceive thee with her speech, lest thou die the most miserable of deaths, and she entangle thee in the net till thou art ensnared.

9 O my son! desire not a woman bedizened with dress and with ointments, who is despicable and silly in her soul. Woe to thee if thou bestow on her anything that is thine, or commit to her what is in thine hand and she entice thee into sin, and God be wroth with thee.

10 O my son! be not like the almond-tree, for it brings forth leaves before all the trees, and edible fruit after them all, but be like the mulberry-tree, which brings forth edible fruit before all the trees, and leaves after them all.

11 O my son! bend thy head low down, and soften thy voice, and be courteous, and walk in the straight path, and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest, for if it were by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass

Armenian

Son, if thou hear any word in the royal gate, 2 1
make it to die and bury it in thy heart, and to no one divulge it. The knot that is sealed do thou not loose, and that which is loosed do thou not tie. And that which thou dost see, tell not; and that which thou hearest, reveal it not.

Son, raise not up thine eyes to look on a 2
lovely woman, rouged and antimonied. Desire her not in thy heart. For if thou shouldst give her all thy riches, thou[1] dost get nothing the more out of her; but art condemned by God and by mankind. For she is like unto a sepulchre which is fair on the upper side and below is full of the rottenness and bones of the dead.

Son, be not like the olive-tree, which is first 3
to bloom and last to ripen its fruit. But be like the mulberry, which is last to bloom and first to ripen its fruit.

has such an addition, which however distantly resembles the Slavonic and Syriac.

[1] Bodl. = 'thou art not in any way benefited by her more than to be condemned by the God of just judgements and by mankind'. Canon = 'thou wilt not get anything more than thy own sin and shame from men and judgement from God', omitting the rest.

Syr. A	Syr. B
if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day: and if by sheer force the plough was guided, its share would never be loosed from the shoulder of the camel.	day: and if by sheer force the plough was directed, the ploughshare would never be worn away under[1] the shoulder of the camel.
9 My son, it is better to remove stones with a wise man than to drink wine with a fool.	Better to remove stones with the wise man than to drink wine with the fool.
10 My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.	
11 My son, with a wise man thou wilt not be depraved, and with a depraved man thou wilt not become wise.	My son, in the company of the wise thou wilt not be depraved; and in the company of the depraved thou wilt not become wise.
12 My son, associate with the wise man, and thou wilt become wise like him; and associate not with a garrulous and talkative man, lest thou be numbered with him.	My son, make companion of the wise person, and thou wilt become wise like him; and make not a companion of the foolish person, lest thou be reckoned like him.
13 My son, while thou hast shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and for thy sons' sons.	While there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and thy sons' sons.
14 My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, "He ate it for medicine." And the poor man eats it, and they say, "For his hunger he ate it."	My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, "For his medicine he ate it": the poor man eats it, and they say, "Because of his hunger he ate it."
15 My son, eat thy portion, and despise not thy neighbours.	My son, eat thy portion, and stretch not out thy hand over that of thy neighbour.
16 My son, it is not becoming even to eat with a shameless man.[1]	My son, do not eat bread with a man that is shameless.
	My son, if thou seest thine enemy fallen, do not mock at him; lest he should rise up and repay thee.
17 My son, envy not the prosperity of thy enemy; and rejoice not at his adversity.[2]	My son, be not envious at the good fortune of thine enemy; and do not rejoice at his misfortune.
18 My son, draw not near to a woman that is a whisperer, nor to one whose voice is high.	My son, do not approach a woman who is hateful and talkative, and one whose voice is high.
19 My son, go not after the beauty of a woman, and lust not after her in thy heart because the beauty of a woman is her good sense, and her adornment is the word of her mouth.	For the beauty of a woman is her good sense and the word of her mouth is her adornment.
20 My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with wisdom.[3]	My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good.
21 My son, the wicked falleth and riseth not; but the just man is not moved, for God is with him.	My son, if thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him. . . .'
	End of Fragment.
	J. R. Harris.

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. v. 11 *ἐάν τις . . . ἢ πόρνος . . . τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν.*

[2] Cf. Prov. xxiv. 17 *ἐὰν πέσῃ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, μὴ ἐπιχαρῇς αὐτῷ.*

[3] He does not mean 'overcome evil with good', which would be a sentiment foreign to the action of the story, but 'get the better of him'.

[1] This difficult expression is replaced in S_2 by the easier term 'would never be loosed from'. In either case the meaning is obscure. Quaere, 'if brute force were sufficient, the camel might go on ploughing by himself'?

ARABIC

would build many houses every day; and if it were by dint of strength that the plough were driven, the plough would never be removed from under the shoulders of the camels.

12 O my son! the removing of stones with a wise man is better than the drinking of wine with a sorry man.

13 O my son! pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.

14 O my son! cleave to wise men who fear God and be like them, and go not near the ignorant, lest thou become like him and learn his ways.

15 O my son! when thou hast got thee a comrade or a friend, try him, and afterwards make him a comrade and a friend; and do not praise him without a trial; and do not spoil thy speech with a man who lacks wisdom.

16 O my son! while a shoe stays on thy foot, walk with it on the thorns, and make a road for thy son, and for thy household and thy children, and make thy ship taut before she goes on the sea and its waves and sinks and cannot be saved.

17 [O my son! if the rich man eat a snake, they say "It is by his wisdom", and if a poor man eat it, the people say "From his hunger".]

18 O my son! be content with thy daily bread and thy goods, and covet not what is another's.

19 O my son! be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him, and rejoice not in the calamities of thy neighbours. If thine enemy wrong thee, show him kindness.

20 O my son! a man who fears God do thou fear him and honour him.

21 O my son! the ignorant man falls and stumbles, and the wise man, even if he stumbles, he is not shaken, and even if he falls he gets up quickly, and if he is sick, he can take care of his life. But as for the ignorant, stupid man, for his disease there is no drug.

22 O my son! if a man approach thee who is inferior to thyself, go forward to meet him, and remain standing, and if he cannot recompense thee, his Lord will recompense thee for him.

ARMENIAN

Son, it is better with a wise man to carry stones, than with a foolish man to drink wine. 4

Son, with wise men be not a fool, and with fools be not thou wise. 5

Son, be thou the companion of a wise man, so that thou become wise as he is; but do not become the companion of a senseless man and of a fool, lest like them thou be called a fool. 6

Son, pour out thy wine, and drink it not with the senseless and with the lawless, lest thou be despised by them [1]. 7

Son, be thou not over-sweet, so that they swallow thee down, nor over-bitter, so that they spit thee out. But do thou be gentle, tranquil in the works of thy paths and in all thy words. 8

Son, while the boot is on thy foot, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons [2]. 9

Son, a rich man hath eaten a serpent, and they say it is medicine for him. A poor man hath eaten it, and they say that he ate it out of hunger. Eat thy own portion in peace [3], and cast not thy eye on that of thy companion; and with one that is without fear go not on a journey; and with the senseless do thou not eat bread. 10

Son, if thou seest thy enemy fallen, do not make a scoff at him; for if he get up again, he requiteth thee evil [4]. 11

Son, the lawless man falleth by his evil deeds, but the just man is raised by his good deeds. 12

Son, go not near a senseless and backbiting woman, that thou be not despised by her [5]; and thou art made a mock of, and she robs thee. 13

[1] Canon and Edjm. = 'despised like them'.
[2] So Canon, *ordotz*: the other MSS. have *otitz*, 'for thy feet'.
[3] Ven. and Canon add 'in peace': Bodl. and 58 omit.
[4] Ven. adds: 'and there is continual ill-will.'
[5] The Arm. = 'by them'. If that be read we should turn 'woman' into the plural.

SYR. A

22 My son, withhold not thy son from stripes; for the beating of a boy is like manure to the garden, and like rope to an ass [or any other beast],[1] and like tether on the foot of an ass.

23 My son, subdue thy son while he is yet a boy, before he wax stronger than thee and rebel against thee, and thou be shamed in all his corrupt doing.

24 My son, get thee an ox that [is fat and] lies down, and an ass that has good hoofs, but do not get thee a slave that is runaway nor a maid that is thievish; lest they destroy all that thou hast gotten.

25 My son, the words of a liar are like fat sparrows; and he that is void of understanding eateth them.

26 My son, bring not upon thee the curses of thy father and of thy mother, lest thou rejoice not in the blessings of thy children.

27 My son, walk not in the way

[1] The bracketed words are a gloss.

ARABIC

23 O my son! spare not to beat thy son, for the drubbing of thy son is like manure to the garden, and like tying the mouth of a purse, and like the tethering of beasts, and like the bolting of the door.

24 O my son! restrain thy son from wickedness, and teach him manners before he rebels against thee and brings thee into contempt amongst the people and thou hang thy head in the streets and the assemblies and thou be punished for the evil of his wicked deeds.

25 O my son! get thee a fat ox with a foreskin, and an ass great with its hoofs, and get not an ox with large horns, nor make friends with a tricky man, nor get a quarrelsome slave, nor a thievish handmaid, for everything which thou committest to them they will ruin.

26 O my son! let not thy parents curse thee, and the Lord be pleased with them; for it hath been said, "He who despiseth his father or his mother let him die the death (I mean the death of sin); and he who honoureth his parents shall prolong his days and his life and shall see all that is good."

27 O my son! walk not on

ARMENIAN

Son, spare not the rod to thy 14
son; for the rod is to children as the dung in the garden; and as the tie and seal fastening the packet, and as the tether on the feet of the ass, so is the rod profitable to the child. For if thou strike him with a rod once or twice, he is rendered clever quietly, he does not die[1]. But if thou leave him to his own will, he becomes a thief; and they take him to the gallows and to death, and he becomes unto thee a reproach and breaking of heart[2].

Son, train thy son in hunger 1
and thirst, in order that in humility he may lead his life.

Son, receive not any who 1
shall repeat to thee the (word) of an enemy, for they will repeat thy word.

Son[3], at first thou art fond of 1
a false man[4], but in the end he becomes hateful to thee. For a false word is like a fat quail; but he that is foolish swallows it down.

Son, love the father who 1
begat thee, and earn not the curses of thy father and mother; to the end that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy own sons.

Son, without a weapon go 1

[1] Bodl. = 'once or twice, he is quieted, but does not die'. I render the Venice text which is attested by Canon.

[2] Canon here adds in agreement with the Syriac and Slavonic these two precepts: 'Son, make thy child obedient, while he is small and pliant, lest he come into open conflict with thee, and thou be undone by his injury, and win the curses of strangers because of his disobedience. Son, acquire for thyself a sturdy ass and a strong-hoofed horse and an ox short in neck. And desire not a runaway slave, or one petulant of tongue, or a quarrelsome thief.'

[3] Paris 58 omits this adage.

[4] So Bodl., 58: Ven. = 'at first (one) loves a false man'.

Syr. A

unarmed; because thou knowest not when thy enemy shall come upon thee.

28 My son, even as a tree is fair in its branches and fruit, and a bosky mountain in its trees, so is a man fair in his wife and weans; and he that hath not brethren, nor wife nor weans, is despised and contemptible before his enemies; and he is like unto a tree by the roadside, from which every passer-by plucketh, and every beast of the weald teareth down its leafage.[1]

29 My son, say not, "My lord is a fool, and I am wise"; but take hold of him in his faults and thou shalt obtain mercy.

30 My son, count not thyself to be wise, when others count thee not to be wise.

31 My son, lie not in thy speech before thy lord, lest thou be convicted, and he shall say to thee, "Away from my sight!"

32 My son, let thy words be true, in order that thy lord may say to thee, "Draw near me," and thou shalt live.

33 My son, in the day of thy calamity revile not God; lest when He hear thee, He should be angered against thee.

34 My son, treat not thy slave better than his fellow; for thou knowest not which of them thou wilt have need of at the last.

35 My son, smite with stones the dog that has left his own master and followed after thee.

[1] Cf. Ps. cxxvii. 5.

Arabic

the road without weapons, for thou knowest not when the foe may meet thee, so that thou mayst be ready for him.

28 O my son! be not like a bare, leafless tree that doth not grow, but be like a tree covered with its leaves and its boughs; for the man who has neither wife nor children is disgraced in the world and is hated by them, like a leafless and fruitless tree.

29 O my son! be like a fruitful tree on the roadside, whose fruit is eaten by all who pass by, and the beasts of the desert rest under its shade and eat of its leaves.

30 O my son! every sheep that wanders from its path and its companions becomes food for the wolf.

31 O my son! say not, "My lord is a fool and I am wise," and relate not the speech of ignorance and folly, lest thou be despised by him.

32 O my son! be not one of those servants, to whom their lords say, "Get away from us," but be one of those to whom they say, "Approach and come near to us."

33 (O my son! caress not thy slave in the presence of his companion, for thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end.)

34 O my son! be not afraid

Armenian

not on a journey by night[1], lest thy enemy meet thee, and thou be destroyed.

20 Son, as a tree is enjoyable to see for its fruit and branches, and the mountains are wooded with the cedars, in the same way are enjoyable to see man and wife[2] and son and brother and kinsman and friend, and all families.

21 Son, one who hath not wife or son or brother or kinsman or friend is in the long years despised, and is like unto a tree that is in the crossways, and all who pass by it pluck off her leaves and break down her branches.

22 Son[3], say not thus: My lord is foolish and I am wise, but bear with him in his folly; and thou wilt keep thyself with a wise man, until some other one shall praise thee.

23 Son, say ill to no one; and be thou not evil-tongued in the presence of thy lord, that thou be not contemned by him.

24 Son, turn not aside at the day of thy sacrifice, for fear lest the Lord be displeased with thy sacrifice[4].

25 Son, quit not the scene of mourning and repair unto the wedding; for death lies ahead of all, and the punishment is great.

26 Son, put not on thy finger a gold[5] ring which is not thine; nor clothe thee in byssus and purple that is not thine. Neither mount a horse that is not thine, since the onlookers who know it will make mock at thee[6].

[1] Canon adds 'by night' with the Slavonic. The other sources omit with the Syriac.

[2] Ven. omits 'and wife'. The other sources with Canon add it.

[3] Paris 58 omits this adage.

[4] Paris 58 adds 'which thou offerest'.

[5] Paris 58 adds 'or silver'.

[6] Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'when they recognize it'.

Syr. A

36 My son, the flock that makes many tracks becomes the portion of the wolves.

37 My son, judge upright judgement in thy youth, in order that in thy age thou mayst have honour.

38 My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.

39 My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.

40 My son, smite the [wise] man with wise word, that it may be in his heart like a fever in summer; [but know] that if thou smite the fool with many blows, he will not understand.

41 My son, send a wise man and give him no orders; but if thou wilt send a fool, go rather thyself and send him not.

42 My son, test thy son with bread and water, and then thou canst leave in his hands thy possessions and thy wealth.

43 My son, withdraw at the first cup, and tarry not for lickerish draughts[1]: lest there be to thee wounds in thy head.

44 My son, he whose hand is full is called wise and honourable; and he whose hand is scant is called foolish and abject.

45 My son, I have carried salt and removed lead; and I have not seen anything heavier than

[1] Lit. 'heats'. But perhaps we should change the reading slightly (cf. the 73rd proverb), and translate 'tarry not for sweet unguents'.

Arabic

of thy Lord who created thee, lest He be silent to thee.

35 O my son! make thy speech fair and sweeten thy tongue; and permit not thy companion to tread on thy foot, lest he tread at another time on thy breast.

36 O my son! if thou beat a wise man with a word of wisdom, it will lurk in his breast like a subtle sense of shame; but if thou drub the ignorant with a stick he will neither understand nor hear.

37 O my son! if thou send a wise man for thy needs, do not give him many orders, for he will do thy business as thou desirest: and if thou send a fool, do not order him, but go thyself and do thy business, for if thou order him, he will not do what thou desirest. If they send thee on business, hasten to fulfil it quickly.

38 O my son! make not an enemy of a man stronger than thyself, for he will take thy measure[1], and his revenge on thee.

39 O my son! make trial of thy son, and of thy servant, before thou committest thy belongings to them, lest they make away with them; for he who hath a full hand is is called wise, even if he be stupid and ignorant, and he who hath an empty hand is called poor, ignorant, even if he be the prince of sages.

40 O my son! I have eaten a colocynth, and swallowed aloes[2], and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity.

[1] Literally 'he will weigh thee'.
[2] Or 'myrrh'.

Armenian

Son, eat not bread that is not 27
thine own, even though thou be very hungry.

Son, if a man be stronger 28
than thyself, have no controversy with him, lest he slay thee.

Son, crush and consume the 29
evil out of thy heart, and it is well for thee with God and man, and thou art holpen by the will of God.

Son, if thy doorposts be loftily 30
built to heaven as it were seven ells, whenever thou enterest, bow thy head.

Son, take not from others 31
with a big weight and give back to them with a little weight, and say: I have made a profit. For God allows it not, but will be wroth; and thou wilt die of starvation.

Son, swear not false, that of 3
thy days there be no fail[1].

Son, give ear unto the laws 3
of God, and be not afraid of the evil (one), for the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

Son, rejoice thou not in the 3
number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not distressed.

Son, children and possessions 3
are bestowed by God. The rich man is made poor, the poor man is enriched; the humble is exalted, and the exalted is humbled.

Son, if lofty be the lintels of 3
thy house, and thy friend be sick, say not: What shall I send him? but go on foot and see him with thy eyes; for that is better for him than a thousand talents of gold and silver.

Son, in reward for evil-speak- 3
ing receive not gold and silver, for it is a death-fraught deed

[1] Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'upon the earth'.

SYR. A

that a man should pay back a debt when he did not borrow.[1]

46 My son, I have carried iron and removed stones; and they were not heavier on me than a man who settles in the house of his father-in-law.

47 My son, teach hunger and thirst to thy son, that according as his eye sees he may govern his house.

48 My son, better is he that is blind of eye than he that is blind of heart; for the blind of eye straightway learneth the road and walketh in it: but the blind of heart leaveth the right way and goeth into the desert.

49 My son, better is a friend that is at hand than a brother who is far away: and better is a good name than much beauty: because a good name standeth for aye, but beauty wanes and wastes away.

50 My son, death is better than life to a man that hath no rest: and better is the voice of wailing in the ears of a fool than music and joy.[2]

51 My son, better is a drumstick in thy hand than a wing [?] in the pot of other people; and better is a sheep that is at hand

[1] Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15; Prov. xxvii. 3.

[2] Cf. Eccles. vii. 1, 2. Apparently the sentiments of Ecclesiastes are contradicted.

ARABIC

41 O my son! teach thy son frugality and hunger, that he may do well in the management of his household.

42 O my son! teach not to the ignorant the language of wise men, for it will be burdensome to him.

43 O my son! display not thy condition to thy friend, lest thou be despised by him.

44 O my son! the blindness of the heart is more grievous than the blindness of the eyes, for the blindness of the eye may be guided little by little, but the blindness of the heart is not guided, and it leaves the straight path, and goes in a crooked way.

45 O my son! the stumbling of a man with his foot is better than the stumbling of a man with his tongue.

46 O my son! a friend who is near is better than a more excellent brother who is far away.

47 O my son! beauty fades but learning lasts, and the world wanes and becomes vain, but a good name neither becomes vain nor wanes.

48 O my son! the man who hath no rest, his death were better than his life; and the sound of weeping is better than the sound of singing; for sorrow and weeping, if the fear of God be in them, are better than the sound of singing and rejoicing.

49 O my child! the thigh of a frog in thy hand is better than a goose in the pot of thy neighbour; and a sheep near thee is better than an ox far away; and a sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand sparrows flying; and poverty which

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and very evil. And shed not just blood unrighteously, lest thy blood be shed in return for his blood.

38 Son, keep thy tongue from evil-speaking and thine eye from immodest glances, and thy hand from stealing; and it will be well for thee with God and man. For whether it be gold or little things that one steals, the punishment and the slaying is one and the same.

39 Son, commit not adultery with thy friend's wife, lest God be angry and others commit adultery with thy wife.

40 Son, take not a widow to wife, for whenever there is any word between you, she will say: Alas, for my first husband! and thou art distressed.

41 Son, if retribution overtake thee from God, flee not nor murmur; lest God be angry and with other harsher stroke destroy thee untimely.

42 Son, love not thy son better than thy servant, for thou knowest not which of them will be useful to thee.

43 Son, the sheep that stray from the flock become the portion of the wolves.

44 Son, pass a just judgement in thy mind, and honour the aged; to the end that thou mayst receive honour from the great judge, and that it may be well with thee.

45 Son, incline thine eyes and soften the utterance of thy mouth, and look under thine eyes; that thou mayst not appear senseless to men, for if a temple were built by hallooings, an ass would build seven palaces[1] every day and . . .

[1] So Ven. which has *aparans*. The other MSS. with Canon have *darbas*, a word not given in lexicons, but which must have the same sense. The meaning of the word 'tchardakhs' is unknown and I leave it blank [? cottages]. Canon omits it, perhaps rightly. Canon has this precept 45 after no. 2 of our series and adds to it in that context this: 'Son, if the oxen by sheer strength drew along, the yoke would not diminish from the neck of the camel.'

SYR. A

than a heifer that is far off: and better is poverty that gathers than wealth that scatters; and better one sparrow in thy hand than a thousand on the wing: and better is a woollen coat on thy back than fine linen and silks on the backs of others.

52 My son, restrain a word in thy heart, and it shall be well with thee; because when thou hast exchanged thy word, thou hast lost thy friend.

53 My son, let not a word go forth from thy mouth, until thou hast taken counsel within thy heart: because it is better for a man to stumble in his heart than to stumble with his tongue.

54 My son, if thou hear an evil matter, put it seven fathoms deep underground.

55 My son, tarry not where there is contention: for from strife arises murder.[1]

56 My son, every one who does not judge right judgement angers God.

57 My son, remove[2] not from thy father's friend, lest perchance thy friend come not near to thee.

58 My son, go not down into princes' gardens, and draw not near to princes' daughters.

59 My son, aid thy friend before the ruler, that thou mayst find

[1] Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, 'Be not angry: for anger leads to murder: nor contentious'.

[2] A slight textual correction.

ARABIC

gathers is better than the scattering of much provision; and a living fox is better than a dead lion; and a pound of wool is better than a pound of wealth, I mean of gold and silver; for the gold and the silver are hidden and covered up in the earth, and are not seen; but the wool stays in the markets and it is seen, and it is a beauty to him who wears it.

50 O my son! a small fortune is better than a scattered fortune.

51 O my son! a living dog is better than a dead poor man.

52 O my son! a poor man who does right is better than a rich man who is dead in sins.

53 O my son! keep a word in thy heart, and it shall be much to thee, and beware lest thou reveal the secret of thy friend.

54 O my son! let not a word issue from thy mouth till thou hast taken counsel with thy heart. And stand not betwixt persons quarrelling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and thou wilt be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest thyself.

55 O my son! withstand not a man stronger than thyself, but get thee a patient spirit, and endurance and an upright conduct, for there is nothing more excellent than that.

56 O my son! hate not thy first friend, for the second one may not last.

57 O my son! visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the Sultan's presence, and do thy diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion.

ARMENIAN

Son, boast not in the day of 46
thy youth, lest thy youth be thy destruction.

Son, suffer not thy companion 47
to tread on thy feet, lest he should presume and tread on thy neck[1] as well.

Son, speak not in wrath with 48
thine adversary before the judge, lest thou be called senseless[2] and foolish. But whatever he asks thee, answer him with sweetness; and thou wilt heap up his judgement on his head.

Son, if thou petitionest God 49
for good, first fulfil His will with fasting and prayer, and then are fulfilled thy petitions unto thy good.

Son, a good name is better 50
than a face that excites longing. For beauty is destroyed[3], but a good name endureth for ever.

Son, it is better to be blind 51
of eye than blind of mind; for he that is blind of eye is quick to learn the coming and going of the road. But the blind in mind forsakes the straight road, and walks according to his will.

Son, a side-bone in thy own 5
hand is better than a fat lamb in the hand of others. A sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand fluttering in the air. A kid for a feast[4] in thy own house is better than a steer in the house of others.

Son, it is better to garner with 5
poverty[5] than to squander with riches.

Son, curse not thy son, until 5
thou seest his end; and reject him not in scorn, until thou behold his latter end and earnings.

Son, examine the word in thy 5
heart and then utter it. For if thou alter the word, thou art a fawner.

[1] Bodl. add 'and head'.

[2] Bodl.: 'lest thou appear senseless and unprofitable.'

[3] Bodl. 'passes'.

[4] So Bodl. and Canon: Ven. has 'a fat kid in', &c., where *parart* 'fat' is a corruption of *patarag*, which is the *potior lectio* and better attested.

[5] Canon: 'Better is poverty with repose than . . .'

Syr. A

out how thou mayst help him from the lion.

60 My son, rejoice not over thy enemy when he dieth.

61 My son, when thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him.

62 My son, if the waters should stand up without earth, and the sparrow fly without wings, and the raven become white as snow, and the bitter become sweet as honey, then may the fool become wise.

63 My son, if thou art a priest of God, be thou ware of Him and enter His presence in purity, and from His presence remove not.

64 My son, him that God prospers do thou also honour.

65 My son, strive not[1] with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.[2]

66 My son, the eye of man is like a fountain of water, and it is not satisfied with riches until filled with dust.

67 My son, if thy will is to be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from theft, and thou shalt become wise.

68 My son, have no part in the espousal of a woman; for if it shall go ill with her, she will curse thee; and if it shall go well with her, she will not remember thee.

69 My son, he that is elegant in his dress is elegant also in his speech, and he that is con-

[1] Lit. 'judge not'.
[2] Cf. Sirach iv. 26.

Arabic

58 O my son! rejoice not in the death of thine enemy, for after a little while thou shalt be his neighbour, and him who mocks thee do thou respect and honour and be beforehand with him in greeting.

59 O my son! if water would stand still in heaven, and a black crow become white, and myrrh grow sweet as honey, then ignorant men and fools might understand and become wise.

60 O my son! if thou desire to be wise, restrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from stealing, and thine eyes from beholding evil; then thou wilt be called wise.

61 O my son! let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve. Be humble in thy youth and thou shalt be honoured in thine old age.

62 O my son! withstand not a man in the days of his power, nor a river in the days of its flood.

63 O my son! be not hasty in the wedding of a wife, for if it turns out well, she will say, 'My lord, make provision for me'; and if it turns out ill, she will rate at him who was the cause of it.

64 (O my son! whosoever is elegant in his dress, he is the same in his speech; and he

Armenian

Son, if thou hearest an evil 56
word about any one, hide it in thy heart seven fathoms deep; so that the evil die and the good be fulfilled.

Son, do thou not scoff frivo- 57
lously; for the frivolous scoff is a quarrel, and the quarrel is slaying and death.

Son, the false word and the 58
false conversation is heavy as lead; but after a few days it floats upon the waters, like the leaf of a tree.

Son, reveal thy lesser counsel 59
to thy friend, and after days irritate him and flout him. And[1] if he does not reveal that counsel, then reveal to him thy greater counsels, and thou keepest him a trusty friend.

Son, in the presence of kings 60
and judges, be helpful to thy comrade; for, as it were from the mouth of a lion, dost thou rescue him; and he becometh to thee a good name and a glory.

Son, if thy enemy come to 61
thy foot, grant him pardon and laugh with joy to his face and receive him with honour.

Son, where thou art not in- 62
vited, go not unto a festival; and where they ask thee not, give no answer.

Son, over a river frozen and 63
swollen pass thou not, lest thou die a sudden death.

Son, ask of a wise man words 64
of advice[2], and thou shalt be made wise. But if thou ask a foolish man, in spite of many words, he is not wise.

Son, if thou sendest a wise 65
man to give any command, he himself fulfils the matter. But if thou sendest a fool, give the command in the presence of many men. And do thou either go thyself or not send him.

Son, test thy son in hunger 66
and thirst; and if he is able to bear it, then give thy riches into his hands.

[1] Bodl. 'and see, if' and below 'and keep him', &c.
[2] Bodl. 'words of wisdom'.

SYRIAC

temptible in his dress is contemptible also in his speech.

70 My son, if thou shalt find a find before an idol, offer the idol its share of it.[1]

71 My son, the hand that was satisfied and is now hungry will not give, nor the hand that was hungry and is now satisfied.

72 My son, let not thine eyes look upon a woman that is beautiful; and be not inquisitive into beauty that does not belong to thee: because many have perished through the beauty of woman, and her love has been as a fire that burneth.

73 My son, let the wise man strike thee with many blows, and let not the fool salve thee with sweet salve.[2]

74 My son, let not thy foot run after thy friend, lest he be surfeited with thee and hate thee.

75 My son, put not a gold ring on thy finger, when thou hast not [wealth][3], lest fools make mock of thee.'

This is the teaching which Aḥiḳar taught to Nadan his sister's son.

[1] This sentence cannot be of Christian or Moslem origin.
[2] Cf. Ps. cxli. 5, 'Let the righteous smite me,' &c.
[3] Or 'when it is not thine'.

ARABIC

who has a mean appearance in his dress, he also is the same in his speech.)

65 O my son! if thou hast committed a theft, make it known to the Sultan, and give him a share of it, that thou mayst be delivered from him, for otherwise thou wilt endure bitterness.

66 O my son! make a friend of the man whose hand is satisfied and filled, and make no friend of the man whose hand is closed and hungry.

67 There are four things in which neither the king nor his army can be secure: oppression by the vizier, and bad government, and perversion of the will, and tyranny over the subject; and four things which cannot be hidden: the prudent, and the foolish, and the rich, and the poor.'

ARMENIAN

Son, from the house of invi- 67
tation and from the wedding go first before thy fellow, and return not again[1]; that thou mayst get thy boon fragrant[2] and mayst get no wounds on the head.

Son, a man who has many 68
possessions and chattels, they call him wise and virtuous; but one who has few chattels they call a fool and of no account, and no man honoureth him.

Son, I have eaten endive and 69
I have drunk gall, and it was not more bitter than poverty. I have lifted salt, and I have lifted lead, and it was not heavier than is debt. For though I ate and drank, I could not rest[3]. I have lifted iron and I have lifted stones upon my shoulders, and it was better for me, than to dwell with the ignorant and the fool.

Son, if thou be poor among 70
thy fellows, reveal it not; lest thou be despised by them, and they hearken not unto thy words.

[1] Perhaps the sense is 'and stay not till the last'.
[2] Canon: 'that thou mayst be anointed with fragrant oil,' &c. Compare the Syriac. Other texts read: 'that thou mayst get a good name.'
[3] Canon adds: 'until I repaid the debt.'

ARMENIAN

71 Son[4], love thy flesh and thy wife. For she is thyself and the companion of thy life, and even by extreme labour she nurtures thy son.[5]

72 Son, if thy lord send thee to bring a dunged grape, bring it not to him; for he will eat the grape, yet not let thee off punishment for the dung.

73 Son, the word of a wise man in drink is better than the word of a fool that is thirsty or sober.[6] Better is an upright slave than one free but false. Better is a friend near at hand than a brother far away.

74 Son, reveal not thy secret counsel to thy wife. For she is weak and small of soul, and she reveals it to the powerful, and thou art despised.

75 Son, if thou drinkest wine, keep thy tongue from much speaking, and it is well for thee and thou art called wise.

76 Son, without a schedule and witness, give not up thy property, lest the other deny it and thou regret it.

77 Son, forsake not thy friend, lest thou find not another sharer of thy counsel and friend.[7]

78 Son, love thy father who begat thee, and incur not the curse of thy father and mother, so that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy sons.

[4] This precept, no. 41 in the series of Paris 58, is not in Ven.
[5] Paris 58 here repeats precept 15.
[6] The Armenian text must be faulty here.
[7] Nos. 77 and 79 are only given in Paris 58.

ARMENIAN

79 Son, it is better if they steal thy goods, than that they detect theft in thee.

80 Son, if God prosper a man in his undertakings, do thou honour him. And whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him.

81 Son, oppose not thyself to a wealthy man and to a river in flood. For the eyes of a grasping man are not filled[1] except with dust[2].

82 Son, do thou not bring about a betrothal match, for they see the good to be from God and from luck; but the bad is traced to thee, and they call thee an intriguing person[3].

83 Son, if the rivers pause in their courses or the sun in its career, or if the gall become sweet as honey, or the raven turn white as the dove, even so will the senseless man abandon his want of sense and the fool become sensible.

84 Son, go not on foot[4] too often to the house of thy friend, lest he hate thee.

85 Son, a dog that leaves his master and follows after thee, pursue him with stones[5].

86 Son, good deeds and a pure offering are pleasing to God; and do thou fear shame as thou fearest God.

87 Son, the taking of an evil counsel into thy heart is the antagonism of the *dev*[6]; and endurance is the foundation of deeds and the rampart of faith.

88 Son, that which seems evil unto thee do not to thy companion; and what is not thine own, give not unto others.

89 Son, lóve the truth and hate lawlessness and[7] falsehood. Give ear unto the commandments of God, and fear not the evil one. For the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

90 Son, flee from a man that is evil and speaketh falsely; for avarice is the mother of all evils, and all evils are engendered of impudence.

91 Son, love not judgement[8]; for even if thou get the better of thine adversary, yet be in fear of the judgement of God.

92 Son, he that is upright in mind is the sun giving light, and he that is treacherous in heart is gloomy with darkness, and he that is generous in heart is full of pity. He that is grasping, even though he has aught, is nevertheless dull of wit.

93 Son[9], into the house of a drunkard enter not; and if thou enter, tarry not; for in thy habits thou remainest empty and idle.

94 Son, malign not thy fellow whether near or at a distance; for evil words will quickly reach the master and lead to quarrels[10].

95 Son, God hath ordained wine for the sake of gladness, but in the place of a brothel or in any other low and unsuitable place, it is better to drink muck than wine[11].

96 Son, a drunken man thinks in his mind thus: I am brave, and everything that I say, I say wisely. He does not know that if he meets with a man of courage, he will throw him at the first touch of his hands flat on the ground and drag him.

97 (Son, if thou behold thine enemy fallen, do thou sorrow over him, that thou mayst make a friend of him; but if thou mock at him, when he gets up again he will requite thee with evil[12].)

98 Son, a drunken man thinks that the earth whirls round; in his going he knows not that his head is deranged; for as the earth is the mother of all plants and fruit-bearing things, so wine is the mother of all evils; it doth cause men to be sick with divers sicknesses, and to slay others without mercy; it deranges the man and changes his nature into that of a brute.

99 Son, flee from guaranteeing; but if thou become a guarantor, make up thy mind that thou must give away out of thy purse; and not thy purse only, but the hair off thy chin[13].

100 Son, be thou not false in speech; for if they find thee to be once false, then when thou speakest the truth, they will reckon thee false and will not believe thee[14].

101 And I say to Nadan: Son, receive into thy mind my precepts and forget them not.

[1] Paris 69 adds 'with treasure'.
[2] Paris 58 om. 81. Paris 69 has 'are not filled with treasure, but are filled with dust'.
[3] The Armenian is obscure here.
[4] Canon adds 'on foot'.
[5] Bodl., Ven. add: 'which is not.' Canon omits.
[6] Or to the *dev*, a Persian word which in Old Armenian usually means a demon.
[7] Ven. om. 'lawlessness and'.
[8] Canon adds 'of injustice'.
[9] Nos. 93–100 are only given in Codex Paris 58 and Venet.
[10] Codex Paris 58 gives this precept in late and obscure Armenian, and its text is clearly faulty.
[11] Ven. adds this: 'A drunken man is like an arrow in the hollow (lit. "palate") of a bow, which strikes no one else, but bruises its own head.'
[12] This precept has already come as no. 11, in almost identical language.
[13] This precept is in bad late Armenian and I give the sense of the last clause conjecturally.
[14] This precept also is in late Armenian.

Armenian

The questions[1] of the king's sons and the answer of Khikar.

Houday and Baliayn asked questions of Khikar, and Khikar said to Nathan: There are four things that increase the light to man's eyes,—to look upon flowers, to tread with naked foot on the green, to walk upon the water, and to see one's friend.

102 Four things are there which make a man fat and keep him healthy,—to wear linen and to hear such things as seem to him pleasant; in the house an amiable and healthy spirit, and to see one's remote (friend) well off.

103 And four things are there which improve a man's banquet,—at all times to converse well, not to give answer to every word, to be humble, to talk little, modesty in small matters and big ones.

104 And four things are there which bring shame to one's face—domination of love, to talk too much and to boast that one knows what one does not know, (to conceal everything, to weave a snare and fall into it)[2], and false-speaking.

105 They asked the sage and said: What is the most pleasing thing on earth? He replied: Modesty. He that hath a modest face is pleasing. For all evils are born of impudence and folly.

[1] The passage which follows until the resumption of the narrative is written in vulgar Armenian. Ven. gives the names thus: Shoutay and Bayilan.

[2] Ven. omits the words in brackets.

Syriac

3 1 But I, Aḥiḳar, supposed that everything which I had been teaching Nadan he took hold of in his heart, and that he stood in my stead in the king's gate; and I knew not that Nadan listened not to my words, but scattered them, as it were to the wind, and returned and said that 'my father Aḥiḳar is grown old, and stands at the door of his grave; and his intelligence has withdrawn and his understanding is diminished';

Arabic

3 1 Thus spake Haiqâr, and when he had finished these injunctions and proverbs to Nadan, his sister's son, he imagined that he would keep them all, and he knew not that instead of that he was displaying to him weariness and contempt and mockery.

Thereafter Haiqâr sat still in his house and delivered over to Nadan all his goods, and the slaves, and the handmaidens, and the horses, and the cattle, and everything else that he had possessed and gained; and the power of bidding and of forbidding remained in the hand of Nadan; and Haiqâr sat at rest in his house, and every now and then Haiqâr went and paid his respects to the king, and returned home. Now when Nadan perceived that the power of bidding and of forbidding was in his own hand, he despised the position of Haiqâr and scoffed at him, and set about blam-

Armenian

And[a] this was the advice which 3 1
I taught to Nathan my sister's son. All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, I, Khikar, chief Notary of Seneqerim the king. And so I supposed in my mind that the teaching and advice which I taught to Nathan would abide and remain and that he would preserve it in his mind. And I knew not that he despised my words, and scattered them like the chaff before the wind, supposing in his mind that Khikar his father was grown very old and had arrived at the door of his tomb. His mind (he said) is distraught and his thoughts are deficient and he knows nothing.

[a] What follows is in MS. Canon given in a form which often more nearly resembles the Syriac than do the better Armenian copies, as below:

All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, thus thinking that what I taught he kept in his heart and would live in the royal gate. And I knew not that he scorned my words, and scattered them like dust before the wind. Forthwith he began to waste my chattels and my possessions. He spared not my slaves and maidservants nor even my darlings and my friends, but bound and ill-treated them; wounded with violent blows and destroyed my steeds continually.

SYRIAC

2 and my son Nadan began [to ill-treat] my servants by beating them and slaughtering them and destroying them; and he showed no mercy on my servants and my handmaidens though they were industrious and well-beloved and excellent; and my horses he slew and my good mules he hamstrung.

3 So when I beheld me that my son Nadan was doing detestable things, I answered and said to him, 'My son Nadan, touch not my property; my son, it is said in the proverb, "What the hand did not acquire, the eye did not spare."'

4 Moreover I showed to Sennacherib my lord all these matters; and my lord spake on this wise: 'As long as Aḥiḳar lives, no man shall have power over his wealth.'

5 Then when my son Nadan saw his brother Nebuzardan standing in my house, he was very irate and he spake on this wise: 'My father Aḥiḳar is grown old and his wits have waned; [and as for his wise words, he despised them][1]; hath he given his possessions to Nebuzardan my brother, and hath he removed me from his house?'

6 When I, Aḥiḳar, heard these things, I said, 'Alas for thee, my wisdom, that my son Nadan has made insipid; and as for my wise sayings, he has contemned them.'

[1] Probably a repetition from three lines lower down.

ARABIC

ing him whenever he appeared, saying, 'My uncle Haiqâr is in his dotage, and
2 he knows nothing now'; and he began to beat the slaves and the handmaidens, and to sell the horses and the camels and be spendthrift with all that his uncle Haiqâr had owned.

3 And when Haiqâr saw that he had no compassion on his servants nor on his household, he arose and chased him from his house, and sent to inform the king that he had scattered his possessions and his provision.

4 And the king arose and called Nadan and said to him: 'Whilst Haiqâr remains in health, no one shall rule over his goods, nor over his household, nor over his
5 possessions.' And the hand of Nadan was lifted off from his uncle Haiqâr and from all his goods, and in the meantime he went neither in nor out, nor did he greet him.

6 Thereupon Haiqâr repented him of his toil with Nadan his sister's son, and he continued to be very sorrowful. And Nadan had a younger brother named Benuzârdân, so Haiqâr took him to himself in place of Nadan, and brought him up and honoured

ARMENIAN

Nathan began to dissipate 2
my property to its loss, and spared not my servants and handmaids. But he tormented them and killed them, and cut about my horses and mules, and my steeds, and destroyed the very pick of the flock.

And when I saw Nathan my 3
sister's son, that he was transforming my affairs and dissipating my property, I began to speak with him and I said: Keep away from my property, and come not near it, for it is written in the Proverbs that, whereon hands have not laboured, that thing his eye spareth not. And I went and 4
told Seneqerim my lord. And he called Nathan and said: As long as Khikar is alive, thou shalt not touch his property.

In that season Nathan saw 5
Boudan[1] his brother, who had been brought up in my house, and said: Khikar my father is grown old and his words have lost their savour.

And when I 6
heard this, I cast him out from all my belongings.

[1] In Bodleian MS. *Baudan.*

When I saw that Nathan counterfeited (*or* metamorphosed) my affairs, then I spared my chattels lest he should ruin them. And I said to Nathan: Come not near my chattels, for it is said in the wise ones, that hands which have not been hard worked, the eye shall not spare. And I went and told my lord Seneqerim. And the king ordered Nathan and said: As long as thy father Khikar is alive, go not near his possessions, but remain in the royal gate, and let thy father Khikar remain in his gate, and rest in his old age.

I, Khikar, when I saw all this that Nathan did, I said in my heart: Alas! How hath Nathan despised my sweet advice, and all my wisdom hath he set at naught and quite despised.

Syriac	Arabic	Armenian
	him with the utmost honour. And he delivered over to him all that he possessed, and made him governor of his house.	
7 Now when my son Nadan heard thereof, he was angry and went to the gate of the king, and devised evil in his heart; and sat down and wrote two letters to two kings who were enemies of Sennacherib my lord; one to Akhi, the son of Ḥamselim, king of Persia and Elam, as follows:	7 Now when Nadan perceived what had happened he was seized with envy and jealousy, and he began to complain to every one who questioned him, and to mock his uncle Haiqâr, saying: 'My uncle has chased me from his house, and has preferred my brother to me, but if the Most High God give me the power, I shall bring upon him the misfortune[1] of being killed.' And Nadan continued to meditate as to the stumbling-block he might contrive for him. And after a while Nadan turned it over in his mind, and wrote a letter to Achish, son of Shah the Wise, king of Persia, saying thus:	But Nathan 7 formed a plan of wickedness in his heart. He wrote in my name a letter[1] to the enemy of Seneqerim, the King of Nineveh and Asorestan; and it was as follows:
8 'From Aḥiḳar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, arise and come to Assyria to meet me; and I will bring thee into Assyria, and thou shalt seize the kingdom without war.'	8 'Peace and health and might and honour from Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, and from his vizier and his secretary Haiqâr unto thee, O great king! Let there be peace between thee and me. And when this letter reaches thee, if thou wilt arise and go quickly to the plain of Nisrîn[2], and to Assyria and Nineveh, I will deliver up the kingdom to thee without war and without battle-array.'	I, Khikar, chief Notary of 8 Seneqerim the king, have sent to the King of the Egyptians to this effect: When this writing 9 reaches thee, thou shalt muster thy forces, and come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will put in your power the land of the Asores, and will give the throne of Seneqerim into thy hand without trouble, for thee to hold it.
9 And he wrote another letter, as follows: 'To Pharaoh,	9 And he wrote also another letter in the name of Haiqâr	And he had made his hand- 10 writing to resemble my hand-

[1] Lit. 'cast him into the misfortune'.

[2] *Nisrîn* may either mean 'the eagles' or 'the wild rose'. I prefer the latter, because the usual plural of *nasr* is *nusûr* or *ansur*.

[1] There is evidently a lacuna here to be filled up from the Bodley MS. as follows: 'to Pharaoh, king of Egypt.'

Then Nathan went into the house of the king and planned very great evils for me. For he wrote two letters. One he sent to Pharaon, king of Egypt, since he was an enemy of my lord Seneqerim, and it was written as follows:

I, Khikar, notary of Seneqerim king of Asorestan and Nineveh, to Pharaon king of Egypt write. Be it in thy cognizance, when this dispatch reaches thee, at once shalt thou muster thy forces and come to the plain of Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will lead and make thee king over these without trouble.

And again a letter which had this form:

From Seneqerim, king, health (*or* peace) to Khikar, notary of my tribunal. When there shall come to

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king of Egypt, from Aḥiḳar, Secretary and Great Seal of the king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter shall reach thee, arise and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Ab. And I will bring thee into Nineveh without war and thou
10 shalt seize the kingdom.' And he made these writings of his like to my own handwriting; and he sealed them in the king's palace, and went his way.

And he wrote further another letter to me, as if from my lord the king Sennacherib; and on this wise he wrote it:

11 'From Sennacherib the King, to Aḥiḳar, my Secretary and Great Seal, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, gather all thy forces together, to the rock that is called Ṣiṣ: and come forth from thence and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Ab.

12 And when thou seest me approaching to thee, array thy forces against me, like a man that is ready for battle: for ambassadors of Pharaoh the king of Egypt are

ARABIC

to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 'Let there be peace between thee and me, O mighty king! If at the time of this letter reaching thee thou wilt arise and go to Assyria and Nineveh to the plain of Nisrîn, I will deliver up to thee the kingdom without war and without fighting.'
10 And the writing of Nadan was like to the writing of his uncle Haiqâr.

Then he folded the two letters, and sealed them with the seal of his uncle Haiqâr; they were nevertheless in the king's palace.

11 Then he went and wrote a letter likewise from the king to his uncle Haiqâr: 'Peace and health to my Vizier, my Secretary, my Chancellor, Haiqâr. O Haiqâr, when this letter reaches thee, assemble all the soldiers who are with thee, and let them be perfect in clothing and in numbers, and bring them to me on the fifth day in the plain of
12 Nisrîn, and when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me

ARMENIAN

writing, and had sealed it with my seal. And when the forces of the king asked to go home to their homes, Nathan alone remained before the king, and said: O King, live for ever. I that have eaten bread and salt in thy house, God forbid that I should see evils before thee. Khikar my father, who was in honour and greatness before thee, hath lied to me and to thee, and hath taken the side of thy enemies. And the letter which Nathan had written in my words, and had likened his handwriting to my handwriting therein, he took, and read the dispatch which he himself had sealed, before the king.

And when the king heard it, 11
he was very much distressed, and said: What wrong have I done to Khikar, that he has so behaved to me? And at once Nathan wrote by the command of the king a letter thus conceived:

When thou readest this 12
writing, thou shalt muster thy hosts and shalt come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz. And whenever thou

thee this dispatch, thou shalt prepare my forces which are under thy hand; exactly on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz thou shalt come to meet me on the plain of Eagles. And when thou comest near draw up face to face against my forces, as if it were being prepared against thine enemies. For the envoys of Pharaon are come unto me to see our forces and tremble.

And this letter Nathan sent to me as if by the command of the king. And he himself, Nathan, stood before the king and said: King, live for ever. I have eaten bread and salt in thy house. God forbid that I should deceive my king.

For my father Khikar, whom thou didst send unto rest, unto honour, unto glory, hath not done according to the command of your kingship, but hath played false to God and your kingship. And he had given the letter to certain trusty men of the king, and they gave it to the sovereign; and the sovereign gave it to Nathan and said: Read. And Nathan read it before the king; and the king was sorely troubled, and asked those who gave him the letter: Who gave into your hands this letter? And as Nathan had charged them, they answered with one mind, saying: Travellers that were going into Egypt. They had the letter, and we thy servants found them and took them by force. And when we asked them: Whence are ye? they answered, We are native slaves of Khikar.

And the king was troubled and said to the trusty men: What harm then have I done to Khikar, that he hath devised such a snare for me? Wherefore hath he returned evil for good? Nathan replied and said: Be not troubled, O mighty king. But let us go to the plain of the Eagles, as is written in the dispatch, and let us see if it is so; then let thy behests be done.

Syriac

come to me, that they may see what forces I have.'

13 And my son Nadan sent this letter to me by the hands of two of the king's servants.

And thereupon my son Nadan took the letters that he had written, as if he had actually found them; and he read them before the king; and when my lord the king heard them, he lamented and said, 'O God, wherein have I sinned against Aḥiḳar, that he should do unto me on this fashion?'

14 And my son Nadan answered and said to the king, 'My lord, do not fret nor rage. Arise and let us go to Eagles' dale on the day that is written by him in the letter. And if it be true, then all that thou commandest shall be done.'

15 So my son Nadan took the king my lord, and they came to me at Eagles' dale: and they found me having with me great forces that were gathered there. And when I saw the king, I put my forces in array against him, as it was written in the letter. And when the king saw it, he was much afraid.

Arabic

the ambassadors of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they may see the strength of our army and may fear us, for they are our enemies and they hate us.'

13 Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Haiqâr by one of the king's servants. And he took the other letter which he had written and spread it before the king and read it to him and showed him the seal. And when the king heard what was in the letter he was perplexed with a great perplexity and was wroth with a great and fierce wrath, and said, 'Ah, I have shown my wisdom! what have I done to Haiqâr that he has written these letters to my enemies? Is this my recompense from him for my

14 benefits to him?' And Nadan said to him, 'Be not grieved, O king! nor be wroth, but let us go to the plain of Nisrîn and see if the tale be true or not.'

15 Then Nadan arose on the fifth day and took the king and the soldiers and the vizier, and they went to the desert to the plain of Nisrîn. And the king looked, and lo! Haiqâr and the army were set in array. And when Haiqâr saw that the king was there, he approached and signalled to the army to move as in war and to fight in array against the king as it had been found in the letter, he not knowing what a pit Nadan had digged for him. And when the king saw the act of Haiqâr he was seized with anxiety and terror and perplexity, and was wroth

Armenian

shalt see me, thou shalt draw up in battle array against me. For the messengers of Pharaon are come to me to see my hosts.

He brought the letter to me, 13 and he himself went to the king. He stood before the king and said:

Grieve not, O ruler; but 14 come, let us go to the plain of the Eagles, and let us see whether this be so. Then what thou commandest is done.

And Seneqerim took his army 15 and came to the plain of the Eagles, and found me with my army; and I drew up my forces over against him as he had commanded. When the king saw this, he was very grieved.

And Nathan took the king and went to the plain of the Eagles. But I, Khikar, when I learned of the setting out of the king, prepared my forces and set them over against him, as had been written in the dispatch by behest of the king.

When the king saw my forces, he was sore troubled. The king said: If thou bringest Khikar before me, mighty presents will I give thee, and all the royal affairs shall be discharged by thee; for thou hast been found a trusty servant before me. And the king went back into his palace.

SYRIAC

16 Then my son Nadan answered and said to him: 'Let it not disturb thee, my lord the king. Return and come into thy chamber[1] in peace: and I will bring Ahikar before thee.'

Then my lord the king returned to his house.

17 And my son Nadan came to me and said to me, 'All that thou hast done, thou hast done finely: and much hath the king praised thee; and he commands thee to dismiss thy forces that they may go every man to his own place and his own district. And do thou come to me thyself alone.'

1 Thereupon I came before the king, and when he saw me, he said unto me, 'Art thou come, Ahikar, my Secretary and the foster-child of Assyria and Nineveh, thou whom I caused to come into honour? but thou hast turned back and taken the part of my enemies.'

[1] Taking the word as equivalent of the Greek κοιτῶνα.

ARABIC

16 with a great wrath. And Nadan said to him, 'Hast thou seen, O my lord the king! what this wretch has done? but be not thou wroth and be not grieved nor pained, but go to thy house and sit on thy throne, and I will bring Haiqâr to thee bound and chained with chains, and I will chase away thine enemy from thee without toil.'

And the king returned to his throne, being provoked about Haiqâr, and did no-
17 thing concerning him. And Nadan went to Haiqâr and said to him, 'W'allah, O my uncle! The king verily rejoiceth in thee with great joy and thanks thee for having done what he commanded thee. And now he hath sent me to thee that thou mayst dismiss the soldiers to their duties[1] and come thyself to him with thy hands bound behind thee, and thy feet chained, that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see this, and that the king may be feared by them and by their king.' Then answered Haiqâr and said, 'To hear is to obey.' And he arose straightway and bound his hands behind him, and
4 1 chained his feet. And Nadan took him and went with him to the king. And when Haiqâr entered the king's presence he did obeisance before him on the ground, and wished for power and perpetual life to the king. Then said the king, 'O Haiqâr, my Secretary, the Governor of my affairs, my Chancellor, the ruler of my State, tell me what evil

[1] Lit. 'to the way of their path'.

ARMENIAN

Nathan began to speak and said: Grieve not, O king, but let us go home. And I will bring my father Khikar before thee. The king said to Nathan: If thou bringest Khikar before me, I will give thee very great presents and I will set thee in trust over all my affairs. And all the affairs of my kingdom shall be transacted by thee with ability. 16

And the king returned to his palace, and Nathan my sister's son came to me and said: Seneqerim the king hath sent me to thee and says, Come to me and let us be joyful together. 17

And when I went, the king said to me: 4 1

Khikar, Notary and wise man, thou wast my counsellor and ruler, and giver of commands of the house of the Asores and Ninevites; and thou hast gone over to the side of my enemies.

And Nathan came to me and said: My father Khikar, very honourable and pleasing hath seemed to the king this preparing of thy cavalry in array. Therefore hath he sent me to thee and saith, All thou hast done thou hast done well and wisely. So then give orders to thy forces to go to their place, and do thou come and let us make merry together.

Syriac

2 And he gave me those letters that were written in my name and were sealed with the seal of my own ring. And when I read them, my tongue stammered and my limbs became faint: and I sought for a single word from the words of wisdom and I found me none.

3 And my son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Away with thee from the king's sight, thou foolish old man: and give thy hands to bonds and thy feet to iron fetters.'

Then Sennacherib the king turned away his face from me, and he talked with Nabusemakh[1] . . . and said to him, 'Arise, go slay Aḥiḳar, and separate his head a hundred ells from his body.'

4 Then I fell on my face on the ground and worshipped the king, and I said, 'My lord the king, live for ever. Seeing, my lord, that it hath pleased thee to kill me, thy will be done. I know, however, that I have not sinned against thee. But 5 command them, my lord the king, that they kill me at the door of my house: and let them give my body to burial.'

6 And the king said to Nabusemakh[2] . . ., 'Go, kill Aḥiḳar at the door of his house, and

[1] 'Yabusemakh Meskin Kanti', which I do not understand; the correction of the first part of the name is obvious. Possibly it should be 'Nabušumuškin, my colleague'. Compare the form as given in the papyrus, and in the Arabic.

[2] *Ut supra.*

Arabic

have I done to thee that thou hast rewarded me by this 2 ugly deed.' Then they showed him the letters in his writing and with his seal. And when Haiqâr saw this, his limbs trembled and his tongue was tied at once, and he was unable to speak a word from fear; but he hung his head towards the earth and was dumb. And when the king saw this, he felt certain that the thing was from him, and he straightway arose and commanded them to kill Haiqâr, and to strike his neck with the sword outside of the city.

3 Then Nadan screamed and said, 'O Haiqâr, O blackface! what avails thee thy meditation or thy power in the doing of this deed to the king?'

4 Thus says the story-teller. And the name of the swordsman was Ibn Samîk. And the king said to him, 'O swordsman! arise, go, cleave the neck of Haiqâr at the door of his house, and cast away his head from his body 5 a hundred cubits.' Then Haiqâr knelt before the king, and said, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! and if thou desire to slay me, let thy wish be [fulfilled]; and I know that I am not guilty, but the wicked man has to give an account of his wickedness; nevertheless, O my lord the king! I beg of thee and of thy friendship, permit the swordsman to give my body to my slaves, that they may bury me, and let thy slave be thy sacrifice.'

6 The king arose and commanded the swordsman to do with him according to his

Armenian

And that letter, which Nathan 2 had written in my[1] words and had likened therein his handwriting to my handwriting, the king gave unto me and said: Take and read.

And when I read it, all my limbs were[2] dissolved, and my tongue was shrivelled up as parchment; and I was stupefied and became like one of those distraught. I sought for a word of wisdom and found no answer to give.

Nathan began to speak, 3 and said to me: Get out of the presence of thy king, grey-haired one, perverted and inane[3]. Give thy hand for the iron and thy foot for the fetter.

And the 4 king turned away his face from me and said to Abusmaq, his *nayip*: Lead away and slay yon godless Khikar, and remove his head afar, about one hundred ells.

And I fell on my face and 5 kissed the earth and said: O King, live for ever. Thou hast willed me to slaying, and hast not hearkened unto my words. And I from my heart know that I have not in any way wronged thee, and in my heart there is no guile. I am innocent. Therefore have pity on me and order that in my own house they slay me and give over my body for burial.

And the king ordered Abus- 6 maq, that they should slay me in my own house. And when

[1] Ven. omits 'my'.

[2] Bodl. = 'all the flesh of my limbs was'.

[3] The Arm. word is obscure.

SYRIAC

give his body to burial.' Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, sent to Eshfagni my wife that she should bring forth from the daughters of my tribe maids a thousand and one: 'and let them put on raiment of mourning, and let them wail and lament and weep
7 over me. And let them come to meet me, and let them make a funeral feast[1] over me before I die. And prepare thou bread and a table and a banquet for Nabusemakh[2] . . . and his Parthians that are with him, and come to meet them, and receive them and bring them into my house. And I too will come into the house as a guest.'

8 And Eshfagni my wife, for that she was exceeding wise, understood all my message, and did whatsoever I had sent to her to do; and she came forth to meet them, and she brought them into my house: and they did eat bread, and with her own hand she served them, until they fell asleep from drunkenness, every man in his place.

9 Thereat I, Aḥiḳar, entered and said to Nabusemakh[3], 'Look towards God, and remember the love that there was between us brother: and grieve not over my death: and remember that thee also did Sarḥadum the father of Sennacherib deliver to me that I should slay thee, yet I slew thee not, because I was aware that there was in thee no ground of offence; and I kept thee alive until the king desired thee, and when I brought thee before him,

[1] Lit. 'a house of weeping'.
[2] Yabusemakh.
[3] *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

desire. And he straightway commanded his servants to take Haiqâr and the swordsman and to go with him naked that they might slay him. And when Haiqâr knew for certain that he was to be slain he sent to his wife
7 and said to her, 'Come out and meet me, and let there be with thee a thousand young virgins, and dress them in gowns of purple and silk that they may weep for me before my death. And prepare a table for the swordsman and for his servants. And mingle plenty of wine, that they may drink.'

8 And she did all that he commanded her. And she was very wise, clever, and prudent. And she united all possible courtesy and learning.

And when the army of the king and the swordsman arrived they found the table set in order, and the wine and the luxurious viands, and they began eating and drinking till they were gorged and drunken.

9 Then Haiqâr took the swordsman aside apart from the company and said, 'O Abu Samîk, dost thou not know that when Sarhadum the king, the father of Sennacherib, wanted to kill thee. I took thee and hid thee in a certain place till the king's anger subsided and he asked for thee? And when I brought thee into his presence he rejoiced in thee: and now remember the kindness I did

ARMENIAN

I went forth from the king, I wrote a letter lamenting to Abestan my wife and said: When this letter reaches thee, do thou send out to meet me a thousand virgins; and let them put on apparel of mourning and let them mourn for me and bewail me, that I may see with my own eyes even the wailers who bewail me in my lifetime. But[a] thou shalt make large loaves, to give to my executioners, and dainty viands for them to eat and drink.

And Abestan my wife was 8
very wise and[1] fulfilled my orders. She went out to meet me, and led them into the house, and set before them a table; and fed them, and gave them to drink old wine and unmixt, till they were fuddled and were drunk and fell asleep.

Then I 9
and my wife fell at the feet of Abusmaq weeping, and I said to him: Abusmaq, my comrade, look up to heaven and behold God with thy eyes; and remember the bread and salt which we have eaten together, and remember how that they betrayed thee to Seneqerim the king's father; and I took and kept thee until the king asked for thee, and how, when I led thee before him, he gave me

[1] Paris 92 and 58 alone add the words 'was . . . and'.

[a] The narrative that follows is given in MS. Canon in a form more closely resembling the Syriac as below:

And they shall make and prepare a table, adorned with all good things, for Abusmaq and the Parthians who are with me. Thou shalt go out to meet these and shalt lead them into the house.

And Arphestan my wife did immediately what I had commanded; and we set out to my house. And Abusmaq and the Parthians reclined, and my wife set before them a table, and waited on them. And I entered with them to eat bread; and they were fuddled with wine.

And I said to Abusmaq my comrade, Look up to heaven and discern God with thy eyes and remember the love of our brotherhood. And sin not against my blood, for thou knowest that I am innocent. But

Syriac

he gave me great gifts, and many presents did I carry off
10 from him. And do thou too, now, preserve me alive and recompense me this kindness: and in order that the word come not abroad that I was not killed and that the king may not quarrel with thee, behold, I have in my prison-house a slave, Marzifan hight, and he is due to die: clothe this slave in my raiment and rouse up the Parthians against him and they will slay him: and I shall not die, because I have done no wrong.'

11 And when I spake thus, moreover Nabusemakh[1] . . . also was sore grieved over me, and he took my raiments and clad in them the slave that was in the prison-house. And he roused up the Parthians, and they arose in the fumes[2] of their wine, and they slew him and removed his head a hundred ells from his corse, and they gave over his body for burial.

12 Then went forth the report in Assyria and Nineveh, that Aḥiḳar the Secretary is killed.

And Nabusemakh[3] . . . rose up, and Eshfagni my wife, and they made for me a hiding-place underground; its breadth was three cubits and its height five cubits, under the threshold of the
13 door of my house. And they put bread and water with me, and went and showed to Sennacherib the king that Aḥiḳar, the Secretary, was dead: and when the men heard it, they wept; and the women disfigured[4] their

[1] *Ut supra.*
[2] Lit. 'taste'.
[3] *Ut supra.*
[4] Lit. 'scratched'.

Arabic

10 thee. And I know that the king will repent him about me and will be wroth with a great wrath about my execution. For I am not guilty, and it shall be when thou shalt present me before him in his palace, thou shalt meet with great good fortune, and know that Nadan my sister's son has deceived me and has done this bad deed to me, and the king will repent of having slain me; and now I have a cellar in the garden of my house, and
11 no one knows of it. Hide me in it with the knowledge of my wife. And I have a slave in prison who deserves to be killed. Bring him out and dress him in my clothes, and command the servants when they are drunk to slay him. They will not know who it is they are killing.

12 And cast away his head a hundred cubits from his body, and give his body to my slaves that they may bury it. And thou shalt have laid up a great treasure with me.' And then the swordsman did as Haiqâr had commanded him, and he went to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live for ever!'

13 Then Haiqâr's wife let down to him in the hiding-place every week what sufficed for him, and no one knew of it but herself. And the story was reported and repeated and spread abroad

Armenian

mighty gifts. Now therefore 10
keep me and render to me a return of the service I rendered thee, and to thee there will be mighty gifts as thy requital, good for good[1]. I have a man in prison, and very like unto me is he. He shed blood in my house and is under sentence of death, and his name is Seniqar. Take therefore my garments into the prison and dress him up in them and slay him; and so thou fulfillest the king's command.

And when I said this, Abus- 11
maq had pity on me, and did my will and what I told him. And the soldiers, fuddled, woke up from sleep[2] at midnight, and slew Seniqar my slave, and removed his head from him one hundred ells.

And the news 12
went forth into the city of Asorestan, that Khikar, Notary and wise man, was dead.

Then Abusmaq my comrade and Abestan my wife made me a house dug out underground, its[3] length seven ells, and its height equal to my head's, hard by the door-posts of my house. And they shut me in and placed 1
beside me bread and water, and then Abusmaq went off to the king and told him that 'Khikar the wise is slain'. And all who heard of my death beat their breasts and were full of regret

[1] Bodl. has 'will be a requital from God': Paris 92, 'will be mighty gifts'. I render the Ven. MS.
[2] So Ven. and Paris 92: the rest = 'fuddled with wine, woke up at'.
[3] Canon = 'its height three ells and its length seven ells, equal to (*or* level with) the door-posts of my house'.

remember also this, that the sire of Seneqerim gave thee into my hands for slaying; and I wronged thee not, for I knew that thou wast innocent. And I kept thee until the king made a request; and then I led thee before the king, and the king gave me mighty gifts. This do thou likewise and slay me not. There is my slave whose name is Sêniphar, and very like is he unto me. And he is in prison, because he is under sentence of death. So then lead me into prison and dress him up in my garments and cast him to the Parthians, for them to slay him. . . .

Syriac

faces and said: 'Alas for thee, Aḥiḳar the wise Secretary, thou fence of the breaches of our country: for like thee there will never be any one to us.'

14 Then Sennacherib the king called my son Nadan, and said to him, 'Go make a funeral feast[1] for thy father Aḥiḳar, and then return to me.'

15 And when Nadan my son came, no funeral feast did he make for me, nor any remembrance at all; but gathered him the vain and lewd folk, and set them down at my table, with singing and with great joy; and my beloved servants and handmaidens he stripped and flogged without mercy.

16 Nor had he any reverence for my wife Eshfagni, but sought to do with her the way of man with woman.

17 And I, Ahiḳar, was cast into darkness in the pit beneath. And I was hearing the voice of my bakers, cooks, and butlers as they wept and sobbed within my house.

[1] Lit. 'a house of weeping'.

Arabic

in every place of how Haiqâr the Sage had been slain and was dead, and all the people of that city mourned for him. And they wept and said: 'Alas for thee, O Haiqâr! and for thy learning and thy courtesy! How sad about thee and about thy knowledge! Where can another like thee be found? and where can there be a man so intelligent, so learned, so skilled in ruling as to resemble thee that he may fill thy place?'

But the king was repenting about Haiqâr, and his repentance availed him naught.

14 Then he called for Nadan and said to him, 'Go and take thy friends with thee and make a mourning and a weeping for thy uncle Haiqâr, and lament for him as the custom is, doing honour to

15 his memory.' But when Nadan, the foolish, the ignorant, the hard-hearted, went to the house of his uncle, he neither wept nor sorrowed nor wailed, but assembled heartless and dissolute people and set about eating and drinking. And Nadan began to seize the maidservants and the slaves belonging to Haiqâr, and bound them and tortured them and drubbed them with a sore drubbing.

16 And he did not respect the wife of his uncle, she who had brought him up like her own boy, but wanted her to fall

17 into sin with him. But Haiqâr had been cast into the hiding-place, and he heard the weeping of his slaves and his neighbours, and he praised the Most High God, the Merciful One,

Armenian

and said: Alas for thee, O Notary! Who is there to decide the matters of thy kingdom with thy ability?

Then the king called Nathan 14
and said to him: Go, make lamentations for the house and mourning for thy father.

Na- 15
than[a] came, and instead of lamenting he gathered together actors, and made great cheer; and he very cruelly tormented my servants and handmaids.

And even for Abestan my wife 16
he had no respect, but desired to fornicate with her, that had brought him up. And I from my subterranean chamber heard the weeping and groanings and the plaints of my servants. And 17
I moreover wept and my soul longed for a little bread and a morsel of meat and a cup. And I was destitute of all my chattels.

[a] MS. Canon has the narrative which follows in a form nearer to the Syriac. It is given below:

And Nathan went off to the house of Khikar, but with him there was no concern for mourning. And he collected all his dear ones to drink wine and made great good cheer, instead of mourning as the king commanded. Using force to the dear ones of Khikar he tortured them and had no respect for Arphestan wife of Khikar, nay rather desired to fornicate with her.

And I, Khikar, was hearing the voice of my stewards whom Nathan tortured and ill-treated. And I was tortured in the darkness. My soul was longing for bread and a morsel of meat.

SYRIAC

18 And after a few days came Nabusemakh[1] . . . and opened [my prison] over me[2] and comforted me; and set before me bread and water; and I said to him, 'When thou goest forth from me, remember me before God, and say, O God, just and righteous, and that showest grace upon the earth, hear the voice of Thy servant Aḥiḳar,[3] and remember that he sacrificed to Thee fatted oxen like sucking
19 lambs. And now he is cast into the darksome pit where he seeth no light. And dost Thou not save him that crieth unto Thee? O Lord, hear the voice of my colleague,[4] [I pray Thee.']

5 1 Now when Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard that I, Aḥiḳar, had been slain, he was greatly rejoiced, and he wrote a letter to Sennacherib on this wise:

2 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. I am planning to build a castle between heaven and earth, wherefore seek out and send me from thy kingdom a man who is a skilled architect, that he may give me reply concerning all
3 that I shall ask him. And when thou shalt send me such a man, I will collect and send thee the revenue of Egypt for three

[1] *Ut supra.*
[2] Lit. 'on my eyes'.
[3] Cf. Apoc. vi. 10, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true,' &c.
[4] This trifling but necessary emendation confirms our interpretation (*vide supra*) of the corrupt name.

ARABIC

and gave thanks, and he always prayed and besought the Most High God.

18 And the swordsman came from time to time to Haiqâr whilst he was in the midst of the hiding-place: and Haiqâr came and entreated him. And he comforted him and wished him deliverance.

19 And when the story was reported in other countries that Haiqâr the Sage had been slain, all the kings were grieved and despised king Sennacherib, and they lamented over Haiqâr the solver of riddles.

5 1 And when the king of Egypt had made sure that Haiqâr was slain, he arose straightway and wrote a letter to king Sennacherib, reminding him in it 'of the peace and the health and the might and the honour which we wish specially for thee, my beloved
2 brother, king Sennacherib. I have been desiring to build a castle between the heaven and the earth, and I want thee to send me a wise, clever man from thyself to build it for me, and to answer me all my questions, and that I may have the taxes[1] and the custom duties of Assyria for three years.' Then he sealed

[1] i.e. taxes in kind, agricultural produce. For this rendering of the Arabic word, see Dozy, vol. ii, p. 345.

ARMENIAN

And all the inhabitants of Asorestan and of Nineveh fled from me.

When the king of Egypt 5 1
heard this, of how Khikar the Notary was dead, and of the Ninevites and all the land (that) they were fled, he was very glad. And the king of Egypt, Pharaon, wrote a letter as follows:

To Seneqerim, king of the 2
Asores. Health be to thy Lordship and Kingship. Be it known to thee that I desire to build a palace hung betwixt heaven and earth. Look and send unto me a true and clever and wise man who can build, and also give answer to any question I ask. If however thou shalt neglect 3
this request, then I will come

And when Pharaon heard that Khikar was slain, he was very glad, and wrote a dispatch to the king Seneqerim, riddles.

And the king called Nathan and said: Write an answer to this letter.

And Nathan said: Difficult is this matter. Who is able to give answer thereto?

And the king was distressed and said: Alas for Khikar my secretary and wise man!

And when Pharaon learned that they could not give an answer to his writing, he sent puissant forces and they took tribute from Seneqerim. And as long as Khikar languished in the prison, the burden of Pharaon was multiplied on Asorestan and Nineveh. Those who were under the hand of Seneqerim also were much impoverished and all the land laid waste, and the chambers of the royal treasury were emptied.

SYRIAC

years: and if thou send me not a man who shall give me reply concerning all that I ask him, then do thou collect and send me the tribute of Assyria and Nineveh for three years, by the hands of these ambassadors that come to thee.'

4 And when this letter was read before the king, he cried out to all the nobles and franklins of his kingdom, and said unto them: 'Which of you will go to Egypt to give reply to the king concerning all that he shall ask him? And he shall build him the castle that he planneth, and bring back the three years' tribute of Egypt and come hither.'

5 And when the nobles heard this, they answered and said unto the king: 'My lord the king, thou knowest that not only in the years of thy reign, but also in the years of thy father Sarḥadum, Aḥiḳar the Secretary was in the habit of resolving

6 questions like these. And now, also, behold his son Nadan, he is instructed in his father's book-lore and wisdom.' And when my son Nadan heard these things, he cried out before the king and said: 'The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let alone men'[1]

7 And when the king heard

[1] Cf. Dan. ii. 11.

ARABIC

the letter and sent it to Sen-

3 nacherib. He took it and read it and gave it to his viziers and to the nobles of his kingdom, and they were perplexed and ashamed, and he was wroth with a great wrath, and was puzzled about

4 how he should act. Then he assembled the old men and the learned men and the wise men and the philosophers, and the diviners and the astrologers, and every one who was in his country, and read them the letter and said to them, 'Who amongst you will go to Pharaoh king of Egypt and answer him his

5 questions?' And they said to him, 'O our lord the king! know thou that there is none in thy kingdom who is acquainted with these questions except Haiqâr, thy vizier and

6 secretary. But as for us, we have no skill in this, unless it be Nadan, his sister's son, for he taught him all his wisdom and learning and knowledge. Call him to thee, perchance he may untie this hard knot.' Then the king called Nadan and said to him, 'Look at this letter and understand what is in it.' And when Nadan read it, he said, 'O my lord! who is able to build a castle between the heaven and the earth?'

7 And when the king heard

ARMENIAN

and take away thy kingdom and will lay waste thy land.

When 4 the king heard this he was very grieved, and sent and mustered his satraps to ask their advice, saying: What shall we do?

The[1] satraps say: O King, who 5 else can answer this question except Nathan, who hath learned of Khikar and knoweth his lore and hath been brought up in his house? He will be able to give an answer to this demand which the king of Egypt hath written. Then the king called Nathan and showed him the counsel; and he gave him the dispatch, and Nathan read it. When he had read aloud 6 the letter, he cried out with a loud voice and said: This[2] is a matter which even the gods[3] cannot settle or give answer to. How shall I be able to give answer?

When the king heard, he rose 7

[1] Canon: 'And they perplexed said: To such a matter Khikar would give an answer, and now Nathan who is in his place.'

[2] Canon: 'Such a matter the gods cannot answer, much less men. When the king heard, he was sorely troubled; he rose . . .'

[3] The Arm. word used is *diqn*, i. e. the *devs*.

And the king said: Alas for Khikar, secretary and wise man! One who should give thee to me alive, many chattels would I give him, even to the half of my kingdom.

And Abusmaq revealed it not to the king, that he might be in stress and know the value to him of Khikar.

And Pharaon sent a dispatch to king Seneqerim which had this tenor: From Pharaon to Seneqerim, health. I desire to build a palace. . . .

This when Nathan heard, he cried with a loud voice and said: King, live for ever. Such a matter as that the gods could not make answer to. Surely then not men?

When the king heard this he was very distressed. He rose from his throne and sat on sackcloth, beat his

SYRIAC

these words, he was much perturbed, and he descended from his throne and sat on the ground, and spake thus:[1] 'Alas for thee, Aḥiḳar the wise, that I destroyed thee for the words of a boy! Who will give thee to me for such a time as this? I would give him thy weight in gold.'

8 And when Nabusemakh[2] . . . heard these words, he fell down before the king and said to him: 'He who has contemned the commandment of his lord, is guilty of death; and I, my lord, have contemned the command of thy kingship. Command, therefore, that they crucify me.

[1] Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 16 καὶ καταβήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . ἐπὶ γῆν καθεδοῦνται . . . καὶ στενάξουσιν ἐπὶ σέ· καὶ λήψονται ἐπὶ σὲ θρῆνον καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι. . . .

[2] *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

the speech of Nadan he sorrowed with a great and sore sorrow, and stepped down from his throne and sat in the ashes, and began to weep and wail over Haiqâr, saying, 'O my grief! O Haiqâr, who didst know the secrets and the riddles! woe is me for thee, O Haiqâr! O teacher of my country and ruler of my kingdom, where shall I find thy like? O Haiqâr, O teacher of my country, where shall I turn for thee? woe is me for thee! how did I destroy thee! and I listened to the talk of a stupid, ignorant boy without knowledge, without religion, without manliness. Ah! and again Ah for myself! who can give thee to me just for once, or bring me word that Haiqâr is alive? and I would give him the half of my kingdom. Whence is this to me? Ah, Haiqâr! that I might see thee just for once, that I might take my fill of gazing at thee, and delighting in thee. Ah! O my grief for thee to all time! O Haiqâr, how have I killed thee! and I tarried not in thy case till I had seen the end of the matter.' And the king went on weeping night and day.

8 Now when the swordsman saw the wrath of the king and his sorrow for Haiqâr, his heart was softened towards him, and he approached into his presence and said to him: 'O my lord! command thy servants to cut off my head.' Then

[1] B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.

ARMENIAN

from his golden throne and sat in the ashes, and with his own hands he smote his face and plucked out his beard and said: Alas for thee, Khikar, Notary and wise, I have through the tittle-tattle of men destroyed thee! For thou didst arrange the affairs of our kingdom. Now if any one gave thee unto me, I would give him whatever he asked of me, no matter how great a treasure of gold and silver.

When Abusmaq my comrade heard this, he stood before the king and said: O King, live for ever. He that doeth not the king's commands is sentenced to death, for the commands of 8 God and of the king are one. Thou didst bid slay Khikar, and he is still living.

person and said: Alas for Khikar, able notary and wise! On the words of a lying man I slew him. There is none like thee. And there is no successor like thee in the royal gate. If any one gave thee to me, I would weigh him against gold and buy thee. When Abusmaq learned the deep distress of the king, he said: My lord king, he that contemns the behests of his lord and fulfils them not is guilty of death. Now then this word of mine is fulfilled in me. For I fulfilled not the behest of my lord. Thou didst make behest to slay Khikar, and now he is still alive.

SYRIAC

For Aḥiḳar, whom thou didst command me to slay, is yet alive.'

9 And when the king heard these words, he answered and said, 'Speak on, speak on, Nabusemakh[1]; speak on, thou good and clever man, unskilled in evil. If it is indeed as thou sayest, and thou show me Aḥiḳar alive, then I will give thee presents of silver, a hundred talents in weight, and of purple, fifty talents in value.'[2]

10 And Nabusemakh[3] answered and said, 'Swear to me, my lord the king, that, if there be not found before thee other sins of mine, this sin shall not be remembered against me.' And the king gave him his right hand on this matter.

[1] Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.
[2] Dan. v. 16.
[3] Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.

ARABIC

said the king to him: 'Woe to thee, Abu Samîk, what is thy fault?' And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my master! every slave who acts contrary to the word of his master is killed[1], and I have acted contrary to thy command.' Then the king said unto him, 'Woe unto thee, O Abu Samîk, in what hast thou acted contrary to my command?' And the swordsman said unto him,
9 'O my lord! thou didst command me to kill Haiqâr, and I knew that thou wouldst repent thee concerning him, and that he had been wronged, and I hid him in a certain place, and I killed one of his slaves, and he is now safe in the cistern, and if thou command me I will bring him to thee.' And the king said unto him, 'Woe to thee, O Abu Samîk! thou hast mocked me and I am thy lord.' And the swordsman said unto him, 'Nay, but by the life of thy head, O my lord! Haiqâr is safe and alive.' And when the king heard that saying, he felt sure of the matter, and his head swam[2], and he fainted from joy, and he commanded [them] to bring
10 [Haiqâr][3]. And he said to the swordsman, 'O trusty servant! if thy speech be true, I would fain enrich thee, and exalt thy dignity above that of all thy friends.' And the swordsman went along rejoicing till he came to Haiqâr's house. And he opened the door of the hiding-place, and went down and found Haiqâr sitting, praising God, and thanking Him. And he shouted

[1] B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.
[2] Lit. 'his reason flew'.
[3] Cod. 'him'.

ARMENIAN

The king said: Speak, Abusmaq, my servant and trusty one. If thou canst show me Khikar alive, I will give thee[1] byssus and purple and bestow on thee mighty presents. 9

And Abusmaq, when he heard this from the king, like a swiftly flying fowl, came unto me, and opened the door of my subterranean chamber, and led me forth. 10

[1] Bodl. 'will array thee in'.

And the king said: Speak, speak, my servant, well-doing and trusty. For thou hast not sinned. But of many good things hast thou become worthy. If thou showest me Khikar, I will give thee royal purples and one hundred thousand talents of gold.

Syriac

11 And forthwith the king mounted his chariot, and came unto me in haste, and opened [my prison] over me, and I ascended and came and fell before the king; the hair of my head had grown down on my shoulders, and my beard reached my breast; and my body was foul with the dust, and my nails were grown long like eagles'.[1]

12 And when the king saw me, he wept and was ashamed to talk with me, and in great grief he said to me, 'It was not I that sinned against thee, Aḥiḳar; but thy son whom thou brought-est up, he it was that sinned against thee.'

13 Thereupon I answered and said to him, 'Because I have seen thy face, my lord, no evil is in my mind.' And the king said to me, 'Go to thy house, Aḥiḳar, and shave off thy hair, and wash thy body, and recover thy strength[2] forty days; and after that come to me.'

[1] Dan. iv. 33.
[2] Lit. 'let thy soul come into thee'.

Arabic

to him, saying, 'O Haiqâr, I bring the greatest of joy, and happiness, and delight!' And Haiqâr said to him, 'What is the news, O Abu Samîk?' And he told him all about Pharaoh from the beginning to the end. Then he took him and
11 went to the king. And when the king looked at him, he saw him in a state of want, and that his hair had grown long like the wild beasts' and his nails like the claws of an eagle, and that his body was dirty with dust, and the colour of his face had changed and faded and was now like ashes.

12 And when the king saw him he sorrowed over him and rose at once and embraced him and kissed him, and wept over him and said: 'Praise be to God! who hath brought thee back to me.' Then he consoled him and comforted him. And he stripped off his robe, and put it on the swordsman, and was very gracious to him, and gave him great wealth, and made Haiqâr rest.

13 Then said Haiqâr to the king, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! These be the deeds of the children of the world. I have reared me a palm-tree that I might lean on it, and it bent sideways, and threw me down. But, O my lord! since I have appeared before thee, let not
14 care oppress thee.' And the king said to him: 'Blessed be God, who showed thee

Armenian

And the colour of 1
my face was changed and my head[1] was matted and my nails were grown like an eagle's.

When the king beheld me[2], 1
he bent his head and was ashamed to look in my face; and hardly looked in my face, his face being full of shame; and[a] he said to me: O my loved and honourable brother Khikar, go to thy house and repair thy person for forty days, and then come unto me. And I did so. And I came back again to the king, and the king said: I have sinned against thee, father Khikar. Not I is it that has sinned against thee, but Nathan thy sister's son, whom thou didst bring up.

And I fell on my face and 3
kissed the earth before the king and said: Forasmuch as I have seen the face of the king, I am alive; and all evils are turned for me into wellbeing, forasmuch as thy servant Khikar has found grace.

The king said: Hast thou heard this, O honourable good Khikar, to wit, what the Egyp-

[1] Canon: 'the hair of my head.'
[2] Bodl. adds 'in such plight'.

[a] For the text of MS. Canon see below:
And he sent me to the bath for them to wash and anoint me with fragrant oil (omitting the direct speech of the king on this point). And they did so, and brought raiment of great price and clad me in it. And the king brought and set me close to him. And all that he had promised to Abusmaq he fulfilled amply.

SYRIAC

1 Therefore I went to my house, and I was in my house about thirty days, and when I was recovered[1], I came to the king, and the king answered and said to me: 'Hast thou seen, Aḥiḳar, what a letter Pharaoh, king of Egypt, has written me?'

[1] Lit. 'my soul was in order upon me'.

ARABIC

mercy, and knew that thou wast wronged, and saved thee and delivered thee from being slain. But go to the warm bath, and shave thy head, and cut thy nails, and change thy clothes, and amuse thyself for the space of forty days, that thou mayst do good to thyself and improve thy condition and the colour of thy face may come back
15 to thee.' Then the king stripped off his costly robe, and put it on Haiqâr, and Haiqâr thanked God and did obeisance to the king, and departed to his dwelling glad and happy, praising the Most High God. And the people of his household rejoiced with him, and his friends and every one who heard that he was alive rejoiced also.

6 1 And he did as the king commanded him, and took a rest for forty days. Then he dressed himself in his gayest dress, and went riding to the king, with his slaves behind him and before him, rejoicing and delighted. But when Nadan his sister's son perceived what was happening, fear took hold of him and terror, and he was perplexed, not knowing what to do. And when Haiqâr saw it he entered into the king's presence and greeted him, and he returned the greeting, and made him sit down at his side, saying to him, 'O my darling Haiqâr! look at these letters which the king of Egypt sent to us, after he had heard that thou wast slain. They have provoked us and overcome us, and many of the people of our country have fled to Egypt for fear of the taxes that the king of Egypt has sent to demand from us.' Then

ARMENIAN

tian has sent and that which is said, that the inhabitants of Nineveh and Asorestan are fled? And I said to the king: Therefore let a herald proclaim at the 14
gate of thy palace, that Khikar is alive; and all who shall hear it will return, each man to his place.

And the king commanded a herald to cry, saying: Khikar is alive; and that all the dwellers in Nineveh and Asorestan returned, each man to his place.

Then the king brought the letter of Pharaon and gave it to me, and said: Read and give an answer to this letter.

SYRIAC

2 And I answered and said, 'My lord the king, let there be no trouble to thee over this affair. I will go to Egypt and build the king a castle: and I will make him answer concerning all that he may ask me: and I will bring back with me the three years' tribute of Egypt.'

3 And when the king heard these things he rejoiced with a great joy: and he gave me gifts: and as for Nabusemakh[1] . . . he set him at the head of all. And after this I wrote a letter to Eshfagni my wife, as follows:

4 'When this letter reaches thee, command my huntsmen that they catch me two young eagles: and command the workers in flax, that they make me hempen ropes; the length of each one of them shall be a thousand ells, and their thickness that of one's little finger.

5 And bid the carpenters to make me cages for the young eagles: and deliver over Ubael and Tabshelim, the two boys, who do not yet know how to talk, and let them teach them to say on this wise: "Give the builders mud, mortar, tiles, bricks, for they are idle."'

[1] *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

Haiqâr took the letter and read it and understood all its
2 contents. Then he said to the king, 'Be not wroth, O my lord! I will go to Egypt, and I will return the answers to Pharaoh, and I will display this letter to him, and I will reply to him about the taxes, and I will send back all those who have run away; and I will put thy enemies to shame with the help of the Most High God, and for the happiness of thy kingdom.'
3 And when the king heard this speech from Haiqâr he rejoiced with a great joy, and his heart was expanded and he showed him favour. And Haiqâr said to the king: 'Grant me a delay of forty days that I may consider this question and manage it.' And the king permitted this.
4 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and he commanded the huntsmen to capture two young eaglets for him, and they captured them and brought them to him: and he commanded the weavers of ropes to weave two cables of cotton for him, each of them two thousand cubits long, and he had the carpenters brought and ordered them to make two great boxes, and they did this.
5 Then he took two little lads, and spent every day sacrificing lambs and feeding the eagles and the boys, and making the boys ride on the backs of the eagles, and he bound them with a firm knot, and tied the cable to the feet of the eagles, and let them soar upwards little by little every day, to a distance of ten cubits, till they grew accustomed and were educated to it; and they rose all the length of the rope till they reached the sky; the

ARMENIAN

And I said to the king Sene- 6
qerim: Concerning this matter which the Egyptian has sent, do thou not be anxious. I will 2
go and give him answer and will bring to thee the tribute from Egypt.

When the king 3
heard this he was glad, and established Abusmaq at the head of the divan. And on the morrow I wrote to Abestan my wife and said as follows:

When thou readest this 4
writing, do thou have caught two nestlings of an eagle, and two children not yet able to talk, and two nursing women to nurse the little ones. And they shall say: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle. And have two ropes spun, the length thereof two hundred ells, and the thickness thereof one ell.

And cause a 5
carpenter to fit together two cages for the children; and give food to the eagles, every day two lambs. And cause the children to be bound upon the eagles, and to make little flights, until they form the habit. And in this way habituate them until they soar aloft two hundred ells.

And I took and read it, and said to the king: Send yon envoys to go to their place. And I will later set out and fulfil the behests of Pharaon.

And when they were gone, I, Khikar, Secretary, sent and had brought two eaglets. . . .

SYRIAC

6 And Eshfagni my wife did all that I commissioned her: then I said to the king: 'Command, my lord, and send me that I go to Egypt.' And when the king commanded me to go, I took me a force of soldiers and went.

7 And when we came to the first halting-place, I let out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet and made the boys ride on them; and they took them and went up to a height, and the boys cried out as they had been taught, 'Mud, mortar, tiles, bricks supply to the builders who are idle.' Then I pulled them in again.

8 And when we came to Egypt, I went to the king's gate: and his nobles told the king, 'There is come the man whom the king of Assyria has sent.' And the king commanded and gave me a place to reside in; and on the following day I came in before him and worshipped him and inquired after his health [1].

[1] Lit. 'asked after his peace'.

ARABIC

boys being on their backs. Then he drew them to himself.

6 And when Haiqâr saw that his desire was fulfilled he charged the boys that when they were borne aloft to the sky they were to shout, saying, 'Bring us clay and stone, that we may build a castle for king Pharaoh, for we are idle.' And Haiqâr was never done training them and exercising them till they had reached the utmost possible point (of skill). Then leaving them he went to the king and said to him, 'O my lord! the work is finished according to thy desire. Arise with me that I may show thee the wonder.' So the king sprang up and sat with Haiqâr and went to a wide place and sent to bring the eagles and the boys, and Haiqâr tied them and let them off into the air all the length of the ropes, and they began to shout as he had taught them. Then he drew them to himself and put them in their places. And the king and those who were with him wondered with a great wonder: and the king kissed Haiqâr between his eyes and said to him, 'Go in peace, O my beloved! O pride of my kingdom! to Egypt and answer the questions of Pharaoh and overcome him by the strength of the Most High God.'

8 Then he bade him farewell, and took his troops and his army and the young men and the eagles, and went towards the dwellings of Egypt; and when he had arrived, he turned towards the country of the king. And when the people of Egypt knew that Sennacherib had sent a man of his Privy Council to talk with Pharaoh and to answer his questions, they carried the news to king Pharaoh,

ARMENIAN

6 And Abestan my wife was very wise and did everything at once which I told her. Then the king commanded me to depart to Egypt.

7 And when I reached the gate of Egypt, I brought the children's cages, even as they were habituated. And I bound them upon the eagles; they flew up and soared aloft, and the children cried out and said: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle.

8 And I, Khikar, took a rod, and I went after all whom I met and struck them blows (and said): Hurry up, give what the artisans ask for. The king of Egypt came up and was very astonished, and was glad and bade us make (the birds) come down. And he said: Come, rest them from their labours. Eat, drink, and be merry, and on the morrow come to me.

SYRIAC

9 And the king answered and said unto me, 'What is thy name?' And I said to him, 'My name is Abikam: one of the contemptible ants of the kingdom.' And the king answered and said to me, 'Am I thus despised of thy lord, that he has sent me a despised ant of his kingdom? Go, Abikam, to thy lodging, and come to me early in the morning.'

10 Then the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in red,' and the king dressed himself in fine linen, and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like unto Bel, and thy nobles are like unto his priests.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy lodging, and come to me on the morrow.'

11 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in robes of white linen,' and the king himself put on white and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the sun, and thy nobles to his rays.' And again he said to me, 'Get thee to thy lodging, and come to me to-morrow.'

ARABIC

and he sent a party of his Privy Councillors to bring him before him[1]. And he came and entered into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance to him as it is fitting to do

9 to kings. And he said to him: 'O my lord the king! Sennacherib the king hails thee with abundance of peace and might, and honour; and he has sent me, who am one of his slaves, that I may answer thee thy questions, and may fulfil all thy desire: for thou hast sent to seek from my lord the king a man who will build thee a castle between the heaven and the earth.

10 And I by the help of the Most High God and thy noble favour and the power of my lord the king will build [it] for thee as thou desirest. But, O my lord the king! what thou hast said in it about the taxes of Egypt for three years—now the stability of a kingdom is strict justice, and if thou winnest and my hand hath no skill in replying to thee, then my lord the king will send thee the taxes which thou hast mentioned, and if I shall have answered thee in thy questions, it shall remain for thee to send whatever thou hast mentioned to my lord the king.'

11 And when Pharaoh heard that speech, he wondered and was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and the pleasantness of his speech.

[1] Lit. 'betwixt his hands'.

ARMENIAN

9 And when it was dawn the king called me and said: What is thy name? And I said: Abikam is my name. For I am a serf of Seneqerim the king.

And when the king heard, he was grieved exceedingly, and said: Have I seemed so contemptible in the eyes of Seneqerim the king of Asorestan, that he has sent a serf unto me to give me answer? And he said to me: Go unto thy house and to-morrow come to me.

10 And when on the morrow I went, the king gave command to his forces to dress themselves in scarlet *chlamid*; and the king himself was arrayed in purple raiment, and sat on his throne, and his forces around him. He commanded and called me to him and said: Abikam, unto whom am I like? Or my forces, whom are they like? I said, Thou art like to the *diq*[1] and thy satraps to their priests. He said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and to-morrow come unto me.

11 When I had gone to my house and came the next day to him, he had arrayed his forces in linen, and he himself was arrayed in scarlet, and he said to me: Unto whom am I like, or my forces, to whom are they like? And I said: Thou art like the sun and thy satraps are like its rays.

[1] i.e. 'to God'. The plural *diq* literally = 'demons', but is used like the Hebrew Elohim as a singular. The same use is found in the Arm. version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Bk. I. In the Arm. O. T. it is used as a plural.

SYRIAC

12 And again the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in black,' and the king put on crimson. And he commanded, and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam; and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the moon, and thy nobles to the stars.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy house: and come to me to-morrow.'
13 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow dress in diverse and varied colours, and let the doors of the palace[1] be covered with red hangings.' And the king himself was robed in fine needlework.[2] And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam? and my nobles, to what are they like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the month Nisan, and thy nobles to its flowers.' Then
14 the king said to me, 'The first time thou didst compare me to Bel, and my nobles to his priests. The second time thou hast compared me to the sun, and my nobles to its rays. The third time thou hast compared me to the moon, and my nobles to the stars. And the fourth time thou hast likened me to Nisan, and my nobles to the flowers thereof. And now tell me, Abiḳam, to what is *thy* lord like?'
15 And I answered and said to him, 'Be it far from me, my lord the king, that I should make mention of my lord Sennacherib, whilst thou art seated.
16 My lord Sennacherib is like[3]

[1] Lit. 'temple': but as in Daniel, it means palace; cf. Dan. iv. 4, 'I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace בהיכלי'; Dan. vi. 18, 'Then the king went to his palace היכלה.' Cf. also 1 Reg. xxi. 1; 2 Reg. xx. 18, &c.
[2] 'Dressed in tapestry.'
[3] An erasure has been made of two words, and these are now illegible.

ARABIC

12 And king Pharaoh said to him, 'O man! what is thy name?' And he said, 'Thy servant is Abiqâm, and I am a little ant of the ants of king Sennacherib.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Had thy lord no one of higher dignity than thee, that he has sent me a little ant to reply to me, and to converse with me?'

15 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! I would to God Most High that I may fulfil what is on thy mind, for God is with the weak that He may confound the strong.'

14 Then Pharaoh commanded that they should prepare a dwelling for Abiqâm and supply him with provender, meat, and drink, and all that he needed. And when it was finished, three days afterwards Pharaoh clothed himself in purple and red and sat on his throne, and all his viziers and the magnates of his kingdom were standing with their hands crossed, their feet close together, and their heads
15 bowed. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Abiqâm, and when he was presented to him, he did obeisance before him, and kissed the ground in front
16 of him[1]. And king Pharaoh

[1] Lit. 'between his hands'.

ARMENIAN

12 And again he said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and on the morrow come to me.

13 And when I went on the morrow, he commanded the satraps to array themselves in dyed raiment, and he arrayed himself in raiment of plumes, and sat on his throne and said to me: To whom am I like?
14 I said: Thou art like to the green grass[1] and thy satraps to the blossoms thereof.

Then the king was glad and said: Tell me the truth. Seneqerim the king, to whom is he
15 like? I said: God forbid that thou shouldst mention Seneqerim the king, since thou art sitting down. But stand up, and I will tell thee. When he
16 had risen up, I said: Seneqerim

[1] Venice MS. = 'to the plain'.

SYRIAC

[the God of Heaven] and his nobles to the lightnings that are in the clouds: for when he wills, he fashions the rain and the dew [and] the hail; and if he thunders, he restrains the sun from rising, and its rays from being seen; and he will restrain Bel from coming in and from going forth in the street, and his nobles from being seen; and he will hinder the moon from rising and the stars from appearing.'

Perhaps the original text was 'the God of Heaven', which was erased to make way for 'the idol Bel', but this correction was a stupid one, seeing that Pharaoh has himself been compared to the great god Bel; hence perhaps a final erasure. The Arabic has 'my lord is the God of Heaven', which is sufficiently audacious to invite correction. Mrs. Lewis by the use of a reagent has brought up the word Bel, and perhaps the whole expression 'our god Bel'.

ARABIC

said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! thou art like the idol Bel, and the nobles of thy kingdom are like his servants.' He said to him, 'Go, and come back hither to-morrow.' So Haiqâr went as king Pharaoh had commanded him.

ARMENIAN

the king is like unto Bêlshim, and his satraps to the lightnings. When he willeth, he weaveth the rain[1]; and he shooteth out the dew on high, he sendeth it forth in his empery. He thunders, and imprisons the rays of the sun. And when he willeth, he doth bring hail and grindeth to dust tree, green herb and dry; and he makes the dawn break and smiteth the shoots of green grass.

[1] Bodl. = 'the material of rain'.

ARABIC

17 And on the morrow Haiqâr went into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance, and stood before
18 the king. And Pharaoh was dressed in a red colour, and the nobles were dressed in white. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the sun, and thy servants are like [its] beams.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go to thy dwelling, and come hither to-morrow.'
19 Then Pharaoh commanded his Court to wear pure white[1], and Pharaoh was dressed like them and sat upon his throne, and he commanded them to fetch Haiqâr. And he entered and sat down before
20 him. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my nobles, to whom are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the moon, and thy nobles are like the planets and the stars.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here.'
21 Then Pharaoh commanded his servants to wear robes of various colours, and Pharaoh wore a red velvet dress, and sat on his throne, and commanded them to fetch Abiqâm. And he entered and
22 did obeisance before him. And he said, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my armies, to whom are they like?' And he said, 'O my lord! thou art like the month of April, and thy armies are like
23 its flowers.' And when the king heard it he rejoiced with a great joy, and said, 'O Abiqâm! the first time thou didst compare me to the idol Bel, and my nobles to his servants. And the second time thou didst compare me to the sun, and my nobles to the sunbeams. And the third time thou didst compare me to the moon, and my nobles to the planets and the stars. And the fourth time thou
24 didst compare me to the month of April, and my nobles to its flowers. But now, O Abiqâm! tell me, thy lord, king Sennacherib, whom is he like? and his nobles, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr shouted with a loud voice and said: 'Be it far from me to make mention of my lord the king and thou seated on thy throne. But get up on thy feet that I may tell thee whom my lord the king is like and to whom his nobles are like.'
25 And Pharaoh was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and his boldness in answering. Then Pharaoh arose from his throne, and stood before Haiqâr, and said to him, 'Tell me now, that
26 I may perceive whom thy lord the king is like, and his nobles, to whom they are like.' And Haiqâr said to him: 'My lord is the God of heaven, and his nobles are the lightnings and the thunder, and when he wills the winds blow and the rain falls. And he commands the thunder, and it lightens and rains, and he holds the sun, and it gives not its light, and the moon and the stars, and they circle not. And he commands the tempest, and it blows and the rain falls and it tramples on April and destroys its flowers and its houses.'

[1] Or a dress completely white.

SYRIAC

17 And when the king heard these things he was exceeding wroth, and said to me, 'By the life of thy lord, I adjure thee tell me what is thy name?'

18 And I answered and said to him, 'I am Aḥiḳar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh.'

19 And the king said to me, 'Did I not certainly hear that thy lord had killed thee?' And I said to him, 'I am yet alive, my lord the king: and God saved me from something which my hands did not.'

20 And the king said to me, 'Go, Aḥiḳar, to thy house, and come to me to-morrow, and tell me a word which I never heard nor any one of my nobles, and which was never heard in the city of my kingdom.'

ARABIC

27 And when Pharaoh heard this speech, he was greatly perplexed and was wroth with a great wrath, and said to him: 'O man! tell me the truth, and let me know who thou really art.'

28 And he told him the truth. 'I am Haiqâr the scribe, greatest of the Privy Councillors of king Sennacherib, and I am his vizier and the Governor of his kingdom, and his Chancellor.'

29 And he said to him, 'Thou hast told the truth in this saying. But we have heard of Haiqâr, that king Sennacherib has slain him, yet thou dost seem to be alive and well.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'Yes, so it was, but praise be to God, who knoweth what is hidden, for my lord the king commanded me to be killed, and he believed the word of profligate men, but the Lord delivered me, and blessed is he who trusteth in Him.'

30 And Pharaoh said to Haiqâr, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here, and tell me a word that I have never heard from my nobles nor from the people of my kingdom and my country.'

ARMENIAN

17 The king said: Tell me, what is thy name? I said: Khikar
18 is my name. He said: Wretch, hast thou come to life? And I said: Since I have seen thy face,
19 O king, I am alive. The king said: May this day be blessed, for I have seen Khikar with my own eyes alive, with my own eyes.

20 And I fell on my face and did homage to him and kissed him. The king said: Expound this saying.

21 There stands a pillar, and upon that pillar twelve cedars, and upon them thirty wheels, and upon each wheel two couriers[1], the one black and the other white. And I said: O king, this the cowherds of the Asores know. The pillar of which thou spakest is the year and the cedars are the twelve months. The thirty wheels are the days of the months. The two couriers, the one black and the other white, are dawn and nightfall[2].

22 The king said, What is this story, that from Egypt as far as Nineveh there are 500 leagues —how did our mares hear the neighing of your stallions and miscarry? I, Khikar, went out from him, and I took a cat and scolded and tortured it. Then they told the king, saying: Khikar flouts the *diq* and tortures the cats. The king called me and said: Khikar, wherefore dost thou flout our *diq* and
23 torture the cats? And I said: Yon cat has done harm enough to me. Aforetime the king gave to me a cock; sweet of voice was it, and at each hour it awoke me, to go to the king's palace. This very night (the cat) went off and bit off the head of the cock and came back
24 here. And the king said to me as follows: It appears that as thou growest old, in the same

[1] The Arm. word has this meaning.
[2] After the explanation of the pillar MS. Canon passes direct to the rope of sand incident, as does the Syriac.

SYRIAC

7 1 Then I sat down and meditated in my heart and wrote a letter as follows:

'From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting.

2 'Kings have need of kings and brethren of brethren: and at this time my gifts are become scant, because silver is scarce in my treasury: command, therefore, to send me from thy treasury 900 talents of silver, and in a little while I will return them to their place.'

3 This letter, then, I folded and held it in my hands: and the king commanded and I came into his presence, and I said to him, 'Perhaps in this letter there is a word that was never heard by thee.' And when I read it before the king and before his nobles, they cried out, as they were ordered by the king to do, and said, 'This has been heard by all of us, and it is so.'

4 Whereupon I said to them, 'Behold, [in that case] there is a debt of 900 talents from Egypt to Assyria.' And when the king heard this, he marvelled.

5 Then he said to me, 'I am planning to build a castle between earth and heaven. Its height from the earth shall be one thousand fathoms.'

ARABIC

7 1 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and wrote a letter, saying in it on this wise:

'From Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

2 'Peace be to thee, O my brother! and what we make known to thee by this is that a brother has need of his brother, and kings of each other, and [my] hope from thee is that thou wouldst lend me nine hundred talents of gold, for I need it for the victualling of some of the soldiers, that I may spend [it] upon them. And after a little while I will send it thee.' Then he folded the letter, and presented it on the morrow to Pharaoh.

3 And when he saw it, he was perplexed and said to him, 'Verily I have never heard anything like this language

4 from any one.' Then Haiqâr said to him, 'Truly this is a debt which thou owest to my lord the king.' And Pharaoh accepted this, saying, 'O Haiqâr, it is the like of thee who are honest in the service of kings. Blessed be God who hath made thee perfect in wisdom, and hath adorned thee with philo-

5 sophy and knowledge. And now, O Haiqâr, there remains what we desire from thee, that thou shouldst build us a castle between heaven and earth.'

ARMENIAN

measure your words and wisdom are changed round. From Egypt to Nineveh there are 500[1] leagues. How then in a single night could a cat bite off the head of the cock and come back hither? But I said: How could your mares hear the neighing and miscarry?

The king said: Leave this. 25 Come and weave me a rope of sand. When I had gone out from him, the king said to all those with him: Whatever Khikar says, ye shall say, 'We know and have heard this saying.'

And I took and wrote a letter 7 1 thus: From Seneqerim king, all hail to Pharaon king of Egypt.

Brethren have need of brethren 2 to behold them and kings of kings. In this season expenses and debts enough have there been and silver is wanting in our treasuries. So then give orders and have brought to me by dispatch a hundred talents of silver. And I fastened up 3 the letter and went in to the king and said: In this dispatch I have written of a matter, of which neither your city[2] nor your satraps have heard. And they all said: We have heard and we know this matter of yours. But I said: If ye have heard, say then before ye have opened the letter. And they could not say, but opened and read it. I said: Ye have heard what is written. The king said[3]: 4 If a rope of sand thou weavest not for me, thou shalt not carry

[1] MS. Canon has 360.
[2] 92 adds 'nor your king'.
[3] Canon = 'and Pharaon said: Weave me a rope of sand, in length nine ells. And I said: My lord king, order them to bring forth from your treasury a model that I may see and according to the model make it, that it be not too thick or too thin. And Pharaon said: In my treasury is none. But unless thou weave it, thou carriest not off the silver, which by thy wisdom thou hast sought and I promised.'

SYRIAC

6 Then I brought out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet, and set the boys on their backs; and they were saying, 'Provide mud, mortar; [foreman, mix] tiles and bricks for the builders, because they are idle.' And when the king saw it, he was confounded.

7 Then I, Aḥiḳar, took a switch and beat the king's nobles, till they all took to flight. Then the king was indignant with me, and said to me, 'Thou art gone clean mad, Aḥiḳar: who is able to carry up anything to these boys?'

8 And I said to him, 'Concerning the affairs of Sennacherib my lord, say ye nothing; for if he had been at hand, he would have built a couple of castles in one day.' And the king said to me, 'Have done with the castle, Aḥiḳar, and go to thy lodging; and in the morning come to me.'

ARABIC

Then said Haiqâr, 'To hear is to obey. I will build thee a castle according to thy wish and choice; but, O my lord! prepare us lime and stone and clay and workmen, and I have skilled builders who will build for thee as
6 thou desirest'. And the king prepared all that for him, and they went to a wide place; and Haiqâr and his boys came to it, and he took the eagles and the young men with him; and the king and all his nobles went and the whole city assembled, that they might see what Haiqâr would do.

Then Haiqâr let the eagles out of the boxes, and tied the young men on their backs[1], and tied the ropes to the eagles' feet, and let them go in the air. And they soared upwards, till they remained between heaven and earth. And the boys began to shout, saying, 'Bring bricks, bring clay, that we may build the king's castle, for we are standing idle!'

7 And the crowd were astonished and perplexed, and they wondered. And the king and his nobles wondered. And Haiqâr and his servants began to beat the workmen, and they shouted for the king's troops, saying to them, 'Bring to the skilled workmen what they want and do not hinder them from their work.' And the king said to him, 'Thou art mad; who can bring anything up to
8 that distance?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! how shall we build a castle in the air? and if my lord the king were here, he would have built several castles in a single day.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, O Haiqâr, to thy dwelling, and rest, for we have given up[2] building

[1] Lit. 'on the eagles' backs'.
[2] Lit. 'we have passed away from'.

ARMENIAN

away the tribute from Egypt. And I went into a deeply dug chamber, and perforated the wall of the chamber on the side whence the dawn shone; and when the dawn gleamed forth, it flashed into the chamber seven ells; and I took up dust of sand and cast it into the hole bored and blew into it. It appeared like woven twists, and I said: Give orders, O king, that they collect yon ropes and I will weave yet others.

When the king saw this he 5
laughed and said: Blessed art thou before the *diq*. And he gave me very great presents, and allowed the tribute from Egypt and well and gladly dismissed me, and I departed.

SYRIAC

9 And when it was morning, I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'Explain to me, Aḥiḳar, the following matter. The horse of thy lord neighs in Assyria, and our mares hear his voice here, and their foals miscarry.'

10 Then I went forth from the king's presence, and commanded my servants to catch me a cat, and I whipped it in the streets of the city; and when the Egyptians saw it, they went and told the king that 'Aḥiḳar has acted contemptuously of our people and makes mock of us. For he has caught a cat and whips it in the streets of our city.'

11 And the king sent for me and called me; and I came into his presence.

12 And he said to me, 'In what way art thou insulting us?' and I answered and said to him, 'This cat has seriously damaged me in no slight matter; for a cock had been entrusted to me by my lord, whose voice was extremely beautiful, and by the time that he crowed I understood that my lord wished for me, and I went to the gate of my lord. And in this past night this cat went to Assyria and tore off the head of this cock of mine and
13 returned.' And the king answered and said to me, 'As far as I can see, Aḥiḳar, since thou art grown old thou art become stark mad. For it is 360 parasangs from here to Assyria; and how canst thou say that in a single night this cat went and cut off the head of the cock and came back?'

14 Then I said to him, 'And if it is 360 parasangs from Egypt to Assyria, how do thy mares in this place hear the voice of the horse of my lord, and their foals miscarry?'

ARABIC

the castle, and to-morrow come to me'.

9 Then Haiqâr went to his dwelling and on the morrow he appeared before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, what news is there of the horse of thy lord? for when he neighs in the country of Assyria and Nineveh, and our mares hear his voice, they
10 cast their young.' And when Haiqâr heard this speech he went and took a cat, and bound her and began to flog her with a violent flogging till the Egyptians heard it, and they went and told the king about it.

11 And Pharaoh sent to fetch Haiqâr, and said to him, 'O Haiqâr, wherefore dost thou flog thus and beat
12 that dumb beast?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! verily she has done an ugly deed to me, and has deserved this drubbing and flogging, for my lord king Sennacherib had given me a fine cock, and he had a strong true voice and knew the hours of the day and the night. And the cat got up this very night and cut off its head and went away, and because of this deed I have treated her to
13 this drubbing.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Haiqâr, I see from all this that thou art growing old and art in thy dotage, for between Egypt and Nineveh there are sixty-eight parasangs, and how did she go this very night and cut off the head of thy cock and come back?'

14 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! if there were such a distance between Egypt and Nineveh, how could thy mares hear when my lord the king's horse neighs and cast their young?

SYRIAC

15 And when the king heard this, he was sore vexed, and he said to me, 'Aḥiḳâr, expound to me this riddle: A pillar has on its head twelve cedars; in every cedar there are thirty wheels, and in every wheel two cables, one
16 white and one black.' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, the ox-herds in our country understand this riddle that thou tellest. The pillar of which thou hast spoken to me is the year; the twelve cedars are the twelve months of the year; the thirty wheels are the thirty days of the month; the two cables, one white and one black, are the day and the night.'

17 Again he said to me, 'Twine me five cables from the sand of the river.' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, bid them bring me from thy treasury one rope of sand, and I will make one to match it.' Then he said to me, 'Unless thou do this, I will not give thee the Egyptian
18 tribute.' Thereupon I sat down and calculated in my heart how I should do it. And I went out from the king's palace[1] and bored five holes in the eastern
19 wall of the palace. And when the sun entered the holes I scattered sand in them, and the sun's path[2] began to appear as if [the sand] were twined in the holes. Then I said to the king; 'My lord, bid them take up these, and I will weave you others in their stead.' And when the king and his nobles saw it, they were amazed.

20 And again the king commanded to bring me an upper millstone that was broken: and he said to me, 'Aḥiḳar, sew up for us this broken millstone.' Then I went and brought a nether[3] millstone, and cast it down before the king and said

[1] Lit. 'temple', *ut supra*.
[2] Lit. 'furrow'.
[3] Lit. 'the mortar of a millstone'.

ARABIC

and how could the voice of the horse reach to Egypt?'

15 And when Pharaoh heard that, he knew that Haiqâr had answered his questions.

And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, I want thee to make me ropes of the sea-sand.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! order them to bring me a rope out of the treasury that I may make
16 one like it.' Then Haiqâr went to the back of the house, and bored holes in the rough shore of the sea, and took a handful of sand in his hand, sea-sand, and when the sun rose, and penetrated into the holes, he spread the sand in the sun till it became as if woven like ropes. And Haiqâr said, 'Command thy servants to take these ropes, and whenever thou desirest it, I will weave thee (some) like them.'

17 And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, we have a millstone here and it has been broken and I want thee to sew it up.' Then Haiqâr looked at it, and found another stone.
18 And he said to Pharaoh, 'O my lord! I am a foreigner, and I have no tool for sewing. But I want thee to command thy faithful shoe-

SYRIAC

to him, 'My lord the king, since I am a stranger here, and have not the tools of my craft with me, bid the cobblers cut me strips (?) from this lower millstone which is the fellow of the upper millstone; and forthwith
21 I will sew it together.' And when the king heard it, he laughed and said, 'The day in which Aḥiḳar was born shall be blessed before the God of Egypt; and since I have seen thee alive, I will make it a great and appropriate day.'

22 Then he gave me the revenue of Egypt for three years, and straightway I returned and came to my lord the king Sennacherib: and he came forth to meet me and received me.

ARABIC

makers to cut awls from this stone, that I may sew that millstone.'

19 Then Pharaoh and all his nobles laughed. And he said, 'Blessed be the Most High God, who gave thee this wit and knowledge.'
20 And when Pharaoh saw that Haiqâr had overcome him, and returned him his answers, he at once became excited, and commanded them to collect for him three years' taxes, and to bring them to
21 Haiqâr. And he stripped off his robes and put them upon Haiqâr, and his soldiers, and his servants, and gave him the expenses of his journey. And he said to him, 'Go in peace, O strength of his lord and pride of his Doctors! have any of the Sultans thy like? give my greetings to[1] thy lord king Sennacherib, and say to him how we have sent him gifts, for kings are content with little.'
22 Then Haiqâr arose, and kissed king Pharaoh's hands and kissed the ground in front of him, and wished him strength and continuance, and abundance in his treasury, and said to him, 'O my lord! I desire from thee that not one of our countrymen
23 may remain in Egypt.' And Pharaoh arose and sent heralds to proclaim in the streets of Egypt that not one of the people of Assyria or Nineveh should remain in the land of Egypt, but that they should go with Haiqâr. Then Haiqâr went and took leave of king Pharaoh, and journeyed, seeking the land of Assyria and Nineveh; and he had some treasures and a great deal of wealth.

[1] Lit. 'my peace upon'.

SYRIAC

23 And he made it a great day and set me at the head of his household: and he said to me, 'Ask what thou wilt, Aḥiḳar'; and I worshipped the king and said, 'Whatever thou willest to give me, bestow it upon Nabusemakh . . .[1]; because he gave me my life; and for myself, my lord, bid them give me my son Nadan, that I may teach him a further lesson. For he has forgotten my former teaching.'

Ut supra.

ARABIC

24 And when the news reached king Sennacherib that Haiqâr was coming, he went out to meet him and rejoiced over him exceedingly with great joy and embraced him and kissed him, and said to him, 'Welcome home, O kinsman! my brother Haiqâr, the strength of my kingdom, and pride of my realm. Ask what thou wouldst have from me, even if thou desirest the half of my kingdom and of my possessions.' Then said Haiqâr unto him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! Show favour, O my lord the king! to Abu Samîk in my stead, for my life was in the hands of God and in his.'

25 Then said Sennacherib the king, 'Honour be to thee, O my beloved Haiqâr! I will make the station of Abu Samîk the swordsman higher than all my Privy Councillors and my favourites.' Then the king began to ask him how he had got on with Pharaoh from his first arrival until he had come away from his presence, and how he had answered all his questions, and how he had received the taxes from him, and the changes of raiment and the
26 presents. And Sennacherib the king rejoiced with a great joy, and said to Haiqâr, 'Take what thou wouldst fain have of this tribute, for it is all within the grasp of thy hand.' And Haiqâr said: 'Let the king live for ever! I desire naught but the safety of my lord the king and the continuance of his greatness. O my lord! what can I do with wealth and its like[1]? but if thou wilt show me favour, give me Nadan, my sister's son, that I may recompense him for what he has done to me, and grant me his blood and hold me guiltless of it.'

[1] غيره here = *dergleichen.*

ARMENIAN

When the king Seneqerim 6
heard of my coming, he went out to meet me with joy. When we had saluted each other, he took and led me into his palace and made me recline at the head of the couch; and made merry for several days, and bestowed on me very great presents, and said to me: O my father Khikar, ask of me other very great presents and I will give them to thee. And 7
I bowed to the earth to him and said: O king, live for ever. Whatsoever thou wouldst bestow on me, bestow on Abusmaq my comrade, who gave life to thy servant.

But to me thou shalt give Nathan my sister's son whom I taught[1]. For he hath not well learned my former lore.

[1] Canon = 'sister's son, that I may teach him another teaching'.

SYRIAC

24 And the king commanded and gave me my son Nadan; and the king said to me, 'Go thy way, Aḥiḳar, and work thy will on thy son Nadan; for no man shall rescue his body from thy
25 hands.' Thereupon I took Nadan my son, and brought him to my house; and I bound him with iron chains whose weight was twenty talents, and I fastened the chains in rings, and I fastened collars on his neck; and I struck him one thousand blows on the shoulders and a thousand and one on his loins [1]; and I put him in the porch of the door of my palace, and gave him bread by weight and water by measure.
26 And I delivered him to my boy Nabuel to guard, and told my boy, 'Write down in a tablet whatever I say to my son Nadan, when I go in or come out.' And I answered and said to my son Nadan as follows:

ARABIC

27 And Sennacherib the king said, 'Take him, I have given him to thee.' And Haiqâr took Nadan, his sister's son, and bound his hands with chains of iron, and took him to his dwelling, and put a heavy fetter on his feet, and tied it with a tight knot, and after binding him thus he cast him into a dark room, beside the retiring-place, and appointed Nebu-hal as sentinel over him and commanded him to give him a loaf of bread and a little water every day; and whenever Haiqâr went in or out he scolded Nadan, his sister's son, saying to him wisely:

ARMENIAN

And the king gave Nathan 8
my sister's son into my hands, and I [a] bound him with a single chain of iron, which was of the weight of seven talents, at the door of my portico; and I entrusted him to Bêliar my servant. And I ordered him to scourge him on his back and belly. And I said to him in my coming in and going forth: Whatsoever I speak in proverbs with him, do thou write on paper and keep it with thee; and I gave to him a 9
little bread and a little water. I began to speak and said as follows:

The Parables of Ahikar, VIII. 1–41

8 1 'My son, he who does not hear with his ears, they make him hear with the nape of his neck.'

2 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Wherefore art thou so angry against thy son?'

I answered and said to him, 'My son, I set thee on the throne of honour; and thou hast cast me down from my throne. And

[1] Cf. the punishment of the disobedient servant in the Gospel, δαρήσεται πολλάς.

1 'O Nadan, my boy! I have done to thee all that is good and kind, and thou hast rewarded me for it with what is ugly and bad and with killing.

'O my son! it is said in the proverbs: He who listeneth not with his ear, they will make him listen with the scruff of his neck.'

2 And Nadan said, 'For what cause art thou wroth with me?'

And Haiqâr said to him, 'Because I brought thee up, and taught thee, and gave thee honour and respect and made thee great, and reared thee with the best of breeding, and seated thee in my place that thou mightest be my heir in the world, and

Son, him that with his ears 8
heareth not they make to hear through his back.

Nathan began to speak and 2
said: Wherefore art thou angry with me, my father? I have [1] sinned against thee, my father Khikar. If thou wilt have mercy on me, thy servant, I will even become to thee dust and ashes and a servant all the days of my life.

And I said to him:

Son, on the throne of glory I seated thee, and from my throne thou didst hurl me to ruin.

Son, I in byssus and purples 3
clad thee, and thou with earth wouldst have destroyed my body.

Son, I raised thee on high 4

[1] Canon, with Syriac, omits the words 'I have . . . of my life'.

[a] For the text of MS. Canon, see below:

Then I took Nathan, and led him to my house; and bound (him to) my pillar of iron, of which the weight was seven hundred utres; and I placed a rope round his neck. And I smote a thousand blows (lit. trees) on his chest and a thousand on his back. And he was kept in the door of my portico. And I gave him bread by weight and water by measure; and entrusted him to Beliar my servant, and I said to him: In my goings out and my comings in, whatever I say to Nathan write it in thy book.

SYRIAC

as for me, my righteousness[1] has saved me.

3 Thou hast been to me, my son, like a scorpion, which strikes at a rock. And the rock said to it, "Thou hast struck at an unconcerned heart." And it struck at a needle, and they say to it, "Thou hast struck at a sting worse than thy own."

4 My son, thou hast been to me like a gazelle that was standing over a sumach-tree and eating it. And the sumach-tree said to it, "Why eatest thou me, seeing that they tan thy skin with me?" And the gazelle said, "I eat thee in my life, and when I am dead they will pluck thee up by thy roots."[2]

5 My son, thou hast been to me like the man that threw a stone at the heaven, and it did not reach the heaven; but he incurred sin against God.

6 My son, thou hast been like the man who saw his companion shivering from cold, and took a pitcher of water and threw it over him.

[1] In the primitive sense of 'alms-giving'?

[2] Apparently the point of the story is missed, which is that the sumach-tree has its revenge on the gazelle: 'thy skin shall be dyed with my roots presently.'

ARABIC

thou didst treat me with killing and didst repay me with my ruin. But the Lord knew that I was wronged, and He saved me from the snare which thou hadst set for me, for the Lord healeth the broken hearts and hindereth the envious and the haughty.

3 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the scorpion which, when it strikes on brass, pierces it.

4 O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the madder, and it said to her, "Eat of me today and take thy fill, and tomorrow they will tan thy hide in my roots."

5 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it upon him.

6 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who took a stone, and threw it up to heaven to stone his Lord with it. And the stone did not hit, and did not reach high enough, but it became the cause of guilt and sin.

ARMENIAN

like a tower, so that if the enemy should come to me, I might go forth and fortify myself in thee; and thou thyself hast been found to be the enemy in my house.

Son, I gave thee to glory 5
and honour; and thou didst betray me into the hands of enmity and death.

Son, I nurtured[1] thee like 6
the cub of the fox; and thine eye was on thine hole and my finger smooth was on thy mouth and thy fingers were sharpened upon my eyes.

Son, my righteousness and 7
innocency saved and rescued me; and thy injustice prospered thee not.

Son, thou wast to me as a 8
scorpion which struck the needle. The needle said[2]: Behold a sting which is worse than thine own. Again he struck the sole of the foot of the camel, and he set his foot hard upon that scorpion and crushed it and said: Captive, knewest thou not that thy breath and soul were under my feet?

Son, thou hast been to me 9
like a goat which was eating madder. Says the madder: Why eatest thou me? Knowest thou not that with my root they dye thy skin[3]? Said the goat: I in my lifetime eat thee, after my death they pluck up thy root and prepare (*lit.* build) my skin.

Son, thou hast been to me 10
like him that shot his arrow up to the heavens; and he was not able to reach thereunto, but reaped the reward of his lawlessness, and the arrow returned upon his head.

[1] I render *snoutzi* of MS. Canon instead of *ousoutzi* = 'taught' of the other MSS. MS. Canon has the rest of the saying thus: 'like the young of the eagle, and thy fingers were sharpened against my eyes. For thine eye was evil to look upon me.'

[2] I supply the words 'The needle said' from MS. Canon. The other copies omit it through *homoioteleuton*.

[3] So MS. Canon; the other MSS. less well: 'with me they work thy skin.'

SYRIAC

7 My son, not when thou hadst killed me, wouldst thou have been able to stand in my place; for be well aware, my son, that even if the tail of the swine should grow to seven ells, he would never take the place of the horse: and even if his hair should become soft and woolly, he would never ride on the back of a free man.[1]

8 My son, I said that thou shouldst be in my place; and thou shouldst acquire my house and my wealth, and inherit them. But God was not pleased therewith and has not heard thy voice.

9 My son, thou hast been to me as the lion that came upon an ass in the morning of the day and said to him, "Welcome, my lord Kyrios." But the ass said to him, "May the same welcome that thou givest me be the portion of him that tied me up last night, and did not make my halter fast, so that I had not seen thy face."

10 My son, a snare was set[2] upon a dunghill, and there came a sparrow and looked at it and said, "What doest thou here?" And the snare said, "I am praying to God." The sparrow said, "And what is that in thy mouth?" The snare said, "Bread for guests." Then the sparrow drew near and took it, and the snare caught him by the neck. And the sparrow said, as he was being shaken, "If this is thy bread for guests, may the God to whom thou prayest never listen to thy voice."

11 My son, thou hast been to me as an ox that was bound with a lion; and the lion turned and crushed him.

[1] We should expect 'the free man would never ride on his back'.

[2] A Syriac play of words between ܡܠܟ = *disposuit laqueos* and ܡܠܟ which follows.

ARABIC

7 O my boy! if thou hadst honoured me and respected me and hadst listened to my words thou wouldst have been my heir, and wouldst have reigned over my dominions.

8 O my son! know thou that if the tail of the dog or the pig were ten cubits long it would not approach to the worth of the horse's even if it were like silk.

9 O my boy! I thought that thou wouldst have been my heir at my death; and thou through thy envy and thy insolence didst desire to kill me. But the Lord delivered me from thy cunning.

10 O my son! thou hast been to me like a trap which was set up on the dunghill, and there came a sparrow and found the trap set up. And the sparrow said to the trap, "What doest thou here?" Said the trap, "I am praying here to God."

And the lark[1] asked it also, "What is the piece of wood that thou holdest?" Said the trap, "That is a young oak-tree on which I lean at the time of prayer." Said the lark: "And what is that thing in thy mouth?" Said the trap: "That is bread and victuals which I carry for all the hungry and the poor who come near to me." Said the lark: "Now then may I come forward and eat, for I am hungry?" And the trap said to him, 'Come forward.' And the lark approached that it might eat. But the trap sprang up and seized the lark by its neck. And the lark answered and said to the trap, "If that is thy bread for the hungry

[1] For this rendering of قفشى see Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* col. 3555, *sub* ܩܦܫܐ.

Syriac

12 My son, thou hast been to me like the weevil that is in the corn, which destroys kings' granaries, and is itself of no account.

13 My son, thou hast been to me like the pot, to which they made golden handles[1], but its bottom was not cleansed from blackness.

14 My son, thou hast been to me like a husbandman that sowed a field with twenty measures of barley; and when he reaped it, it made him twenty measures. And he said to it: "What I scattered, I have gathered, but thou art shamed with thine evil name, in that thou hast made a bushel into a bushel[2]: and I, [how] am I to live?"

15 My son, thou hast been to me like the . . . bird that could not save himself from death, and by his voice slaughtered his companions.[3]

16 My son, thou hast been to me like the buck that led his companions into the slaughter-house; and yet he did not save his own life.

17 My son, thou hast been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them.

[1] Lit. 'ears'.
[2] Cf. Matt. xxv. 24–7.
[3] Reading ܡܚܕܕ.

Arabic

God accepteth not thine alms and thy kind deeds. And if that is thy fasting and thy prayers, God accepteth from thee neither thy fast nor thy prayer, and God will not perfect what is good concerning thee."

11 O my boy! thou hast been to me (as) a lion who made friends with an ass, and the ass kept walking before the lion for a time; and one day the lion sprang upon the ass and ate it up.

12[a] O my boy! thou hast been to me like a weevil in the wheat, for it does no good to anything, but spoils the wheat and gnaws it.

12[b] O my boy! thou hast been like a man who sowed ten measures of wheat, and when it was harvest time, he arose and reaped it, and garnered it, and threshed it, and toiled over it to the very utmost, and it turned out to be ten measures, and its master said to it: "O thou lazy thing! thou hast not grown and thou hast not shrunk."[1]

13 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the partridge that had been thrown into the net, and she could not save herself, but she called out to the partridges, that she might cast them with her(self) into the net.

14 O my son! thou hast been to me like the dog that was cold and it went into the potter's house to get warm. And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them.

[1] This meaning of ضرر will be found in Lane, p. 1776, col. 3.

Armenian

11 Son, thou hast been to me like the sower, who sowed ten bushels, and gathered five bushels, and the rest failed.

Syriac

18 My son, thou hast been to me like the swine that had been to the baths, and when it saw a muddy ditch, went down and washed in it, and cried to its companions, "Come and wash."

19 My son, my finger is upon thy mouth, and thy finger is upon my eyes. Why have I brought thee up, thou jackal, that thy eyes look thus upon apples?

20 My son, the dog that eats of his hunting will become the portion of wolves: and the hand that is not industrious shall be cut off from its shoulder: and the eye in which there is no vision the raven shall pluck it out.

21 What good hast thou done me, my son, that I remembered thee and that my soul had comfort in thee?[1]

22 My son, if the gods steal, by whom shall they make them to swear? And a lion that steals a piece of land, how will he sit down and eat it?

23 My son, I caused thee to behold the face of the king, and brought thee to great honour: and thou hast chosen to do me evil.

24 My son, thou hast been to me like the tree that said to its woodcutters, "If there had not been somewhat from me in your hands, ye had not fallen upon me."

[1] We should have expected, 'that I might remember thee and that my soul might have comfort in thee'.

Arabic

15 O my son! thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole[1] and it went down and wallowed in it.

16 O my son! thou hast been to me like the goat which joined its comrades (on their way) to the sacrifice, and it was unable to save itself.

17 O my boy! the dog which is not fed from its hunting becomes food for flies.

18 O my son! the hand which does not labour and plough and (which) is greedy and cunning shall be cut away from its shoulder.

19 O my son! the eye in which light is not seen, the ravens shall pick at it and pluck it out.

20 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a tree whose branches they were cutting, and it said to them, "If (something) of me were not in your hands, verily you would be unable to cut me."

[1] *Gûre* means a hollow place, *siân* is presumably from the Hebrew סוּן to be soft or sticky and the Syriac ܣܝܢ *limus, coenum*. I can find no justification for *siâq*, the reading of the MSS. used by Salhani and Lidzbarski.

Armenian

Son, thou hast been to 12
me like the axe that was chopping a tree. Said the tree: Wert[1] thou not from me, thou couldst not overcome me. Thus[2] didst thou imagine saying: I will fill his place. But if the 12
pig's tail were about five ells long, it would not fill the place of the horse. And if its fleece 12
were as purple, it could not be likened to the body of a king[3].

[1] MS. Canon, better: 'Were not what is in thy hand from me, thou wert not able to overcome me.'

[2] MS. Canon, better: 'My son, thou didst imagine thus, saying: I fill the place of Khikar, but were the pig's tail nine ells long,' &c.

[3] MS. Canon like the Syriac adds here this saying: 'Son, I thus thought, that thou wouldst stay in my house and inherit my goods. But according to thy lawlessness, God hath not prospered thee.'

SYRIAC

25 My son, thou hast been to me like the young swallows which fell out of their nest; and a cat caught them and said to them, "If it had not been for me, great evil would have befallen you." They answered and said to her, "Is that why thou hast put us in thy mouth?"

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

The maggot of the bread ate the body of a king, but was itself of no use to any one nor profitable, but vile. 12[d]

Son, thou hast been to me like the young of the swallow which fell out of its nest, and a weasel found it and said: If it had not been for me[1], then a great evil would have befallen you. The nestling said to the weasel: Thy good which thou hast done to me shall return upon thine head. 13

[1] Lit. 'if it had been apart from me'.

ARMENIAN

Son, a dog which itself eats the quarry, will become the prey of wolves. An eye that gives me no light, the ravens dig it out. Hand which helps me not, from the shoulder let them lop it off. 14

Son, thou hast been to me like the lure which lay buried in the dung. A sparrow found it and said: What doest thou?[2] And it said: I am engaged in prayer unto God. Said the sparrow: And that which is in thy mouth, what is it? It said: A little loaf for the hungry. The sparrow darted in to take the bread and was caught by the neck and said: If this was a little loaf for the hungry, God even so heareth thy prayer. 15

Son, they said to the wolf: Keep away from the fold. It answered: If I live away, I am blinded; for the dust is a remedy for my eyes and benefits them. 16

Son, thou hast been to me as the wolf that encountered an ass, and said: Peace be unto thee. The young ass said: Peace to yonder master of mine, who hath loosed the cord of my feet, and let me behold thy face evil and bloodthirsty.[3] 17

Son, thou hast been to me like one who saw his fellow a-shivering. Taking water he threw it over him. 18

Son, thou hast been to me like the dog which went into the oven of the potter. When he was warm, he began to bark at the potter. 19

[2] So Paris 69: the rest = 'What art thou?'

[3] Canon omits 'evil and bloodthirsty'.

SYRIAC

26 My son, thou hast been to me like the cat, to which they say, "Leave off thy thievish ways, and thou shalt go out from and come in to the king's palace, according to thy heart's wish." And she answered and said, "If I should have eyes of silver and ears of gold, I will not leave off my thieving."

27 My son, thou hast been to me like a serpent that was mounted on a thorn-bush and thrown into a river; and a wolf saw them and said to them: "Bad rides on bad, and worse than either carries them off." The serpent said to him, "If thou hadst been here, thou shouldst have paid the reckoning for the she-goats and their young ones."

28 My son, I have seen a she-

ARABIC

21 O my boy! thou art like the cat to whom they said: "Leave off thieving till we make for thee a chain of gold and feed thee with sugar and almonds." And she said, "I am not forgetful of the craft of my father and my mother."

22 O my son! thou hast been like the serpent riding on a thorn-bush when he was in the midst of a river, and a wolf saw them and said, "Mischief upon mischief, and let him who is more mischievous than they direct both of them." And the serpent said to the wolf, "The lambs and the goats and the sheep which thou hast eaten all thy

ARMENIAN

Son, they said to the cat, Give up thy habitual affair[4], and the privilege[4] is extended to thee to enter the palace and quit it. The cat said: If my eyes were gold and my paw of silver, I would yet not give up the habitual thing[5]. 20

Son, thou hast been to me as a snake that wound itself round a bramble and fell into a river. A wolf saw it and said: Lo, the evil is mounted on the evil, and evil is that which drives them along. 21

[4] Lit. 'word'.

[5] Canon here has 'habit', *bars* for *ban* = 'word', and this should probably be read all through.

SYRIAC

goat brought into the slaughter-house, and because its time was not yet come, it returned to its place and saw its children and its children's children.

My son, I have seen colts that have become slayers of their mothers.

29 My son, I fed thee with every pleasant meat: and thou, my son, hast fed me with bread of ashes[1], and I was not satisfied therewith.

30 My son, I salved thee with sweet salves, and thou, my son, hast fouled my body with dust.

31 My son, I trained up thy stature like a cedar, but thou hast humbled me in my life, and hast made me drunken with thy wickedness.

32 My son, I raised thee like a tower and said, "If the enemy should come upon me, I will go up and dwell in thee": and thou, when thou sawest my enemy, didst bow before him.

33 My son, thou hast been to me like the mole that came up out of the earth that he might get possession[2] of the sun, because he had no eyes; and an eagle saw him and struck him and carried him off.'

[1] Lit. 'dust'.

[2] Lit. 'receive'. But perhaps the original was 'that he might see the sun, though he had no eyes'.

ARABIC

life, wilt thou return them to their fathers and to their parents or no?" Said the wolf, "No." And the serpent said to him, "I think that after myself thou art the worst of us."

23 O my boy! I fed thee with good food and thou didst not feed me with dry bread.[1]

24 O my boy! I gave thee sugared water to drink and good syrup, and thou didst not give me water from the well to drink.

25 O my boy! I taught thee, and brought thee up, and thou didst dig a hiding-place for me and didst conceal me.

26 O my boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar; and thou hast twisted and bent me.

27 O my boy! it was my hope concerning thee that thou wouldst build me a fortified castle, that I might be concealed from my enemies in it, and thou didst become to me like one burying in the depth of the earth; but the Lord took pity on me and delivered me from thy cunning.

28 O my boy! I wished thee well, and thou didst reward me (with) evil and hatefulness, and now I would fain tear out thine eyes, and make thee food for dogs, and cut out thy tongue, and take off thy head with the edge of the sword, and recompense thee for thine abominable deeds.'

[1] For this meaning of خبز حاف cf. Lane, Book I, part 2, p. 598, and Badger, p. 272.

ARMENIAN

Son, thou hast been to me as 2
a mole which came out of its hole and one with another went forth because of their eyes not seeing. And an eagle swooped and seized him; and the mole said: If there had been no senses in my case, I should have remained in my place and lived a peaceful life.

Son, they gave teaching to 2
the wolf's cub, and said: Say thou, *ayb*, *ben*, *gim*[1]; and he said *ayts*, *bouts*, *garhn* (i.e. goat, kid, lamb).

Son, they took the swine to 2
the bath, and he plunged into it, then rolled himself in the bog, saying: You wash in your own, and I will in mine.

[1] i.e. the first three letters of the Armenian alphabet.

Syriac

34 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'My father Aḥiḳar, such things be far from thee: do to me according to thy mercy: for God also forgives the fault of men: and thou also, forgive me this my folly: and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house, and I shall be called evil: but thou, devise not evil against me.'

35 I answered and said to him, 'My son, thou hast been to me like that palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river, and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, "Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs." And its lord said unto it, "Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?"

36 My son, they say to the wolf, "Why dost thou follow after the sheep?" He said to them, "Their dust is exceeding good for my eyes." Again they brought him into the school-house[1]: the master said to him, "Aleph, Beth"; the wolf said, "Kid, Lamb."

37 My son, I taught thee that there is a God: and thou risest up against good servants, and beatest those that have not sinned; and like as God has kept me alive on account of my righteousness[2] so hath He destroyed thee for thy works.

38 My son, they set the head of the ass over a dish at the table, and he rolled off and fell in the dust. And they say, "He spites

[1] Lit. 'house of the scribe'.
[2] Query, 'almsgiving'? *ut supra.*

Arabic

29 And when Nadan heard this speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he said: 'O my uncle! deal with me according to thy knowledge, and forgive me my sins, for who is there who hath sinned like me, or who is there who forgives like thee? Accept me, O my uncle! Now I will serve in thy house, and groom thy horses and sweep up the dung of thy cattle, and feed thy sheep, for I am the wicked and thou art the righteous: I the guilty and thou the forgiving.'

30 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my boy! thou art like the tree which was fruitless beside the water, and its master was fain to cut it down, and it said to him, "Remove me to another place, and if I do not bear fruit, cut me down." And its master said to it, "Thou being beside the water hast not borne fruit, how shalt thou bear fruit when thou art in another place?"

31 O my boy! the old age of the eagle is better than the youth of the crow.

32 O my boy! they said to the wolf, "Keep away from the sheep lest their dust should harm thee." And the wolf said, "The dregs of the sheep's milk[1] are good for my eyes."

33 O my boy! they made the wolf go to school that he might learn to read, and they said to him, "Say A, B." He said, "Lamb and goat[2] in my belly."

34 O my boy! they set the ass down at the table and he fell, and began to roll himself in the dust, and one said, "Let him roll himself, for it

[1] This is evidently a pun, *ghabar* meaning dust, and *ghubr* the last milk in the udder.
[2] The animals mentioned by the wolf had names which doubtless began with A, B. In the Arabic and English this is lost.

Armenian

Nathan began to speak and said: My father Khikar, men sin unto God, and He forgives them, when they say: I have sinned. Father, I have sinned unto thee. Forgive me, and I will be to thee a slave henceforth for ever.[1] 24b

And I spake to Nathan thus: Son, thou hast been to me like a palm-tree which was growing with roots on the bank of the river. When the fruit ripened, it fell into the river. The lord of the tree came to cut it down, and the tree said: Leave me in this place[2], that in the next year I may bear fruit. The lord of the tree said: Up to this day hast thou been to me useless, in the future thou wilt not become useful. 25

Son, God hath rescued me because of my innocence, but hath destroyed thee because of thy lawlessness. God passes judgement between me and thee. 26a
For the tail of the dog gives bread and his mouth a cudgel.[3] 26b

[1] Canon adds: 'like one of the sinners'.
[2] Canon = 'Leave me for this year'.
[3] Canon adds this precept about the dog after no. 16. It comes as the fourth in the first series of the Syriac.

SYRIAC

himself; he does not receive honour."

39 My son, thou hast verified the proverb, which is current: "Call him whom thou hast begotten, thy son, and him whom thou hast purchased, thy slave."

40 My son, the proverb is true that is current: "Take thy sister's son under thy arm and dash him against a stone."

But God is He that hath kept me alive, and He will judge between us.'

41 Thereat Nadan swelled up like a bag and died. And to him that doeth good, what is good shall be recompensed: and to him that doeth evil, what is evil shall be rewarded.[1] And he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, filleth it with his own stature. And to God be glory, and His mercy be upon us. Amen.

The proverbs of Aḥiḳar the sage and secretary of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh are ended.

J. R. HARRIS.

[1] Lit. 'He shall be rewarded evil'.

ARABIC

is his nature, he will not change."

35 O my boy! the saying has been confirmed which runs: "If thou begettest a boy, call him thy son, and if thou rearest a boy, call him thy slave."

36 O my boy! he who doeth good shall meet with good; and he who doeth evil shall meet with evil, for the Lord requiteth a man according to the measure of his work.

37 O my boy! what shall I say more to thee than these sayings? for the Lord knoweth what is hidden, and is acquainted with the mysteries and the secrets. And He will requite thee and will judge betwixt me and thee, and will recompense thee according to thy desert.'

38 And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he swelled up immediately and became like a blown-out bladder. And his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side, and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered, and he perished, and died. And his latter end was destruction, and he went to hell. For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets up traps shall be caught in them. This is what happened and (what) we found about the tale of Haiqâr, and praise be to God for ever. Amen, and peace. This chronicle is finished with the help of God, may He be exalted! Amen, Amen, Amen.

A. S. LEWIS.

ARMENIAN

In the same hour Nathan 26
swelled up and all his body burst asunder, and I said:

Son,[a] he that doeth good, 27
winneth good; and he that digs a pit for others, himself falls into the pit. The good endeth in good and the evil in evil.

Here endeth Khikar.[1]

F. C. CONYBEARE.

[1] The last three words in Codex Ven. alone.

[a] The text of MS. Canon is as follows:

Said Khikar: He that doeth well to the good will meet with good. And he who diggeth a pit for his fellow, with his own person filleth it. He who loves evil is hateful to many, and he who pursues the good inherits it.

Aethiopic Fragments of the Sayings of Ahikar.

The following is the translation of the fifteen sayings of Aḥiḳar, published by Cornill in his *Maṣḥafa Falâsfâ Ṭabîbân*, or *Book of the Wise Philosophers*. These sayings are taken from two MSS., one at Frankfort and the other at Tübingen. They apparently come from an Arabic collection of ethical maxims, and not from a complete story of Aḥiḳar. We should have inferred that the precepts were in separate circulation in Arabic, from the title of a MS. in the Vatican described by Assemani which is said to contain *Hicari philosophi Mosulani praecepta.*

Instruction of Ḥaiḳar the Wise.

1 He spake as follows:

'Hear, my son, and keep in remembrance my discourse, so that thou rememberest God the High and the Mighty.

My son, if thou hearest a discourse, hide it in thy heart and disclose it not to thy neighbour, that it become not to thee as a coal and burn thy tongue, and bring derision upon thee and make thee hateful to God.

2 My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog's tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.

3 My son, do not tarry with him, in whom there is strife: for strife brings controversy: and strife gives for an inheritance revengefulness and murder.

4 My son, if a house could be built by talk without action, an ass would build two houses a day.

5 My son, it is better to haul stones with a wise and understanding man, than to drink wine with a fool.

6 My son, so long as there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns, and level the way for thy children and thy children's children.

7 My son, if the rich man eats a snake, they say of him, "He seeks a medicine therein"; if, however, the poor man eats it, they say of him, "It was from hunger."

8 My son, if there come to thee a slenderer and poorer man than thyself, rise up to receive him.

9 My son, the wicked falls and rises not again; but the good man falls and rises immediately and remains in his condition.

10 My son, cease not to beat thy son; for the chastisement of a child is good for it, even as dung makes the land good; and as the land which is not rugged and on which there is grass delights the cattle, so doth a well-brought up son delight his father.

11 My son, keep thy son in curb, as long as he is small, that he may not grow up and thou have no more control over him, and be fain to blush over his corrupt behaviour.

12 A fair repute is better than a fair appearance; for the fair repute abides for ever, but the fair appearance and form pass away.

13 My son, it is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue; and bring no discourse out of thy mouth, before thou hast entered into counsel with thine own self.

14 My son, if the course of water should turn backwards, and if birds should fly without wings, and if the raven should become white as snow, then may a fool become wise.

15 My son, if thou wilt be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying and thy hands from stealing.'

J. R. Harris.

The Aramaic Fragments from Elephantiné.

The following represents roughly the narrative portion of the Aḥiḳar-legend, and the most important of the Parables and Proverbs of Aḥiḳar preserved in the papyrus:

1 . . . . . Aḥiḳar was his name, a wise and erudite scribe, who instructed his son . . . . . He said: The son will be . . . . . for me before . . . . . Aḥiḳar . . . . . the Great Seal of Sennacherib, king of Assyria . . . . . and there was no son to me . . . . . and Sennacherib,
3 king of Assyria, had fulfilled (his days) and Sennacherib died . . . . . his son, named Esarhaddon,
15 and he was king of Assyria in the place of his father (Sennacherib) . . . . . Assyria. Thereupon I (took) my son . . . . . and I instructed him and virtue . . . . . in the Palace along with . . . . . I presented him before Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria. And wisdom . . . . . what he had asked him. And thereon Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, loved him and said, (Long) life . . . . . the wise scribe, the counsellor of all Assyria, who has appointed as his son, and no son . . . . . and I bowed down and worshipped, I, Aḥiḳar, before Esarhaddon (the king) of Assyria. . . . . Aḥiḳar, and when I saw the face of Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, favourably, I rose up . . . . . (as I was before) Sennacherib thy father, who was king (before thee) . . . .
. . . . . .

I shall not be able to serve (the king) in the gate of this palace . . . . . whose name is Nadin, my grown-up son, and he shall succeed me as Secretary . . . . . (and Great) Seal shall he be; and also my wisdom and . . . . . the king of Assyria. And he said to me, (like thyself) . . . . . and in thy stead he shall do thy work. . . . . I went to my house . . . . . and I set him in the gate of the palace . . . . . and I said, he will seek after what is good . . . . . (my son Nadin) whom I have brought up, think on . . . . . the king Sennacherib, thy father . . . . . he is wise and according to his counsel and advice . . . . . will much disquiet the king. Listen . . . . . as a son, who is not my son; as a son . . . . . .
4 1 . . . . . (Answered) Esarhaddon the king and said: . . . . . whom my father hath made great, who (ate) the bread of my father . . . . . thou wilt seek, where thou canst find . . . . . that old man Aḥiḳar. He is a wise secretary . . . . . whether he can corrupt the country against us, after that . . . . . Assyria; he attached to him two men, in order to see . . . . . that officer (?) Nabušumiškun, riding upon a swift horse . . . . . with him after yet three days . . . . . and the others who were with him, as I was walking in the vineyards. Nabušumiškun, the officer, rent his garment, and lamented . . . . . the wise Secretary and master of good counsel who . . . . . by whose counsel and words all Assyria was directed . . . . . (Nadin, thy son) whom thou hast appointed in the gate of the Palace, hath undone thee.
9 . . . . . Then was I much afeard, even I Aḥiḳar; and I answered and said to Nabušumiškun . . . . . I am he who aforetime saved thee from undeserved death . . . . . the father of the present king, Esarhaddon, (was angry) with thee . . . . . I brought thee to my house, thither was I bringing thee . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
(I treated thee) as a man treats his brother, and I hid thee from the presence of (king Sennacherib). I said, I have killed him, until at another time and after yet many days I presented thee before king Sennacherib, and caused thy sins to pass away before him: and no evil did he to thee. And with me also king Sennacherib was well pleased, because I had preserved thee alive and not
10 slain thee. And now do thou also to me in the same fashion as I did to thee. Slay me not, but bring me into thy house until other days. King Esarhaddon is merciful as one . . . . . towards another. He will remember me and will long for my advice. Thou wilt then present me before him, and he will suffer me to live. Thereupon answered Nabušumiškun and said to me, Fear not. Thou shalt live, Aḥiḳar, the father of all Assyria, according to whose counsel Sennacherib and all the Assyrian army were wont to make war. Nabušumiškun, the officer, spake to those two men, his companions, who were with him, (Listen) and I will give you a piece of advice, and it is good advice too. The two men answered and said to him, Tell it us then. And Nabušumiškun answered and said to them, Listen to me. Yonder is Aḥiḳar, a great man. He is the Great Seal of Esarhaddon. According to his counsel and word is the whole army of Assyria governed. Do not let us kill him. There is a eunuch whom I have, and whom I will give you. He must be killed in the mountain; he shall be a substitute for Aḥiḳar . . . . . other people (may come and) see the body of yonder Aḥiḳar, for the body of the young man, the eunuch, whom I have . . . . . .
. . . . . .
until our brother Esarhaddon (shall have regret) over our brother and the heart of Esarhaddon . . . . . I will give you much treasure . . . . . and the soul (of the officer) was content with his two companions.
11 (And they said,) Do as thou counsellest . . . . . Thereupon they slew the aforementioned eunuch
12 in the stead of Aḥiḳar . . . . . At that time report was made in the king's palace, (and they said) to the king, He hath been slain. Thereupon Nabušumiškun (brought me to his house, and he caused to be supplied to me there (meat and drink) and said, Let these things be furnished to my
13 lord (Aḥiḳar). Likewise he brought much treasure . . . . . Thereupon Nabusumiškun, the officer, went to Esarhaddon the king (of Assyria), and informed him, saying, I went my way, (as directed) and I found Aḥiḳar (walking in his vineyards), and I have put him to death. And do thou, O king, inquire of the two men whom thou didst appoint. So spake he . . . . . until that Esarhaddon (believed his words).

(This is all of the narrative which has been preserved: the extant portions of the proverbial and allegorical parts of the book are very fragmentary in character, and uncertain as to their restoration, to order, and sense. The most important are as follows:—

What is stronger than a braying ass? . . . . . .
The son who is instructed and disciplined, and who has on his feet . . . . . .
Do not withhold thy son from beating, if thou . . . . . .
My son, if I beat thee, thou diest not. And if I leave on thy heart . . . . . .

Smite the boy, like . . . . . even so to all thy servants . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The lion will be . . . . . the stag in the secret of his den (?) . . . . . .
And he pours out his blood and eats his flesh . . . . . .
The ass has left . . . . . and does not carry it. He takes up . . . . . from his companions, ... which was not his.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Watch carefully over thy mouth . . . . . and make thy heart slow (?), for the word spoken is like a bird, and he who utters it is like a man without . . . . . the craft of the mouth is mightier than the craft . . . . . .
Do not conceal (?) the word of a king . . . . . .
. . . . . .
They deal with trees by fire, with flesh by a knife, and with man . . . . . .
Let not thy heart rejoice in the multitude of children and over their fewness (be not thou discouraged).
(Cf. Armenian sayings, No. 34.)
A king is as a merciful man, also his voice is higher than that of him who stands before him . . .
The king is fair to look on as the sun, and for them that walk the earth, his adornment is costly . . .
. . . . . .
(My son,) I have lifted sand, and I have carried salt, but there was nothing heavier than . . . . . .
I have lifted straw and handled (?) the plough . . . . . and there was nothing lighter than the man who dwells in . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The panther met the goat, and it was naked. And the panther answered and said to the goat, Come and I will cover thee with my skin.
The goat answered and said to the panther, Why . . . . . my skin? Take it not from me .
. . . . . .
The wolf came to the lambs (?) . . . . . and I will be silent. The lambs answered and said to him, Take what thou wantest from us . . . . . .
Nothing lies in a man's power, to lift up his foot or to set it down . . . . . .
(Do not bend) thy bow and shoot an arrow at the upright, lest God should . . . . . and cause it to return upon thyself.
. . . . . .
(Thou hast bent) thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou. That is a sin against our God.
. . . . . .
A loan is heavy, and borrow thou not from a man . . . . . and if thou contractest a loan, give thy soul no peace until . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . in thine ears, for the charm of a man is his trustiness, and his hatred is lying with his lips (?).
The son of my body has spied out my house . . . . . he has told strangers . . . . . .
He has become a false witness against me:
And who will now declare my righteousness?
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
With him that is higher than thyself do not . . . . . .
With him that is stronger . . . . . than thyself, do not . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . and be not insolent to thy father . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The thorn-bush sent to the pomegranate (and said):
The thorn-bush to the pomegranate. How numerous are thy thorns for him who handles thee!
The pomegranate answered and said to the thorn-bush,
Thou art all thorns for him who handles thee.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Greek Version of the Legend of Ahikar.

The following is the portion of the story of Aesop which shows coincidence with Aḥiḳar.

Fabulae Romanenses Graece Conscriptae (ed. Eberhard).

c. xxiii Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς νήσου ἀπάρας, περιήει τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλεγόμενος· ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐπιδειξάμενος, μέγας παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκήρῳ ἐγένετο. κατ' ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην ἔχοντες καὶ τέρψεως χάριν προβλήματα τῶν σοφιστικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γράφοντες ἔπεμπον. ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ἐπιλυόμενοι φόρους ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πρὸς τῶν πεμπόντων ἐλάμβανον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἴσους παρεῖχον. ὁ τοίνυν Αἴσωπος τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν προβλημάτων Λυκήρῳ συνὼν ἐπέλυε, καὶ εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Λυκήρου ἕτερα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀντέπεμπεν, ὧν ἀλύτων μενόντων, φόρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι πλείστους εἰσέπραττεν.

After this he set sail from the island, and went about the world, in discourse everywhere with the philosophic; and having reached Babylon, he then also exhibited his wisdom and acquired renown with Lykeros the king. In those days the kings were at peace with one another, and used to amuse themselves by sending one another sophistical questions to answer; and those who could resolve them used to get for their answers tribute from those who proposed them; if, however, they failed, they paid in turn the like amount. So Aesop, who was associated with Lykeros, used to solve the problems which were sent to him, and caused the king to become famous. And he himself sent through Lykeros counter-challenges to the kings, the non-solution of which brought an abundance of revenues to the king.

c. xxiv Αἴσωπος δὲ μὴ παιδοποιησάμενος, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν, Ἔννον τὴν κλῆσιν, εἰσεποιήσατό τε καὶ ὡς γνήσιον παῖδα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσενέγκας συνέστησε. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ Ἔννου τῇ τοῦ θεμένου παλλακῇ συμφθαρέντος, Αἴσωπος τοῦτο γνοὺς, ἀπελαύνειν ἔμελλε τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δέ, τῇ κατ' ἐκείνου ὀργῇ ληφθείς, ἐπιστολήν τε πλασάμενος παρ' Αἰσώπου δῆθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντισοφιζομένους Λυκήρῳ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἕτοιμός ἐστι προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Λυκήρῳ, τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνεχείρισε, τῷ τοῦ Αἰσώπου ταύτην σφραγισάμενος δακτυλίῳ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῇ τε σφραγῖδι πεισθεὶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτῳ ὀργῇ χρησάμενος, παραχρῆμα τῷ Ἑρμίππῳ κελεύει, μηδὲν ἐξετάσαντα οἷα δὴ προδότην διαχειρίσασθαι Αἴσωπον. ὁ δὲ Ἕρμιππος φίλος τε ἦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ καὶ τότε δὴ τὸν φίλον ἐπέδειξεν. ἔν τινι γὰρ τῶν τάφων μηδενὸς εἰδότος κρύψας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔτρεφεν. Ἔννος δέ, τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν Αἰσώπου παρέλαβε.

Now as Aesop himself had no children, he annexed a certain young man of noble birth named Ennus, and brought him to the king, with commendation as his proper son. And when, not long after, Ennus played false with the concubine of his adoptive father, Aesop, becoming aware of it, would have banished him the house. But he, seized with rage against him, and having forged a letter, to wit, from Aesop to the kings who were in contest with Lykeros, to the effect that he was prepared to take their side rather than that of Lykeros, went and put the letter into the king's hands, having first sealed it with Aesop's signet.

So he, being persuaded thereby, and under the influence of implacable anger, forthwith directs Hermippus to make away with Aesop without a trial, on the ground that he was a traitor. Hermippus, however, was a friend of Aesop, and showed himself so at the time. Without any one knowing it, he concealed Aesop in one of the tombs, and secretly maintained him. Meanwhile Ennus, by the king's orders, took over all Aesop's affairs.

c. xxv Μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον Νεκτεναβὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων πυθόμενος Αἴσωπον τεθνηκέναι, πέμπει Λυκήρῳ παραχρῆμα ἐπιστολήν, οἰκοδόμους αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι κελεύουσαν, οἳ πύργον οἰκοδομήσουσι μήτ' οὐρανοῦ μήτε γῆς ἁπτόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινούμενον ἀεὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῷη· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, φόρους εἰσπράττειν, εἰ δὲ μή, κατατίθεσθαι. ταῦτα τῷ Λυκήρῳ ἀναγνωσθέντα εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε, μηδενὸς τῶν φίλων δυναμένου τὸ πρόβλημα τὸ περὶ τοῦ πύργου συνεῖναι.

Some time after, Nectenabo, the king of the Egyptians, having ascertained that Aesop was dead, forthwith sends to Lykeros a letter, commanding him to send builders to construct him a tower that should not touch either heaven or earth, and a man withal who should make him continual answer to all his questions; if thus he would do, he should revenues acquire; but if the contrary, he should pay them over. When these

ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς καὶ κίονα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἔλεγεν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὸν Αἴσωπον. Ἕρμιππος δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δι' Αἴσωπον λύπην μαθών, προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ζῆν ἐκεῖνον εὐηγγέλισατο, προσθεὶς ὡς τοῦδε χάριν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν, εἰδὼς ὡς μεταμελήσει ποτὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποφάσεως. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσθέντος, Αἴσωπος ῥυπῶν καὶ αὐχμῶν ὅλος προσηνέχθη, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτόν, δακρύσαντος καὶ λούσασθαί τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθῆναι κελεύσαντος, Αἴσωπος μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατηγορήθη τὰς αἰτίας ἀπεσκευάσατο. ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἔννον ἀναιρεῖν μέλλοντος, Αἴσωπος αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ᾐτήσατο. ἑπομένως δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπέδωκεν ἀναγνῶναι. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν λύσιν συνεὶς τοῦ προβλήματος, ἐγέλασέ τε καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἐπειδὰν χειμὼν παρέλθῃ, πεμφθῆναι τούς τε τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομήσοντας καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινούμενον πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖν τοὺς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, Αἰσώπῳ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισεν ἅπασαν, ἔκδοτον αὐτῷ παραδοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἔννον. ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἔννον, οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ὡς υἱῷ πάλιν προσσχών, ἄλλους τε καὶ τούτους ὑπετίθει τοὺς λόγους.

1 'Τέκνον, πρὸ πάντων σέβου τὸ θεῖον; τὸν βασιλέα
2 δὲ τίμα· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς σου δεινὸν σεαυτὸν παρασκεύαζε, ἵνα μὴ καταφρονῶσί σου· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πρᾶον καὶ εὐμετάδοτον, ὡς εὐνουστέρους σοι μᾶλλον
3 γίνεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς νοσεῖν εὔχου καὶ πένεσθαι, ὡς μὴ οἵους τε εἶναι λυπεῖν σε· τοὺς δὲ φίλους κατὰ πάντα εὖ πράττειν βούλου. αἰεὶ τῇ
4 γυναικί σου χρηστῶς ὁμίλει, ὅπως ἑτέρου ἀνδρὸς πειρᾶν μὴ ζητήσῃ λαβεῖν. κοῦφον γὰρ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι
5 φῦλον καὶ κολακευόμενον ἐλάττω φρονεῖ κακά. ὀξεῖαν μὲν πρὸς λόγον κτῆσαι τὴν ἀκοήν, τῆς δὲ γλώττης
6 ἐγκρατὴς ἔσο. τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μᾶλλον βλάψεις.
7 τῶν οἰκετῶν σου ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὡς δεσπότην
8 σε φοβῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτην αἰδῶνται. μὴ
9 αἰσχύνου μανθάνειν ἀεὶ τὰ κρείττω. τῇ γυναικὶ μηδέποτε πιστεύσῃς ἀπόρρητα, ἀεὶ γὰρ ὁπλίζεται πῶς σου
10 κυριεύσει. καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀποταμιεύου· βέλτιον γὰρ τελευτῶντα ἐχθροῖς καταλεῖψαι, ἢ ζῶντα
11 τῶν φίλων ἐπιδεῖσθαι. εὐπροσήγορος ἔσο τοῖς συναντῶσιν, εἰδὼς ὡς καὶ τῷ κυναρίῳ ἄρτον ἡ οὐρὰ προσ-
13 πορίζει. ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος μὴ μετανόει. ψίθυρον ἄνδρα ἔκβαλε σῆς οἰκίας, τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενα
14 καὶ πραττόμενα ἑτέροις φέρων ἀναθήσει. πρᾶττε μὲν τὰ μὴ λυπήσοντά σε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι μὴ
15 λυποῦ. μήτε πονηρὰ βουλεύσῃ ποτὲ μήτε τρόπους κακῶν μιμήσῃ.'

things were read to Lykeros, they put him in a sad muse, seeing that none of his friends could understand the riddle about the tower. Whereupon the king was saying that he had lost in Aesop the very pillar of the kingdom. Hermippus, however, when he learned the king's grief over Aesop, came to the king, and gave him the good news that he was yet alive, adding that it was for this very reason that he had not done him to death, because he knew that the king would some time repent him of the sentence. And when the king was mightily pleased thereat, Aesop was brought in to him, all filthy and begrimed, and the king, when he saw him, wept, and bid him to the bath and to be attended with all care, and after this Aesop cleared himself of all the accusations that had been made against him. Whereupon the king would in turn have slain Ennus, but Aesop asked that he would pardon him. Thereafter the king put into Aesop's hand the letter of the Egyptian to read. And he, promptly divining the solution of the riddle, laughed and bid them dispatch a reply to the effect that, on the approach of winter, he would send him both the builders of the tower, and the person who should answer his questions. So the king sent ambassadors to Egypt, and to Aesop he entrusted all his ancient affairs, handing over to him Ennus, to boot. So Aesop took to him Ennus, nor wrought he him any unpleasantness, but dealing with him again as with a son, he imparted to him the following and kindred instructions.

'My child,' said he, 'first of all revere the divine, c. xxvi. 1
and honour the king; to thine enemies make 2
thyself dread that they despise thee not: but to thy friends be gentle and generous, that they in turn may be better affected to thyself.

Further, let it be thy prayer that poverty and 3
sickness may be the lot of thy enemies, that they may not have it in their power to annoy thee; but for thy friends desire good fortune in everything. Ever talk kindly to thy wife, that she 4
may not seek to make experiment of another man. For the female sex is a slight thing, and when flattered makes little of mishap. Keep 5
thine ear attentive to discourse, but be retentive of thy speech. Envy not the prosperous, but be 6
glad with them: for by envying thou wilt rather damage thyself. Have such care of thy servants 7
that they not merely fear thee as lord, but revere thee, too, as benefactor. Take no scorn to be 8
always learning better. Never entrust secrets 9
to the wife, for she ever sets her camp to have mastery over thee. Every day, and for the 10
morrow, do thou store up: for it is better to die and leave one's estate to enemies than to live and 11
be dependent on friends. Be affable to those whom thou meetest, knowing that even for the 12
dog his tail provides him bread. When thou

τούτοις τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸν Ἔννον νουθετήσαντος, ἐκεῖνος τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ συνειδήσει οἷά τινι βέλει πληγεὶς τὴν ψυχήν, μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.

hast been kindly do not regret it. Turn the whisperer out of thy house, for he will carry off and deposit with others whatever thou sayest or dost. Do such things as will grieve thee not afterwards, but over things that happen grieve thou not. Devise thou not evil, nor ever imitate the ways of bad men.' 13 14 15

When thus Aesop had admonished Ennus, the latter was compunct in soul as with an arrow at his words, and by his own conscience, and not many days after he departed this life.

c. xxvii Αἴσωπος δὲ τοὺς ἰξευτὰς πάντας προσκαλεσάμενος, ἀετῶν νεοττοὺς τέτταρας συλληφθῆναι κελεύει. συλληφθέντας οὖν οὕτως ἔθρεψεν, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν, ὅπερ οὐ πάνυ τί με πειθόμενον ἔχει, ὡς παῖδας διὰ θυλάκων αὐτοῖς προσηρτημένων βαστάζοντας εἰς ὕψος αἴρεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπηκόους τοῖς παισὶν εἶναι, ὡς ὅποιπερ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι βούλοιντο ἵπτασθαι ἄν τε εἰς ὕψος ἄν τε εἰς γῆν χαμαζέ. τῆς δὲ χειμερινῆς ὥρας παραδραμούσης καὶ ἦρος διαγελάσαντος, ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν συσκευασάμενος Αἴσωπος, καὶ τούς τε παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀετούς, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῇ φαντασίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐκεῖ κεχρημένος. Νεκτεναβὼ δ' ἀκούσας παραγεγονέναι τὸν Αἴσωπον, 'ἐνήδρευμαι,' φησὶ τοῖς φίλοις, 'μεμαθηκὼς Αἴσωπον τεθνηκέναι.'

c. Aesop then called to him all the hunters, and directed the capture of four eaglets. When these were caught he reared them (so it is said) and trained them (a thing which does not altogether convince me) to carry boys, attached to them by bags, up into the air, and to be so under the boys' direction as to fly wherever they willed, whether to the heaven above or the earth beneath. Winter being now past and smiling spring arrived, Aesop made all things ready for his journey, and taking with him the boys and the eagles, he hied him to Egypt, employing much splendour and great array for the astonishment of the people in that country. Now when Nectenabo heard of the arrival of Aesop, he said to his friends, 'I have been entrapped by the information of Aesop's death.'

c. xxviii τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κελεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας τοὺς ἐν τέλει λευκὰς περιβαλέσθαι στολάς, αὐτὸς δὲ κιρρὰν ἐνεδύσατο καὶ διάδημα καὶ διάλιθον κίταριν. καὶ κατεσθεὶς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ δίφρου, καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον εἰσαχθῆναι κελεύσας, 'τίνι με εἰκάζεις,' εἰσελθόντι φησίν, 'Αἴσωπε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοί;' καὶ ὃς, 'σὲ μὲν ἡλίῳ ἐαρινῷ, τοὺς δὲ περί σε τούτοις ὡραίοις στάχυσι.' καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας αὐτὸν καὶ δώροις ἐδεξιώσατο. τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς στολὴν λευκοτάτην ἐνσκευασάμενος τοῖς δὲ φίλοις φοινικᾶς κελεύσας λαβεῖν, εἰσελθόντα τὸν Αἴσωπον τὴν προτέραν αὖθις πεῦσιν ἐπύθετο. καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος, 'σὲ μέν,' εἶπεν, 'εἰκάζω ἡλίῳ, τοὺς δὲ περί σε τούτοις ἀκτῖσι.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβώ, 'οἶμαι μηδὲν εἶναι Λυκῆρον πρός γε τὴν ἐμὴν βασιλείαν·' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος μειδιάσας ἔφη, 'μὴ εὐχερῶς οὕτω περὶ ἐκείνου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λογίζου. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἡ ὑμῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένη βασιλεία δίκην ἡλίου σελαγεῖ· εἰ δὲ Λυκήρῳ παραβληθείη, οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι μὴ τὸ φῶς τοῦτο ζόφον ἀποδειχθῆναι.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐστοχίαν ἐκπλαγείς, 'ἤνεγκας ἡμῖν,' ἔφη, 'τοὺς μέλλοντας τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομεῖν·' καὶ ὅς· 'ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν, εἰ μόνον ὑποδείξεις τὸν τόπον.'

c. On the next day, then, the king bid all his officials to robe them in white raiment, whereas he clad him in a suit of orange, with a diadem and a jewelled turban. He took his seat on a lofty throne and bid Aesop to be summoned. To whom entering said he, 'To whom dost thou compare me, Aesop, and those who are with me?' Whereat he, 'Thee to the sun in spring, and them that are around thee to its beauteous ears of corn.' The king marvelled at him, and honoured him, too, with gifts. On the next day the king arrayed him in purest white, and bid his friends be clad in purple, and upon Aesop's entrance he asked him again his former question. Whereat Aesop, 'Thee,' said he, 'I compare to the sun, and them that are about thee to his rays.' Whereat Nectenabo, 'I think,' said he, 'that Lykeros has nothing to compare with this kingdom of mine.' Aesop smiled, and said, 'Reckon not so readily, O king, concerning him. To your people your vaunted kingdom hath indeed the splendour of the sun: but if it should be compared with Lykeros, it would take nothing to convert that light into mirk.' Nectenabo, amazed at his witty words, inquired, 'Hast thou brought us those who are to build the tower?' Said he, 'They are ready, if only you show us the place.'

c. xxix μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθὼν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὑπέδειξε διαμετρήσας τὸν χῶρον. ἀγαγὼν τοίνυν Αἴσωπος ἐπὶ τὰς ὑποδειχθείσας τοῦ τόπου γωνίας τέτταρας τοὺς τέτταρας τῶν ἀετῶν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τῶν θυλάκων ἀπηρτημένοις, καὶ οἰκοδόμων τοῖς παισὶ

c. After that the king went out into the plain, and pointed out and measured the spot. Thereupon Aesop, bringing to the four corners of the place indicated the four eaglets with the boys fastened to them by bags, and giving to the

μετὰ χεῖρας δοὺς ἐργαλεῖα, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπτῆναι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕψος γενόμενοι, 'δότε ἡμῖν,' ἐφώνουν, 'λίθους, δότε κονίαν, δότε ξύλα, καὶ τἄλλα τῶν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπιτηδείων.' ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τοὺς παῖδας θεασάμενος εἰς ὕψος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀετῶν ἀναφερομένους ἔφη· 'πόθεν ἐμοὶ πτηνοὶ ἄνθρωποι;' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'ἀλλὰ Λυκῆρος ἔχει· σὺ δὲ θέλεις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἰσοθέῳ ἐρίζειν βασιλεῖ;' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβώ· 'Αἴσωπε, ἥττημαι.'

hands of the boys the builders' tools, bid them fly away. But they, mounted on high, kept crying out, 'Give us stones, give mud, give timber, whatever else is proper for building.' Nectenabo, regarding the lads high borne in the air of the eagles, said, 'Whence shall I get me winged men?' But Aesop said, 'Yea! but Lykeros hath such: and wilt thou, a man, strive with a king, the mate of gods?' Whereat Nectenabo: 'I am beaten, Aesop,' quoth he.

xx ἐρήσομαι δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόκριναι·' καὶ φησίν· 'εἰσί μοι θήλειαι ὧδε ἵπποι, αἵπερ ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσι τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων, εὐθὺς συλλαμβάνουσιν. εἴ σοι πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι σοφία, ἐπίδειξαι.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'αὔριον ἀποκρινοῦμαί σοι, βασιλεῦ.' ἐλθὼν δὲ οὗ κατήγετο, αἴλουρον τοῖς παισὶν ἐκέλευσε συλλαβεῖν, καὶ συλληφθέντα δημοσίᾳ περιάγεσθαι μαστιζόμενον. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ ζῶον σεβόμενοι, οὕτω κακῶς πάσχον αὐτὸ θεασάμενοι, συνέδραμον, καὶ τὸν αἴλουρον τῆς χειρὸς τῶν μαστιγούντων ἐκσπάσαντες, ἀναγγέλλουσιν ὡς τάχος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πάθος· ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον, 'οὐκ ᾔδεις,' φησίν, 'Αἴσωπε, ὡς θεὸς σεβόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν αἴλουρος; ἵνα τί γοῦν τοῦτο πεποίηκας;' καὶ ὅς· 'Λυκῆρον τὸν βασιλέα ἠδίκησεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς οὗτος ὁ αἴλουρος· ἀλεκτρυόνα γὰρ αὐτοῦ πεφόνευκε μάχιμον καὶ γενναῖον, προσέτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὥρας αὐτῷ τῆς νυκτὸς σημαίνοντα.' καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς· 'οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ψευδόμενος, Αἴσωπε; πῶς γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ αἴλουρος ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἦλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα;' κακεῖνος μειδιάσας φησί· 'καὶ πῶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τῶν ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων αἱ ἐνθάδε θήλειαι ἵπποι συλλαμβάνουσιν;' ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν ἐμακάρισε.

c. xxx 'I will, however, ask thee somewhat, and answer thou me.' Says he, 'I have mares here, which, when they hear the horses in Babylon neighing, straightway conceive offspring. If thou hast aught of wisdom for that matter, show it.' Said Aesop, 'To-morrow, O king, I will answer thee.' When he came to his lodging, he bid his boys to catch a cat, and when caught to drag it about in public and whip it. But the Egyptians who reverence that beast, seeing it suffer thus, ran together, and pulling the cat out of the hands of those that were whipping it, report immediately to the king its sufferings. He, then, called Aesop, and said, 'Knowest thou not, Aesop, that the cat is worshipped amongst us as a god? Wherefore hast thou done thus?' Said he, 'This cat, O king, in the past night, did wrong to King Lykeros, for he killed his cock, a game bird and well bred, which, further, used to tell him the hour of the night.' To whom the king: 'Dost thou not blush, Aesop, thus to lie? How came a cat in one night from Egypt to Babylon?' He, smiling, made reply: 'And how, O king, do thy mares here conceive when the horses neigh in Babylon?' When the king heard this, he commended his understanding.

xi μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου πόλεως ἄνδρας ζητημάτων σοφιστικῶν ἐπιστήμονας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Αἰσώπου διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς, ἐκάλεσεν ἅμα τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπ' εὐωχίαν. ἀνακλιθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν, τῶν Ἡλίου πολιτῶν τίς φησι πρὸς τὸν Αἴσωπον· 'ἀπεστάλην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου πεῦσίν τινα πυθέσθαι σου, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπιλύσῃς.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'ψεύδῃ· θεὸς γὰρ παρ' ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲν δεῖται μαθεῖν. σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον σαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σου.' ἕτερος πάλιν εἶπεν· 'ἔστι ναὸς μέγας καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ στῦλος, δώδεκα πόλεις[1] ἔχων, ὧν ἑκάστη τριάκοντα δοκοῖς ἐστέγασται, τούτους δὲ περιίασι δύο γυναῖκες.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος ἔφη· 'τοῦτο τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιλύσονται παῖδες· ναὸς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος, στῦλος δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός, αἱ δὲ πόλεις, οἱ μῆνες, καὶ δοκοὶ αἱ τούτων ἡμέραι, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ νὺξ αἱ δύο γυναῖκες, αἱ παραλλὰξ ἀλλήλαις διαδέχονται.'

c. xxxi After this he sent for men from Heliopolis, expert in sophist questions, and having discoursed with them about Aesop, he invited them and him to a banquet. When they were set at meat, one of the citizens of Heliopolis says to Aesop: 'I have been sent by my god with an inquiry for thee to resolve.'

'Liar!' said Aesop. 'God needeth not lore from man. Thou accusest not thyself only, but thy god!'

Another again said: 'There is a great temple, and in it is a pillar, it has twelve gates, whereof each is roofed with thirty beams, and round these go two women.' And Aesop replied: 'Even boys in our country can solve that riddle; For the temple is this world, and the pillar is the year, the gates are the months, and their beams are the days: moreover night and day are the two women who succeed one another alternately.'

τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας ὁ Νεκτεναβώ φησι· 'διὰ τὸν Αἴσωπον τοῦτον ὀφλήσομεν φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκήρῳ.' εἷς δέ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε· 'κελεύσωμεν αὐτῷ προβλήματα φράσαι ἡμῖν,

c. xxxii On the following day, Nectenabo called to him all his friends and said: 'Through this Aesop we shall incur revenue debts to King Lykeros.' But one of them said, 'Let us bid him

[1] Sic! lege πύλας.

περὶ ὧν οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' ἀρεστὸν οὖν τοῦτο τῷ Νεκτεναβῷ δόξαν, καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον ἔφη· 'φράσον ἡμῖν, Αἴσωπε, πρόβλημα περὶ οὗ οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὅς· 'αὔριον περὶ τούτου ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι.' ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ συνταξάμενος γραμματεῖον, ἐν ᾧ περιείχετο Νεκτεναβὼ ὁμολογῶν χίλια τάλαντα τῷ Λυκήρῳ ὀφείλειν, πρωίας ἐπανελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι, πρὶν ἀνοιχθῆναι τὸ γραμματεῖον, πάντες ἔλεγον· 'καὶ εἴδομεν τοῦτο καὶ ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπιστάμεθα.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'χάριν ὑμῖν οἶδα τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἕνεκεν.' ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ὀφειλῆς ἀναγνοὺς εἶπεν· 'ἐμοῦ Λυκήρῳ μηδὲν ὀφείλοντος πάντες ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε;' κἀκεῖνοι μεταβαλόντες εἶπον· 'οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'καὶ εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, λέλυται τὸ ζητούμενον.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ πρὸς ταῦτα· 'μακάριός ἐστι Λυκῆρος τοιαύτην σοφίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κεκτημένος.' τοὺς οὖν συμφωνηθέντας φόρους παραδοὺς τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπέστειλεν. Αἴσωπος δ' εἰς Βαβυλῶνα παραγενόμενος, διεξῆλθέ τε Λυκήρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πραχθέντα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπέδωκε. Λυκῆρος δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἀνατεθῆναι.

enounce riddles, of things we never heard nor saw.' This seemed agreeable to Nectenabo, so he called Aesop and said: 'Enounce us, Aesop, a riddle of somewhat we nor heard nor saw.' Said he, 'I will answer thee of this to-morrow.' So he went away and composed a letter in which it was contained that Nectenabo admits that he owes a thousand talents to Lykeros, and on the morrow he returned to the king and gave him the document. But the friends of the king, before the paper was opened, cried out together, 'We both know this and have heard it, and we truly understand it.' Said Aesop, 'Thank you for your answer.' But Nectenabo took and read the admission of the debt. Said he: 'You all bear witness that I owe nothing to Lykeros.' And they took him up and said, 'We neither saw nor heard of it.' Whereat Aesop: 'And if the thing is really so, your inquiry is answered.' To which Nectenabo said, 'Happy is Lykeros who has such wisdom in his kingdom.' So he handed over to Aesop the tribute as agreed, and sent him away in peace.

And Aesop, when he reached Babylon, discoursed to Lykeros of all that had taken place, and delivered to him the tribute. And Lykeros bid that a statue of gold should be set up to Aesop.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Zadokite Party and incidentally of the Book.

Written towards the close of the first century B.C. in good Hebrew,[1] our book represents the beliefs and expectations of a body of reformers who sprang up in the second century B.C. within the priesthood, as the Pharisees had within the laity, and called themselves, at all events in the first century, 'the Sons of Zadok'.[2] The reformation, in which they were the chief movers, was the result of a slow but steady religious revival, which took place between the years 196 and 176 B.C. or thereabouts (i. 6), and which culminated at the close of this period in the formation of a Party within the priesthood. This Party—'the penitents of Israel'—appears to have attempted the reform of irregularities connected with the Temple (§ 10. i), but having failed in the attempt they left Jerusalem and the cities of Israel, either voluntarily or under compulsion, and withdrew to Damascus under the leadership of 'the Star', otherwise designated as 'the Lawgiver' (§ 10. i), where they established the 'New Covenant'—'the Covenant of Repentance'. Thus the first breach of the Party was with their brethren the Sadducean priesthood. After the institution of the New Covenant, the Party appears to have returned from Damascus and made the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary efforts. For an unspecified period of years till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness, they were to obey faithfully the interpretation of the Law laid down by the Lawgiver above referred to. It was probably during this period that they first came into open antagonism with the Pharisees—an antagonism which grew in bitterness with the growing years. The most virulent attacks in our book are directed against the Pharisees (§ 10. ii). The ground for these attacks can be best understood from the knowledge of the origin of the Party. The movement that gave them birth was of an intensely ethical and religious character, and naturally tended to lead them to recognize the Prophets as of great worth, even if not of equal worth with the Law, and therein to differentiate themselves from both Pharisee and Sadducee. This was one cause of the breach with the Pharisees. Another arose from the fact that whereas the Pharisees were upholding and developing a vast body of oral tradition, the reformed Sadducees (i.e. our Party) absolutely opposed its acceptance except in a few particulars. They clung fast to the written Law and would have none of the oral. While the Pharisees called their school or college 'the House of Midrash', our Party designated theirs as 'the House of the Law'. Furthermore, since they claimed to represent the true Israel, especially on the priestly side, to them belonged the covenants and the priestly functions, and the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter functions had been usurped by the Pharisees; to them also belonged the Temple at Jerusalem as their Sanctuary, to them belonged Jerusalem, 'the holy city' (§ 10. iii).

The precepts of the Law as expounded by the Lawgiver were to be obeyed till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness. This Teacher was to come 'in the end of the days'. It was probably during this time that the Party assumed the name 'the Sons of Zadok' (§ 10. iv).

After the death of the 'Teacher of Righteousness', whose teaching and activities are not recounted—a fact which points to the defectiveness of our MSS.—a considerable period elapses, much more than forty years. We have now arrived at the date of our author. He is living 'in the end of the days', and the advent of the Messiah 'from Aaron and Israel' is momentarily looked for. If I am right in my interpretation of this phrase, the Messiah was to be a son of Mariamne and Herod (i.e. from Aaron and Israel), and the book was therefore written between 18 and 8 B.C. Herod put his two sons to death in 8 B.C., since they were the popular idols of the nation, and so this hope, like so many that preceded it, failed to reach fulfilment (§ 12).

[1] There are some Aramaisms and Rabbinic expressions in the text, but the Hebrew is good on the whole.

[2] The Party, though originating apparently with the priests and Levites, came to embrace a strong lay element, just as the Pharisaic party, though in the main a lay movement, came ultimately to embrace a section of the priests.

The later history of the Sons of Zadok is buried in all but impenetrable gloom. It is, however, not at all improbable that many of their members joined the Christian Church (§ 10. vi). For their appreciation of the Prophets—unparalleled in legalistic Judaism; their insistent preaching on the need of repentance; their constant proclamation of God's readiness to forgive the repentant; their expectation of a Messiah (and just at this period) and of a future life—all these beliefs and hopes prepared them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

§ 2. The Title.

Our book, which in its present form is only fragmentary, was most probably called 'The Book of Zadok' or some such designation. We draw this inference from the statements of Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar, who wrote in the tenth century A.D. and appears to have had our book or one closely resembling it before him. In his Kitab al-Anwar ('Book of Lights') he states (1) that Zadok was the first to attack the Rabbinites. This is true of our author, who attacks fiercely the Pharisees of his time. Kirkisani further states (2) that Zadok absolutely forbade divorce: so our author in vii. 1; (3) that Zadok did not support by proofs the laws he laid down save in case of his forbidding a man to marry his niece—the daughter of his brother or sister—on the ground that these connexions were already prohibited in Lev. xviii. 13, being analogous to the forbidden connexion of a man with his aunt on the father or mother's side: so in our author, vii. 9–10.

It is worth observing also that in i. 1 *a* there is a play on the name Zadok, also that the Zadokites ascribed to a Zadok the merit of having rediscovered the Law, vii. 6. Who this Zadok was can hardly be determined. In v. 7 'the Priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok' are mentioned. From the explanation of these words in vi. 1–2 it is clear that the Priests and Levites represent the original priestly founders of the Party, and that the expression 'Sons of Zadok' designates their spiritual successors 'at the end of the days'.

§ 3. The MSS.

The text is preserved in two MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, which are designated respectively as T.-S. 10 K. 6 and T.-S. 16. 311. After the precedent of Schechter, who presented them to the Library and issued the *editio princeps*, they will hereafter be called A and B.

A, which embraces the entire work so far as it exists except ix. 28–54, consists of eight leaves $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. The first eight pages have twenty-one lines on each page, pages 9–12 have twenty-three lines on each page. As regards 13–16 the number of lines is uncertain owing to the mutilation of the bottom of the pages, but was probably twenty-three—there were at least twenty-two lines on pages 13 and 14. This mutilation extends in a slight degree to the edges of the leaves.

This MS. belongs according to Schechter to the tenth century, but the writing is of a decidedly careless description. י and ו are frequently confused, and ו is occasionally so large as to resemble ן. ה and ח are likewise confused.

B consists of a single leaf, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in., of the eleventh or twelfth century and is a more careful reproduction than A. There are thirty-four lines on each page. These two pages contain viii. 20–ix. 3, 10–54, thus preserving ix. 28–54, which has been lost in A, as well as ix. 11. That the MSS. were freely dealt with will be manifest from a comparison of ix. 3, where A gives a quotation from Isa. vii. 17, whereas instead of it B gives a quotation from Zech. xiii. 7.

§ 4. The Hebrew Text and its Phraseology.

The text is on the whole fairly preserved, though there are many corruptions. Most of these can be emended with tolerable certainty. The rest can only be tentatively restored.

The language is in itself a witness to an ancient epoch. It is good Hebrew enriched by a few Aramaisms like the Book of Daniel and Sirach, though in a less degree. It contains also a few Mishnaic and Talmudic expressions, but in certain cases the phrases in question bear a different meaning in post-Biblical Jewish literature. The language, as has been generally recognized, is not that of the Mishnah, the Midrashim, or the Talmud.

Like Sirach, our author makes constant use of O. T. diction, but, unlike him, he quotes its text frequently in the name of the writer. At times our text is of the nature of a mosaic of O. T. phrases.

The language is, as we have said, pure Biblical Hebrew, but interspersed with a few phrases which are not Biblical and are not attested save in Mishnaic or Talmudic Hebrew. Those of a Talmudic character may be due to the substitutions of later scribes. Some of these can be

supported from Jewish pre-Christian literature. Thus גלגל השמש 'the sun's orb', xiii. 1, is clearly the Hebrew implied by 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4: חבור ישראל 'the community of Israel', xiv. 8, is supported by the inscription on the Maccabean coins; see note *in loc.*: להרשותו 'allowing', xiv. 1; cf. Sirach iii. 22, הורשית 'thou art allowed': המוכן 'that which has been prepared', xiii. 8, implied in Jub. ii. 29, l. 9.

Others which have not such ancient support are פרוש ii. 8 (note), הבריאה 'the creation' vii. 3—a Talmudic word; העריות 'sexual intercourse' vii. 11; למשכים 'on the following morning' xiii. 5 (note); מובה 'entrance' xiii. 16 (see note); ממון 'wealth' xviii. 9 (note); מדוקדק xix. 14 (see note).[1]

All the preceding words are authenticated in their use in our text by parallels in earlier or later Jewish literature; but there are some expressions, as might be expected, which are more or less unique in the meaning that must be attached to them in this book. Thus סרך ix. 1, &c., which means 'order', 'arrangement', &c., is unexampled in Hebrew in this sense, but it is found in Aramaic (see note on ix. 1). Again, בית השתחות 'the house of worship', xiv. 2, is as a name of the Temple or a Synagogue a ἅπ. λεγ. Again, the word המבקר 'the censor', x. 10 (note), xvi. 1 (note), is used in Jewish literature, but not in the sense attributed to it in our text. Again, the term מעמד = 'office' (ii. 8 note), has in our text a nuance of its own, but Jewish literature furnishes fairly good analogies.

Finally, the term קץ (see i. 5 note) must, I think with Lévi, Bacher, and Lagrange, be rendered 'period' or 'division of time'. No true parallel for this use of the word appears to occur elsewhere, though it is easy to see how it could mean 'a final period'.

§ 5. The Zadokites were a Party and not a Sect.

Since there is no question as to the genuineness of the orders of the Zadokite Priests and Levites, and since further their Sanctuary, which is so often referred to (see note on i. 3), is, as Lévi has recognized, the Temple in Jerusalem, it follows that the Zadokites were not a heterodox Sect but a Party within Judaism. They were no more a Sect than the Pharisees. It is true that even the Pharisees are described as a Sect (αἵρεσις) in Acts xv. 5, xxvi. 5, Joseph. *Vita* 38; the Sadducees in Acts v. 17, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, and the Christians in Acts xxiv. 5, 14, xxviii. 22; but its application to the two former is a misuse of the term. If, however, we use this term of the Pharisees and Sadducees, there can be no objection to its application in the same sense to the Zadokites. But since the term is in itself misleading we shall only speak of the Party of the Zadokites.

§ 6. Date of the Original.

The limits of time between which our book appears to have been written seem clear. Since the Book of Jubilees is referred to (xx. 1) it must have been written after 106 B.C. This forms the *terminus a quo.* The *terminus ad quem* is no less obvious; for the Temple is still standing (see note on i. 3, where it is shown that the Sanctuary so often referred to is the Temple).[2] Thus our book was written between 106 B.C. and 70 A.D.

But it may be possible to define these limits more closely, and fix on one or other of two periods within these limits.

(i) If the nation was free from foreign control, as might be inferred from our entire text, with the exception of the doubtful passage in x. 1, then it was written before Pompey seized Jerusalem in 63 B.C., or before Judaea was made a Roman province by Gabinius in 57 B.C. This would bring the composition of the book within the years 106–57 B.C.

[1] Schechter treats חבו 'incurred guilt', iv. 9, as a Rabbinic term. But it is found in the Piel in Dan. i. 10, and critics read חבתי for סבתי in 1 Sam. xxii. 22, in accordance with the LXX, Vulg. and Pesh. Again, דם זובה 'the blood of her issue', vii. 8, is a Biblical expression (cf. Lev. xv. 19 דם יהיה זובה בבשרה), and not merely a Rabbinic one.

[2] In addition to the grounds given in i. 3 as proofs that the Temple was still standing when our book was written, is to be mentioned the fact that nowhere is the destruction of the Second Temple so much as hinted at. Had it already occurred our author could not have omitted such an argument in support of his attack on the Pharisees. For it is characteristic of his method to trace the great national calamities of the Jews to their unfaithfulness to God. This, he declares, was the ground of the Captivity in 586 B.C., and the destruction of the First Temple, i. 3 sqq. The same unfaithfulness (ix. 17-19) led to the desolation of Judaea and Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanes (ix. 20). And yet, notwithstanding such judgements in the past, 'the builders of the wall' (i.e. the Pharisees), our author complains, persist in their evil ways (ix. 21). Now, if the Second Temple had been already destroyed, this latest and overwhelming judgement could not have been passed over. Our author would have pressed it home as an irresistible proof of their guilt. That he did not do so is no accident. It was an event still in the future.

Some statements partially support this date. (*a*) The expectation of the Messiah from Aaron and Israel, ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. This expectation arose, as we know, in connexion with the Maccabean family, and probably persisted only in connexion with that family. But for the peculiar statement 'from Aaron *and Israel*', we could with some reason infer that the Maccabees were still ruling. (*b*) The halacha are severer than those in the Talmud and are closely related in some respects to those in the Book of Jubilees. (*c*) ix. 39, which speaks of 'the men of war' who marched with 'the man of lies' during forty years, would apply tolerably to Jannaeus, who was rightly an object of unmixed hatred to all the faithful of his time. He was a great warrior and his troops were ever on the march. It may, however, be objected that this king reigned not forty but twenty-six years. But to surmount this difficulty it is only necessary to suppose that the book was written during his lifetime, and that the writer expected an evil period of forty years like that in the wilderness. We have a good parallel in the 'Assumption of Moses', where the author predicts that the sons of Herod would reign for a shorter period than their father. This prediction was falsified.

If the above reasoning were valid, our book was probably written between 106 and 58 B.C. But there are stronger grounds for a later date.

(ii) Our book was most probably written between 18 B.C. and A.D. 70, or possibly between 18 B.C. and 8 B.C. The grounds for these dates are as follows: (*a*) x. 1 does seem to imply political subjection on the part of the Jews. Hence our author wrote after 63 or 57 B.C. (*b*) The phrase 'man of lies' receives its most easy explanation as applied to Herod the Great, who reigned forty-one years. The phrase 'man of lies' is eminently fitting for a prince who was wholly devoid of principle and religion. The 'men of war' who went with him were his fierce soldiery—all mercenaries, Galatians, Thracians, Germans—who on the slightest uprising struck down relentlessly on every side.[1] Now, if these identifications are valid, our book was written either during Herod's life, 37 B.C.—A.D. 4, or after Herod's death, accordingly as we take the forty years in our text as a prediction or as recording a fact already past. The next piece of evidence—the peculiar form of the Messianic expectation—favours the former alternative. (*c*) The Messiah was to arise from Aaron and from Israel. See § 12. This implies that he was not to be purely of Levitic or priestly descent, but to be sprung from Levi (i.e. the Maccabees) and some other tribe of Israel. Now when all the direct male descendants of the Maccabees were put to death directly or indirectly by Herod—Antigonus II in B.C. 37, Antigonus III, the brother of Mariamne, in 35 B.C., Hyrcanus II in 30 B.C.—there remained only Mariamne, the wife of Herod, who represented the royal Maccabean house both on her father's and her mother's side and all its claims, and the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, Alexander and Aristobulus. In 29 B.C. Mariamne was executed on a false charge by Herod, and so her two sons Alexander and Aristobulus might reasonably be described as descended *from Aaron and Israel*, seeing that Mariamne was of Aaronic descent alike on her father's and her mother's side, and Herod was said to be a Jew (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 7; cf. xiv. 1. 3), and the Herodian family regarded themselves as Jews, though they were at times reminded that they were only half Jews (*Ant.* xiv. 15. 2). These two young men were held in high esteem by the nation owing to their descent on their mother's side and their own brilliant qualities (*Ant.* xvi. 1. 2), and it is quite possible that the Zadokite Party may have cherished the hope that one of them might become the Messiah, just as similar hopes had arisen in connexion with the earlier Maccabees in the second century B.C. If this be so, our book was probably written between 18 B.C. (when these youths returned to Jerusalem after finishing their education in Rome) and 8 B.C., when they were put to death by their father. With their death the hope of a Messiah arising from the Maccabean family must have finally perished.[2] Hence it is not improbable that our book was written during the lifetime of these young princes.

§ 7. Integrity of the Text.

(i) Our text is *incomplete*. This is obvious even on the most cursory examination. Its end is missing, and probably large portions of the rest of the text as at the close of ix. In the case of the

[1] Herod treated the Sadducees with the utmost rigour. He executed forty-five of the ablest and wealthiest of their party, and confiscated their estates (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1. 2; xiv. 9. 4; *Bell. Iud.* i. 18. 4). The hatred of the priesthood for Herod is therefore very intelligible.

[2] Both Alexander and Aristobulus left sons, the former having married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the latter Bernice, the daughter of Salome. But the descendants of Alexander abandoned Judaism, and the descendants of Aristobulus, being three-fourths Herodian in blood, could not represent the priestly and royal house of the Maccabees, while their infamous character in itself was enough to alienate the few, if any, surviving hopes that attached to this great family.

A text we see that after ix. 28 there is a loss of twenty-six verses, which have happily been preserved in the B text.

(ii) Our text is in great *disorder*. The question of vows is introduced in ix. 1, and then ignored till xx. 2–12. The enumeration of the laws of the Sabbath is given in xiii. 1–11, broken off in xiii. 12 and resumed in xiii. 13, broken off in xiii. 27 and resumed in xiv. 6. The duties of the Censor are dealt with in xvi. 1–12, and again in xvii. 6–7. The laws as to Uncleanness are scattered here and there throughout chapters xii–xv, i.e. in xii. 1–2, xiii. 12, xiv. 1–3, 7–16, xv. 1–3.

(iii) Our text may be based on an earlier document or documents. This appears to be so in i. 5, where there is a prose insertion in the midst of verse. A still more obvious prose addition is to be found in ii. 8. Yet these prose additions are in character with the later chapters of the book.

§ 8. Attitude of the Party to the O. T. and other Ancient Jewish Books.

We have here a very interesting question. We have to inquire into the attitude of the Party towards the various sections of the O. T., i.e. the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. In this inquiry we shall, for the present, take account only of those passages which are introduced by such significant expressions as כאשר אמר, אשר אמר, &c. Afterwards we shall deal with those passages which are actually quotations, but which are not introduced as such. By a study of these two classes of passages, we shall be able to determine the respective values our author set on the three divisions of the O. T.

(i) *Quotations from the O. T. introduced as such* (α) *but without mention of the speaker or writer.*

(*a*) כאשר אמר (= καθὼς εἶπεν John i. 23, vii. 38: cf. καθὼς ἐλάλησε Luke i. 55, 70). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Num. xxx. 16 in ix. 1, and three times of the Prophets, i.e. Amos v. 26–7 in ix. 5, Amos ix. 11 in ix. 6, and Hosea iii. 4 in ix. 40. This usage, as we have seen above, is found in the N. T. also.

(*b*) אשר אמר (cf. προφῆται . . . ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν Acts iii. 24, and ὁ λόγος Ἡσαίου . . . ὃν εἶπε John xii. 38). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Lev. xix. 18 in x. 2, and Deut. xxiii. 24 in xx. 4: and twice of the Prophets, i.e. Hos. v. 11 in vii. 1 and Mic. vii. 2 in xx. 11. This usage also belongs to the N. T.

(*c*) כתוב (= γέγραπται Matt. iv. 4, 6, 7, 10, xxi. 13, &c.). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Deut. xvii. 17 in vii. 4, once of the Prophets, i.e. Nahum i. 2 in x. 3, once of the Hagiographa, i.e. Prov. xv. 8 in xiv. 1. It occurs also in xiii. 27, but the quotation is lost. This is the most usual of the N. T. usages.

(*d*) כאשר כתוב (= καθὼς γέγραπται Mark i. 2; Luke ii. 23; Rom. i. 17, iii. 10, &c.; ὡς γέγραπται Mark vii. 6; Luke iii. 4; καθώς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον John vi. 31). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Num. xxiv. 17 in ix. 8.

(*e*) כב (= ככתוב—practically the same as the preceding = κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον 2 Cor. iv. 13 (cf. καθάπερ γέγραπται Rom. iii. 4, ix. 13, &c.—Westcott and Hort)). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. vii. 9 in viii. 21 (B).

(β) *With mention of the speaker or writer.*

(*a*) אשר אמר אל (cf. ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τ. ἁγίων . . . προφητῶν Acts iii. 21). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Deut. xxxii. 33 in ix. 19 and Lev. xix. 17 in x. 5 (אל אשר אמר), and once of the Prophets, i.e. Mal. i. 10 in viii. 11.

(*b*) אשר אמר משה. This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. ix. 5 and vii. 8 in ix. 23 (A B). In vii. 10 we have ומשה אמר (= Μωυσῆς εἶπεν Mark vii. 10; Acts iii. 22) used of Lev. xviii. 13.

(*c*) אשר אמר ישעיה in viii. 8 from Isa. liv. 16.

(*d*) אשר אמר ביד יחזקיאל in ix. 11 (B) from Ezek. ix. 4.

(*e*) אשר כתוב ביד זכריה in ix. 2 (B) from Zech. xiii. 7.

(*f*) כתוב בדברי ישעיה in ix. 2 (A) from Isa. vii. 17.

If we summarize the above facts, we find that, while the Hagiographa is expressly quoted once, the Law is quoted ten times and the Prophets eleven times. Thus in the eyes of the Zadokite Party the Prophets were at all events not less important than the Law, though theoretically the Law was held in the highest honour: cf. xix. 2, 11, xx. 2, 7. In this respect this Party are at variance with the practice of Judaism as a whole after the year A.D. 70, but not with the Apocalyptic or more spiritual side of Pharisaism before the Christian era. The chief studies of Apocalyptic Pharisaism were devoted to Prophecy, and hence to them the Law and the Prophets were *practically* of equal worth, however differently they might view this question *theoretically*. At all events, in the Apocalyptic School of Pharisaism this practical equating of the Law and the Prophets was current, and in this respect the Zadokites approximated to this School, being no doubt influenced by it. We are not surprised, therefore, that in the N. T. the actual phrase 'the Law and the Prophets' is used frequently: cf. Matt. v. 17, vii. 12, xxii. 40; Luke xvi. 16 (xxiv. 44); John i. 45; Acts xiii. 15,

xxiv. 14, xxviii. 23; Rom. iii. 21, and in the inverse order in Matt. xi. 13. The N. T. usage represents the culmination of this tendency which was at work in the preceding two centuries and more.

But in addition to the O. T. books our Party assigned to other writings a canonical or a deutero-canonical value[1]. For in vi. 10 we have the expression 'concerning which Levi the Son of Jacob spake' (אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב), the source being probably the Test. Lev. ix. 9, xiv. 5–6, xvi. 1. In xi. 4 there is a quotation drawn apparently from Jub. xxiii. 11, and the title of this book is given in full in xx. 1. Possibly to both these books a quasi-canonical authority was accorded. Another book—hitherto wholly unknown—is 'the Book of the Hagu' in xi. 2, xv. 5, xvii. 5. From the contexts in which it is mentioned it seems to have contained traditional decisions. The ten judges of each congregation (xi. 1–2) were to be thoroughly versed in it (cf. xv. 5). These judges were both clerical and lay. Associated with this book is another entitled the 'Ordinances (or 'Foundations') of the Covenant' (xi. 2). This work probably contained the statutes of the New Covenant which was drawn up at Damascus. Again, in vii. 19 we have mention of the apocryph entitled 'Jannes and Jambres'. Finally, in ix. 28 A there may be an allusion to two Pseudepigraphs—'This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi'.

In these two respects: 1° in the recognition of the Prophets as pretty much on the same level as the Law; 2° in the use and even the quasi-canonical recognition of a body of Pseudepigraphs, the Zadokite Party is like most of the intensely religious parties in Palestine before the Christian era; for all these parties edited Pseudepigraphs.

§ 9. *The Zadokite Party had its Origin in the Priesthood (i.e. the Sadducees) but was closely related to the Pharisees.*

The Zadokite Party represents an attempt at reform beginning within the ranks of the priesthood and extending outwards so as to embrace a strong lay element (xi. 2, xvii. 1–3), just as the Pharisaic movement was an attempt at reform initiated on the side of the laity but ultimately embracing a large section of the priesthood.

We have already come to the conclusion (§ 5) that the Zadokites formed a Party and not a Sect in Judaism. We have now to determine, so far as we may, the position and affinities of this Party in relation to the Samaritans, Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees. In the course of this comparison many of the distinctive teachings of this party will come to light.

1° *The Zadokites were not Samaritans.* The Zadokites were not Samaritans; for not only did they acknowledge the canonicity of the Prophets and Hagiographa, which the Samaritans denied, but they set on these two divisions of the O. T. a higher value than the legalistic side of Pharisaism.

2° *The Zadokites were not Essenes.* The Zadokites were not Essenes, since they inculcated the duty of animal sacrifice, xiii. 27; xiv. 1.

3° *The Zadokites were related in point of origin and name to the Sadducees, but were not Sadducees in the ordinary sense but a reformed Sadduceeism.* The two names are the same in Hebrew, צדוקים. The Zadokites called themselves 'sons of Zadok' בני צדוק, vi. 2, and this was also the name of the priests: cf. Sir. li. 12[9] (Hebrew) הודו לבוחר בבני צדוק לכהן 'Praise Him who chose the sons of Zadok to be priests'. With this designation in Sirach cf. Ezek. xl. 46, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11; 1 Chron. xxix. 22. Thus the Party did not choose a new name but retained the name to which they had a right as priests and Levites. By so doing they no doubt claimed to be the true 'sons of Zadok' as opposed to the Sadducean priesthood. For, though they belonged in point of origin to the Sadducean priesthood, they came to differ essentially from them through internal reform and the adoption of new tenets. Theirs was a reformed Sadduceeism.

(*a*) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6. So also the priestly author of the Book of Jubilees believed.

(*b*) They believed in the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10 (B), &c.

(*c*) They cultivated an ascetic form of life, viii. 12–20, as opposed to the self-indulgent life of the Sadducees: and shunned the wealth of the Temple, viii. 12, but the meaning of this passage is doubtful.

(*d*) They set a value on the Prophets and Hagiographa which the Sadducees would wholly have repudiated.[2]

[1] In Test. Lev. x. 5 there is an express quotation from 1 Enoch lxxxix. 54. This recognition of Pseudepigraphs was very general before A.D. 70. Whatever the Law was in theory, these books formed the living literature of the most ardent spirits of the time. The Book of Daniel is simply the most prominent member of this class.

[2] That in our Lord's time the main body of the Sadducees accepted only the Pentateuch as *normative* is clear from the fact that the only argument He used in favour of a future life in His debate with them was drawn from the Pentateuch. The same argument was used by the Samaritans for the same purpose. See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4240.

(*e*) They attacked the Hellenizing priesthood, ix. 19–20. 'Their wine is the poison of dragons': i. e. they adopt the ways of the Greeks.

(*f*) They recognized a certain amount of tradition, whereas the Sadducees rejected all but the written Law. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6. In the middle of the first century B. C. there was a great strife between the Pharisees and Sadducees, in which the former won the day under the leadership of Simon ben Shetach and Judas ben Tabbai. So overjoyed were the Pharisees over this victory, i. e. of oral tradition over the letter of the written Law, that they instituted a festival to commemorate it (Meg. Taan. iv).

(*g*) They accused Israel of 'despising the prophets', ix. 7. This charge could not have been brought by a purely Sadducean priest but only by a reformed Sadducean priest.

4° *The Zadokites were related in many respects to the Pharisees but were not Pharisees.* They were related in many respects; for

(*a*) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6.
(*b*) „ „ angels and spirits, vi. 9, ix. 12 (ii. 4).
(*c*) „ „ the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10, &c.
(*d*) „ „ a certain body of tradition.
(*e*) „ „ the divine predestination, ii. 6, 10 *c*, and yet in free-will, iii. 1–2, 7, iv. 2, 10.
(*f*) They required separation from the people of the land, ix. 18.

But in many respects they were opposed to the Pharisees.

(*a*) The attack on 'the builders of the wall', vii. 1, ix. 21, 26, can be best explained in reference to the Pharisees and the abnormal growth of oral tradition (see note on ix. 21). The Pharisees 'removed the landmark', viii. 1, and they made the written Law of none effect by their tradition.

(*b*) The Zadokites forbade divorce, vii. 1–3, which was permitted freely by the Pharisees. Hence the charge of fornication brought against the Pharisees in vii. 1.

(*c*) The charges of robbing the Temple offerings may have been directed against them. Simon ben Shetach, the chief Pharisee of the reign of Jannaeus, was charged with this offence: see viii. 12 note. But the text may be interpreted differently (see (*g*) below).

(*d*) While it was the practice of the Rabbis to derive halacha from the Pentateuch almost universally, the Zadokites, owing to the higher estimation in which they held the Prophets, founded halacha on their writings. Thus halacha are derived, x. 4, from Nahum i. 2; in x. 6 from 1 Sam. 26, 31; in xiii. 16 from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27 (cf. Neh. xiii. 19)—a regulation adopted also in the Mishna; in xiv 1 from Prov. xv. 8.

(*e*) The Zadokites, like the Sadducees ('Erub vi. 2), were opposed to the Pharisaic principle of the 'Erub, i. e. the combination of several private precincts in order to justify the carrying of food and vessels from one house to another on the Sabbath day: see our text xiii. 16.

(*f*) Our text in xiv. 15 (see note *ad fin.*) seems to extend the power of contamination from direct to indirect contact. This legislation was due to the Sadducees, Yad. iv. 7.

(*g*) Possibly the difficult words 'to hold aloof . . . from the wealth of the Sanctuary' (viii. 12) may be interpreted as referring to the Sadducean contention that the daily burnt-offering (Num. xxviii. 4) should be offered at the personal cost of the High Priest: whereas the Pharisees maintained that it should be provided as national sacrifice by the Temple treasury.

(*h*) The Zadokites charged the Pharisees with profaning the Temple through sexual pollution, vii. 8: with allowing a man to marry his niece, vii. 9—an act in which some of the Rabbis actually gloried: with disturbing the Sabbaths and festivals through their revolutionary reforms of the Calendar, v. 2 (see note). Though the details are not given they can be discovered by means of Jubilees and the Talmud. The Pharisees further were charged with usurping (i. 11) the judicial functions of the priesthood, vi. 4. Hence their judgements could not be right.

From the first of these two lists it appears that the Zadokite party were closely related to the Pharisees in their eschatological doctrines (*a*, *b*, *c*), in their acceptance of a limited measure of tradition, (*d*) in their views on predestination and free-will, and in their insistence on separation from the people of the land (*e*, *f*). On the other hand, from the second list it is clear that on several important questions as tradition, divorce, and the source of halacha they were opposed to the legalistic Pharisees, and in certain others mentioned under *e*, *f*, (*g*?), *h*, they held fast to the positions maintained by the Sadducean priesthood. From these two facts, combined with the facts stated under 3°, the natural conclusion is that *the Zadokites had their origin in the priesthood and formed a party within it but a reforming party, the reformation being due largely to the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism as is shown by the extreme importance attached to O. T. prophecy and the advanced views on Eschatology.*[1] The

[1] The Zadokites, owing to the right estimation they placed on O.T. prophecy, would naturally have been predisposed to accept Christianity, even in a greater degree possibly than the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism. They may have formed part, at all events, of the 'great company of the priests' that became 'obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

fact that they used the literature that supported the claims of the Maccabees (i.e. Test. Twelve Patr. and Jubilees) would in part account for their looking forward to a Messiah sprung from the Maccabees, but see § 12.

§ 10. The Principal Events in the History of the Zadokite Party.

About 390 years after the fall of Jerusalem, i.e. 196 B.C. God had mercy on His people and 'visited them,

> And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
> A root of His planting to inherit His land' (i. 5).

The order in this statement is remarkable, i.e. not 'from Aaron and Israel', but 'from Israel and Aaron'. If this order is original it seems to indicate that the religious revival referred to in i. 5–6 originated on the side of the laity. In other words, it was the same great lay movement that gave birth to the Pharisaic Party and likewise to the Zadokite, but, whereas in the case of the former the lay element always remained paramount, in the case of the latter the priestly element held unquestioned sway.[1]

I will now place under separate heads the chief stages in the actual as well as the expected developments of the Zadokite Party.

(i) *Rise of the Party and its breach with the Sadducean Priesthood.* When God visited His people about 196 B.C. there ensued a period of spiritual unrest which lasted for twenty years, during which Israel 'groped after the way', and came to know that 'they were guilty men', i. 6. What followed immediately on this religious revival we can gather by reading between the lines. For from their vigorous action later we are justified first of all in inferring that this religious revival led to action, and in the next place, from their subsequent protest, which runs through several chapters, against the profanation of the Temple by the (Hellenizing) priests and others, we may reasonably conclude that the first public act of the Zadokite Party was the denunciation of the irregularities connected with the Temple worship in more scathing and irreconcilable terms than had been used by Malachi the prophet and 1 Enoch. But when in this attempt at reform they failed to gain the support of the people (cf. 1 Enoch xc. 6–7), they migrated either voluntarily or under compulsion to Damascus, vi. 1, possibly soon after 176 B.C., under the leadership of 'the Star', ix. 8, whose advent had been foretold in Num. xxiv. 17.

(ii) *The establishment of the New Covenant of Repentance and the subsequent breach of the Party with the Pharisees.* 'The Star' just referred to is likewise called 'the Lawgiver' (מחקק), viii. 5, 8, 9. He was not a lawgiver in the sense of Moses, but rather an interpreter of the Law. Of the Star, as of the Lawgiver, the outstanding characteristic is that 'he studied the Law', viii. 8, ix. 8. Under this Lawgiver the religious side of the movement culminated at Damascus in the establishment of 'the new Covenant' (הברית החדשה), viii. 15, ix. 28, 37—the covenant foretold by Jeremiah xxxi. 30 sqq., though this claim is not advanced by our author. This covenant was fittingly called 'the covenant of repentance' (ברית תשובה), ix. 15 (B)), seeing that the Party as a whole originated in a conviction of their sinfulness before God, i. 6, and that they designated themselves as 'the penitents of Israel' (שבי ישראל), vi. 1, viii. 6, ix. 24; for they 'repented of their transgression', ii. 3, ix. 41; and dwelt frequently on the fact and the marvellousness of the divine forgiveness, ii. 3, v. 5, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8. To them the words of Ezekiel xliv. 15 were addressed, v. 7, and thus they alone formed the true priesthood of Israel, vi. 1–2.

Under the leadership of the Lawgiver the Party established itself resolutely on the lines of the *written* Law. In this task he was assisted by the other members of the Party, viii. 5.

> 'A well the princes digged,
> The nobles of the people delved it
> By the order of the Lawgiver.'

'The well' here, as our author explains, is 'the Law', and 'they who digged it are the penitents of Israel', viii. 6. But 'the Law' is not to be understood in the narrow sense of the Pentateuch. It embraces the Prophets and the Hagiographa. From the standpoint of the latter can be explained their adoption of certain tenets of the higher theology, which, from the standpoint of unreformed Sadduceeism, would have been impossible (see §§ 8 and 9. 3°).

It was most probably the intensely ethical and religious character of the revival in which the

[1] But it is to be observed that in viii. 3, where the same movement is referred to, its leaders are described as being raised by God 'from Aaron . . . and from Israel'. These words would represent the religious reformation as due to the joint efforts of the priests and the laity.

Zadokite Party originated that led to their recognition of the Prophets as of equal value with the Law. It is this equal recognition of the Law and the Prophets that differentiates the Zadokite Party alike from the legalistic Pharisee and the unreformed Sadducee.

Taking their stand, therefore, on the written word, they charged the Pharisees with raising such a body of tradition (i.e. 'the wall' referred to in vii. 1, ix. 21, 26) round the written Law that it was made void (see § 9. 3°, 4°): with speaking rebellion against the Law and leading Israel astray, viii. 1, and despising the words of the Prophets, ix. 7. As the true representatives of the Law, they designated their Party as 'the House of the Law', ix. 35, 37, though it is possible that this phrase may mean the School or College belonging to their Party in which the Law was taught.[1]

(iii) *The Party claims to be the true Israel: hence the Temple was their Sanctuary, Jerusalem their holy city, and the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary effort.* The New Covenant was established by the leaders of the Party in Damascus, but from thence they returned to the land of Israel. There is not a hint that Damascus continued to be even one permanent place of sojourn of the Party among others, much less their head-quarters. Cf. viii. 6 with viii. 15, ix. 28, 37. For the true Israel as they claimed to be, heirs of all the divine promises, to whom belonged the Covenants, the priestly functions, the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter privileges had been usurped by the Pharisees—the Temple at Jerusalem (i. 3 note), in whose sacrifices they took part,[2] xiii. 27, and none other could be their Sanctuary, and Jerusalem and none other their Holy City, ix. 46, the city of their Sanctuary, ix. 46, xiv. 4, and all the cities of Israel were theirs to be instructed by them in the Law of God, xv. 1–3.

In all these cities the Zadokites organized themselves in congregations and assemblies, of which there are no less than five distinct Hebrew words used (see note on 1. 17). Only the faithful members of the Party were allowed to share in their worship or take part in their counsels. To these a candidate for membership could be admitted only by the Censor, xvi. 6. Should a member of the Party profane the Sabbath or the Feasts he was to be excluded, and not to be restored for a period of seven years after his repentance, xiv. 6.

(iv) *Period of obedience to the precepts of 'the Lawgiver' (or 'the Star') till the coming of the 'Teacher of Righteousness'. The Party henceforth called the 'Sons of Zadok'.* 'Throughout the full period of the wickedness,' viii. 9 (cf. i. 5 note), the Zadokites were to walk according to the precepts laid down by the Lawgiver in accordance with the Law, viii. 9. All such as disobeyed these precepts were to be expelled from the congregation, ix. 31, and not reinstated until they returned to the degree of holy perfection, ix. 32. But in case they persisted in their apostasy, they and theirs should no longer have a share in the House of the Law, ix. 34–5. Besides these precepts they were to receive no fresh revelation or instruction till the 'Teacher of Righteousness' arose 'in the end of the days', viii. 10, i. 7 note. This last phrase is eschatological and indefinite, and does not help towards fixing the date of this Teacher. At all events, a probably considerable period elapsed between the founding of the New Covenant and his advent. From the fact that we are told nothing about the teaching of this Teacher of Righteousness, we may conclude the defectiveness of our MSS. The task of this Teacher, who was also designated the Unique Teacher, ix. 29, 39, 53, was apparently to prepare the way for the Messiah. Not improbably it was during the time of this Teacher that the Zadokites came to be known as, or assumed the name of, 'Sons of Zadok', for his time synchronizes with that of their assumption of this title—being both 'in the end of the days' (באחרית הימים), vi. 2, compared with viii. 10.

(v) *Period from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness to the expected advent of the Messiah.* After the death of the Teacher of Righteousness a fresh interval elapsed before we come to any definite date. In ix. 39–41 a period of 'about forty years' is spoken of. These may count from the death of the Teacher, or they may begin at some year subsequent to his death. In any case we have arrived at a new epoch which is at least forty years after the death of the Teacher, and may be more. Since the Teacher came '*in the end of the days*', viii. 10, and at least forty years have already run their course since his removal, it follows that we have now come to our author's own time. During these forty years those 'who repented of transgression in Jacob' had 'observed the Covenant of God', ix. 41, exhorting each other to 'hold fast to the way of God', ix. 42. But as for those who had been faithless, they were to be handed over to the sword when the Messiah[3]

[1] With this expression we might contrast the expression 'The House of Midrash' (בית המדרש), which meant the (Pharisaic) School or College in which the Law and its problems were studied. In the earlier days it designated the seat of the High Court of Justice, or of the Sanhedrin in the Temple and in Jabne. See Levy, *Lex.* iii. 34. In opposition to this phrase the Zadokites may have chosen deliberately the above expression 'the House of the Law'.

[2] On the other hand the Zadokite priests were not allowed to share in the Temple ritual unless under certain conditions, viii. 12–20.

[3] The Messiah was apparently called also 'the Sceptre', ix. 9.

'from Aaron and Israel' comes, ix. 10, 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. This event is still in the future. Now if I have been right in my interpretation of the peculiar phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' (see § 12), then the author wrote between the years 18 and 8 B.C. It is remarkable that, whereas a Pharisaic work—the Assumption of Moses—written shortly after this date abandoned wholly the hope of a Messiah, the present work, written by a priest, should just on the eve of the Christian era look forward earnestly to a militant Messiah, who should avenge his people, ix. 10, take upon himself the ruling of God's people and the settlement of all disputed questions, xv. 4.

(vi) The later history of the Zadokites can only be surmised. It is not at all improbable that some, if not many, of them joined the Christian Church. Their appreciation—unparalleled in Judaism—of the Prophets, their insistence on the need of repentance, their constant proclamation of the readiness of God to pardon the repentant, their expectation of the Messiah and of a blessed future life—all these beliefs and hopes would prepare them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

(vii) Into the possible influence of the Zadokites on the Karaites, a Jewish Sect of the eighth century of the Christian era, we cannot enter here. The whole question is too doubtful to be discussed in the present connexion. Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar and exegete who flourished in the tenth century of our era, was, as we have already pointed out (§ 2), acquainted with our present text or with something very similar to it. That the Zadokites had any direct connexion with the Dosithean Sect is improbable in every way. According to the Ps. Tertullian (*Adv. omnes Haereses*, i) Dositheus was the first to deny the Prophets. If this statement is trustworthy, it is enough to prove that the Zadokites, who regarded the Prophets as of equal worth with the Law, had nothing whatever to do with the Dositheans. Rabbinical sources make Dositheus the founder of a Samaritan Sect (see *Jewish Encyc.* iv. 643). If this has any element of truth in it, the Dositheans could claim no affinity with the Zadokites. In fact Zadokites and Dositheans, from whatever source we derive our knowledge of the latter, are widely sundered on characteristic and essential doctrines. Agreement on minor points may be established, but these points of agreement were not peculiar to the two bodies with which we are concerned.[1]

§ 11. The Constitution of the Party—the Four Orders.

The Zadokite Party consisted of four Orders—Priests, Levites, Israelites, and Proselytes, xvii. 3. The governing body in each congregation (i. 17 note) was to consist of ten men chosen from the first three Orders, xi. 2, whose age was to be not less than twenty-five years and not more than sixty. These were to be called 'judges of the congregation', and were to be selected from the tribe of Levi and Aaron and from Israel, four from the former and six from Israel. This body was to be presided over by two men, who belonged to this number or were independent of it. The first of these was to be a priest from thirty to sixty years old, learned in the Book of the Hagu and in the judgements of the Law, xvii. 5, xv. 5. His duty was to number the members of the settlement according to their rank in the Four Orders, xvii. 1–5, to decide in regard to cases of leprosy, xv. 7–8, and generally to bear rule, xv. 5–6.

The second joint authority was the Censor (=מבקר). On Jewish officials bearing this title, but with different functions, the reader should consult the notes on x. 10, xvi. 1. In our text this official, whose age was to be between thirty and fifty, xvii. 6, had very extensive duties. It was his task to give instruction to the many in the works of God, xvi. 1; to admit new members into the Party, xvi. 6 (xix. 10 sq.), assigning to each his proper place according to his personal powers and qualifications, xvi. 4; to examine and receive back the lapsed on their repentance, xix. 7–10; to administer the monthly alms of the congregation to those in need, xviii. 2 sqq.; to regulate suits and controversies, xvii. 8, xix. 12; to exercise control over all business with the Gentiles, xvi. 7–8; and to fulfil the functions of supreme judge in the case of capital and other offences, x. 10–13.

This organization was spread over the cities of Israel, xv. 1. Congregations or communities on the above model were formed in these cities, which met together in 'houses of worship', xiv. 2, for divine service. These buildings were secured against ceremonial uncleanness on the part of the worshippers, xiv. 2.

But the centre of the Party was Jerusalem—'the city of the Sanctuary', where the usual burnt sacrifices were offered, xiii. 27. The entire city, as the holy city, ix. 46, was to be kept pure from Levitical impurity, xiv. 4.

[1] On the Dositheans, see 'Dositheus' in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, i. 902–4; in Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encycl.*; in the *Jewish Encycl.* iv. 643–4; and the literature cited in these articles; also Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, pp. xxi–xxvi.

§ 12. THE MESSIAH—EXPECTED TO ARISE FROM AARON AND ISRAEL.

The Zadokite Party expected a Messiah not from Levi simply as in the *Test. xii Patriarchs* but '*from Aaron and from Israel*', ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. It must be confessed that the form of the expectation is peculiar and needs explanation. Since our author was acquainted with the *Test. xii Patr.*, the fact that he does not simply repeat the expectation there entertained, but differentiates that of his Party from it, leads us to conclude that the difference of phraseology points to a real difference in the nature of the expectation. Since the Messiah was to be descended, not from Aaron simply, but 'from Aaron and from Israel', the additional words 'and from Israel' are surely significant. The priesthood was, of course, an hereditary privilege, and could only be passed on through the male line. As long as the succession from father to son was preserved the descent through the mother was *immaterial*; for the priests were not confined in their choice of wives to the Tribe of Levi. Not only could they marry any Israelite, but they could marry the daughter of a proselyte.[1] These facts make the phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' all the more strange. In the case of unbroken descent *in the male line*, the words 'and from Israel' would be wholly superfluous. Hence they cannot point to the maternal ancestry of the expected Messiah. If not to the maternal ancestry, then they can only refer to his paternal ancestry. If this reasoning is valid, it follows that the expected Messiah was to spring from Israel, i. e. from a non-priestly source, on his father's side, and from Aaron, i. e. from a priestly source, on his mother's. Such an expectation could only be explained, so far as I am aware, in reference to the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, i. e. Alexander and Aristobulus. Herod was an Israelite—see § 6. ii—while Mariamne combined in her own person all the royal claims of the Maccabean house. Since Alexander and Aristobulus were descended from Aaron on the spindle side, they could not legitimately inherit the priesthood. But the technically non-priestly character of Mariamne's sons could not stand in the way of the Messianic hopes attached to them by the Zadokite Party, since the all but universal expectation of Israel was directed to a Messiah sprung not from Levi but from Judah. But since the Zadokite Party rejected the expectation of a Messiah from Judah they described their expected Messiah as sprung from Aaron (i. e. from the Maccabees through Mariamne) and from Israel (i. e. from Herod).

But we can go a step further in defining the comprehension of the words 'and from Israel'. Since throughout our text there is a decided *animus* against Judah and the dynasty of David, we may fairly conclude that the Messiah was not expected to spring from Levi and Judah—which would have been a natural fusion of the two conflicting hopes—but from Aaron and an Israelite, who was not descended from Judah.

This hostility to the Davidic stock and to Judah is not an unmediated and unlooked-for phenomenon. The way had already been prepared for it in the struggles of the Jewish hierarchy to preserve its ancient prerogatives against the encroachments of the Pharisees and their followers. The hostility to the Davidic stock is already apparent in Sirach—the work of a priest or at all events an upholder of the high sacerdotal claims of that period. Lévi (*L'Ecclésiastique*, I. xxxvi) has drawn attention to Sirach's glorification of the priesthood at the expense of the kings. While only a few verses are assigned to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (xliv. 19–23), and even to Moses (xlv. 1–5), Aaron and his descendants are the subjects of long and glowing eulogiums (xlv. 6–24). To Aaron God gave the priesthood by 'an everlasting covenant' (xlv. 7, 15), which was to last 'as long as the heaven endureth' (xlv. 15); to the priesthood God had entrusted the charge of His commandments, the power to deal with statutes and judgements, and the right of teaching His people (xlv. 17); and the book practically closes with a lofty panegyric on Simon the High Priest, the son of Onias (l). On the other hand, Sirach depreciates the kingly dynasty. He admits that God had, indeed, made a covenant with David touching the kingdom, but he points out that that was only an ordinary and limited heritage passing from father to son, whereas that of Aaron was an everlasting heritage transmitted to all his posterity (xlv. 25). He is careful, moreover, to point out that the dynasty of David had proved itself unworthy of the divine favour; for that only three of them, including David (xlix. 4), had been faithful to God, and that accordingly they were stripped of the kingship and the government of the nation re-entrusted to the priesthood. Nor could the Messiah arise from such a stock: if a Messiah was to be expected he was to be Elijah reappearing in the flesh (xlviii. 10–11).

[1] The greatest care was taken in regard to the character of the wives chosen by the priests. Their pedigrees, unless known to be unimpeachable, were examined for four generations on both sides in the case of priestly lineage, for five if they were of non-priestly origin. Cf. Qid. iv. 4, 5, 77 *ab*: Joseph. *Contra Ap.* i. 7. Though a priest might not marry a proselyte, he could marry the daughter of a proselyte. If both parents of a woman were proselytes, a priest was not allowed to marry her; but if he did so, the marriage was considered legitimate. See *Jewish Encyc.*, x. 195.

This glorification of Levi over Judah is repeated in Jubilees, which, like Sirach, was written by a priest, but by a priest who had assimilated some of the higher theology such as the doctrine of a blessed future life (xxiii. 31).[1] In Jubilees Levi receives the first blessing (xxxi. 15–17), and Judah the second (xxxi. 18–20). Levi was to be at once the supreme teacher, the sole priest, and the civil ruler of the nation. Judah's blessing dwells on his great military power, which the Gentiles should fear and at which the nations should quake. Thereby he should prove the help of Jacob and the royal dynasty should bring peace to Israel. There is a clause of two or three words in xxxi. 18 *d* referring to a Messiah from Judah, but it is most probably an interpolation, since throughout the rest of this long work there is not even the barest hint of such a hope.

The glorification of Levi reaches its climax in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Not only is Levi the supreme authority in Church and State: from Levi also is to spring the coming Messiah. In fact the Messiah had already come in the person of John Hyrcanus according to the author of the Testaments, just as according to the earlier writing, the CX Psalm, he had already come in the person of Simon the Maccabee.

The development actually realized and the tendencies in the process of evolution in these books find a not unnatural culmination in our author. The steady glorification of Levi in Sirach, Jubilees, and the Testaments had only served to reduce Judah to the second place of authority and honour in the nation, but not otherwise to depreciate that great tribe. In no case had this process degenerated into a hostile attack on Judah. And yet this and naught else could be the inevitable outcome of the tendencies which were actively at work in the second century before the Christian era.

These tendencies came to a head in the Zadokite Fragments. Therein the glorification of the Zadokite priests is carried out *pari passu* with the disparagement of the Davidic family and claims and an attack on Judah. David is accused of ignorance of the Law (vii. 5). The title 'king' (מלך) is replaced by that of 'prince' (נשיא vii. 4). In ix. 7 the passage from Amos ix. 11, which promises the setting up of 'the tabernacle of David that is fallen', is explained in such a way that all reference to David is got rid of; for 'the king' is said to denote 'the Congregation', and 'the tabernacle of the king' to denote 'the books of the Law'. Having thus explained away the Davidic expectation, a prophecy of the Zadokite Messiah (see ix. 8) is discovered in Num. xxiii. 17.

The princes of Judah are attacked in ix. 13 as being 'like them that remove the landmark' (ix. 13), i.e. the Pharisees. When the time of the end was approaching the Zadokites were to break off all relations with Judah, vi. 7.

§ 13. Some of the Teachings of the Book.

I shall content myself in the main with referring to my notes on the theological views of the Zadokites.

The Messiah. See § 12.

Doctrine of a future life. See note on v. 6. Some scholars have doubted the reference of this verse to a future life. But even if it were absent it would not affect the question. The Zadokites are the disciples of the Prophets and the Hagiographa, and in these the doctrine of a future life is taught. The Party that regarded the Book of Daniel, the Book of Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as authoritative could not have questioned the belief in a blessed future life.

Repentance. See note on vi. 1 and references: also Introd., § 10. ii. In this respect they prepare the way for the preaching of John the Baptist.

Predestination and free-will. See ii. 6 note, iii. 7 *a*, iv. 2 *c*, 10, § 9. 4°.

Divorce. Divorce is absolutely forbidden in our text. See vii. 1.

The Law and the Prophets. It will be sufficient here to refer to § 8 and Index I, to show how profoundly the Zadokites valued the Prophets. The fact to which we have drawn attention elsewhere (see § 9. 4°), that they based halacha on the Prophets, is proof that they regarded the Prophets as of equal authority with the Law. Their attitude in this respect is nearer to that of the Sermon on the Mount than that of any other Party in Judaism.

§ 14. Bibliography.

(*a*) *Text.* As yet there is only one text, since owing to Dr. Schechter's arrangement with the University Library, Cambridge, no scholar is to be allowed to see the MSS. for five years after the publication of

[1] In the time of Josephus apparently only the Sadducees of the highest rank still denied the doctrine of a blessed future life (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 4). Thus this doctrine seemed gradually to have permeated the main body of the Sadducees by the middle of the first century of the Christian era.

Dr. Schechter's edition. Even if Dr. Schechter's edition were thoroughly satisfactory this extraordinary action on his part could hardly fail to call forth the reprobation of scholars generally. We shall now proceed to pass a few criticisms on his text.

Fragments of a Zadokite Work edited from Hebrew MSS. in the Cairo Genizah Collection now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, and provided with an English Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by S. Schechter, M.A., D.Litt., President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York.

Scholars are indeed grateful to Dr. Schechter for the discovery of these valuable MSS., but they cannot be expected to feel it in such measure for the way in which the text has been edited. It is carelessly done. Thus on eighteen pages of text there are two and a quarter pages of corrigenda and suggestions (pp. lvii–lix). A second list of corrigenda is to be found in the notes on the translation. In a third list (lix–lx) embodying corrections of and additions to the translation and notes a very important correction not included in the former two lists is given. But the above series of corrigenda are not exhaustive. This will be obvious to any student who carefully compares the text of p. 20 with the *facsimile* of this page. Let us take a few lines beginning with l. 17. In l. 17 if we read אז there is room only for one letter and not two after it. In l. 18 before את אחיו and after ן a gap is left for seven letters, four of which Dr. Schechter supplies. There is room only for four. In l. 19 after זכרן Dr. Schechter leaves a space for two letters: it should be for four or five. Before לחושבי in the same line ו should be supplied or a gap left for one letter. In l. 21 after חסר a gap is left for two letters: it should be for four or five. In l. 33 the first word is את not אל.

If Dr. Schechter chooses to edit his text so carelessly that is of course his own concern, but in that case he ought at all events to have published a *facsimile* of the entire MSS.—only a matter of eighteen pages. To publish such a text and then to deny all scholars access to the original MSS. for five years is strange conduct on the part of a seeker after truth. The world of scholars from Lévi, who first expressed the need of a *facsimile*, to the latest students of the text, look to Dr. Schechter either to remove this unscholarly embargo or himself to publish a *facsimile* without delay.

(*b*) *Translations.*[1] Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work.* The translation of a text for the first time is obviously a piece of pioneer work, and should therefore be treated with all consideration. It betrays, as might be expected, frequent failures to apprehend the meaning of the writer, but on the other hand in many passages Dr. Schechter has shown great insight and his encyclopaedic knowledge of Rabbinic literature has helped to clear up many a difficulty from the outset.

Lévi, 'Un Écrit Sadducéen antérieur à la ruine du Temple' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxi. 161–205, 1911. This masterly translation, accompanied with a few notes, forms a vast advance on the preceding. My obligations to it are mentioned not unfrequently in my notes. Unfortunately I had completed both my translation and notes before I saw either this translation or that which follows, else my notes might have taken a different form.

Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique*, Avril, 1912, pp. 213–40. While Lévi's translation is racy and idiomatic, Lagrange's translation aims at being a literal reproduction of the text. It shows the influence of Lévi, but in certain passages makes a fresh contribution to the understanding of the text.

(*c*) *Critical Studies.* Bacher, *Zeitschrift f. hebr. Bibliographie*, No. 1, Jan.–Feb. 1911. Leszynski, 'Observations sur les "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" édités par Schechter' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxii. 190–6, with Lévi's rejoinder in pp. 197–200.

Margoliouth (G.) in the *Athenæum*, Nov. 26, 1911; 'The Sadducean Christians of Damascus' in the *Expositor*, Dec., 1911, pp. 499–517: March, 1912, pp. 212–35. In these studies Mr. Margoliouth has shown great learning and acuteness in criticizing the views of his predecessors. His own view is that the Zadokites were a type of Christians who regarded John the Baptist as the Messiah and Jesus as the Teacher of Righteousness. I have found myself unable to agree with this thesis.[2]

[1] A Dutch translation has been published in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, but I have not seen it.

[2] Reviews of the *Zadokite Fragments* have appeared in *The American Journal of Theology*, by Dr. Kohler; in the Harvard Theological Review, by Dr. Moore; in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, by Landauer, &c.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

I. *Israel sent into Captivity*, 3–4. *A Root of God's Planting made to spring forth after* 200 B.C. *and a Teacher of Righteousness raised up*, 5–8. *Description of Israel's Wickedness in the First Century* B.C. *or at an earlier date*, 9–17.

1 Now, therefore, hearken (unto me) all ye who know righteousness,
2 And have understanding in the works of God.
For He hath a controversy with all flesh,
And will execute judgement upon all who despise Him.

3 For because of the trespass of those who forsook Him,
He hid His face from Israel and from His Sanctuary,
And gave them over to the sword.

I. 1. **hearken . . . righteousness.** i. e. שמעו כל יודעי צדק. From Isa. li. 7. The mention of צדק may with tolerable certainty be regarded as a play on the name of the Zadokites—הצדוקים. Cf. *v.* 7 for the מורה צדק 'teacher of righteousness'.

have understanding in the works of God. Same diction in Ps. xxviii. 5 יבינו . . . אל מעשה ידיו.

2. **hath a controversy . . . with all flesh.** i. e. ריב לו עם כל בשר. Based almost verbally on Jer. xxv. 31: 'The Lord hath a controversy . . . He will plead with all flesh.' Cf. Hos. iv. 1.

all who despise Him. Num. xiv. 11, 23.

3. **hid His face.** Ps. xxii. 24, liv. 8 and *passim.*

from His Sanctuary. These words are of extreme importance in dealing with our document; for before we can make any real advance in the interpretation of the book we must know whether this sanctuary is the Temple in Jerusalem or a heterodox temple in one of the provinces. That it was the former is clear, I think, from the following evidence. The term 'sanctuary' is used nine times, i. 3, v. 7, vi. 11, vii. 8, viii. 11, 12, ix. 47, xiv. 4 (*bis*). In xiv. 4 we have the phrase 'the city of the Sanctuary' used twice. Now since in every case only one sanctuary is mentioned, as 'the Sanctuary', or 'His Sanctuary', we must conclude that it is one and the same sanctuary that is referred to in all cases. Is there any evidence to determine what sanctuary this was? Clearly there is in this very verse i. 3, where it is said that God 'hid His face from His Sanctuary'. Now there can be no doubt as to the identity of this sanctuary: it is the Temple in Jerusalem; for the context refers to the time of the Captivity. Nor can there be any doubt as to the identity of 'His Sanctuary' in v. 7; for the phrase occurs in a quotation from Ezek. xliv. 15. Next in viii. 12 it is said that the priests of the Party are 'to hold aloof from the wealth of the Sanctuary'. This could not be said of a small, sectarian provincial and wholly unknown temple. For in the first place such a temple would not have had wealth: and in the next its priesthood could have incurred no blame in accepting support from their own exclusive sanctuary. But an ascetic and puritan Party could most reasonably from their standpoint object to many things in the Temple in Jerusalem, as did Mal. i. 7; 1 Enoch lxxxix. 73; Ass. Moses v. 4, and yet share officially in its worship. Again in viii. 11 the Sanctuary can be none other than the Temple; for Mal. i. 10 is quoted as referring to it. This sanctuary, i. e. the Temple, is still standing vii. 8. Finally 'the city of the Sanctuary' which is twice mentioned in xiv. 4 and in ix. 46 can only be Jerusalem. The very phrase postulates this interpretation when we reflect that the Zadokites accepted not only the Law as binding upon them but also the rest of the scriptures, to which they attributed a higher degree of authority, than the Rabbis of subsequent times. It was the Prophets who *made Jerusalem the sacred city, and the altar in Jerusalem the sole altar.* Possessing genuine orders also as Priests and Levites they would naturally officiate in the Temple at Jerusalem. They were spread throughout the cities of Israel, xv. 1, just as the Priests and Levites were generally. In these they had their congregations: but they had only one sanctuary and that in Jerusalem. The severe conditions on which they were allowed to discharge their priestly functions in the Temple are given in viii. 11–20. Had the Zadokites disowned the Temple in Jerusalem, it is hardly possible that this matter would have been wholly passed over in silence in a document which criticizes the accepted Jewish authorities so freely—the Hellenizing priests, the Pharisees, and even the historical books of the O.T. (see vii. 7).

From the above conclusion it follows that the present work was written when the Temple was still standing. In other words, we have here the *terminus ad quem.*

gave them over to the sword (ויתנם לחרב). From Jer. xxi. 31. See preceding verse. Cf. i. 12 (להסגירם לח"), iv. 9 (יסגרו לח"), and so also in ix. 4 (A) (הסגרו לח"), ix. 11 (A and B), but ימסרו לח" in ix. 10 (B).

4 But when He remembered the covenant of the forefathers,
He left a remnant to Israel
And gave them not over to destruction.

5 [And in the period of the wrath three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon He visited them],
And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
A root of His planting to inherit His land,
And to grow fat through the goodness of His earth.

6 And they had understanding of their iniquity,
And they knew that they were guilty men,
And **had** like the blind **been groping** after the way twenty years.

7 And God considered their works ; for they sought Him with a perfect heart
And He raised them up a Teacher of righteousness
To lead them in the way of His heart.

4. **remembered the covenant of the forefathers.** i.e. ובזכרו ברית ראשנים. Cf. viii. 3, ix. 25. From Lev xxvi. 45. Cf. Exod. ii. 24.

left a remnant to Israel (השאיר שארית). Cf. ii. 9 (התיר פליטה); Isa. i. 9; Jer. xxxi. 7; Ezek. xiv. 22.

5. **in the period of the wrath.** (i.e. בקץ חרון). I have with some hesitation adopted Lévi's rendering of קץ as 'period' and not as 'end', as in Sirach xliii. 6. In Job vi. 11 the LXX renders קצי by *μου ὁ χρόνος* (Smend). See our text ii. 8, vi. 1, 7, viii. 1, 9, 12, ix. 10, 11, 47, xv. 4, xix. 7. It is difficult to understand the chronology in this work. 'In the period of the wrath' appears to be the period beginning or else in the course of realization in the year 196 B.C. The phrase 'period of the destruction of the land' apparently refers to the same period. Probably by the phrase 'in the end of the days' (viii. 10) when the teacher of righteousness is to come, a portion of the same period is designed. On the other hand the phrases 'the period of wickedness' (viii. 12, xv. 4), 'the full period of wickedness' (viii. 9, xix. 7), 'the period of the treason of Israel' (ix. 47) appear to refer to the close of the period of the Messianic woes: cf. xv. 4.

three hundred and ninety years, &c. This number appears to be borrowed from Ezek. iv. 5, where the Massoretic text speaks of 390 days, i.e. years. Since in Ezekiel these years refer to the Exile, the Massoretic text is at variance with Ezekiel's real expectation, which is given in iv. 6, according to which it was to last forty years. The right text is preserved in the majority of the LXX MSS., i.e. 190 years. Israel had already been in exile about 150 years: Judah's exile was to last forty: thus the exile of the entire nation was to be about 190 years. But it is clear that our author found 390 in his Hebrew text—a reading that appears, therefore, to be later—possibly considerably later than 200 B.C. If we deduct 390 from 586, the year of the capture of Jerusalem, we arrive at the year 196 B.C. This date in our text would refer to the rise of the Chasidim. For 'twenty years' already the faithful in Israel had been groping after the way (i. 6). It is noteworthy that 1 Enoch xc. 6 assigns the origin of the Chasidim to the same period: see note in my edition *in loc.* The Chasidim in 1 Enoch spring from the righteous remnant, just as here they are symbolized by a root of God's planting.

wrath. See note on i. 14.

Nebuchadnezzar. This is the later and corrupt spelling for Nebuchadrezzar.

spring forth. Cf. Isa. xliv. 4, lxi. 11 where צמח also is used.

A root of His planting. The text here reads שורש מטעת, which I take to be corrupt for שרש מַטָּעוֹ. Cf. Isa. lx. 21 נצר מטעו. With the idea, cf. 1 Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5 'the plant of righteousness': also xxvi. 1. The root of God's planting is the company of the Chasidim; see note on 'three hundred and ninety years' above.

6. **had understanding . . . and they knew.** Cf. i. 1.

had like the blind been groping. The text reads וכימגששים which Schechter, on the basis of Isa. lix. 10 and Deut. xxviii. 29, has rightly emended into מגששים.

twenty years. The 'twenty years', i. e. 196–176 B.C., may refer to the period during which the Hellenizing high priests were in league with Antiochus IV and the Syrian empire. Then came the great act of repentance often referred to in the text and probably the migration to Damascus: vi. 1, viii. 6.

7. **considered their works** (ויבן אל אל מעשיהם). From Ps. xxxiii. 15. Cf. text, vii. 16.

sought Him with a perfect heart. Cf. for the thought and diction Ps. cxix. 10, 1 Chron. xxix. 9, Jub. i. 15.

raised them up. Cf. ii. 9, viii. 4, Judges ii. 18.

a Teacher of righteousness. i.e. מורה צדק. See different form of the Hebrew in viii. 10. Cf. Hos. x. 12 יורה צדק. Who is this teacher of righteousness? We know something as to his date; for he is raised up during 'the period of the wrath' (i. 5) which began about 390 years after the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. About this date, i.e. 196 B.C., God made 'a root of His planting to spring forth from Israel and Aaron', i.e. the Chasidim. This teacher may be referred to as 'the teacher' or 'teacher' in ix. 50, and is referred to as 'the teacher of righteousness' in ix. 53, and in viii. 10, according to which passage he is to arise 'in the end of the days'. So far, things are fairly certain. But there are two other titles, 'the unique teacher', ix. 29, 39, and

8 And He made known to later generations
What He had done [to a later generation] to a congregation of treacherous men:
Those who turned aside out of the way.

9 This was the time concerning which it was written:
As a stubborn heifer
So hath Israel behaved himself stubbornly:

10 When there arose the scornful man,
Who talked to Israel lying words,
And made them go astray in the wilderness where there was no way,
[to bring low the pride of the world].

11 So that they should turn aside from the paths of righteousness,
And remove the landmark which the forefathers had set in their inheritance:

'the Messiah', ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B); 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. There is no ground against identifying 'the teacher of righteousness' and 'the unique teacher'. If this identification is right, then 'the teacher of righteousness' and 'the Messiah' are two different personages, ix. 29. The former prepares the way for the latter, but does not immediately precede him; for an undetermined interval elapses between them, which is longer than forty years at all events, ix. 40, but in reality nearer one hundred and forty.

lead them in the way of His heart. Cf. Isa. xlii. 16.

8–17. A difficult and important question of interpretation arises here as to the time with which these verses deal. First of all, it seems clear that the phrase 'later generations' refers to the generations subsequent to the coming of 'a teacher of righteousness' in *v.* 7. But there appears to be no way of determining the incident so vaguely described in *v.* 8, 'What He had done . . . to a congregation of treacherous men.' In any case this incident belongs to some earlier date. It is mentioned here apparently only in the way of admonition and warning against apostasy or unfaithfulness on the part of the Zadokites. We now come to *v.* 9. To which of the two periods implied in the preceding verse, i.e. the 'later generations' or the earlier time of judgement on the 'treacherous congregation', do the words 'this was the time concerning which', &c. apply? If we take *v.* 9 as referring to the period of the 'later generations', the time implied by the 'later generations' can hardly refer to any period earlier than the first century B.C., since the 'Teacher of righteousness' came after 176 B.C., and the 'later generations' must be two or more generations later than his time. If this interpretation is right, then *vv.* 9–17 would refer to the events of the first century B.C., and the persons attacked would probably be the Pharisees. Against them, at any rate, our author could bring the charge of removing 'the landmark which the forefathers had set', i.e. of introducing innovations in the ritual of the Temple and the interpretation of the Law. It is to be remembered in this connexion that although in the earlier years of Jannaeus the Pharisees were persecuted, in the later years of this king they were on friendly terms with him, whereas the Sadducean priesthood was mercilessly dealt with by him.

8. The fate of former apostates is a warning to those that come after.

[to a later generation], i.e. בדור אחרון. I have bracketed these words as a dittograph of דורות אחרונים.

congregation. See note on *v.* 17.

a congregation of treacherous men, i.e. בעדת בוגדים. Cf. עצרת בגדים in Jer. ix. 2.

turned aside out of the way (סרי דרך). Cf. ii. 4, ix. 14; Exod. xxxii. 8; Deut. ix. 16.

9–17. These verses appear to refer to the sins of Israel after the Captivity: cf. viii. 1, 2 where the phraseology in 9–11 recurs. They deal with the judgements meted out to an earlier generation which were to be a warning to later generations, i. 8.

As a stubborn, &c. From Hos. iv. 16. The 'so' in our text is not in the original. Our author can easily apply these words to post-Exilic times.

10. **the scornful man.** i.e. איש הלצון. Cf. ix. 36 'the scornful men', i.e. אנשי הלצון. The latter phrase is from Isa. xxviii. 14.

talked . . . lying words. Cf. viii. 2.

talked, i.e. הטיף. Cf. vii. 1, ix. 22; Amos vii. 16; Mic. ii. 6.

lying words. The text reads מימי כזב 'waters of lying', which I have emended into מאמרי כזב and so translated. Cf. ix. 22 (A.) מטיף כזב, and ix. 39 איש הכזב. Is this 'scornful man, who talked to Israel lying words' a collective expression for the wicked leaders who are subsequently referred to in viii. 1?

made them go astray . . . no way. Cf. viii. 1. A quotation from Ps. cvii. 40. Cf. ii. 10 of our text, where the same action is ascribed to God.

[to bring low the pride of the world] = להשח גבהות עולם. Cf. Isa. ii. 11, 17. But these words seem to be interpolated.

11. **remove the landmark.** Cf. viii. 1, ix. 13, 49. These words may refer to the revolutionary action of the Pharisees as regards law and ritual.

remove the landmark which . . . in their inheritance. From Deut. xix. 14 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance'.

12 So as to make cleave unto them
The curses of His covenant,
To deliver them to the sword
That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant.

13 Because they sought after smooth things,
And they chose deceits,
And kept watch with a view to lawless deeds.

14 And they †chose the best of the neck,†
And justified the wicked,
And condemned the righteous:

15 And transgressed the covenant,
And violated the statute,
And attacked the soul of the righteous.

16 And all that walked uprightly their soul abhorred,
And they pursued them with the sword,
And rejoiced in the strife of the people.

17 And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation,
So that He laid waste all their multitude,
And their deeds were uncleanness before Him.

12. **So as to make cleave unto them.** Cf. Deut. xxviii. 21.

The curses of His covenant. From Deut. xxix. 21.

deliver them to the sword That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant. Repeated in ix. 11 (B). We have here a quotation from Lev. xxvi. 25 חרב נקמת נקם ברית. In the same verse the words 'and ye shall be delivered' occur, ונתתם.

13. **smooth things . . . deceits** (i. e. חלקות . . . מהתלות). These two words—the latter a ἅπ. λεγ. in the O.T.—are drawn from Isa. xxx. 10.

kept watch, i. e. יצפו. Lagrange thinks that the verb here means 'concealed', Schechter proposes ויפרצו פרצות which gives a good sense 'brought about breaches' (or 'divisions').

14. **†chose the best of the neck†.** In the text יבחרו בטוב הצואר—it seems clear that הצואר is corrupt—most probably for הצאון. Cf. xi. 10 (B), where we have 'the poor of the flock'. We should then have 'they chose the best of the flock', i. e. for themselves. This may be right. But possibly the corruption lies deeper, and for the first two words we should read יחרבו מיטב. We should then have: 'they laid waste the best of the flock.'

justified . . . the righteous. From Prov. xvii. 15. The words recur in vi. 4 of our text. Lévi thinks these words refer to the usurpation of judicial powers by the Pharisees in the time of Alexandra the widow of Jannaeus.

15. **transgressed the covenant,** i. e. יעברו ברית. I have here emended יעבירו into יעברו. Schechter emends the text into יעברו בברית and translates 'transgressed the covenant'. But this means 'entered into a covenant' (cf. Deut. xxix. 11). This clause is practically equivalent to the next.

attacked the soul of the righteous. From Ps. xciv. 21.

16. **walked uprightly.** Cf. iii. 2. From Ps. xv. 2: cf. ci. 6; Gen. xvii. 1.

their soul abhorred. From Ps. cvii. 18.

pursued them with the sword (וירדפום לחרב). These words refer to the persecution of the Sadducees by Jannaeus or the Pharisees.

rejoiced. I follow Schechter in taking יסיסו as ישישו.

17. **the wrath of God was kindled** (ויחר אף אל). Cf. Exod. iv. 14, xxxii. 10, &c. This clause recurs frequently in our text: iii. 7, iv. 7, vii. 16, ix. (13), 22, 26, 40. Here the reference is doubtful. In iii. 7 it is directed against the Antediluvians: in iv. 7 against Israel in the wilderness: against Judah after the exile in vii. 16, ix. 13, 22.

their congregation (i. e. עדתם). This term הָעֵדָה 'the congregation' occurs frequently—thirteen times—in our author: cf. i. 8, iv. 7, ix. 22, 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7. In ix. 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7 it is used strictly of the congregation of the Zadokites in each city or village. In i. 17, iv. 7, ix. 22 it is used of Israel at large, and in i. 8 in a bad sense of faithless Israelites. Our text is particularly rich in terms applying to the Zadokites in their sacred capacity as a community or congregation. Thus we have 'assembly' (סוד) in ix. 29, 'congregation' (קהל) in xiv. 3, 'community' (חבור) in xiv. 8. Another designation of their community, and rather a peculiar one, is 'camp' (מחנה), which appears to have simply the meaning of settlement: cf. x. 7, xv. 6, xvi. 1, 6 (*bis*), 8 (*bis*), 9, xvii. 1, 6.

their deeds . . . uncleanness before Him (מעשיהם לנדה לפניו). Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 17.

II. *Wisdom is with God and Forgiveness of the repentant, but Wrath for the unrepentant, who are predestined to Destruction on the Ground of the Divine Foreknowledge*, 1–7. *But there is a Remnant whom He shall teach by the Messiah*, 9–10.

1 And now, hearken unto me all ye who have entered into the covenant,
And I will disclose to you the ways of the wicked.

2 God loveth [knowledge] wisdom:
And counsel He hath set before Him:
Prudence and knowledge minister unto Him.

3 Longsuffering is with Him
And plenteousness of forgivenesses
To pardon those who repent of transgression.

4 And power and might and great fury with flames of fire [therein are all the angels of destruction]
For them who turned aside out of the way,
And abhorred the statute,

5 So that there should be no remnant,
Nor any to escape of them.

6 For God chose them not from the beginning of the world,
And ere they were **formed** He knew their works.

7 And He abhorred **their** generations **from of old**,
And hid His face from **their** land till they were consumed.

8 [And He knew the years of (their) office and the number and exact statement of their periods for all the things that belong to the ages and have been, moreover whatsoever shall come to pass in their periods for all the years of eternity.]

II. 1. **ye who have entered into the covenant.** Cf. iv. 8, viii. 11, 15, ix. 12, 15, 49, x. 2; Jer. xxxiv. 10, באו בברית. This is the New Covenant that is spoken of in viii. 15, ix. 28, 37.

I will disclose. The text reads אגלה אזנכם as in 1 Sam. xx. 2, xxii. 8. Schechter thinks אזנכם a corruption of עיניכם and compares iii. 1.

2. **knowledge.** Bracketed as an interpolation. It occurs in the third line.

3. **Longsuffering . . . forgivenesses,** i.e. ערך אפים עמו ורוב סליחות. The text is based on a combination of Exod. xxxiv. 6. ארך אפים ורב חסד and Ps. cxxx. 4 עמך הסליחה. For the plural סליחות cf. Dan. ix. 9; Neh. ix. 17. The last passage contains all the elements of *v.* 3 *ab* save 'with Him'.

forgiveness. Cf. v. 5 *b*, xvi. 2.

To pardon. See v. 5 *a* note.

who repent of transgression, i.e. שָׁבֵי פֶּשַׁע from Isa. lix. 20. See ix. 41 and note on vi. 1.

4. **fury with flames of fire,** i.e. חמה . . . בלהבי אש. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15 להשיב בחמה אפו וגערתו בלהבי אש which is probably the source.

therein . . . destruction. Bracketed as an interpolation.

angels of destruction (מלאכי חבל). Cf. 1 Enoch lxiii. 1, &c.

abhorred the statute (מתעבי חק). Cf. Mic. iii. 9.

5. **So that there should be no remnant,** &c. Contrast i. 4. The words 'no remnant, nor any to escape' are from Ezra ix. 14.

6. We have here the doctrine of divine election. Cf. *v.* 10 *c*.

formed, i.e. נוצרו emended by Bacher from נוסדו. Cf. Jer. i. 5.

7. **their generations from of old.** So I emend דורות מדם into דורותם מקדם. Schechter retains דורות and would change מדם into מקדם. Landauer suggests מרים 'rebellious' for מדם.

their land. The text reads ארץ מי, which I take to be a corruption of ארצם, and have translated accordingly. Schechter takes the מי to be a remainder of להשמידם. But in the present MS. there is not space for a single additional letter, and the emendation I have made explains the MS. and satisfies the context.

till they were consumed (עד תומם). Phrase in Deut. ii. 15, xxxi. 24, 30; Joshua viii. 24, &c. But the words make the line too long and may be an interpolation.

8. This verse appears to be an addition of the editor of the whole. The subject-matter belongs to the teaching of the sect, but it is an intrusion in its present context. Verse 9 follows naturally and immediately on *v.* 7. The Hebrew of this verse is very abnormal.

years of (their) office. With this obscure phrase compare vi. 3 'duration of their office'. The word 'office' (or 'service' or 'function', i.e. מעמד) appears to mean that of the members of the inner council of the sect who in ix. 32 are spoken of as 'men of the perfection of holiness'. We should, perhaps, read מעמדם here as in vi. 3. We find in later Judaism the existence of a body of men called אנשי מעמד (Taanith 15 *b*) composed of priests, Levites,

9 Yet in all of them He raised Him up men called by name,
In order to leave a remnant to the earth,
And to fill the face of the earth with their seed.

10 And through His Messiah He shall make them know His holy spirit,
And he is true, and in the true interpretation of his name are their names:
But them He hated He made to go astray.

III–IV. 1. *Exhortation to choose God's Will and to shun the evil Inclination*, 1–2; *through it fell the mighty Men of old, the Watchers and their Children*, 3–5; *and all Flesh and also the Sons of Noah*, 6–iv. 1.

3 1 Now therefore, children, hearken unto me,
And I will open your eyes to see,
And to understand the works of God.

And to choose what He approveth,
And to reject what He hateth:

2 To walk uprightly in all His ways,
And not to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination
And (with) **eyes** (full) of fornication.

and Israelites exactly as in our text. According to Taanith 15 *b* these men had to arrange the proper prayers for the various days in order that the sacrifices might be favourably received. The head of this body was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6). In Taanith 27 *b* it is said that if these duties were not fulfilled heaven and earth would cease to exist (אלמלי מעמדות לא נתקיימו שמים וארץ). Again, in Bikk. iii. 2, these אנשי מעמד, whose chief was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6), are described as having to gather in the firstfruits from the districts under their charge. The country was divided into twenty-four districts, corresponding to the twenty-four orders of the Priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 7–18). The chief city of each such division was called עיר של מעמד. This office existed among the Essenes, amongst whom the *ma'amad* constituted the district authority: see *Jewish Encyc.* v. 230. The *ma'amad* in our text was composed of Priests, Levites and Israelites, as we may fairly assume from the constitution of the party as a whole: cf. xvii. 2, 3, v. 7: it would thus consist of the same elements as the *ma'amad* in Taanith.

the number and exact statement of their periods, i.e. מספר ופרוש קציהם. This is very irregular Hebrew. It is found, however, three times in the O.T., i.e. in Isa. xi. 2; Ezek. xxxi. 16; Dan. i. 4. Perhaps the suffix in קציהם refers, as in Aramaic, to what follows לכל שני עולם. This construction may recur at the end of the verse: cf. also v. 1 *c* note.

exact statement, i.e. פרוש. Cf. פרשה in Esther iv. 7, x. 2. I have rendered the word פרוש variously as 'statement' (vi. 3), 'true interpretation' (ii. 10): פשרו (vi. 10) 'this means' &c.

that . . . have been, i.e. נהיות—referring to the past as in Sir. xlii. 19: so also Lagrange.

moreover whatsoever, i.e. עוֹד מָה. So I punctuate the text עד מה. Lévi takes it to be the equivalent of the Syriac עדמא.

9. **raised Him up.** See i. 7.

called by name. Cf. vi. 2 note.

to leave a remnant. See i. 4 note.

fill the face of the earth (למלא פני תבל). From Isa. xxvii. 6.

10. **And . . . He shall make them know.** So we must render ויודיעם i.e. וְיוֹדִיעֵם; for according to ix. 10 (B) the Messiah had not come when our author was writing. But the word משיחו may simply = 'His anointed one', in this case Zadok.

His Messiah. Cf. viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4; xviii. 8. See note on i. 7, where it is shown that the Messiah is distinct from 'the teacher of righteousness'.

His holy spirit. Contrast use of the phrase 'holy spirit' in vii. 12, viii. 20. Bacher here proposes to read 'by His holy spirit'.

in the true interpretation of his name. Possibly here the name of the Messiah hinted at may be הצדיק 'the Righteous One'. Cf. 1 Enoch xxxviii. 2, liii. 6. As He is הצדיק, they are the הצדיקים as in 1 Enoch xxxviii. 3, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, &c.

their names. Cf. vi. 3.

them He hated He made to go astray. Cf. i. 10.

III. 1. **open your eyes.** Cf. ii. 1.

2. **walk uprightly.** Cf. i. 16 note.

to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination: i.e. לתור במחשבות יצר אשמה. If we take this line with the next, it would suggest that the writer had Num. xv. 39 in his mind לא תתורו אחרי לבבכם ואחרי עיניכם אשר־אתם זנים אחריהם. But our author has changed the construction.

the thoughts of an evil imagination: i.e. מחשבות יצר אשמה. The יצר אשמה is here equivalent to the

3 For many were led astray by them,
And mighty men of valour stumbled by them from of old [and until this day].

4 Because they walked in the stubbornness of their heart the **watchers** of heaven fell.
By **them** were they caught because they kept not the commandment of God.

5 And their children whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars
And whose bodies were like the mountains fell **thereby**.

6 All flesh that was on dry land perished **thereby**,
And they were as though they had not been.

7 Because they did their own will,
And kept not the commandment of their Maker,
Until His wrath was kindled against them.

1 By **them** went astray the sons of Noah and their families:
Because of **them** they were cut off.

יצר הרע. יצר alone has this meaning in Sir. xv. 14 אלהים . . ברא האדם . . . ויתנהו ביד יצרו = 'God created man . . . and put him into the hand of his inclination'. On the two inclinations see T. Asher i. 3 (note on my edition): 2 Baruch, pp. 92–3 (in my edition) and the literature referred to there.

eyes (full) of fornication. Reading עיני for עני with Schechter, who compares Sifre 35 *a* עיניכם זו זנות. We might compare Sir. xxvi. 9 *πορνεία γυναικὸς ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν . . . γνωσθήσεται*, and xxiii. 4; also T. Issach. vii. 2 'I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my eyes' and T. Benj. vi. 3; Prov. vi. 25; 2 Pet. ii. 14 *ὀφθαλμοὺς . . . μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος*. Lévi retains עני and compares Sir. xlii. 8 עונה בזנות and Eccles. i. 13. He renders 'l'attrait de la luxure'.

3. **many were led astray by them.** The 'them' refers apparently to the 'thoughts of the imagination'. We have close parallels to, if not the actual antecedents of, the text in Sir. ix. 8 *ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν* and T. Reub. iv. 7 'Many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be . . . noble . . . he bringeth reproach upon himself': T. Jud. xv. 2 'though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his kingship by becoming the slave of fornication'.

by them. The MS. reads בם, but both 'thoughts' and 'eyes' are feminine in Hebrew. Hence here and in the next line I emend בם into בהן. On the other hand, as not infrequently in the O.T., the masc. suffix may refer to these feminine substantives: see note on vii. 2, and Gesenius *Heb. Gram.*[2] § 135 *o*. In iii. 4 *b*, iv. 1 *a*, *b* בה should be emended into בהן, or else into בו in all cases. If the latter, the suffix would refer to the evil inclination (i.e. the יצר).

4. The example of the fall of the Watchers through fornication is cited also in the T. Reub. v. 6–7.

walked in the stubbornness of their heart (בלכתם בשרירות לבם). Cf. Jer. xiii. 10, xxiii. 17. Our author is fond of this phrase in various forms. Thus here and in iv. 5, ix. 35 we have the phrase הלך בש״ 'to walk in the stubbornness': in iv. 9 תור אחרי ש״ 'to go about after the stubbornness': in ix. 18 בחר בש״ 'to choose the stubbornness': and in ix. 27 פנה בש״ 'to turn away in the stubbornness'.

watchers: i.e. עירי emended by Schechter from עידי. See 1 Enoch vi–xvi and references.

By them: i.e. בהן (i.e. the thoughts of the evil inclination) emended from בה: or we may emend בה into בו and refer it to יצר. Cf. iv. 8.

kept not the commandment of God. Cf. iii. 7 *b*; iv. 2 *b*.

5. See 1 Enoch x. 9–10; xii–xvi; Jub. v. 9–11.

whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars (אשר כרום ארזים גבהם). From Amos ii. 9, save that our author reads 'loftiness' רום instead of 'height' גֹּבַהּ. On their height see 1 Enoch vii. 2.

thereby. Text reads כי which I have emended into בהן or בו. See *v*. 4.

6. **thereby.** Emended as in last line. Cf. Gen. vii. 22, 23.

they were as though, &c. From Obad. 16: cf. Job x. 19.

7. **did their own will** (or 'pleasure'). (Cf. iv. 10 *a*, *c*, v. 2 *c*), that is, they followed the evil inclination, or the thoughts of the evil inclination. See iii. 2, note.

did their own will, And kept not the commandment, &c. Cf. iv. 9 *a*, *b*, and contrast the conduct of Abraham iv. 2 *b*, *c*.

His wrath was kindled. See i. 17, note.

IV. 1. **By them.** MS. reads בה as in iii. 4 *b*, which I have emended into בהן. In both cases 'the thoughts of the imagination' are referred to. The same emendation is made in the next line. Of course it is possible that for בה we should read בו as in iv. 8, and thus refer directly to the *yeṣer* and not to the 'thoughts' of the *yeṣer* (or 'evil inclination'). Schechter thinks that for בה we should read בדם, and that the sin referred to is the eating of blood, but the whole context is against this.

went astray. Schechter has rightly emended תעי into תעו.

sons of Noah and their families. Cf. Gen. x. 32.

cut off. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 14.

IV. 2–9. *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob walked not after the evil Inclination of the Heart,* 2–3; *but the Sons of Israel did in Egypt and in the Wilderness and were punished accordingly,* 4–9.

2 Abraham did not walk in **them,**
And he was ⟨recorded⟩ friend because he kept the commandments of God,
And chose not the will of his own spirit.

3 And he delivered (the commandment) to Isaac and Jacob,
And they observed (it) and were recorded as friends of God,
And members of the covenant for ever.

4 The sons of Jacob went astray through them,
And they were punished **according to** their error.

5 And their children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their heart,
So that they took counsel against the commandments of God,
And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

6 [And they eat blood], and He cut off their males in the desert ⟨when He said⟩ to them in Kadesh:
Go up and possess ⟨the land, but they hardened⟩ their spirit:

7 And they hearkened not unto the voice of their Maker
[The commandments of their **Teacher**] but murmured in their tents,
And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation:

8 And their children [perished by it
And their kings] were cut off by it,
And their mighty men perished by it,
And their land was made desolate by it.

9 By it the first that entered into the covenant incurred guilt,
And they were delivered unto the sword,

2. **in them.** MS. reads בה which I have emended into בהן. It could be emended into בו (i.e. 'the evil inclination') as proposed in note on iii. 3.

was⟨ recorded⟩ friend. Cf. Isa. xli. 8; Jub. xix. 9 'friend of God' (note): xxx. 21 'That they should fulfil (the covenant) and be recorded as friends': James ii. 23 φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη. The MS. is defective here, reading according to Schechter יע . . . הב, which he reads as יעשה אהב; but comparing 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34, for the use of עלה in the sense of 'to be recorded', we should here, I think, restore the text as follows יע⟨לה א⟩הב. If the ע is uncertain, then we might read יכתב as in *v.* 3 *b*, or יקרא as is implied in James ii. 23.

chose not the will of his own spirit. Contrast *v.* 9 *b*.

3. **recorded as friends.** This phrase occurs in Jub. xxx. 21, where the text implies exactly the same Hebrew as here יכתבו אוהבים.

members of the covenant. For the phrase בעלי ברית see Gen. xiv. 13.

4. **through them.** Read בהן or בו instead of בם. See *v.* 2 note.

according to. Reading לפי with Schechter for לפני.

5. **stubbornness of their heart.** See note on iii. 4.

did that which was right, &c. From Judges xvii. 6: cf. Deut. xii. 8: cf. ix. 17 *a*, *v.* 2 *c*, and contrast *v.* 2 *b*, *c*.

6. The original form of this verse seems wholly lost.

[And they eat blood]. I have bracketed this as an interpolation.

eat blood. Cf. 1 Enoch vii. 5; Jub. vi. 9, 12, 13; vii. 28, 29, &c.

⟨when He said⟩ to them . . . ⟨the land, but they hardened⟩ their spirit. I have with Lévi supplied the words in brackets. באמר . . . את הארץ ויקשו from a comparison of Deut. i. 21, 46; Ps. cvi. 33.

7. **and they hearkened . . . Maker** (לא שמעו לקול עשיהם). From Ps. cvi. 25 save for the change of יהוה into עשיהם. It is possible that the choice of the latter divine name is due to the fact that it rhymes with באהליהם in the next line.

the commandments of their Teacher. For יוריהם I read with Lévi מוריהם.

murmured in their tents. From Ps. cvi. 25.

wrath of God was kindled against their congregation. Cf. Ps. cvi. 40.

8. The tristich can be restored by excising 'perished by it and their kings' as an interpolation, or a dittograph of line 3. The reference to 'kings' at this period would be an anachronism.

their land was made desolate by it. From Jer. xii. 11. A strange statement in regard to this period.

9. **By it,** i.e. בו. This must mean the evil inclination as in iii. 4 *b*, iv. 1, &c.

the first that entered into the covenant. The Israelites at Sinai.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

Because they forsook the covenant of God:

10 And they chose their own will,
And went about after the stubbornness of their heart,
Every man doing his own will.

V. *God confirms the Covenant with the faithful through fresh Revelations,* 1–3; *when Israel transgressed again God forgave them,* 4–6; *and confirmed His Covenant with them through Ezekiel,* 6–7.

1 But with them that held fast by the commandments of God,
[Who were left of them],
God confirmed the covenant of Israel for ever,
Revealing unto them the hidden things
Wherein all Israel had erred:

2 His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals,
His righteous testimonies and His true ways,
And the desires of His will [the which if a man do, he shall live by them] He opened before them.

3 And they digged a well of many waters:
And he that despises them shall not live.

4 But they wallowed in the transgression of man,
And in the ways of the unclean woman,
And they said that †it belongs to us†.

5 But God **wondrously** pardoned their sins,
And forgave their transgression,

forsook the covenant of God: And they chose their own will. Cf. iii. 7 *ab.*

10. **chose their own will.** Cf. iii. 7 *a*, iv. 2 *c*, 5 *c*, 10 *c*.

went about after. The rare construction תור אחרי which occurs here is found in Num. xv. 39, which we know was in the mind of the author when writing iii. 2 *bc*. See iii. 4 note.

stubbornness of their heart. Cf. iii. 4 note.

Every man doing, &c. See iv. 10 *a* note. Cf. Esther i. 8 'to do according to each man's pleasure'.

V. 1. **that held fast by, &c.,** i. e. מחזיקים ב. Cf. ix. 4, 12, 50; Prov. iii. 18; Isa. lvi. 4; T. Naph. iii. 1.

[Who were left of them]: i. e. The Remnant. Cf. i. 4 *b*, note. But it appears to be an interpolation.

the covenant of Israel. I have, with some hesitation, so rendered בריתו לישראל—an Aramaism, such as we find in ii. 8. But לישראל may be a gloss. In that case we should render 'His covenant'. Schechter gives the natural rendering 'His covenant with Israel', but this does not go properly with the preceding line.

the hidden things: i. e. those in the next verse.

2. **His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals, &c.** It is not improbable that the writer refers here to the Book of Jubilees: cf. i. 14 'they shall go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances'. In vi. 33, 34 it is said that, if Israel neglects to observe the right reckoning of the years, 'they will disturb all their seasons . . . and they will neglect their ordinances . . . and . . . the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths'; in vi. 38 'they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons, and sabbaths, and festivals': and in xxiii. 19 'they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months (? 'new moons', i. e. חדשים), and sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgements'.

the which if a man do, &c. Bracketed as an interpolation from Lev. xviii. 5.

opened before them: i. e. פתח לפניהם. Cf. Luke xxiv. 32 διήνοιγεν . . . τὰς γραφάς.

3. **digged a well,** studied or rather restudied the Law. See viii. 4–6; ix. 28.

4. **wallowed . . . in the ways of the unclean woman.** Cf. ix. 15 *b*.

transgression of man. Cf. Prov. xxix. 6.

†it belongs to us†, i.e. לנו היא.

5. **wondrously.** The MS. reads ברוי פלאו. Schechter emends the first word into ברוב and renders 'in the abundance of His wonder'. But this gives no sense. I emend the phrase into נִפְלָאוֹת, which gives a possible sense. Or comparing xvi. 1 (גבורות פלאו) it is not improbable that the text read ברחמי פלאו 'by His wondrous mercy'. See text xvi. 2.

pardoned, i.e. כפר בעד. This phrase with God as the subject is derived from 2 Chron. xxx. 18. This subject recurs frequently: cf. ii. 3, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8.

forgave (וישא לפשעם). Cf. ii. 3, xvi. 2.

transgression: cf. ii. 3.

And He built them a sure house in Israel [the like of which never arose from of old nor until this day].

6 They who hold fast to Him are for the life of eternity,
And all the glory of man is for them;
As God confirmed it to them through Ezekiel the prophet, saying:

7 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of **My** Sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from them, they shall bring near unto Me fat and blood.'

VI. *Migration of the Penitents to Damascus. Sons of Zadok hold office in the end of the Days*, 1–3. *Law to be obeyed and relations with Judah broken off in the Period in which Belial is let loose*, 4–12.

6 1 The priests are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah: and ⟨the
2 Levites are⟩ they who joined them. And the sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel called by
3 the name, that are holding office in the end of the days. Behold the statement of their names according to their generations, and the period of their office, and the number of their afflictions, and the years of their sojournings, and the statement of their works.

4 The **first saints** whom God pardoned,
Both justified the righteous,
And condemned the wicked.

5 And all they who come after them must do according to the interpretation of the Law,
In which the forefathers were instructed
Until the consummation of the period of these years.

6 In accordance with the covenant which God established with the forefathers

built them a sure house (ויבן להם בית נאמן). The phrase is found in 1 Sam. ii. 35, 1 Kings xi. 38. The sure house is the pontifical dynasty of Zadok.

[**the like of which . . . this day**]. An interpolation.

6. **They who hold fast.** For phrase, cf. v. 1 *a*. This line shows that the author believes in a blessed immortality.

7. This verse, which is in prose, is a quotation from Ezek. xliv. 15: והכהנים הלוים בני צדוק אשר שמרו את־משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל מעלי המה יקרבו אלי . . . להקריב לי חלב ודם. The most important divergence in our text from the Massoretic is the insertion of an 'and' before 'the Levites' and an 'and' after them. But the first 'and' our author probably found in his text; for it is attested in the Syriac and Vulgate Versions, though it is absent (and rightly) from the LXX. The second 'and' may be due to our author. Our author reproduces the above quotation as follows: הכהנים והלוים ובני צדוק אשר שמרו את־משמרת מקדשו בתעות בני ישראל מעליהם יגישו לי חלב ודם. Here מקדשו is clearly a clerical error for מקדשי and so I have translated.

VI. 1. **the penitents.** We should here punctuate שבי as שָׁבֵי 'penitents': cf. ii. 3; viii. 6; ix. 24 (A & B). Cf. Isa. i. 27 שביה and lix. 20 שבי פשע ביעקב. It could also be punctuated שִׁבְי 'captivity' with Schechter. But the former seems right. The New Covenant was one of repentance: cf. ix. 15 (B).

Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah. Cf. viii. 6. This migration to Damascus possibly took place somewhere about 170 B.C. See notes on i. 6, viii. 1–10.

and they who joined them; i.e. והנלוים עמהם. These words denote the Levites; for our author carefully distinguishes the Priests and the Levites, xv. 5, 6. The word הנלוים 'who joined' seems to be a play on הלוים 'the Levites' in v. 7. I have restored the words in brackets.

2. The Zadokites are the spiritual successors of the 'penitents', but they were not to be known by this name apparently till 'the end of the days'—long after 176 B.C. in the time of the Teacher of Righteousness. See Introd. § 10. iv.

called by the name. קריאי השם. Cf. ii. 9 'called by name'.

that are holding office (i.e. העמדים). We have elsewhere in our text מעמד = 'office'.

in the end of the days, i.e. באחרית הימים. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1; Dan. xii. 13.

3. This verse appears to refer to some record or apocalypse no longer existing in the text.

statement of their names (פרוש שמותיהם). See ii. 10 *b*. On this meaning of פרוש see ii. 8.

the period of their office (קץ מעמדם). Cf. ii. 8, where the corresponding phrase is 'years of (their) office'.

4. **The first saints**, i.e. הקדוש⟨ים הרא⟩שונים. This seems the simplest restoration. Lagrange reads הקדישו שנים and renders: 'they sanctified the years when God pardoned them', and takes the words as referring to the first period of the sect—the reign of the Saints. Schechter emends הקודש שונים into הראשונים.

justified, &c. Contrast i. 14.

5–6. They were to act according to a certain interpretation of the law to a certain time limit. God will forgive the followers of Zadok as He forgave the forefathers.

5. **must do**, i.e. לעשות.

In order to pardon their sins,
So shall God make atonement for them.

7 And on the consummation of the period [of the number] of these years
They shall no more join themselves to the house of Judah.
But shall every one stand up against his net.

8 The wall shall have been built,
The boundary been far removed.

9 And during all these years Belial shall be let loose against Israel, as God spake through Isaiah
the prophet, the son of Amos, saying: 'Fear and the pit and the snare are upon thee, O inhabitant
10 of the land.' This means the three nets of Belial, concerning which Levi the son of Jacob spake,
11 by which he caught Israel and directed their faces to three kinds of †righteousness†. The first is
fornication, the second is the wealth ⟨of wickedness⟩, the third is the pollution of the Sanctuary.

6. **In order to pardon,** &c. Cf. v. 5 note.

7. When the limit of time referred to in *v.* 5 was reached, they should break off relations with Judah and withstand its overtures. I have bracketed 'of the number' as an explanatory gloss on 'of the period' (הקץ). See *v.* 5 *c*.

They shall no more join themselves (אין עוד להשתפח). Cf. Isa. xiv. 1.

8. **The wall shall have been built, The boundary been far removed** (i.e. נבנתה הגדר רחק החוק). These words are derived from Mic. vii. 11 'In one day thy walls shall be built, in that day thy boundary shall be far removed' (יום לבנות גדריך יום ההוא ירחק חק). I have here, as in Micah, rendered חוק by 'boundary', but it may mean 'statute' or 'decree'. If the above rendering is right, then the sense is that the community will at the end of these years of trouble be securely established and its boundaries extended afar.

9. **during all these years.** The words refer apparently to the time of the Antichrist.

Belial shall be let loose. Cf. Jubilees i. 20 'Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people . . . and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them . . . to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness': xv. 33: T. Reub. ii. 2 (*β*). This name for Satan has disappeared from Talmudic literature.

Fear and the pit, &c. Quoted from Isa. xxiv. 17.

10. **This means.** Literally, 'its explanation is'.

the three nets of Belial. According to our author (*v.* 11) these three are: fornication, wealth, and pollution of the Sanctuary. This enumeration is not found elsewhere, so far as I know, but a list of three deadly sins is found several times in Jewish literature. In Jubilees vii. 20 they are fornication, uncleanness and iniquity. 'Owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth' (vii. 21). These words of Jubilees may have been in the mind of St. Paul when he wrote: 'No fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man . . . hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God . . . for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience' (Eph. v. 5–6). According to the Ber. rabba 31, the three causes of the flood were idolatry, incest and murder.

Levi the son of Jacob spake. The words attributed to Levi are not found in the Test. Levi. In ix. 9, however, of that Testament the priests are charged with fornication and pollution of the holy place—two of the deadly sins mentioned here. Further, in *v.* 16 of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an original source of this Testament Isaac warns Levi and his sons against fornication and uncleanness (see my edition of the *Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 229). Finally, in Test. Lev. xiv. 5–6, the priests are accused of stealing the sacrifices, of covetousness, fornication, and profaning the priesthood and polluting the sacrifices, xvi. 1. Cf. also T. Reub. iv. 7, 11, vi. 3; T. Sim. v. 3; T. Jos. vii. 1; Jub. vii. 21, xx. 3, 5, 6, xxiii. 14, xxv. 7, xxxiii. 20, l. 5.

by which he caught Israel and directed their faces (אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם). The agent is here Belial. The phraseology, on the other hand, is in part borrowed, as Schechter observes, from Ezek. xiv. 4, 5, where it is said that God 'catches' Israel. This change of agent is typical in later Judaism. The Hebrew of Ezekiel is: ומכשול עונו ישים נכח פניו . . . למען תפש את בית ישראל.

†righteousness†. The text undoubtedly reads צדק here, but it seems to me to be a slip of a scribe for עולה. Hence read 'wickedness'.

11. The first sin, i.e. fornication, is dealt with in vii. 1–7; in vii. 8–17 the third—the pollution of the Sanctuary. The second is referred to in viii. 12; ix. 14.

wealth (הון). In Test. Lev. xiv. 6 the Sadducean priests are charged with 'covetousness,' i.e. *πλεονεξία*, which in the LXX is the rendering for בֶּצַע. If the text is original, our author, like a fanatic, makes, not the sinful desire, but the object of the desire a sinful thing in itself. In Jubilees xxiii. 21, where the writer is speaking of the Hellenizing priesthood in the time of the early Maccabees, he states that 'they will exalt themselves to deceit and *wealth* (i.e. wealth won by wrong) . . . and they will defile the holy of holies . . . with . . . the corruption of their pollution'. Here unrighteous gain is said to be the object of the priesthood. And so it appears to be in our text. For in viii. 12 we have 'the polluted wealth of wickedness' (הון הרשעה הטמא) and in ix. 14 'the wealth of wickedness'; also in 1 Enoch ciii. 5 'your sinfully acquired wealth', lxiii. 10 'our unrighteous gains', and see Luke xvi. 9 *μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας*. Hence I have restored 'of wickedness' (הרשעה) to the text. Cf. Targ. on Isa. v. 23 ממון דשקר.

12 He that cometh up from this shall be caught by that, and he that escapeth from this shall be caught by that.

VII. 1–7. *The Sin of Fornication. Divorce forbidden.*

7 1 The builders of the wall who walk after law—the law it is which talks, of which He said: Assuredly they shall talk—are caught [by two] by fornication in taking two wives during their life-
2, 3 time. But the fundamental principle of the creation is 'Male and Female created He them.' And
4 they who went into the Ark, 'Two and two went into the Ark.' And as to the prince it is written,
5 'He shall not multiply wives unto himself.' But David read not in the Book of the Law that was sealed, which was in the Ark; for it was not opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar and
6 Joshua, and the Elders who served Ashtaroth. And it was hidden ⟨and was not⟩ discovered until
7 Zadok arose: Now they glorified the deeds of David save only the blood of Uriah, and God †abandoned them to him†.

VII. 8–18. *The Sin of polluting the Sanctuary.*

8 And they also pollute the Sanctuary since they separate not according to the Law, and lie with
9 her who sees the blood of her issue. And they take (to wife) each his **brother's** daughter or his

the pollution of the Sanctuary. I have here, of course, followed Schechter's emendation of טמא into טמאת. The profanation of the sanctuary by the priesthood is a very frequent accusation in the O.T. Cf. Zeph. iii. 4 'her priests have polluted the sanctuary': also 1 Sam. ii. 12, 17, 22; Ezek. xxii. 26, xliv. 7, 8, &c.

12. **He that cometh up from this shall be caught** (יתפש) **by that,** &c. Our author returns to Isa. xxiv. 17 from which he had drawn the quotation in *v.* 9. The present words are not a quotation but are based on Isa. xxiv. 18 'He who fleeth (הַנָּס) from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he who cometh up (העוֹלֶה) out of the midst of the pit shall be taken (יִלָּכֵד) in the snare'. These words are reproduced in Jer. xlviii. 44. It will be observed that whereas the participle 'he that cometh up' (העולה) has a fitness in Isaiah as applying to 'the pit' it has lost this fitness in our context.

VII. 1. This verse seems to be directed against the Pharisees and their exposition of the Law. The text seems hopeless בוני החוץ אשר הלכו אחרי צו הצו הוא מטיף אשר אמר הטף יטיפון. החוץ is to be emended into החיץ as in ix. 21, 26 (B). The phrase בוני החיץ 'builders of the wall', is borrowed from Ezek. xiii. 10. It recurs in ix. 21, 26. On the meaning of this phrase see note on ix. 21. Possibly צו is corrupt for שוא in both cases. If so, we might translate: 'the builders of the wall who walk after vanity (cf. Hos. v. 11, LXX, Syr.)—the vanity it is which talks of which it is said: &c.' Lévi retains the text and translates: 'Les bâtisseurs de murailles, qui poursuivent çaw (les lois)—et çaw, c'est le bavardage à propos duquel il est dit: "ils ne font que bavarder"—ont été pris dans deux.'

[**by two**], i. e. בשתים a dittograph from the שתי following.

two wives during their lifetime. Schechter is of opinion that the text is 'not only directed against polygamy but also against divorce which certain Jewish sects forbade'. This is probably right though the suffix, i. e. 'their', is masc.—בחייהם—and if taken strictly would refer to the men. But not infrequently in the O.T. the masc. suffix is used in reference to feminine nouns: cf. Ruth iv. 11 שתיהם referring to Rachel and Leah: see Gesenius *Gram.* § 135 *o*. But the reference to David in *v.* 7 would imply that we have here to do with polygamy only.

2. **fundamental principle,** i. e. יסוד.

Male and Female, &c. From Gen. i. 27. Cf. Matt. xix. 4; Mark x. 7. As Schechter points out, Aboth d' R. Nathan, p. 5 *a*, uses the same argument against polygamy but does not give the verse.

4. The word for prince here is נשיא, which is used by Ezekiel. Lévi thinks that it is chosen instead of 'king' to belittle the Davidic dynasty.

He shall not multiply, &c. From Deut. xvii. 17.

5. The explanation of David's polygamy.

Joshua. The text has here a dittograph ויהושע ויושע.

served Ashtaroth. Judges ii. 13.

6. **And it was hidden ⟨and was not⟩ discovered.** Here I follow Schechter's emendation of ויטמון נגלה into נגלה ⟨ולא⟩ ויטמן.

Zadok. Some ancient worthy, but who he was cannot be determined.

7. Our author clearly disapproves of the praise of David in 1 Kings xv. 5, which seems to have been in his thoughts.

glorified (or extolled), i. e. יעלו. Cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 6 for this use of the verb. It is a Talmudic use also. Schechter emends יעלו into יעלימו, i. e. 'concealed'.

abandoned them to him. Does this mean: abandoned Israel to the sway and example of David?

8. **separate.** Here מבדיל must of necessity be changed into מבדלים.

blood of her issue (דם זובה). Cf. Lev. xv. 19. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with similarly profaning the altar and temple, *ἐπάτουν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας, καὶ ἐν ἀφέδρῳ αἵματος ἐμίαινον τὰς θυσίας.* But the charge here is brought against the Pharisees.

9. **brother's.** For אחיהם read אחיהו. There is no need for the two changes made by Schechter.

10 sister's daughter. But Moses said 'Thou shalt not approach thy mother's sister: she is thy
11 mother's near kin'. So the law of intercourse for males is written, and the same law holds for females; and let **not** the daughter of the brother uncover the nakedness of the brother of her father: he is near of kin.

12 They also polluted their holy spirit and with a tongue of blasphemies they opened the mouth
13 against the statutes of the covenant of God, saying: They are not established. But abominations they speak regarding them.

14 They are all 'kindlers of fire
And setters aflame of firebrands':

15 'The webs of spiders' are their weavings
And 'the eggs of cockatrices' are their eggs:

16 He who comes near them shall not be innocent:
He that chooseth them shall be held guilty [unless he was forced].

17 Aforetime God visited their works,
And His wrath was kindled because of their devices.

18 For 'it is a people of no understanding':
'They are a nation void of counsel,'
[Because there is no understanding in them].

19 For aforetime arose Moses and Aaron through the prince of the Lights. But Belial raised Jochanneh and his brother with his evil device when **the former** delivered Israel.

10. **Thou shalt not . . . kin** (i.e. אל אחות אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא). This is a free reproduction of Lev. xviii. 13 ערות אחות אמך לא תגלה כי שאר אמך הוא: cf. Jebam. 55 *ab*.

11. **intercourse,** i.e. הערייה—a Rabbinic term.

let not the daughter of the brother, &c. The text reads ואם 'and if' which I have emended into ואל 'and let not'. This argument that, if a man must not marry his aunt, a woman must not marry her uncle is found among the Caraites, but it is earlier. Similar reasoning is attributed to the Sadducees in Baba Bathra 115 *b*, Megillat Taanith 5.

12. **their holy spirit,** i.e. רוח קדשיהם. Cf. viii. 2 note. Late Hebrew Test. Naph. x. 9 (in my edition of the *Test. Twelve Patr.* p. 227), 'Blessed is he who does not defile the holy spirit of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it to him.' Schechter compares Wertheimer, ii. 14 בתי מדרשות אשרי אדם שלא יטמא רוח אלהים שבקרבו.

They are not established (לא נכונו). This passage is directed against the Pharisees, who by their casuistry set at naught the Law.

14. **all kindlers of fire . . . firebrands** (כלם קדחי אש ומבערי זיקות). These words are drawn from Isa. l. 11 though with a change: בזיקות בערתם . . . כלכם קדחי אש מאזרי זיקות לכו.

15. **The webs of spiders.** From Isa. lix. 4.

the eggs of cockatrices. From Isa. lix. 4.

16. **He that chooseth them.** The text reads the unintelligible כהר ביתו יאשם. Schechter emends the first word into כחרם. Thus we have: 'like a thing accursed shall his house be guilty.' But the parallelism points in a different direction. יאשם 'shall be held guilty' is right; for it corresponds to 'shall not be innocent' in the previous line. We require now a parallel to 'he that cometh near them'—in other words, we expect a participle behind כהר, i. e. בֹּחֵר. ביתו is there corrupt for בהם. Thus we arrive at the above. Lévi suggests the change of כהר into מהר = 'speedily', and renders 'bientôt sa maison est vouée à la destruction' and is herein followed by Lagrange, but neither this clause nor yet the clause which follows admits readily of the meaning they attach to them.

unless he was forced (כי אם נלחץ). An obvious gloss. The words כי אם that follow are with Schechter to be rejected as a dittograph. Lévi and Lagrange: 'assuredly it will be destroyed' (referring to the 'house').

18. The first line is verbally drawn from Isa. xxvii. 11. The second and third lines are from Deut. xxxii. 28, but the last line, which I have bracketed as a gloss, diverges slightly, i.e. מאשר אין בהם בינה whereas Deut. xxxii. 28 has ואין בהם תבונה.

19. This verse seems to have no connexion either with what precedes or what follows.

prince of the Lights, i. e. שר האורים. This may be the angel Uriel who, according to 1 Enoch, was set over the lights of heaven. Schechter suggests that we should read פנים for אורים. We should then have 'the prince of the Presence' who succoured Moses, against Mastema (i. e. Belial) Jub. xlviii. 2, 9.

Belial, i. e. Satan: cf. ix. 12.

Jochanneh and his brother. These are the two Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres, mentioned in 2 Tim. iii. 8, who withstood Moses, Exod. vii. 11 sq. In Menachoth 85 *a* they are called יוחני וממרא. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2327 sqq.

when the former delivered Israel. The text reads בהושע ישראל את הראשונה. Schechter emends את

VIII. *When the Land was laid desolate God would raise up wise men who would restudy the Law and go in Exile to Damascus*, 1–5; *and according to its Precepts the repentant ones should walk till the Teacher of Righteousness arose* (i.e. after 176 B.C.), 7–10.

8 1 And during the period of the destruction of the land there arose those who removed the landmark
2 and led Israel astray. And the land became desolate because they spake rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses [and also through His holy anointed one], and they prophesied a lie to turn away Israel from God.

3 But God remembered the covenant with the forefathers:
And He raised up from Aaron men of understanding,
And from Israel wise men:

4 And He made them to hearken,
And they digged the well.

5 'A well the princes digged,
The nobles of the people delved it
By the order of the Lawgiver.'

6 The well is the Law, and they who digged it are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called princes.
7, 8 For they sought Him and **His glory** was not turned back in the mouth of one (of them). And the Lawgiver is he who studies the Law, in regard to whom Isaiah said, 'He bringeth forth an instrument

into עת and renders 'when I. was delivered for the first time'. But this would require העת. I emend as follows: בהושיע את ישראל הראשונים. On this order of object and subject, cf. Gen. iv. 15; Joshua xiv. 11; 2 Sam. xviii. 29; Isa. xx. 1, &c. The error arose through the transposition of the את. 'The former' are of course 'Moses and Aaron'. Here Lévi and Lagrange render את הראשונה 'pour la première fois'!

VIII. 1–10. The period here referred to seems to be the same as 'the period of wrath' in i. 5 when evil men arose who rebelled against the commandments of God (*v.* 2). But God raised up men of understanding, who studied the law (4–5) and went forth out of the land of Judah to Damascus (6). In this law and its precepts they should walk till the Teacher of righteousness arose (10). We have already seen (see i. 7 note) that this teacher was raised up 'in the period of the wrath' (i. 5), which began or prevailed about 196 B. C. In *v.* 10 this period is called 'the end of the days'.

1. **the period of the destruction of the land.** See i. 5 and preceding note.
who removed the landmark. Cf. i. 11 note; ix. 13, 49. These wicked leaders may be the Hellenizers if the date is early, or the Pharisees if it is late. Perhaps the same as 'the scornful man' spoken of in i. 10; for he 'talked to Israel lying words and made them go astray' (i. 10; cf. viii. 2, 1) so that they 'should remove the landmark' (i. 11: cf. viii. 1).

2. **the land became desolate,** i. e. through the Syrians.
spake rebellion. Cf. xiv. 5 (i.e. דברו סרה). From Deut. xiii. 6.
and also through His holy anointed one. If these words are genuine they may refer, as Lévi suggests, to Aaron. Moses and Aaron would in this case be conceived as the revealers of God's commands. But since the text reads וגם במשיחו הקודש it would be more natural to translate 'and also through His holy Messiah': cf. ix. 10 (B), 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. See note on i. 7. There is a difficulty with regard to this phrase in ii. 10.

3. **remembered the covenant,** &c. Cf. i. 4 note.
Aaron . . . and Israel. Cf. ix. 10 (B); xv. 4; xviii. 8. Schechter may be right in deducing from this verse (viii. 3) the conclusion that the Zadokite Party 'insisted that the lay element should be represented in all important functions'.
made . . . to hearken. The text reads ישמעם, which with Schechter I have emended into ישמיעם. Bacher retains the text and translates 'assembled them' (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 4).
the well. Cf. v. 3. The well is the Law (*v.* 6).

5. From Num. xxi. 18.
the Lawgiver (i. e. המחוקק). A very narrow definition is given to the Lawgiver in *v.* 8. He is 'a student of the Law'. It is quite in keeping with the absolute autocracy of the Law. The Lawgiver (viii. 8, 9) is in ix. 8 called 'the Star', whose duties are described in the same terms.

6. **the penitents of Israel . . . land of Judah.** Cf. vi. 1.
land of Damascus. Cf. *v.* 15; ix. 5, 28, 37.

7. **His glory.** The text reads הושבה פארתם (= 'their bough was . . . turned back') which I take to be corrupt for הושבה תפארתו = 'His glory was . . . turned back'. This term is used frequently of God in the O.T.

8. **the Lawgiver,** i. e. המחוקק. He appears to have been the founder of the Party at Damascus.
studies the Law, i. e. דורש התורה.
He bringeth forth, &c. From Isa. liv. 16.

9 for his work.' And the nobles of the people are those who came to dig the well by the precepts in the which the Lawgiver ordained that they should walk throughout the full period of the **wickedness**.
10 And save them they shall get nothing until there arises the Teacher of Righteousness in the end of the days.

VIII. 11–20. *Conditions under which they can act as Priests in the Sanctuary.*

11 And none who **have** entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar but they shall shut the **doors** concerning whom God said,
'O that there was one among you to shut the **doors**,
So that ye might not vainly kindle the fire upon My altar,'

12 Unless they observe to do according to the true meaning of the Law until the period of the wickedness, and to sever themselves from the children of the pit, and to hold aloof from the polluted wealth of wickedness under a vow and a curse, and **from** the wealth of the Sanctuary:

9. **in the which.** The text reads אשר . . . במה an obvious corruption for א״ בהם.
period of the wickedness. Cf. *v.* 12. In Ezek. xxi. 30 we have 'the time of the wickedness of the end' (עת עון קץ).
wickedness. The text reads רשיע which I have emended into רשעה. This phrase refers to the kingdom of wickedness (מלכות הרשעה) as opposed to the coming Messianic kingdom.
10. From the founding of the Party till the teacher of righteousness arose, i. e. after 196 B. C., no new teaching or light should be given. See note on viii. 1–10.
until there arises, &c. Cf. Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65 for a like idea.
the Teacher of Righteousness, i. e. יורה הצדק. See i. 7 note.
11–20. These verses form one sentence, in which the conditions are given, on the fulfilment of which the priests can administer their office in the Temple.
11. **And none who have entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary,** i. e. וכל אשר הובאו בברית לבלתי בוא אל המקדש. I have here, as Schechter suggests, emended הובאו into באו. As regards the translation, there are two possible ways. I have, with Schechter, given the above rendering, but Lévi, citing Jer. xxxiv. 10 כל השרים . . . אשר באו בברית לשלח איש את עבדו . . . לבלתי עבד בם and 2 Chron. xv. 12, insists that we must connect the words as in these passages. If this is necessary the translation would run: 'And all those who had entered the covenant not to enter the Sanctuary to kindle His altar, and had shut the doors.' But, if we accept Lévi's rendering, the connexion and grammar of the entire passage are destroyed. In order to carry it out, Lévi is obliged to render אם לא as 'because . . . not' (!) in *v.* 12, and to make *vv.* 11–20 a *nominativus pendens*, which does not find a predicate to *v.* 21, and which, when it is resumed in *v.* 21, has quite changed its meaning! Lagrange accepts Lévi's suggestion but avoids rendering אם לא as Lévi has done. He rightly takes these words as meaning 'unless'. But the passage then becomes no more intelligible in his hands. *v.* 11 is a *nom. pendens* which is apparently explained in *v.* 12, which forms the beginning of a long protasis extending from *v.* 12 to *v.* 20, and then ends without an apodosis. He tries to get over these difficulties by suggesting that אם לא forms the beginning of an oath. But there is nothing in the text to suggest such an idea.

Hence I conclude that if the passage is to be construed intelligibly, it is to be taken as I have given it. The apodosis of the sentence comes first in *v.* 11, and the protasis follows in 12–20. For another long sentence where the protasis consists of four verses, see ix. 50–54. No priest of the Zadokite party is to take part in the Temple services (*v.* 11), unless he fulfils the conditions laid down in 12–20. In case the Zadokite priests fulfil these conditions, they are in *v.* 21 given the assurance of an everlasting covenant.

none . . . shall enter, i. e. כל . . . לבלתי בוא. This construction recurs in vi. 5, 7 (*bis*), ix. 2, 12, x. 1, xx. 7.
none . . . shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar. These words refer to the Temple in Jerusalem: cf. *v.* 12 where the wealth of the Sanctuary is spoken of, and i. 3 note.
have entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.
doors. Text reads דלתו corrupt for דלתים as also in the quotation that follows.
O that . . . upon My altar. From Mal. i. 10, save that our text omits גם and by a slip puts דלתו for דלתים. That it is the Temple in Jerusalem that our text refers to follows inevitably from this quotation.
12. **observe to do.** Cf. Deut. xii. 1.
until the period of the wickedness, i. e. לקץ הרשע. Perhaps קץ should here have its ordinary meaning of 'end'. Cf. *v.* 9.
children of the pit, בני השחת. Cf. Jub. x. 3, xv. 26, where the phrase denotes those who refuse circumcision. In xvi. 7 it undoubtedly means the uncircumcised. In Ezek. xxx. 24, &c. 'Sheol' or 'the pit' (בור xxxii. 29 or שחת xxviii. 8) is spoken of as the final habitation of the uncircumcised.
to hold aloof . . . under a vow and a curse, i. e. to take a vow to separate themselves and invoke a curse on themselves in case they failed.
to hold aloof, i. e. להנזר. Cf. Num. vi. 2, 5, 12. The form להזיר is found in viii. 18.
the polluted wealth of wickedness. See note on vi. 11.

13 And in respect to robbing the poor of His people,
So that widows may be their spoil,
And they may murder the fatherless:

14 And to make a difference between the clean and the unclean and to make men discern between
15 the holy and the profane: And to observe the Sabbath according to its true meaning and the
feasts and the day of the Fast according to the utterances of them who entered into the New
16 Covenant in the land of Damascus: To contribute their holy things according to the true inter-
17 pretation: To love every one his brother as himself, and to strengthen the hand of the poor
18 and the needy and the stranger, and to seek every one the peace of his brother: To hold aloof
from harlots according to the law: and that no man should commit a trespass against his next
19 of kin: To rebuke every one his brother according to the commandment, and not to bear a grudge
20 from day to day, and to separate from all the pollutions according to their judgements. And no man

to hold aloof . . . from the wealth of the Sanctuary. Can this be a pregnant expression for 'to hold aloof . . . from robbing the wealth, &c.'? If so, we might compare Test. Lev. xiv. 5 'The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion ye shall steal choice portions'. The chief Pharisee of the time of Jannaeus, i. e. Simon ben Shetach, is said to have appropriated to his own use half the offerings of 300 Nazarites. See Schürer[3], i. 279 sq. But the text may mean that the priests of the Party are not to avail themselves of the wealth of the Temple.

from the wealth, &c. Reading מהון instead of בהון. In vi. 11 (see note) evilly-acquired wealth is spoken of. The same charge appears here to be brought against the wealth of the Sanctuary. If this is so, the Sanctuary in question cannot be the sanctuary of the Party; for they would not in any case admit that its (small) wealth was of this nature. Hence the text can only refer to the Temple in Jerusalem.

13. **in respect to robbing . . . the fatherless.** This verse is a quotation from Isa. x. 2 ולגזול משפט עניי עמי להיות אלמנות שללם ואת־יתומים יבזו, but our author omits משפט and changes יבזו into ירצחו, which, as Lévi observes, is drawn from Ps. xciv. 6 ויתומים ירצחו.

in respect to robbing. The text reads לגזול and I have translated accordingly, but this may be corrupt for מגזול = 'from robbing'.

14. This verse is a quotation from Ezek. xxii. 26, save that our author has transposed the two verbs and read: ולהבדיל בין הטמא לטהור ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול. In connecting הבדיל with the first clause he may have been influenced by Lev. xi. 47 which does so.

15. **the day of the Fast,** i. e. the Day of Atonement.

utterances. The text reads מצא which I take to be corrupt for מוֹצָאֵי. But Schechter is possibly right in emending it into מצות = 'command'.

the New Covenant. Cf. ix. 28, 37. See note on ii. 1. The phrase appears to be derived from Jer. xxxi. 31. It was called 'new' because it was a covenant based on repentance, ix. 15 (B) (ברית תשובה). This involved a spiritual transformation, and corresponds to the words in Jer. xxxi. 33 'I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it'.

the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

16. **contribute,** i. e. להרים.

their holy things (הקדשים). These words may refer to the tithes of the oxen and the sheep. These are mentioned in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6 only, but were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37–39, xii. 44–47, &c.). The literal tithing of the oxen and sheep is maintained in Jub. xxxii. 15 (see my note *in loc.*), but Rabbinic tradition sought to make it out as merely a tithe of the yearly increase.

17. **To love . . . as himself,** i. e. לאהוב איש את אחיהו כמהו. In Lev. xix. 18 we have 'neighbour' instead of 'brother'. The question arises here, who is 'the brother'? In Judaism it was always limited to fellow countrymen, and the context here favours this idea. See the *Test. Twelve Patr.* for the noblest pre-Christian enforcement of this duty: T. Sim. iv. 7; T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6; T. Gad iv. 2, vi. 1, 3, vii. 7; T. Benj. ii. 3, iii. 3, 4.

to strengthen . . . needy (להחזיק ביד עני ואביון). From Ezek. xvi. 49.

seek . . . the peace (לדרוש . . . את שלום). Cf. Deut. xxiii. 6, 7; Jer. xxix. 7.

18. I have transposed the two clauses of this verse.

harlots. For זונות we should perhaps read זנות 'fornication' with Schechter. Cf. iii. 2, vii. 2.

his next of kin (i. e. שאר בשרו). Cf. ix. 17; Lev. xviii. 6, xxv. 49.

19. **rebuke . . . his brother** (להוכיח . . . את אחיהו). The commandment is in Lev. xix. 17 תכיח את אמיתך. Cf. x. 2, 5 of our text.

not to bear a grudge. Cf. ix. 16, x. 1 note.

to separate from all the pollutions. Cf. Ezra vi. 21.

20. **no man shall make abominable his holy spirit,** i.e. לא ישקץ איש את רוח קדשיו. This is clearly a reproduction of Lev. xx. 25 with a change of phrase: לא תשקצו את נפשתיכם 'Ye shall not make your souls abominable'. See our text xiv. 12. Thus the 'spirit' (רוח=πνεῦμα) is for our author identical with the soul (נפש=ψυχή) alike in essence and function as in 1 Enoch xxii. 3, 5 &c. See my *Eschatology*, 195, sq. See vii. 12 note.

shall make abominable (with these) his holy spirit, according as God separated (these) from them.
21 As for all those who walk in these things in the perfection of holiness according to all the ordinances, the covenant of God

Text A.

standeth fast unto them to preserve them to a thousand generations.

Text B.

standeth fast unto them to preserve them for thousands of generations. As it is written, 'Who keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments to a thousand generations.'

IX. 1. *The Law as to binding and loosing.*

1 And if they settle in camps according to the order of the land and take wives and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law, and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son'.

And if they settle in camps according to the 9 1
statutes of the land which were from of old and take wives according to the custom of the Law and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son.'

IX. 2–3. *Threatened Judgement on those who rejected the Statutes.*

2 But as for all them that reject . . . when God will bring a visitation upon the land they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when there shall come to pass the word which is written in the words of Isaiah the son of Amos
3 the prophet, who said: 'He will bring upon thee and upon thy people and upon thy father's house days that have ⟨not⟩ come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah.'

But as for all them that reject the command- 2
ments and the statutes they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when God will bring a visitation upon the land, when there shall come to pass the word which is written by the hand of Zechariah the prophet: 'O sword, awake 3
against My shepherd and against the man that is My fellow, saith God; smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered, and I will turn Mine hand against the little ones.'

separated (these) from them (הבדיל . . . להם), i. e. separated the unclean things from them. From Lev. xx. 25.

21. **As for all those who walk in these things . . . the covenant of God standeth fast unto them.** These clauses recur in xvi. 12.

perfection of holiness or 'holy perfection' (תמים קדש). Cf. ix. 30, 33.

ordinances. The text reads יסודי or יסורי (= 'disciplinings'), which must be emended as in ix. 1 (A? and B) into יסודים. Cf. xi. 2.

the covenant . . . standeth fast unto them. Cf. xvi. 12. From Ps. lxxxix. 28 בריתי נֶאֱמָנָה לו. I have changed נאמנות into נאמנת as in the Psalms.

21. B. **Who keepeth covenant . . . generations.** From Deut. vii. 9. The לאהב and the מצותי are to be read as לאהביו and מצותיו.

IX. 1. **camps.** According to Lévi the name of the Jewish quarter even at the present day in Persia is 'camp', referring to Elkan Adler גנזי פרס, p. 3.

order (or 'regulation' or 'arrangement'), i. e. סרך a Rabbinic word. It recurs in x. 1, xv. 1, 4, xvi. 1, xvii. 1. Observe that in B we have חוקי, but later in this verse it is found both in A and B. סרך is found in *vv.* 29, 30 of the Aramaic Fragments of an original source of the *Test. Twelve Patr.* In the Greek, which is here happily preserved, τάξις appears as the equivalent of סרך. Both the Aramaic and Greek Fragments go back to a Hebrew original. See my *Greek Versions of the Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 250. Cf. סרכין = 'administrators' in Dan. vi. 3, 4, &c.

ordinances, i. e. יסודים in B and A (?), which latter could also be read יסורים.

between a man and his wife . . . son. From Num. xxx. 16 save that for 'son' (בנו) the O.T. reads 'daughter' (בתו). We have here a summary reference to the law of binding and loosing, which is more fully treated in xx. 2–12.

2. **will bring a visitation.** This is the visitation through the Messiah: cf. *vv.* 9–10, 12–13.

they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked. I am doubtful as to the rendering here. The text reads להשיב גמול רשעים עליהם. This use of the infinitive is frequent in our text. For the phrase cf. Joel iii. 4, 7.

3. The great difference of the two recensions here is to be observed.

3. A. This verse is quoted from Isa. vii. 17. It recurs in part in xvi. 11—a fact which may support the A recension. For יבוא we must read יביא, and לא must be restored before באו as in xvi. 11 and in the O.T.

that have ⟨not⟩ come . . . Ephraim. These words recur in xvi. 11.

3. B. This verse is quoted from Zech. xiii. 7. Our author has changed יי צבאות into אל.

A

IX. 4–9. *Foundation of the Zadokite Party and its Expectations: the Law, the Prophets, and the Messiah.*

4 When the two houses of Israel separated, [Ephraim departed from Judah, and] all who proved faithless were delivered to the sword, and those who held fast escaped into the land of the North.
5 As He said, 'And I will cause to go into captivity Siccuth your King and Chiun your images,
6 ⟨the star of your god which ye made for yourselves⟩ **beyond** Damascus.' The books of the Law are the tabernacle of the King, as He said, 'And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is
7 fallen.' The King is the congregation and Chiun the images are the books of the Prophets, whose
8 words Israel has despised. And the Star is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, as it is written, 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' The
9 sceptre is the prince of all the congregation.

IX. 10–20. *The Messiah will destroy those who were faithless to the New Covenant: their moral Derelictions through Hellenizing Influences.*

A

10 And when he arises 'he shall destroy all the sons of (battle) din'. . . . These **shall** escape during the period of the [first] visitation, but those who proved faithless **shall be** delivered to the sword.

B

And 'they that give heed unto Him are the 10
poor of the flock'. These shall escape during the period of the visitation, but the rest shall be handed over to the sword when the Messiah comes from

4. [**Ephraim . . . and**]. Bracketed as a dittograph from the preceding sentence. So Landauer.
all who proved faithless. Cf. *v.* 10.
those who held fast. See v. 1 note.
land of the North, i. e. Damascus.

5–9. The extraordinary piece of exegesis which we find in these verses has for its object the removal from the Messianic hopes of the expectation of a Messiah descended from David. No kingly but a priestly Messiah is to be looked for.

5. This verse is quoted from Amos v. 26–27, but with a few changes. Two are accidental and owing to copyists. The first of these is the omission of the clause 'the star of your God which ye made for yourselves'. The second is the corruption of מהלאה ל = 'beyond' into מאהלי 'from the tents of'. The entire context of our author requires the former. The words 'beyond Damascus' denote the destination of the captivity—called 'the land of Damascus' in viii. 6, ix. 28, 38. If our author deliberately changed מהלאה ל into מאהלי he would not have done so unless it was of importance to him. That it was not is patent from the fact that no allusion to 'tents' occurs in what follows.

There is, however, one deliberate change of the text of Amos, namely, the substitution of והגליתי 'and I will cause . . . to go into captivity' from *v.* 27 for ונשאתם 'and ye shall carry' in *v.* 26.

6. **tabernacle.** Here סכות 'Siccuth' or 'Saccuth' is read as סכת = 'tabernacle'.
And I will raise up . . . fallen. From Amos ix. 11, save that for אקים our text reads והקימותי.

7. **whose words Israel has despised.** Cf. Test. Lev. xvi. 2 'Ye shall set at naught the words of the prophets'. The meaning may be, as Lévi suggests, that Israel had treated the books of the Prophets as worthless idols.

8. The Star does not symbolize the Messiah, but the religious leader of the party of penitents that went to the land of Damascus. Hence there is no connexion between the idea in our text and in Test. Lev. xviii. 3; Test. Jud. xxiv. 1, where the Star does symbolize the Messiah, and where both passages are based on Num. xxiv. 17. Since the Star is said to 'study the Law' (דרש התורה) and likewise to have gone forth at the head of the penitents to Damascus, he is the same as the Lawgiver in viii. 5, 8, 9.
There shall come forth a star, &c. Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17.

9. The sceptre appears to denote the Messiah: cf. *v.* 10 (B). He is a militant Messiah. This reference to the Messiah is proleptic.

10. **he shall destroy all the sons of (battle) din.** Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17. I have here given one of the most likely renderings of שֵׁת.

The two recensions must be used here to supplement each other. A is wanting in a clause at the beginning, which B preserves.

10 A. **shall escape:** reading ימלטו for מלטו, as in 10 B.
the period of the [first] visitation. I have bracketed 'first' (הראשון which should, if correct, be הראשונה) as an interpolation. It is not the first but the second or final visitation that is referred to, as is clear from B.
those who proved faithless. Cf. *v.* 4. Here B has הנשארים 'the rest'.
shall be delivered. Here I emend הסגירו into יסגרו (cf. ימסרו in B). The Hophal הסגרו is found in this sense in *v.* 11 (B).

10 B. **they that give heed . . . flock.** This is a quotation from Zech. xi. 11, save that our author has changed אותי = 'Me' into אותו = 'Him'.

A	B
11 [Lost.]	Aaron and Israel: Just as it was during the period 11 of the first visitation, concerning which He spake through Ezekiel 'to set a mark upon the foreheads of them that sigh and cry', but the rest were delivered to 'the sword that avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant'.
12 And this also shall be the judgement of all them who have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these ⟨statutes⟩: they shall be visited for destruction through the hand 13 of Belial. This is the day on which God shall visit ⟨as He hath spoken⟩:	And this also 12 shall be the judgement of all them that have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these statutes: they shall be visited for destruction through the hand of Belial. This is the day 13 on which God shall visit, as He hath spoken:
'The princes of Judah were ⟨like them that removed the landmark⟩: Upon them **will I** pour out⟨My⟩wrath⟨like water⟩.'	'The princes of Judah were like them that remove the landmark: Upon them will I pour out ⟨My⟩ wrath like water.'
14 For they are too sick **to be healed**, And they **have been at the head of** all the rebels.	
15 Because they have not turned from the way of traitors, But have wallowed in the ways of harlots, And in the wealth of wickedness and (in) revenge.	Because they entered into the covenant of 15 repentance And yet have not turned from the way of traitors: But have dealt wantonly in the ways of fornication, In the wealth of wickedness and in revenge.
16 And every man beareth a grudge against his brother, And every man hateth his neighbour.	And every man beareth a grudge against his 16 brother, And every man hateth his neighbour.
17 And they **committed trespass** every man against his next of kin, And drew near to unchastity:	And they **committed trespass** every man against 17 his next of kin, And drew near to unchastity:

from Aaron and Israel. I have here preferred מִ before both these words in accordance with ix. 29. See note on i. 7.

11. **spake.** By a slip a scribe inserts 'Ezekiel' as the subject of 'spake'.

set a mark . . . cry (i.e. להתות התיו על מצחות נאנחים ונאנקים). From Ezek. ix. 4 והתוית תיו על מצחות האנשים הנאנחים והנאנקים.

that avengeth . . . covenant. Cf. i. 12 *d*.

12. **entered into His covenant.** See ii. 1 note.

will not hold fast. Cf. v. 1 note.

they shall be visited, i.e. לפקדם. This idiomatic construction with the infinitive is frequent in our text. See note on viii. 11.

through the hand of Belial. Belial in later pre-Christian Judaism is simply another name for Satan. One of the three functions assigned to satanic spirits in 1 Enoch is that of the punishment of sinners.

13. **God shall visit.** See *v.* 2 note.

The princes of Judah, &c. From Hos. v. 10. The text of A is defective and corrupt. For עליהם אשפך כמים עברתי it reads אשר תשפוך עליהם העברה. B agrees exactly with the Massoretic Hebrew, save that it reads עברה for עברתי. For the meaning of 'princes of Judah' in our text see viii. 6.

14. In A only and very corrupt. The text runs וידקמום כל מורדים | כי יחלו למרפא, where I propose to read ממרפה and emend the *vox nulla* ידקמום into יקדמו. But the text remains a problem. Lévi suggests וינקם מ 'and He will take vengeance on all the rebels'.

15–19. Breaches by the Princes of Judah of the moral conditions laid down in viii. 11 *a*–19 *c*. Thus contrast ix. 15 *a* with viii. 11 *a*: ix. 15 *c* with viii. 18 *a*: ix. 15 *d* with viii. 12 *c*: ix. 16 *a* with viii. 19 *b*: ix. 16 *b* with viii. 17 *a*: ix. 17 *a* with viii. 18 *b*: ix. 17 *b* with viii. 19 *c*: ix. 18 *b* with viii. 19 *c*.

15 B. **entered into the covenant.** See ii. 1 note.

covenant of repentance, i.e. ברית תשובה. This is the covenant mentioned in Jer. xxxi. 30, 32.

15 A. **wallowed,** i.e. יתגוללו (A). But B reads יתעללו. Either verb does very well. But v. 4 (A) supports the former.

harlots, i.e. זונות (A). B reads זנות which punctuated זִנוּת = 'fornication', and punctuated זֹנוֹת = 'harlots'. Since we have abstract expressions following, probably we should read 'fornication' here.

wealth of wickedness. See note on this phrase in vi. 11.

16. **beareth a grudge.** Lev. xix. 18. See x. 1 note.

hateth his neighbour. Lev. xix. 17.

17. **committed trespass.** So with Schechter I emend יתעצמו (A, B) into ימעלו as in viii. 18, where this

A	B
And **exalted themselves** with a view to wealth and unjust gain, And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.	And they made themselves strong with a view to wealth and unjust gain, And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.
18 And they chose every man the stubbornness of his heart, And they separated not from the people.	And they chose every man the stubbornness of his heart, 18 And they separated not from the people and their sins.
19 And they cast off restraint with a high hand To walk in the way of the wicked, concerning whom God said: 'Their wine is the poison of dragons And the cruel venom of asps.'	And they cast off restraint with a high hand 19 To walk in the ways of the wicked; concerning whom God said: 'Their wine is the poison of dragons And the cruel venom of asps.'
20 The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles and their wine is their ways, and the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them.	The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles 20 and their wine is their ways, and the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them.

IX. 21–23. *Neither to these things nor to Moses did the Builders of the Wall give heed.*

21 But despite all these things they who builded the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar	But despite all these things they who builded 21 the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar

line recurs. But we might retain יתעלמו and change בשאר into משאר and derive the text from Isa. lviii. 7 and translate 'hid themselves every man from his own flesh'.

exalted themselves with a view to wealth and unjust gain. The text reads יתנכרו† להון ולבצע† where I have emended יתנכרו into יתגבהו or יגבהו (cf. B יתגברו) on the strength of Jub. xxiii. 21, 'They will all exalt themselves with a view to deceit and wealth.' Here the Ethiopic word for 'deceit' is a rendering of πλεονεξία, which in turn is a rendering of בצע in Judges v. 19: or of ἀδικία, which is similarly a rendering of the same Hebrew word in Prov. xxviii. 16: cf. Ps. ix. 24. בצע is also rendered by ἀνομία. Thus our text is clearly dependent on Jub. xxiii. 19, which latter would be better rendered 'they will all exalt themselves with a view to unjust gain and wealth'. In B the verb is יתגברו, 'made themselves strong', which may be right, though it is not the word implied by Jub. xxiii. 21. Its appearance here may be due to *v.* 54 *c* in our text, where it occurs in a good sense.

every man did that which was right, &c. See iv. 5 *c*. Here B reads את איש הישר an obvious transposition of איש את הישר.

18. **chose . . . the stubbornness,** &c. See iii. 4 note. Possibly we should render here 'chose in the stubbornness', but the translation adopted is more likely.

separated not (לא נזרו). This separatist character relates the party so far to the Pharisees. See *v.* 24.

19–20. The degradation of Israel through Hellenizing influences and their punishment at the hand of Javan, i. e. the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria.

19. **cast off restraint,** i. e. יפרעו. Cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 19.

Their wine . . . asps. Quoted from Deut. xxxii. 33

חמת תנינים יינם
וראש פתנים אכזר

20. This verse refers to the invasions of Palestine by the successors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria. This equation of Greece and Syria points to the early date of our author.

head, i. e. ראש. Our author, as Lagrange recognizes, plays here on the two different meanings of ראש.

Javan. Cf. Daniel viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2.

21. **builded the wall.** Cf. 26; vii. 1.

the wall (חיץ μεσότοιχον Eph. ii. 14). What is meant by 'the wall'? Does it mean 'the fence' (i. e. סיג) which the Pharisees, especially the legalistic side, raised about the Law. In Pirke Aboth i. 1 we have the command: עשו סייג לתורה 'make a fence to the Torah'. As Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*[2], p. 134) writes: 'in theory and practice the law required a fence, as a written Torah needs a margin to safeguard the edges of the text.'

But could the Zadokite party object *absolutely* to 'the fence', seeing they adopted it in principle in reference to the Sabbath, xiii. 1, where it is required that in order to avoid profaning it some of the time preceding it should be kept holy? Besides, this party must have adopted, and in fact did adopt, as we know from this work, a number of the traditional halacha. Hence we conclude that it is not to the principle of 'the fence' in itself, but to its abnormal growth in the form of oral tradition, that they objected. That there were

A

22 perceived not— For one who was †perturbed† of spirit and talked lies talked to them— that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation:

23 Nor that Moses said, 'Not for thy righteousness or for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but because He loved thy fathers and because He would keep the oath.'

B

perceived not— For one who †walked in wind 22
and weighed storms†, and talked **lies to man**
⟨talked⟩— . that the wrath of God was kindled
against all His congregation:

Nor that Moses said to Israel, 'Not for thy 23
righteousness nor for the uprightness of thine
heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but
because He loved thy fathers and because He
would keep the oath.'

IX. 24–27. *The Penitents like the Forefathers were loved of God for their Faithfulness to the Covenant, but as He judged the Builders of the Wall, so shall those faithless to the New Covenant be judged.*

24 And such is the case of the penitents of Israel ⟨who⟩ turned aside from the way of the people.
25 Owing to the love of God for the forefathers who stirred up ⟨the people to follow⟩ after Him, He loved them that came after them; for theirs is

Such is the case of the penitents of Israel ⟨who⟩ 24
turned aside from the way of the people. Owing 25
to the love of God for the forefathers who
admonished the people ⟨to follow⟩ after God,
He loved them that came after them, for theirs

ample grounds for their opposition we learn from the words of Shammai, who lived in the first century B.C. This Rabbi said: 'We have two Toroth, the written Torah (תורה שבכתב) and the oral Torah (תורה שבעל פה).' According to the Jer. Peah ii. 6 the latter are the 'more precious', while Rabbi Jochanan in Jer. Berakoth i. 7 declares that 'the words of the Sopherim are . . . more beloved than words of Torah' (see Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 14). In Berakh. 8 *a*, 13, B. Mez. 33 *a*, Chag 10 *a* the comparative values of the Torah and the Mishna and Talmud are dealt with, much to the disadvantage of the Torah. In the Aboda Zara 35 *a* R. Dimi explained Canticles i. 2 as meaning: 'the words of thy loved ones (i.e. the scholars) are better than the wine of the Law' (דברי דודיך יותר מיינה של תורה). In the late work Aboth R. N., Book i, p. 3, the consciousness of this evil is present to the writer, since it is urged that the fence (גדר) was not to be made excessive lest it should overpower the root or plant it was intended to protect (יותר מן העיקר).

Another fact, i.e. our author's use of חיץ instead of סיג, may point in the same direction. The latter means a fence round something and סוג is 'to fence about', but the former is a partition-wall. Now it is quite possible that our author may have deliberately used חיץ instead of סיג. Thus by naming the fence חיץ the Zadokites implied that the Pharisees did not by this means so much protect the Law against profanation from without as create division among the ranks of the faithful within. We might compare St. Paul's designation of 'circumcision' (περιτομή) as mere 'mutilation' (κατατομή) in Phil. iii. 2. It is worth noting in this connexion that whereas our author brands the abnormal growth of the oral law with the name 'partition-wall', St. Paul, in Eph. ii. 14, brands the entire Law—written and oral—with the same designation.

daubed it with untempered mortar (טחי תפל). From Ezek. xiii. 10, 11, 14, 15, xxii. 28.

22. Owing to a false prophet the builders of the party-wall did not perceive that God's wrath was stirred up against all the congregation. For the phrase, 'wrath of God,' &c., cf. i. 17.

†perturbed† of spirit, i.e. מבוהל רוח (A). B reads הולך רוח, and adds ושקל סופות (*sic*). See Appendix on p. 834 for restored text and rendering.

talked lies (מטיף כזב). So A. In i. 10 we have הטיף מאמרי כזב and in ix. 40 איש הכזב. The text, therefore, is probably sound. B reads מטיף אדם לכזב, where apparently we have a transposition of the preposition as in *v.* 17 above, and also of the nouns. That is, we should read מטיף כזב לאדם. Hence my rendering. It is hard to say whether the להם or the לאדם is the original. See App. on p. 834.

the wrath of God was kindled. See note on i. 17.

23. **Nor that Moses said** (ואשר אמר משה). These words are the object of לא הבינו in *v.* 21. See last lines of Appendix on p. 834.

Not for thy righteousness . . . to inherit these nations. Quoted from Deut. ix. 5, save that our author has changed 'their land' into 'these nations' (הגוים האלה).

but because . . . the oath. From Deut. vii. 8, save that our author has replaced the sacred name יי by the pronoun and changed 'you' into 'your fathers'.

24. See *v.* 18 *b*.

the case, i.e. המשפט. God loves 'the penitents of Israel' as He loved the forefathers because they kept the covenant. The 'builders of the wall' had forsaken the covenant by introducing illegitimate changes of the Law.

penitents of Israel. See vi. 1 note.

25. **stirred up.** A reads היעירו (i.e. הֵעִירוּ) and B העידו. The latter reading also gives a good sense 'admonished' or 'exhorted solemnly'. After the verb A is defective and B corrupt. Where A gives merely היעירו אחריו B reads העידו על העם אחרי אל. B supplies part of the missing text but the Hebrew is impossible.

A

26 the covenant of the fathers. But since He hated the builders of the wall His wrath was kindled.

27 And such (will be) the case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

B

is the covenant of the fathers. But God hates 26 and abhors the builders of the wall and His wrath was kindled against them and against all who follow after them. And such (will be) the 27 case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

IX. 28–39. *Excommunication of those who fall away from the New Covenant.*

28 This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi. All the men who entered into the New Covenant in the land of Damascus.

So are all the men who entered into the New 28 Covenant in the land of Damascus and yet turned backward and acted treacherously and departed from the spring of living waters.

B

29 They shall not be reckoned in the assembly of the people, and in its register they shall not be written, from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until there shall arise the 30 Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. And such is the case for all that enter into the congregation 31 of the men of the perfection of holiness. And **as for him who** abhors doing precepts of upright men [he is the man who is melted in the furnace], when his deeds **become known** he shall be expelled from the congregation, as though his lot had not fallen among them that are taught of God.

First of all על cannot stand. Next we might emend העם into בעם and add להלך from a comparison of the last clause in the next verse in B. There God's wrath is kindled against 'all *who follow after them*' (i.e. the builders of the party-wall). In contrast to these the people are exhorted to follow after God in the present verse.

theirs is the covenant of the fathers. Cf. Rom. ix. 3–4 'Israelites whose . . . are the covenants'.

26. God's wrath against and judgement (cf. *v.* 27) on the builders of the party-wall.

since He hated. We must here change בשונאי into בשונאו.

the builders of the wall. See vii. 1 note.

His wrath was kindled, &c. See i. 17 note.

27–28. As was the judgement on those who built the party-wall, so shall be the judgement on those who fall away from the New Covenant.

27. **in the stubbornness,** &c. See iii. 4 note.

28 *a* (A). I do not know what our author refers to.

B. **the New Covenant.** See viii. 15.

in the land of Damascus. Cf. viii. 6, 15, ix. 5, 38.

B. **The spring of living waters,** i.e. the Law. See v. 3 *a*, viii. 6–8.

29. **They shall not be reckoned . . . written.** Quoted from Ezek. xiii. 9 but with some slight changes. לא יחשבו בסוד עם ובכתבו לא יכתבו.

the Unique Teacher. Cf. ix. 39, where again the death of this teacher is referred to. See i. 7 note.

the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. See i. 7 note.

30. **congregation,** i.e. עדה.

the men of the perfection of holiness, i.e. אנשי תמים הקדש. So also in *v.* 33.

perfection of holiness. See *v.* 33, viii. 21.

31. **And as for him who abhors.** The text reads ויקוץ, which I have emended into והקץ. We have here a *nominativus pendens.*

precepts of upright men, i.e. פקודי ישרים. This is probably a corruption of פקודים ישרים 'upright precepts'.

he is the man . . . furnace, i.e. הוא האיש הנתך בתוך כור. These words are in substance an interpolation from Ezek. xxii. 20. They are wholly foreign to the text. There is no question here of divine and final punishments, but of ecclesiastical.

when . . . become known. The text reads בהופע, which = 'when . . . shine forth', as in *v.* 49. But this meaning is impossible here and in *v.* 33. The word is apparently a corruption of בהודע = 'when . . . become known'. Schechter proposes בהורע = 'deteriorate'. But this is not the point here. The man abhors in thought the precepts, but it is not till his actions become known that judgement can be taken. The clause recurs in *v.* 33.

as though . . . not, i.e. כמו שלא. This is the only instance where we have יש for אשר in our text.

taught of God. In Isa. liv. 13 we have the phrase למודי יי.

B

32 According to his trespass they shall record him as a perverted man until he come back to stand in
33 the office of the men of the perfection of holiness. And when his deeds **become known**, in accordance with the midrash of the Law in which walk the men of the perfection of holiness, no man shall consent (to be) with him in wealth and labour; for all the saints of the Most High have
34 cursed him. And such shall be the case of every one who rejects the first and the last, who have
35 placed idols upon their hearts and walked in the stubbornness of their hearts. They have no share
36 in the House of the Law. With a judgement like unto that of their neighbours who turned away
37 with the scornful men, they shall be judged. For they spake error against the statutes of righteousness, and rejected the covenant and the pledge of faith, which they had affirmed in the land
38 of Damascus; and this is the New Covenant. And there shall not be unto them nor unto their
39 families a share in the House of the Law. And from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until all the men of war were consumed who walked with the man of lies about forty years,
40 [And during this period there shall be kindled the wrath of God against Israel as He said, 'there
41 is no king and no prince' and no judge, and none that rebuketh in righteousness,] Those who
42 repented of transgression ⟨in Jacob⟩ observed the covenant of God. Then they spake each man
43 with his neighbour ⟨to strengthen one⟩ another: 'Let **our** steps hold fast to the way of God.' And God hearkened to their words and heard, and a book of remembrance was written ⟨before Him⟩ for them that feared God ⟨and⟩ that thought upon His name until salvation and righteousness be revealed

32. **record him as a perverted man,** i.e. יזכירוהו אנש מְעֻוָּת. The text reads אנשי, which is obviously a slip. Schechter, however, retains it and inserting עם after the verb renders 'record him ⟨with⟩ the men of perversion'. How he can explain this Hebrew construction in אנשי מעות I cannot see.

33. **become known.** Emended as in *v.* 31.

midrash, i.e. מדרש. With the expression cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 22 'Midrash of the prophet Iddo', xxiv. 27 'midrash of the Book of Kings'. Midrash in our text means 'right interpretation' probably.

men of the perfection of holiness. See viii. 21 note.

consent, i.e. יֵאוֹת. I supply להיות.

34. **rejects.** See *v.* 27.

the first and the last, i.e. בראשונים ובאחרונים. These appear to be the first recipients of the two covenants—the Law and the New Covenant.

placed idols, &c. In a symbolic sense. Cf. Ezek. xiv. 3, 1 Enoch xcvi. 7.

stubbornness of their hearts. See iii. 4 note.

35. **the House of the Law,** i.e. בית התורה. This clause, which recurs in *v.* 38, appears to be a designation of the Party. The Zadokites are *par excellence* the representatives of the Law. Bacher thinks it designates a school or a place for teaching the Law.

36. **the scornful men.** Cf. i. 10.

37. **spake error** (דברו תועה). The phrase is found in Isa. xxxii. 6.

in the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

the New Covenant. See ii. 1 note.

39. **when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher.** Cf. ix. 29.

the Unique Teacher, i.e. יוריה היחיד. See i. 7 note.

man of lies. See i. 10 note.

40. I have bracketed this verse as an interpolation. Verse 39 is only the protasis of a sentence: the apodosis is to be found in *v.* 41.

the wrath of God, &c. See i. 17 note.

there is no king and no prince (אין מלך ואין שר). From Hos. iii. 4.

no judge . . . in righteousness, i.e. אין שופט ואין מוכיח בצדק—a reminiscence, as Lévi observes, of Isa. xi. 4 ושפט בצדק דלים והוכיח.

41. **Those who repented of transgression,** i.e. שבי פשע. The phrase is from Isa. lix. 20. If we retain *v.* 40, we should translate 'But those who', &c.

in Jacob. So Schechter supplies the lacuna.

42. **Then they spake . . . neighbour** (אז נדבְּרוּ איש אל רעֵהוּ). From Mal. iii. 16. The letters with dots underneath are uncertain.

⟨to strengthen one⟩ another. So Lévi restores the text, which reads as follows: ל⟨החוי⟩ק אִישׁ אלֿ אחיו. Schechter's transcription of the facsimile here is inaccurate.

our steps hold fast (יתמך צעדנו בדרך אל). For the phrase see Prov. v. 5. I have taken צעדם 'their steps' as corrupt for צעדנו 'our steps'.

43. **And God hearkened . . . name.** From Mal. iii. 16. The words 'before Him' are obliterated in the MS., but there is room for לפניו in the facsimile but not in Schechter's transcript.

be revealed. The MS. reads יגלה and not יעלה as Schechter deciphers.

B

44 for ⟨them that fear God. Then shall ye return and discern⟩ between the righteous and wicked,
45 between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not. And He showeth mercy ⟨unto thousands⟩ of them that **love Him and** keep ⟨His commandments⟩ for a thousand generations.
46, 47 †From the house of Peleg† that have gone out from the holy city. And they trusted in God throughout the period that Israel trespassed and polluted the Sanctuary and returned again to
48 molten images. The people with **few** words shall **all** be judged, each according to his spirit in
49 the counsel of holiness. And as for all those who have broken down the landmark of the Law amongst those who entered into the covenant, when there shall shine forth the glory of God to Israel, they shall be cut off from the midst of the camp, and with all those who do wickedly of Judah in the days of its testing.

IX. 50–54. *The faithful shall confess their sins and be forgiven and blessed.*

50 But all they who hold fast by these judgements in going out and coming in according to the Law, and listen to the voice of the Teacher and confess before God ⟨saying⟩

51 'We have done wickedly, we and our fathers,
Because **we** have walked contrary to the statutes of the covenant,
And true is thy judgement against us:'

52 And (who) lift not the hand against His holy statutes, His righteous judgement, and the testimony
53 of His truth; and are chastised by the first judgements with which the children of men were judged: and give ear to the voice of the Unique Teacher of Righteousness: and reject not the statutes of righteousness when they hear them:

44. From Mal. iii. 18. The words in brackets are obliterated, but יראי אל ושבתם וראיתם בין may be regarded as having stood in the original.

45. ועשה חסד . . . . . לאוהביו ולשמרי[ו] ⟨מצותיו⟩ לאלף דור. This verse is a combination of Exod. xx. 6 and Deut. vii. 9. The words 'Showeth mercy unto thousands' are from the former and the rest of the verse from the latter. Cf. Dan. ix. 4. After חסד there is a space for six letters, i.e. for לאלפים = 'unto thousands'.

His commandments. Omitted by the scribe by mistake.

46. Two words have been hopelessly obliterated at the beginning of this verse, which is as a whole unintelligible.

47. The Hebrew of this difficult verse is apparently to be read as follows: וישענו על אל בקין מעל ישראל וטמאו את המקדש ושבו עד אל נסך. If the above rendering is right, the period may be that of Antiochus IV and of the Hellenizing priests before him. Lagrange has seen that נֶסֶךְ is the reading, not נסיך.

48. **with few words . . . all.** The text reads בדברים מעט . . לם. I restore the last two words as follows: מעטים כלם.

49. **the landmark.** The text refers, apparently, to those who had adopted the views of the Pharisees. Cf. i. 11 note.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

who do wickedly of Judah, i.e. מרשיעי יהודה. This phrase might also be rendered 'who dealt wickedly by Judah'. Cf. Dan. xi. 32.

50–53. These four verses form the protasis of the sentence: the apodosis begins with *v.* 54.

51. **Because we have walked.** The text reads בלכתם (= 'because they have walked'), but this is clearly corrupt for בלכתנו, since the verse refers to the first person.

53. **the first judgements.** Temporal judgements.

with which the children of men. The text reads אשר . . . בני אנשי היחיד, where אנשי היחיד may be corrupt for אנשים בהם. The בהם goes, of course, with the אשר. The corruption could easily arise from the presence of מורה צדק in the next clause. But rather היחיד has been wrongly transposed from the following clause, where, as in ix. 29, 39, we should read, not 'the Teacher of Righteousness', but 'the Unique Teacher of Righteousness'. In that case אשר can be taken as 'as to which', or we may emend בני into בהם, but the latter is unnecessary.

Unique. This epithet has been restored from the preceding clause, into which it was wrongly transposed. See the preceding note.

reject. The facsimile reads, so far as I can make it out, ישיבו את not ישיבו אל as Schechter deciphers it. Hence my rendering. The other construction would be difficult to explain.

the statutes of righteousness, i.e. as set forth by the Unique Teacher.

54 They shall rejoice and be glad,
And their heart shall **exult**,
And they shall make themselves strong against all the children of the world,

And God will pardon them
And they shall see His salvation;
For they trust in His holy name.

A

X. 1–6. *A man is not to avenge himself or bear a Grudge.*

1 Every man who puts under the ban a man [amongst men] according to the ordinances of the Gentiles is to be put to death:

2 And as for that which He hath said: 'Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear a grudge against the children of thy people,' every man of those who have entered into the covenant, who brings a charge against his neighbour whom he had not **rebuked** before witnesses, and yet brings it in his fierce wrath or recounts (it) to his elders in order to bring him into contempt,
3 is taking vengeance and bearing a grudge. But naught is written save that, 'He taketh vengeance
4 on His adversaries, and He beareth a grudge against His enemies.' If he held his peace with regard to him from day to day, but in his fierce wrath spake against him in a matter of death, he hath testified against himself because he did not give effect to the commandment of God, Who said to him,
5, 6 'Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour and not bear sin because of him.' As regards the oath, touching that which He said 'Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand', the man who makes (another man) swear in the open field—that is, not in the presence of the judges, or owing to their commands—hath avenged himself with his own hand.

54. **exult,** i.e. the text reads ויעזו which Schechter has rightly emended into ויעלו.
make themselves strong. This verb has already occurred in ix. 17 (B).
God will pardon them. See v. 5 *a* note.

X. 1. **Every man,** &c. (כל אדם אשר יחרים אדם מאדם . . . להמית הוא). The construction להמית 'is to be put to death' is found several times in our text. See note on viii. 11. I have bracketed מאדם, i.e. 'amongst men'. But cf. Lev. xxvii. 29 כל חרם אשר יחרם מן האדם . . . מות יומת. This suggests that for יחרים אדם we should read יחרם and translate 'No man who is put under the ban by man', &c.

Schechter thinks that the text contains 'a prohibition against acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Gentiles (ערכאות של גוים), which is also forbidden by Rabbinic law'. But this is very doubtful.

2. **Thou shalt not . . . of thy people.** From Lev. xix. 18. See viii. 19, ix. 16 of our text.
entered into the covenant. Here מבאי is to be read instead of מביאי. See note on ii. 1.
neighbour. The text reads דעהו corrupt for רעהו.
whom he had not rebuked. The text reads אשר לא בהוכח, where the last word is corrupt for הוֹכַח. Or possibly for הוּכַח or נוכח = 'which was not proved'. The text would then refer to slanders.
brings it, i.e. הביאו. Schechter supposes this to be a corruption for הכיהו 'smites him'. But this brings in an idea alien to the context, which deals with a charge brought hastily in anger and unsustained by evidence.

3. From Nahum i. 2, save that the divine name יי is omitted. The implication here is that no consideration is due to an enemy.

4. If a man knew of his neighbour committing a capital offence and yet did not mention it till overtaken by a burst of passion, he should be accounted guilty.
If he held his peace . . . from day to day, i.e. אם החריש לו מיום ליום. The diction here is from Num. xxx. 15.
testified against himself, i.e. ענה בו. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 3 for this construction: there is no need to emend ענה into עונו with Schechter.

5. **Thou shalt surely . . . because of him.** From Lev. xix. 17, save that our author has changed עמיתך into רעיך.

6. **Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand,** i.e. תושיעך ידך לך. The phrase is borrowed from 1 Sam. xxv. 26, 31. This verse in Samuel does not give a command, but this is a small matter in Jewish exegesis.
in the open field (על פני השדה). Cf. Lev. xiv. 7.
in the presence of. The text reads לפנים corruptly for לפני.
owing to their commands. The text reads מאמרם, which can be punctuated as מֵאֲמָרָם = 'owing to their having (so) commanded', or 'owing to their command', but hardly as מַאֲמָרָם 'their word' (Schechter); for this would give no sense here.

X. 7–9. *The law as to lost property.*

7 And as for anything that is lost, should it not be known who has stolen it from the property of the camp in which the thing has been stolen, its owner shall **proclaim** (it) by the oath of cursing, and 8 whoso hears, if he knows and declares it not, shall be held guilty. As for any restitution made by **him who returns** that which has [not] an owner, **he who returns (it)** shall confess to the priest, and 9 ⟨that which was lost⟩ shall be **given back** to him, besides the ram of the guilt-offering **to the priest** And so everything (that was) lost (and) found and has no owner shall **be given** to the priests; for he who found it knows not its law. If its owner is not found they shall take charge (of it).

X. 10–17. *The Number of Witnesses necessary in the case of Capital and other Offences. The Character of the Witnesses.*

10 If a man in any matter trespasses against the Law and his neighbour and none but he sees it, if it be a matter of death, he shall make it known to the Censor in the presence of the accused in discharging the duty of reproof: and the Censor shall write it down with his own 11 hand: **If** he do it again before **another**, he shall return and make it known to the Censor.

7–9. These verses refer to lost property. *vv.* 7–8 refer to lost property, the owner of which is known: *v.* 9 to lost property, the owner of which is unknown. This is clearly the meaning, though the text is corrupt and needs to be emended.

7. According to Deut. xxii. 1–3 restoration of a lost article was to be made to its owner, if a 'brother' or 'neighbour'. According to the Baba Kamma 113*b* (where there is a long discussion on this and kindred questions) such restoration was not to be made to a Gentile. According to the Rabbis there was in Jerusalem a 'stone of decision' (אבן טוען ?) to which the losers and finders of property came, and had its ownership settled (Baba Mez. 28*b*).

And as for anything that is lost, i. e. וכל האובד. According to later Hebrew this could be translated 'and as for any one who loses (anything)'. But the context is in favour of the classical meaning of אבד here. The question first and foremost is that of lost property, not of the losers of it. The latter question necessarily follows. When property is lost, the loser is either known or unknown.

from the property of the camp, i. e. ממאד המחנה. This extraordinary use of this word recurs in xiv. 10. Else I would propose מאדם = 'of the people of the camp'. Lévi feels dissatisfied and suggests מתוך 'from the midst of the camp'.

proclaim, i. e. ישמיע emended from ישביע by Schechter. If we retain the text, render 'shall adjure (the people concerned) by the oath of cursing'.

8. **restitution made by him who returns,** i. e. אשם משיב. I have here emended מושב into משיב, just as a few words later המושב must be changed into המשיב. The phrase להשיב האשם 'to return the compensation' is found in Num. v. 7, 8.

which has [not] an owner. The negative is here an intrusion. The Hebrew is אשר אין בעלים. The אין was inserted by an unintelligent scribe, in the place of a lost לו or לה. Schechter, Lévi, and Lagrange have failed to observe this intrusion and therefore to see the meaning of the text.

⟨that which was lost⟩ . . . to the priest. The MS. reads והיה לו לבד מאיל האשם הכל, which Schechter accepts and translates 'and it shall all belong to him besides the ram of the guilt-offering'. But this is manifestly wrong. The priest in neither case became the owner of the lost property. Where the owner was unknown they were to take charge of it till he was discovered: where the owner was known it was, of course, to be restored to him. The priest's share in such a case was the ram of the guilt-offering. Now in the text it is clear, first of all, that הכל is corrupt for לכהן. Thus we get 'besides the ram of the guilt-offering to the priest'. The preceding words then must refer to the owner of the lost property, but the restoration of the original is doubtful. Possibly we might retain the text והיה לו and translate 'and it (i. e. the lost property) shall become his', i. e. that of the man who lost it. But the property could not well *become* his since it was his already. Accordingly in my translation I have supposed that האובד has fallen out before לבד and emended והיה into ונתן or ושוב. It is also possible that the text ran ונתן לאובד לבד 'and it shall be given back to him that lost it', &c. Lévi emends הכל into הכפורים and Lagrange excises it. But the emendation I have suggested appears to satisfy every requirement.

9. **shall be given.** The text reads והיתה 'shall belong', which I have emended into ונתנה.

10–12. Three witnesses required in the case of a capital offence.

10. **the Censor** (המבקר). This official corresponded to the ἐπιμελητής of the Essenes and to the ἐπίσκοπος of the Early Christians. See note on xvi. 1.

in the presence of the accused in discharging the duty of reproof, i.e. לעיניו בהוכיח. But the words may be corrupt for לעיני הנוכח 'in the presence of the impeached'.

11. **If he do it.** The text reads עד עשותו, which I have emended into אם יעשהו as at the beginning of the next verse.

another. The text reads אחד, which I have emended into אחר. Cf. *v.* 12.

, 13 If he shall be caught again before **another**, his judgement shall be executed. And if they are two and they witness against him (each) on a different thing the man shall be only excluded from the Purity, provided that they are trustworthy, and that on the day on which they have seen the 14 man they make it known to the Censor. And according to the statute ⟨they shall⟩ accept two 15 trustworthy witnesses, and **not** one to exclude the Purity†. And there shall arise no **witness** before the judges to cause a man to be put to death at his mouth, whose days have not been fulfilled so as 16 to pass over unto those that are numbered ⟨and who is not⟩ a man who fears God. None shall be believed as a witness against his neighbour who transgresses a word of the commandment with a high hand until they are cleansed through repentance.

XI. *Regulations as to the Judges of the Zadokite Party.*

1, 2 And this is the order in reference to the judges of the congregation. (They shall amount) to ten men selected from the congregation according to the time (defined); four of the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and six of Israel learned in the Book of †the Hagu† and in the Ordinances of the Covenant, 3 from five and twenty years old even unto sixty years old. But none shall be appointed when he is

13. If only two witnesses appear and their testimony relates to different charges, the man is to undergo a form of excommunication. Yet see *v.* 15.

14. **⟨they shall⟩ accept.** Only the letters בלו or כלו survive. But probably Schechter is right in restoring יקבלו.

and not one. So Lagrange well emends the text ועל אחד into ואל אחד. Cf. Deut. xix. 15.

15. The meaning of this verse is somewhat doubtful. If it refers to a witness it means that a certain age and character were required in a witness.

there shall arise no witness (אל יקום עד). The words are from Deut. xix. 15. For עד the text corruptly reads עוד. But it is possible that עוד should be retained, and the verse understood of the qualification of a judge. 'None, moreover, shall become (יקומו which is possibly the real reading of the MS.) judges to put a man to death at his word whose . . . and who do not fear (ולא יראים instead of ירא) God.' The other rendering is more probable.

at his mouth (על פיהו). Cf. Deut. xvii. 6.

to pass over unto those that are numbered (לעבור על הפקודים). The phrase is from Exod. xxx. 13, 14. It seems here to denote the age at which a man attained his political majority—in other words, was reckoned in the census of the males of the nation.

⟨and who is not⟩ (ולא). Supplied with Schechter.

16. **with a high hand** (ביד רמה). Num. xv. 30.

XI. 1. **order.** See ix. 1.

2. **according to the time (defined)**, i. e. לפי העת. This may mean the period of office or the date of election. Or, again, the phrase might be translated 'according to the circumstances' (Lévi), the number 'ten' not being always necessary.

tribe of Levi and Aaron. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 19 sq. for a like terminology.

the Book of †the Hagu†, i. e. ספר ההגו. Cf. xv. 5, xvii. 5. I have, with some hesitation, marked this phrase as corrupt. It was possibly a secret book of halachic decisions or, at all events, a book the knowledge of which was necessary for the rulers of the Party. Nothing is known of Hagu. It is possible that we have in ההגו a corruption of חגי, i. e. Haggai. Now we know that a number of halachoth are attributed in the Talmud to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as the last three prophets, Naz. 53 *a*, Chull. 137 *a*, just as certain legal decisions were assigned to Moses; nay, more, we know that at times the name of Haggai alone was put forward as the source of certain traditions, Kidd. 43 *a*, and that it was claimed by teachers of later generations that they sat in his actual chair, Jeb. 16 *a*. Certain decisions are traced to him: that it was permissible to bring sacrifices independently of the existence or presence of the Temple, Mid. iii. 1; Zeb. 62 *a* (?) (מקריבין אף על פי שאין בית), Jer. Naz. ii. 7: that the month Adar should be intercalated, Rosh ha-Shanah 19 *b*. Besides these several others are attributed to him. See *Jew. Encyc.* vi. 146.

It is possible, therefore, that a book may have circulated under Haggai's name, which contained traditional lore, seeing that in after times many traditions were said to be derived from Haggai. If there was such a book it is not improbable that it is that referred to in our text. That the book in our text was not the prophetical book of Haggai is clear; for the books of the prophets are freely quoted, whereas the knowledge of this book is committed to the leaders of the Party, and it is probably, therefore, *a secret book containing traditional decisions*: cf. xvii. 5.

Lévi suggests that the book in question was a treatise commencing with the word הגו 'mediate'.

Ordinances (or 'Foundations'), i. e. יסודי. Cf. viii. 21.

from five and twenty years old, &c. This was the age at which the Levites began to serve: cf. Num. viii. 24.

4 sixty years old and upward to judge the congregation. For through the trespasses of man his days were minished, and when the wrath of God was kindled against the inhabitants of the earth, He commanded their intelligence to depart from them before they completed their days.

XII. *Levitical Law as to Bathing.*

12 1 As to being cleansed in water. No man shall wash in water (that is) filthy or insufficient for a
2 man's **bath**. None shall cleanse himself in the waters of a vessel. And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient (water) for a **bath**, which an unclean person has touched, its waters shall be unclean like the waters of the vessel.

XIII. 1–11. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

13 1 As to the Sabbath, to observe it according to its law, no man shall do work on the sixth day from the time when the sun's orb in its fullness is still without the gate, for it is He who has said, 'Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy.'
2, 3 And on the Sabbath day no man shall utter a word of folly and vanity. No man shall lend aught
4, 5 to his neighbour. None shall dispute on matters of wealth and gain. None shall speak on matters
6 of work and labour to be done on the following morning. No man shall walk in the field to do the
7 work of his business. On the Sabbath none shall walk outside his city more than †a thousand†

4. **trespasses**, i.e. מעל.
his days. ימיו is to be read instead of ימו.
his days were minished. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 9 'After the Flood (the days of the forefathers) began to grow less . . . by reason of the wickedness of their ways'.
commanded their intelligence to depart from them, &c. אמר לסור את דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 11. 'Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age' (? or 'their godlessness').

XII. 1. **insufficient for a man's bath.** The text reads מעוטים מדי †מרעיל† איש. I have emended the impossible מרעיל into מרחץ. Schechter emends into מטביל, and translates מעוטים מדי מטביל איש 'not sufficient for the immersion of a man'. But is this rendering possible?
waters. MS. reads במה corrupt for במי.
2. **every pool . . . in which there is not sufficient water.** According to Yoma 31 *a* the cubical contents of such a pool should be one cubit wide, three cubits long, and one cubit deep—the size of an average human body—שכל גופו עולה בהן. Cf. Lev. xv. 13. See also Erub. 4 *b*, Pes. 109 *a*, Suk. 6 *a*.
for a bath. The text reads מרעיל, which I have emended into מרחץ.
like. ב of the MS. is to be changed into כ.

XIII. 1. This verse deals with the time before and after the Sabbath that should be observed as the Sabbath. Technically it was called the תוֹסֶפֶת 'addition'. This view is practically enforced in Shabb. 150 *a*, where it is forbidden to carry on work to the very beginning of the Sabbath or renew it at its very close. In Yoma 81 *a* the addition before and after the Day of Atonement is treated of. The object is given in the words מיסיפין מחול על הקדש.
sun's orb, i.e. גלגל השמש. In Talmud גלגל חמה. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4 (= κύκλος τοῦ ἡλίου), which postulates this very phrase.
in its fullness . . . gate. That is, the gate where it sets. On the various gates where the sun sets, see 1 Enoch lxxii. The text reads רחוק מן השער מלואו. And the literal translation is: 'is distant from the gate as to its fullness.' This means just before the sun touches the horizon.
Observe the Sabbath . . . holy. From Deut. v. 12.

2. **a word of folly and vanity**, i.e. דבר נבל ורק, where רק, as Lévi has pointed out, is corrupt for ריק. Schechter compares דברי חול, i. e. matters of a secular nature, and refers to Shabb. 150 *a*. The source of the regulation is found in Isa. lviii. 13 'Call the Sabbath a delight . . . not speaking (thine own) words'. Perhaps we should, with Bacher, read הבל וריק as in Isa. xxx. 7.
3. **No man shall lend aught to his neighbour.** אל ישה ברעהו כל. The phraseology is from Deut. xv. 2, but not the sense. According to Shabbath 148 *a* a man might ask wine or oil from his neighbour on the Sabbath, provided he did not say 'lend them to me'. Lévi rightly observes that this prescript is not in place here, and proposes ישיח instead of ישה = 'let no man complain aught of his neighbour'. It is strange that both Schechter and he mistranslate ישה as 'exact a debt'.
5. **on the following morning**, i. e. למשכים. This use of the words is Mishnaic: it occurs in Bikk. iii. 2.
6. **to do.** לעשות. Perhaps we might render 'to prepare' or 'to provide for'. Cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 794 *b*.
of his business. The text reads חפצי, which with Lagrange (cf. xiii. 11) I have changed into חפצו.
7. **†a thousand†.** Here אלף is corrupt for אלפים. Cf. *v.* 14. 2,000 cubits was the limit of a Sabbath day's journey: cf. Erubin iv. 3, v. 7. See Jub. l. 8 note.

8 cubits. No man shall eat on the Sabbath day aught save that which is prepared or perishing ⟨in the
10 field⟩. Nor shall one eat or drink unless in the camp. ⟨If he was⟩ on the way and went down to
11 wash he may drink where he stands, but he shall not draw into any vessel. No man shall send the son of a stranger to do his business on the Sabbath day.

XIII. 12. *Laws as to unclean Garments.*

12 No man shall put on garments that are filthy or were brought by a Gentile unless they were washed in water or rubbed with frankincense.

XIII. 13–27. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

14 No man shall **fast** of his own will on the Sabbath. No man shall walk after the animal to pasture
15 it outside his city more than two thousand cubits. None shall lift his hand to smite it with (his) fist.
16 If it be stubborn he shall not remove it out of his house. No man shall carry anything from the house to the outside or from the outside into the house, and if he be in the vestibule he shall not
17 **carry** anything out of it or **bring** in anything into it. None shall **open** the cover of a vessel that
18 is pasted on the Sabbath. No man shall carry on him spices to go out or come in on the Sabbath.
20 None shall lift up in his **dwelling** house rock or earth. Let not the nursing father take the sucking
21 child to go out or to come in on the Sabbath. No man shall provoke his manservant or his maid-
22 servant or his hireling on the Sabbath. No man shall help an animal in its delivery on the Sabbath
24 day. And if it falls into a pit or ditch, he shall not raise it on the Sabbath. No man shall

8. **save that which is prepared.** See Jub. ii. 29, l. 9 note ; Beza i. 2.

⟨**in the field**⟩ (i. e. בשדה). Only two out of the four letters are to be made out.

10. ⟨**If he was**⟩. We must with Lévi understand אם היה. What follows is at the beginning of a new page in the MS. and there may be a gap here.

he shall not draw into any vessel. The same command is given in Jub. l. 8.

11. Cf. Shabbath 150 *a*, where a man is not allowed to commission his neighbour to do what he might not do himself on the Sabbath. Here of course it is a non-Jew that is referred to.

12. **Gentile.** The text reads גו, which Schechter emends into גוי.

13. **fast.** The text reads יתערב, to which Leszynsky proposes to attach the meaning 'to set an 'erub'. I propose יתענה 'shall afflict himself by fasting', 'shall fast'. It was forbidden to go without food till noon on the Sabbath, Jer. Taan. iii. 11 ; Judith viii. 6. In Jub. l. 12 fasting is strictly forbidden on the Sabbath and feasting enjoined, l. 9–10. It was the duty of every good Israelite to take three or four meals on the Sabbath, Shabb. 117 *b*, and these of the best food procurable, *op. cit.* 118 *b*. Lévi, Bacher, and Kohler propose יתרעב.

14. See *v.* 7.

16. Cf. Jub. ii. 29.

No man shall carry anything, &c. This law is derived from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19. It is enforced in Jub. ii. 29, l. 8. It is also a Rabbinic law: cf. Shabbath vii. 2.

carry . . . bring. Read יוציא and יביא instead of יוצא and יבא respectively. The natural difficulties brought about by this law were got over by the Pharisees by the principle of 'Erub or the merging of several private precincts into one in order to transfer food or vessels to any distance desirable beyond the 2,000 paces, which was called the Sabbath limit (תחום השבת). This regulation is worked out in the Mishnah Tractate Erubin.

the vestibule (or 'entrance'), i. e. מובה, which may be corrupt for the Hebrew מבוא or the late Hebrew מבוי.

17. **open.** For פתח we must read יפתח.

18. This law is found in Shabbath vi. 3 (? 3).

19. **his dwelling house.** The MS. reads בית מושבת. The second word is corrupt for מושבו. The phrase is found in Lev. xxv. 29. Schechter emends מושבת into ביום שבת. If this were the idea then it would be best to restore בשבת as in the next verse.

20. **the nursing father . . . child,** i.e. ישא האומן את היונק. From Num. xi. 12. According to Shabbath xviii. 2, a woman might lead a child out on the Sabbath only on the condition that the child makes certain movements with its feet.

21. **his hireling.** We must change שוכרי into שכירו.

22. This regulation is found in Shabbath xviii. 3 in reference to a feast day—אין מילדין את הבהמה ביום טוב, but it is added that notwithstanding 'they give help' (אבל מסעדין), and then the various kinds of help are enumerated.

23. This regulation has a close parallel in Shabb. 128 *b*, where Rabba Jehuda in the name of Rab says that if an animal falls into a well it is lawful to provide it with food if possible ; but, if not, mattresses and cushions are to be placed under it that it might get out by its own exertions. The implication here is that it might not be raised by human agency from the pit as in our text. Yet other views are advanced. Cf. Beza iii. 4, where it is said that, 'if a firstling fall into a pit . . . a wise man will descend and . . . raise it up.'

25 rest in a place near to the Gentiles on the Sabbath. No man shall suffer himself to be polluted [the
26 Sabbath] for the sake of wealth or gain on the Sabbath. And if any person falls into a place of
27 water or into a place of . . . he shall not bring him up by a ladder or a cord or instrument. No man shall offer anything on the altar on the Sabbath, save the burnt-offering of the Sabbath, for so it is written †' Excepting your Sabbaths '.†

XIV. 1–4. *Levitical Laws as to Uncleanness.*

14 1 No man shall send to the altar burnt-offering or meat-offering or frankincense or wood through the hand of a man (that is) unclean through any of the uncleannesses allowing him to defile the altar, for it is written: 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the righteous'
2 is like an offering of delight.' And none of those who enter into the house of worship shall enter
3 when he is unclean even though washed. And when the trumpets of the Congregation sound, it shall be (done) before or after, and they shall not put an end to the whole service: ⟨the Sabbath⟩ is holy.
4 No man shall lie with a woman in the city of the Sanctuary to defile the city of the Sanctuary by their impurity.

XIV. 5. *Law as to Necromancy.*

5 Any man who is ruled by the spirits of Belial and speaks rebellion shall be judged by the judgement of the necromancer and wizard.

Cf. Yoma viii. 6, 7, where it is said that the question of life takes precedence of other questions. The teaching in our text conflicts strongly with Luke xiv. 5.

24. **rest.** ישבית must be changed into ישבות. Schechter notes that a similar law prevailed among the Samaritans and Karaites, comparing Wreschner, p. 14 sq.

25. **suffer himself to be polluted,** i. e. יִחָל—that is, ritually by contact with the dead (Lev. xxi. 4). In Lev. xxi. 1–4 the exceptions are enumerated in which a man might submit to such defilement. What our text seems to demand is that even in these cases defilement should not be incurred on the Sabbath.

[**the Sabbath**]. A scribe's slip. Schechter would emend יחל into יחלל in order to explain this phrase. But the sense would then be unsatisfactory.

26. If the text is complete as it stands, then its teaching is in conflict with Yoma 84 *b*, where it is distinctly taught that life should be saved on the Sabbath תנו רבנן מפקחין פקוח נפש בשבת. The following instances are given: if a child fall into the sea, it may be saved by means of a net; if into a pit, by a ladder. Apparently the person might be saved if he could be saved without resort to the means just mentioned.

27. This verse is corrupt.

†**Excepting your Sabbaths**†. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 38. The meaning here given to מלבד is found in the LXX and Vulg. Our author attaches quite a different meaning to Lev. xxiii. 38 in his interpretation of it.

XIV. 1. **allowing him,** i. e. להרשותו. Lévi compares Sir. iii. 21 הורשית.

The sacrifice . . . but the prayer. These words are from Prov. xv. 8. The words 'of the righteous . . . of delight' (צדק⟨י⟩ם כמנחת רצון) are a partial paraphrase of the words that follow in Prov. xv. 8 'of the upright is His delight'.

2. **the house of worship,** i. e. אל בית השתחות. Though this phrase is, so far as is known, never applied to a Jewish place of worship, there is no inherent reason why it should not. In Shek. vi. 1 it is stated that thirteen bows or prostrations were made (generally) in the Temple שלש עשרה השתחויות היו במקדש and fourteen by the houses of Gamaliel and Hananiah. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15. Lévi defends it as applied to the Temple, but suggests that possibly the text may be corrupt for אל בית אל להשתחות 'into the house of God to worship'. Bacher takes it as referring to a synagogue. We might compare Zech. xiv. 16, where it is said that all that remain of the Gentiles shall go up to Jerusalem to worship (להשתחות).

though washed (כבוס). Cf. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19. Schechter inserts בלי before this word and so obtains 'without washing'. Cf. Lev. xv. 10. Probably the latter is right.

3. **Congregation,** i. e. קהל, as in *v.* 6.

4. This verse is not directed against lawful cohabitation, but against carnal union that was accompanied by some ceremonial impurity; for the word for 'impurity' here is נִדָּה. This impurity was due to the menstruation of the woman. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with approaching the altar when stained with this defilement. See note on vii. 8. There is no ground for proposing the violent emendation of it into ביום השבת. We might compare Isa. xlviii. 2, lii. 1 עיר הקדש.

5. Cf. Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 11.

ruled by the spirits of Belial. For the idea and expression cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 3.

speaks rebellion, i. e. דבר סרה, from Deut. xiii. 6. Cf. our text, viii. 2.

necromancer and wizard, i. e. האוב והידעוני.

XIV. 6. *Law as to the Sabbath.*

6 And he whom he leads astray into profaning the Sabbath and the Feasts shall not be put to death; but it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him; and should he be healed of it, they shall watch him seven years and then he shall come into the Congregation.

XIV. 7–11. *Laws as to Intercourse with the Gentiles.*

7 None shall stretch out his hand to shed the blood of any man from among the Gentiles for the
8 sake of wealth or gain. Nor shall he take aught of their wealth lest they blaspheme, unless by
9 the counsel of the Community of Israel. No man shall sell an animal or bird that is clean to the
10 Gentiles, lest they sacrifice them. Nor shall he sell them aught from his threshing-floor or his
11 winepress for all his property. Nor shall he sell them his manservant or maidservant who entered with him into the covenant of Abraham.

XIV. 12–16. *Laws as to unclean Foods and Causes of Uncleanness.*

12 No man shall make himself abominable with any living creature or creeping thing, by eating of
13 them: **or** of the **defilements** of bees or of any living creature that moveth in the waters. Nor shall
14 fish be eaten unless they were split alive and their blood was shed. But all the locusts after their kind shall come into fire or into water whilst they are still living, for this is the manner of their
15 creation. And all wood and stones and dust which are polluted by the uncleanness of man are

6. **he whom he** (i.e. Belial) **leads astray into profaning,** i.e. כל אשר יתעה לחלל. We have here the case of all but involuntary sins through demonic influence. With the text cf. Isa. xxix. 24 תעי רוח; xxviii. 7. We may also translate: 'he who goes astray so as to profane.'

it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him, i.e. על בני האדם משמרו. For the construction cf. 1 Chron. ix. 27, where we have משמרת.

8. **Community,** i.e. חבור. Cf. the phrase on the coins of the Maccabees חבר היהודים.

9. The Jews were forbidden to sell large cattle or calves, provided they were 'undamaged' (שלמים), to the Gentiles, Abod. Zarah i. 6, on the ground that they might be made to work on the Sabbath, *op. cit.* 15 *a*. It was forbidden to sell hens to Gentiles when it was suspected that they were required for idolatrous worship, 14 *ab*.

10. **for all his property,** i.e. בכל מאדו. That is, when the Gentile would give all that he had for it. See note on x. 7.

11. The Gentile who had become a Jew could not be sold to a Gentile.

12. **No man shall make himself abominable with any . . . creeping thing.** From Lev. xi. 43. See our text, viii. 20.

by eating of them (לאכל מהם). Cf. Lev. xi. 42.

or of the defilements of bees. The text reads מעגלי הדבורים. Since עד follows, it would seem that we have here the idiom מן . . . עד, i.e. 'both . . . and', or in this context 'or . . . or'. Besides, מעגלי is meaningless. Nor is עגלי better. Accordingly, I have emended מעגלי into מגעלי or rather מגאלי. Hence the above rendering. Schechter simply takes "מעגלי הד in the sense of "כוורות הד 'beehives'. But there seems to be no ground for this identification, and even if it were just, it would be of no service; for one does not eat a beehive. Schechter himself suggests here that as the bee was an unclean insect, Bechoroth 7 *b*, the text may refer 'to particles of the bees which are mixed up with the honey', and that 'though Rabbinic Judaism had no scruples in this respect and allowed the honey as it came from the beehives (see Shulchan Aruch, Joreh Deah, § 81) . . . the Karaites . . . insisted on a preparation of the honey (through filtering)'. This suggestion supports the above emendation.

or of any living . . . waters. From Lev. xi. 46 with the change of הרמשת into אשר תרמוש.

13. Schechter thinks that this regulation is 'directed against the Rabbinic opinion permitting the eating of the blood of the fish. See Sifra 39 *a*, and Kerithoth 20 *b*.' The Samaritans 'forbade the eating of fish that died in the water or were found dead on the shore'. Lévi points out that in the Pirke R. Eliezer ix the blood of fish must be shed.

14. In the Pirke R. Eliezer ix (Lévi) it is said that locusts are not created from water. Schechter compares Chullin 27 *b* and deduces from it the conclusion that the mode of killing should be connected with the element out of which the animal was created.

15–16. Our text declares unconditionally that the wood, stones, dust, nails, and pegs in a house are made unclean by the uncleanness of the man. Schechter says that this regulation is in contradiction to the Rabbinic law. But this is only partially true. For according to Kelim xii. 7, unfinished wooden vessels, unless the wood was box, were capable of pollution, and likewise tent-pegs (יתדות המשוחות), *op. cit.* xiv. 3. According to Kelim vi. 1, if three stones were secured together with lime to support a pot on the floor, they were subject to pollution. Similarly with regard to two stones. But if one stone was secured with lime and the other not, it was not subject to pollution. As to whether a nail (מסמר) under certain conditions, Kelim xii. 5, was capable of pollution or not, Rabbi Aqiba and the wise were at variance. But all were agreed that, if a nail was driven in with a view to fastening an object, it was capable of pollution. In short, in place of all this hair-splitting and

16 **polluted like them.** According to their uncleanness shall be unclean he who toucheth them. And every instrument, nail, or peg in the wall which is with the dead in the house shall be unclean, **like** the uncleanness of an instrument of work.

XV. 1–3. *Summary Reference to Laws of Uncleanness.*

15 1 The regulation of the dwellers in the cities of Israel, according to these judgements, that a difference may be made between the unclean and the clean, and to make known ⟨the difference⟩ between the
2 holy and the common. And these statutes are to give instruction so that the whole nation may
3 walk in them according to the Law always. And according to this law shall walk the seed of Israel, and they shall not be cursed.

XV. 4–6. *The Ruler to be a Priest or a Levite.*

4 And this is the regulation of the dwellers ⟨according to which they should⟩ act during the period of the wickedness until there arises the Messiah ⟨from⟩ Aaron and Israel, up to ten men at least,
5 to thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens. And when there arise ten, the man who is a priest learned in the Book of †the Hagu† shall not depart. According to his word shall they all be ruled.
6 And if he is not expert in all these, but a man of the Levites is expert in these, the lot shall be that all those that enter into the camp shall go out and come in according to his word.

XV. 7–8. *Law as to Leprosy.*

7 And if there be a judgement regarding the law of leprosy which is in a man, then the priest shall
8 come and stand in the camp, and the Censor shall instruct him in the true meaning of the law. And (even) if he is lacking in understanding he shall shut him up ; for unto them (i.e. the priests) is the judgement.

XVI. *The Duties of the Censor.*

16 1 And this is the regulation of the Censor of the camp. He shall instruct the many in the works of

endless casuistry, our text simply declares that the uncleanness of a man affects the uncleanness of the objects he touches or is near. It is not certain, however, whether our text implies direct or indirect contact. It is probably the latter. If so, its teaching would agree with that of the Sadducees (as against the Pharisees), who extended the power of pollution from direct to indirect contact, Yad. iv. 7.

15. **are polluted like them.** The text reads לגאולי שמו בהם, which Schechter has emended into יגואלו כמוהם.
16. **like.** For ב we must read כ.

XV. 1. This verse is of the nature of a title and a fresh statement.
regulation. See note on ix. 1.
dwellers in the cities, i.e. מושב עירי. I have here taken the first word in a collective sense: cf. 2 Sam. ix. 12; 1 Kings x. 5, &c. But see *v.* 4, xvi. 9.
according to. פי is to be supplied after על with Schechter.
that a difference . . . between the unclean and the clean. Quoted from Lev. xi. 47.
between the holy and the common. From Lev. x. 10.
2. **to give instruction.** למשכיל is to be emended into להשכיל with Schechter.
always, i.e. ועת⟨עת⟩. So Schechter restores the text.
4. **dwellers** (מושב) or 'settlement' as Schechter renders it. Cf. xv. 1, xvi. 9.
⟨according to which . . .⟩ act. According to Schechter the text runs: . . . . תהל . . . . ., which may, with Lévi and Lagrange, be restored ⟨אשר י⟩תהל⟨כו בו⟩.
the period of the wickedness. See i. 5 note.
the Messiah. See on i. 7.
up to . . . thousands. For עד Lagrange suggests מן and עד in place of ל before אלפים, and so arrives at the rendering, 'from **ten** at least **to** a thousand'.
5. **Book of †the Hagu†.** See xi. 2 note.
According to his word shall they all be ruled, i.e. על פיהו ישקו כולם. This doubtful Hebrew is modelled on the equally doubtful Hebrew in Gen. xli. 40.
6. **shall go out and come in according to his word.** From Num. xxvii. 21.
8. The priest was to act in any case.
A similar law, Schechter points out, is to be found in Neg. iii. 1.
lacking in understanding, i.e. פתי.

XVI. 1. **the Censor,** i.e. המבקר. See x. 10. In Judaism there were officials who went under this name. Their duty was to examine the bodies of the animals brought for sacrifice in order to guard against blemishes. See Keth. 106 *a*; Jer. Bez. ii. 61 *c*.

God, and shall make them understand His wondrous mighty acts, and shall narrate before them the
2 things of the world **since its creation**. And he shall have mercy upon them as a father upon his
3 children, and shall for⟨give⟩ all **that have incurred guilt**. As a shepherd with his flock he shall loose
4 all the bonds of their knots . . . oppressed and crushed in his congregation. And every one who joins his congregation, he shall reckon him according to his works, his understanding, his might, his
5 strength, and his wealth. And they shall record him in his place in accordance with his **position**
6 in a lot of the ⟨camp⟩. No man of the children of the camp shall have power to bring a man into
7 the congregation ⟨without⟩ the word of the Censor of the camp. Nor shall any man of them who have entered into the covenant of God do business ⟨with⟩ the children of **the pit** ⟨un⟩less hand to
8 hand. No man shall do ⟨a thing as buy⟩ing and sell⟨ing⟩ un⟨less he has spoken⟩ to the Censor of the camp, and he shall do ⟨it in the ca⟩mp and not . . . and so to him who casts forth . . . they,
9 and he who is not connected with . . . And this is the settlement of the camps. All . . .
11 shall not succeed to settle in the land. . . . that have not come from the day that Ephraim
12 departed from Judah. And as for all who walk in these the covenant of God standeth fast unto them to save them from all the snares of the pit, for suddenly. . . .

XVII. 1–5. *The four Orders of the Community.*

, 2 And the regulation of the dwellers of all the camps is: They shall be numbered all by their names,
3 the Priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And they shall be recorded by their names one after another, the Priests first, the Levites second, the
4 children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And so they shall be seated and so they shall
5 ask with regard to every matter. And the Priest who numbers the many (shall be) from thirty years old even unto sixty years old, learned in the Book ⟨of the Hagu and⟩ in all the judgements of the Law to direct them according to their judgements.

His wondrous mighty acts, i.e. גבורות פלאו. The text reads the second word as פלאי. On the phrase cf. v. 5.
things, i.e. נהיות. Cf. ii. 7.
since its creation. The text reads בפרתיה 'in detail', which I have emended into מברייתו.

2. **forgive.** The text is imperfect, i.e. . . ויש, which I complete as ישלח, i.e. יסלח: cf. ii. 3, where the noun (סליחות) derived from this verb occurs. See also *v.* 3. This forms a good parallel to 'have mercy' (ירחם) in the preceding clause.
all that have incurred guilt, i.e. כל המחיבים. So I emend כל מדהובם. Perhaps the original was simply כל חובם 'all their guilt'.

3. **As a shepherd does his flock.** From Isa. xl. 11.
loose . . . their knots (יתר כל חרצובות קשריהם). Cf. 1 Enoch v. 10; Dan. v. 12 משרא קטרין. Also Isa. lviii. 6 (Lévi) חרצבות רשע התר.
oppressed and crushed. Deut. xxviii. 33. These words are in the masc. sing.

5. **position.** The text reads כפי יהותו which I take to be a corruption of כפי היותו, which I find Lévi has already proposed.
of the ⟨camp⟩, i.e. ⟨מחנה⟩ה. So also Lévi.

6. **shall have power,** i.e. ימשול.
without. There is a gap here. Supply בלא.

7. **entered into the covenant of God.** See ii. 1 note.
Nor . . . do business, i.e. the Rabbinic phrase אל ישא ואל יתן. Cf. Shabb. 31 *a*, B. Mezia 48 *a*.
children of the pit. So Laszynsky emends בני השחר 'sons of the morning' into בני השחת. Cf. viii. 12. Schechter proposes בני הנכר as in xiii. 11.

8. **a thing as buying or selling.** So Schechter restores the text דִבְרִ למ⟨קח⟩ ולמ⟨מ⟩כר.
him who casts forth, i.e. מְגָרֵשׁ, which could mean also 'common land' if differently pointed.

9. **settlement.** See xv. 4 note.

11. This fragment of Isa. vii. 17 has already been quoted in ix. 3 and with the same divergence from the Massoretic text, i.e. מיום for למיום.

12. **And as for all . . . standeth fast unto them.** These words have already occurred in viii. 21.
suddenly. The following letters ונענ are legible, which Lévi would complete as ונענו 'shall be wounded'.

XVII. 5. **the many.** The Hebrew reads אש before these words corruptly for את.
from thirty years . . . sixty years old. These words could be connected with 'the many', i.e. the congregation as a whole, but the next verse is in favour of making them refer to the priest.
learned in the Book ⟨of the Hagu⟩. See note on xi. 2.
learned, i.e. מבונן as in xi. 2.
to direct them, &c. לדברם כמשפטם.

XVII. 6–8. *Duties of the Censor.*

6 And the Censor who is over all the camps shall be from thirty years old even unto fifty years
7 old, a **master** in every counsel of men, and in every tongue . . . According to his word shall come
8 in those who enter the congregation every man in his due order. And as regards any matter on which it shall be incumbent for any man to speak, he shall speak to the Censor in regard to any suit or cause.

XVIII. 1–5. *Almsgiving.*

18 1, 2 And this is the regulation for the many in order to provide for all their needs. The wages of two days every month is the rule. And they shall give it into the hands of the Censor and the
3 judges. From it they shall give . . . and ⟨from⟩ it they shall strengthen the hand of the poor and
4 the needy. And to the aged man who . . . to the vagrant and him ⟨who⟩ was taken captive of
5 a strange people. And to the virgin who has ⟨no dot⟩ ⟨and to him whom⟩ no man careth for: every
6, 7 work . . . and not . . . And this is the explanation of the settlement . . . And this is the
8 explanation of the judgements which . . . ⟨The Messiah from⟩ Aaron and Israel. And He will
9 pardon our sins . . . in money and he shall know . . . punishment six days and who shall
10 speak . . . against Mos⟨es⟩ . . .

XIX. *Laws as to Oaths.*

19 1 . . . ⟨Shall not swe⟩ar either by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, but by the oath ⟨written⟩ in

6. **from thirty years old,** &c. The Levites were to enter on office the thirtieth year according to Num. iv. 3, 23, 30; 1 Chron. xxiii. 3: the twenty-fifth according to Num. viii. 23–26: the twentieth according to Ezra iii. 8; 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 27; 2 Chron. xxxi. 17.

a master in every counsel, i.e. בעל בכל סוד. Here I have changed the MS. reading בעול into בעל. Lagrange has here anticipated me. Lévi emends into בחון 'expert'.

7. Cf. xvi. 4, 6.

in his due order, i.e. בְּתֹרוֹ. Cf. Esther ii. 12 for the idiom.

8. **suit or cause.** 2 Sam. xv. 4.

XVIII. 1. **the regulation for the many.** סרך הרבים.

to provide for, &c., i.e. להכין כל חפציהם.

2. **two days,** i.e. שני ימים. This is one possible way of reading the MS. according to Schechter. The other, he says, is תרומתן הם. But this, though he translates it, is not possible in itself, nor does it, even if corrected, give any fitting sense.

the rule, i.e. המ⟨שפ⟩ט.

3. **give . . .** The MS. is torn and faded here. Schechter thinks that בעד . . . עם can be made out, and suggests בעד עניים 'for the poor'. But as the phrase עני ואביון occurs immediately after, this is unlikely. Possibly the original was בעד לוים 'on behalf of the Levites'. But the matter is wholly uncertain.

and from it. The text reads מני . ו for וממנו.

strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy, i.e. ממנו יחזיקו ביד עני ואביון. From Ezek. xvi. 49.

4. **the vagrant,** i.e. אשר ינוע. But the reading is doubtful.

to him who. Text reads . . לא, i.e. ⟨לא⟩ר.

5. **and to him whom.** ⟨ולאש⟩ר is to be read here; for after the preceding words there is room for four letters. For the clause, see Jer. xxx. 17.

7. **⟨The Messiah from⟩.** See note on i. 7.

8. **And He will make atonement.** Since in the other four passages where atonement is mentioned God is the agent, we conclude that it is so here. See v. 5 note.

9. **money,** i.e. ממון. Cf. Aboth ii. 12 יהי ממון חברך חביב עליך כשלך for the earliest use of this term.

10. **Mos⟨es⟩.** Doubtful. The next line, which is the last of the page in the MS., is lost.

XIX. It is quite uncertain whether this chapter, which begins with the top of the next page, follows immediately on what precedes. One or more folios may be lost.

1. **swear.** There is room for ישבע at the beginning of the line, but only ע remains.

by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, i.e. וגם באלף ולמד וגם באלף ודלת. That is, the first two letters respectively of the divine names, אל of אלהים (Elohim) and אד of אדני (Adonai). The divine names were used freely in oaths by the Jews. In Shebuoth iv. 13 it is said that if a man adjure another by the divine names, Aleph Daleth, Jod-He Shaddai, &c., he is under obligation; but not if he adjures by the terms 'by heaven and earth'. משביע אני עליהם . . . הרי אלו חיבין: בשמים ובארץ הרי אלו פטורין: באלף דלת ביוד הי בשדי . . . בכלן חיב. They were allowed to swear by the Temple, Jerusalem, or their own heads. See Lightfoot on Matt. v. 33–36. The Samaritans, according to Jer. Sanh. 28 *b* (Schechter), were accustomed to use the sacred name of Yahweh in their oaths.

but by the oath. This restrictive clause shows that no form of the divine name was to be used in taking

3 the curses of the covenant. But the Law of Moses he shall not mention, for . . . And if he swears
4 and transgresses he profanes the Name. And if by the curses of the covenant . . . the Judges.
5 And if he transgress he shall be held guilty: but if he confess and make restitution he shall
6 not bear ⟨the penalty⟩ of death. And whosoever in all Israel shall enter into the covenant by a statute for ever, together with their children who are ⟨not of an age⟩ to pass over into the number of those
7 who are enrolled by the oath of the covenant, shall confirm it on their behalf. And this is also the law throughout the entire period of the wickedness for every one who returns from his corrupt
8 way. On the day when he speaks with the Censor of the many they shall enrol him by the oath
9 of the covenant that Moses established with Israel—the covenant to re⟨turn to the Law of M⟩oses . . . with all (his) heart . . . ⟨and with all his⟩ soul: as regards that which there is found
10 to be done †by them† . . . And no man shall make known to him the laws until he stand before the
11 Censor ⟨who⟩ shall **search out** concerning him when he examines him. And when he imposes it upon him to return to the Law of Moses with all his heart and all his soul . . . of him if . . .
12 And every thing that was revealed of the Law with regard to a suit . . . in him . . . the Censor him and shall command him . . . until . . . killed him . . . and the madman and all . . . (*loss of*
14 *five lines*) covenant with you and with the whole of Israel. Therefore the man shall impose it upon himself to return to the Law of Moses; for in it everything is accurately treated.

XX. 1. *Reference to the Book of Jubilees.*

1 And as for the exact statement of their periods to **put** Israel **in remembrance in regard to** all these, behold, it is treated accurately in the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their Jubilees and their Weeks.

an oath. Only the oath of the covenant was allowed. In 2 Enoch xlix. 1–2 swearing by heaven or earth or any other 'created thing' was forbidden. The Essenes forbade all swearing: cf. Jos. *B. I.* ii. 8. 6; Philo ii. 458.

written. So Lévi supplies the lacuna.

2. This seems to mean that a man is not to swear by the Law.

for. There is a loss of ten to twelve letters here.

3. ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם. This verse is a paraphrase of Lev. xix. 12. A false oath is a profanation of the divine name.

4. **covenant.** Schechter proposes to fill up the lacuna by יובא לפני 'shall be brought before'.

5. **he shall be held guilty.** Cf. the concluding words of Lev. v. 2, 3, 4.

confess. Cf. Lev. v. 5.

the penalty. I restore the lost word by עֹנֶשׁ. Cf. Prov. xix. 19.

6. This verse is difficult. The rendering I have given is purely tentative. The text seems to be corrupt. The lacuna is possibly to be supplied as follows: ⟨לא⟩ אשר.

together with their children, i.e. את בניהם. We have only הבא before = 'he who enters', but this is taken as the plural.

pass over into the number of those who are enrolled, i.e. לעבור על הפקודים. This phrase is from Exod. xxx. 13 or 14. With these words we should perhaps connect 'by the oath of the covenant' as in *v.* 8.

shall confirm it. The text reads יקומו, which is to be emended to יקימו 'shall confirm'.

7. **period of the wickedness.** See i. 5 note.

8. **enrol.** See note on *v.* 6.

—the covenant. The text is grammatically impossible.

9. **to return to the Law of Moses.** The text is to be restored as in *v.* 11 לש⟨וב⟩ ל⟨תורת מ⟩שה.

10. **search out.** The MS. is torn in the middle of the word, which, according to Schechter, looks like יחפוזד, and which he emends into יחפוש. So I have rendered. It is worth noting that the two verbs חפש and דרש are combined in Lam. iii. 40.

11. **imposes it upon him,** i.e. יָקִים אותו עליו. Cf. Esther ix. 21, 31. It could also be reflexive: i.e. 'imposes it upon himself'. Cf. Esther ix. 27, 31.

to return to the Law of Moses. Cf. *v.* 14, xx. 2.

12. **a suit.** Cf. xvii. 8. Of the next two lines only odd words survive, and the remaining eight (?) lines are wholly lost.

14. **impose it upon himself.** Here I emend יקום into יקים and נפשך into נפשו. See *v.* 11 note.

to return to the Law, &c. See *v.* 11.

accurately treated. i.e. מדוקדק. A Talmudic term.

XX. **the exact statement of their periods.** This phrase has already occurred in ii. 8.

to put Israel in remembrance in regard to all these. The text reads לעורון יש״ מכל אלה which I have emended into להזכיר יש״ בכל אלה.

the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their Jubilees and their Weeks. This appears to be the Book of Jubilees, though, among the many titles under which this book was known, this title nowhere appears. (See my edition, p. xiv sq.) It recalls the Prologue to this book, which runs: 'This is the

XX. 2–12. *Laws as to Oaths and Vows.*

2 And on the day on which the man imposes it upon himself to return to the law of Moses the
3 angel of Mastema will depart from him if he make good his word. Therefore Abraham was
4 circumcised on the day of his knowing it. As to what he said, 'That which is gone forth from
5 thy lips thou shalt keep' to make it good—No binding oath, which a man imposes upon himself
with a view to perform a commandment of the law, shall he **cancel** even at the risk of death.
6 Nothing which a man ⟨imposes⟩ upon himself with a view to ⟨frustrate the la⟩w shall he make
7 good even at the risk of death. ⟨As for⟩ the oath of the woman, whose oath Mos⟨es sa⟩id should
8 be disallowed, no man shall disallow an oath which no man knew. It is to be confirmed. And
whether it be to disallow or to transgress the covenant, he shall disallow it and not confirm it.
9 And so is also the law for her father. As to the law of the of⟨fer⟩ings no man shall vow anything
10 for the altar under compulsion. Nor shall the ⟨pr⟩iests take anything from the Israelites . . .
11 ⟨Nor⟩ shall a man dedicate the food . . . this is what he said, 'They hunt every man his brother
12 with a net.' Nor shall de⟨vote⟩ . . . of all . . . his possession . . . holy . . . shall be punished
he . . . who takes a vow . . . to the judge . . .

history of the division of the days . . . of the events of the years, of their weeks, of their jubilees.' Here, as in our text, 'the weeks' are 'weeks of years'.

2. **imposes it upon,** &c. See xix. 11, 14. The text reads יקום here, which may be right, i.e. 'stand upon himself to return to'. But it may be best to read יקים.

angel of Mastema. Cf. Jubilees x. 8, xi. 5, 11, xviii. 9, &c.

4. **That which is gone forth,** &c. Quoted from Deut. xxiii. 24.

5. **binding oath,** i.e. שבועת אסר. This phrase is from Num. xxx. 13.

cancel. The text יפדהו 'redeem' is emended into יפרהו as Schechter suggests.

risk of death, i.e, מחיר מות.

6. **imposeth,** i.e. יקים of which only the מ survives.

to frustrate the law, i.e. ל⟨הפר התו⟩רה.

7. **⟨As for⟩.** We may supply על here as in *v.* 9 and xiii. 1.

Moses said, i.e. אמ⟨ר מ⟩שה.

should be disallowed. Cf. Num. xxx. 6–9.

which no man knew, i.e. אשר לא ⟨יי⟩דע⟨נה א⟩דם.

It is to be confirmed. i.e. להקים הוא. Cf. viii. 12 on this construction.

8. The same rule holds with regard to the law and the covenant.

9. **offerings,** i.e. ה⟨נדב⟩ות.

under compulsion. Cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7 'Not grudgingly nor of necessity'.

10. **the priests,** i.e. ⟨הכ⟩הנים.

11. **They hunt every . . . net.** The text reads איש את ע . דו . . . דו חרם, which is to be restored in accordance with Micah vii. 2 איש את אחיהו יצודו חרם.

12. The fragments here translated are all that survive of eight (?) lines of the MS.

APPENDIX ON IX. 22 *a*.

This clause is clearly derived from Mic. ii. 11 לו איש הלך רוח ושקר כזב . . . והיה מטיף העם הזה. Our author says that the Pharisees heed neither the facts of the present as to God's wrath against the nation nor the words of Moses in the past owing to a false prophet. The clause referring to this false prophet is corrupt both in A and B, but by a comparison of the two we can in some measure recover the original. A and B are as follows—*the words dependent on Micah, whether corrupt or not, being underlined*—

A מבוהל רוח ומטף כזב הטיף להם

B הולך רוח ושקל [~~מופת~~ סופות] ומטיף אדם לכזב

Here מבוהל in A is a wrong emendation of הולך which B has preserved. Next, שקל in B is corrupt for שקר as in Mic. ii. 11. But the corruption שקל led to the addition of סופות in order to give some meaning to שקל. מופת is a dittograph of סופות. Again, כזב as object of מטיף in A seems right and not לכזב. Further, אדם cannot be right, whereas להם can stand. Hence we would restore as follows:

הולף רוח ושקר ומטיף כזב הטיף להם

and translate: 'For one who walked in the spirit of falsehood and talked lies talked to them.'

Of course, it would be possible to translate בכל אלה, which I have rendered 'despite all these things', as meaning 'all these things', and render thus: 'But all these things they . . . perceived not . . . (i.e.) that the wrath of God . . . Nor that Moses said . . .'

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§ prefixed to a number indicates that the reference is to a section in the Introduction to the Book in question.

† prefixed to a word or name indicates a corrupt reading.

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Achior, leader of Ammonites, Judith $5^{5,22}$ $6^{1,2,5,10,13,16,20}$ 11^{9} $14^{5,6,10}$.
Achipha, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
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Adar-Sheni, intercalary month, 1Macc. $9^{3}n.$
Adasa, 1Macc. $7^{40,45}$.
Adataneses, city, Jub. $7^{15,17}$.
Adath, son of Barad, Jub. $38^{19,20}$.
Adath, Jub. 38^{23}.
Addi, 1Esd. 9^{31}.
†Addition, a feast, Jub. $32^{27,29}$.
Addo, i.e. Iddo, 1Esd. 6^{1}.
Addus, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
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Adibaa, Jub. 34^{20}.
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Adonikam, 1Esd. 5^{14} 8^{39}.
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Afra = Africa, Jub. 8^{15}.
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Aguaron = Gomorrha, Mart. Is. $2^{16}n.$ *Read* Samaria.
Ahab, Mart. Is. $2^{12,13,15}$.
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Ahitob, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
Ahitophel, P.A. 6^{3}.
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Ahuzzath, Jub. 24^{26}.
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Akiba, Rabbi, 1Bar. § 9 ii P.A. 3^{18-20}.
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Alcimus, 1Macc. $7^{5,9,12,20,21,23,25}$ $9^{1,54-57}$; desires to be high priest, $7^{5}n.$; gets high-priesthood, 7^{5-9} 2Macc. $14^{3,13,26}$; dies, 1Macc. 9^{56}; pulls down wall of sanctuary's inner court, 9^{54}.
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Almsgiving, atones for sin, Sir. 3^{30} Tob. 12^{8}, *see* Atonement; a duty, Sir. 4^{4}; = bestowal of kindnesses, P.A. 1^{2}; = righteousness, Sir. $7^{10}n.$; to evil not meritorious, 12^{7}. *See* Giving, Pharisees, Poor.
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Amarias, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
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Ammon, Judith 1^{12} $5^{2,5}$ 6^{5} $7^{17,18}$ Jub. 38^{6}; children of, 1Macc. 5^{6} Jub. 29^{10} 37^{10}.
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15^{10}—of the glory of the presence, T.L. 18^{5}, *see* Angels of the presence; of God, Sir. 1^{22} *crit. note,* marry daughters of men, Jub. 5^{1}, punishment of them and their children, 5^{5-9}, final judgement, 5^{10-16}; of the moon, 3Bar. 9^{6}; of natural phenomena, Jub. 2^{2} 4Ez. $8^{21}n.$, do not observe Sabbath, Jub. 2^{18}; of the presence, Jub. § 15 1^{27}, (one writes history for Moses), who went before the camp of Israel, 1^{29}, spoke to Moses, 2^{1}, observe Sabbath, 2^{18}, *see* 31^{14} T.L. $3^{5(\beta),7}$; of punishment, 1En. $40^{7}n.$ 53^{3} 56^{1} 62^{11} 63^{1} 2En. $10^{3}n.$; of sanctification, Jub. $2^{2,18}$, observe Sabbath, 2^{18}; of the spirit of the clouds and darkness, 2^{2}; of the spirits of cold and heat, creatures in the heavens, 2^{2}; of the spirit of fire, of the voices, of thunder and lightning, of the winds, of winter and the seasons, 2^{2}; of sun, 2En. $11^{4,5}$ 3Bar. 6^{13} 8^{4}; vision of, 3Macc. 6^{18}.

Angels. *See* Gabriel, Michael, Phamael, Phanuel, Raguel, Raphael, Remiel, Sammael, Saraqael, Sarasael, Uriel, Zotiel, Powers, Spirits, Virtues.

Anger, T.D. 2^{1}–4^{4}. *See* Wrath.

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Animal worship, Wisd. 12^{24} 15^{18}.

Animals, treatment of, *see* Man, Strangling; in delivery on Sabbath, 13^{22}; fallen into pit on Sabbath, 13^{23}; kindness to, T.Z. 5^{1}; under man's dominion, 2En. 58^{3}; will not perish till great judgement, when they will accuse their oppressors, $58^{5}n.$

Anna, Tob. 1^{20} $2^{1,11}$ 10^{4} 11^{5} 14^{12}

Annas, 1Esd. 9^{32}.

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Anniversary of martyrdoms, 4Macc. 1^{10} 14^{9}.

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Anointed One = Messiah. *See* Christ, Messiah.

Anoniram, T.Jud. 9^{3}.

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Anthropology of 2 Enoch, 2En. § 6.

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Antigone, city, Sib. 3^{347}.

Antigonos of Socho, P.A. 1^{3}.

Antigonus, 1En. $100^{2}n.$

Antigonus Gonatas, naval victory over, Arist. § 1, 180.

Antilibanus, Judith 1^{7}.

Antioch, 1Macc. $3^{37}n.$ 4^{35} 6^{63} 10^{68} $11^{44,56}$ Sib. 3^{344} 4^{140}; citizenship of, 2Macc. $4^{9}n.$

Antiochenes, 2Macc. 4^{9}.

Antiochis, mistress of Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 4^{30}.

Antiochus III, the Great, 1Macc. 1^{10} 8^{6} 3Macc. 1^{1}; victories of, Sir. $10^{8}n.$

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 1Macc. $1^{10,16,20}$ 3^{27} $6^{1,16,55}$ 2Macc. $1^{14}n.$ 2^{20} $4^{7,21,37}$ $5^{1,5,17,21}$ 9^{1}–10^{13} Azar. $9n.$ 1En. $46^{6}n.$ $100^{7}n.$ Sib. $3^{388-400}n.$ 4Macc. § 1, $4^{15,21}$ $5^{1,4,5,16}$ 10^{17} 17^{23} 18^{5}; attacks Egypt a second time, 2Macc. 5^{1}; conquers Egypt, 1Macc. 1^{16-19}; death of, 1Macc. 6^{1-17} 2Macc. 9^{28} 10^{9}; defeated at Persepolis, 2Macc. $9^{1,2}$; desecrates Temple, 1Macc. 1^{21-23} 2Macc. $5^{15,21}$; disease, loathsome of, 2Macc. 9^{5-18}; largesses of, 1Macc. $3^{30}n.$; letter to Jews, 2Macc. 9^{19-27}; not the foreign conqueror of Ps.Sol. § 5 (*see* Pompey); persecution of, = a second visitation, Ass. Mos. 8^{1} 9^{7}; promise to restore sacred vessels, 2Macc. 9^{16}, and to become a Jew, 9^{17}; repentance of, 2Macc. 9^{12-18}; = a sinful shoot, 1Macc. 1^{10}, cf. Sir. 40^{15}; supplication of, 2Macc. 9^{25-27}.

Antiochus V, Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 3^{33} $6^{15,17,55}$ 7^{2} 2Macc. 2^{20} $9^{25,29}$ $10^{10,13}$ $11^{23,28}$ $13^{1,3,4}$ 14^{2}; accession, 1Macc. 6^{1-17} 2Macc. 9^{25}; death, 14^{2}.

Antiochus VI, son of Alexander Balas, 1Macc. $11^{39,54,57}$ 12^{39} 13^{31}; killed $13^{31}n.$ (date?).

Antiochus VII, Sidetes, son of Demetrius I, 1Macc. $15^{1}n.^{2,10,11,13,25}$ Bel § 5.

Antiochus. *See* Numenius.

Antipater, son of Jason, 1Macc. 12^{16} 14^{22}.

Anti-Semitism, 3Macc. §§ 5, 6.

Anxieties of poverty and riches, Sir. 31^{1-4}.

Apame, 1Esd. 4^{29}.

Aphaerema, i.e. Ephraim or Ephron, 1Macc. $11^{34}n.$

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Aphrodite, the planet, 2En. $30^{3}n.$

Apocalypse of Moses, older than Vita Adae et Evae, A. & E. §§ 6, 7, 9.

Apocalypse of Paul, Sir. $4^{10}n.$

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Apocalyptic, a Party at one time among Rabbis favourable to, 4Ez. $14n.$ *See* Pharisaism, Reveal, Revelations.

Apocalyptists, begin survey with creation, 4Ez. $3^{4}n.$; calculations of, 4^{36-37}; imply predestination, $4^{36-37}n.$

Apocryph. *See* Jannes and Jambres.

Apocrypha, original connotation of, a secret revelation, Jub. $1^{26}n.$ 4Ez. $12^{37}n.$ 14^{6}, cf. 1En. 107^{3}.

Apollonius, 'a chief collector of tribute' (= son of Menestheus?), 1Macc. $1^{29}n.$ $3^{10,12}$; killed, 3^{12}.

Apollonius, general of Demetrius II, 1Macc. $10^{69,74,75,77,79}$.

Apollonius of Tarsus, 2Macc. $3^{5,7}$; governor of Syria, 4Macc. $4^{2,4,8,10,11,13,14}$.

Apollonius, son of Gennaeus, 2Macc. 12^{2}.

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Apostate deeds, 1En. 93^{9}; generation, 9^{39}; nation, Sir. 16^{6}.

Apostates, 3Macc. 2^{31} 3^{23} 7^{10} Azar. 9, 2Bar. $41^{3}n.$

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Arabian(s), 1Macc. 5^{39} $11^{17,39}$ 12^{31} Sib. 3^{517}.

Arabs, Jub. 20^{13}; defeat of, 2Macc. 12^{10-12}.

Aradus, 1Macc. 15^{23}.

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Eve, Tob. 8^{6} Jub. 3^{33} 4^{10} A. & E. 2^{2} $3^{2,3}$ 4^{2} 5^{1} 6^{1} 7^{1} 9^{1} $10^{1,3}$ 11^{1} 18^{1} 20^{1-3} $21^{1,2}$ $22^{1,3,4}$ 24^{1} $35^{2,3}$ 36^{1} $37^{2,3}$ $38^{1,2}$ 43^{3} 44^{5} 46^{1} 49^{1} 50^{3} S.A. & E. 28^{2} $35^{1,2}$ 38^{2} 40^{1} Apoc. Mos. 1^{1-3} 2^{1} 3^{3} $4^{1,2}$ $9^{2,3}$ $10^{1,2}$ 11^{1} 13^{1} $14^{1,2}$ 15^{1} 17^{2} 31^{1} $32^{1,3,4}$ 33^{1} 34^{1} 36^{2} $42^{3,4}$ 43^{1} 2En. 30^{18} 4Macc. $18^{7,8}$; created and brought to Adam, Jub. 3^{4-14}, *see* Adam; history of, 1En. 85^{3-7}; led astray by a Satan, 1En. 69^{6}; originated sin and death, Sir. 25^{24}; seduced by Satan, 2En. 31^{6}, *see* Adam; sins, Jub. 3^{17-29}.
Eve, Gospel of, A. & E. § 5^{a}.
Eves of Sabbaths, observed, Judith 8^{6}.
Evil, 1En. 10^{16} $15^{8,9}$ 16^{3} 69^{29} 94^{5} 99^{11} 101^{1} 103^{9} 108^{2}; germ, 4Ez. 3^{22}; heart of Adam, 4Ez. 3^{21}; of descendants, $3^{20}n.^{26}$; in heaven, 2En. $10^{1-6}n.$; principle, P.A. 2^{15} $4^{1,29}n.$; seed, grain of, 4Ez. 4^{30}; thought innate in man, 7^{92}, *see* Inclination, Yetzer; spirits and idols, Jub. $22^{17}n.$; spirits flee from good men, T.Iss. 7^{7} T.D. 5^{1} T.B. 5^{2}, *see* Beliar; to be overcome with good, T.Jos. 18^{2} T.B.4^{3}; to perish, Sir. 40^{10-17}; worst forms of, Sir. 25^{13-15}; of wicked woman, 25^{16-26}.
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Explanation, of the Zadokite settlement, Zad. 18^{6}; of the judgements, Zad. 18^{7}. *See* Interpretation, Meaning, Midrash.
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Eye, cause of sin, Sir. $31^{14}n.$; envious, Sir. 14^{8-10}; good, Sir. 14^{10}; lustful glance of, T.R. 5^{3} T.Iss. 7^{2} T.B. 6^{3}; singleness of, T.Iss. 3^{4}.
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Ezekiah, Arist. 47.
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Ezekiel, Sir. $49^{8,9}$ 4Macc. 18^{17} Zad. 5^{6} $9^{11(\beta)}$. *See* Faithful.
Ezekiel, an elder, Arist. 50.
Ezeqeel, 1En. 6^{7} 8^{3}.
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— in 1 Esdras, companions of, 8^{28-40}; reading of Law by, § 1 9^{37-55}, *see* 1Esdras, sources of; return of, §§ 1, 4, 6, 8^{1}; work of, 8^{1}–9^{46}.
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Faith, 1En. $39^{6}n.$ 43^{4} 58^{5} $61^{4,11}$ 2Bar. $54^{21}n.$ Zad. $9^{37,47,54}$; = religious faith, 4Macc. 15^{24} 17^{2}; and works combined as complementary, 4Ez. $9^{7,8}$ 13^{23}; = faithfulness to law, 5^{1} $6^{5,28}$ $7^{34,77}n.$; Elect One of, 39^{6}; heritage of, 58^{5}; measures given to, 61^{4}; spirit of, 61^{11}. *See* Messiah, Works.
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Faithless, delivered to the sword, Zad. $9^{4,10}$ woes against, Sir. 2^{12-14}.
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Fara, Jub. 8^{27}.
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Filial duty and its reward, Sir. 3^{1-16}.
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Firmament, 1En. $18^{2,12}$.
Firstborn, death of, Wisd. 18^{10}.
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Forty days of instruction, 2Bar. 76^{4}, cf. 4Ez. 14^{23}.
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Friends of God, Wisd. $7^{27}n.$
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Future life, Wisd. 3^{1}; belief in a blessed, Zad. §§ 9^{30} 13, $5^{6}n.$; conception of, developing in Sirach, Sir. $7^{17}n.$; idea of, absent in, $11^{28}n.$ $17^{27,28}$; life continues in name, 39^{9} 41^{11-13}, *see* Spirit; no reference to in Add.Esth. § 7; of righteous, inconsistent views of in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9. *See* Life.
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Gaas or Gaash, Jub. $34^{4,7}$ T. Jud. 7^{1}.
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Gabael, Tob. $1^{1,14}$ $4^{1,20}$ 5^{6} $9^{2,5}$ 10^{2}.
Gabatha, eunuch, Add. Esth. A^{12}.
Gabbe, 1Esd. 5^{20}.
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Gabriel, Apoc. Mos. 40^{1} 1En. 9^{1} 10^{9} 20^{7} 40^{9} 54^{6}, *see* Angels, Archangels; sent to Enoch, 2En. $21^{3,5}$; seated on left of God, 2En. 24^{1}.
Gad, Jub. 28^{20} 33^{22} 38^{5} $44^{19,20}$ T.R. 1^{4} T.Jud. 5^{2} $7^{2(a)}$ 9^{6} 25^{2} T.Iss. 5^{8} T.Z. 2^{1} 3^{2} 4^{2} T.G. 1^{1} T.A. 7^{6}; exploits of, T.G. 1^{3}.
Gaddis. *See* John.
Gadir, Jub. $8^{23,26}$ 9^{12}.
Gadreel, a Satan, 1En. 69^{6}.
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Gains, unrighteous, Sir. 5^{8}, cf. 1En. 63^{10}.
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Galatians, 1Macc. 8^{2} Sib. $3^{485,509,599}$ 5^{340}; battle of, in Babylonia, 2Macc. $8^{20}n.$
Galilee, 1Macc. $5^{14,15,17,20,21,23,55}$ 10^{30} 11^{63} $12^{47,49}$ Tob. 1^{5} Judith 1^{9} 15^{5}; of Gentiles, 1Macc. 5^{15}; upper, Tob. 1^{2}.
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Gamael, 1Esd. 8^{29}.
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Garden (i.e. Eden), Jub. 8^{22} 1En. 61^{12}; of Eden, 2En. 8^{6}. $31^{1,3}$, *see* Eden; of Righteousness, 1En. 32^{3} 77^{3}; of the Righteous, 1En. 60^{23}; where the elect and righteous dwell, 1En. 60^{8} 61^{12}, cf. 65^{2} 70^{3} 89^{52}. *See* also Paradise.
Garment of truth, T.L. 8^{2}.
Garments, Tob. 4^{16}; cleansing of, Zad. 13^{12}; law of, Jub. 3^{30-31}; of God's glory, 2En. 22^{8}, cf. 1En. 62^{15}; of life, 62^{16}, cf. 108^{12}; white, 71^{1}.
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Gauls, Sib. 5^{200}.
Gaza, 1Macc. $11^{61,62}$ Sib. 3^{345} Arist. 115, 117.
Gazara, near Azotus, 1Macc. 7^{45} 9^{52} $13^{43,53}$ $14^{7,34}$ $15^{28,35}$ $16^{1,19,21}$; a stronghold (= Gezer or Jazer ?), 2Macc. $10^{32}n.$
Gazera, 1Esd. 5^{31} 1Macc. 4^{15}. *See* Gazara.
Geba, Judith 3^{10}.
Gebal, T.L. 6^{1}.
Gedaliah, 2Bar. $5^{5}n.$ 44^{1}.
Geddur, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Gehazi, Zad. 9^{28}.
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corporal and spiritual punishment in the presence of the righteous (*a*) for ever, 1En. $27^{2,3}$ $90^{26,27}$,(*b*) for a time only, 1En. 48^{9} $62^{12,13}$, i. e. in 37–70 (Parables); (2)place of spiritual punishment only, 1En. 98^{3}, cf. 103^{8}, i. e. in 91–104 (Section V). *See also* Abyss, Fire, Punishment, Sheol, Valley.

Gel, 3Bar. *Prol.* 2.

Gemarias of Mount †Joel, Mart. Is. 2^{15}.

Genizah fragments of Sirach, Sir. § 3(*a*).

Gennaeus. *See* Apollonius.

Gennesar, waters of, 1Macc. $11^{67}n$.

Gentile nations, seventy, Jub. 44^{34} Test. *App.* I 8^{5}.

Gentiles. 1Esd. 8^{69} 1Macc. $1^{13,14,15}$ $2^{40,44,48,68}$ $3^{10,45,48,52,58}$ $4^{7,11,14,26,45,54,58,60}$ $5^{1,9,10,19,21,22,38,43,57,63}$ $6^{18,53}$ 7^{23} 11^{38} 12^{53} 13^{6} 14^{36} Tob. 13^{3} 2Macc. $14^{3,38}$ Judith 8^{22} Jub. $1^{9,13,15,19}$ 3^{31} 6^{35} 15^{34} 16^{17} $23^{23,24}$ 24^{28} $30^{11,13,14}$ 31^{18} 44^{34} T.S. 7^{2} T.L. 4^{4} 8^{14} 9^{10} 10^{4} $14^{1,3(a),4,6}$ 15^{1} 16^{5} 18^{9} T.Jud. 22^{2} $23^{2,5}$ 24^{6} T.Iss. 6^{2} T.Z. $9^{6,8(bdg)}$ T.D. $5^{5,8}$ $6^{7,9}$ T.N. 3^{3} 4^{1} $8^{3,4,6}$ T.A. 7^{3} T.Jos. 19^{11} T.B. 3^{8} $9^{2,4}$ $10^{5,9,10}$ Ass. Mos. 4^{9} 8^{3} 10^{7} 4Macc. 4^{11} 18^{5}; boasting of, 2Bar. 5^{1} 7^{1} $67^{2,6-7}n$. 80^{3}; bread of, Tob. $1^{10,11}$; conversion of, 1En. 50^{2-5} $90^{30}n$. 91^{14}; customs of, 1Macc. 1^{13}; destiny of, 2Bar. $72^{4-6}n$.; feasts of, Jub. 6^{35}; hope for, no, in final judgement, Jub. § 15; intermarriage forbidden, = fornication or giving to Moloch, Jub. $30^{7}n$.; Israel will walk after, Jub. 1^{9}, be scattered amongst, 1^{13}, will turn to God from amongst, 1^{15}, God will gather from, 1^{15}; kings of, Zad. 9^{20}; no clean animal or bird to be sold to, Zad. 14^{9}: no Israelite to be sold to, 14^{11}; no man to rest near, on Sabbath, 13^{24}; ordinances of, Zad. 10^{1}; to be saved, T.L. 4^{4} (8^{14}?) 18^{9} T. Jud. 22^{2} 24^{6} T.Z. $9^{8(bdg)}$ T.D. 6^{7} [T.N. $8^{3,4}$] T.A. 7^{3} [T.Jos. 19^{11} T.B. 3^{8}] 9^{2} [9^{4}] $10^{5,10}$ [$11^{2,3}$]: shedding blood of, Zad. 14^{7}; the Son of Man, the light of, 1En. 48^{4}, spirits placed in authority over, to lead astray, Jub. 15^{31} (contrast Israel); = wild beasts, 1En. 85–90*n*.

Geometry, P.A. 3^{23}.

Gera, Jub. 44^{25}.

Gerar, 2Macc. $13^{24}n$. Jub. 16^{10} $24^{8,12,17,19}$

Gericus, 3Bar. 4^{7}.

Gerizim, 2Macc. 5^{23} 6^{2}.

Gersam, T.L. 11^{2} 12^{1}.

Gershon, Jub. 44^{14} Test. *App.*II 63, 74. *See* Gersam.

Gerson, 1Esd. 8^{29}.

Giants, 3Macc. $2^{4}n$. 36 *sqq.* Judith 16^{7} Sir. $16^{7}n$. Wisd. 14^{6} 1Bar. 3^{26}, Jub. 5^{1} 7^{22}, *see* Eljo: 1 En. $7^{2,4}$ 9^{9} $15^{8,11}$ 16^{1}, cf. 86^{4} 88^{2}; judgement of the, Jub. 20^{5}.

Gidaijal, 1En. 82^{20}.

Gideon, Judith 8^{1}.

Gifts blind the eyes of wise, Sir. 20^{29}.

Gihon, Sir. 24^{27} (? = Nile $24^{27}n$.) Jub. $8^{15,22,23}$.

Gilead, 1Macc. $5^{9,17,20,25,27,36,45,55}$ 13^{22} Judith 1^{8} 15^{5} Jub. $29^{4,5,7,9,12}$, *see* Witness, heap of; Mart. Is. 2^{14}.

Gilgal, 1Macc. $9^{2}n$.

Gilgamesh epic, quoted, Sir. § 1.

Girdle, T.L. 8^{7} T.Jud. 12^{4} 15^{3}.

Girgashites, Judith 5^{16} Jub. 14^{18}.

Giving, right spirit in, Sir. 18^{15-18}; to evil, to be avoided, 12^{3-7}. *See* Almsgiving.

Glaphyra, Zad. § 6 ii.(*c*)*n*.

Glory, garments of. *See* Garments: of God, Tob. 3^{16} Zad. 8^{7}, 9^{49}; of the Great One, 1En. 104^{1}; of the Lord, Tob. $12^{12,15}$; of man, Zad. 5^{6}; the Great, 1En. 14^{20}, 102^{3} T.L. 3^{4}. *See* God, titles of.

Gnostic literature, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(*c*).

Gnostos, father of Sibyl, Sib. 3^{815}.

God, acknowledged by heathen, Wisd. 12^{27}; all things in hand of, Sir. 11^{14-28}; alone brings in End, 4Ez. 5^{56}–$6^{6}n$., judges, $7^{33,37,38}$; and His ministers, duty to, Sir. 7^{29-31}; author of beauty, Wisd. 13^{3}; cause of sin, Sir. $15^{11}n$.; covenant of, Zad. 4^{9} 7^{12} 8^{21} 9^{41} $16^{7,12}$; doctrine of, Sir. §9 i—one, Creator, eternal, holy, God of Israel, of world, Father; Father of Israel, loves them, Jub. $1^{24,25}$; scatters them among Gentiles, Jub. 1^{13}; gathers from amongst, 1^{15}; will descend and dwell with them for ever, $1^{17,26}$, will appear to eyes of all, 1^{28}; Father of all children of Jacob, Jub. 1^{28}; first coming of, to earth, 2En. 58^{1}, second, $32^{1}n$.; friends of, Zad. 4^{3}, *see* Friend; giver of souls, 4Macc. 13^{13} 18^{23}; glory of, Zad. 9^{49}, *see* Glory of God; greatness of, Sir. 16^{17-23} 18^{1-14}; help of, *see* Eleazar; Himself as Judge, Sib. § 8; holy spirit of, Wisd. 9^{17}; knowledge of, is immortality, 15^{3}; love of, 11^{24} Zad. 9^{25}, to His creatures transcends man's, 4Ez. $5^{33}n$. 8^{47}; mercy of, Sir. 18^{11-14}; name of, not mentioned in 1 Macc., *see* § 5; rules the world, Sir. 10^{4}, the individual, 10^{5}; search for, Wisd. 13^{6}; praise of, as Nature's Lord, Sir. 42^{15}–43^{33}, His might, 43^{1-26}; transcendence of, in Tobit, § 10; will dwell with men, 1En. 25^{3} 77^{1} 1En. 91–104; wrath of, Ass. Mos. 10^{3} Zad. 1^{17} 4^{7} $9^{22,40-4}$ 11^{4}, *see* Wrath; of peace, T.D. 5^{2}; of the righteous, P.Man. 8.

God, names and titles of:

Adversary, the, P.A. 4^{29}; All might and all power, who has, 3Macc. 6^{12}; All-King, Sir. 50^{15}; All-seeing God, 2Macc. 9^{5}; and Saviour, Add. Esth. D^{3}; All-surveying God, E^{4}, *see* Beholds; All-powerful Lord, 2Macc. $3^{22,30}$; and merciful God, A. & E. 27^{1}; All-wise God, the, 4Macc. 1^{12}; Almighty, 1Esd. 9^{46} 2Macc. 5^{20} 7^{38} $8^{11,24}$ $15^{8,32}$ 3Macc. $2^{2,8}$ 6^{18} Sib. Frag. 1^{8} 3Bar. 1^{3}; Almighty God, 2Macc. 7^{35} 8^{18} 3Macc. 6^{2} Arist. 18, 19, 45, 139, 168, 184 Sib. 3^{71}; living God of heaven, 3Macc. 6^{28}; Lord, 5^{7} Judith 15^{10} 16^{6}; Alone exists from age to age, Sib. Frag. 1^{16}; Arrays Himself against a king, 2Macc. 1^{11}; Artificer, the, Wisd. 13^{1}; Author of all good things, Arist. 205.

Beauty, first Author of, Wisd. 13^{3}; Beginnings of the ages serve, whose word, 2Bar. 54^{3}; Beholds all things, who, 2Macc. 12^{22} 3Macc. 2^{21}, *see* All-seeing; Beholds the depths, Azar. 32; Benefactor of the whole world, Arist. 210, cf. 281; Blessed for ever, He who is, 1En. 77^{1}; Blessed Heavenly One, Sib. 3^{1}; Bountiful, 4Ez. 7^{136}; Breathed into man a vital spirit, that, Wisd. 15^{11}; Brought you (Israel) up, that, 1Bar. 4^{8}; Brought us (Israel) up out of Egypt, who, 2Bar. $75^{7,8}$; Brought these plagues upon you (Israel), that, 1Bar. $4^{18,27,29}$; Buildeth His city and His sanctuary, Sir. 51^{12vii}.

Called thee (Jerusalem) by name, that, 1Bar. 4^{30}; Called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, that has, 2Bar. 21^{4}; Careth for all, Wisd. 12^{13}; Causes the rain and dew to descend, who, Jub. 12^{4}; Causes the drops of rain to rain by number on the earth, who, 2Bar. 21^{8}; Chambers are in the air, whose, 4Ez. 8^{20}; Champion (of Jews), 2Macc. 8^{36}, *see* Fighteth; Cherubim, that sits upon, Azar. 32, who has, as throne, Sib. 3^{1}; Chief of all, $5^{277,499}$; Chose sons of Zadok for the priesthood, that, Sir. 51^{12ix}; Chose Zion, that, 51^{12xiii}; Commanded the air by Thy nod, that has, 2Bar. 21^{5}; Commandment is strong and enactment terrible, whose, 4Ez. 8^{23}; Compassionate, 7^{132}; Created, who, 2Bar. 10^{19}; all things, 3Macc. 2^{3}; everything by His word, Jub. 12^{4}; heaven and earth, the God who, Bel 5; and all things, who, Jub. 7^{36} 36^{7} 2En. 66 *Preface*; me, 2Bar. 54^{9}; us (Israel) 78^{3}; the world out of formless matter, Wisd. 11^{17}; the world was, who said and, Test. *App.* I 9^{5}; Creator, Sir. 3^{16} Jub. 7^{20} 10^{8} 16^{26} 22^{6} 1En. 81^{5} 94^{10} Test. *App.* I 8^{6} $10^{2,8,9}$ Sib. 3^{704} Ass. Mos. 10^{10} 2En. 10^{6} 51^{4} 2Bar. 14^{15} 44^{4} 48^{46} 4Ez. 5^{44} P.A. 4^{29}; Creator of all things, 2Macc. 1^{24} Sir. 24^{8} Jub. $2^{31,32}$ 11^{17} 17^{3} $22^{4,27}$ 45^{5} 2En. 51^{4}(B) 4Macc. 11^{5}; of all created things, Ah. 1^{5} (Arab.); of great Temple, Sib. 5^{433}; of heavens and earth, 3^{786} Ah. 1^{5} (Arab.); of waters, Judith 9^{12}; of world, 2Macc. 7^{23} 13^{14} 4Macc. 5^{25}; who has planted His sweet Spirit in us all, Sib. Frag. 1^{5}.

Deep, who hast shut up, and sealed it, P.Man, 4; Deliverer of Israel, 3Macc. 7^{23}; our, Ps.Sol. 17^{3}, *see* Saviour of Israel; Delivered them (Israel, Lord who, Wisd. 19^{9}; Delivereth them that trust in Him, Sir. 51^{8}; Delivereth out of every evil, that, Wisd. 16^{8}; Depths come as the heights, to whom the, 2Bar. 54^{3}; Discerner, the, P.A. 4^{29}; Divine, the (II, page 781, c. xxvi. 1); Does everything upon the earth, who, Jub. 12^{4}; Does everything easily by a nod, 2Bar. 54^{2}; Dread, whom all things, P.Man. 5.

Educated us, He who, 2Bar. 78^{3}; Eternal, the, 3Macc. 6^{12} Sib. Frag. 3^{17} Sib. $3^{15,101,301,328,594,601,616,631,672,676,679,708,711,721,733,758,766}$; and supreme God, A. & E. 28^{1}; Creator, Sib. 3^{10}; Father of all men, 3^{604}.; God, Sir. 36^{17} Jub. 12^{29} 13^{8} 1En. 1^{4} Sib. $3^{56,742}$ Ass. Mos. 10^{7} 2En. 1^{8}; Immortal God, Sib. 5^{66}; King, Apoc. Mos. 29^{4} 1En. $25^{3,5,7}$ 27^{3} Sib. 3^{717}; Lord, 1En. 58^{4} 2En. $1^{8}(\beta)$; Ruler, 64^{3}; Saviour, of Israel, 3Macc. 7^{16}; who created heaven and earth, Sib. 3^{35}; Ever, God whose Being is for, 5^{174}: Everlasting, the, 1Bar. $4^{10,14,20,22,24,35}$ 5^{2} Sib. 5^{360}; your Saviour, 1Bar. 4^{22}; God, Tob. 14^{7} 1Bar. 4^{8} Sus. 42; King, Tob. $13^{6,10}$; Lord, 13^{13}; Exalted One, the, 4Ez. 4^{34}; Existence, the One, Sib. Frag. 1^{35}; Exists from age to age, who alone, 1^{16}. *See* God who is, God whose Being is for ever, One who is.

Fashioner, the, of men, 4Ez. 7^{94}; Faithfulness standeth eternal, whose, 8^{23}; Father, 3Macc. 5^{7} 6^{8} Sir. 23^{1} Wisd. 2^{16} 14^{3} Jub. $1^{24,25}$ T.L. 18^{6} Sib. $5^{360,500}$; as a, 3Macc. 7^{6}; Holy, the, T.Jud. 24^{2}; invisible, Apoc. Mos. 35^{3}; of all, 35^{2} 37^{4} Sib. 3^{550} 5^{328}; of all the children of Jacob, Jub. 1^{28}; of all holy, among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2^{21}; of all within whom is the breath of God, the Great, Sib. 5^{406}; of light, the, Apoc. Mos. 36^{3}; our, Tob. 13^{4} Sib. 3^{726}; my, Sir. 51^{10}; which is in heaven, P.A. 5^{23}; who alone is excellent, Sib. 5^{284}; who is from everlasting, Sib. 5^{498}; Fighteth for our nation, He who ever, 2Macc. 14^{34}, *see* Champion; Firmament, Thou that hast fixed, by thy

word, 2Bar. 21^{4}; Forgiving, 4Ez. 7^{139}; Formed him (Moses), He who, 2Bar. 17^{4}; man by . . . wisdom, Wisd. 9^{2}; man in womb, who, Test. *App.* I 9^{5}; them (works), Wisd. 13^{4}; Formeth all, He that, Sir. 51^{12iv}. *See* Creator.

Gathereth the outcasts of Israel, He that, Sir. $51^{12\,v}$; Glorious, greatly, 3Macc. 6^{18}; Glorious One, 6^{13}: Glory, great, the, 1En. 14^{20} 102^{3} T.L. 3^{4}; Glory is inconceivable, whose, 4Ez. 8^{21}: Glory of God, the, Tob. 3^{16} $12^{12,15}$ 3Bar. 4^{16} 7^{2} 11^{2}: God (my, thy, &c.), Tob. 11^{18} $13^{4,7}$ Judith $5^{9,12,18,19,21}$ 6^{3} 7^{28} 9^{4} $11^{10,11,13,23}$ $13^{11,17}$ $16^{2,13}$ Jub. 1^{17} 7^{34} 10^{5} $12^{19,20,21,24}$ $13^{8,16}$ 15^{10} 19^{28} 22^{9} 27^{27} $33^{11,13}$ 41^{25} Arist. 42 Apoc. Mos. 35^{3} T.S. 2^{8} T.Jos. 1^{6} $8^{5(a)}$ 2En. 67^{3} (B) Ps.Sol. 5^{6} 6^{7} 8^{36} 9^{16} 15^{15} $17^{3,4,15,30,42}$ $18^{8,11}$ (II, page 779, line 23 from bottom): my and thy God, Jub. 21^{25}; God, a, to thee and to thy seed, 22^{15}; Almighty, 15^{4} 27^{11} 2En. *Prol.*; and King, Add. Esth. C^{8}; Himself, Sib. $4^{181,183}$ 5^{352}; our Father, 3^{726}: God Most High. 1Esd. 9^{46} Sir. 24^{23} 39^{6} $47^{5,8}$ 48^{20} Jub. 12^{19} 22^{11} [T.Jud. 24^{4}] P.A. 6^{11} Ah. 6^{15} (Arab.); of Abraham. Add.Esth. C^{8} Jub. $24^{22,23}$ 31^{25} 35^{14} Ass.Mos. 3^{9}; and of Isaac, Jub. 29^{4} 31^{31} 44^{5} 45^{3}; and Isaac and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, P.Man. 1; of afflicted. Judith 9^{11}; of ages, Jub. 25^{15} 1En. 9^{4}; of all, Sir. 36^{1} 45^{23} 50^{22} Jub. $22^{10,27}$ 30^{19} $31^{13,32}$ Apoc.Mos. 32^{2} 42^{8}; of all power and might, Judith 9^{14}; all rule, Apoc.Mos. 42^{5}; of Daniel, Bel 41; of . . . father, Judith 9^{12} Mart.Is. 2^{2} T.Jos. 6^{6}; of father Isaac, Jub. 44^{1}; of . . . fathers, 1Esd. 1^{50} 4^{60} $8^{25,58}$ 9^{8} 3Macc. 7^{16} Tob. 8^{5} Judith 10^{8} Wisd. 9^{1} P.Man. 1 Azar. 3, 29 Jub. 31^{31} 44^{5} T.R. 4^{10} T.S. 2^{8} T.Jud. 19^{3} T.D. $1^{9(a)}$ T.G. 2^{5} T.Jos. 1^{4} 6^{7} Test. *App.* I 1^{10} 8^{3} Ass. Mos. 9^{6} 4Macc. 12^{18} P.A. 5^{24}; of gods, Azar. 68 Jub. 8^{20} 23^{1} 1En. 9^{4}; of glory, 1En. 25^{7}: of heaven, 3Macc. 7^{6} Tob. 7^{12} 8^{15} Judith 5^{8} 11^{17} Jub. 12^{4} 20^{7} 22^{19} 1En. 106^{5} T.R. 1^{6} 6^{9} Sib. $3^{174,286}$ 4^{135} 5^{76} Ass.Mos. 2^{4} Ah. 6^{16} (Syr.) Ah. 6^{26} (Arab.); and earth, T.Iss. 7^{7}, *see* Almighty living God of heaven; of Hebrews, T.Jos. 12^{3}; of hosts, 1Esd. 9^{46}; of inheritance of Israel, Judith 9^{12}; of Isaac, Jub. 27^{22} 29^{4} Ass.Mos. 3^{9}, *see* God of Abraham; of Israel, 1Esd. 1^{48} $2^{48,67}$ 6^{1} $7^{4,9,15}$ $8^{3,65,72}$ 9^{39} 2Macc. 9^{5} Tob. 13^{18} Judith 4^{12} 6^{21} 10^{1} 14^{10} 1Bar. 2^{11} 3^{1} Jub. 1^{28} T.Jos. 2^{2} Ps.Sol. 4^{1} 9^{16}; of Jacob, Ass.Mos. 3^{9} Ps.Sol. 15^{1}; of Jacob our father, T.D. 1^{9} (β AS^{1}); or justice, Sir. 35^{12}; of my life, 23^{1}; of my salvation, 51^{1}; of peace, T.D. 5^{2}; of praises, Sir. 51^{12ii}; of requital, 35^{11}; of righteous, P.Man. 8; of righteousness, Jub. 25^{21} T.Jud. 22^{2}; judging Israel with chastening, Ps.Sol. 8^{32}; of Sabaoth, 2En. 52^{1}; of spirits of all flesh, Jub. 10^{3}; of the whole world, 1En. 84^{2}; of them that repent, P.Man. 13; of truth, 1Esd. 4^{40}; the Creator, Ah. 1^{1} (Arab.); the Father, Apoc. Mos. 43^{5} Sib. 5^{360}: the Great King, $3^{499,616}$; the High and the Mighty, Ah. *Aeth. Frag.* 1; the just judge, A. & E. 29^{10}; the Lord, 3^{2} 13^{2} 14^{2} 16^{1} 33^{1}; the merciful, 2Macc. 11^{9}; their King, A. & E. 29^{8}; who bestows on all kings glory &c., Arist. 224; ever is, Sib. 3^{33}; fulfils all your desires, Arist. 283; gave them (Israel) their law, 15; has endowed you with these qualities, 290; is, 4Macc. 5^{24}; made us (Adam and Eve), A. & E. 4^{3}; makes you care for these things, Arist. 282; maintains your kingdom, 15; overlooks you, Sib. Frag. 1^{3}; who oversees all things, 3^{42}; rules and preserves us, Arist. 157; whom they knew, Judith 5^{8}; Godhead, the, T.L. 3^{7} (A^{a}); Good, 4Ez. 7^{138}; Governest all creation, who, 3Macc. 6^{2}; whole world, 2^{3}; Grace, that showest, upon the earth, Ah. 4^{18} (Syr.); Gracious, 4Ez. 7^{133}; Gracious One, 8^{32}; Great Eternal God, Sib. 3^{698} 5^{500}; Great Father, 3^{296} 5^{406}; Great God, the, 3Macc. $7^{2,22}$ Arist. 05 Sib. $3^{162,297,556,557,702,773,776}$ 4^{163}; Great Holy One, the, 1En. 97^{6}; Great Lord, the, 81^{3}: Great One, the, 14^{2} $103^{1,4}$ 104^{1}; Great Sovereign, the, 2Macc. 5^{20}; of the world, 12^{15}; Guards all, who, Sib. 3^{33}.

Hater of insolence, 3Macc. 6^{9}; Hateth iniquity, that, Judith 5^{17}; He (Him), 1Macc. 2^{61}; He above, Sib. 3^{760}, cf. Lord above us; He that hath kept me alive, Ah. 8^{40} (Syr.); He that is, Wisd. 13^{1}, *see* Exists; Head of days, One who had a, 1En. 46^{1}; Head of days, the, 46^{2} 47^{3} 48^{2} 55^{1} 60^{2} $71^{10,12,13,14}$: Heaven, 1Macc. $2^{21,37}$ $3^{18,19,60}$ $4^{24,55}$ 16^{3} 2Macc. 2^{18} 3Macc. 6^{33} (Tob. 9^{6}) Sus. 9, 35 (θ) Jub. 26^{18} (30^{1}?) (T.B. 3^{8}) Ass.Mos. 3^{8} P.A. $1^{3,11}$ $2^{2,16}$ $4^{5,14,15}$ 5^{20}; Heaven, abode is the, whose, Sib. Frag. 1^{11}; dwelling is in, whose, Sib. $3^{11,807}$; dwells in, God who, 5^{298}; Heaven, dwells in, who, 2Macc. 3^{39}; is in, God which, Tob. 5^{17}; Heaven, that has made firm the height of the, by the spirit, 2Bar. 21^{4}; Heavenly and true God, the, Sib. Frag. 1^{10}; God, the, Sib. 4^{51} 3Bar. 11^{9}; King, T.B. 10^{7} (A); One, the, Ass.Mos. 10^{3}; Sovereign, 2Macc. 15^{23}; Heavens, whose are the highest, 4Ez. 8^{20}; Helper of the oppressed, Judith 9^{11}; Highest, the, A. & E., 15^{3}; Holdeth all things together, that which, Wisd. 1^{7}; Holy among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2^{2}; and faithful, Jub. 21^{4}; and Righteous One, A. & E. 27^{1}; God, 3Macc. 6^{1} 7^{10} Sib. 3^{477}; (and) Great One, 1En. 1^{3} 10^{1} 14^{1} 25^{3} 84^{1} 92^{2} 98^{6} 104^{9}; Holy King, 3Macc. 2^{13}; Holy Lord, 2Macc. 14^{36} [Apoc. Mos. 43^{5}]; One, Sir. 4^{13} 23^{9} 39^{35} 43^{10} 1Bar. $4^{22,35}$ 5^{5} Apoc. Mos. 33^{5} Sib. 3^{688}; of Israel, Sir. 50^{17} 1En. 1^{2} 37^{2} 93^{11} T.D. 5^{13} Sib. 3^{709} P.A. $3^{1,4}$ 4^{29} 5^{6} $6^{11,12}$; One of the holy ones, T.L. 3^{4} (A^{a}); Honoured One, the, 1En. 103^{1}, *see* Name; Hope and refuge of the poor, Ps.Sol. 15^{2}; Hope, in whom ye (Israel), 2Bar. 77^{7}; Hosts stand trembling, before whom, 4Ez. 8^{21}.

Immortal, the, Sib. Frag. 1^{11} Sib. 5^{110}; and eternal, 5^{277}; Father of gods and of all men, 3^{278}; God, $3^{276,283,600,628,693}$ $5^{298,360,490,497}$; loud-thundering God of heaven, 5^{76}; One, 3^{582}; Incorruptible Creator, Sib. Frag. 3^{17}; Incorruptible, the, 4Ez. 3^{11}; Indignation melteth the mountains, whose, 4Ez. 8^{23}; Ineffable, Sib. 3^{11}; Inspired into man an active soul, He that, Wisd. 15^{11}, *see* Spirit; Invisible God, the, Sib. 5^{427} 2En. 67^{3}; Invisible yet seeing all Himself, Sib. Frag. 1^{8}.

Jael, Apoc. Mos. 29^{4} 33^{5}; Jealousy, an ear of, Wisd. 1^{10}; Judge, the, 2Bar. 5^{3} 48^{39} P.A. 4^{29}; holy, Jub. 10^{32}; Judge, righteous, 2Macc. 12^{5} Sir. 35^{17}; a righteous, Ps.Sol. 2^{18}; the sovereign righteous, Sib. 3^{704}; Just and righteous, Ah. 4^{18} (Syr.); Justice, Wisd. 1^{8} 11^{20} 14^{31} 4Macc. 8^{15}: divine, Sib. 3^{260} 4Macc. 12^{12}; lover of, Arist. 209.

Keepeth Israel, He that, Sir. $51^{12\,iii}$; King, 51^{1} 1En. 84^{2}; great, 1En. 84^{5} 91^{13} Ps.Sol. 2^{36}; of ages, 1En. 12^{3}; of all, Tob. 10^{13}; of every creature, Judith 9^{12}; glory for ever, 1En. 81^{3}; of gods, Add.Esth. C^{23}; of great power, 3Macc. 6^{2}; of heaven, 1Esd. $4^{46,58}$ Tob. $13^{7,11,16}$ T.B. 10^{7}($c\,\beta$ S^{1}); of heavens, 3Macc. 2^{2}; of kings, 2Macc. 13^{4} 3Macc. 5^{35} 1En. 9^{4} 84^{2}, cf. 63^{4}; of kings of kings, Sir. 51^{12xiv} P.A. 4^{29}; of world, 2Macc. 7^{9}; on Mount Zion for all eternity, Jub. 1^{28}; on the lofty throne, Ass.Mos. 4^{2}; our, Add. Esth. C^{14} Sib. Frag. 3^{42} Sib. $5^{352,499}$; Ps.Sol. 5^{21} 17^{1}; that rulest over all, Add.Esth. C^{2}; Knew that thou wast wronged, Ah. 5^{14} (Arab.); (?) Know, One whom the many do not, 4Ez. 5^{7}; Knows all, who, Sib. Frag. 1^{4} 1Bar. 3^{32}; all things before they come into being, who, Sus. 35^{a}, 42; the consummation of the times before they come, who, 2Bar. 21^{8}; the secrets, Sus. 42; what is hidden, God who, Ah. 6^{29} (Arab.).

Lawgiver, 4Macc. 5^{25}; Life, all, is from before His face, Jub. 12^{4}; Life, all things are endowed with, through whom, Arist. 16; Life and deathless endless light, He who is, Sib. Frag. 3^{34}; Life and Spirit, Lord of, 2Macc. 14^{46}; Life for them (men), He who prepared, 4Ez. 8^{60}: Life, living, the, A. & E. 28^{2}: Light, everlasting, Wisd. 7^{26}; of righteousness, T.Z. 9^{8}; of the Universe, the, Apoc.Mos. 36^{3}; the True, A. & E. 28^{2}; Liveth for ever, God that, Tob. 13^{1}: He that, Sir. 18^{1} 1En. 5^{1} $106^{3,11}$ (*Lat. Frag.*); Living God, Bel 5, 25, Add.Esth. E^{16} Jub. 1^{25} 21^{4} Sib. 3^{763}, *see* Almighty living God; Lord, 2Macc. 7^{32} 15^{4}; One, the, Ah. 1^{1} (Arab.); Lofty One, who has no respect of persons, 2Bar. 13^{8}; Longsuffering, 4Ez. 7^{134}.

Lord, Almighty, Judith 4^{13} 8^{13} 16^{17} 1Bar. $3^{1,4}$ P.Man. 1, in heaven, P.Man. 1; above us, 4Ez. 8^{6}; and Creator of the Universe, Arist. 15; Creator, Jub. 10^{8} S. A. & E. 30^{2}; my Creator, 28^{2}; for evermore, Jub. 8^{20}; Lord God, 1Esd. 8^{92} 2Macc. 1^{24} 7^{6} 3Macc. 5^{35} Tob. 14^{15} Judith 7^{29} 8^{35} 9^{2} 13^{18} Bel 39, 41 Jub. 2^{1} 6^{10} 9^{15} 12^{25} 19^{29} 25^{12} A. & E. 2^{2} 6^{2} 9^{2} 14^{1} 15^{2} 20^{2} 22^{2} 28^{1} 30^{2} 34^{1} 30^{1} 40^{2} 46^{3} T.S. 2^{13} 6^{5} T.L. 8^{10} 9^{14} 2En. $22^{4,8}$(B) 42^{14}(B) 43^{1}(B) 44^{1} (B) 45^{3}(B) $58^{1,2}$(B) 64^{1}(B) 3Bar. $1^{3,5,7}$ $4^{7,8}$ 4Ez. 8^{45} Ps. Sol. 5^{1}: God Most High, 1Esd. 9^{46}; of Abraham, Add. Esth. C^{30} Jub. 36^{6}, and the God of Isaac, 27^{22}; of all power, Judith 13^{4}; of . . . father, 9^{2}; of . . . fathers, Jub. 49^{6}; of heaven, Judith 6^{19}; and earth. T.B. 3^{1}; of Israel, Judith 12^{9} 13^{7} Add.Esth. C^{14} Jub. 45^{3} Ps.Sol. 16^{3}; of Shem, Jub. 8^{18}; sole and glorious over the whole world, Azar. 22; who forsakes not those who love him, Bel 38; Lord Himself, the, Ps.Sol. $17^{38,51}$; Lord, Lord, Jub. 14^{2}; Lord . . . God. 1Esd. 1^{4} 5^{70} $8^{14,15,27,79}$ Tob. $4^{19,21}$ Judith 4^{2} $7^{19,29}$ $8^{14,16,25}$ 1Bar. $1^{10,13,15,18,19,21,22}$ $2^{5,6,12,15,19,27,30}$ $3^{6,8}$ Sus. 35 Bel 25 Jub. $1^{18,19}$ 3^{5} 4^{6} 6^{13} 7^{5} $10^{3,7,22}$ 13^{15} 15^{26} 19^{28} 26^{15} $33^{18,20}$ 45^{4} $48^{14,17}$ $50^{7,9,11}$

A. & E. 17^{1} 29^{5} 35^{2} T.S. 6^{5} T.L. 13^{1} T.Z. 10^{5} T.N. 4^{3} Test. *App.* I 8^{3} Ps.Sol. 4^{28} 6^{3} P.A. 3^{19} 5^{24} Ah. 1^{4} (Syr. A); Lord Most High, P.Man. 7 1En. 98^{11} Test. *App.* II 51, 58 2Bar. 6^{6}; Lord (my, thy, his, &c.), 1Esd. 2^{5} $8^{46,47,50,52,53}$ Tob. 8^{4} 13^{4} Judith 5^{21} $16^{2,12}$ Add. Esth. C^{14} A. & E. 27^{1} 49^{3} 1En. 22^{14} 84^{6}; LORD my Lord, 2Bar. $3^{1}n.$ $14^{8,16}$ 16^{1} 23^{1} 38^{1} 48^{45} 4Ez. 3^{4} $5^{23,38}$ $7^{17,58}$ 12^{7} 13^{51} (of angel? 4Ez. 4^{38} 6^{11}); Lord of ages, 1En. 9^{1}; of all, Ass.Mos. 4^{2}; of all the ages, Jub. 31^{13}; of all reputation, Arist. 269; of . . . fathers, 1Esd. 4^{62} Judith 7^{28}; of glory, 1En. 22^{14} 25^{3} $27^{3,5}$ 36^{4} 40^{3} 63^{2} 75^{3} 83^{8}; of heaven, Tob. $7^{11,17}$ 1En. 106^{11} Test. *App.* II 13 Sib.Frag. 1^{35} Ass.Mos. 4^{4}; and earth, Tob. 10^{13} Judith 9^{12}; of hosts, Apoc.Mos. 38^{3} [43^{5}] P.A. $6^{8,11}$; of Israel, 1Esd. $2^{3,5}$ 5^{71} 6^{15} $8^{13,89}$; of judgement, 1En. 83^{11}; of kings, $63^{2,4}$; of light, 2En. 18^{3}; of lords, 1En. 9^{4} Ass.Mos. 9^{6}; of majesty, 1En. 12^{3}; of mercy, 2Macc. 8^{29}; of mighty, 1En. 63^{2}; of rich, 63^{2}; of righteousness, Tob. 13^{6} Jub. 25^{15} 1En. 22^{14} 90^{40} 106^{3}; Lord of sheep, $89^{16,22,26,29,33,36,42,45,50,51,52,54,57,70,71,75,76}$ $90^{14-20,29,33}$; Lord of Spirits, $37^{2}n.^{4}$ $38^{2,4,6}$ $39^{2,7,8,9,12}$ $40^{1,2,4,5,6,7,10}$ $41^{2,6,7}$ 43^{4} $45^{1,2}$ $46^{3,6,7,8}$ $47^{1,2,4}$ $48^{2,3,5,7,10}$ $49^{2,4}$ $50^{2,3,5}$ 51^{3} $52^{5,9}$ 53^{6} $54^{5,7}$ $55^{3,4}$ 57^{3} $58^{4,6}$ $59^{1,2}$ $60^{6,8,24,25}$ $61^{3,5,8,9,11,13}$ $62^{2,10,12,14,16}$ $63^{1,2,7,12}$ $65^{9,11}$ 66^{2} $67^{8,9}$ 68^{4} $69^{24,29}$ 70^{1} $71^{2,17}$; of universe, Arist. 195; of whole creation of the world, 1En. 84^{2}; of wisdom, 63^{2}; of world, Jub. 25^{23} 1En. 81^{10} Ass.Mos. 1^{11}; our Saviour, Ps.Sol. 8^{39}; over all dominion, Add.Esth. C^{23}; Ruler of Sabaoth, 2En. 21^{1}; that dwells eternally, 4Ez. 8^{20}; that dwells in Jerusalem, 1Esd. 2^{5}; that brought thee (Abraham) out of Ur of Chaldees, Jub. 14^{7}, cf. 22^{27}; that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things, Arist. 155; the eternal God, Sus. 35^{a}: the God of gods, Bel 7; the Great King, Tob. 13^{15}; the Most High God, Jub. 21^{20}; which made heaven and earth, 1Esd. 6^{13}; who created the heaven and the earth, Jub. 32^{18}; who hath holy knowledge, 2Macc. 6^{30}; whose name has not been sent into this world, Mart.Is. 1^{7}; Look drieth up the depths, whose, 4Ez. 8^{23}; Looks on all, who, Sib.Frag. 1^{4}; Loved us (Israel) from of old and never hated us, who, 2Bar. 78^{3}; Lover of souls, Wisd. 11^{26}.

Made, who, 2Bar. 10^{19}; all things, Jub. 31^{29}; all things by . . . word, Wisd. 9^{1}; (all) from the beginning, Sib.Frag. 3^{16}; earth, 2Bar. 21^{4}; heaven and earth, P.Man. 1^{2} Sib.Frag. 3^{3-5}, ct. 2En. 2^{2}; Israel, 1Bar. 4^{7} 2Bar. 60^{2}; them (men) 4Ez. 8^{60}; them (stars), 1Bar. 3^{34}; us, 2Bar. 79^{2}; Maker, man's, Sir. 10^{12} 32^{13} 46^{13} 47^{8} Wisd. 16^{24} Apoc.Mos. 31^{4} 32^{4} 2Bar. 82^{2} P.A. 4^{29}; nature's first, Wisd. 13^{5}; Maketh a horn to sprout for the house of David, He that, Sir. $51^{12\text{viii}}$; Master, Tob. 3^{14} Azar. 13 Apoc.Mos. 19^{2} 23^{2} 42^{5}; Merciful, Sir. 50^{19}; One, Ah. 4^{17} (Arab.); God, 3Macc. 5^{7} Tob. 3^{12} 1Bar. 3^{1}; Lord, 2Macc. 13^{12}; Mercy, who keeps, Wisd. 9^{1}; who shows, Ah. 5^{14} (Arab.); Mighty, Sib. 3^{735}; God, the, $3^{91,97,194,246,274,284,306,489,549,565,575,584,632,656,657,665,671,687,740,781,784,818}$ $4^{6,25}$ 5^{186} 2Bar. 6^{8} 7^{1} $13^{2,4}$; Heavenly God, 3^{19}; King, $3^{56,560,808}$; One, the, Sir. 35^{18} 2Bar. 21^{3} 25^{4} $32^{1,6}$ 34^{1} 44^{6} $46^{1,4}$ 47^{1} $48^{1,38}$ 49^{1} $54^{1,11}$ 55^{6} 56^{3} 59^{3} 61^{6} $62^{3,5,6,8,10}$ $64^{3,4}$ 65^{1} $66^{1,5,6}$ 67^{2} 70^{2} $77^{11,26}$ 81^{4} 82^{5} $84^{1,6,7,10}$ $85^{2,3}$ 4Ez. 6^{32} 9^{46} 10^{24} 11^{43} 12^{47} 13^{23}; in dominion, the, 1En. 103^{1}; of Israel, T.S. 6^{5}; of Jacob, Sir. $51^{12\text{xii}}$; works for salvation of Israel, who has, 3Macc. 6^{13}; Most exalted of all, Sib. Frag. 3^{3}, *see* Exalted; Most High, 2Macc. 3^{31} 3Macc. 6^{2} Tob. 1^{13} 4^{11} Sir. 6^{37} 9^{15} 17^{26} 19^{17} $23^{18,23}$ $24^{2,3}$ 28^{7} $34^{6,19}$ 35^{6} $39^{1,5}$ 41^{4} 42^{2} $44^{2,20}$ 49^{4} $50^{7,14,15,16,17}$ Wisd. 5^{15} 6^{3} Add.Esth. E^{16} Jub. 16^{18} 22^{27} 1En. 9^{3} 10^{1} 46^{7} $60^{1,22}$ 62^{7} 77^{1} 94^{8} 97^{2} $98^{7,11}$ $99^{3,10}$ 100^{4} $101^{1,6,9}$ T.S. 2^{5} 6^{7} T.L. 3^{10} $4^{1,2}$ $5^{1,7}$ 8^{15} [16^{3}] 18^{7} T.Iss. 2^{5} T.G. 3^{1} T.A. 2^{6} 5^{4} 7^{3} T.Jos. 1^{4} 3^{10} 9^{3} 10^{3} T.B. 4^{5} 9^{2} ($c\beta S^{1}$) Test. *App.* I 10^{1} Sib. Frag. 1^{4} Sib. $3^{519,574,580}$ Ass. Mos. 10^{7} 2Bar. 17^{1} 24^{2} 25^{1} $54^{9,17}$ 56^{1} $64^{6,8}$ $67^{3,7}$ 69^{2} 70^{7} 71^{3} 76^{1} $77^{4,21}$ $80^{1,3}$ $81^{2,4}$ $82^{2,6}$ 83^{1} $85^{8,12}$ 4Ez. 3^{3} $4^{2,11,34}$ $5^{4,22,34}$ $6^{32,37}$ $7^{19,23,33,37,42,50,70,74,77,78,79,81,83,87,88,89,102,122,132}$ $8^{1,48,56,59}$ $9^{2,4,6,25,28,44}$ $10^{24,38,49,52,54,57,58,59}$ $11^{38,43,44}$ $12^{4,6,23,30,32,36,39,47}$ $13^{18,23,26,29,44,47,56,57}$ $14^{42,45,50}$; Most High God, 1Esd. 6^{31} $8^{19,21}$ 3Macc. $1^{9,16}$ 3^{11} 4^{16} 5^{25} 7^{9} Judith 13^{18} Sir. 7^{9} 41^{8} $46^{5,6}$ Jub. 7^{36} $13^{16,29}$ 16^{27} 20^{9} $21^{20,22,23,25}$ $22^{6,13,19,23,27}$ $25^{3,11,21}$ 27^{15} 32^{1} 36^{16} 39^{6} Test. *App.* II 13, 30 Sib. 3^{719} Ass.Mos. 6^{1} Ah. $1^{1,5}$ 3^{7} 4^{17} 5^{15} $6^{2,7,10}$ 7^{19} (*all* Arab.), *see* God Most High; Most High Lord, 1Esd. 2^{3}; Most Mighty, Add.Esth. E^{16}; Moulded (man), that, Wisd. 15^{11}.

Name, the, P.A. 4^{5} 5^{11}; (?) called upon us (Israel), 4Ez. 10^{22}; glorious and honoured, &c., which created heavens and earth and all things, Jub. 36^{7}; His, 2Bar. 67^{3} P.A. 3^{3}; holy, the, Jub. 25^{12}; My, 2Bar. 5^{2}; of Heaven, P.A. 1^{11} $2^{2,16}$ 4^{5} 5^{20}; of Him that made them, 4Ez. 8^{60}; of his God, Ps.Sol. 6^{7}; of the Lord, Test. *App.* I 9^{4} Ps.Sol. 6^{2}; Thy, 7^{5}; Thy Great, 2Bar. 5^{1}; Nourishes all, who, Sib.Frag. 1^{5}; Nothing is too hard, Thou for whom, 2Bar. 54^{2}.

One, Sib.Frag. 3^{3} 2Bar. 48^{24}; Almighty God, the, Arist. 139; God, Arist. 132 Sib.Frag. $1^{7,32}$ Sib. 3^{571} 4^{30} 5^{284}; Sovereign God, 3^{11}; that judgeth alone, P.A. 4^{10}; who is and was . . . and shall be, Sib. 3^{16}; Only Ruler, 3Macc. 2^{2}. *See* Sole.

Possessor of heaven and earth, P.A. 6^{11}; Power, divine, the, Arist. 236, 252 Ah. 1^{1} (Syr. A) excellent in, Sib.Frag. 1^{7}; Infinite, Mighty, A. & E. 28^{2}; (supreme), the, Wisd. 1^{3}; some, 4Macc. 5^{13}; Pours forth upon men gladness, who, Sib. Frag. 3^{35}; Praise of all His pious ones, Sir. $51^{12\text{v}}$; Prepared the earth, that, 1Bar. 3^{32}; Prince of the world, Sib. Frag. 1^{15}; Promised, on our behalf . . . that He will never forget or forsake us, who always, 2Bar. 78^{7}; Protector of all, 3Macc. 6^{9}; of the forlorn, Judith 9^{11}; Providence, Wisd. 14^{3} Arist. 201 Sib. 5^{227}; divine, 4Macc. 17^{22}; divine and allwise, 13^{19}; eternal, the, Wisd. 17^{2}; God's, Sib. 5^{323}; just, that watched over our fathers, 4Macc. 9^{24}.

Reason, Source of, Ah. 1^{1} (Arab.); Receives not gifts, who, Jub. 33^{18}; Redeemer of Israel, Sir. $51^{12\text{v}}$; Redeemed them (Israel), the Lord who, Ps.Sol. 9^{1}; Redeemeth and saveth Israel, One who, 1Macc. 4^{11}, *see* Saviour of Israel; Redeemeth from all evil, Sir. 51^{8}; Reigns for ever, who, Sib. 3^{593}; Respects not persons, who, Jub. 33^{18} Ps.Sol. 2^{18}, cf. P.A. 4^{29}; Revealest to those who fear Thee what is prepared for them, 2Bar. 54^{4}; Rich in mercy, 3Macc. 6^{9}; Righteous beyond all, Jub. 21^{4}; Righteous Ruler, 3Macc. 3^{3}; Rock of Isaac, Sir. $51^{12\text{xi}}$; Ruler and Lord of the universe, Arist. 16; Ruler of all, 3Macc. 5^{28} 6^{39}, cf. Sib.Frag. 1^{17}, *see* King, Only Ruler, Righteous Ruler; of all creation, 3Macc. 2^{7}; of all power, $5^{7,51}$ 7^{9}; Rules for ever, who, 1En. 22^{14} (E); over all, Add.Esth. $E^{18,21}$; over the world, 1En. 22^{14} (G^{g}); the world, Ass.Mos. 4^{2}; with great thought the hosts which stand before Thee, 2Bar. 21^{6}.

Saved all His people, who, 2Macc. 2^{17}; thee (Ahikar), Ah. 5^{14} (Arab.); Saves them that hope in Him, who, Sus. 60; Saviour of all, Wisd. 16^{7}; of Israel, 1Macc. 4^{30} 3Macc. 6^{32}, eternal, 7^{16}; of them that are without hope, Judith 9^{11}; Sea, who has bound the, by the word, P.Man. 3; See, One whom none can, from earth, Sib. 4^{10}; Seen those things which are to be, Thou that hast, 2Bar. 21^{5}; Seeth all, who, 2Macc. 7^{35}, *see* All-seeing; Self-sprung, Sib.Frag. 1^{17} Sib. 3^{12}; Sends forth the light, that, 1Bar. 3^{33}; rain, winds, famines, &c., Sib.Frag. 1^{32-34}; Sent it (the word), who, 2Bar. 56^{4}; me (Baruch), who, 84^{7}; Shechinah, P.A. 3^{8}, *see* Shechinah; Shield of Abraham, Sir. $51^{12\text{x}}$; Sky, dwelling in the, Sib.Frag. 3^{17}; whose dwelling is in the, Sib. 3^{81}; Sole Potentate, 3^{718}; Souls, God who gave us our, 4Macc. 13^{13}; Souls, Sustainer of, Sib. 5^{500}; Sovereign, 2Macc. 12^{28}; Sole, Sib. Frag. 1^{7}; Sovereign in heaven, 2Macc. $15^{3,4}$; Sovereign Lord, 5^{17} 6^{14} $15^{22,29}$ Wisd. 11^{26} $13^{3,9}$; of all, Wisd. 6^{7} 8^{3}; of all creation, 3Macc. 2^{2}, *see* Ruler; of earth, Sib.Frag. 1^{35}; of spirits, 2Macc. 3^{24}; of the world, sole, Sib. 5^{186}; Sovereignty over all flesh, who has, Bel 5; Spirit and soul, who placed in man, Test. *App.* I 9^{5}; Strength of my life, Sir. 51^{1}; Supreme God, 2Macc. 3^{36} Arist. 19, 37.

Teacher, Sir. 51^{17}; Throne is beyond imagination, whose, 4Ez. 8^{21}; Thunder, delight is in the, whose, 5^{62}, cf. 5^{76}; Sender of, 5^{433}; Thunders from on high, He who, Sib. 3^{1} 5^{302}; True, the, 5^{499}; and eternal God, Sib.Frag. 1^{20}; and everlasting God, 3^{46}; God, the, 3Macc. 6^{18} Wisd. 12^{27} Arist. 140, Sib. 5^{493} 2En. 66^{2}; Truth, lover of the, Arist. 206.

Unbegotten, Sib.Frag. $1^{7,17}$; Upholder of the weak, Judith 9^{11}; Unseen yet seeing all Himself alone, Sib. 3^{12}, *see* Invisible.

Watcher of all from heaven, Sib. 5^{352}; Wisdom, guideth, that, Wisd. 7^{15}; Who hath made . . . perfect in, Ah. 7^{4} (Arab.); Wise, Sib. 5^{360}; Wise, correcteth, One that, Wisd. 7^{15}; Witness, the, P.A. 4^{29}; Witnesses all, who, Sib.Frag. 1^{4}; Wonders, doer of, 3Macc. 6^{32}; worker of, 2Macc. 15^{21}; Word is sure and behest constant, 4Ez. 8^{22}; World-Ruler, the, Sib. 3^{19}; Worship, whom ye (Israel), 2Bar. 77^{7}.

Godless, 1En. 1^{1} 5^{7} 16^{1} 38^{8} 81^{9} 91^{14} 94^{11} 98^{15} $99^{8,10}$.

Godlessness, 1En. 10^{20} 104^{9}.

Godly man is wise, Sir. $21^{11,18-28}$; receives discipline, and is blessed, $32(35)^{14-17}$.

Gods of heathen, dead, Sib. Frag. 1^{22} $3^{545}sqq.$; impossibility of, Frag. 2^{1-3} Frag. 3^{1-32}; = demons, *see* Demonology; strange, Israel turns to, Jub. 1^{8}.

See Ashtaroth, Bel, Belshim, Dis, Zeus.
Gog, Jub. 8^{25}; and Magog, land of = Ethiopia, Sib. $3^{319,512}$.
Gold, lay up, Tob. 12^{9}; proved in fire, Sir. 2^{5} Wisd. 3^{6}.
'Golden Rule,' Tob. 4^{15}.
Goliath, Sir. 47^{4}.
Gomer, Jub. 7^{19} 9^{8}.
Gomorrah, Jub. 16^{5} 20^{6} Mart. Is. 3^{10}. *See* Aguaron.
Good man, the, T.B. 4^{2-5}.
Goodness abides for ever, Sir. $40^{12,17}$.
Gorgias, 1Macc. 3^{38} $4^{1,5,18}$ 5^{59} 2Macc. 8^{9} 10^{14} $12^{32,35,37}$; Judas' victory over, 1Macc. 4^{1-25}.
Gortyna, 1Macc. 15^{23}.
Goshen, land of, Judith 1^{10}; land of, Jub. 44^{9} $45^{1,2,6}$.
Gotholias, 1Esd. 8^{33}.
Government, attitude to, P.A. 1^{10} 2^{3}.
Grace alone accounts for election and salvation of Israel, Ass. Mos. § 9.
Graeco-Egyptians = 'vultures' and 'kites' in 1En. 90^{2}. Cf. $90^{11,13}n$.
Grape-gatherer, Ben-Sira claims to be only a, Sir. § 1, 33^{16-18}.
Grateful dead. *See* Dead.
Grave, Tob. $8^{10,18}$.
Greece, 1Macc. 8^{9} Sib. 3^{813} 4^{96}. *See* Hellas.
Greek, 2Macc. 13^{2} Sib. 3^{193}; cities compel Jews to hellenize, 2Macc. 6^{9}, cf. 11^{3}; fashions, 4^{13}; influences in Tobit, 2^{12} 5^{15}; kingdom, i.e. the Seleucid era, 1Macc. $1^{10}n$.; language, Arist. 38; speculation condemned, Sir. $3^{24}n$.; text of Ecclesiasticus, divergence in order from Old Latin version, Sir. § 4, 30–36; ways of life, 2Macc. 4^{10} 6^{9}. *See* Hellenizing.
Greeks, 1Macc. 6^{2} 8^{18} 2Macc. 4^{36} 11^{3} Arist. 121, 137 Sib. $3^{171,202,520,536,553,609}$ 5^{264} 4Macc. 18^{20}; favour Jews, 3Macc. 3^{8}; or Macedonians = 'eagles' in 1En. 90^{2-16}.
Greetings in letters, 3Macc. $3^{13}n$. 7^{1}.
Gregory Nazianzen praises Maccabaean martyrs, 4Macc. § 8.
Grigori (i.e. 'the Watchers'), 2En. $18^{1,3,7,9}$.
Grosseteste, Test. § 1.
Guardian angels, A. & E. 33^{1}, *see* Virtues; belief in, Jub. 35^{17}; of Esau, Jub. 35^{17}; of Jacob, 35^{17}. *See* Angelic patrons.
Guardians of the gates of hell, 2En. 42^{1}.
Guilt, incur, Zad. § 4, 4^{9} 16^{2}.
Guilt-offering, Zad. 10^{9}.
Guilty, against the soul, P.A. $3^{6,10,11}$; held, Zad. 10^{7} 19^{5}.
Guni, Jub. 44^{30}.
Gymnasium built in Jerusalem, 1Macc. 1^{14} 2Macc. $4^{9,12}$.

Habakkuk, prophecy of, Bel 1(G), 33–37, 39; Mart. Is. 2^{9}.
Habitations of souls, 4Ez. $7^{80,85,101,121}$.
Hades, 2Macc. 6^{23} Sir. 17^{27} 21^{10} 28^{21} Wisd. 1^{14} 16^{13} Azar. 66 Add. Esth. B^{7} (i.e. Sheol), T.R. 4^{6} T.L. 4^{1} T.B. 9^{5} Sib. Frag. 1^{22} $3^{393,458}$ 5^{178} 3Bar. $4^{4,6}$ 5^{3} 4Ez. $4^{7,8}$ 8^{53}; abolished for righteous, 4Ez. 8^{53}, cf. 2Bar. 21^{3}, *see* Death; deities in, Sib. Frag. 1^{22}; gates of, Wisd. 16^{13}; god of death, Wisd. $1^{16}n$.; perish in, Sir. $17^{27}n$.; pit of, Sir. 21^{10}, *see* Pit, Sheol; relation to Dragon, 3Bar. $4^{3}n$.
Haemus, mountains, Sib. 3^{474}.
Hagar, Jub. $14^{22,23}$ $17^{2,8,11,17}$ 19^{11}.
Haggai. *See* Aggaeus.
Haggi, Jub. 44^{20}.
Hagiographa, Sir. *Prologue* $1n$.; once quoted in Zad. § 8.
†Hagu. *See* Book, References.
Haiqar, Arabic name of Aḥiḳar, *passim*.
Halacha, earlier than those in the Mishnah, enunciated in Jubilees, Jub. § 15; none in Pirkē Aboth, P.A. § 2, 2, *see* Rule; severer in Zad. than in Talmud, Zad. § 6. *See* $7^{11}n$. $13^{23}n$.
Ḥalachoth of Zadokites based on Prophets, Zad. § 9^{4}.
Halaphta ben Dosa, P.A. 3^{8}.
Halicarnassus, 1Macc. 15^{23}.
Hallel, the, Wisd. 18^{9}.
Ham, Jub. 4^{33} $7^{8,13}$ $8^{10,22,24,30}$ $9^{1,13}$ $10^{28,30}$ 22^{21} T.S. 6^{4}; lot of, Jub. 8^{22}. *See* Canaan.
Hamadathus, Add. Esth. A^{17} $E^{10,17}$.
Haman, Add. Esth. A^{17} $B^{3,6}$ $C^{5,28}$ $E^{10,17}$ F^{4}.
Hamath, 1Macc. 12^{24} Jub. 10^{33} 13^{2}.
Hamor, Jub. 30^{2} T.L. 2^{2} 5^{4} $6^{3,4}$.
Hamselim, father of the king of Persia and Elam, Ah. 3^{7} (Syr.). *See* Achish, Akhi.
Hananel, 1En. 69^{2}.
Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, 1Macc. 2^{59}. *See* Three Children.
Hananiel, Tob. $1^{1,8}$.
Hanina, deputy of the priests, P.A. 3^{2}.
Hanina ben Dosa, P.A. 3^{12-14}.
Hanina ben Hachinai, P.A. 3^{6}.
Hanina ben Teradion, P.A. 3^{3}.
Hanukka. *See* Chanukka.
Haran, brother of Abraham, Jub. $12^{10,14,30}$ 13^{1}; land of, $12^{15,28}$ 13^{1} $27^{3,19}$ $35^{10,12}$ (44^{1} *read* Hebron) T.L. 2^{1} T.Iss. 1^{5}.
Hares symbolize double livers, T.A. 2^{9}.
Harvest of evil, 4Ez. $4^{28,29,30}$; of good will be greater, 4Ez. 4^{29-31}.
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2Macc. 1^{29} $2^{4,10,11}$ $7^{6,30}$ Tob. 1^{8} 6^{13} $7^{11,12sq.}$ Sir. 24^{23} 45^{1-5} $46^{1,7}$ Wisd. 10^{16} 1Bar. 1^{20} $2^{2,28}$ Jub. *Prologue*, $1^{1-4,19,22,27}$ 2^{1} 23^{32} 30^{11} $33^{13,18}$ 49^{22} Arist. 144 (*see* Lawgiver) Mart. Is. $3^{8,9}$ 1En. $89^{16-18,29-38}$ T.S. 9^{2} T.Z. 3^{4} Sib. 3^{253} Ass. Mos. $1^{1,4,5}$ 3^{11} $11^{1,2,4,14,17,19}$ $12^{1,2}$ 2Bar. 3^{9} 4^{5} 17^{4} 59^{1} $84^{2,5}$ 4Ez. $7^{106,129}$ 14^{3} 4Macc. 2^{17} 9^{2} 17^{19} 18^{18} P.A. 1^{1} Zad. 7^{19} 9^{23} 20^{7}; burial of, opposed by Satan, performed by Michael, Ass. Mos. § 2*n.*, twofold presentation of, after, § 2*n.*; 'Greatness of', relation of, to 2Enoch, 2En. § 4. *In Ass. Mos.*: intercessor for Israel in spiritual world, 12^{6}; mediator, 1^{14} 3^{12}; preexistent, 1^{14}; unique relation of, to Judaism, § 9. *In 2 Bar.*: revelations made to Moses, 2Bar. 59^{4-11}; functions of Enoch transferred to, 2Bar. $59^{5-11}n.$ *In Jubilees*: receives tables of Law, and also a special revelation = Jubilees, on Mount Sinai, Jub. $1^{4}sqq.$, and a revelation of Messianic bliss at the end of time, 1^{26}; regarded as taught by God the later as well as the earlier history, 1^{4}. *In Zad.*: and Aaron, 7^{19}; commandments of God through, 8^{2}; covenant that M. established with Israel, 19^{3}; delivered Israel, 7^{19}; Law of, $19^{2,9,11,14}$ 20^{2}; speak against M., 18^{10};—law of, 2Macc. 7^{30} Sus. 3, 62, &c.; other books of, Ass.Mos. § 3; song of, 2Macc. 7^{6} 4Macc. 18^{19}; Testament of, Ass.Mos. § 2.

Moses, Assumption of, account, §1; author, a Pharisaic Quietist, §8; bibliography, § 11; date, § 7; influence on N.T., § 10; not really Assumption, but Testament, of Moses, § 2; other books of Moses, § 3; theology, § 9; version, Latin from Greek, Greek from Hebrew, §§ 4, 5, 6; relation of, to 1Enoch, § 10(*a*).

Mosollamus, 1Esd. 8^{44}.

Mosollamus, 1Esd. 9^{14}.

Mother of the Maccabaean martyrs, 4Macc. 8^{3} $15^{14}sq.$; speeches of, 12^{7} $16^{6,16}$ 18^{6}; death, 17^{1}.

Mount (Sinai), Jub. $1^{1,2,4}$; the, Jub. 4^{25}; of the East, Jub. 4^{26}; of the fathers, 4Macc. 4^{20}.

Mourners, duty to, Sir. 7^{34}.

Mourning for dead, Sir. 38^{16-23}.

Mouses, T.L. 12^{3}.

Mozarabic Psalter contains P. Man. § 13*n.* (text given).

Muak, Jub. 8^{6}.

Mualeleth, Jub. 4^{14}.

Muppim, Jub. 44^{25}.

Muratorian Fragment, Wisd. § 7; ? refers to Sirach, Sir. §8.

Murine, Sib. 3^{344}.

Mushai, Test. *App.* II 74.

Muzaloth, the eighth heaven, 2En. $21^{6}n.$

Mycenae, Sib. 3^{347}.

Myndos, 1Macc. 15^{23}.

Myra in Lycia, Sib. 4^{109}.

Mysian commander, 2Macc. $5^{24}n.$

Mysian(s), $3^{170,483,514}$.

Mysteries, Wisd. 2^{22} 6^{22} 14^{23} 1En. 7^{1} $8^{1,3}$ 16^{3} 106^{19}; syncretism of Greek philosophy and Hebrew religion among Alexandrian Jews, Wisd. $6^{22}n.$

Mystery, 1En. 103^{2} 104^{10}; cult = secret sins, Wisd. $17^{3}n.$

Naaman, son of Benjamin, Jub. 44^{25}.

Naathus, 1Esd. 9^{31}.

Nabarias, 1Esd. 9^{44}.

Nabataeans, 1Macc. 5^{25} 9^{35}.

Nabuchodonosor, i. e. Nebuchadnezzar, 1Esd. $1^{40,41,45,48}$. 2^{10} 5^{7} $6^{15,18,26}$ 1Bar. $1^{9,11,12}$ Ep. Jer. 2 Add.Esth. A^{3}. *In 1 Bar.* = Vespasian, 1Bar. § 7.

Nabusemakh, executioner, Ah. $4^{6,7\&c.}$ $5^{8,9,10}$ 7^{23} (Syr.).

Nabušumiškun, name of executioner in Papyrus of Aḥiḳar, Ah. 4^{1} *et passim* (II, p. 778).

Nadab, Tob. 11^{18} 14^{10}.

Nadabath, city, 1Macc. 9^{37}.

Nadan, adopted son of Aḥiḳar (Syr. and Arab.), Ah. 1^{6} *et passim.*

Nadin, adopted son of Aḥiḳar in Papyrus of Aḥiḳar, 1^{15} *et passim.*

Nahor, Jub. 11^{8} $12^{11,31}$ (II, p. 778) 19^{10}.

Nahum, prophet, Tob. 14^{4}.

Naidus, 1Esd. 9^{31}.

Name, called by the, Zad. 6^{2}; good name, P.A. 2^{8} 4^{17}; men, called by, Zad. $2^{9,10}$, numbered by their names, 17^{2}, recorded by, 17^{3}; of God, profaning of, Jub. 30^{15} P.A. 1^{11} 4^{5} 5^{11}, supernatural efficacy ascribed to, P.Man. § 8, 3; to profane, Zad. 19^{3}; to think upon, 9^{43}; to trust in, 9^{54}; of Heaven, P.A. $2^{2,16}$ $4^{5,14}$ 5^{20}; of the Lord, deny, 1En. 41^{2} 45^{2} 46^{7}; saved in, 48^{7}; swear by, 1Esd. 1^{48}; Holy, Sir. $50^{20}n.$ Wisd. 10^{20}; incommunicable, 14^{21}; of Messiah, Zad. 2^{10}; = person (of Enoch), 1En. 65^{12} $70^{1,2}$. *See* Righteous.

Names, 1En. 5^{6}; blotted out of book of life, 108^{3}; call by, 43^{1} 69^{21}; play on, T.S. 2^{2} T.L. 6^{1} $11^{2,5-6,7,8}$ T.Jud. 1^{3} T.Iss. 1^{15} 5^{8} T.Z. 1^{3} T.N. $1^{6,12}$ T.A. 1^{2} T.B. 1^{6}; written, 1En. 104^{1}.

Nanaea, temple of, 1Macc. $6^{2}n.$ 2Macc. $1^{13}n.^{14}$.

Naphidim, sons of Watchers, Jub. 7^{22}.

Naphil, Jub. 7^{22}.

Naphisi, 1Esd. 5^{31}.

Naphtali, Tob. $1^{1,4}$ 7^{3} Jub. 28^{19} 33^{22} 38^{5} $44^{27,30}$ T.Jud. 25^{2} T.N. $1^{1,5,6}$ 9^{3} Test. *App.* I 1^{1} 10^{10}; Testament of, late Hebrew, *see* Appendix I to Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs.

Naphtha, Azar. 23. *See* Nephthai.

Narel, 1En. 82^{13}.

Nasi, 1Esd. 5^{32}.

Nathan, 1Esd. 8^{44}.

Nathan, Tob. 5^{14}.

Nathan, Sir. 47^{1}.

Nathan, adopted son of Aḥiḳar, Ah. 1^{6} *et passim* (Arm.).

Nathanael, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1^{9}.

Nathanael, 1Esd. 9^{22}.

Nathanael, Judith 8^{1}.

Nathanias, 1Esd. 9^{34}.

Natthaeus, Arist. 49.

Nations have angelic patrons, Sir. $17^{17}n.$; three abhorred,—Seir, Philistia, and Sichem, Sir. $50^{25,26}$.

Natives, rank of (λαογραφία), 3Macc. $2^{28}n.$

Natural phenomena, angels of, *see* Angels; obedience of, Ep. Jer. 61–63; personified under names of gods, Wisd. 13^{2}.

Nature, changes not, T.N. 3^{2}, cf. 1En. 2; God as Lord of, *see* Praise; on the side of the righteous, Wisd. 5^{17} 16^{17-24} (18^{24}) 19^{6}; worshipped, 13^{2}.

Nazarites, 1Macc. 3^{50}.

Nebaioth, Jub. 17^{14}.

Nebrod, Jub. 8^{7}.

Nebuchadnezzar, 1Esd. $1^{40,41,45,48}$ Tob. 14^{15} Judith § 6, $1^{1,5,7,11,12}$ $2^{1,4,19}$ $3^{2,8}$ 4^{1} $6^{3,4}$ $11^{1,4,7,23}$ 12^{13} 14^{18} 2Bar. 79^{1} 3Bar. 1^{1} Zad. 1^{5}; wild condition of, parallel to, in Ah. 5^{11}. *See also* Nabuchodonosor.

Nebuhal, servant of Aḥiḳar, Ah. 7^{27} (Arab.).

Nebuzardan, Nadan's younger brother, Ah. 3^{5} (Syr.). *See* Benuzardan, Boudan.

Neck, branding of, Ps.Sol. $2^{6}n.$

Necromancy, Zad. 14^{5}.

Neelatamauk, city of Ham, Jub. $7^{14,17}$.

Negeb, the, Ps.Sol. 8^{2}.

Nehemiah, 1Esd. §§ 1, 4 iii., 5^{8} (*see* Nehemias) 2Macc. $1^{18,20,21,23,31,33,35}$ 2^{13} Sir. 49^{13} 1En. $89^{72}n.$; memoirs of, 2Macc. 2^{13}; overshadowed by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1; praised, but no mention of Ezra, Sir. $49^{13}n.$

Nehemiah, 1Esd. 5^{40}. *See* Attharias.

Nehemiah, an elder, Arist. 47.

Nehemias, 1Esd. 5^{8}. *See* Nehemiah.

Nehorai, P.A. 4^{18}.

Nehunia ben ha Kanah, P.A. 3^{7}.

Nekodan, 1Esd. 5^{37}.

Nemean flower, Sib. 5^{45}.

Nemesis, Sir. 27^{25-29}. *See* Reward.

Nephtalim, Tob. 1^{5}.

Nephthai or Nephthar = Naphtha, 2Macc. $1^{36}n.$

†Neqael, 1En. 69^{2}.

Neriah, 1Bar. 1^{1} 2Bar. 1^{1} 78^{1}.

Nero, deeds and impieties of, Sib. $5^{28-34,137-152,203,218}$; redivivus, $3^{63}n.$ $4^{119-122,139}$ $5^{93-107,363-377}$, destroyed at gates of Jerusalem, 5^{108}.

Nestag, Jub. 119.

Net, Zad. $6^{7,10}$ 20^{11}; three nets of Belial, Zad. 6^{10}.

Netophas, 1Esd. 5^{18}.

New Covenant, Zad. 8^{15}. *See* Covenant.

New Creation, Wisd. 19^{6}. *See* Creation, Heaven, House.

New Jerusalem, Tob. 13^{7-18a}.

New Testament, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(*b*), § 11; parallels with Aḥiḳar, Ah. § 3 *e.*; relation of, to 2 Enoch, 2En. § 4.

New world, 2Bar. 44^{12}.

Next of kin, Zad. 8^{18} 9^{17}.

Nicaea, Sib. 3^{343}.

Nicanor, 1Macc. 3^{38} $7^{26}n.^{31,32,33,39,43,44,47}$, 9^{1} 2Macc. $8^{9,10,12,14,23,24,34}$ 9^{3} $14^{12,14,15,17,18,23,26-28,30,37,39}$ $15^{1,6,26,28,30,32,33,35,37}$; son of Patroclus, 2Macc. 8^{9}; governor of Cyprus, 12^{2}; threatens Temple, 14^{33}; intrigues and threats of, 2Macc. 14^{1-46}; death of, 1Macc. 7^{43} 2Macc. 15^{28}.

Nicanor's day, 2Macc. § 1, 1Macc. $7^{49}n.$

Nicanor, an Egyptian, Arist. 182.

Nicanor, = Seleucus N., 4Macc. 3^{20}.

Niiman, Jub. 34^{20}.

Nile, Sir. 24^{27} 39^{22} 47^{14} Arist. 116 Sib. 4^{74} $5^{56,92,484}$.

Nimrod the wicked, Test. *App.* I 9^{3}.

Nineveh, Tob. $1^{3,10,17,19,22}$ 7^{3} $11^{1,15}sq.^{18}$ $14^{1,4,8,15}$ Judith $1^{1,16}$ 2^{21} Jub. 9^{3} Ah. 1^{1} $3^{8,9}$ &c. *See* Asorestan, Assyria, Athur.

Niphis, 1Esd. 5^{21}.

Nisan (month), 1Esd. 5^{6} Add. Esth. A^{1} (Nisa) Ah. $6^{13,14}$ (Syr.) $6^{22,26}$ (= April) &c. (Arab.).

Nisrin, a plain near Nineveh, Ah. $3^{8,9,11,14,15}$ (Arab.). *See* Eagles' Dale, Sis.

Nittai the Arbelite, P.A. $1^{6,7}$.

Noah, Tob. 4^{12} Sir. 44^{17} Wisd. 10^{4} Jub. $4^{28,33}$ $5^{5,19,21,22}$ $6^{2,10,15,18,24,27}$ $7^{1,8,10,16,19,20}$ $8^{4,8,9,11,18}$ 9^{14} $10^{1,2,10,12,13,15,32}$ 11^{2} 14^{20} $19^{24,27}$ 22^{13} 1En. 10^{2} $65^{1,2}$ 67^{1} 106^{13} 107^{3} T.B. 10^{6} Sib. 3^{824} 2En. $35^{1}n.$ 3Bar. 4^{15} 4Ez. 3^{11} 4Macc. 15^{31}; prays against demons, Jub. 10^{3-6}; sons of, Zad. 4^{1}; words of, Jub. 21^{10}.

Noah, book of, Test. *App.* II 57; Book of, = 1En. 6–11, $54^{7-55^{2}}$ 60, 65–69^{25} 106–107 1En. §§ 1, 6; date of fragments in 1 En. § 7.

Noam, Jub. 4^{13}.

Nobles of the people, Zad. $8^{5,9}$.

Noeba, 1Esd. 5^{31}.

Nooma, 1Esd. 9^{35}.

Note of hand, Tob. 5^{3}.

North, land of the = Damascus, Zad. 9^{4}.

Number, definite, of created, 2Bar. $23^{4-5}n.$; of Kasbeel, 1En. 69^{13}; of mankind, 2Bar. 21^{10} $23^{4,5}$; of righteous, 1En. 47^{4} 4Ez. $4^{36}n.$, cf. 2Bar. 21^{10} 48^{46}; of stars, 1En. 93^{14}; of those who pass away, cared for, 2Bar. 48^{6}; without number—angels, 1En. 71^{9}, cf. 71^{8}; days of holy, 58^{3}; fountain of righteous, 65^{12}; times, 108^{13}; weeks, 91^{17}.

Numbers used for names (number = value of initial letter of name), Sib. 5^{12} &c.

Numenius, son of Antiochus,

1Macc. § 7iii(*c*) 12^{16} $14^{22,24}$ 15^{15}.
Nun. *See* Joshua.

Oabdius, 1Esd. 9^{27}.
Oak, the, 2Bar. $6^{1}n.$ 77^{18}; where Ezra received inspiration, 4Ez. $14^{1}n.$
Oath, 1En. $69^{13-21,25}$ Zad. 9^{23} 10^{6} 19^{1}; binding, 20^{5}; of the covenant, $19^{6,8}$; of cursing, 10^{7}; of the woman, disallowing of, 20^{7}.
Oaths, false, Wisd. 14^{29}.
Obdia, 1Esd. 5^{38}.
Obedience to Law and Rabbis enforced, 2Bar. 46^{5}.
Obeth, 1Esd. 8^{32}.
Ocean, Sib. 3^{223} $5^{26,530}$; stream, 1En. $17^{5}n.$
Ochielus, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1^{9}.
Ocidelus, 1Esd. 9^{22}.
Ocina, Judith 2^{28}.
Odoarres. *See* Odomera.
Odomera, 1Macc. 9^{66}.
Offering, none offered for three thousand years in Sion, 4Ez. 10^{45}.
Offerings, Sir. 7^{31}. *See* Sacrifice.
Office, Zad. § 4 [2^{8}] 6^{3} 9^{32}.
Officials, titles of, at Philopator's court, 3Macc. $5^{1,14}$ 6^{30} 7^{1}.
Ohad, Jub. 44^{13}.
Oil, given by Michael to angels with full baskets, 3Bar. 15^{2}; holy, T.L. 8^{4}; of fragrance, Apoc.Mos. 40^{2}; life, A. & E. 36^{2}; mercy, A. & E. 40^{1}; of mercy *or* of glory, 2En. $22^{8,9}$ 56^{2}.
Ointment, sweet, 2En. 22^{8}, cf. Apoc. Mos. 9^{3} 13^{1}.
Olamus, 1Esd. 9^{30}.
Old age, Wisd. 4^{8}. *See* Aged.
Old Testament, attitude of Zadokites to, Zad. § 8; relation of Tobit to, Tob. § 8 iv.
Olives, Mount of, T.N. 5^{1}.
Onan, T.Jud. 10^{4} Jub. $41^{4,5}$ 44^{34}.
Onias I, high priest, 1Macc. $12^{7}n.^{8,21}$. *See* Spartans.
Onias III, high priest, 2Macc. $3^{1,5,31,33,35}$ $4^{1,3,33,34,35,36,38}$ $15^{12,14}$; killed, 4^{35}; Judas sees in vision, 15^{12-14} 1En. $90^{8}n.$ 4Macc. $4^{1,13,15}$.
Onias IV, temple of, at Heliopolis, Sib. $5^{501}n.$
Onus, 1Esd. 5^{22}.
Onyx, Sir. $24^{15}n.$
Ophannim, 1En. 61^{10} 71^{7} 2En. $29^{3}(\beta)$.
Ophir, gold of, Sir. 7^{18} 2Bar. 10^{19}.
Opportunity, judgement according to. *See* Judgement.
Oppressed, cry of, God hears, Sir. 35^{12-20} (35^{14-26}). *See* Poor.
Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum, Mart.Is. §§ 5, 6, $1-2^{1}n.$; uses Testaments, T.Jud. 10^{1}.
Ora, Jub. 11^{1}.
Oracle of God, Arist. 97.
Oral. *See* Tradition.
Orders of Angels. *See* Angels.
Ordinances, Zad. 8^{21} 9^{1}; (or Foundations) of the covenant, 11^{2}; of the Gentiles, 10^{1}.
Orgies, heathen, Wisd. 12^{5} 14^{23}.
Origen, Sir. § 8 T.R. $2^{1}n.$ 1En. 10(*c*) $19^{3}n.$; Hexapla of, 1 Esdras in, 1Esd. § 2.
Original sin, in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, 2Bar. $18^{2}n.$ $23^{4}n.$ $54^{15}n.$ 4Ez. 3^{20}. *See* Evil, Free-will, Inclination.
Orioch, an angel, 2En. 33^{11}(B).
Orion, Sib. $5^{520,524}$.
Orjares, 1En. 78^{1}.
Ornaments, wearing of, forbidden, T.R. 5^{5}, cf. 1En. 8^{1}.
Ornias, Arist. 47.
Orphans and widows, care of, Tob. 1^{8} Sir. 4^{10}, cf. Zad. 18^{5}.
Orthosia, 1Macc. 15^{37}.
Osaias, 1Esd. 8^{48}.
Ostanim, shining station of, 2En. 20^{1}(B). *See* Ioanit.
Othonias, 1Esd. 9^{28}.
Ouranos, Sib. 3^{111}.
Overcometh, he that, 4Ez. $7^{115,128}$, cf. 'Contest', 7^{127}.
Overthrow, i.e. Babel, Jub. 10^{26} 12^{25}.
Ox, son of Joseph, Judith 8^{1}.
Oxus, 1En. $77^{1}n.$
Oxyrhynchus Greek Fragment of 2 Baruch, given in 2Bar. 12^{1}–14^{3}.
Ozeel, T.L. 12^{2}.
Ozias, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
Ozias, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
Ozias, son of Micah, a Simeonite, ruler of Bethulia, Judith $6^{15,16,21}$ $7^{23,30}$ $8^{9,11,28,35}$ 10^{6} 13^{18} 14^{6} 15^{4}.
Oziel, Judith 8^{1}.

Pachon, month, 3Macc. 6^{38}.
Painting, suggested by the martyrdoms, 4Macc. 17^{7}.
Palaea Historica of Vassiliev, Ass. Mos. § 2.
Palestine, description of, Arist. 107–120; = Eternal Land, Sib. 5^{41}. *See* Holy Land.
Pallu, Jub. 44^{12}.
Pamphylia, 1Macc. 15^{23}.
Pamphylians, Sib. $3^{169,209,515}$ $5^{340,460}$.
Pandonia, Sib. 3^{343}.
Paphos, Sib. 4^{128}.
Papyri, 3Macc. §§ 1, 4. Arist. $12n.$
Papyrus, Aramaic, of Aḥiḳar, Ah. § 4 (II p. 777*sq.*).
Parable, 1En. $1^{2,3}$ 38^{1} 43^{4} 45^{1} 57^{3} 58^{1} 60^{1} 68^{1} 69^{29}.
Parables, the, 1En. 37–71; first, 38^{1}; second, 45^{1}; third, 58^{1}; the Book of, 68^{1}.
Parables, Sir. $47^{17}n.$ Ah. 8^{1-41}; and proverbs, Sir. $39^{2,3}$; of N.T., parallels to in Aḥiḳar, *see* Fig-tree, Prodigal Son, Unfaithful Steward; of wicked servant and unfruitful fig-tree, relation of to Tobit and Ahikar, Tob. § 11 B i.
Paradise, A. & E. 1^{1} $3^{1,2}$ 4^{1} 9^{4} 10^{4} $25^{1,3}$ 28^{3} 31^{1} 32^{1} 36^{1} 37^{1} 40^{1} 48^{6} S.A. & E. 31^{2} 33^{3} Apoc. Mos. 1^{1} 6^{2} 9^{3} 13^{1} 15^{2} 16^{3} $17^{1,3,5}$ $22^{2,3}$ 26^{3} 27^{1} 28^{1} 29^{1-4} 37^{5} $40^{2,7}$ 42^{3} 1En. 20^{7} Sib. Frag. 3^{48} 2Bar. $4^{3,6}$ 59^{8} 4Ez. 3^{6} $4^{7,8}$ $7^{36,123}$ 8^{52}; the earthly, 2En. $8^{5}n.^{6}$(A) $8^{1,3,8}$(B); = Garden of Eden, earthly, created before world, 4Ez. $3^{6}n.$; heavenly, 2En. $8^{1-4,5}n.$ 42^{3} 65^{10} 4Ez. $4^{7,8}$ 7^{123} $8^{20}n.^{52}n.$; of delight, 7^{36}, *see* Refreshment; opened for the righteous, 8^{52}; its unfailing table, $9^{19}n.$; in third heaven, Apoc. Mos. 40^{2} 2En. 8^{1-4}; of the Lord = trees of life = His pious ones, Ps.Sol. 14^{2}; of righteousness, A. & E. 25^{3}; to be opened to righteous, T.L. 18^{10}; of vision, A. & E. 28^{3}.
Paran, wilderness of, Jub. 17^{12} 20^{12}.
Pardon (of God only), Zad. 2^{3} 5^{5} $6^{4,6}$ 9^{54} 18^{8}.
Parents and children, 4Macc. 13^{19} 14^{13} $15^{1}sq.$ 16^{6}; duty to, Sir. $7^{27,28}$.
Paronomasiae in 2 Baruch, 2Bar. § 6^{30}. *See* Names, play on.
Parthian land, Sib. 4^{124}.
Parthians, Sib. 5^{438}; and Medes, 1En. 56^{5}.
Party. *See* Pharisees, Sadducees, Zadokite Party.
Passions, 4Macc. $1^{3}sq.$; classified, $1^{20}n.$ $2^{15}sq.^{20}n.$
Passover, 1Esd. 1^{1-22} (*see* Josiah) Wisd. 18^{9}; regulations regarding, Jub. 49^{1-23}; wine drunk at, $49^{6}n.$; time of sacrifice, $49^{12}n.$
Patara, Sib. 3^{441} 4^{112}.
Path to future life, narrow and difficult, 4Ez. 7^{1-9}. *See* Ways.
Patheus, 1Esd. 9^{23}.
Paths, good, 1En. 91^{4}; of death, 94^{4}; peace, 94^{4}; righteousness, Jub. 1^{20} 1En. $91^{18,19}$ 92^{3} 94^{1} 99^{10} Zad. 1^{11}, *see* Ways; unrighteousness, 1En. 91^{19} 94^{1}; uprightness, 91^{14} 104^{13} 105^{2}; violence, $91^{18,19}$; wickedness, 94^{3}.
Patience, T.Jos. 2^{7} $10^{1,2}$.
Patriarchs, immortal life of, 4Macc. 7^{19} 13^{17} 16^{25} 18^{23}.
Patristic literature, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(*c*).
Patroclus. *See* Nicanor.
Pattern, heavenly. *See* Heavenly.
Paul, Saint, referred to (?), T.B. $11^{1,2}n.$; relation of, to Wisdom, Wisd. §§ 5, 8.
Paul, Apocalypse of, relation of to 3 Baruch, 3Bar. § 5; uses 2 Enoch, 2En. § 4.
Peace, 1En. $5^{7,9}$ 10^{17} 11^{2} 58^{4} $71^{15,17}$ 92^{1} P.A. $1^{12,18}$ 3^{2}; no peace, 1En. 1^{8} 5^{4} 11^{2} 12^{6} 13^{1} 16^{4} 94^{6} $98^{11,15}$ 99^{13} 101^{3} 102^{3} 103^{8}.
Pedias, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Peleg, Jub. 8^{8} 10^{18}. *See* Phaleg.
†Peleg, house of, Zad. 9^{46}.
Peleus, Sib. 3^{427}.
Pella, Sib. 5^{4}.
Peneius, Sib. 3^{146} 5^{135}.
Penemue, 1En. 69^{8}.
Penitence, 1Bar. *passim*; a sacrifice, Azar. 16, 17.
Penitent, respect for, Sir. 8^{5}.
Penitents of Israel (= Zadokites), Zad. 6^{1} 8^{6} 9^{24}; all called princes, 8^{6}; leave Judah, 6^{1} 8^{6}; sojourn in Damascus, 8^{6}. *See* Repent.
Pentapolis = cities of plain, Sib. 5^{196}; = Cyrenaica, Wisd. 10^{6}.
Pentecost, feast of, 2Macc. 12^{32} Tob. 2^{1}. *See* Feast of Weeks.
Pentephri, T.Jos. 12^{1} $13^{1,3,4,5}$ 15^{6}.
Perez, Jub. 41^{21} 44^{15}.
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Perizzite, Judith 5^{16}.
Perizzites, Jub. 14^{18} 30^{25} 1Esd. 8^{69}.
Perjury, Wisd. 14^{29}. *See* Oaths.
Persecution, of Jews by Antiochus, 4Macc. $4^{23}sq.$; of the righteous, Wisd. 2^{10}. *See* Antiochus Epiphanes.
Persepolis, city, 2Macc. 9^{2}.
Perseus, of Macedonia, 1Macc. 8^{5}.
Persia, 1Esd. $3^{1,9,14}$ 5^{6} 8^{80} 1Macc. 3^{31} $6^{1,5}$ (and Media 6^{56}) 14^{2} 2Macc. $1^{12,19}$ $9^{1,21}$ Judith 1^{7} Sib. 3^{449} Ah. 3^{7} (Arab., Syr.).
Persian, Add. Esth. E^{10} Bel 1 Arist. 13 Sib. $5^{93,113,247}$; rule, Arist. 119, 120.
Persians, 1Esd. 1^{57} $2^{1,2,3,11,16,30}$ $5^{55,71}$ 7^{4} 8^{1} 2Macc. 1^{33} Judith 16^{10} Add. Esth. $E^{14,23}$ Arist. 35 T.N. 5^{8} Sib. $3^{159,169,207,291}$ $4^{62,63,65,87}$ $5^{22,101,116,147,441}$ 4Macc. 18^{5}; and Medes, 1Macc. 1^{1} &c.
Pessimism, 4Ez. § 10, $3^{20}n.$ 4^{27} 7^{12} 9^{36}; of 2 Baruch B^{2} B^{3}, 2Bar. § 10.
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Phaath Moab, 1Esd. 5^{11} 8^{31}.
Phacareth, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Phaisur, 1Esd. 9^{22}.
Phakorites, Jub. 14^{18}.
Phalaris, 3Macc. $5^{20,42}$.
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Pharakim, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
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104^{6}; insertions in Sirach, Sir. § 4; Quietist, early type of = Chasid, Ass. Mos. § 1; recension of Sirach, Sir. § 4; teaching of Judith, Judith § 9; —Law, strict observance, Sabbath and new moon and eves kept, fasting ($8^{5,6}$), tithings, future life, § 9.

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Pharisees, attacked in *Zad. Frag.* §§ 2, 9, 10, 12; as a party, § 5, *see* Zadokite Party; = builders of the wall, § 9^{40}, *see* Wall; = they that remove the landmark, § 12, *see* Landmark; breach of with John Hyrcanus, Test. §§ 1, 10; = 'children of heaven', 1En. 101^{1}; positive work of, Sir. § 4; referred to, 2Bar. $42^{5}n.$; religious and literary strife with the Sadducees or Hellenistic party, 1En. $98^{15}n.$ 102^{4}–104^{13}; = righteous in Ps.Sol. § 5; struggle of against Jannaeus, Sus. § 7; varying relations with the Maccabees, *see* Chasidim; views of, are reflected in Test. § 11; watchwords of almsgiving, repentance and prayer, Sir. § 4 (I, p. 283).

Pharnak, Jub. 9^{2}.

(Pharos, Arist. 301.)

Phaselis, 1Macc. 15^{23}.

Phasiron, children of, 1Macc. 9^{66}.

Phassurus, 1Esd. 5^{25}.

Pherezites, 1Esd. 8^{69}. *See* Perizzites.

Phicol, Jub. 24^{26}.

Philadelphus II, Arist. $115n.$

Philip, bosom friend of Antiochus, 2Macc. 9^{29}; chancellor in Antioch, 13^{23} (? 1Macc. 6^{55}); courtier ('Friend') of Antiochus, 1Macc. $6^{14,55,63}$.

Philip the Macedonian, 1Macc. 1^{1}.

Philip V of Macedonia, 1Macc. 8^{5}.

Philip, a Phrygian, 2Macc. 5^{22}; governor of Jerusalem, 6^{1} 8^{8}.

Philip, Sib. 5^{6}.

Philistia, Jub. $37^{6,10}$; abhorred, Sir. 50^{26}.

Philistines, 1Macc. $3^{24,41}$ $4^{22,30}$ $5^{66,68}$ Sir. 46^{18} 47^{7} Jub. $24^{8,14,15,16,18,25,28}$ 38^{7} (*see* Caphtorim) 4Macc. 3^{7}; = dogs in, 1En. 89^{42-49}; fierce hatred of, in Maccabaean wars, Jub. $24^{28-32}n.$; final rooting out, and punishment in Sheol of, 24^{28-32}.

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Philosophy, 4Macc. 1^{1} $5^{4}sq.$ $7^{7,21}$.

Phineas, the zealous priest, 4Macc. 18^{12}. *See* Phinehas, Phinees.

Phinees, i.e. Phinehas, 1Esd. 5^{5} $8^{2,28}$.

Phinees, a priest, 1Esd. 8^{63}.

Phinehas, son of Eleazar, Sir. 45^{23} 50^{24} 1Macc. $2^{26,54}$; obtained covenant of everlasting priesthood, Sir. 50^{24} 1Macc. 2^{54}. *See* Phineas.

Phinoe, 1Esd. 5^{31}.

Phoebus, Sib. 4^{4} $5^{324,326}$.

Phoenice, Sib. 5^{125}.

Phoenicia, 1Esd. $2^{17,24,25,27}$ 4^{48} $6^{3,7,27,29}$ 7^{1} $8^{19,23,67}$ 2Macc. $3^{5,8}$ $4^{4,22}$ 8^{8} 10^{11} 3Macc. 3^{15} Arist. 12, 22 Ass. Mos. 1^{3} Sib. 5^{456} 4Macc. 4^{2}. *See* Coelesyria, Syria.

Phoenicians, Sib. $3^{168,492,597}$.

Phoenix, belief in, 3Bar. $6^{4}n.^{10}$ 7^{5}.

Phoenixes, 2En. $12^{1}n.$ 15^{1} 19^{6}.

Phogor, Tob. 1^{2}.

Phoros, 1Esd. 5^{9} 8^{30} 9^{26}.

Phrurai, i.e. Purim (?), Add. Esth. F^{11}.

Phrygia, Sib. $3^{140,401,407}$.

Phrygians, Sib. $3^{169,205,514}$ 4^{71} 5^{130}.

Phua, Jub. 44^{16}.

Phylarches, 2Macc. 8^{32}.

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Physicians, Tob. 2^{10}.

Pious, Ps.Sol. 3^{10} $4^{1,7,9}$ $8^{28,40}$ 9^{6} 10^{7} $12^{5,8}$ $13^{9,11}$ $14^{2,7}$ 15^{9} 17^{18}.

Pirkē Aboth, account, short, P.A. § 1; bibliography, § 6; historical and critical account, § 2; influence on later literature, § 4; MSS., § 3; theology, § 5; relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7(*b*).

Pisces, Sib. 5^{523}.

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Pit, Ps.Sol. $16^{1}n.$ (*see* Destruction) Sir. 4^{10} 9^{9} 48^{6} 51^{2}, *see* Hades, Sheol; children of, *see* Children; snares of, Zad. 16^{12}; of destruction, P.A. 5^{22}; of Hades, Sir. 21^{10}; of torment, 4Ez. 7^{36}. *See* Gehenna.

Pitane, Sib. 5^{120}.

Pithom, Jub. 46^{14}. *See also* Python.

Place. *See* High, Holy.

Place prepared for repose of each soul, 2En. 49^{2}. *See* Chambers.

Planets, 2En. 27^{3} $30^{3}n.$

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Pollute, one's holy spirit, Zad. 7^{12}, cf. 8^{20}; sanctuary, 7^{8} 9^{48}, cf. 6^{11}; wealth, 8^{12}.

Pollution, of holy things, i.e. Temple, Ps.Sol. 1^{8} 2^{3} 8^{13}; of the nations, 1Esd. 1^{49}; of the sacrifices, T.L. $16^{1}n.$

Polybius, relation of 3 Macc. to, 3Macc. § 5.

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Pompey, Zad. § 6; invades Judaea, 1Bar. § 7; the foreign conqueror in Ps.Sol. § 5; alien, $1\cdot7^{9}$; boasting of, 2^{33-35}; comes from West, 17^{14}; desecrates Temple, 2^{2} 7^{2}; enters Jerusalem in peace, 8^{18-20}; lawless one, 17^{13}; slain dishonourably in Egypt, $2^{30}sqq.$; the insolent one, 2^{30}; = the dragon, 2^{29}.

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Porters at temple-gates, 1Esd. 1^{16}.

Poseidon, Sib. 3^{142} 5^{157}. *See* Thunderer.

Posidonius, 2Macc. 14^{19}.

Potiphar, Jub. 34^{11} 39^{2} 40^{10} 44^{24}.

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Pravuil, an archangel, 2En. $22^{11,12}$(A) 23^{2}. *See* Vretil.

Prayer, Tob. § 10 B (2) 3^{16} 12^{8} Sir. 51^{1-12} Arist. 196–197 P.A. 2^{17}; almsgiving and fasting, Tob. § 10 B(2); and fasting, T.Jos. 3^{4} 4^{8} $10^{1,2}$ T.B. 1^{4}; at dawn, Wisd. 16^{28}; for deliverance, 3Macc. $5^{6}sq.$ $6^{1}sq.$; for Israel, a, Sir. 36^{1-17} (33^{1-13a} 36^{16b-22}); for sanctity of Temple, 3Macc. $2sq.$; for sins, Sir. 21^{1}; hours of, 2En. 51^{4}; memorial of, Tob. 12^{12}; need of, in all things, Sir. 37^{15}; of Ezra, *see* Confessio Esdrae; of the poor, efficacy of, Sir. 35^{14-17}; of righteous, 1En. $47^{1,2,4}$ $97^{3,5}$ 99^{3} Zad. 14^{1}, heard by God, Ps. Sol. 6^{8}; prominence of, *in Test. XII Patr.*; Jacob's, for Reuben, T.R. 1^{7} 4^{4}; Judah, T.Jud. 19^{2}; Gad, T.G. 5^{9}; Benjamin, T.B. 10^{1}; ten eldest sons, T.B. 3^{6}; Levi's, T.N. 6^{8}; Rachel's, T.B. 1^{4}; Simeon's, T.S. 2^{13}; Simeon's mother's, T.S. 2^{2}; Joseph's, T.Jos. 3^{3} 6^{7} 7^{4} 8^{1}.

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Prayers, for dead, 2Macc. $12^{42,43}n.$; of Judith, Judith 9^{2-14} 13^{7}; of men, received by Michael, 3Bar. 11^{4}.

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Precepts, on right-doing, Sir. 4^{20-28}; for everyday life, $4^{29-5^{3}}$, *see* Duty; for conduct, 7^{11-17}.

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Pre-Maccabaean elements in 1 Enoch, 1En. § 1; high priests, Ass.Mos. $5^{3,4}n.$

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Profane man, Ps.Sol. $4^{1}n$. *See* Pollution.
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Ptolemy IV, Sir. $10^{9-11}n$. 3Macc. §§ 1, 5, $1^{1}n$. *et passim*.
Ptolemy VI, Philometor, 1Macc. 1^{18} $10^{51}n.^{55,57}$ (11^{1}) $11^{3,8,13,15-18}$ 2Macc. 4^{21} 9^{29} 10^{13} Sib. $3^{192}n$. $^{316}n^{388-400}n^{608}n$. 4Macc. 4^{22}.
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†Qafratef, Jub. 34^{15}.
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Throne, of God, 1En. 25^{3}; of glory, T.L. 5^{1}; Elect One sits on, 1En. 45^{3} 55^{4} $62^{3,5}$.
Thrones, T.L. 3^{8}; of the elect, 1En. 108^{12}.
Thummim. *See* Urim.
Thunder, 1En. 59^{2}, *see* Lightning; and lightning, angel or spirit of, *see* Angels.
Thunderer, Sib. 3^{405}. *See* Poseidon.
Tiber, Sib. 5^{170}.
Tigers = Assyrians, 1En. $89^{55}n$.
Tigris, Tob. 6^{2} Judith 1^{6} Sir. 24^{25} Jub. $9^{2,5}$ A. & E. 6^{1} 7^{1} 9^{1} S.A. & E. 36^{1} 1En. $77^{6}n$. Sib. 4^{64}.
Time, observe the, Sir. $4^{20}n$.; watch closely, 27^{12}.
Times and seasons, 4Ez. $14^{5}n$.; ended, Ass. Mos. 7^{1}; end of, 11^{39} 12^{9} 14^{9}; of Most High, ended, 4Ez. $11^{44}n$, *see* Last time; the last, T.Iss. 6^{1}. *See* Hours.
Timnath, 1Macc. 9^{50} Jub. 41^{89}. *See* Tamnatares.
Timotheus, an Ammonite, 1Macc. $5^{6,11,34,37,40}$.
Timotheus, general, 2Macc. $8^{30,32}$ 9^{3} $10^{24,32,37}$; death, 10^{37}.
Timotheus, governor, 2Macc. $12^{2,10,18,19,20,21,24}$.
Tina, river, Jub. $8^{12,16,25,28}$ $9^{2,7}$.
Tiras, Jub. 7^{19} 9^{13} Test. *App.* I 9^{4}.
Tirshatha, the. *See* Attharias.
Titan, Sib. $3^{110,121,129,149}$.
Titans, Judith 16^{7} Sib. $3^{132,138,147,156,157,199}$.
Tithes and tolls, on Temple revenues, 1Macc. 10^{31}; law of, 13^{25-27} 32^{10-15}; of oxen and sheep, 32^{15}, *see* Holy Things, Tenth; paid by Jacob to Levi, Jub. 32^{4-9}.
Tithing, Jub. § 15, 32^{10}.
Titus, Sib. $5^{408,411}$.
Tobia the Canaanite, Mart.Is. 2^{5}.
Tobiadae, the, Sir. $45^{25}n$.
Tobias. *See* Hyrcanus.
Tobiel, Tob. 1^{1}.
Tobit, Book of, abbreviations used, § 13; account of, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; date of, pre-Maccabaean, § 6; influence on later literature, § 11; integrity of, § 9; MSS. and Papyrus, Greek, § 3 (for non-Greek, *see* Versions of); original language, Greek or Semitic, § 5; place of composition, Egypt, § 7; purpose, § 7; religious and moral teaching, § 10; sources, § 8: (i) Tractate of Khons; (ii) Fable of Grateful Dead; (iii) Story of Aḥiḳar; (iv) O.T. and Apocrypha, esp. Sirach; (v) Magian influences; title, § 2; versions, non-Greek, § 4; (A) Aramaic; (B) Latin—Old Latin and Quotations, Vulgate; (C) Hebrew Versions, Münster, Fagius, London, Gaster; (D) Syriac, two; (E) Ethiopic; parallels of, with Sirach, Sir. § 7(*b*), with Aḥiḳar, Ah. § 3(*b*).
Tola, Jub. 44^{16}.
Tolbanes, 1Esd. 9^{25}.
Tolman, 1Esd. 5^{28}.
Tomas, 1En. 78^{1}.
Tongue, control of, Sir. 23^{7-15}; mischief wrought by wicked, 28^{13-26}. *See* Double-tongued.
Tongues, two, T.B. 6^{5}.
Torah, P.A. $1^{1,2,5a,12,15}$ $2^{2,8,9,16,18,20}$ $3^{3-7,8,16,18,21}$ $4^{8,11,12,17,18}$ $5^{11,24}$ $6^{1-4,6,7,10,11}$; the chief concept of Aboth, P.A. § 5.
Torah and Mitzvah, Sir. $8^{9}n$.
Torture, 2Macc. $6^{19}sq.$ $7^{4}sq.$ $13^{5}sq.$; instruments of, 4Macc. $8^{13}n.$ $10^{6}sq.$ $11^{9}sq.$
Tower of sanctuary, Ass. Mos. $2^{4}n$.
Tower = Temple, 1En. $89^{50}n.^{54,56,67,73}$.
Trade, temptations of, Sir. 26^{29}–27^{3}.
Tradition, P.A. $3^{18}n$.; of the elders = Halachah, P.A. § 2; oral, Sir. $8^{9}n$.; recognized only to small extent by Zadokites, Zad. § $9^{30,40}$.
Trajan, 4Ez. $11^{32}n$. $12^{3-39}n$.
Trallis, Sib. 3^{459} 5^{289}.
Transcendence of God, 1Macc. § 5.
Transformation of nature, Sib. 3^{777}; of world, moral and physical, *gradual*, Jub. $1^{29}n$. T.L. 18 (*contrast* 1En. 45^{4} 91^{16} 2Bar. 32^{6} 67^{2} 4Ez. 7^{75}); of world, spiritual—it becomes undying, 2Bar. 51^{3}; incorruptible, 74^{2}, *see* World; of righteous at resurrection, $51^{1-3,7}$; and of condemned, 51^{4-6}. *See* Creation.
Translations of Enoch and Elijah, 4Ez. 6^{26}, *see* Messiah, companions of; of Ezra, 4Ez. 14^{9}, *see* Enoch.
Translators of Septuagint, Arist. 47–50.
Treasure of works. *See* Works.
Treasure-house of natural forces, Sir. 43^{14}.
Treasure-houses of snow, dew, &c., 2En. 5^{1} 6^{1}.
Treasures of immortality, 4Ez. 8^{54}.
Treasuries of good deeds, 2Bar. $24^{1}n$.; of righteousness, $24^{1}n$., *see* Works, good; of souls, $21^{23}n$. 23^{4}, *see* Chambers; of the stars, 1En. 17^{1}; of the winds, 18^{1} 4Ez. $4^{5}n$. $5^{37}n$.
Treasury of manna, 2Bar. 29^{8}.
Tree, dismembered = Israel, 1En. 26^{1}; of life, 24^{4} 25^{4-6} Apoc. Mos. 19^{2} 22^{3} $28^{2,4}$ T.L. 18^{11} 2En. $8^{3}n$. 4Ez. 7^{123} $8^{52}n$.; of mercy, i. e. of life, A. & E. 36^{2} 40^{2} 2En. 8^{5}(B), cf. 22^{8}(B); of wisdom, 1En. $32^{3-6}n$.
Trees, desirable, 1En. 10^{19}; fourteen evergreen, 3; fragrant, 24^{3} 29^{2} 30^{3} 32^{1}; with branches abiding and blooming, 26^{1}.
Trees of gladness = saints, as in Ps.Sol. 14^{2} (?), 12^{3}, but cf. 11^{7}.
Trees of life = God's pious ones, Ps.Sol. 14^{2}. *See* Planting.
Trespass, Zad. 1^{3} 8^{18} $9^{17,32,48}$ 10^{10} 11^{4}; against next of kin, 9^{17}; against Law, 10^{10}.
Trials, P.A. $5^{4,7}$. *See* Abraham, Testing.
Triballi, Sib. 5^{504}.
Tribes, the nine and a half, 2Bar. 62^{5} 77^{19} 78^{1}; the ten, 1^{2}, *see* Ten; the Twelve, T.B. 9^{2}.
Tribes, two and a half, lost Epistle to, 2Bar. § 8, $77^{12,17,19}$.
Tripolis, 2Macc. 14^{1}.
Tripolis by Maeander, Sib. 5^{321}.
Troglodytes, T.Z. 4^{6}.
Troy, Sib. $3^{206,405}$ 5^{9}.
True, he is, Zad. 2^{10}. *See* Interpretation, Judgement, Messiah.
Trumpet, announces coming woe, Ps.Sol. 8^{1}; proclaims Final Judgement, 4Ez. 6^{23}, cf. $5^{4}n$. *See* Voice of God.
Truth, Tob. 4^{6} 12^{8}; praise of, 1Esd. § 1, 3^{1}–4^{46} $3^{1}n$.
Truthfulness enjoined, T.R. 6^{9} T.D. 2^{1} 5^{2} 6^{8} T.A. 6^{1} T.B. 10^{3}; as a virtue, T.Iss. $7^{4,5}$ T.D. 1^{3}.
Tryphon, 1Macc. $11^{39}n.^{54,56}$ $12^{39,42,49}$ $13^{1,12,14,20-24,31,34}$ 14^{1} $15^{10,25,37,39}$ Sib. $3^{388-400}n$.
Tsivan. *See* Sivan.
Tubal, Jub. 7^{19} 9^{11} Test. *App.* I 9^{4}.
Tubias, place, 1Macc. $5^{13}n$.
Tubieni, Jews so styled at Charax, 2Macc. $12^{17,35}$.
Tumael, 1En. 69^{2}.
†Turael, 1En. 69^{2}.
Turel, 1En. 6^{7} 69^{2}.
†Turel, 1En. 69^{2}.
Turn away. *See* Apostasy.
Twenty-two acts of creation, Jub. 2^{15}; heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, 2^{23}.
Twins, the, Sib. $5^{208,521}$.
Tyrannus. *See* Auranus.
Tyre, 1Esd. 5^{55} Judith 2^{28} Mart. Is. 5^{13} Sib. 4^{90} 5^{455} 2Macc. $4^{18,32,44}$; games at, 2Macc. 4^{18}; Ladder of, 1Macc. 11^{59}.
Tyrians, Sib. 4^{90}.

Ubael, one of the flying boys, Ah. 6^{5} (Syr.). *See* Tabshelim.
Uchan, 2En. 57^{2} (A, 'Azuchan' B).
Unchastity, Zad. 9^{17}.
Uncircumcised (= children of the pit), Zad. 8^{12} 16^{7}; marriage with, Add.Esth. C^{26}.
Uncircumcision, an eternal error, no forgiveness for, Jub. 15^{34}; submitted to, 1Macc. $1^{15}n$. *See* Hellenizing.
Unclean, Zad. 5^{4} 8^{14} 12^{2} $14^{1,2,6}$ 15^{1}, *see* Clean; foods, abstinence from, 4Macc. $5^{26}n$.; woman, Zad. 5^{4}.
Uncleanness, 1En. $10^{11,20}$ 91^{7}, cf. 106^{17}, *see* Sin; Zad. 1^{17} $14^{1,15,16}$, *see* Impurity; heathen, Wisd. 14^{24}; laws of, Zad. § 7.
Underworld, i. e. *infernum* = abode of souls of wicked dead, 4Ez. $4^{41}n$.
Unfaithful steward, parable of, parallel to, in, Ah. 3^{1-2}.
Unforgiving, no atonement for, Sir. 28^{5}.
Ungodly, end of, Sir. 41^{5-13}.
Unique. *See* Teacher.
Unity of God, Sir. § 9i Sib. Frags. i & iii 2Bar. 48^{24} 4Ez. § 10i.
Universal salvation, T.S. 6^{5} T.L. 2^{11} Test. § 16.
Unleavened bread, Feast of, Jub. 49^{22}.
Unrighteous, 1En. $62^{2,13}$ 96^{2} 103^{11}, *see* Sinners, Wicked; gains, 1En. 63^{10}, *see* Wealth.
Upper chamber, Tob. 3^{17}.
Upper Galilee, Tob. 1^{2}.
Upright, *see* Spirit.
Uprightness, *see* Plant; of heart, T.Iss. $3^{1}n$. 4^{6} T.G. 7^{7}.
Ur, son of Kesed, Jub. $11^{1,3}$.
Ur of Chaldees, city, Jub. $11^{7,8}$ $12^{,14,15,21}$ 13^{7} 14^{7} 22^{27} Sib. 3^{218}. *See* Camarina.
Urias, 1Esd. 8^{62} 9^{43}.
Uriel, A. & E. $48^{4,6,7}$ Apoc. Mos. 40^{1} 1En. 9^{1} 10^{1} 19^{1} 20^{2} (over Tartarus) $21^{5,9}$ 27^{2} 33^{4} 72^{1} 74^{2} $75^{3,4}$ 78^{10} 79^{6} 80^{1} 82^{7} (*see* Angels, Archangels) 4Ez. [4^{1}] 5^{20} 10^{27}; archangel of fire and of Gehenna, $4^{1}n$.; sent as messenger to Salathiel, 4^{1}.
Urim, Law faithful as, Sir. 33^{3}.
Urim and Thummim, 1Esd. 5^{40}.
Usury, Sir. $29^{2}n$.
Uta, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Uthi, 1Esd. 8^{40}.
Uzziel, Test. *App.* II 74.

Valley, accursed (= Gehenna), 1En. 27^{2}; burning, among metal mountains, 67^{4}, cf. 67^{7}, *see* 54^{7}–$55n$.; deep with burning fire, $54^{1,2}$; deep with open mouths, 53^{1}; full of water, 30^{1}.
Valleys, cinnamon, 1En. 30^{3}; of the earth, 10^{12}. *See* Abyss, Chasm, Deep, Depth, Gehenna, Ravine.
Value, true of a man, how tested, Sir. 27^{4-7}.
Varus, quelled Jewish rebellion in 4 B. C., Ass.Mos. 6^{8}.
Veil of Temple, T.L. 10^{3} T.B. 9^{4}.
Vengeance, 4Macc. $9^{24,32}$ 10^{21} 11^{23} 12^{19} Zad. 9^{20} $10^{2,3,6}$; belongs to God alone, Sir. 27^{30}–28^{7}; of the covenant, Zad. 1^{12} 9^{11}.
Venom = head, Zad. 9^{20}.
Versions. *See under each Book.*
Vespasian and Titus = Nabuchodonosor and Baltasar, 1Bar. § 7.
Vessel = body, 4Ez. $4^{10}n$. $7^{88}n$.
Vessels of Temple, *see* Temple; holy, hidden by angel till last times of Messianic restoration, 2Bar. 6^{4-10} new ones made for rededicated Temple,

1Macc. 4^{49}; of the Lord, removed by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, Ass. Mos. 3^{2}, first some, 1Esd. 1^{41}; again others, 1^{45}; all taken, 1^{54}; restored (?) by Cyrus, $2^{10}n.$ 6^{18}; by Darius, $4^{44,57}$ 6^{26}; by Artaxerxes, 8^{17}; of Temple, restored to Jerusalem by captives at Babylon, 1Bar. $1^{8}n$; removed from Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 1^{21-23}.

Vesuvius, 1Bar. $4^{35}n.$

Vicarious suffering of martyrs, 2Macc. 7^{33-38} 4Macc. 6^{28}.

Vine, planted by angel Sammael, the forbidden tree, 3Bar. $4^{8}n.$

Violence, 1En. 65^{6} $91^{5,6,8,11,18,19}$ 94^{2} 102^{10} 104^{6}; denunciation of, Sib. $5^{228-246}$. *See* Oppressed.

Virgo, Sib. $5^{209,521}$.

Virtues, cardinal, Wisd. 8^{7}; = guardian angels, A. & E. 21^{1}, cf. 33^{1}; philosophical, 4Macc. $1^{2}sq.$ $5^{23}sq.$—forms of wisdom, 1^{18}; obtained by training under the Law, 5^{23}.

Vision, Tob. 12^{19}; of angels, Jews saved by, 3Macc. 6^{18}; of the cedar and the vine, i.e. A^{2}, 2Bar. 36–40; of the cloud and the lightning, i.e. A^{3}, 2Bar. 53–74; heavenly, 1En. 93^{2}; of the Holy One, 1^{2}; of chastisement, 13^{8}; of cherubim, 14^{18}; of wisdom, 37^{1}; of Levi, T.L. $2^{5}sqq.$ $8^{1}sqq.$; Jacob, T.Jud. 3^{10}; Naphtali, T.N. 5, 6; Joseph, T.Jos. 19. cf. T.B. 10^{1}.

Visions, 1En. 13^{8} $14^{4,8,14}$ 19^{3} 37^{1} 83^{1-7} $85^{2,3}$ 87^{2} 88^{3} $89^{7,70}$ $90^{2,8,40,42}$ 93^{2} 106^{13}, *see* Dream Visions; of Naphtali, Test. *App.* I 2^{1}–3^{13} 4^{1}–6^{8}.

Visit (of God), Zad. 1^{5} 7^{17} $9^{12,13}$.

Visitation, Zad. $9^{2,10,11}$ (period of, 9^{10}; of first, 9^{11}); = deliverance, Wisd. 3^{7}; in good sense, Ass.Mos. 1^{18}; = judgement, Wisd. $14^{11}n.$ 19^{15}; of the earth, by God, 2Bar. $20^{2}n.$

Visiting the sick, duty of, Sir. $7^{35}n.$

Voice, mysterious voice, a sign of the End, 4Ez. 5^{7}; of God proclaims the End, 6^{13-17}. *See* Trumpet.

Vows, P.A. 3^{18} 4^{23}. *See* Laws.

Vretil, 2En. $22^{11,12}$ 23(B).

Vulgar, i.e. am-ha-aretz, P.A. 2^{6} 3^{15} 5^{13}.

Vultures = Graeco-Egyptians, 1En. 90^{2}, cf. $90^{11,13}n.$

Wages, Tob. 4^{14} $5^{15}sq.$ 12^{3} Arist. 258, 259.

Wajjissau. *See* Midrash.

Walk, according to Law, Zad. 7^{1} 9^{1}: in midrash of Law, 9^{33}; in perfection of holiness, 8^{21}; uprightly, 1^{16} 3^{2}.

Wall, built the, Zad. 6^{8} 9^{21}; builders of, 7^{1} 9^{26}. *See* Pharisees.

War of Egyptians against Canaan, Jub. $46^{6-9}n.$ T.S. 8^{2} T.G. $8^{5}n.$ T.B. $12^{3(\beta)}$.

Wars, civil, T.Jud. 22^{1} T.Z. 9^{2-5}.

Watchers = (i) archangels, 1En. $12^{2,3}$, cf. 20^{1} ('who watch'), *also* $39^{12,13}$ 40^{2} 61^{12} 71^{7} ('who sleep not'); = (ii) fallen angels, 1En. 1^{5} $10^{9,13}$ 12^{4} 13^{10} $14^{1,3}$ 15^{2} $16^{1,2}$ 91^{15} Jub. $4^{15,22}$ 7^{21} 8^{3} 10^{5}; the, T.R. $5^{6,7}$ T.N. 3^{5}; of heaven fell, Zad. 3^{4}, *see* Inclination; punished, rebellious in second heaven, 2En. 7^{1-5}, lustful beneath the earth, 2En. 18^{7}. *See* Children of, Grigori, Princes.

Water, Zad. 5^{3} 9^{13} $12^{1,2}$ 13^{12} 14^{14}, *see* Cleansed; of judgement, 1En. 67^{13}, *see* Spring.

Waters, above the heavens, 1En. $54^{1,7}$; beneath the earth, 54^{8} 66^{1}; earth upon, 69^{17}, *see* Fountain, Spring; living, 1En. 17^{4}, cf. 22^{9}; spring of, Zad. 9^{28}, *see* Well; of knowledge, i. e. of Torah, Sir. $15^{3}n.$

Way = course of action, P.A. 2^{1}; good, right, evil, &c., $2^{1,12,13}$ 6^{4}; of God, Zad. 9^{42}; of righteousness, 1En. 82^{4}; The Way, Zad. 1^{6-8} 2^{4}.

Ways, *in* 4 *Ezra*: of this world, narrow and sorrowful, 4Ez. $7^{11,12}$; of future world, broad and safe, 7^{13}, *see* Path; of souls, seven, *see* Seven. *In Zad. Frag.*: of God, Zad. 5^{2}, 9^{42}; of kings of Gentiles, 9^{20}; of the people, 9^{24}; of traitors, 9^{15}; of unclean woman, 5^{4}; of wicked, 2^{1} 9^{10};—the Two, 1En. $91^{4}n.$ $^{19}n.$ 2En. $30^{15}n.$ T.A. $1^{3,5}$.

Wealth, Zad. 6^{11} 9^{33} 14^{8} 16^{4}; and unjust gain, 9^{17} 13^{4}, or gain, 13^{25} 14^{7}; duties of, 14^{3-19}; less honoured than wisdom, Sir. 10^{30}–11^{1}; of Sanctuary, Zad. 8^{12}; of sins, 1En. 103^{5}, *see* Unrighteous; of wickedness, Zad. 6^{11} 8^{12} 9^{15}; trust not in, Sir. $5^{1,2}$, cf. 1En. 94^{8}; without sin, is good, Sir. 13^{24}. *See* Gains.

Week, of world, 1En. 93 91^{12-17}; = seven millenniums, 4Ez. $4^{36-37}n.$ $7^{30,43}$.

Weeks, Zad. 20^{1}; feast of, 2Macc. 12^{31} Tob. 2^{1} Jub. $15^{1}n.$, connected with Noah's covenant, Jub. $6^{17,18}$, *see* Pentecost; (= year-weeks), Jub. *Prologue*, $1^{26,29}$.

Weighing, 1En. 41^{1} 43^{2} 60^{12} 61^{8}; of sins of Israel and the nations, 4Ez. 3^{34}.

Well, is the Law, Zad. 8^{6}; dug by nobles of people, 8^{9}, penitents of Israel, 8^{6}; of many waters, dig a (= restudy Law), Zad. 5^{3} 8^{4-6}; of the Oath, Jub. $16^{11,15,20}$ 18^{17} 22^{1} 24^{26} $29^{17,18,19}$ 36^{12} $44^{1,8}$; of Vision, Jub. 24^{1}.

West, 1En. 67^{4} 70^{3}. *See* Fire.

White, symbolizes righteousness, 1En. $83^{3}n.$; men = angels. *See* Angels, Men.

Whoredom, Tob. 4^{12}.

Wicked, God's wrath against, Sir. 16^{6-14} $32(35)^{15}$; recompense of, 9^{2}; sacrifice of, Zad. 14^{1}; snared by Law, Sir. 32 $(35)^{15}$; ways of, Zad. 2^{1} 9^{19}.

Wickedness, of impurity, Sir. 23^{16-27}; of kings after Solomon, 47^{23-25}; of people in Elisha's time, 48^{12-16}; of tempting God, *see* Tempting; period of, Zad. $8^{9,12}$ 15^{4}, *see* Israel; wealth of, *see* Wealth.

Widows, Tob. 1^{8}; care of, Sir. 4^{10}.

Wife, P.A. $1^{5,5d}$; avoid being jealous of, Sir. 9^{1}; blessing of a good, $26^{1-4,13-22}$; curse of wicked, $26^{5-12,23-27}$; duty to, Sir. $7^{19,26}$ 9^{1}; need of a good, 26^{19-27}; value of, $36^{24-26(29-31)}$.

Will of God, T.Iss. 4^{3} T.D. 6^{6} T.N. 3^{1} T.B. $11^{2(\beta)}$ P.A. 2^{4} 5^{24} Zad. 3^{1-2} 5^{2}; of man, of own spirit, 4^{2}; own, 3^{7} 4^{10}. *see* Free-will.

Windows, 1En. $72^{3,7}$ 75^{7} 83^{11} 101^{2}.

Windpipe, T.N. 2^{8}.

Winds, 1En. 18^{1-5} 34–36 41^{4} 60^{12} 76; angels or spirits of, *see* Angels; portals of, 76^{1}; the twelve, 76^{1}. *See* Chambers, Treasuries.

Wine, 2Macc. 15^{39} Tob. $4^{15,17}$; makes heart lustful, Sir. 9^{9} 19^{2}; new, a new friend is, 9^{10}; use and abuse of, Sir. $31(34)^{25-31}$; = ways of kins of Gentiles, Zad. 9^{19}. *See* Dragons.

Wisdom, Tob. $4^{18,19}$ 4Macc. $1^{16}sq.$ P.A. 2^{8} $3^{12,13,21-23}$ 4^{1} $5^{10,13}$ $6^{6,8}$; and fear of God, $3^{21,22}$; and Word, 2En. 33^{4}; assessor of God, 2En. $30^{8}n.$; awaits righteous in heaven, 4Ez. 8^{52}; embodied in Law, praise of, 1Bar. § 11, 3^{9}–4^{4}; God loveth, Zad. 2^{2}; hidden at last times, 2Bar. 48^{36}; hypostatized, 2En. $30^{8}n.$ 33^{3}, cf. 1En. $42^{1,2}$. *In Book of Wisdom*: conceptions of—a breath of the power of God, a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty, . . . from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets, 7^{25-27}; God's intermediary, sent into world, 9^{10}; immortal, $8^{17}n.$; not a person, but personified, § 9; omnipotent, $7^{21,27}$ 8^{8}; omnipresent, 1^{7}; omniscient, 8^{8} 9^{11}; spirit, 7^{22}; spouse of God, 8^{3}; synonymous with Word, $9^{1}n.$ *In Sirach*: Sir. $1^{1,4,6,14,16,18,20,25,26,27}$ $4^{11,23,24}$ 6^{18} 7^{5} 10^{30} 11^{15} 13^{22} 14^{20} 15^{18} 16^{24} 18^{28} $19^{20,22}$ $20^{30,31}$ $21^{11,18,21}$ 22^{6} 23^{15} $24^{1,25}$ $25^{5,10}$ 27^{11} 32^{4} $33^{8,11,17}$ $38^{24,34}$ 39^{1} 40^{19} $41^{14,15}$ 42^{21} 51^{13-30}; applied to eating, 37^{27-31}; as seen in creation, 16^{24-30}; blessedness of those who seek, 14^{20-27}; comes from the Lord, 1^{1} 11^{15}; conception of in Sirach, § 9 iii; —divine, created before creation, eternal: = the fear of the Lord: the free gift of God; differs from craftiness, 19^{20-30}; fear of Lord is true wisdom, 1^{11-20}; how acquired by Ben-Sira, 51^{13-30}; how attained, 15^{1-10}; joy and crown of beauty to those who seek, $6^{18,19,23-31}$, but harsh to foolish, 6^{20-22}; must not be hidden, 4^{23} $20^{30,31}$ $4^{14,15}$; need of in rulers, 9^{17}–10^{5}; not wealth, brings honour, 10^{30}–11^{1}; of aged, beautiful, 25^{3-6}; origin of, 1^{1-10}, from the Lord, 1^{1} 11^{15}; poured out on all God's works, 1^{9}, on all flesh in measure, on to Israel without measure, 1^{10}; practical value of true, 34^{9-17} (31^{9-20}); praise of, 24^{1-34}; reward of those who seek, 4^{11-19} 6^{32-37}; shown in conduct, 18^{26-29}, by patience, self-control, and humility, 1^{22-30}; true and false, 37^{16-26}; —literature, § 1; praise of, Wisd. 6^{9}–11^{1} T.L. 13 Test. *App.* II 88–95; soul so constituted as to receive, Arist. 236.

Wisdom, Book of, Add.Esth. §§ 1, 5, $F^{11}n.$; account of, short, Wisd. § 1; author, § 7, an Alexandrian Jew; bibliography, § 10; composite nature, § 6; date, § 5; language of, § 7; MSS., § 3; relation to O.T. and N.T. books, § 8; theology and philosophy, § 9; title, § 2; versions, § 4; vocabulary, § 6.

Wisdom literature, Wisd. § 1 1Bar. § 2 iii.

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Wrath of God, P.Man. 10, 13 1En. 55^{3} 62^{12} 84^{4} 90^{18} $91^{7,9}$; (= anger, 5^{9} 101^{3}, cf. 18^{16} 99^{16}) Zad. 1^{17} 3^{7} 4^{7} 7^{17} $9^{13,22,26}$[40] 11^{4}, *see* 2^{4-7}; against wicked, Sir. 16^{6-14}; came upon Israel, 1Macc. 1^{64}; certain though long delayed, Sir. $5^{6,7}$ 7^{16} 16^{6-13} 21^{10} 40^{10-17}, *see* Retribution; day of, *see* Day; prayer that it may be stayed with the martyrs' sufferings, 2Macc. 7^{38}; turned away, 1Macc. 3^{8}.

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Zacharias, 1Esd. 9^{44}.

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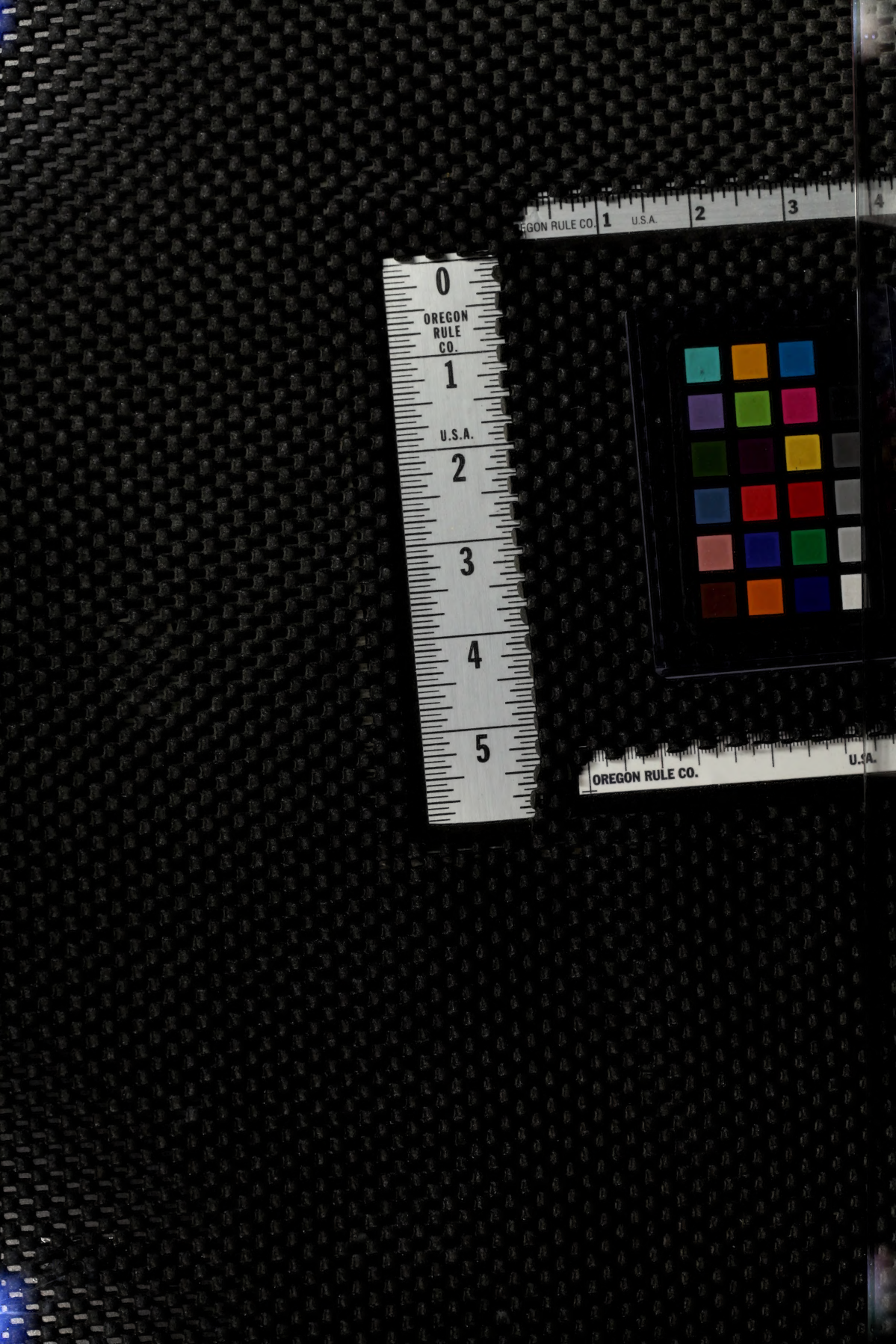
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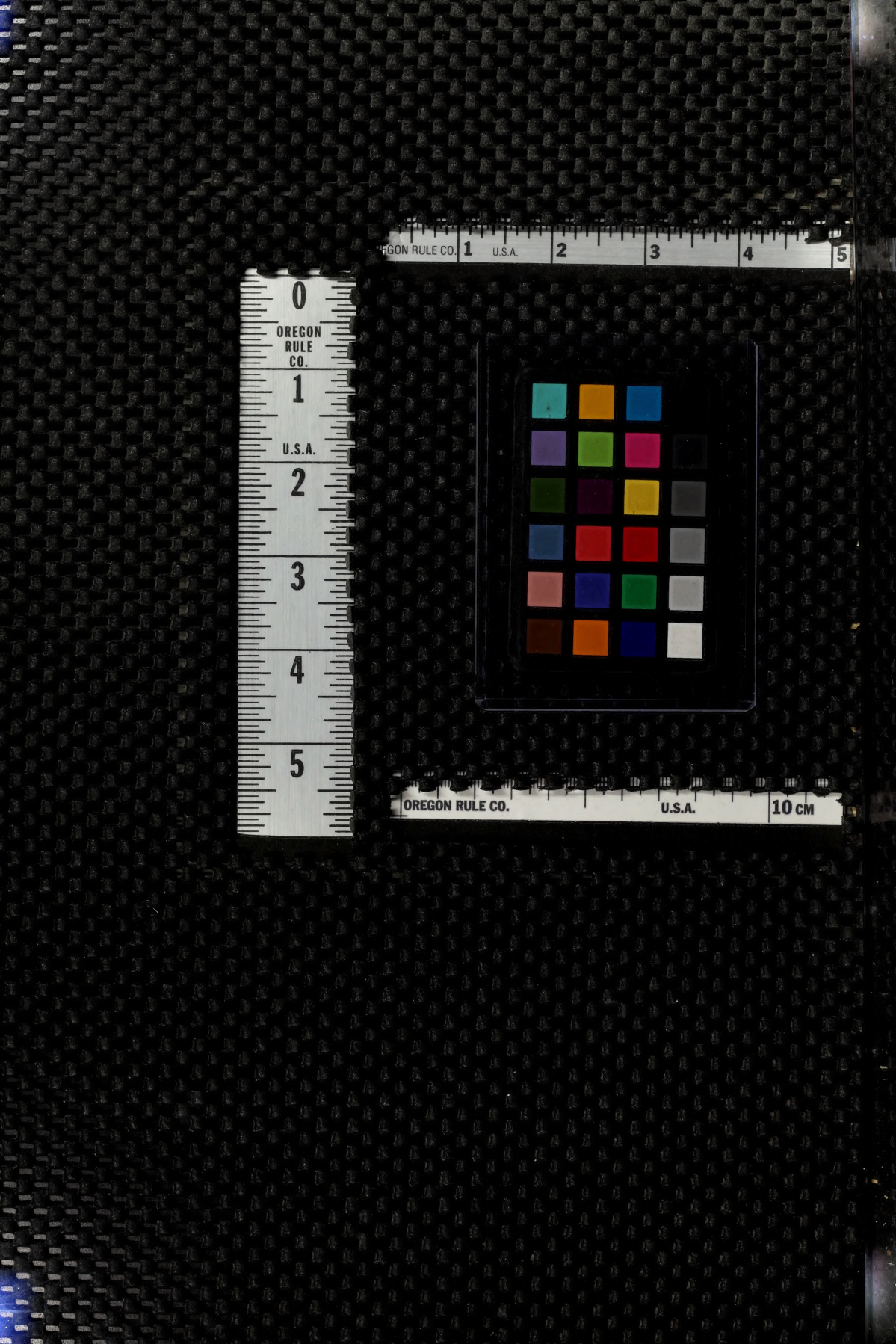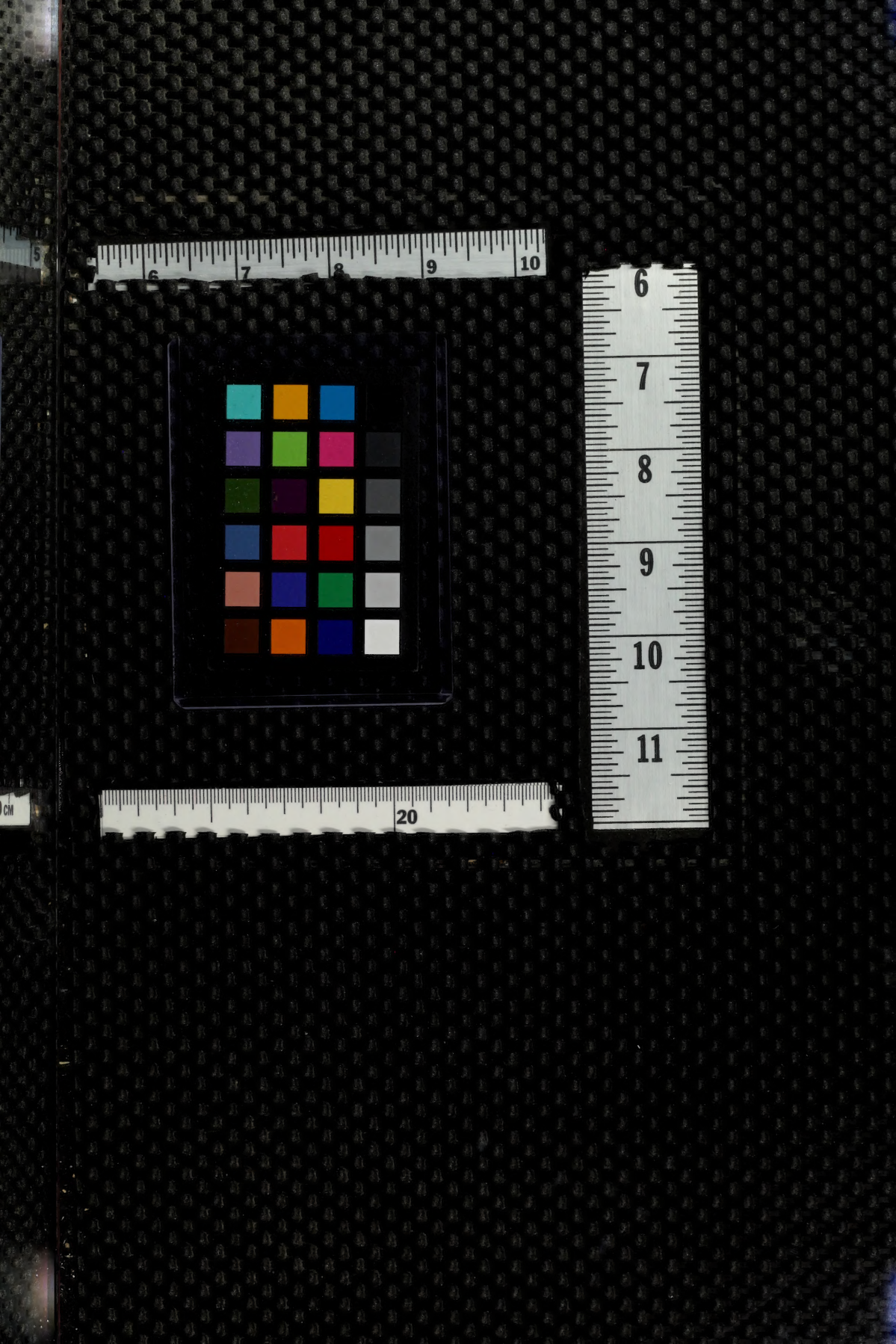
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